

OPEN CHRONICLES · VOLUME 6

Historia Iherosolimitana

THE HISTORY OF JERUSALEM

Robert the Monk (Robertus Monachus)

SOURCE-FAITHFUL TRANSLATION

Translated from the Latin with AI assistance, edited by Paul McMurry

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Source

Base text: Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux, tome III (Paris, Imprimerie impériale, 1866), Roberti Monachi Historia Iherosolimitana, printed pp. 721–882. Diplomatic transcription verified on the page images of that volume. Source-faithful reading translation from that print; not a critical edition of the Latin. Kempf & Bull 2013 was not opened.

- Internet Archive — Recueil des historiens des croisades, occidentaux 3

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Limitations

Translation-base is the diplomatic RHC text; Kempf & Bull 2013 was not opened. RHC chapter divisions are production units, not a claim of Robert's original chaptering. One verse reading remains marked uncertain (levis / bevis). This release has not undergone external scholarly peer review.

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Contents

Editorial guide by the RHC printed books. Printed-page markers in the text are the public citations.

About this edition	
Apologetic discourse	RHC.721–722
Prologue	RHC.723
The first book	RHC.727
The second book	RHC.739
The third book	RHC.755
The fourth book	RHC.775
The fifth book	RHC.791
The sixth book	RHC.805
The seventh book	RHC.821
The eighth book	RHC.843
The ninth book	RHC.863
 BACK MATTER	
Notes	
Glossary	

About this edition

Robert the Monk (*Robertus Monachus*) wrote the *Historia Iherosolimitana* at a cell of Saint Remigius in the bishopric of Reims. He says an abbot named Bernard showed him a history of the Jerusalem journey that lacked its beginning at Clermont and was written without polish, and commanded him to set a head on that headless matter and to compose it more carefully. The work runs from that council through the campaign in the East to the taking of Jerusalem and the close of book nine.

This volume is a source-faithful English of that Latin, made from the main text of Robert as printed in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, tome III (Paris, Imprimerie impériale, 1866), printed pages 721–882. The diplomatic transcription was verified on the page images of that volume. Printed-page citations ('RHC.721') are the public coordinates.

RHC chapter divisions are the production units of this translation. They are not a claim that this is Robert's original chapter structure. Book and chapter wrappers in this file follow one house formula: 'Here begins the first book.' and 'Chapter I.' Rubrics, verse, and the body of the English are the audited Pass 2 text.

Kempf & Bull's 2013 edition of the Latin was not opened. The English is from the diplomatic RHC text. No existing English translation of Robert was consulted. This is a reading translation, not a critical edition of the Latin. Diplomatic Latin is not printed here.

Names, numbers, dating formulas, scripture wording, and the force of Robert's language stand as he wrote them. Scripture is translated from his Latin, not replaced from a modern English Bible. Square brackets mark an uncertain reading in the source. The reading page has no note cues; notes, a glossary, and this statement stand at the front and back of the file.

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— RHC.721-722

ROBERT THE MONK

THE HISTORY OF JERUSALEM

HERE BEGINS THE APOLOGETIC DISCOURSE.

I entreat all who read this history, or who hear it read and understand what they have heard, that when they find in it anything put together without polish they grant pardon, because I was compelled by obedience to write it.

For a certain abbot named Bernard, endowed with knowledge of letters and with uprightness of character, showed me a history on this matter; but it displeased him greatly, partly because it did not have its beginning, which was established at the council of Clermont, and partly because the sequence of so fair a matter lay uncultivated, and the composition of the literary wording wavered, uncultivated. He therefore commanded me that I, who was present at the council of Clermont, should set a head before the headless matter and compose it in a more careful style for those who would read it.

But I, because I had no secretary but myself, both dictated and wrote. And so the hand obeyed the mind without a break, and the pen the hand, and the page the pen; and both the lightness of the composition and a wording by no means decked out can give sufficient proof of this.

Hence if this publication of ours displeases anyone nurtured in academic studies — perhaps because, proceeding in pedestrian speech, we have been more rustic in it than is right — we wish him to know that among us it is more acceptable to make hidden things clear by speaking as rustics than to cloud over open things by philosophizing. For speech that is always exact is always unwelcome, because what is grasped by a difficult understanding is drunk in by a deafer ear. But we

wish to carry our discourse forward with so common a gait that anyone, when he has heard it, may hope for the same; and if by chance he has tried to be the same, he may be set far apart from the same.

If anyone desires to know the place where this history was composed, let him know that it is the cloister of a certain cell of Saint Remigius, established in the bishopric of Reims. If the name of the author who composed it is asked for, he is called Robert.

HERE ENDS THE DISCOURSE.

— RHC.723

HERE BEGINS THE PROLOGUE.

Among all the historians of the Old and New Testament, holy Moses holds the first place. By the divine spirit of prophecy, in the Hebrew letters of which, God revealing them, he himself was the author, he described the beginning of the world, and brought before us the more marvelous acts of the first age and of the second, and also the deeds of the patriarchs. Joshua son of Nun, Samuel, and David imitated his example, of whom the first wrote the book of Joshua, the second and the third the histories of Kings.

From this, therefore, it can be clearly gathered that it is truly acceptable to God that, when he carries out on earth some marvelous work which he arranged to be done at the times he had fixed beforehand, it should be committed to writing for the knowledge of his faithful. But after the creation of the world, what more marvelous thing has been done, apart from the mystery of the saving cross, than what has been done in modern times on this journey of our Jerusalemites?

The more carefully anyone attends to this, the more abundantly he will be astonished within the widened recesses of his mind. For this was not a human work, but a divine one. And therefore it ought to be committed, by a joining together in writing, to the knowledge of those present and of those to come, so that by this both Christian hope in God may be more firmly established, and his praise more vividly stirred in their minds.

For who among kings or princes could subdue so many cities and castles, fortified by nature, by art, or by human ingenuity, if not the *blessed nation* of the Franks, *whose Lord is its God, the people whom he chose for an inheritance for himself*? Therefore let the wisdom of God bring into us what we may bring forth to the praise of his name. And let those who read these things, or hear them, know that we shall recount nothing of frivolity, nothing of falsehood, nothing of trifles, except what is true.

HERE ENDS THE PROLOGUE.

————— RHC.727–728

Here begins the first book.

Chapter I.

On the council of Clermont in Auvergne.

*You who read these words, let your mind not be evilly feigned,
take the sweet words of Pope Urban.*

In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1095, a great council was celebrated within the bounds of Gaul, namely in Auvergne, in the city which is called Clermont; over which Pope Urban II presided with the Roman bishops and cardinals. And that council was very famous for the gathering of Gauls and Germans, both of bishops and of princes. When therefore the ecclesiastical affairs had been arranged in it, the lord pope went out into a certain square of spacious breadth, because the enclosure of any building could not hold all those people. He, with this persuasion of rhetorical sweetness, burst forth generally to all in these words, saying:

"Nation of the Franks, nation from beyond the mountains, nation, as shines forth in many of your works, chosen and beloved by God, set apart from all nations as much by the situation of lands as by the catholic faith, as by the honor of holy Church: to you our speech is directed, and to you our exhortation is extended. We wish you to know what mournful cause has brought us to your bounds; what necessity of yours and of all the faithful has drawn us. From the bounds of Jerusalem and from the city of Constantinople a grave report has arisen and has already very often come to our ears, namely that a nation of the kingdom of the Persians, a foreign nation, a nation altogether alien from God, *a generation, that is, which has not directed its heart, and whose spirit has not been trusted with God*, has invaded the lands of those Christians, has laid them waste with iron, with plunderings, with fire, and has led them away captive, some into its own land, and has struck others down with a wretched death, and has either

overthrown the churches of God from the foundations or handed them over to the rite of its own sacred things. They overthrow altars defiled with their filth; they circumcise Christians, and they either pour the blood of the circumcision upon the altars or plunge it in the vessels of the baptistery. And those whom it pleases them to punish with a shameful death, they pierce their navel, they draw out the head of the vitals, they bind them to a stake and so lead them around while flogging them, until, their bowels drawn out, they fall prostrate on the ground. Some, bound to a stake, they shoot with arrows; some they assail with neck stretched out and with bared sword, and they try whether they can cut them off with a single stroke. What shall I say of the unspeakable ravishing of women, of which it is worse to speak than to be silent? The kingdom of the Greeks has already been so mutilated by them and made over to their own uses that it cannot be crossed in a journey of two months. On whom, therefore, does the labor fall of avenging this, of snatching this away, if not on you, to whom before the other nations God has granted the distinguished glory of arms, greatness of spirits, agility of bodies, the power of humbling *the crown of the hair* of those who resist you?

Let the deeds of your predecessors move you and stir your spirits to manliness, and the worth and greatness of King Charlemagne, and of Louis his son and of your other kings, who destroyed the kingdoms of the pagans and in them widened the bounds of holy Church. Let especially the holy Sepulchre of our Lord the Saviour move you, which is possessed by unclean nations, and the holy places, which are now treated dishonorably and are irreverently fouled with their uncleannesses. O strongest soldiers and offspring of unconquered parents, do not degenerate, but remember the virtue of those who went before you. But if the dear affection of children and of parents and of spouses holds you, recall what the Lord says in the Gospel: *He who loves father or mother above me is not worthy of me. Every who has left house, or father, or mother, or wife, or sons, or fields, for my name, will receive a hundredfold and will possess eternal life.* Let no possession draw you away, no care of household affairs, since this land which you inhabit, surrounded on all sides by the enclosure of the sea and by ridges of mountains, is cramped by your numbers, and a plenty of riches does not

overflow, and it scarcely furnishes food alone to its cultivators. From this it is that you bite one another and contend, you stir up wars and for the most part kill with mutual wounds. Let hatreds among you therefore cease, let quarrels fall silent, let wars rest, and let the dissensions of all controversy be lulled to sleep. Begin the way of the holy Sepulchre; take that land from the unspeakable nation, and subject it to yourselves. That land was given by God to the children of Israel as a possession, as Scripture says, *which flows with milk and honey*.

————— RHC.729–730

Chapter II.

On the praise of the city of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, rejoice: praise without deceit stands for you.

"Jerusalem is the navel of the lands, a land fruitful before the rest, as if another Paradise of delights. This the Redeemer of the human race illuminated by his coming, adorned by his manner of life, consecrated by his passion, redeemed by his death, marked out by his burial. This royal city therefore, placed in the middle of the world, is now held captive by her own enemies, and is enslaved to the rite of the nations by those who do not know God. She therefore seeks and desires to be set free, and she does not cease to pray that you come to her aid. From you indeed she especially demands aid, because from God there has been granted to you before all nations, as we have already said, the distinguished glory of arms. Seize therefore this way for the remission of your sins, sure of the unfading glory of the kingdom of heaven."

When Pope Urban had concluded these and very many things of this kind with urbane speech, he so united the affections of all who were present into one that they cried out: *God wills! God wills!* When the venerable Roman pontiff heard this, with his eyes raised to heaven, he gave thanks to God and, commanding silence with his hand, said: "Dearest brothers, today there has been shown in us what the Lord says through the Gospel: *Where two or three have been gathered in my name, there I am in the midst of them*. Unless the Lord God had been

present to your minds, there would not have been one voice of all of you; for although your voice came forth numerous, yet the origin of the voice was one. Therefore I say to you that God drew this from you, who planted it in your breasts. Let this voice therefore be for you a military sign in warlike affairs, because this word has been brought forth from God. When the joining of a warlike onset against the enemy shall take place, there will be for all this one shout from the part of God: *God wills! God wills!* And we do not command or advise that old men or the feeble and those least fit for the use of arms should seize this journey; nor let women go at all without their husbands, or brothers, or lawful testimonies. For such are more a hindrance than a help, more a burden than a use. Let the richer come to the aid of the poor, and let them lead with them, from their own resources, men ready for war. For priests or clerics of any order it is not permitted to go without the license of their bishops, because this way would become useless to them, if they went without those men's license. Indeed it is not expedient even for laymen to go as pilgrims, except with the blessing of their own priest. Whoever therefore has had the mind for this holy pilgrimage, and has made a pledge thereof to God, and has vowed that he will offer to him a living victim, holy and well-pleasing, let him display the sign of the Lord's Cross on his forehead or on his breast. But he who, having obtained his vow, has wished to return from there, let him place it behind between the shoulder-blades; for such men by a twofold working will fulfill that precept of the Lord which he himself commands through the Gospel: *He who does not bear his cross and come after me is not worthy of me.*"

————— RHC.730

Chapter III.

On the absolution granted by the council.

When these things had been thus completed, one of the Roman cardinals, named Gregory, said his confession for all who were prostrate on the ground; and so all, beating their own breasts, obtained absolution for those things which they had evilly committed; and, when the absolution had been made, a blessing;

and, when the blessing had followed, license to return to their own homes. And, so that it may become clear to all the faithful that this way has been established by God, not by man, as we have afterwards learned from many, on the very day on which these things were done and said, fame proclaiming so great an establishment moved the whole world, so that it had been made known even in the maritime islands of the Ocean that the Jerusalem journey had been so made firm in the council. From this there comes forth to the Christians glory and exultation, to the gentile Persians and to the cultivators of Arabia grief and trembling. To these is added greatness of spirit, into those is struck fear and dullness of mind: so greatly did the heavenly trumpet resound that everywhere every nation hostile to the Christian name trembled. It therefore shines forth that this was not the office of a human voice, but of the spirit of the Lord who fills the world of the lands.

And so each of the laymen returned to his own home, and Pope Urban caused an assembly of bishops to sit on the next day; and when they were sitting, he took counsel as to whom he should set over so great a multitude of those desiring to go as pilgrims, because there was not yet among them any of the renowned princes.

————— RHC.731

Chapter IV.

How the bishop of Le Puy was placed over the pilgrims.

But all chose the bishop of Le Puy, asserting that he was very fit for human and divine affairs, and most skilled in both kinds of knowledge, and many-sided in his actions. And so he, though unwilling, took up, as if another Moses, the leadership and governance of the Lord's people, with the blessing of the lord pope and of the whole council. O how many men of diverse age and power or household resources took up crosses in that council and pledged the way of the holy Sepulchre! From this that venerable council was made known everywhere in the lands, and the honorable ordinance of the council reached the ears of kings and princes. It pleased all, and more than 300,000 conceive the journey in

their mind, and they strive to fulfill it, according as the Lord conferred ability on each. And already the savagery of the Frankish-born nation began to leap apart along the crossroads, and already their proven ferocity was fighting with the Turks in desire.

————— RHC.731–732

Chapter V.

On Peter the Hermit and Duke Godfrey.

The duke went first, nor afterward did he yield backward.

There was in those days a certain man, who had been a hermit, named Peter, who among those who savor earthly things was esteemed of great worth, and was exalted above the very prelates and abbots by the summit of religion, because he ate neither bread nor flesh, but nevertheless enjoyed wine and all other foods and sought the fame of abstinence in delicacies.

This man at that time gathered to himself no small multitude of horsemen and of foot, and directed his journey through Hungary. He is joined, however, to a certain duke of the Teutons, named Godfrey, who was the son of Eustace, count of Boulogne, but by the office of dignity he was a Teutonic duke. This man was elegant in countenance, tall in stature, sweet in eloquence, outstanding in character, and so gentle toward soldiers that he portrayed in himself a monk more than a soldier. This man, however, when he perceived the enemy to be at hand and battle to be imminent, then with a bold mind conceived spirit, and, as if a lion gnashing his teeth, feared no one's encounter. And what mail or shield could sustain the onset of that man's sword? This man, with his brothers Eustace and Baldwin and a great band of soldiers and of foot, seized the journey through Hungary, namely by the way which Charlemagne, the incomparable king of the Franks, once commanded to be made for his army as far as Constantinople.

————— RHC.732

Chapter VI.

On those who first came to Constantinople and crossed the Arm of Saint George.

Therefore Peter the Hermit first came to Constantinople, with his own and a great nation of the Alemanni, and found a plentiful nation of the Lombards and many others assembled from diverse stretches of places. To these the emperor never granted license to enter the city, because he always held the power of the Christian soldiery, and especially of the Franks, suspect. The same man, however, was allowing them to have a market, which was also in the city; and he had forbidden them to cross that stretch of the neighboring sea which is called the Arm of Saint George, until the formidable army of the Franks should come. For the number of the Turks was infinite, who with a bestial mind thirsted for their arrival; in whose hands if they themselves had come without the princes of the Franks, as afterward the outcome of the matter proved, they would all equally have been subject to death. But every congregation of men which is not governed by a good author, if a languid head rules over it, daily languishes and is drawn far from safety. For this reason these men also, because they did not have a prudent prince who would have dominion over them, were doing reprehensible works. For they were destroying the churches and the palaces of the city, and, carrying off the things that were in them, they were pulling away the lead with which they were covered and selling it to the Greeks. Wherefore the emperor, named Alexius, was vehemently angry, and commanded them to sail across the sea Arm of Saint George.

————— RHC.732-733

Chapter VII.

On the principate of Rainald and on the siege of the Turks upon the Christians.

Those who had advanced farther chose a duke for themselves and set a certain Rainald over themselves, who, although they had a prince, nevertheless did not cease to do the same works of plunder; for they were burning with fire the houses they found, and they were stripping the churches of their goods and

resources. Thus they came as far as Nicomedia, and from there they entered the land of Romania. Therefore, three days having been spent in walking, they proceeded beyond the city of Nicaea, and they found a certain castle, whose name was Exerogorgo, empty of a nation. Entering into it they found a great abundance of grain, of flesh and of wine and of all goods which are the support of human life. For the Turks, terrified by fear of the Franks, had withdrawn far from that land, but nevertheless they sent out their scouts, who were to announce to them the arrival of our men and how they stood. Who, when they learned through intermediaries that they had come to plunder, not to hold, to destroy, not to possess, immediately ran against them, and surrounded the castle in which they were with a siege. For there was a huge number of them and a plentiful multitude. Before the gate of the castle there was a well, and nearby, on the other side, a living spring, beside which Rainald, prince of the Christians, had gone out and, placed in ambush, was awaiting their arrival.

————— RHC.733

Chapter VIII.

On the boldness of the Turks against our men, and on the shortage of water inflicted by them.

But the Turks, hesitating in nothing, rushed upon him, and they killed many who were with him. But others fled into the castle. But they carried off the water entirely from our men, and they sent the Christians into great torment for want of water.

And it was the feast of Saint Michael, which every faithful soul ought to venerate. And so the besieged came into so great a distress of thirst that, the veins of the horses and of oxen and of asses and of other livestock having been cut, they were drawing out the blood and drinking it. Others were digging the damper earth, and thus they were putting it to the mouth, and they were tempering the burning of thirst. Others were passing their urine in a vessel, or in their hands, and, which is marvelous to say, they were swallowing it. What

more? There was no comfort of life, where death alone was the aid for those perishing.

————— RHC.734

Chapter IX.

On the apostasy of Rainald the prince.

*Not lightly touched, Rainald, made an apostate,
By abjuring God, proves himself to be guilty.*

At last their prince, Rainald, entered a furtive pact with the Turks, preferring to hold a temporal life rather than to undergo death for Christ in such a martyrdom. And so, his ranks having been drawn up, he pretended to enter an engagement with the adversaries; but soon, when he went out, he made a digression toward them with many others. Alas! alas! timorous soldier, having advanced not from the South, but from the North, how weakly and effeminately he fought for the heavenly, and the king, and the kingdom, who, not yet even touched by a light straw, shuddered to undergo martyrdom, and, sound, a horseman, and armed, abdicated the profession of the Christian faith. Therefore by right he deserved, before God, the loss of vanishing grace, and he came into the lot of him who chose his seat toward the North. But those who remained, and did not wish to change the title of the Christian faith, underwent the destruction of death.

————— RHC.734

Chapter X.

On the martyrdom of the Christians.

Therefore from that whole multitude the Turks killed those whom they wished; and those whom they liked, as it pleased, they took captive. Some, placed at a mark, they were shooting with arrows, and with every mockery, as it was pleasing to them, they were insulting the servants of God, and those men preferred thus to fall gloriously rather than, denying the faith of God, to live

unhappily with them. But God, as we believe, received them within the precincts of ever-green Paradise, because they did not wish to wander from their faith. For already the diabolic legion, victorious, exults, and against Peter the Hermit, who was in a certain castle, named Civito, it fights.

Now that castle was established above the city of Nicaea.

————— RHC.735

Chapter XI.

On the fight of Walter with the Turks and his death.

This death of Walter ought to be confessed precious.

While the Turks were directing a course against it, they had met Walter, who was the first officer and standard-bearer of the Hermit's column; but the outstanding soldier, although he had shone with so many titles of soldiery, was nevertheless not able to resist these men at all, but nevertheless he commended his precious death with much blood of the Turks. For he rushed upon them like a hungry bear among animals; and those whom he found in the encounter, he both struck down and deprived of life. Likewise those also who were with him, armed, still living, were already bravely avenging the death which they were about to suffer; and as long as arms availed them, the enemies never danced in triumph over the victory. But there the multitude overcame boldness, not boldness the multitude, except that high spirit lessened the numerousness sixfold. At last, their arms having been broken, and not their spirits, they ended their life by a praiseworthy death, as in war, as for God, and angelic spirits transferred them into the lot of the heaven-dwellers. Then first the Turks, the corpses of their own having been turned over, recognized that those with whom they had fought were Franks.

————— RHC.735

Chapter XII.

On the priest who, while he was singing mass, was martyred by the Turks.

Thus also ought this priest's death to be held.

These things having thus been accomplished, a part of the Turks ran to the camp of the Christians, and there they found one priest celebrating mass, whom they beheaded before the altar. O happy martyrdom of the happy priest, to whom the viaticum of the Lord's body granted leadership! Likewise, as many as they found, they either killed or led away. But Peter the Hermit was away and had returned to Constantinople.

————— RHC.735-736

Chapter XIII.

On the second siege of the Turks upon the Christians.

Now in the castle which we mentioned above, whose name is Civito, a very great multitude of Christians had remained, and those who had escaped alive from the camp or from the battle had streamed together back to that castle; whom the Turks, pursuing, placed piles of wood around, so that they might burn our men. But those who were besieged, anxious for the protection of life, sent fire into the piles, and by the nod of God, the wind blowing, they burned most of the enemies. The Turks at last seized them by force, and, according to their mockery, having afflicted them with various kinds of punishments, they killed some, they sold others into captivity. Those who nevertheless escaped by some chance or device returned to the Arm of Saint George, and, the most wicked emperor commanding, they went back to Constantinople. The emperor indeed greatly exulted with his Greeks over the victory of the Turks, and he cunningly acquired all the arms of our men, so that he might render them unarmed. These things having thus been done, let us put an end to this narrative, and, turning the style backward, let us set forth how the noble nation of the Franks came together there, and with which princes.

HERE ENDS THE FIRST BOOK.

————— RHC.739

Here begins the second book.

Chapter I.

On the Norman count and the Flemish count and Hugh the Great.

*The ranks come together, and numerous thousands come into being,
Whose nobles, if you were to see them join together
So fair a column, you would by right praise the Sepulchre
For which they thus rejected their own fatherland.*

Meanwhile, while these things are being done, from the remote western parts, from the side of the North, the Lord stirred up two counts who had one name, one kinship, equal authority, the same vigor both in arms and in spirits, even peers in the glory of the consulship: namely the Norman and the Flemish count; with whom Hugh the Great, brother of Philip, king of the Franks, who at that very time was subjecting France to his empire. This man, by the honorableness of character, and by the elegance of body, and by the virtue of spirit, commended the royal lineage from which he had sprung; with whom also Stephen, count of Chartres, who from good beginnings afterwards obtained wicked endings. O how countless magnates and consuls of lesser fame have been joined with these, both of the same France and of greater and lesser Britain!

————— RHC.739-740

Chapter II.

On the bishop of Le Puy and the count of Saint-Gilles.

From the southern side the camp of the bishop of Le Puy and of the count of Saint-Gilles, named Raymond, was set in motion. This man, although he was very rich and was being enriched with temporal goods, sold all that was his and seized the way of the deliverance of the Lord's Sepulchre. Behold, now we see

present in the fact what the Lord once promised through the mouth of Isaiah the prophet. For he says: *Do not fear, because I am with you; from the North I will bring your seed, and from the West I will gather you. I will say to the North: "Give;" and to the South: "Do not forbid: bring my sons from far off, and my daughters from the ends of the earth."* Now, as we see, the sons of God and the daughters make for Jerusalem from the ends of the earth; and the South and the North do not dare to forbid those they have reared. Truly the Lord now ascends upon the west, because he rests in the souls of the westerners. Now the West prepares to illuminate the East, and, its new stars having been stirred up, to drive away the blindness by which it was being pressed. And although among so great ranks there shone forth a terrible brightness of arms, yet the splendor of spirits would strike this back, if it could be gazed upon. These men go to war with one mind, not that they may flee, but that they may either die or conquer. To die, indeed, they believe to be no loss of life; but to conquer is the praise of divine aid. These therefore, the princes mentioned, whom we have spoken of above, went out from their seats at a sufficiently adjoining time; but, crossing their native soil, they crossed the Alps at a different time and by a different journey. And so they directed their journey through Italy, and, with divine guardianship going before, they came as far as Rome at a second landing. And, O glorious soldiery of Christ, whom the spaces or the dwellings of so spacious a city within its habitation could not contain! and on this account many of the princes pitched their tents outside the city. Tarrying there for some days, they walked through the holy places in pilgrim custom; and they commended themselves to the merits and prayers of the holy apostles and of the others. And thus, the apostolic blessing having been received, they departed from the city, and directed their lines through Apulia.

————— RHC.740-741

Chapter III.

On Bohemond, duke of Apulia.

Going about the world, the rumor came to Bohemond:

*This weight of soldiery Bohemond did not reject;
But by such a vow he is set aflame in his whole breast.*

But while they were thus going, the rumor of so great an army came to the ears of a certain prince of that land, named Bohemond, who was then in the siege of Amalfi, established upon the shore of the Scaphardian sea. Hearing these things, he caused inquiry to be made by what princes so great an army was being ruled, with what arms it was being furnished, in what order they were going; whether they had come to plunder, or were acquiring necessities for themselves. To him it was reported by the inquirers concerning the princes, that Hugh the Great, own brother of Philip, king of the Franks, was standard-bearer and duke of so great a soldiery; Robert, the Norman count, Robert, the Flemish count, Stephen, count of Chartres, Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, and the bishop of Le Puy, were dukes and lords. The army, however, was proceeding so devoutly and in file that there was no one whom they might harm. The arms of the horsemen were so fit that they were coming together in so great a readiness of the soldiery of God. For what fleshly eye could bear the sight of the mail, or of the helmets, or of the shields, or of the lances, the sun radiating? The foot, however, are so furnished beforehand with every kind of missile that, if it should come against them, it would strike terror into the whole East. And although they are thus girt with missiles and arms, yet, as unarmed pilgrims, they buy necessities for themselves. When the circumspect man, most rich in riches, had heard these things, he put forth such words before all: "We all ought to give thanks to God, who has in his power the hearts of all, and inclines them where he wills. For who would have gathered so many princes and so great a people together, unless he himself were presiding over their minds?" And when he asked what sign of the pilgrimage they were wearing, he learned that they were bearing the sign of the Holy Cross either on their foreheads or on their right shoulder-blades. But when, running about through the fields, they were exercising themselves for warlike use, and, jesting against one another, they were brandishing spears one at the other, all were crying with one voice, saying: *God wills! God wills!* And this was the sign of their warlike cry. And when the

prudent man, capacious in mind, heard these things again, he exulted more and more in God, because he understood that all these things were not only of men.

————— RHC.741-742

Chapter IV.

On Bohemond, who took up the cross, and commanded his own that they should take it up.

Kindled at once by the same devotion, he commanded two precious cloaks to be brought, and from them, cut into straps, he commanded that crosses be made. Then he said to all, both to the foot and to the soldiers: "If anyone is the Lord's, let him be joined to me; O soldiers, now mine, be God's; and begin the way of the holy Sepulchre with me; and take what is mine as yours. Are we not also Frankish-born? Did not our parents come from France, and take this land for themselves by military arms? Ah, the disgrace! Will our kinsmen and brothers go without us to martyrdom, nay rather to Paradise? In all future times a backward poverty of spirit ought to be ascribed both to us and to our children, if, we being absent, this divine soldiery is being done." And when the high-spirited soldier was putting an end to these and to things like these, all who were present cried, saying: "We will go with you and without drawing back we promise the way of the holy Sepulchre." Then the wise and astute man commanded the crosses to be brought, which he had commanded to be made. When these had been brought, he said: "If you wish to unite deeds to your words, from these crosses let whoever accept one; and let the accepting of the cross be the pledge of the way." Then so many streamed together to accept that, many desiring to accept, the crosses were lacking.

————— RHC.742

Chapter V.

On the Apulians, who were vying to accept crosses.

To him the Calabrian nations and the Apulians are allied;

Here the duke of Apulia nevertheless scorned to become the leader.

Hearing therefore, the magnates of Apulia, and of Calabria, and of Sicily, that Bohemond had taken up the cross of the way of the holy Sepulchre, all stream together to him, and both the middling and the powerful, old men as well as young men, servants as well as lords, promise the way of the holy Sepulchre. But the duke of Apulia itself, when he saw and heard these things, grieved vehemently, because he greatly feared to remain alone with little ones and women in his duchy. Now that duke was the brother of Bohemond, each namely sons of Robert Guiscard. But while Bohemond prepared the necessities of the way, the Frankish-born came to the sea-ports; some namely to Brindisi, some to Bari, some Otranto, they entered the sea. Hugh the Great indeed, and William, son of the marquis, entered the sea in the port of Bari, and sailed as far as Durazzo.

————— RHC.742

Chapter VI.

On the capture of Hugh the Great.

When the duke of that place detected that they were present, he, seized by an unjust thought, immediately commanded them to be seized, and those seized to be led across to Constantinople. For the sly emperor had ordained that all the Jerusalemites be captured, and be led to him at Constantinople. For he wished that they all do fidelity to him, namely that whatever they acquired by arms should be his.

————— RHC.743

Chapter VII.

On Hugh and Godfrey.

But having been detected, when they came to the city, they found great comfort there, because they found Duke Godfrey with a great army. He who saw Hugh the Great and Duke Godfrey embrace and kiss one another could weep for joy.

Hugh the Great rejoices that he has been seized, because he deserved to be brought to Duke Godfrey. The duke rejoices, because he embraces his heartfelt friend and his kinsman and a noble man of all high birth. Each rejoices in the other at the renewed pact of ancient familiarity, and that in each there was the distinguished honor of worth. In these two men the emperor's frauds were first laid bare, as the following page will lay bare.

————— RHC.743

Chapter VIII.

On Duke Godfrey, who first came to Constantinople.

The duke also first came to the royal city.

Duke Godfrey, first of all the princes of the Franks, came to Constantinople, because he journeyed through Hungary by a straight course. He came therefore two days before the Lord's Nativity, and he wished to lodge outside the city; but the sly emperor received him within the suburbs. The duke hoped again to remain secure there, until the ranks of the Frankish-born nation should come together. And when for some days he began to send his clients to acquire necessities, the deceitful emperor commanded his Turcopoles and the Pechenegs that, placed in ambush, they should attack them and kill them.

————— RHC.743–744

Chapter IX.

On the open fraud of the emperor, and how many of his men Baldwin, brother of the duke, killed.

But Baldwin, brother of the duke, having recognized their wickedness, hid himself, and forestalled their ambushes, because, while they were following his men in order to kill them, with a strong spirit and a manly onset he attacked them; and so, God helping, he overcame them and killed many of them, and presented the captured to his brother the duke. When the emperor had heard this, he was angry, because he perceived that his deceits had been laid bare to the

Franks. The duke, when he recognized that the emperor was angry toward him and his men, went out from the suburbs of that man, and pitched his tents outside the city. The sun therefore setting, when night had covered the surface of the earth, the satellites of the emperor presumed to attack the duke; but, divine grace assisting, with great loss to themselves, they were scarcely able to escape his hands. One rushed upon the other, but one was more excellent than the other. The duke with his men, as a lion gnashing his teeth, quickly scattered them, and killed seven, having pursued the rest as far as the gate of the city. The duke from there returned to his tents, and afterwards remained quiet.

————— RHC.744

Chapter X.

On the peace of the emperor and of the duke, and how great an army of the Franks came to Constantinople.

*The Frankish-born nations, arriving together at the city,
Hold out the terror of death to the fellow-countrymen.*

The emperor, however, sought peace from him through many intermediaries, and at last obtained it, and permitted him and his nation to have a market, as it was in the city. Meanwhile the Gallic nation began to approach the royal city: the bishop of Le Puy and the count of Saint-Gilles, the counts also, the Norman and the Flemish, and Stephen of Chartres.

————— RHC.744–745

Chapter XI.

Bohemond with his men crossed Bulgaria.

While these things are therefore being done, as we have said, with prosperous success, Bohemond the Apulian, his stipends prepared, matching so great a journey, entered the sea, and in the region of Bulgaria he sailed across; with whom were the most noble princes: Tancred, namely his nephew and son of the marquis, Richard the prince, and all the magnates of that land, who found so

great an abundance in Bulgaria that *from the fruit of his grain, of wine and of oil they have all been multiplied*. Then, descending into the valley Andronopolis, they rested there so long, until all had crossed the strait.

————— RHC.745

Chapter XII.

That Bohemond threatened his men that they should not carry anything off by force.

There Bohemond, a prudent man, threatened his army that no one should carry anything off from anyone by force, but that each should acquire what was due to him. At last, all having crossed the strait, they entered into a certain region, most abundant in all goods, advancing from village to village, from castle to castle, from city to city, and came to Castoria, and there they celebrated the solemnity of the Lord's Nativity, and they rested for very many days. And when they sought a market of things for sale from the inhabitants, they were not able to obtain it, because all were fleeing from their face, reckoning our men to have arrived for the sake of preying, and of laying waste the whole land. Therefore our men were compelled by poverty of food to plunder, to prey upon sheep, oxen, rams, pigs, and the things that were useful for the use of food.

————— RHC.745

Chapter XIII.

On the castle of the heretics.

Having gone out from Castoria they came to Palagonia, in which there was a certain castle of the heretics, which they attacked from every side; and with trumpets sounding, and with missiles and arrows flying, they immediately seized it, and, stripped of all its goods, with the inhabitants themselves, they burned it with fire. Nor did this befall them as a wrong, because their detestable speech, like a cancer, was creeping, and already it had fouled the surrounding regions

with its wicked doctrine, just as their foul intention had also led them themselves away from the right faith.

————— RHC.746

Chapter XIV.

On the soldiers of the emperor whom Bohemond killed.

*The army of the emperor attacks our men;
And when Bohemond was joined to our men,
The Constantinopolitan king rages mad.*

Finally, coming to the river Bardarum, many crossed on that very day; but others, who, the sun standing, were unable to cross, remained. On the next day, at the very first light, the dawn already growing light, the army of the emperor came upon those who had remained, and they were preparing to kill all or to take them captive bound; while our men were bravely resisting them, a rumor came to the ears of Bohemond and of Tancred. But Tancred, not long bearing his men to be thus wronged, flying on a horse, returned to the river, and threw himself with horse and arms into it, and 2000 horsemen pursued him. Who, arriving immediately, found Turcoples and Pechenegs fighting with them; upon whom, suddenly rushing as if unbridled, they gave many to death, and they bound many captured, and brought them, entangled with thongs, to Bohemond. When he saw them, he gave thanks to God, and smiling with a cheerful countenance, said to them through an interpreter: "Nation unsound of mind, why do you seek to kill the nation of God and ours? We are partners of the Christian faith and household members and pilgrim soldiers of the holy Sepulchre. We seek to harm none of you, nor do we attempt to carry anything off from your emperor." To these things they, answering, said: "Lord, we are hired soldiers of the emperor, and we desire to deserve our donatives from him: we go where he likes, we do what he commands, and we obey him more than God. We nevertheless well recognize that *it is more necessary to obey God than men*. Our emperor shudders at your ranks more than at the thunderbolts of heaven, because he understands more that you wish to deprive him of his

kingdom than that you wish to go as pilgrims; and therefore he does not cease to plot evil toward you. But for God, whose pilgrims and soldiers you are, deign to have mercy on us." To these words the outstanding man, moved by a spirit of mercy, granted them life, and permitted them to go away unharmed. And while he was so proceeding with glad success, the army of the Franks had come together at Constantinople and was awaiting his arrival, which it had heard would shortly be there. The emperor, however, when he had seen the camps of God so flowing in from every side and his army, which he had sent against Bohemond, to be so scattered, seething in spirit he began to be greatly anxious, and thoughts to turn fraudulently in his heart.

————— RHC.747

Chapter XV.

On the pretence of the emperor.

At last he pretended a spirit, and as if he were rejoicing at his arrival, he sent to meet Bohemond those who should receive him gladly through his cities and castles, and should conduct him to himself with honor. But our men had learned that he was not doing this from any service of friendship, but by a secret pretence of the heart. The inhabitants of that land, however, the emperor's command having been received, were bringing the necessities for food in troops, and they were selling them at a sufficiently suitable price. And so coming to the city which is named Susa, Bohemond there dismissed his army, and with a few proceeded to Constantinople to the emperor's conference. But Tancred remained duke and guardian of the army; and he did not wish to remain there longer, because the foods which it was necessary for him to buy for himself were foreign, and he led them out aside into a valley sufficiently most abundant in all goods, and sufficiently most excellent in bodily increases.

In the meantime, while Bohemond was arriving at the city, the greatest part of the army of the Franks came to meet him, and they received him with one mind, as a mother her only son.

————— RHC.747-748

Chapter XVI.

Bohemond's speech to the Franks.

*The words of Bohemond do not praise the prosperities of the world;
And they do not praise the too-little soldiery of the worshippers of Christ.*

Bohemond, however, when he had caught sight that so many consuls, so many dukes, so many magnates were coming to meet him, raising his hands to heaven, tears having sprung up for joy, wept most abundantly; and, many having been kissed, when the sobs had scarcely at last been repressed so that he could speak, his face suffused with weepings, he began to speak in these words. "O warriors of God and unfailing pilgrims of the holy Sepulchre, who brought you to these pilgrim places, if not he who led the children of Israel across from Egypt through the Red Sea with dry footstep? Who else put a spirit into you that you should leave your possessions and native soil? Kinsmen and relations, spouses and children you have abdicated, nay you have also renounced every bodily pleasure. Now again you have been born again a second time, namely through confession and penitence, which you display daily with hard labors. O happy those who will fail in such a work; who will see Paradise before their fatherland! O order of soldiers, now three times and four times blessed! You who up to this point were defiled with the blood of homicide, now, a peer of the sweats of the holy martyrs, you are crowned with a heavenly diadem. Up to this point you have stood as an incitement of the wrath of God; but now you are a reconciliation of his grace, and a bulwark of his faith. Therefore, unconquered soldiers, because now first we have begun to soldier for God, let us not glory in arms or in our forces, but in God more powerful than all, because *our war is his, and he himself will have dominion over the nations.*"

Bohemond, when he was holding out these things and more of that kind, won to himself the spirits of the hearers, and he found great grace in the sight of all. Then all came with him to the city, and they led him to his lodging, which the emperor had commanded to be prepared for him outside the city.

————— RHC.748

Chapter XVII.

The multitude of the Franks terrified the king of the Greeks.

The sly emperor, therefore, seeing the camps of God grow, and from day to day be increased, destitute of spirit, void of sense, poor of counsel, began to be inflamed with vehement wrath. For he did not know what he should do, where he should turn himself; whither, if necessity should press him, he should flee. For he feared that so great an army and of so great men should rise against him. For a mind full of fraud is always anxious and is solicitous; and what it plots for another, it always greatly fears to be plotted for itself. But our men were not seeking this at all, because they did not wish to battle against Christians. At last he commanded Bohemond to be summoned to himself, and with him and with his Greeks he had a counsel of this kind. He asked of our men that the princes of the army should do homage to him; and that he himself would conduct for them, through the desert regions which they were about to enter, a market of all things for sale, and in all warlike affairs his presence and the aid of his nation; he would even swear generally to all that all things which they needed in arms and in clothing, he himself would supply, nor would he any longer harm any pilgrim of the holy Sepulchre, or consent that harm be done. This counsel, when it had been discovered, pleased almost in the hearts of all, because the necessity of temporal things was distressing most of them.

————— RHC.749

Chapter XVIII.

The sacrament [which] the Franks made to the emperor.

This which a king swears does not last a long time:

He swears and abjures who does not take good care of himself.

They therefore made this homage to him with a sacrament, on such a condition, that it should last so long, as long as he himself should persevere both in his sacrament and in his promise. But the count of Saint-Gilles, when he had been asked about homage, wished in no way to do it; but, if he were believed, the

whole city with its inhabitants and the emperor himself would be destroyed. But there was not reason that so royal a city, and so great churches consecrated to God, should be overthrown, and so many bodies of the saints either be burned with fire, or be widowed of their seats. At last the count of Saint-Gilles, overcome by the persuasions of others, granted assent, and in these words promised fidelity to him, saying: "I swear to the emperor Alexius that never through me or through my men will he lose life or honor, or whatever he possesses today justly or unjustly." This trust he swore to him, and the emperor acquiesced.

————— RHC.749-750

Chapter XIX.

The sacrament which the emperor swore to the Franks.

Afterwards the same emperor swore, saying: "I, the emperor Alexius, swear to Hugh the Great and to Duke Godfrey, and to the rest of the princes of the Franks who stand here, that never in my life will I wrong any pilgrim of the holy Sepulchre, or permit him to be wronged; and that I will proceed with them in warlike affairs, and according to my ability I will have a sufficient market conducted with them." Let no one wonder that so many and so noble Franks made homage as if compelled, because if the matter is weighed by reason, it will be found that they were truly compelled. For they were about to enter a desert and pathless land, a land utterly alien to all goods; and they knew that it does not suffice to bear the day's labor for him for whom daily food fails. For this kind of forced service, this pact of homage was made; but in the emperor's mind a fraudulent faction always remained. And a ratified conciliation of homage would well be due, if with the emperor there were an assertion of entire faith. But whatever he stipulated, he emptied the whole with a word; and he preferred to incur the guilt of perjury rather than not to draw the nation of the Franks far from his borders. But lest we seem entirely, as mute, to have passed by the royal city, let us speak something of it, because it does not seem dissonant from the history.

Chapter XX.

On the city of Constantinople.

This Constantinian vision was very clear.

We have read in a certain history that Constantine, the Roman emperor, when on a certain night, in the city which was named Byzantium, he had fallen asleep, saw a vision, which appeared to him in this manner. A certain old woman, in a torn garment and as if girt about with half-girdles, was coming to him and was demanding the aid of her own resources: she was demanding a garment with which she might be clothed, a covering with which she might be covered, nourishment with which she might be fed, and the king immediately promised her that he would come to her aid, and would without doubt confer the things demanded. And thus the vision vanished. Then the most powerful man, awakened from sleep, when in his heart what this vision might be was turning, understood by the divine nod that the city itself in which he was seeking aid, and was greatly wishing to be restored to a better state. And thus Constantine raised it from the foundations, and from his own name called it Constantinople, which he made equal to Rome in high walls and in the noble structure of buildings, and with equal glory and earthly honor rendered it lofty: which, as Rome is the head of the West, so also that city ought to be of the East. It is situated, however, between the Adriatic sea, and that which they now call the Arm of Saint George, upon which the walls of the city are placed. This is fertile beyond all other cities in a rich territory and in all merchandise of the riches of the sea. Therefore let no one doubt that this was founded without the divine nod: because God foresaw what was to come, which we now see fulfilled. For if such a one had not been founded, where would eastern Christianity have had a refuge? There now the most consecrated relics of the holy prophets, of the apostles, and of innumerable holy martyrs have a receptacle, which were transferred there from the face of the pagans. Asia and Africa were once of the Christians, which now are subjected to the unclean rites of the gentiles.

Therefore then such was made the royal city Constantinople, so that it might be the safest royal house of the relics of the saints which we said above. And therefore it well ought to be made equal to Rome in the dignity of the sanctuary and in the excellence of royal dignity, except that Rome is exalted by the papal summit, and is the head and the summit of all Christianity. Therefore let it suffice to speak of these things, and let the second book receive an end here.

HERE ENDS THE SECOND BOOK.

————— RHC.755

Here begins the third book.

Chapter I.

Those signed with the cross proceed as far as Nicomedia and then to Nicaea.

Now the sea is crossed; but already one comes to pathless places.

Therefore, the princes of the Gauls having been confederated with the emperor, the emperor commanded ships to be brought to the port, so that the whole army might be able to cross the strait without great delay. First therefore Duke Godfrey and Tancred crossed, and they proceeded as far as Nicomedia, and there they kept holiday for three days. The duke therefore, seeing that no way lay open for those who were to pass, by which he might be able to conduct so great an army, sent ahead 4,000 men with axes and ploughshares and other iron tools suitable for preparing the way. That land, however, was pathless, obstructed on every side through the ridges of the mountains, through the hollows of the valleys, through the excavations of the lands. They therefore constructed a way with very much sweat as far as the city of Nicaea, sufficiently fit for the foot, for horses, and for everyone crossing; and they placed wooden crosses at the turns of the ways, as a testimony, so that it might become known to all that that way was of the pilgrims. And thus in its course the whole multitude passed through, except that Bohemond remained with the emperor, intending to arrange with him concerning the promise of a market. But that promise had to be prolonged beyond measure, because, before it arrived, among those who were poorer the greatest torment of hunger was at work.

To the city of Nicaea the strength of the army came together on the day before the Nones of May; and, before the market was brought, one bread was being sold for 20 or 30 denarii. But after Bohemond came with the market, the shortage entirely vanished, and abundance of all goods was present.

RHC.756

Chapter II.

On the siege of the city of Nicaea.

*You also, Nicaea, will give ample trophies to these,
When they will lay you waste, and will overcome you laid waste.*

On the day of the Lord's Ascension indeed they walled the city of Nicaea with a siege, and they set in place ballistas and rams and the rest of that kind of instruments, by which the inhabitants might be able to be stormed. On the side of the east, because the city seemed to be more impregnable and more fortified, these princes applied the strength of their army: the bishop of Le Puy, Count Raymond, Hugh the Great, the Norman count, the Flemish count, Count Stephen of Chartres; on the north, Duke Godfrey; from the setting of the sun, Bohemond; but on the South there was no part, because an immense lake was present there as a protection: into it the citizens were entering with their ships, and they were bringing wood and grass and other necessities. Which when the princes recognized, their embassy ran to the emperor, that he should have ships conducted as far as Civito, where there is a port, and oxen with those who would draw them as far as the lake. He immediately obeyed the words, and it was done according to the wish of the princes. What more? The ranks having been drawn up around the city, the worshippers of Christ press on manfully; and the Turks, because it is a matter of their life, resist bravely. The Turks were sending poisonous arrows, so that those whom they might wound even with a light throw, they might kill with a heavy death.

————— RHC.756–757

Chapter III.

The city is attacked and engines are set up around.

For the crowd of the crowd a crash is set in motion in the city.

But our men, fearing very little to die for life, raise high engines around the walls, by which, below themselves, they look down upon those who were on the

walls. Wooden towers are set against stone towers; and now at close quarters the enemy is attacked with lances and swords;

And already stakes, torches, stones are hurled into the city:

The enemy is terrified, because now death is feared;

Whence a crash of the crowd and a cry was sounding in the city.

Everywhere mothers were fleeing with their sons and their daughters, with hair unbound, and they were seeking hiding-places, because they had hope of flight nowhere. And already the enemy was preparing to render himself vanquished, when he saw 60,000 of the Turks arriving from a distance. For they themselves had sent ahead from the city to those, saying, that they should come to them through the Meridian gate and should help them. But our men in the meantime had besieged that gate with a great company, because the bishop of Le Puy and the count of Saint-Gilles were guarding it. But the Turks, descending from the mountains, when from a distance they saw the ranks of our men, were struck with fear; and unless they trusted in their multitude, they would seize the protection of flight, with reins turned back; and they made three troops, so that one should burst into the aforesaid gate, and two, by fighting, if necessity should press upon them, might more freely follow the third. So the Turks arranged; but by the counsel of God, our men, more skilled, exchanged this definition otherwise. For the bishop of Le Puy and the army of Count Raymond, when they first reached them by sight, the city having been left, rush upon them in a very swift course, fearing their multitude no more than dogs a fleeing hare. O how many thousands of chosen soldiers pursued them, more ready to draw souls out of the bodies of the Turks, than any hungry man of going to a wedding!

————— RHC.757

Chapter IV.

On the killing of the Turks, desiring to enter the city.

Now the Turks flee, and they become fearful through all things.

But the Turks, when they saw the excessive splendor of so many arms (for the sun was supplying brightness with flaming rays), so many swift encounters of neighing horses, so many spears brandishing against them, turned their backs, and too lazy and sluggish they wished to return to the mountains; but whoever had descended from there could not ascend again;

*And badly punished they are tortured by a dread death.
With God helping, so our ranks with a trophy
Such they rejoice, and they go back to the city.*

They, again ascending the engines, so that they might strike greater fear into the enemies, were throwing the heads of the killed Turks inside with ballistas and slings.

*Nor with delay delaying, in that hour of time
Constantinopolitan ships were brought;*

but on that day they did not send them into the lake, but at night, full of Turcoples, namely the nation of the emperor, well taught and accustomed to the river.

————— RHC.758

Chapter V.

On the ships sent into the lake at night.

*The enemies shut in, scattered by great fear,
Where they may be able to turn themselves they are not well certain.
The captive enemy, death remitted, alive
is rendered by the Franks to the Constantinopolitans.*

On the next day, as dawn was rising, when those who were in the city saw the ships, they were terrified from too great fear, and no longer having spirit, they fell to the earth as if now dead. They all were howling: daughters with mothers, young men with maidens, old men with the younger. On every side mourning, on every side misery, because there was no hope at all of escaping: inside there

was grief and dullness of mind; outside, joy and exultation. At last they found counsel of escaping, because through the Turcoples they sent word to the emperor, that they would render the city to him, if he would permit them to go away unharmed and safe with their goods. When this is announced to the emperor, he rejoices greatly at it; but from that same thing he also conceives fraud in his mind, so that afterwards he may give birth to iniquity: he commands that the city be rendered to his men, that entire trust be assigned to the Turks, and that they be conducted to him to Constantinople. Which he did for this reason (as the matter itself afterwards became known) so that, when the time should approach, he might find them more ready for the loss of the Franks. Therefore the city is rendered, and the Turks are led to Constantinople. Nor nevertheless was the emperor unmindful of so great a benefit, because he commanded large alms to be distributed to the poor who were in the army.

————— RHC.758–759

Chapter VI.

How many weeks the siege lasted.

And so for seven weeks and three days the storming of the city of Nicaea was prolonged; nor would it have been overcome by any human force, except by the help of God. For it is furnished beforehand with very dense walls and high towers, so that it is a head and a peer to none in all Romania. In this, once, in the time of Constantine the emperor, 318 bishops were assembled; and they treated of our faith, because of the craft of the heretics who were at that time; and thus they all with one mind sanctioned all things, as the catholic Church now holds. And because of this it was worthy that it should be carried off from the enemies of the holy faith, and be reconciled to God and to our holy mother the Church, so that, as her member, it might be restored. And this new restoration was both provided and arranged by God, because it was consecrated by the martyrdom of very many who were killed there. In such a manner as we have said, the city of Nicaea was freed and all diabolic captivity was driven out from it.

These things having thus been accomplished, our men presently their tents

*pitch, and prepare to go away, the city having thus been left,
Constantinopolitan envoys having been sent.*

————— RHC.759

Chapter VII.

On the division of the army.

But after they withdrew from the city, for two days the ranks, joined into one, proceeded and came to one bridge, beside which for two days, resting, they kept holiday, and from the green grass they refreshed their horses and their beasts. But because they were about to enter a desert and waterless land, they entered counsel among themselves, that they should be divided and be parted into two ranks. For one land, one region did not suffice for so many men, so many horses, so many animals. Therefore the one and greater line is committed to Hugh the Great; but the other is joined to Bohemond. In the first line were with Hugh the Great the bishop of Le Puy, Count Raymond, Duke Godfrey, and Robert, the Flemish count. In the second, however, with Bohemond, were Tancred, Robert, the Norman count, and many other princes, whose names we do not know.

————— RHC.759–760

Chapter VIII.

How one part found 3,000 of the Turks by a sudden meeting.

And so with prosperous success they were now riding through Romania as if secure. But, the course of three days having elapsed, now on the fourth day, at the third hour, those who were with Bohemond saw 300,000 of the Turks come to meet them, and with clamorous voices shriek I know not what barbarous thing. Because of whose immense multitude certain of our men began to hesitate, whether they should resist, or seek the byways of flight. Then Bohemond, as a many-sided man, and the Norman count, as a high-spirited soldier, when they saw the spirits of certain men falter, command all the soldiers

to descend and to drive in the stakes of the tents. There was, however, there a certain stream of running water flowing past,

*Beside which they then place their tents lengthwise.
At once far-seeing Bohemond directs a swift messenger,
Who should fly on a swift horse, and should call our men,
So that they should hasten to the war already prepared.*

————— RHC.760

Chapter IX.

On the marvelous fight which was made against 300,000.

Behold a fight is made here, which was not one for all.

But before the tents had been stretched, 150 Turks, carried on swifter horses, drew near to our men, and with bows stretched they sent their poisonous arrows into them. But our men, with horses let go, received them, and killed those seized. Indeed it is the custom of the Turks that, arrows having been drawn, they flee backward, and, while they flee, they inflict a wound against those pursuing them. But there was no place of flight, because the density of the enemies had occupied the very peaks of the mountains. For that reason our men were instantly slaughtering them on the right and on the left, but the bows and arrows had a useless place there. At last, the lances of the Franks having been broken in the bodies of the ungodly, the matter is done with swords. O how many bodies fell there, truncated at the heads, or mutilated in some members, you would see there, because the hinder part of the enemies was driving the former into the swords of those slaughtering!

*While it is thus fought, while the first part is thus slain,
That part of the Turks which crossed the stream, that
Immediately attacked the tents of the Christians.*

They tear those down; they slaughter mothers with children, and those whom they find unprepared for war and without arms. The cry of the dying came to

Bohemond's ears, and immediately he understood what it was. He committed the war to the Norman count, and went back to the tents with a few in a swift course.

When the Turks saw them, they presently gave their backs.

Bohemond, however, having caught sight that many lifeless men were lying there, began to lament; and to pray the Lord, that he might be a refuge to the living and to the dead. He returned in haste to the war, but nevertheless he left behind soldiers in the tents for a rampart and a fortification.

————— RHC.761

Chapter X.

On the weariness of our men and the falling away.

*Hence labor and heat, thirst, the wicked enemy and arms
Attack our men, and on this account they were now preparing their backs.*

But before he returned to the war, our men had already been so fatigued by thirst, by labor and by the heat of the burning, that unless the women had brought drink from the stream flowing past, many would have succumbed on that very day in the war. But now our men, the Turks rushing upon them, had once given their backs, and unless the Norman count quickly, brandishing a golden banner in his right hand, had turned his horse and with doubled voices had exclaimed the military sign, *God wills! God wills!*,

For our men that day would have been too destructive.

But, after they saw Bohemond and the Norman count return, they took up again the spirit of boldness, and they chose more to die than to flee further. Indeed so great was the pressing of the Turks, and one was so driving another, that nowhere was there for anyone a refuge for any advantage. They had so walled our men, that they were not finding an empty place, except around the tents. Many of our men then died, who perished by the arrows of the Turks. No one of our men was idle from office, no one was without ministry. Soldiers also,

ready for war, were fighting; priests and clerics were weeping and praying; the women, lamenting, were drawing the bodies of the dead into the tents.

————— RHC.761-762

Chapter XI.

On the sudden arrival of Hugh and of Duke Godfrey.

Duke Godfrey and Hugh are present as a garrison.

And while our men are thus hemmed in, while they are overshadowed by a cloud of flying arrows,

Meanwhile Duke Godfrey and Hugh fly to.

Who, when they came to the mountains with 40,000 chosen soldiers, catch sight of the tents of their men girt about on every side by ranks of Turks, and their companions fighting as they can, the women in the tents crying out with a great howling; they burn in spirit, and as an eagle is borne toward prey,

*Which the hungry voice of its young goads,
So, wrath kindled, they penetrated the dense ranks.*

O how great a crash of arms there, how great a din of lances breaking, how great a cry of those dying, and how cheerful the voice of the Franks fighting, crying out their military sign with high voices! Those voices are doubled, while the hollows of the valleys, the peaks of the mountains, the clefts of the rocks receive them and by receiving send them out. The wretched whom they first find, because now they are men, now they become corpses only, whom mail or a shield does not cover and whom an arrow or a bent bow does not help. They howl, they groan, dying they rub the earth with their heels, or falling forward they tear the grass with their teeth. While those placed far off receive these sudden sounds, some rejoice, others become sorrowful. The Franks understand the military sign of their men fighting; but the Turks the lamentable groans of their men dying. The stunned hand of the unjust grows numb; the already fatigued hand of the Christians grows strong.

Chapter XII.

On the arrival of the bishop of Le Puy and of Count Raymond.

Never was there war of so great soldiery before:

Hence fear came upon them, by which it withdrew across from there.

Meanwhile, while the Turks, who were attacking our men, look back to the mountains, they see the bishop of Le Puy and Count Raymond with the rest of the army of soldiers and of the foot descending from the mountains and attacking their men: they grew stiff with great fear for the multitude of warriors, thinking that either warriors had rained down from the seats above, or had emerged from the very mountains. Again battles are renewed, and newly very many thousands of the Turks are struck down.

What would the Turk do, and the people filthy in all things,

Unless he should give his backs, whence he had come and should return?

But he who first had been the tail begins to be the head;

And thus the head follows the tail, fleeing those who flee.

Chapter XIII.

*On our men's boldness taken up again, and how great was the slaughter of the
Turks.*

Now the Saracens flee, the Arabs, the Agarenes,

With the Publicans, the Medes, the Persians, the Angulani.

Our men also, who were already almost shut in in their tents, are again animated, spirit having been taken up again, and avenge their wounds and heavy wrongs upon the enemies.

Who first were pressing, flee through every byway:

*Nor do they take care whither, whether forward or backward;
But the soldier of Christ strikes them down with sad death:
With blood the earth is wet, the slope of the mountain is red on every side,
And together the stream is filled with flowing blood.
The bodies of the slain were so many laid prostrate through the field,
That unless scarcely any horse was able to run.*

From the third hour of the day, therefore, until the twilight of night, that conflict was continuous; and it could be a wonder whence so great a nation had been assembled. But, as those who judged themselves to know better asserted, Persians, Publicans, Medes, Syrians, Candei, Saracens, Agulani, Arabs and Turks had come together there, and had covered the surface of the earth, as the locust and the bruchus, of which there is no number.

————— RHC.763

Chapter XIV.

On the victory of the fight, and the Christians' praise and joy.

Night indeed broke off the strife and was a great protection to them; because, unless the darkness had hidden them, few out of so great a multitude would have survived.

*Great glory to God, with such and so great a trophy,
Who kills the harmful, and glorifies his own!*

Our men therefore, the darkness compelling, returned to their tents, the priests and clerics saying a hymn to God in this manner: *You are glorious, Lord, in your saints, marvelous in your majesty; terrible and praiseworthy, and doing marvels. Your right hand, Lord, struck the enemy, and in the multitude of your glory you have put down our adversaries. The enemy had said: "I will pursue and I will seize them, I will divide the spoils, my soul will be filled, I will unsheathe my sword, my hand will kill them." But you, Lord, were with us, as a strong warrior, and you were leader and protector in mercy to your people whom you have redeemed. Now, Lord, we recognize that you carry us in your strength, to your holy dwelling,*

namely to your holy Sepulchre. These things having been said, they suppressed their voices and, already secure from the enemies, they rested that night.

————— RHC.763–764

Chapter XV.

On the burial of the dead and on the stripping of the Turks.

*Bodies of the Turks through the field are stripped:
Bodies of our men with the praise of God are buried.*

On the next day, when the sun adorned the world with flaming light, all ran to the field of war, and they found many of their own killed; and unless there had been crosses, they would scarcely have been able to be separated from them. Those for whom there was sounder understanding were venerating them as Christ's martyrs, and they were burying them with the more worthy honor with which they were able. And the priests and clerics were pouring out the songs owed to burial. Mothers for sons, friends for friends, were sending forth mournful laments. These things thus completed, they hurried to strip the corpses of the enemies. And who can report how great an abundance of garments, how great an abundance of gold and of silver they found there? O how great a multitude of horses, mules, she-mules, camels and asses our men then had! Those who first were poor, God helping, were made rich; those who first were half-naked were clothed with silk garments. Missiles and arrows are gathered, and emptied quivers are filled. Care is expended on the wounded, and they are committed to the care of the physicians;

And thus the whole day, our nation is not removed.

To this deed of outstanding praise, if anyone should wish to put the eye of the mind, he will be able to observe God marvelous in his works. *For he has filled his hungry with goods, but the rich who are not his he dismissed empty; he has put down the powerful, and has exalted the humble*, rendering the powerful cast down, the humble glorious. This is what through Isaiah the prophet he pledged to his beloved Jerusalem: *I will place you in the pride of the ages, a joy unto*

generation and generation; and you will suck the milk of the nations, and you will be suckled with the breast of kings, and you will know that I the Lord am saving you, and your Redeemer, the strong of Jacob. The pride of the ages is the nobility of illustrious men; the breast of kings, the riches of those digging their treasures into the earth. Which nobility is fed by the breast of kings, to which worldly power is subjected. And thence it has joy and joy not only in this present generation, but also in the future generation of the ages.

————— RHC.764–765

Chapter XVI.

On the third day the fleeing were pursued, and to Soliman the Arabs come in aid.

The terror was great by which Soliman was terrified.

On the other day, however, which was the third of the month of July, they pitched the tents at the very morning, and hurried to follow the footsteps of the fleeing Turks. But they, as trembling doves from the face of the hawk, thus before their face were fleeing. Therefore through four days hither and thither so fleeing, it befell that Soliman, their duke, found 10,000 of the Arabs coming to him in aid. Soliman, however, was the son of Soliman the Elder, who carried off the whole Romania from the emperor. This man indeed, after he had fled from Nicaea, had gathered this nation into one, and, as if for his wrong to be avenged, had brought them upon the Christians. This man, when he had seen them and the Arabs him, from too great grief having slipped from the horse onto the earth, began with great voices to howl, and to proclaim himself wretched and unhappy. To whom the Arabs, not knowing the chance of his misfortune, say: "O more shameless of all men, why do you thus flee? You degenerate much, because never your father fled from battle. Take up again the constancy of spirit, and return to the battle, because we have come to you in aid." To whom he, the sighs interrupting the voice, says:

————— RHC.765

Chapter XVII.

The words of Soliman.

"A great madness vexes you: you have not yet recognized the power of the Franks, nor have you experienced their high spirits. Their power is not human, but heavenly, or diabolic. Nor do they themselves trust only in their own aid, but in divine aid. Had we not so far conquered them that we were already preparing holm-oak ropes and hempen ones, so that we might send them onto their neck? When suddenly a countless nation, which does not dread death nor fear the enemy, burst from the mountains and without doubt put itself into our ranks. Whose eyes could bear the splendor of their terrible arms? Their lances were glittering as flashing stars; helmets and mail, as the brandishing lights of the flourishing dawn; the crash of arms was more terrible than the sound of thunders. When they prepare themselves for war, the lances raised to heaven, they go in file, and as if they were without a word, they fall silent. But when they approach their adversaries, then, the reins loosened, they rush with such an onset, as if lions whom hungry hunger goads, and they thirst for the blood of animals. Then they cry out and gnash with the teeth and fill the air with cries, and the pilgrims capture no one from mercy, but slay all. And what would I say of so cruel a nation? There is no nation that is able to resist this one, that can find a place of fleeing; because they are supported either by divine or by diabolic aid. All other nations are terrified of our bows, and fear the missiles; but these, after they are mailed, fear the arrow only as much as even a straw; so they fear the missile, just as also a wooden club. Alas! alas! we were 360,000, and we all either have been killed by these, or, scattered, have fled. Now the fourth day is from which we have begun to flee from their face, and still we tremble with no lesser fear than also on the first day. For which cause, if you wish to obey sound counsel, as quickly as you are able depart from the whole Romania; and that their eye not consider you, with very caution provide."

————— RHC.766

Chapter XVIII.

On the flight of the Arabs.

*The Arabs were feigning frauds, while they were thus fleeing.
Our men found hunger after fertility.*

When the Arabs heard these things, with Soliman himself they seized flight at once. The Christians, however, with greater skill were following the footsteps of those fleeing; but those never were remaining in the same state. To whichever cities or castles of the Christians they were coming in fleeing, they were displaying a cheerful countenance, as if having obtained victory, saying: "Rejoicing and with joy, open your doors to us, because we have killed for you all the Frankish-born, who had come to plunder you and your lands: not even one survives of them but that he is either dead, or is held in our bonds. For Soliman our duke proceeds by another way, and leads captives with him." Those who were credulous to their words were opening, and having been seduced they were paying heavy punishments. For, plundering their possessions, they were burning the houses and either slaughtering them, or leading them bound with thongs with themselves. For they did not wish that the Franks who were pursuing them should find anything, so that even thus constrained by poverty they might cease to pursue. Who in this used a prudent counsel, because it greatly profited those and harmed our whole army. For our men found that land a desert, waterless, foreign to all goods. They were plucking the ears of the standing-crops, already approaching to ripeness, and rubbing between the hands they were stripping them, and with such food they were mitigating hunger as they can. There the greater part of the horses was dead, and many who previously had stood horsemen were made the foot. They were riding cows and oxen, and rams of great strength and of the height of the land, and dogs. They therefore crossed that soil as quickly as they were able, and entered Lycaonia, a province most abundant in all goods, and they came to Iconium.

————— RHC.766–767

Chapter XIX.

On Iconium.

This city received our men, and thoroughly refreshed them.

Iconium, however, is a city most rich in temporal goods, of which Paul the apostle made mention in his epistles. But those who had wandered in solitude, in a waterless place, found the way of the city of dwelling, and, the Lord supplying, they were filled with earthly goods. And when it pleased to depart from the city, the inhabitants advising, they bore water with them in vessels and in skins, because they found water nowhere on the next day. But on the second day, toward evening, they came to a certain river, and there they lodged for two days. On the other day, however, the runners who were going before the ranks first came to the city which is named Heraclea, in which a greatest multitude of Turks was being assembled. Who, when they detected from far off the flying banners of the Franks, immediately fled, as a little deer snatched from a snare, or a hind shot with arrows. But our men, praising the Lord, entered the city without obstacle, and through 4 days they remained there.

————— RHC.767

Chapter XX.

On Baldwin and Tancred who, divided from the others, captured Tarsus.

Here the scattered column seeks the city named Tarsus.

But on the fifth day, all went out from the city, and then Count Baldwin, brother of Duke Godfrey, and Tancred, divided themselves from the others with their soldiers, and turned aside to the city Tarsus. There were, however, many Turks in it, who went out against them to war; but they could not long stand against. For when they could not bear the swift onsets of our men and the bent charges and the dread blows, many of their own prostrate, they withdrew into the fortification of the city; and our men placed their camp before it and placed sentries. But those who were Christians in the city come at midnight to the camp, crying with great joy and saying: "Rise, unconquered soldiers of the Franks, because all the Turks are fleeing from the city, and they do not presume to contend with you further." Our men nevertheless did not wish to pursue them, because it was night, namely a time very little fit for fleeing. Therefore as

day was growing light, our men entered the city, and they received the citizens themselves most gladly.

————— RHC.767-768

Chapter XXI.

On the contention of Baldwin and Tancred.

A contention, however, was made between Count Baldwin and Tancred, which of them should rule the city, or whether it should be subjected to the dominion of both. Tancred was struggling against it, because he wished to have it by himself; but at last he yielded to Baldwin, because the strength of the army was greater for him.

————— RHC.768

Chapter XXII.

On Athena and Manustra.

The fierce nation of the Franks entered the land of the Armenians.

Two cities, however, were handed over to them, in a brief interval of time: one which was called Athena, another which was called Manustra, and very many castles. Now they were going with favorable successes, because the Turks were now not riding, but were hidden in the most fortified fortifications. The greater part of the Franks, however, entered the land of the Armenians, because, gaping, they were desiring to make the land drunk with the blood of the Turks. All the land, however, was silent in their sight, and the Armenians were coming glad to meet them, and were receiving them in their cities and castles. But they came to a certain castle, which was so fortified by natural position that it feared no arms, no warlike engines. But nevertheless they did not wish to linger there long, when namely the whole other land had been subjected to them, and from affection wished to incline.

————— RHC.768

Chapter XXIII.

On a certain soldier who accepted Armenia from the princes into dominion.

What he seeks, the soldier obtains, and he takes possession of the fatherland.

There was, however, in the army a certain soldier, strong and strenuous, originating from that region, who requested that land from all the princes, so that he might guard it in the fidelity of God and of the holy Sepulchre and of them, so that he might protect his life and honor. To whom the princes with one mind granted assent, because they knew him to be a faithful man and strong and fit for warlike affairs.

————— RHC.769

Chapter XXIV.

On Caesarea of Cappadocia.

Thence with prosperous success they came to Caesarea of Cappadocia. Cappadocia, however, is a region situated in the head of Syria, stretched toward the northern quarter, the inhabitants of whose city of their own accord handed themselves over and received them kindly. And having gone out prosperously from Cappadocia, they came to a certain city, fairest and sufficiently most abundant, which the Turks not much before had besieged, and for three weeks had attacked, but had been unable to storm it. Approaching which, presently the citizens came to meet them with very joy, and received them benevolently.

————— RHC.769

Chapter XXV.

On Peter of the Alps.

To this man, with Caesarea, the fatherland too is handed over.

Another soldier, named Peter of the Alps, sought this again, and obtained it very swiftly from all the princes. That very night a certain informer of trifles came to

Bohemond and said to him that as far as 20,000 of the Turks were at hand nearby, who did not yet know that the Franks had arrived there. He, credulous of lying words, chose chosen soldiers, whom he led with him, and went through the places in which they ought to lie hidden. But just as the informer was empty, so also the result of the inquiry emptied.

————— RHC.769–770

Chapter XXVI.

On Coxor.

Here, hunger having been destroyed, abundance succeeded.

Thence rising they came to a certain city which is called Coxor, which was full of all goods which are useful to human bodies. Approaching which, they were received most courteously by these Christians who were in it; and there they kept holiday for three days. There each looked to his own want: the weary found rest, the hungry refreshment, the thirsty drink, the naked covering. God therefore foresaw for them such a dwelling, by which they might more easily be able to suffer the strong torment of the hunger that was to come upon them.

Meanwhile it was announced to Count Raymond that the Turks, terrified by fear, had fled from Antioch, and had left the city very little furnished beforehand. Who from there accepted counsel, that he should direct 500 soldiers there, who should occupy the citadel of the city, before it was recognized to others. And when they came into a valley neighbouring Antioch, then first they heard that it was not true that the Turks had departed from the city, but with every effort by which they could they were attempting to defend.

————— RHC.770

Chapter XXVII.

On the castle of the Publicans overcome by force.

Here the castle of the Publicans becomes our men's.

They proceeded therefore as far as the castle of the Publicans, and it having been subjected to them, they turned aside elsewhere on a second journey, and came into the valley of Rugia, and found many Turks and Saracens there, whom, overcome in battle, they killed in the mouth of the sword. Seeing which, the Armenians, inhabitants of that land, rejoiced, because namely the Turks and pagans were so manfully overcome and killed by the Christians; and immediately they rendered themselves to them with their land. And they obtained the city Rusa, and took very many castles into their dominion.

————— RHC.770-771

Chapter XXVIII.

On the difficulty of the way.

The fortune of the world is changeable as if the moon:

If good goes before, evil follows, prosperity yields:

Which is clear in many matters as in these lines.

But the whole army which had remained seized the journey, and indeed with a wretched success of misfortune through certain mountains, which were passable to none except to wild beasts or reptiles, where there was a path which was not widened more than by the space of one foot, so it was hemmed in on this side and on that by rocks and by dense thickets of thorns or of briars; the bottoms of the valleys seemed to be plunged into the abyss, the peaks of the mountains to be raised to the stars: on this uneven path the soldiers and the arms-bearers were wearing their arms hanging from their neck, all equally the foot, because none of them were riding; most would most gladly have sold their mails, helmets, and shields, if they had found a buyer; many indeed, failing by very great weariness, were throwing them, so that at least thus ready they might be able to go. The beasts of burden with the loads were by no means able to go, but in most places the men were bearing the loads of the beasts of burden. No one was able to stand in place or to sit, because each was driving the other. No one was able to help his companion, except the last the one going before, because he who was going before was scarcely able to be turned toward the one following. At last, so

unhappy a way and pathless way having been finished, they came to the city which is named Marasim, and they are received by those inhabitants with honor and joy. There they find an abundance of temporal goods; there they receive consolation of their misery and want. There the first awaits the last; but an entire day passed through before the tail clung to the head.

————— RHC.771-772

Chapter XXIX.

On the situation and nobility of Antioch.

*Of what kind the praise of this Antiochene fully was,
No one is able to speak, or to whom it could be allied.
By towers and walls it is higher than high cities.*

But gathered and resting for one day, on the second day they came into the valley in which Antioch is situated, namely a royal city established by Antiochus the king, and named from him. This metropolis is the head of the whole region of Syria, once distinguished through the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, with the worship of the catholic faith; in it he placed an episcopal chair, and ordained the apostles Barnabas and Paul. Now indeed, so that the Lord might show to the eyes of mortals that there is no power nor any authority except from him, first he wished to acquire this in the humility of speech by the mouth of those preaching, now he wished to recover it in the sublimity of power by the arms of those vanquishing. Thus our men, hastening to the city in the power of God, came to the Farrean bridge, and found there a numerousness of Turks desiring to cross the bridge, so that they might furnish aid to these who were in the city. But it is not of men to direct their steps, but it is of him to whose empire all things are subject. Our men immediately rushed with one mind upon them, and spared no one, but in the mouth of the sword they killed a great multitude of them; others, stricken in mind, fled, and thus looked to their present life. Thus the Christians, having taken possession of the victory, received many spoils there: beasts of burden, asses, camels, loaded with wine, grain and oil, and with other things which are most necessary to the besieged. Then they

encamped upon the bank of the river, which is not far distant from the walls of the city. On the next day, laden with all goods, they arrange to go to the city: coming to which with God as guide, they place camps around in three parts. For from one side the mountains forbid access, and keep far off every device of warring. On the fourth weekday, the 12th of the Kalends of November, the siege around Antioch was placed, to the praise and future glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is always marvelous in good works.

HERE ENDS THE THIRD BOOK.

————— RHC.775-776

Here begins the fourth book.

Chapter I.

On the besieging of Antioch.

But because the Antiochene city was furnished beforehand not only by natural situation, but also by lofty walls and by towers stretched into the height, and by very dense bulwarks on the peaks of the walls, the princes entered counsel that they would fight against it not by power, but by device; by art, not by Mars; by engine, not by warlike conflict. First therefore they set a bridge above the river, so that they might more readily cross the river, as often as they had need of crossing. Then indeed in the confines of the city they were finding a great abundance of good fruits, plentiful vintages, pits full of grain and barley and other victuals, and trees of many a kind stuffed with their apples. This also the Armenians who were in the city were insinuating to them, and who in the day, the Turks consenting, were coming to them; but their wives and sons were remaining in the city. And all this, although they were Christians, they were nevertheless doing cunningly, because they were reporting the words of our men or their deeds to the Turks inside. Warlike engines suitable for attacking are constructed by the worshippers of Christ, wooden towers, ballistas, sickles, rams, sows, moles, missiles, stakes, and slings, and if any others were able to be thought out by any mind. But what did they avail against an impregnable city? Especially when there were so many defenders in it who even would have been able to fight with our men in a field battle, if they had not been enemies of the Christian name:

*Phosphorus had gone before the ruddy risings of dawn,
And she herself, when already she was brandishing with dew-flowing brightness.
And the sun was adorning the world with flaming light,
The nobles rise in haste, and the troops of the nobles,*

*And they snatch arms, and they run to the walls of the city.
A fight indeed is made with a strong right hand both inside and outside:
Those defend, while our men scatter darts,
And missiles with staves, and also stones and stakes.
Immense labor is made, but the profit is made empty;
And thus they withdrew, because they were not able to lay low
Towers and walls, that would fall by no force;
And when our men see that nothing profits them, that
Fight they dismiss; they hold the siege nevertheless.*

The Turks indeed, trusting in their most fortified city, were going out at night with the doors open, and were drawing arrows into the camps. But it befell that, thus shooting with arrows, they killed one woman before the tents of Bohemond the prince; and therefore they placed more watchful watches through the camps, who also guarded the gate through which they were accustomed to go out. And so it pleased the princes of the soldiery and the magnates that they should construct a castle for themselves, by which they might be more secure, if the enemies of God should in any way prevail, who from every side, as bees to hives, were streaming together. Which also was done. Meanwhile, when the outlay of daily food began to grow scarce, they entered counsel that they should seek foods, and, for seeking, should send across arms-bearers and most soldiers for guardianship. But those who wished to prey,

Partly preyed, and partly they were slain.

————— RHC.776

Chapter II.

On the castle Areth and the killing of our men.

Areth castle prepares destructive war.

For a certain castle was in the mountains not far from the camps, named Areth, which was full of rebelling Turks, who held out ambushes to our men, and

wounded many and killed more, and detained most as captives, and compelled the rest, shamefully wronged, to return to the camps. When the soldiery of God recognized that misfortune of a wretched chance, it grieved greatly; but afterwards it found a wholesome counsel for itself. They send ahead 1,000 arms-bearers, as before, whom Bohemond and the Flemish count follow with chosen soldiers, in the afore-named valley, in which they might flee to them, if the Turks should pursue them. Which so befell without delay, because the Turks, after they recognized them from a distance, the reins loosened, and pressing the horses with the spurs, pursued them, and turned them to flight. But our men fled to their own men, as to the safest asylum, and found the protection of divine aid. The Turks indeed, when they detected too from nearby that our soldiers were ready, at first indeed hesitating, would most gladly have yielded the place, if they had been able to yield.

————— RHC.776–777

Chapter III.

On the fight of the Christians and the Turks.

Yet when they recognized that the Christians were fewer than they themselves, they entered war; yet with trembling, trusting in their numerous multitude. But what does battle avail against which divine aid soldiers? For *God is strong and powerful: the Lord powerful in battle*. For only two of our men were killed there: but of the Turks, of whom there is no number, who also were driven back from the hand of God, they were killed without number. Many of them captured they conducted to the camps, and before those who were upon the walls of the famous city, they beheaded them. And, so that they might strike greater grief and terror into them, they threw the cut-off heads in the city with ballistas. Thence our men were able to go more readily to the villages and hamlets of the Armenians, seeking food, and the Armenians themselves and the fellow-countrymen of that land bringing market to our men.

————— RHC.777

Chapter IV.

On the day of the Lord's Nativity.

Meanwhile the most consecrated day of the Lord's Nativity arrived, which God conferred as most celebrated on all his faithful in this; because he who assigned to all creatures to be born arranged to be born for men only. Therefore the Christians made that day festive, as those who were in the tents were able to act more festively. Indeed greater joy was in the camps than within the walls of the famous city: I call it famous, not because of the foul dwelling of the gentiles, but because of the position of the human condition, and especially the reconciliation of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, with God.

————— RHC.777

Chapter V.

On the inclemency of winter and the anxiety of those of the camp.

So both the tempest presses these, and want of bread.

Which celebration having been completed, they accepted counsel what they should do, because food was failing in the camps, and icy winter did not let those bringing market come to them. For those who were in the city, the more they knew our men to hunger, the more they began to rage against them. On this side the inclemency of the air, on this side the poverty of wretched want, on this side the distress of the adversaries was oppressing. And as is accustomed to befall in a multitude of those gathered, the voice of those murmuring was not failing; nor was it a wonder if human frailty, pressed under so many torments, murmured. *Hail, snow, ice, the spirit of storms*, was oppressing more violently those whom no covering covered; indeed no wonder if those who were outside the tents were badly maddening themselves, when the very tents were swimming.

————— RHC.778

Chapter VI.

On Bohemond and the count of the Flemings, who arranged to seek food.

*The Mede, the Arab, the Persians draw up ranks by themselves
With the Saracens, the Agulani or the Agarenes.*

For that reason, as we have said above, they entered counsel, what they should do, and they accepted such from one another. Bohemond and the Flemish count offered themselves to come to the aid of this, and it pleased all, and they most gladly allowed. Those therefore chose 30,000 of horsemen and of the foot, and they entered into the land of the Saracens. O God, governor of all things, how more quickly you come to the aid of those laboring in dangers and necessity, that that might be fulfilled which Solomon wrote in the Proverbs: *The substance of the sinner is preserved for the just!* From Jerusalem and Damascus and Aleph and the rest of the regions had been gathered both Persians and Arabs and Medes, a nation namely too great, which had arranged to come to Antioch and to defend it from the Christians. But otherwise it was arranged in heaven; which arrangement inclined their ordinance downward. For when they had heard that a part of the Christians had entered into their land, they rejoiced vehemently, because they judged them now as if entangled in bonds. Then they divided themselves into two lines, so that our men, so walled by them, might nowhere find aid of flight. Which division was foolish, because folly always rests in the hearts of the unbelieving. For both lines, as they looked upon one another, immediately the one rushes upon the other; because that one trusts in its multitude, this one in the omnipotence of God, and for this reason the outcome of the war was unlike.

————— RHC.778-779

Chapter VII.

On the victory of the Christians and the flight of the Turks.

The armed soldiers struck down as many as they met in their encounter, as a reaper a harvest. But when, with reins loosened in a circle, they wished to return,

they did not find any whom they might strike again except those fleeing. But those who came into the hands of our foot fell into an immense precipice. For those to whom wars are known know that the foot kill with heavier grinding than horsemen. But the other line, which had separated itself from that one so that it might encircle our men, when it heard the voices of those vanquishing and the sound of arms breaking, with reins loosened, was running to the aid of its own. But when it recognized the wretched falls of those men, and looked around at those fleeing, a most vehement fear rushed upon them, and conferred the fellowship of fleeing. But what else should our men do, except that they should pursue? For, as it is said in the common proverb: *If there is one who flees, there will not be lacking one who pursues*; now all our men were pursuing them, because those who had come as the foot were being made riders of horses. What more? He who was able to escape was glad and cheerful, but he who was intercepted fell by a most wretched death.

————— RHC.779

Chapter VIII.

On the abundance of goods which was found there, and what joy there was in the camps.

Here they were made rich, tortured by hunger almost too great.

How many asses and camels, and how many beasts of burden, laden with grain, wine and the rest of the provisions, were captured there, which were welcome to the hungry army of God! How great a joy and the exultation of dancing in triumph there was on that day in the camps, when they saw such gifts of the highest procurator! It was to be wondered at and to be rejoiced at, that the Lord, from the wares of his enemies, brought from far off, was refreshing his faithful. He was filling the hungry with goods, with which he was stripping his adversaries. So too he once was doing for the children of Israel, when they desired to cross through the land of the gentile kings, and those men were denying them the public going of the royal way. All in like manner who were accepting the sword against them were perishing by the sword; and their land

and resources were being given to them as a possession. But now the same Lord confers the same recompense on the adversaries of his own, so that these men may believe that what is written of those men was truly done. Through all things may God, who is to be blessed, be blessed, because without him we can do nothing.

————— RHC.779

Chapter IX.

On those who were in the city, who attacked and killed our men.

In the meantime, while these glorious princes were away, those who were in the city suddenly went out of it, and attacked our men within the camps; and they killed very many of them. On that very day the bishop of Le Puy lost his steward, who used to bear the banner of his line. And unless a river had been between the camps and the city, they would have harassed them with greater and more frequent wrongs.

————— RHC.780

Chapter X.

Bohemond's exhortation to those who were attempting to flee.

*Here our nations began to lose their minds,
Whom the eloquent man Bohemond consoles.*

By which outcomes of wars, and most of all by the poverty of hunger, most of our men, afflicted, were attempting to go away; because it was too heavy for the unwilling to bear the fast, and for this reason they were plotting a flight from the siege. Whom Bohemond, an eloquent man and pleasing in eloquence, addressed thus, saying: "O men, who up to this point have stood outstanding warriors, whom God has already rendered victors through many dangers of wars, and whom the virtue of experience has honored as illustrious, why do you murmur against God, because the distress of poverty presses you? When he holds out his hand to you, then you exult; when he relaxes it, then you despair. In this you

seem not to love the giver, but the gifts; not the bestower, but the offering of the one who bestows. When he bestows, he is the Lord and a friend; when he ceases, he seems to you to be indignant and foreign. To what nation ever has God granted, in so short a time, to engage in so many wars, to overcome so many most fierce enemies, to be made rich with so many spoils of nations, to be distinguished with so many palms of those triumphing? Behold now we have subjected innumerable enemies; behold now we have brought their spoils to you. What is this, that you so distrust, when you so conquer daily? He is not far off from you, who so fights for you; indeed he often tests his faithful, so that it may become known to the same whether they love him. Now he tests you through the troubles of poverty, and through the constant pressures of those hostile to you. But if they had inflicted on us as many wrongs as we also have imposed on them; if they had killed as many of us as we also have struck down of them: if anyone of us were surviving, he by right could have complained; but for certain there would be no one who would complain, because no survivor would have remained. For that reason do not distrust, but be men of heart; because if you live in him, or you die for him, you are blessed." With these and such words he rendered their unnerved spirits robust, and he brought manliness into the effeminate minds.

————— RHC.780-781

Chapter XI.

On the horror of winter, and the rarity of foods in the camps.

A nut was of price, when it is sold for one coin; It becomes too much, and it is new that an egg is sold for twice six.

When a few days had at last elapsed, the harshness of winter grew horrible, and in the camps the abundance of foods vanished. Those who were accustomed to sell foods, the snows and the ice preventing, were in no way able to come. The runners of the army, who were running across as far as into the land of the Saracens, were finding nothing at all; because all from the whole neighbouring region of that land had either fled far, or had hidden in caves, or in the caverns of

the rocks. And when the Armenians and the Surani had seen our men to be placed in so great a crisis of hunger, they were walking through places known to themselves, anxiously inquiring if they might find anything that they might be able to bring to our men. But among so many it was rare, nor was it sufficient for so great a multitude, and therefore an ass's load of grain was sold at the price of 6 pounds; an egg for 12 denarii, and one nut for one. Why should I run through the whole, when whatever was held cheaper was sold too dear? For which reason many there perished of hunger, who did not have that from which they might buy anything. And so there began to arise among them a great inconstancy of spirits, a want of mind, and a distrust of the whole of good hope. And what wonder if the spirits of the poor, or of the feeble, were wavering, when those who seemed as if they were pillars were failing entirely?

————— RHC.781-782

Chapter XII.

On the flight of Peter the Hermit and of William the Carpenter.

Not well as to life sat the fleeing Hermit: The flight of the lords harmed many of these.

For Peter the Hermit and William the Carpenter, by a nocturnal slipping away, were turned to flight, and were separated from the sacred fellowship of the faithful of God. But of William let us say who he was, because we have made mention of Peter above. William was sprung from a royal lineage, and formerly stood viscount of a certain royal castle, which is called Melun, who therefore began to be surnamed the Carpenter because in war no one wanted to encounter him. For there was no mail, helmet, or shield that would sustain the hard blows of his lance or of his sword. Whence it is to be wondered at, and with wonder to be grieved, how so great a dullness of mind came upon such and so great a man, that he withdrew so shamefully from the camps of illustrious men. But this, as we hope, he had not done from fear of battles; but he had never learned to suffer so great a wrong of hunger. When Tancred, a soldier strong and entire in spirit, came to know this rupture of flight, grieving vehemently, he

pursued them and seized them, and compelled them to return with disgrace, and brought them to the house of Bohemond. It is not to be said whether he suffered shame, who, with no one putting him to flight, had entered upon flight. Very many who had known him were grieving; all who did not know of what sort he had stood were reviling. At last, harassed with many wrongs, for the reverence of Hugh the Great, whose kinsman he was, and because he had already fought honorably with them in past contests, he obtained peace; but he swore before all that he would never again depart thus. But nevertheless he did not keep the sacrament long, because, as quickly as he could, he departed secretly. God, then, that he might prove his own, permitted this bitterness of hunger to come about, so that his terror might also come into being among all nations. For he was both pressing his own with fasting and bounding the nations neighboring them with the sword. 1,000 were falling from the side of one, and 10,000 from the right of another. And therefore one must never despair of such a Lord; because whatever he does, *for those who love him they work together unto good*. Lest they grow insolent from so many victories of wars, he was oppressing them with the heavy want of fasts. For in the whole army 1,000 horses fit for fighting could not be found, so that by this it might become known that they would not have trust in the strength of a horse; but in him, through whom, both how he willed and when he willed, they overcame.

————— RHC.782–783

Chapter XIII.

On the perfidy of a certain soldier, named Tetigus.

There was a certain soldier in the same army, named Tetigus, rich among his own and most renowned, well known in the parts of Romania, veiled under a cloaked covering of frivolity. He came to the princes, and said to them: "Why do we thus grow numb here? Why do we not seek the things that will profit us? If it seems good to you, I will go into the region of Romania, and from there I will bring you a plentiful market in the fidelity of the emperor; I will have ships laden with all merchandise, grain, wine, oil, barley, flesh, flour, cheeses, brought

by sea, and horses, mules, and she-mules by land. And lest you have any expectation of distrust concerning me, I will leave behind my tents and all my goods, this only excepted, which I shall carry with me. And if you still distrust me, I will swear that I will return to you more quickly." The princes believed his lying words, but they received the sacrament; he himself, however, neither kept the sacrament, nor fulfilled the pledge of his words. We have therefore said these things about these two soldiers, so that anyone may perceive how great a want there was in the camps, which even compelled the rich to flee and to commit perjury. And when they were already being so pressed, and all human hope was failing altogether, the greatest part of the whole army sought from the princes license to go back; and they themselves, weeping with one mind, allowed them. For why should they retain those whom they could not console?

————— R.H.C. 783

Chapter XIV.

A messenger in the camps said the Turks were at hand nearby.

The spring of piety comes to the aid of these men in despair.

And while desolation was thus weakly sprouting in the camps, and no one had any counsel, divine compassion granted them the accustomed aid. A messenger was present who reported that innumerable thousands of Turks were at hand nearby, and asserted that they were being assembled that night in the castle nearest to them, named Areth, which we have named above. They were coming secretly and in great silence for this reason, so that they might find them unprepared in the camps. This word became known to all, and those whom it found sluggish in the sleep of sloth it rendered stirred up. He leaps and dances in triumph who now was unable to walk. The spirit of those whom want of food had put to sleep revived. With hands raised toward heaven, they praise God, and they clap with their hands as if they had already conquered the war. For they preferred to die honorably in war rather than to be tortured by poverty of food. Then the nobles of the army accepted counsel, that one part of all should remain in the camps to guard; the other part should go to battle to meet those coming.

Those going out from the camps at night were placed in ambush, awaiting the encounter of those going before, and they lay between the river and the lake. Therefore at the very first light, the dawn bringing back light to the lands, they sent scouts, who should see their ranks, and report their being to them. The scouts report that they have never seen so many thousands of them together, and that from the side of the river two lines separated from the multitude are running with swifter horses. Then our men, placed on a certain slope, furnish themselves beforehand with the sign of the Cross together with arms, and they stretch out their hands in heaven, and they commit themselves to God, and they demand his aid.

————— RHC.783-784

Chapter XV.

On the conflict begun with them, and the victory obtained.

The conflict of war: the enemy flees, as vanquished on every side; Here the nation without God has not enjoyed the trophy.

Presently our men receive those coming upon them, and piercing with the blow, they strike down to the ground as many as they meet. Others, scattered through the field, fly about and send out showers of poisoned arrows. They gnash with their teeth and bark after the manner of dogs, because they think so to terrify their adversaries. But our men were mocking these things; and, protected by shields, mail, and helmets, they were despising their discharges. But when their innumerable multitude drew near, they attacked our men with so great an onset that they were somewhat turned to flight. When Bohemond, who last was keeping the guardianship, saw this, he burst forth into the midst with his line, and gathering the companions again, he conducted the enemies to destruction. For when they saw our men's banners hanging down upon their heads, and our men, after the manner of roaring lions, being carried about into the midst of the enemies, and all around them being torn, they fear and are thrown into confusion, and, the horses' reins having been turned back, they go back to the Farrean bridge as swiftly as they can. But what should the Franks do now unless

they struck with the sword at close quarters? The way is strewn with the bodies of the dying; the air is filled with the voices of those howling. The earth, made wet with the blood of the dying, is pierced by the feet of the trampling horses. When they come to the bridge, the way is pressed, and the bridge did not receive all; because very many are thrown headlong into the river, and those whom the wave was holding, it was swallowing, wrapped in a swift whirling. And why should I delay over particulars? A greater part perished than escaped; more were killed than remained alive. Those who escaped fled to their castle, which we named above; but they did not remain long in it; for they dismissed it plundered, empty, and fleeing they went away.

————— RHC.784–785

Chapter XVI.

On the castle of Areth taken by force.

But our men took it, and they placed guardians to guard it and the bridge. The Armenians also and the Surani pursued those who were fleeing, and by occupying the narrow places in advance they killed many, and they detained more as captives. And so the sons of the Devil, according to their own merit, received destruction from ruin to ruin. But our men returned to the camp with huge joy, bringing with them horses and mules and she-mules, and very many spoils; and many other things which were greatly necessary to the companions who were in need. They also brought the heads of many of the dead together, which they placed before the gate of the city, where the envoys of the amirald of Babylon had lodging. The companions who were in the camp, and who had both fought the whole day with the citizens who had gone out from the city and brought back the palm of victory, received them with the highest joy. Then the doubled joy of a double victory made a festive time, and it restored those who had been almost consumed by the grief of want. Now the Armenians and the Surani were bringing food to the camp, and they were rejoicing together at the happy outcome of our men. But those from the city were going out, and they were hiding among the rocks of the mountains; and they were lying in ambush

for those who were bringing food, and they were killing as many as they could seize. This greatly saddened the nobles; and they entered into counsel upon this, and they found a remedy for this calamity.

————— RHC.785

Chapter XVII.

On the castle established upon the bridge.

They established a castle before the gate of the city, upon the bridge beside Machumaria, which greatly subdued them, because afterwards none of them dared to go out over the bridge. And because the men of the camp did not suffice to complete this work, Bohemond and the count of Saint-Gilles went to the port of Saint Symeon, and from there they strove to bring workmen hired at a price.

————— RHC.785

Chapter XVIII.

On the great battle that was engaged in before Antioch.

Those of our men whom they struck down were 1,000.

When they were bringing them, they found the Turks who that night went out of the city, placed in ambush, who with a sudden course so bravely attacked our men until they put those who were horsemen to flight into the mountains without any striking back of the contest; the foot, who could not flee, suffered a grim death. But the more bitter it was, the more glorious too. And those who died there were almost 1,000. But those killing did not rejoice long from there. For a report of this killing came to the camps, and moved all the princes and the nobles. They, leaping forth on horses, fly with ordered ranks to avenge the death of their own, and find them still in the field cutting off the heads of the slain. They, however, not at all terrified, trusting in their multitude, come together for the fight, but with our men trusting with their whole heart, with all their power,

after our foot were joined together with the horsemen, they are overcome in a short time.

————— RHC.786

Chapter XIX.

On the conflict of this fight and our men's victory.

One of our men here by himself put 1,000 to flight: These two, joined, almost 10,000.

For when they saw those whom they had compelled to flee to the mountains running up, and our men's ranks growing bravely and, by growing, pressing on more strongly, they turn their backs, and toward the bridge they seize the way of flight. But the difficulty of the narrow journey greatly hindered them, because they could neither flee anywhere nor turn about. To turn back was not lawful, because the enemy was pressing; to turn aside to the right and the left, the impossibility of the narrow journey; the dense multitude of the fleeing forbade going before. And so it had befallen them by a divine nod, that it was permitted neither to flee nor to fight. There neither the poisonous arrow availed the Turk, nor did the horse's swiftness come to his aid. There the foot wrought a greater slaughter than those who sat on horses, because in file, as a reaper does meadows or harvest, they were cutting them down. There the swords and missiles of other nations could have been sated with the 'Turks' blood; but because they were of the Frankish-born, they could neither be blunted nor be filled with gore. Our men only were fighting; those men were suffering; our men were striking; those men were dying. Nor was the unwearied hand able to rend as much as it found to rend. Among the living the dead were standing, because, propped by the density of the living, they could not fall; and so great a calamity had oppressed them, that each was oppressing the other to death. So great a fear had attacked them, that the one following was striking down the one going before, so that he might flee.

————— RHC.786-787

Chapter XX.

Praise of Duke Godfrey.

Duke Godfrey and his sword well faithful, Wrath, place, sword and strong arms fight. This duke too is kindled with wondrous wrath at this man: The duke strikes, that man perishes, and the middle burst. Here the power of the Frankish men was put forth.

And so Duke Godfrey, the outstanding honor of the soldiery, when he saw that no one could strike them except from behind, flying on a swift horse, reached the entrance of the bridge first. And what tongue is able to set forth how great a slaughter the duke alone dealt there upon the bodies of the unjust nation? They had begun to flee, and had thrown their arms on the ground; they were terrified of the duke's sword as of death, and yet they could not avoid it. He, with arms extended, sword bared, was cutting off their necks; they, not struggling at all, unwillingly offered their naked bodies. There place, wrath, sword, and a strong hand were fighting; and all this overflowed upon the limbs of the wretched. And when one of them, bolder than the rest, and more excellent in bulk of body, and more robust in strength, like another Goliath, saw the duke raging so mercilessly upon his men, with bloody spurs he presses his horse against him, and with the sword raised on high he strikes through the whole shield over the duke's head; and if the duke had not spread the boss to the blow and inclined himself to the other side, he would have paid the debt of death; but God guarded his soldier, and furnished him with the shield of his defence. The duke, kindled with vehement wrath, prepares to pay back the like, and in this way he makes for his neck. He raises the sword, and drove it in from the left side of the shoulders with such power that it split the breast in the middle, broke the spine and the vitals, and so the slippery sword came out whole over the right thigh; and so he plunged the whole head with the right part of the body into the flood, and sent the part that sat upon the horse back to the city. At this dreadful spectacle all who were in the city stream together, and seeing, they were so amazed, they were dismayed, they were shaken; trembling seized them: there, pains as of a woman in labour; there, voices of those howling, because that man had been one of their

amiralds. Then they unsheathed their swords, they bent their bows, they prepared their arrows in their quivers, to shoot the duke, desiring, if it were permitted them, to put out so great a light of the Christian soldiery. But God did not consent to their wicked will, because the duke drew back; for he could not long sustain the hail of missiles and arrows. O praiseworthy right hand of the unconquered duke, and the excellent strength of a high-spirited breast! Praiseworthy too is the sword, which, persevering in its wholeness, granted the obedience of its service to the brandishing right hand. And whose heart can pour forth, whose tongue recount, whose hand write, what page is able to take up the deeds of the other princes, who were his peers in all the victories of the battles? The duke's victory shone forth before the rest, because the part of the halved body that remained was a testimony of praise. But the flood that swallowed the bodies of the slain hid the marvelous deeds of the others. But as the wind of a whirlwind breaks the boughs of an aged tree, so the cut limbs of the dying were falling. In this battle one pursued 1,000, and two put 10,000 to flight. Those who were plunging themselves into the river at a rapid course, coming up, were embracing the wooden pillars of the bridge; but our men from above were piercing them with lances and killing them.

— RHC.787-788

Chapter XXI.

How many thousands of Turks were struck down on the bridge.

Now the Turks were weeping, now they were going with bent countenances.

The gore poured out was giving a bloody color to the river, and it was striking a great horror into all who were looking on. Indeed the density of bodies was impeding the river's course, and was compelling it to go backward with a backward going. And what wonder? For on the bridge 5,000 were struck down, all of which were thrown headlong inside. And who was able to number how many the raging sword compelled to be plunged into the river with a headlong leap? In that conflict the son of King Cassianus the Great was killed, and 12 amiralds of the king of Babylon, whom he had sent with their armies to bring

aid to the king of Antioch. And those whom they call amiralds are kings, who are set over the provinces of the regions. A province, indeed, is that which has one metropolitan, 12 consuls, and one king. Therefore they came together from as many provinces as there were amiralds dead there; and those who were captured there were reckoned at 7,000. No one was able to hold in any memory the glory of the garments, of the arms, and of the rest of the array. And so the Turks were overcome with greatness of spirit by the Franks, and afterwards their chattering voice, the gnashing of teeth, and the clamorousness of daily insults, fell silent. But now they were going with lowered countenances, and most, entirely distrusting, going out of the city stealthily, were fleeing. Night coming on broke off the strife, and our men, the victors, returned to the camp: but they, with the doors barred, withdrew themselves within the city.

————— RHC.788

Chapter XXII.

On the burial of the Turks, shamefully destroyed by the Christians.

On the next day, as soon as the morning light came forth, the Turks went out from the city and gathered the bodies of the dead, as many as they could find, and handed them over to burial. When the young men of the Christian army heard this, many, massed into one, ran to the cemetery; and what those men had buried with great honor they drew outside with great disgrace. Indeed they had buried them underground beyond the bridge at Machumaria, which was before the gate of the city, and they had wrapped very many in cloaks, and they had laid up with them golden bezants, arms, bows and arrows, and many other things: for as it is their custom to bury; but it is our men's to take those things most gladly. Therefore, when all the bodies had been pulled away, they cut off the heads, wanting to know the number of those who were slain at the bank of the river; indeed they brought the heads they had cut off to the camp, and they left the corpses unburied for the wild beasts and the birds. Those looking out from the high walls and the lofty towers grieved vehemently at this, and tearing their cheeks and plucking their hair, they began to call upon Muhammad, their

teacher, to their aid; but Muhammad could not restore those whom Christ through his soldiers willed to exterminate.

HERE ENDS THE FOURTH BOOK.

————— RHC.791-792

Here begins the fifth book.

Chapter I.

Concerning the envoys of Babylon.

The Babylonian prince sent these envoys, Who came thus and brought such words.

And while these things were being carried out under the frequent impulse of vicissitudes, a certain forerunner arrived, who was proclaiming that the messengers of the prince of Babylon would arrive on the next day, and he seeks from the princes of the camps the trust of coming in safety: they readily consent, and they furnish themselves beforehand solemnly for their reception. The tents are made beautiful with various kinds of ornaments; shields are set upon stakes fixed in the earth, on which on the next day the game of the quintain, namely the equestrian game, might be practiced. Dice, chess, swift courses of horses with the bridles bent into a circle were not lacking, and military onsets; and there the brandishings of spears against one another were celebrated. In these acts it was shown that those who were doing such things were trembling with no fear. Such things indeed the youth were cultivating; but those older in age and in sense had sat down as one, and they were conferring the matters of counsel and of prudence. In the meantime, when the Babylonian messengers were approaching and caught sight of so many dancing in triumph with so great a joy, they wondered, because a report had run as far as Babylon that they were both being tormented by hunger and being shaken with fear. They were therefore brought before the princes, and they reported in these words what had been committed to them. "Our lord, the admiraviss of Babylon, sends you, the princes of the Franks, greeting and friendship, if you are willing to obey his will. In the hall of the king of the Persians and of our lord, a great assembly has been gathered concerning you; and for seven days the counsel was prolonged, as to

what was to be done by them about this. For they wonder why, armed in this way, you seek the Sepulchre of your Lord, driving their people out from borders long possessed, nay, what is unspeakable for pilgrims, slaughtering them at the mouth of the sword. But if henceforth you are willing to go in scrip and staff, they will make you pass through to that place with the greatest honor and with abundance of goods: they will make horsemen from the foot-soldiers; those who are poor will hunger no longer on the whole journey, nor on the return. And if it should please you to sojourn at the Sepulchre for a month, abundance of good things will not be lacking: leave to go through the whole of Jerusalem will be granted to you, so that both the Temple and the Sepulchre may be venerated with whatever honor it shall please. But if you despise these things granted to you, and you trust in the greatness of your spirits and in arms, we hold it among us to be rash that any human power should join battle against the Babylonians and the king of the Persians. Now indeed open to us what among these things meets your applause; but what displeases, declare in common."

————— R.H.C. 792-793

Chapter II.

The answer of the princes.

The words of the Franks shine with proud reason.

To these things the common judgment of the princes answered, saying: "It is not to be wondered at by any wise man if we come with arms to the Sepulchre of our Lord and drive your nation from these borders; because whoever of our men had been accustomed up to this point to come with staff and scrip were wronged with shameful mockery, and, bearing the disgrace of insults, were finally killed. The land, however, is not that nation's, although they have possessed it long, because it was our men's from ancient times, and your hostile nation carried it off from them on account of its own malice, which nevertheless ought not for that reason to be yours because you have held it long; for by heavenly censure it has now been decreed that what was unjustly taken from the fathers be mercifully rendered to the sons. Nor let your nation glory that it has

overcome the effeminate nation of the Greeks, because, with divine power assisting, merit will be recompensed on your necks by the sword of the Franks. And it will be able to be known to those who do not know that it is not of men to overthrow kingdoms, but of him through whom kings reign. They themselves say that they wish to indulge us, if from now on we are willing to cross with scrip and staff: let their mercy be rendered upon itself, because, whether they will or will not, our poverty will be made rich or emptied by their treasures. When Jerusalem has been granted to us by God, who prevails to carry it off? There is no human power that may entirely strike terror into us: because when we die we are born, when we lose temporal life, we recover everlasting life. Therefore report to those who sent you that the arms which we took up in our fatherland, even when Jerusalem has been captured, we will not dismiss. For we trust in him who teaches our hands for battle, and sets our arms as a bronze bow; because a way will be opened by our swords, and all scandals will be rooted out, and Jerusalem will be captured. Then it will be ours, not through a man's indulgence, but through the equity of heavenly censure. For from the countenance of the Lord this judgment has gone forth, that Jerusalem will be ours."

But the envoys did not find what further they might hold out, but when they had heard this word they were scandalized, and they entered Antioch, our men consenting.

————— RHC.793

Chapter III.

On the castle established upon the mountain.

These two camps they established in a short time: They were built on the conspicuous ridge of Sarmata.

When these things had thus been transacted, on the third day after the battle that had been transacted, they began to build the castle of which we made mention above, and it was constructed at the entrance of the bridge, namely at Machumaria, in the place of the cemetery before the door of the city. They

destroyed all the stone tombs of the dead, and from those they furnished the castle. When this had been completed, it was commended to Raymond, the outstanding count of Saint-Gilles. This deed greatly constrained those who were in the city, because they did not prevail to go out further from that side. But our men were now going securely wherever they were arranging to go. Then the nobles chose the most excellent men and the swifter horses; and not far from the city they crossed the river, and they found the greatest prey, horses and mares, mules and she-mules, asses and camels, and 5,000 animals. All these the outstanding company brought to the camps, and great joy was celebrated among the worshippers of Christ. This misfortune vehemently wore the citizens down, because the abundance of goods which strengthened our men, being lost, weakened them.

————— RHC.793-794

Chapter IV.

On another castle restored beyond the river.

There, however, where the prey had been captured, there was an ancient castle, but torn down by neglect and age, and a certain monastery still flourished there. So that they might constrain their enemies more, it pleased the nobles to rebuild this and to encircle it with a strong fortification. When this had been made ready in a short time, inquiry was made who should guard it; and while the guardianship was being treated of, and very many words were proceeding into the wind, Tancred, an illustrious prince and outstanding young man, as he was keen in speeches and in deeds, sprang forth into the midst, saying: "I will guard the castle, if a merit worthy of my guardianship will be recompensed." Therefore they all assessed a price in common; and they conferred 400 marks of silver upon him. Tancred entered the castle, and he made it firm with troops of foot-soldiers and with strong soldiery more than another fortification. This he took up happily, God helping: because on that very day a great people of the Armenians, and of the Surani, was coming to the city, and was bringing rich provisions to the city-dwellers. All of whom Tancred, placed in ambush, seized; nevertheless

he did not wish to kill them, because they were Christians, but he conducted them with the packs themselves to his castle. Whom at last he permitted to go away unharmed on such a condition: that they promised him, in the Christian faith, that they would bring him the necessities for a suitable price, until Antioch should be captured: which they strenuously fulfilled, just as they had also pledged.

————— RHC.794

Chapter V.

On the truce allowed for the hope of obtaining peace.

But Tancred had blocked the ways and paths for those who were in the city, so that no one dared to go out. For that reason they sought a truce of peace, saying that in that interval of time they would treat among themselves, on what condition they would deliver themselves and the city to the Christians. The princes believed, and the pacts having been drawn up, and a time having been established, they gave and received sacraments of keeping the peace. The gates of the city are opened, and the liberty of going to one another, one to the other, is allowed. Then the Franks were going freely along the circuit of the walls and were standing at the bulwarks with the citizens themselves, and the citizens were coming to the camp with joy.

————— RHC.794–795

Chapter VI.

On the death of Gualo.

Gualo is truncated, by whose death peace is violated.

Finally, in the process of time, when the last day of the truce was now arriving, a certain Gualo, a Christian soldier, and outstanding in arms, and most renowned among the foremost: this man, too credulous toward the faithless nation, on a certain day was walking about through their thickets, and with his eyes he was being fed on the Tempe of the places. Him, as an unarmed man, armed dogs

attacked, and, divided member by member, they tore him to pieces with miserable torment. Alas! by Gualo's death peace is broken, the sacraments of faith that had been given are violated, the gates of the city are blocked again; and the perfidious Gentiles are shut up within the caverns of their walls and towers. Very great mourning is held in the camps, because Gualo's death is lamented with frequent sobs by all the men and women.

————— RHC.795–796

Chapter VII.

On the pitiable grief of his spouse.

But his spouse was rousing all to tears, she who was pitiable lacerating herself beyond the custom of other women; and she who was moving others to mourning, because of sobs and frequent sighs, could neither speak nor cry. She was, however, born of the high blood of nobles, and, according to the infirmity of this flesh, outstanding in form beyond the rest. She was, however, for the most part motionless like a marble pillar, so that she was more often thought to be dead, except that the vital heat throbbing in the uppermost breast was perceived; but also still a vein lying hidden under the very little hairy skin was beating at the down that parts the eyelashes. When, however, she was breathing, forgetful of womanly modesty she was rolling herself on the earth, and, cutting her cheeks with her nails, she was rending her golden hair. Other matrons come to meet her, who forbid her to do such things to herself and watch her with pious guardianship. When she could speak, she burst forth in these words, saying:

King threefold in persons, have mercy on Gualo; And confer on him the gift of life, as you are one God. What did Gualo deserve, that he died without war? Born of a maiden mother, wipe away Gualo's guilt, Whom you snatched from so many chances of wars, And have now at last permitted to be martyred.

Alas! how greatly he desired to see your Sepulchre, for which he scorned all that he had, and himself! By what unhappy misfortune was his sword drawn far from him, which so came together with his side? O me at least happy, if it had been

allowed me in his last spirit to close his eyes, to wash the wounds with tears, and to wipe them with my hands and my garment, and to commit the sweet members to the tomb! At these sights Everard, her brother, intervened, and, so far as he let it, he checked the force of the grief. That indeed must not be passed by, which befell before the death of this man, while the time of the truce remained entire and faithful.

————— RHC.796–797

Chapter VIII.

On Bohemond and Pirrus, who handed Antioch over to him.

This Saracen was the Antiochene prince; This man gave the city freely to eloquent Bohemond. The names of the saints, the standard-bearers from heaven.

There was a certain amirald of the race of the Turks in that royal city, with whom Bohemond had very many private conferences in time of peace. This man, among other things, on a certain day asked of him where that countless army of the white-clad, by whose aid they were supported in all wars, had placed its camp. For he was saying that they could never sustain their arrival; but as soon as they saw them, they began to fear: those oppressed them as the wind of a whirlwind, and these wounded them; those overwhelmed them, and these killed them. To him Bohemond says: "Do you think there is another army than this one of ours that you see?" To him he: "By Muhammad, my teacher, I swear that if they were at hand here, this whole plain would not hold them. All have white horses, of marvelous swiftness, and clothing, and shields, and banners of the same color. But perhaps they are hidden for this reason, lest your camp be shown to us. But, by the faith you have in Jesus, where is their camp placed?" Bohemond therefore, illuminated by the spirit of God, at once perceived that this vision which he had seen was of God; and that what this man was asking proceeded not from temptation but from good will; and answering he says: "Although you are foreign to our law, because I see you animated by good will toward us and by a good spirit, I will open to you some sacrament of our faith.

If you had so much deep understanding, you ought to give thanks to the Creator of all, who has shown you the army of the white-clad; and know that they do not dwell on earth, but in the upper dwellings of the kingdom of the heavens. These are they who sustained martyrdom for the faith of Christ, and fought in every land against the unbelieving. Their chief standard-bearers are George, Demetrius, Maurice, who in this temporal life both wore military arms and were beheaded for the Christian faith. These, as often as it is expedient for us, at the command of the Lord Jesus Christ, support us, and through these our enemies are thrown down. And that you may know that I profess the truth, inquire today and tomorrow, and on the next day, whether in this whole region its camp will be able to be found. If they are found, we shall blush in your sight, convicted of a lie; and when you have been unable to find them in the whole region, if it will be necessary for us, on the next day you will see them at hand. From where, then, will they come so quickly, unless from the upper seats in which they dwell?" To him Pirrus answered (for such was his name): "And if they come from heaven, where do they find so many white horses, so many shields, so many banners?" To him Bohemond: "You ask great things, and beyond my understanding. Therefore if you wish, let my chaplain come, who will answer you upon these things."

————— RHC.797-798

Chapter IX.

The chaplain's solution to the question of Pirrus.

A question not known, remote from the heart of many.

To this the chaplain said: "When the almighty Creator disposes to send his angels, or the spirits of the just, onto the earth, then they take to themselves bodies of air, so that through them they, who cannot be seen in their spiritual essence, may become known to us. Therefore they now appear armed, so that they may indicate that they come to help those laboring in war. For if they appeared as pilgrims or as priests in white stoles, they would announce not war, but peace. When indeed the affair for which they come has been completed,

they return to the heavens, from which they came; and the bodies, which they received so that they might appear visible, they put back into the same matter which they took up. Nor should you wonder if the almighty maker of all transmutes matter made by himself into any form whatever, he who brought all things from nothing into essence." And Pirrus said to this: "By him whom you assert to be the Creator, you say things marvelous, and reasonable, and until now unheard by us." To these things Bohemond added and said: "O Pirrus, does it not seem to you to be a great miracle, which the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom we believe, works through us? For the fewer we are, the stronger we are; but you, the more numerous you are, the feebler. To what do you attribute this power, to humanity or to divinity? Man is not from himself, but from his creator: from whom he has being, he has ability also. From this, therefore, you can conjecture that, although one creator created us and you, he nevertheless grants a richer abundance of his power to us than to you. We are indeed certain in his power that we shall obtain not only Antioch, but also all Romania and Syria, even Jerusalem itself, because the almighty Son of God, Jesus, has promised us this." Pirrus indeed prudently understood these and similar words of Bohemond, and Bohemond vehemently won him over with his love.

RHC.798

Chapter X.

By what counsel Antioch was captured.

And when that which was said above about Gualo had befallen, the enemy of the human race advising, Pirrus was not able to speak with his Bohemond any longer, but nevertheless he sent word of these things to him secretly through an intermediary: "I know you to be a noble man and a faithful Christian; I commend myself and my house to your faith; I will do for you what you have urged me to do: I will hand over to you the three towers which I guard in Antioch, and I will open one of the gates to you and to your people; and, lest you believe this to be frivolous, and lest you distrust my faith, I send my son to you, whom I uniquely love as my only one, and I commit him, as I do myself, to

your faith." When these things had been seen and heard, Bohemond rejoiced with joy, and great devotion grew in him toward God; he burst abundant tears from his eyes; and giving thanks to God, he stretched his hands toward heaven. Nor was there delay; he summoned the princes together, and brought such things before them, saying: "Outstanding princes and warrior men, you have learned how many wrongs we have suffered in this siege, and how many we suffer, and, as long as God shall will, we shall suffer. If God should wish to give this city to anyone by some device, say whether your authority would allow it to him." At these things many exclaimed together, saying: "We shall have it together, we who together have endured the distresses of necessities." Then Bohemond, smiling a little, says: "Woe to the city that will be subject to so many lords! Do not, brothers, speak thus; but let it be subjected to the command of him who will be able to acquire it." When he saw that nothing was availing, he returned to his camp, and nevertheless he detained the messengers of Pirrus, who had come to him.

————— RHC.799

Chapter XI.

On the counsel of the princes, and to whom Antioch was granted and when it was handed over.

Here the nobles of the crowd treat whose it is to be from the city; At last, Raymond unwilling, it is given to Bohemond.

But the princes, Bohemond having been set aside, entered into counsel, saying: "We have not good counsel, we who go against the words of Bohemond, a most wise man. If from the first day on which we came together here this could have been done, great profit would have come to us from it. None of us went out from his own land for ambition of the city of Antioch: let him have it to whom God shall have willed to give it; let the intention of us all be one, namely the deliverance of the holy Sepulchre." It pleased all. Bohemond is called, and Antioch is granted to him benevolently by all, if he can acquire it.

Bohemond therefore, by no means slow, sends back men faithful to him at the twilight of night to his friend, that he may report to him both the manner and the term. Pirrus sends word that on the next day the army of the Franks should be moved, as if it ought to go to prey in the land of the Saracens; and when night has begun to darken, let them return to the camp from the side of the city, "in which I myself," he says, "will keep watch with ears pricked up in my towers. Let them come ready near the wall, and let them never fear anything."

Bohemond entrusted this counsel to certain of his familiars, Hugh the Great, and Duke Godfrey, the bishop of Le Puy, and Count Raymond. He therefore said to them: "On the coming night, with divine grace helping, Antioch will be handed over to us;" and he set forth the message to them. They, having heard all, rejoiced, and blessed the Lord.

On the next day the leaders of the warriors gathered huge wedges of soldiers, and very many troops of foot soldiers; and having gone out they crossed the mountain country, as if about to prey in the land of the Saracens. When night was arriving, they returned with the utmost silence, and prepared themselves in good hope.

But Bohemond went on to the place appointed for him by his friend, with only his own soldiers, and with a few he remained far from the walls, and directed the rest with one ladder to the walls themselves, which, having been raised, was able to reach to the bulwarks.

————— RHC.799–800

Chapter XII.

Concerning Fulcher who first ascended the ladder.

The man of Chartres, Fulcher, a famous sword, first ascended, and climbs the peaks of the wall.

When this was erected, from so great a multitude no one presumed to ascend first; and when all were so hesitating, then one soldier, named Fulcher, of Chartres by nation, bolder than the rest, says: "I, in the name of Jesus Christ,

will ascend first to whatever God shall have called me to take up, whether to martyrdom, or to obtaining the prize of victory." As he is ascending, the rest follow, and in a short time the very summits of the walls are reached. Pirrus, however, was standing there, awaiting their presence, and bearing too great a delay with difficulty. When he saw Bohemond very little, he inquired where he was. He is said to be at hand nearby; but Pirrus was vehemently saddened by the absence, saying:

"What is that lazy one doing? Why does he delay, or why does he linger? Send one who may say that he should come more quickly. Send one who may say that today's light is drawing near, And frequent song prefigures that fair weather is at hand."

A messenger is chosen who may announce these things to Bohemond.

When he heard this, he ran up in haste; but when he came to the ladder, he found it broken.

————— RHC.800

Chapter XIII.

Of the brothers of Pirrus whom Fulcher killed.

Meanwhile Fulcher, who had ascended with 60 armed young men, had occupied, apart from the towers of Pirrus, three others by warlike virtue, and in them had killed two brothers of Pirrus.

————— RHC.800-801

Chapter XIV.

Concerning Pirrus, who opened the gates of the city.

Then with a joyful face the comet-star was radiating.

Although Pirrus was not ignorant of this, he did not hold back from the promised pact of faith; but, when he heard that the ladder had been broken, he opened the gates to Bohemond as he came and to all the multitude of the

Franks. And although he was drawing heavy groans from the bottom of his breast and long sighs, nevertheless no wrong that had been inflicted removed him from the promised faith. Bohemond greeted him at the very entrance of the gate with his head bowed, and gave him thanks for the benefit conferred. But when he had learned the cause of his lamentation, he grieved greatly; and from his soldiers, who were to guard him and protect his goods, he left behind a faithful guardianship. Nor should it be passed over in silence that during that night a comet, which prefigures a change of kingdom, was glowing red among the other stars of heaven, and was putting forth the rays of its light; and between the north and the East a fiery redness was flashing in heaven. While these evident signs were radiating in heaven, and the dawn was bringing back light to the lands, the army of God entered the gates of Antioch, in the power of him who *crushed the bronze gates of hell and broke the iron bars*, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, every kingdom and empire is subject, whose power remains *unto ages of ages*. Amen.

HERE ENDS THE FIFTH BOOK.

————— RHC.805

Here begins the sixth book.

Chapter I.

On entire gentile faith.

All the faithful, attend to the faith of this Pirrus, and attending, if you promise anything from faith through faith, carry it through without any contradiction. No memory of a brother's death, no force of grief, no goading of sorrow could turn him from the stability of the promised faith, and the pact of faith availed more with him than the putting to death of two own brothers by dire torment. And if we wish to bring that ancient riddle of Samson into the midst, we can set forth one equivalent to this. Samson says: *From the eater food went out, and from the strong, sweetness.* But now from the faithless, faith has proceeded, and from the foreigner, familiar and entire love. But lest we seem to make a wearisome digression, let us return to the begun proposition of the history.

————— RHC.805

Chapter II.

At what time Antioch was captured.

Divine vengeance thus upon the canine people willed to avenge itself, and thus it pleased itself.

On the fourth of the Nones of June, the Christians entered the city of Antioch, and in the mouth of the sword they avenged it upon its invaders. Fulcher and his accomplices, who had ascended the wall with him, were attacking the towers from every side, and they were piercing the unwary watchmen, unbound by sleep, with darts and swords, and they were throwing them from the highest summit of those towers to the earth. Those who were sleeping in the houses, awakened by the sound of the cry, eager to know what this was, when they went

outside, did not return; because they found swords ready by which they were received. Those who were Christians were sounding *Kyrieleison* and other praises to God, so that by this, namely, they might become known to our men, that they were not Turks but Christians. Everywhere the squares of the city are strewn with the bodies of the dying, because then none of them was resisting, but all were seeking hiding-places and the protection of flight. Honor is paid to none: boys with girls, young men with old men, old men with young men, mothers also with daughters are killed. Those who could flee were going out through the gates, nevertheless escaping death very little, because they were falling into the hands of those coming from the camps.

————— RHC.806

Chapter III.

On the death of King Cassianus.

Cassianus dies, and the belt is appropriated.

It happened, however, that Cassianus also, king and lord of the city, covered in cheap rags, escaped among those fleeing, and by fleeing came into Tancred's land. But by his own evil misfortune the Armenians recognized him, and immediately they cut off his neck, and they brought his head to the princes and the belt; and they valued the price of the belt at 60 bezants. A great part fled into the castle that overhangs the city: which is so fortified by the position and nature of the place that it fears the artifice of no engine. For there is a mountain adjoining the city, whose peak is stretched to the stars, which the eyes of those gazing can scarcely reach; and from it the whole region can be surveyed. In it a numerous multitude of Turks fled, and they had that only receptacle.

————— RHC.806

Chapter IV.

Fight between the Christians and the Gentiles.

There was, however, one tower too near this castle, which Bohemond with his satellites was now obtaining, and through it he was preparing to attack that castle. But they, having taken up their strength again, being sufficiently higher than the tower, send arrows and darts from above, in the likeness of hail, so that it was very little permitted to our men to fight against them, but to cover themselves with shields and defend themselves with arms. For the narrow place distressed them, and the enemy from above oppressed them: because there was no other way of those contending than the breadth of the walls granted. For that reason it befell that the Turks, rushing against the tower, one drove another, nor was there opportunity to go back, nor on the left or on the right was there a turning aside for anyone. As many onsets of those rushing as struck upon our men, they received them on lances, darts, and swords, and so they threw the wounded to the earth; and from them they struck down those who were attempting to dig out the tower from below; and so the dead inflicted death upon the living, and for him in whom life was in the soul, death appeared in the body.

————— RHC.807

Chapter V.

Bohemond is wounded.

Wounded, Bohemond withdrew, and yielded the fight.

In which conflict Bohemond was gravely shot with arrows in the thigh, and now he was not able to go except limping. Blood began to drip copiously from the wound, and the heart of the most noble prince began to fail from its former power. He, not wishing to and unwilling, fell back into another tower, and left the war behind. In his infirmity the power of the others fell, because each greatly grieved the pitiable fall of his leader.

They dismiss the fight, and they leave the tower to the Turks.

————— RHC.807

Chapter VI.

*Of him who, laden with missiles, when he could not live, threw himself upon the
Turks.*

Here he perishes, that the enemy may perish and die.

One man nevertheless remained on the upper summit of the tower, whose outstanding death the whole army of our men lamented with one mind. For he, when he saw that he had been left behind alone, nevertheless bearing in himself an unconquered spirit, as a bear among mastiffs, began to defend himself on both sides; and he was tearing stones and rubble from the walls, and throwing them down upon those who were attacking him. At last, laden with 1,000 arrows, when he saw that he would not escape death, he hastened death for himself, because with shield and arms, where he saw that the crowd was denser, he leaped forth into the midst, and was a torment to his killers. There is no tongue of flesh that can fully narrate what the band of the Franks was able to destroy there; and unless the castle's stronghold had been so strong, on that very day the Lord would have granted a great relief to the calamities that were to come upon his people. But God willed that the Antiochene city should be obtained with difficulty, so that once obtained it might be held more dear. For things more quickly acquired grow cheap; things long desired are embraced more dearly. Night intervening broke off the strife, and brought a check to the day's labor, because it took away the necessity of the fight, but did not grant the weary the means of sleeping. For where the enemy is at hand within the walls, no means of resting can be. On the next day, that is the sixth weekday, some were dragging the stripped corpses of the dead outside the walls without, others from the towers were contending with the men of the castle with javelins and arrows.

————— RHC.808

Chapter VII.

On the arrival of Corbanam at Antioch.

Standing on the walls, they catch sight from a distance of the shadow of stirred dust; what it was they do not well know. Our youth fears their assembly.

And while the matter is thus being done, behold those who were standing on the towers and walls gaze from a distance at an immense cloud of stirred dust. Perceiving different things about it, others were saying that it was the Constantinopolitan emperor, who was coming to them in aid; others, which was true, the ranks of the Persians. But those who were coming first, when they saw the city of Antioch, sat down into one, awaiting the strength of their soldiery coming behind. Corbanam, however, was the prince of the soldiery of the king of the Persians, who for a long time had gathered to himself that column of diverse nations. There were indeed there Persians and Medes, Arabs and Turks, Azimites and Saracens, Curti and Publicans, and many others of diverse nations. Of the Agulani there were there 3,000, who were bearing no arms except only swords: who all, covered on every side with iron, feared no opposing arms. Their horses scorned to bear banners and lances, and were kindled with too great wrath against those who were bearing them. And when these had come together into one, they directed their runners before the city, who should provoke our men to war, and should advise them to go out from the city. But our men, who were fatigued from yesterday's conflict, judged it more wholesome to remain within the walls than to set wars in motion outside. But they, running through the fields and the plains, were stirring our men to wars, and were casting dire insults at them. They were throwing lances and swords on high, and receiving them in their hands. But, when they could draw no one of our men out, they arranged to return to the camp.

————— RHC.808-809

Chapter VIII.

Concerning Roger, who went out from the city with three others.

Huge grief at Roger's death began to be held.

Whom, when they were returning, one of our men, Roger of Barneville, pursued, with three other armed men, hoping that he might draw something

out from them; but they themselves did not want to enter a contest with equals, because they had already heard many things told of the Franks' battles, and they placed ambushes behind themselves under a hollowed rock, and they sent out some of their own, who would harass them as if in a fight. And when our men were crossing the ambushes, thieves came out from their caves, and they attacked them from behind. Those who were going before turn back to meet them, and they direct a swift course against them. When they recognized that they had been detected, with the reins bent aside, they hoped to gain the protection of flight, but it could in no way be found. Roger sends his companions ahead before his countenance, and he himself, with the buckler thrown back behind his back, sustains their most frequent blows. And already he had almost escaped, and already he was holding the places nearest to safety, when his horse plunged to the ground, and clinging to the falling horse he himself fell, who could in no way be raised up, because he was oppressed by the bulk of the horse. Alas! how great a grief and gnashing of teeth there was then, upon the walls of Antioch, when the high-born youth of the Franks saw the dogs tearing their famous soldier limb from limb thus! They turned their eyes away, nor could they see, when the dogs were tearing him limb from limb. At the last the dogs cut off his head; and driving it onto a pike, as if a banner of triumph, they carried it away to the camp. Their camp, however, was beside the Farrean bridge.

————— RHC.809-810

Chapter IX.

On Sensadulus.

Sensadulus weeps, bowed down, he worships Corbanam, He requests aid, and pledges service.

However, Sensadulus, the son of the lately deceased king of Antioch, had gone against Corbanam, and as a suppliant had fallen forward at his feet, asking that he have mercy on him, and help him against the Franks, who had killed his father and had disinherited him from the famous city. He had no refuge, except

in the city's stronghold alone, because now the whole city was subject to the command of the Franks. "My father, while he still lived, sent a legion to you so that you might come to her aid, so that he might either make you rich with great gifts, or receive Antioch and the whole kingdom from you. I promise you the same, that if you can recover Antioch, I will receive it from you, and I will do all fidelity to you. But if you cannot, you must flee, and so must all the men of our nation. For Romania will not suffice them, or Syria, nor Khorasan: because they say Jerusalem is theirs, and the kingdom of Damascus." However, there were there the kings of these provinces, who were hearing this word. When these things had been said, Corbanam answered: "If you want me to help you in every way, and restore you to your kingdom, render the castle which you still have into my hand, because through it Antioch will be restored to you." To whom Sensadolus again: "If you prevail to drive the Franks out of the city, and to deliver to me their necks cut off, I will hand the castle over to you; and from there I will do homage to you." Each consented, and the castle was handed over; and Corbanam delivered it to a certain faithful man of his to guard. However, he received the guardianship on such a condition, that if the Franks should conquer, he too, as also the others, having left the castle, would flee. To whom he: "And if we are vanquished, what would we do with the castle? It is worthy that the victors have the castle, because victory will be a greater prize than the castle."

————— RHC.810

Chapter X.

On the useless sword and the lance which was brought before Corbanam.

When these things had thus been done, Corbanam fell silent upon them, and he appointed a time for instituting other things. And when he was sitting on the throne, they brought before him a Frankish-born sword, greatly contemptible and blunt and covered with foul rust. They brought also a lance similar in the same deformity, which even by its own wretchedness made the sword superior. When Corbanam had seen these things, he says: "Who will tell us where these

arms were found? Or for what cause have they been presented to our sight?" Those who had brought them said to him: "Glorious prince, and honor of the kingdom of the Persians, we took these arms from a certain Frankish-born man, and we have brought them to you, so that you may see and recognize with what arms that ragged nation threatens to plunder us and our borders, nay even to lay waste all Asia." Then Corbanam, smiling, says: "It is clear that that nation is sufficiently senseless, and uses reason too little, which with such arms reckons to subject the kingdom of the Persians to itself. The nation is indeed presumptuous, and too ambitious of another's right; namely a nation which trusts in its own high spirit; but by Muhammad, it has entered badly the borders of Syria and the walls of the royal city of Antioch."

————— RHC.811

Chapter XI.

The words of Corbanam.

Corbanam's words proceed with a proud mind.

He said these things, and he summons his secretary and commands. To him, once summoned, he says: "Take many sheets and ink, and write to our religious pope the Caliph, and to the king of the Persians the Sultan, glorious above all, and to the greater nobles of the kingdom of the Persians, that they may obtain long life, continuous peace, lasting safety of their bodies. Happy and joyful Fortune prospers well for us, and smiles with favorable successes, because I hold the army of the Franks shut in within the walls of Antioch, and I already have in our hand the castle which stands over the city. Whence let it be certain to you that the rumors which you had heard about them are not of that kind of which you also heard: because neither is a wolf made so great as is also the cry that follows him. But because you commanded that I should destroy them entirely from the land and deprive them of life by the sword, do not be angry against me if I send over to you most of the better ones bound: for then it will be in your deliberation whether you wish them to die or to live. For it seems to us to be suitable that those who had come to take us captive should become captives, and

should exercise hard services with us. Indeed it will be honorable to the kingdom of the Persians if the brother of the king of the Franks is exiled in it. You, however, live in peace and the highest tranquillity, and devote effort to every bodily pleasure, and beget sons without cessation, who, if it should be necessary, may resist other Franks, and when our strengths have failed, then they may avail. I will not see the presence of your face before, until I have subjected the whole of Syria and Romania and Bulgaria to your dominion." These things Corbanam spoke in pride and abuse, which were turned for him into ignominy and confusion.

————— RHC.811-814

Chapter XII.

The words of Corbanam's mother.

Ill-roused by black furies, Corbanam scorned his mother's counsel, and a greater fury grew in him. Let no one wonder that a woman should speak thus, for she well knew the books of Moses and the prophets.

After this his mother came to him, mourning and sad, and bringing a mournful countenance; and when they had both come together in a private chamber, the mother said to the son: "Son, comfort of my old age, and only pledge of all my love, I come to you in haste, fatigued by the length of the journey. I was in Aleph, a great city, when a heavy speech concerning you struck my ears, and by its blow drove the greatest grief into my heart. It was told me that you were drawing up your ranks, and wished to fight against the Christians. For that reason I came in haste, wanting to know from you yourself whether the matter stands so, or not." The son said to the mother: "Mother, you have never heard anything more true." And the mother to the son: "Who, she said, unjust man, son, gave you such counsel? You have not yet experienced the power of the God of the Christians, and especially of the nation of the Franks. If you had read the writings of all the prophets and of the ancient wise men, you would surely not be ignorant that he himself is the Almighty and the God of all gods. If you fight against the Christians, you will fight against him and his angels. But it is most

mad to fight against the Almighty; because that itself is to wish to destroy oneself. Of that most unconquered God indeed the prophet says: *I will kill, and I will make to live; I will strike, and I will heal; and there is none who can snatch out of my hand. If I sharpen my sword as lightning, and my hand seizes judgment, I will render vengeance to my enemies, and I will repay those who have hated me. I will make my arrows drunk with blood, and my sword will devour flesh.* It is a fearful thing to enter into conflict against this one, who knows so to sharpen his sword, to make the sharpened drunk, and with the drunken to waste flesh. Son, who sank Pharaoh, king of Egypt, in the Red Sea, with all his army? Who disinherited Sihon, king of the Amorites, and Og, king of Bashan, and all the kingdoms of Canaan, and gave them to his own as an inheritance? That same God shows with how great a love he loves his people, and with how great a protection he walls him about, when he says: *Behold, I will send my angel, who shall go before you, and shall keep you always. Observe and hear my voice, and I will be an enemy to your enemies, and I will afflict those who hate you, and my angel shall go before you.* That God is angry at our nation, because we neither hear his voice, nor do his will; and therefore from the remote parts of the West he has stirred up his nation against us, and has given it this whole land in possession. There is none who can turn it away from them; there is none who can any longer destroy it." After this the son said to his mother: "I believe, mother, that you are either insane, or are driven by infernal furies. Who, he said, told you that this nation cannot be destroyed? There are more magnates and amiralds with me than they all are, gathered together. Tell me, mother: are Hugh their banner-bearer, and the Apulian Bohemond, and Godfrey the swordsman, themselves their gods? Are they not nourished, as we also are, on temporal food? Cannot their flesh, as ours also, be cut with iron?" To this the mother answered: "Those whom you name are not gods, but men, and soldiers of the lofty God, who gives them spirits, heaps up their strengths, and renders them great-hearted: as he himself speaks through the prophet, saying: *One of you shall pursue a thousand, and two shall put ten thousand to flight:* which has even been experienced in those who put our men to flight from all Romania. For that reason, son, I adjure you, by all the names of our divinities, that you turn

yourself from the face of these men, and that you do not set war in motion against them. For it is foolish, as I said above, to rage against the Almighty, and to rave against his nation." And the son answered the mother: "Dearest, do not weep, do not be distressed with frequent groans; because by no art, by no device can it remain, even if I knew that I myself would perish in the battle." Then the mother, made sadder, said again to her son: "I know that you will fight, but you will not die now; but before a year has passed, you will depart from this life. Now you are endowed with praiseworthy fame in every eastern region, second to none in the hall of the king of the Persians: but when you have now been defeated, according to the glory that is now yours, you will be inglorious. For by how much anyone surpasses the rest, by so much more he is soiled, if he falls shamefully. But now, attended by every flower of the eastern kings and of the rich, walled about by so great a troop of innumerable satellites, if you are overcome, with whom will you further contend in equal or unequal number? You who once used to turn many to flight with few will now learn to run ahead of the few with many, as hares do a dog." Then the son, impatient of anger, could no longer bear his mother's words, but interrupting her, said: "Why, mother, do you stir the air with empty words, and drag us to weariness with unskilled speeches? No power of those who fight is able to resist us; nor is another army able to prevail over ours. But tell me, my mother, whence do you know that we ought to be conquered in this fight? and that I ought to die not here, but before a year has passed, by a sudden death? and that the Christian nation is to possess our bounds?" To whom the mother said: "From a hundred years and under, our fathers found in the sacred responses of the gods, and in their lots and divinations and in the entrails of animals, that the Christian nation would come upon us and would conquer us. Therefore the haruspices, the magi, and the soothsayers agree upon this, and the responses of our divinities, and the sayings of the prophets, in which it is said: *From the rising of the sun and the setting, from the North and the sea, your bounds will be, and no one will stand against you.* We believe that this whole is to come, but we do not know if it is now or in the near time; but because it seems near to certain of our people, because the continual ruins of the things of the world foreshow this, and

the gazing upon the stars foretells it. Concerning this battle indeed which you are about to join I will tell you the truth, and concerning your death of which I have knowledge from this. From the time you began to gather soldiers to accomplish this war, I have examined with anxious inquiry whatever things can foretell to me what is to come; and they agree that no one will be able to overcome the Christians entirely. With the astrologers I have wisely contemplated the courses of the stars, namely the 7 planets and the 12 signs, and whatever can be read by natural signs with the haruspices, in the entrails and shoulders of cattle; with the lot-casters I have tempered the lots; and all things agree into one, and they proclaim the titles of victory to the nation of the Franks, and they threaten death to you, as I said above." Then he: "Mother, he said, cease from these things henceforth, because I will fight with the Franks as soon as I can." She, seeing that she would profit nothing, not having delayed long, returned to where she had come from, and brought back with her whatever of spoils she could obtain.

RHC.814

Chapter XIII.

Of those things which were happening within the city.

The crowds work continuous fights in the city.

Now let us report something of those things which were done in the city in the meantime. The Turks had free leave to enter the castle, and to go out; and day and night, by hurling and shooting with arrows, they were stirring our men to war, and when the strength of those fighting failed, new and fresh men entered. And so, with new men continually coming on, their power grew; but that of our men failed from daily weariness. For there was no rest, nor did they put down their arms; but they were always in the readiness of soldiery. The squares of the city were blocked with darts and arrows, and the roofs of the houses were loaded. Every day before the castle a new engagement takes place, and many times there was one mixing of our men and of them: nevertheless of our men, God protecting them, few died; but of those they were killed in troops.

Chapter XIV.

On the torment of hunger at Antioch.

Here within the walls a deep hunger is written.

And while time so slips by, hunger, crueller than every enemy, invades our men, and from day to day thinned their strength. Countenances wither, arms fail, and a trembling hand scarcely plucks grasses from the earth, and the leaves of trees, and the roots of wild turnips. All these things were cooked, and were taken as riches. An ass's leg was acquired for 61 solidi, and he who bought it was not reckoned a waster of substance. A small loaf was priced at one bezant; the flesh of asses, horses, camels, oxen, buffaloes, was consumed, and moreover their hides were boiled. Mothers hung their sons, perishing of hunger, at the breasts; but the children found nothing at all in the breasts, and from poverty of milk they palpitated with closed eyes. On a certain day Corbanam incited our men to battle, namely outside the city, from that side on which the castle was; but the soldiers and the horses, tortured by hunger, could not long bear their swift onsets. Massed therefore into one, our men understood it to be more wholesome to go back to the city; but, oppressed by the Turks, they found the gate too narrow, to such a degree that some there were ground even to death. And so a fight was going on inside and outside, nor was any rest given to our men as they perished of hunger. On account of these things and things like them, some of our soldiers, immoderately terrified, slipped away in flight in that very night, ropes having been tied to the bulwarks, with which they entirely flayed their hands, and so they made for the sea on foot. Coming there they told the sailors to flee, because all the Christians were either dead or bound. They however, grieving, put themselves to sea, and withdrew themselves from the dominion of the Turks.

Chapter XV.

On the flight of Count Stephen.

The consul of Chartres, a city famous and known for wax, Terrified, he fled away, and left the war and his companions.

Stephen, the count of Chartres, who among the other princes seemed great, far-seeing in counsel, and outstanding in the honorableness of his manners, before Antioch had been captured, was held by a heavy illness; and he withdrew to a certain castle that was his, whose name was Alexandretta. He, when he heard from those who were fleeing this report concerning our men, secretly ascended the mountains standing above the city, that he might see what it was, whether the report was coming to be true. But he saw innumerable tents of the Turks from far off, and he detected that our men were shut in within the city; terrified by fear he fled away, and returning to his castle, he stripped it to the foundations; and so he began to ride toward Constantinople. But those who were being besieged in the city were awaiting his arrival with the highest desire, thinking that he would bring the emperor with him, and with him would succor them with the necessities. But he himself, making for a different direction, when he came to Philomena, found the emperor there, and said to him in a secret address: "Lord emperor, our men truly hold Antioch; but the Turks still possess the castle that stands above it, countless hosts of the Turks besiege them from outside, and those who are in the castle attack them from inside. But what remains concerning these things, except that either they are now about to die, or in the near time they will all die? You, however, reverend emperor, if you believe our counsel, will not advance further, but will return to your city. There is nothing that any human power can avail to come to their aid; but if you go there, you will be able to perish with your army." When these speeches had been heard, the emperor is made greatly sad, and what he had said to him in secret he made known in the open to his princes and magistrates. All are saddened, and they weep for the deaths of our men.

————— RHC.816-817

Chapter XVI.

The lament of Guy.

Guy weeps excessively; with tears he prays the Lord that his nation not be displeasing to him, that it not perish.

There was a certain soldier there, named Guy, who had acquired a celebrated name for himself through soldiery, and had been very familiar with Bohemond. When he had heard this, he grieved so much that, as if he were dead, he fell to the earth. And when, having recovered his spirit, he was returning from that alienation of mind, he began to weep immoderately, and, furrowing his cheeks with his nails and tearing his hair with his hands, he compelled all to mourning, and he said: "O almighty God, where is your power? If you are almighty, why did you consent that this be done? Were these not both your soldiers and pilgrims? What king, or emperor, or powerful lord ever permitted his household to be so killed, if he could ever help? Who will still be your soldier or your pilgrim? O Bohemond, honor of other rich men, crown of the wise, glory of soldiers, solace of the desolate, strength of the soldiery, and distinguished honor of the whole world, why did such misfortune befall you, that you should be subject to the mockery of the Turks? Alas! why was I allowed to live after you? What welcome light will there be hereafter, what pleasant appearance, what delightful glory, what joyful life, with you by no means surviving? O God, or rather if you are God, if what this most worthless and fugitive count brought is true, what more will there be of the way of your Sepulchre? Why were they so killed, as if your servants had no lord? O Bohemond, where is that faith which you always had in your Saviour our Lord Jesus Christ? O emperor and outstanding soldiers, who with me mourn so great deaths of so many, who can perfectly believe that so great a soldiery has so perished? For certain, if they had been girt about in the middle of the field by the whole Eastern people, they would not all be killed before they were avenged. But now they also had a city in which they could defend themselves, and they have been so slain? O emperor, know most certainly that, if the Turks have killed our men, few of them have remained. Therefore do not fear to go there, because you will be able to have Antioch again." The emperor indeed was unwilling to grant assent to his

counsel, but too credulous of the words of the worthless count, resolved to go back, and commanded the places of Bulgaria to be laid waste, so that, if the Turks should come into those parts, they would find nothing at all. Together with him Guy himself also, and those who had gone with the emperor himself, returned, because they did not presume to go further. Thus therefore all our men were left destitute of human comfort; and for 25 days they contended without cease with enemies and hunger, and with the sword and shortage.

HERE ENDS THE SIXTH BOOK.

————— RHC.821-822

Here begins the seventh book.

Chapter I.

How God appeared to a certain priest.

To whom God appears, because he so appears without crime, Nor does he badly grow foul with the stain of great vices. The sweet words of God, comforts of great hope.

Unless heavenly piety had provided for those destitute of human help, none of the Frankish-born, now Antiochene citizens, would have remained. But when they were already despairing of life, and everything was threatening them with death, it pleased God the Saviour, the king of kings, Jesus Christ, to appear to a certain priest of his, while on a certain night he was sleeping in the church of his chaste mother. And with him were the Virgin mother Mary herself, and the blessed Peter the apostle, to whom the Lord himself gave the shepherding of his sheep. To him he also says: "Do you recognize me?" The priest to him: "No. Who are you, Lord?" Then a cross began to appear on the Saviour's head. To him the Lord again: "Do you still recognize me?" Again the priest answered: "I do not otherwise recognize you, except that I see a cross on your head, as I am accustomed to see in the images that are made in honor of our Lord Jesus Christ the Saviour." And the Lord says to him: "Behold, I myself am he." But when the priest heard that it is the Lord, he immediately prostrated himself at his feet, humbly beseeching that he would come to the aid of his Christians, laboring under famine and the assault of the enemies. To him he says: "Does it not seem to you that I have helped them well thus far, because I both delivered the city of Nicaea to them, and made them conquer all the wars that came upon them? In the siege of Antioch I suffered with their miseries; but now at the last I granted entry into the city. All the tribulations and hindrances which they have suffered I therefore permitted to come about, because they have wrought many

unspeakable things with Christian women, and with pagans, which greatly displease in my eyes." At these things the mother of mercy, the most pious Virgin, and the blessed Peter the apostle fell at his feet, asking that he would have mercy on his people. And the blessed apostle added to his prayer, and says: "Lord, I give you thanks, because you have given my church into the power of your servants, which, because of the wickedness of those inhabiting it through so many courses of years of the pagans, you permitted to be defiled with foulnesses. From there the holy angels rejoice in the heavens, and my companions, your apostles." Then the Lord says to his priest: "Go, and tell my people that they are to return to me, and I will return to them, and within 5 days I will send them sufficient help; and daily let them sing this responsory: OUR ENEMIES ARE GATHERED AND THEY GLORY IN THEIR POWER, the whole with the verse." This vision thus completed, the honorable priest, stirred from sleep, awoke, and with hands spread toward God he prayed, as the Holy Spirit was giving him to speak. From there on that day he went to the princes of the army, in the midst of the third hour, and found them up before the castle fighting against the enemies, and setting war in motion against one another: and when they had been called together, with a glad and cheerful countenance he said: "O warriors of the eternal king, I announce to you on the part of our Saviour joy and exultation; and he transmits to you his blessing; and if you obey him, you will obtain grace also." Then, with all listening attentively and streaming together from every side, he set forth the whole vision in order. When it had been set forth, he added and says: "If you distrust this vision and suspect it to be false, because it is true, I will make you whatever trial you please; and if I am found a liar, afflict my body with every wrong." Then the bishop of Le Puy ordered the cross to be brought, and the holy Gospel, that before all he should swear this to be true: which was thus done.

————— RHC.822-823

Chapter II.

On the vision of Saint Andrew.

By a divine nod another vision is shown to a certain pilgrim, which is proven to be at hand of such a kind.

And that divine goodness might heap good things upon the good, and might gladden its mournful servants more and more, there was present there a certain pilgrim, named Peter, who also reported this vision before all: "Hear, people of the Lord and servants of the lofty God, my voice, and to my speeches incline your ear. While we were in the siege of this city, on a certain night Saint Andrew the apostle stood by me in a vision, saying: Good man, hear and understand me. And I say to him: Who are you, Lord? And he: I am Andrew the apostle. Son, when you have entered this city and have it in your power, go quickly to the church of the blessed Peter, and in the place which I will show you, you will find the lance with which the side of our Saviour was pierced. These things the apostle said to me then only. But I then did not dare to indicate this to anyone, thinking that I had seen a vain vision. But now this night he appeared to me again, saying: Come, and I will show you the place where the lance is hidden, as I promised you. Hasten therefore to pull it away from the earth, because victory will follow those carrying it. And the holy apostle showed me the place; come and see it, and from there draw it out with me." And when all wished to run to the church of the blessed Peter, he added still and says: "Saint Andrew sends word to you: Do not fear; but confess and do penitence from your evil works, because within 5 days you will triumph again over your enemies." Then all with one mind glorified God, who was deigning to console their griefs. But at once they ran to the church of the blessed Peter, desiring to see the place where the lance ought to be found.

————— RHC.823

Chapter III.

The Lord's lance is found.

13 men, however, dug there, from morning until evening; and so they found it, the Lord disposing; and there was great joy in all the people, and with great voices they were sounding: *We praise you, God, and Glory to God in the highest.*

Then they all swore together that none of them would flee for any tribulation or death, nor depart from the journey of the holy Sepulchre that had been begun. All the common multitude therefore rejoiced when the greater men were swearing this sacrament; and each was advising the other into manly strength, and was applauding the divine help, which each one was trustingly awaiting.

————— R.H.C. 824

Chapter IV.

Fire from heaven terrified the enemies of our men.

Fire from the axis of the pole threw the 'Turks' camp into confusion, A man now not prudent, Bohemond, burns the city.

Therefore on the following night a fire coming from heaven appeared from the West, and fell within the army of the Turks: which sign vehemently stunned the hearts of all, and most of all of the Turks, within whose tents it fell. For among themselves they began to prophesy what afterward befell: that the fire descending from heaven was the wrath of God; but because it had come from the West, it designated the ranks of the Franks, through whom he was exercising the punishment of his wrath. Now those who were older began to grow somewhat tame from their ferocity, and to grow numb from that high spirit which they had had before. But because the number of fools was infinite, and they were stirring our men to battles, and were not resting by day or by night, it pleased the older men to set up a wall between themselves and those men, so that even thus it might be permitted to breathe a little. For on one day they rushed so fiercely upon our men that they shut three in one tower which was before the castle: of whom two, wounded, were compelled to go out of the tower, and were beheaded; but one remained resisting bravely until evening, and killed two of them, and so afterwards finished his life by the sword. For whom, while they lived, however much Bohemond wished to bring help, he was scarcely able to draw anyone out, because it was not so much the enemy that pressed them as that hunger that oppressed them.

Angry at this, he commanded fire to be set in the houses which were on that side where the palace of Cassianus also was: so that those who were not willing to go out of their own accord might at least be compelled to go out unwilling. Then together with the fire so great a tempest of wind arose that the flame gained such strength that it burned as many as 2,000 houses and churches. Bohemond, when he saw the flame of the fire rising thus, led by penitence, grieved vehemently, because he greatly feared for the church of the blessed Peter and of holy Mary, Mother of God, and for many others. The fire therefore lasted from the third hour of the day until midnight; and so, the wind blowing from the right side, the flame turned back upon itself.

————— RHC.825

Chapter V.

Messengers are sent to Corbanam, Peter the Hermit and Herluinus.

The Frankish-born nations, by nature raging with Mars, Command that the Parthians be ready for the contests.

The lance, as we said above, having been found by the nod of God, the elders and the magistrates of the soldiery took counsel that they should send their embassy to Corbanam, and likewise that they should carry their commands and their counsel through an interpreter of their speech. And when inquiry was being made among many, and no one would presume to bear these commands, at last two were found, Herluinus and Peter the Hermit. These, with an interpreter, directed their journey to the Turks' camps, and from there they came to Corbanam's tents. The Turks came together from every side, eager to hear what the Christians' messengers would say. Corbanam, however, was sitting on a throne, clothed in royal attire and pompous dress: those coming before his face did not incline themselves at all, but stood with neck erect. When the Turks saw this, they took it ill; and had they not been messengers, they would have avenged the ignominy of that proud bearing. Then the messengers, delaying nothing, although all, moved by wrath, were roaring round about, said to the proud prince: "Corbanam, the nobles of the Franks command you:

Whence has such drunken boldness befallen you, that you have come against them with an armed band, when you and your king and your nation are guilty in their sight, you who have invaded the lands of the Christians with immoderate greed, and have killed them all, having afflicted them with wrong. Your infernal gods could not have dishonored you more shamefully than that they have sent you to fight against them. If the reason of right were with you, and you wished to act with us by the censure of equity, we would reason with you, the honor of right being preserved, and we would show by incontrovertible speech that it ought to be of the Christians. But if with you right and reason are of equal weight as a will of pleasure, let a determined fight be made between yours and ours, and let this whole fatherland be allowed to the victors, without other loss of blood. But if neither thus nor so it is pleasing, either enter immediately upon flight, or prepare your necks for the swords and snares of our men." These things having been said, the mediator of the speech fell silent. But Corbanam, inflamed with great wrath, could scarcely speak, and at last burst forth into these words, saying:

————— RHC.826

Chapter VI.

The words of Corbanam.

Corbanan speaks; he rails against our men.

Truly the nation of the Franks is a proud nation; but this pride will be reined in by our sword. Therefore, however, they ask for a named battle, and to those to whom victory shall yield, let the fatherland also be yielded, because without further loss of blood they wish either to be made rich with the fatherland, or to be freed from our hands. But then they did not find wholesome counsel, when they took up arms against us for an effeminate nation. Nevertheless go still, and report to them that, if they wish to deny their God and to renounce their Christianity, we will receive them all into so great a grace that we will give them this land, and a much better one, and we will make horsemen of them all. But if

they neglect to do it, they will all die shortly, or bound they will be taken captive into our land.

————— RHC.826–827

Chapter VII.

The words of Herluinus.

This man too is a servant of God, a reviler of him.

After this Herluinus, who knew their language, added and says: “O prince of no soldiery but of all malice, if you knew how utterly mad it is with Christians to say *Deny the Lord*, never would such a word go out from your polluted mouth. We know for certain, God himself whom you urge us to deny revealing it, that our safety and your destruction are near; our joy, your loss. But who late sent you the fire, which so terrified you all, and so drove you from the place in which you had pitched your tents? This sign will come to you as a portent; to us, for safety: because from it we have a certain embassy of our God himself.” Corbanan could not long bear the insults of Herluinus, and commanded him to be removed from his sight. And those who stood there said to him that he should withdraw quickly, otherwise that embassy would never succeed but he would perish immediately. He departed thus with his companions, and returned to the city.

Nor is it to be passed by what, as these were withdrawing, Corbanan said to his men: “You have now heard those ragged men, despicable in countenance, and little men of no standing, how firmly they have spoken; nor have they feared our anger and flashing weapons. One thing about them is that they are desperate, and they want to die, and they would rather die than be taken captive. For that reason, O strongest soldiers, when they have come to battle, hem them in on every side, so that no one has a place to turn aside, nor space to live long; because if they are allowed to live for some time, before they are all killed, they will work great slaughters of our men.” In this it appears that Corbanan was a fool, because by speaking so he was striking terror into the minds of his men. Nor is it

to be wondered at if a foolish man speaks madness, because the spirit of wisdom does not enter a malevolent soul.

————— RHC.827–828

Chapter VIII.

In what order they proceeded to battle.

What our men should do, the bishop of Le Puy instructs them, and all are subjected to him. Here the lines are drawn up and six are set.

Peter the Hermit and Herluinus returned to the princes of the army; and they told what Corbanam had answered. Then the bishop of Le Puy, by the nod and assent of all, enjoined a three-day fast on all. Each one confessed with a pure heart; and he who had anything to eat distributed it to him who had none. They spent those three days with all humility and purity of heart, going about the churches in procession, and imploring the Lord's mercy. As the third day was growing light, masses were celebrated through the churches; and all were communicated with the holy communion of the Lord's body. Then by common counsel six lines are set up within the city, and which should go first, which later, are ordered. The first line was Hugh the Great's, and the Flemish count's; the second was Duke Godfrey's; in the third was Count Robert the Norman with his men; the fourth was the bishop of Le Puy's, who carried with him the lance of our Saviour; and with him was a great part of the army of the count of Saint-Gilles, who remained for the guardianship of the city; the fifth was Tancred's; and Bohemond's was the sixth, with whom were the foot-soldiers more ready for war, and the soldiers who, compelled by necessity, had sold their horses. Bishops and priests, monks and clerics, clothed in sacred vestments, went out with the soldiers outside the gate of the city, carrying in their hands crosses, with which they signed the people of God, and with great voices, hands stretched out toward heaven, they cried: *Save your people, Lord, and bless your inheritance, and rule them, and lift them up now and forever. Be to them a tower of strength in the face of their enemies.* They sang these and other psalms, those especially which suited tribulation. Likewise those also who were upon the wall

and in the towers were doing and singing the same. And so the soldiers of Christ went out against the satellites of Antichrist, through the gate that is before Machumaria.

————— RHC.828–829

Chapter IX.

How Corbanam killed the Aquitanian apostate.

The filthy and mad Aquitanian suffers death.

But Corbanam, standing on a certain little hill, was watching those going out, and, while they were going out, he was saying: "Stand quiet, my soldiers; and permit them all to go out, so that we may be better able to seize them." Now he had a certain Aquitanian placed beside him, whom we call a Provençal, who had renounced our faith, and, compelled by the gullet of gluttony, had gone out from the city, and had betaken himself to the adversaries' camp. This man had said many unspeakable things about our men, that they were dying of hunger and all were attempting the aids of flight, they had eaten their horses, they were wasting away from poverty of food, and there was nothing in between, except that they should either flee or submit themselves to Corbanam's dominion. And while the lines that had been drawn up were going out from the city in their orders, Corbanam was asking whose each one was, and the Aquitanian was reporting to him in succession. But the sun, bringing its rays upon the hooked mail and the lances, was striking back the eyes of those gazing, and was sending terror into the adversaries, as divine Scripture bears witness: that terrible is a line of camps drawn up. But when he saw them all together, he roared within himself, saying to those standing about: "That nation is great and armed with honorableness: it does not seem to me that they wish to flee, but to press on; or that they wish to give service, but to pursue." And so, turning to his apostate, he said: "Gallows-rogue, and most wicked of all, what frivolous things have you said to us about these men, that they had eaten their horses, and were being tormented by hunger, and were plotting flight? By Muhammad, this lie will be turned back upon your head, and the plague of the head by punishment."

Then the tyrant's swordsman, summoned, obeyed the command, and with unsheathed sword cut off that man's head; and he underwent a death worthy of his chatter and apostasy. Then indeed he commanded his amirald, who was keeping his treasure, that if he should see a fire kindled at the head of his army, he should immediately take to flight, and should carry with him all things that were his, and should compel the others to flee: for he should know that the war was of the nation of the Franks; but that for him victory had gone over to the contrary. But our soldiers, as soon as they came onto a certain plain, at a nod from the bishop of Le Puy, stood still, and with the highest silence heard his speech. Now he was clothed in mail, and in his right hand the Saviour's lance was raised on high: who, opening his mouth in these words, said:

————— RHC.829–830

Chapter X.

Speech of the bishop of Le Puy.

A speech is made to the people, lest, terrified, they terrify the enemy.

"All of us who have been baptized in Christ are sons of God and brothers to one another: therefore those whom one spiritual bond has joined, let one love join them as well. Let us therefore fight with one mind, as brothers, for our souls and our bodies, as men placed in extremity. Remember how great tribulations you have suffered for your sins: as our Lord God has now deigned to become known to you in his visions. But now you have been purged, and reconciled to God in all things. And what would you fear? No misfortune can befall you at all. He who dies here will be happier than one who lives, because, for temporal life, he will obtain eternal joys. But he who remains a survivor will triumph in victory over his enemies, and will be enriched with their riches, and will be distressed by no poverty. You know what you have endured, and what at present you see before you. The Lord has brought eastern riches to you before your face, indeed in your hands. *Be strengthened, and be robust men*, because the Lord will now send the legions of his saints, who will avenge you of your enemies. Today you will see them with your eyes; and when they have come, do not fear their terrible

crash. For the sight of them ought not to be unaccustomed to you, because on another occasion they came to you in aid. But the human gaze grows afraid at the arrival of the citizens above. Consider how your adversaries, with neck stretched out, like stags or little deer growing afraid, catch sight of your arrival, more ready for flight than for battle. And you well know their battles, because, once the arrow is drawn, they trust more in flight than in the fight. Go therefore against them in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to war; and may our Lord God almighty be with you."

— RHC.830-831

Chapter XI.

The beginning of the war.

The speech is finished, but the ranks too are set up. Warlike Hugh runs to Bohemond's aid, whom the young man Godfrey follows, famous in arms.

And when all had answered, Amen; the legions having been stretched out lengthwise, first, with the banner raised, Hugh the Great goes ahead, who by right was called Great, because he commended this privilege by deed and manners. The others followed him, as they are ordained above; and their extension was drawn out, from the river, namely as far as the mountains, in which space 2,000 intervene. Then indeed Corbanan began to go back and to approach the mountains. But our men were pursuing him little by little, because they were all advancing with a measured step. Then the Turks were divided in two, because one part proceeded from the region of the sea, the other, greater part remained in the field. They thought therefore thus to shut our men in between them, and to shoot with arrows from the back. But a seventh line was ordained, which should fight against the divided part: it was ordained, however, from the soldiers of Duke Godfrey and of the Norman count; a certain leader, named Rainald, was over it. They sent this man against them, and they battled; and many fell on this side and on that. And when the other six lines drew near to an arrow's throw, the Turks, refusing to go more closely, draw with stretched bows, but in vain, because the wind blowing from the side reduces their throws

to nothing. When the Turks saw this, with reins turned they flee backward; and so the first line sought a war in the war, and did not find it: it sought whom it might strike, or by whom it might be struck, and did not find him. Meanwhile a messenger was sent from Bohemond to Hugh the Great, that he should bring him aid, because he was being pressed too greatly by the oppression of the Turks. Presently Hugh, having turned, says to his men: "O warrior men, the fight is fleeing us; let us seek the fight, and let us go to Bohemond, the outstanding duke: there is the fight which you seek, there the iron enemy presses, whom you desire."

Then faster than said every satellite flies there; and the outstanding counts are joined together.

When Godfrey, duke of dukes, saw this, that the Great one, his friend, was thus running about at a swift course with all his men, he followed him, because he himself also was idle from the war. There indeed the strength of the soldiery of the Persians was pressing, and the greater strength; and it well became them that Godfrey and Hugh should run together there. For the one was from the other as if the other the same, having one friendship in themselves. When Hugh the Great had come first to the conflict of the fight, he gazed upon one of the adversaries who was bolder than the rest, and who was exhorting the others to the fight by crying out; he directs a foaming horse against him, and with a lance pierced his throat, and thus stopped up that man's mouth. What was the wretched man to do? He fell at once to the ground, and commended his soul to the infernal gods.

————— RHC.831-832

Chapter XII.

On the death of Odo.

After these things a great misfortune befell our men, because Odo of Beaugency, who was carrying the banner, was wounded by a poisonous arrow; and, as the pain of the wound grew stronger, he fell to the earth with the banner; but William Bleniensis, with his sword bared, opened a way through the midst of

the enemy, and lifted the sign from the earth. What Godfrey, duke of dukes, what Bohemond, what the illustrious youth did there, neither tongue can say, nor hand write, nor page take up. None of our men there was sluggish, none timid, because there was no room for it, and the enemy towering above pressed each one. For the more they were being killed, the more they seemed to grow. For just as flies are accustomed to stream together to rottenness, so they too were coming together from every side.

————— RHC.832

Chapter XIII.

The aid of the heavenly army.

Ranks of the saints from the highest seat of the heavens
Are sent to our men and assigned as aid.

While it is thus fought, and the length of so long a contest could weary, and their number did not seem to decrease, an innumerable army of white-clad soldiers was seen to descend from the mountains, whose standard-bearers and leaders are said to be George, Maurice, Mercurius, and Demetrius. As soon as the bishop of Le Puy saw this, he cried out with a great voice, saying: "O soldiers, behold, the aid is coming which God promised you." And certainly our men would have been greatly terrified, had there not been the hope which they had in the Lord. Then a very great trembling rushes upon the enemies, and, their countenances turned, they cover their backs with their shields, and seize flight, wherever place gave to each one.

————— RHC.832–833

Chapter XIV.

On the fire scattered upon the grass.

That part which was fighting on the side of the sea, when it saw the flight of its own men, scattered fire upon the grass of the field, which burned swiftly, because the burning of summer had dried it. They did these things for this

reason, that by this sign those who were in the tents might flee at once, and carry off with them the richer spoils. But those who were in the mountains, when they recognized the sign, fled immediately, with all the spoils which they were able to carry. But what did it profit them, when they were not permitted to bear it long? For the Armenians and the Surani, when they saw that they had been vanquished and that our men were pursuing them, were coming to meet them and killing them. But Hugh the Great and Duke Godfrey and the Flemish count were riding together with their ranks beside the water, where their army was more robust and denser; and they began to press with so great an onset that they could not return to their tents toward which they were making; and so that they might be able to pursue more swiftly, they were ascending the horses of those who were dying, and their own, which were leaner and afflicted with hunger, the reins drawn off from the head, they were leaving in the field. O marvelous virtue of almighty God, and immense power! Your soldier, afflicted by a long fast, pursues those swelling with fat and plumpness, so that they did not even dare to look back at their own goods, which they had brought. Your good Spirit was in their minds, who both supplied strength of bodies and granted boldness of spirits. No greed of spoils delays him, no avarice of any thing: because victory tickles his mind more. As it is customary to tear the bodies of beasts in a slaughterhouse, so also it was permitted to our men to waste the bodies of the Turks. Blood flies out from the bodies of the wounded; dust stirred by the feet of horses running about flies out. The ether is clouded, and, as if twilight were coming into being, is darkened. It befell, however, that those fleeing came onto a certain hill, and there they hoped to gather themselves again against our men.

RHC.833-834

Chapter XV.

On the death of Gerard.

A man without measure has no care what he does: If this man had had measure, he would not have died so quickly.

Then Gerard the old man of Melion, who for a long time had lain sick in the siege, borne on a swift horse, imprudently threw himself upon them, and was pierced through by their javelins, and so was slain by a deserved death. When those who were following him more closely saw this — namely Eward of Puteolus, Pagan of Beauvais, Drogo and Thomas, and Clarenbald, and the rest of the young men of Hugh the Great — hesitating at nothing they rush upon them; and indeed they found a fierce contest; but nevertheless, with God helping, as the troop of their own men grew, they manfully scattered them. There much blood was poured out, the heads of many cut off, who, if they had fled as they had begun, could have escaped. They pursued them, however, as far as the Farrean bridge, and to Tancred's castle; and further they could not pursue, because the dark night put an end to the matter. There died, however, on that day 100,000 horsemen; but because of weariness none was numbered from the whole multitude of foot-soldiers. The soldier, fatigued, because he was far from the city, returned to the tents which had been their enemies'; and he found much that sufficed him for eating. For before the fear of God had come into their hearts, in frying-pans and cooking-pots and in kettles and in pots they had prepared all things for the meal: but it was not permitted to the wretches to cook what they had prepared, nor to carry it off.

————— R.H.C. 834

Chapter XVI.

On the bishop of Le Puy and the prey captured in the battle.

There the venerable priest could be seen, the bishop of Le Puy, clothed in mail and helmet, and the holy lance in his hands, who from too-great joy was bedewing his face with most abundant weepings. He was exhorting them to give thanks to God through whom they had stood victors, and he was saying to them: "From the time they began to be soldiers, none have been your peers: because none in so short a time have warred so many and so great wars as you also have completed, from the time you crossed the Constantinopolitan sea. Indeed he is much foreign from the Christian faith, who sees what you have seen

today, and is not continuous in the love of God." These things and things like these the venerable pontiff was saying, and with such words he was instructing the people committed to him, and he was tempering their jests and laughter. For the contemplation of his presence and of his countenance so struck all back that no one presumed to put forth vain words, with him present.

————— RHC.834–835

Chapter XVII.

On the prey and the rendering of the castle.

The feast was full, when the Antiochene nation, Standing in the castle, rendered itself and without war.

That night having been completed, on the next day, 15,000 camels were found; but the horses, mules and she-mules, oxen and asses and sheep and livestock of many kinds, who would count them? There were found, however, many golden and silver vessels, too very many cloaks, and spoils of great price and of different variety. With all these they came triumphing to the city; and they were received by those who had remained and by the clerics and the priests and the monks, with a solemn procession.

————— RHC.835–836

Chapter XVIII.

On the guardian of the castle who wished to be made Christian, and the vision of the saints which he saw.

But the amirald who was in the castle, when he saw his prince and those who were with him turned aside from the field in flight, and saw countless thousands of horsemen in white running about over the plains with white banners, was greatly terrified, and demanded that one of our banners be given to him for protection. The count of Saint-Gilles, who had remained there for the guardianship of the city, held out his banner to him; and he received it gladly, and fastened what he had received to the wall of the castle. But when he

recognized from certain Lombards who were standing there that it was not Bohemond's, to whom the whole city had been allowed, he rendered his sign to the count, and sought Bohemond's sign; and Bohemond sent it to him. When he received it, he sent word to Bohemond that he should come to him. He walked to the embassy, close at hand, and listened to what he wished to say. The gentile asks a pact of faith, that those who were with him and wished to depart should suffer the hurt of no wrong and should be conducted as far as into the land of the Saracens; but whoever wished to become a Christian with him should have license to do so. Bohemond, filled with immense joy, said: "Friend, what you ask will gladly be done for you; but await a little, because I will report this to our princes, and I will return quickly to you." And at once he ran hastily, and, the princes having been assembled into one, he related the gentile's words. It pleased all, as they gave thanks to almighty God. Bohemond goes back to the gentile, now a household member, and confirms the pledge of the agreement asked of him. He, a very handsome man, rendered himself to the bishop of Le Puy and to holy Christianity, with three hundred of his soldiers, and young; and there was then among the Christians greater joy over their Christianity than over the recovery of the castle. Bohemond received the castle, and conducted those who were unwilling to be made Christian into the land of the Saracens. A three-day fast having been completed, the gentiles were baptized with great joy; and the praise of God and Christian glory grew there. They themselves were afterward accustomed to report that, when they caught sight of the war from the citadel of the castle, they had suddenly seen countless thousands of white-clad soldiers, the sight of whom terrified them vehemently. Nor was it a wonder, because the whole castle trembled from its foundations. And when they saw them join together with the ranks of the Christians, and their own men turned to ruin and flight, they understood immediately that these were heavenly divinities, and that the God of the Christians cannot be overcome. From there their hearts were pricked, and they pledged themselves to become Christians.

R.H.C. 836

Chapter XIX.

On the time of the Antiochene war, when it was completed.

This war indeed took place on the 4th of the Kalends of July, namely the vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul. And so, divine mercy looking back, the storm of the Antiochene tribulation, which had swollen for almost 10 months, was calmed; and the royal city, which through a long course of times had been inclined by the yoke of diabolic captivity, recovered the lost grace of its former liberty. But the enemies who had taken it captive become captives themselves as well; and they are scattered in the hiding-places of the woods and in the caves of the rocks and in the ditches of the mountains. For the Armenians and the Surani, inhabitants of that fatherland, searched them out for very many days, and they were finding some half-dead, others wounded, others lacking part of the head, others putting their hands to their belly, lest the vitals go out entirely; and, having stripped off their spoils, they were killing them. And so the enemies of God were laid waste; and the Christians, servants of the lofty God, were assembled in the glorious city with joy and joy. And when they came together on a certain day, they took counsel that they should send envoys to the Constantinopolitan emperor, and that they should announce that he should come to receive their city.

————— RHC.837

Chapter XX.

The death of Hugh the Great.

Whatever of good is done everywhere is afterwards for great Hugh; For that Hugh fell was a great ruin.

And, ah, grief! they all judged that, because they were sending to the king, a royal messenger ought to go; and Hugh the Great was chosen, truly royal both in lineage and in character. They would in no way have sent him, if they had not known that he would return. He, when he had fulfilled his embassy to the king, intercepted by death, fell; and to where he had arranged to go back, in the end he could not. The fox-like Constantinopolitan emperor did not presume to

come for the receiving of so great a city, because he recognized that he had violated the faith and the rights of the sacrament and the pledges given to the Franks, and had in no way guarded them. And so all the agreements that were made between them were wiped out.

RHC.837

Chapter XXI.

How the princes were divided, awaiting the Kalends of November.

The nobles treat counsel among themselves as to what is to be done.

Meanwhile the princes residing in the city began to treat of the way of the Lord's Sepulchre: what they should do, whether they should presently begin, or when they should end the time. Common assent is indeed brought to this, that what had been begun again of the way should be prolonged until the Kalends of October. For the burning of summer had grown too hot; and the land of the Saracens, which they were about to enter, was waterless and too dry. For that reason they awaited a time which then becomes wet, and in which the earth bursts forth the hidden waters. In like manner it had to be determined what so great a people should do in the meantime; and where, and how it should live. Counsel having been received from there, a herald is sought: what he should say, what is determined from there. The herald, sought and found, went up, and proclaimed: that he who was entirely in want should remain in the city, and should make a compact with those who were richer and should serve them. The princes, however, were divided through their castles and cities.

RHC.838-839

Chapter XXII.

Of Raymond Pilet, a noble soldier.

With the javelin Piletus furnishes weeping to the Parthians on every side.

There was, however, a certain soldier of the army of the count of Saint-Gilles, Raymond by name, but Pilet by surname, manly in spirit and remarkable in body. This man was at enmity with the Turks with perfect hatred, and he could no longer bear that they should keep holiday for a long time. This man bound to himself a very great multitude of soldiers and foot-soldiers, and led it across into the land of the Saracens; and he crossed the bounds of 2 cities; and they came to a certain castle, which is called Talamania, over which a Syrian nation was ruling. The Syrians received our men there, and most gladly handed themselves over to their dominion. 8 days therefore having been spent there, they proceeded to another castle, in which a great multitude of Saracens was lying hidden: coming to which, they attacked it with a military onset, and, fighting daily with unremitting hand, they stormed it as the day was drawing toward evening. When it had been thus taken, they killed all, except those who were willing to receive Christianity. This devastation therefore having been done, they returned to the former castle, which we have said was named Talamania. In which, having sojourned 2 days, on the 3rd day they all went out, and proceeded to the city which is called Marra. There, however, no small multitude of Turks and Saracens had been assembled, from Aleph and other cities and castles which are in its circuit, awaiting their encounter. When they began to draw near to it, those barbarians came out against them, but they were unwilling to hold the conflict long with our men, because, turned to flight, they withdrew within the city. But our men could not remain there long, because the summer heat was pressing them vehemently, and nothing could be found to drink. And already, as the day's shadow was declining, they returned to their castle Talamania. Very many Christians indeed, inhabitants of that fatherland, had gone with our men; but they scorned to return with our men: whom the Turks, hidden in ambush, took and killed. They perished indeed by their own folly, because, if they had returned with our men, no one would then have died; but, as it is said in the common saying, *a stolid nation fears nothing until unhappy fortune overwhelms it*. Raymond, however, did not go back to that city thereafter, because he did not have an army with which he might besiege it; but

he remained in his castle until the appointed time of the Kalends of October, and in the meantime he always took the land of the Saracens captive.

————— RHC.839

Chapter XXIII.

On the death of the bishop of Le Puy.

The sixth month is at hand; the prelate of Le Puy dies.

Those, however, who remained in Antioch were in great tranquillity and joy, until they lost their lord, the bishop of Le Puy. He, when there was the highest peace for the army of God, began in the month of July to fall ill; but he did not languish long, because the Lord did not allow him to be tortured by a long sickness. On the Kalends of August his holy soul, unbound from the bonds of the flesh, was transferred into the Paradise of God, in a glorious seat, namely on the feast of Saint Peter which is called *Ad vincula*; and, that it may become clear that this was done by the censure of divine judgment, on the day on which the bonds of the prince of the apostles were brought from Jerusalem to Rome, the pontiff's soul was unbound from the bodily bonds. Nor was there ever, for any tribulation, so great grief in that soldiery of God, and so great sadness, as also for his death. All wept for him by due right, because he was the counsel of the rich, the consoler of those who mourned, the supporter of the weak, the treasury of the needy, the reconciler of those at variance. He was accustomed to say to the soldiers: "If you wish to be victors and friends of God, guard the purity of bodies, and have mercy on the poor. For nothing will free you from death as alms will: because it both protects better than a buckler, and is sharper against the enemy than a lance. Let him who is not fit to pray for himself give alms, and it will pray for him." For these works and speeches of this kind he was dear to God and to all the people. If anyone, however, wished to number the gifts of all his virtues, he would now seem to be drawing far from the history.

————— RHC.840

Chapter XXIV.

On Albaria overthrown from the foundations.

From there Albaria, fitted for his own, was afterwards captured.

When, therefore, this man had been buried decently, as was fitting, in the church of the blessed Peter, the count of Saint-Gilles crossed into the land of the Saracens, and went to the city which they name Albaria. Surrounding it on every side with a strong soldiery, he attacks it, and for a long time he contended with missiles and arrows with those who were on the walls. But when he saw that he was making too little progress thus, ladders were raised to the wall, the mailed soldiers ascended, and they compelled the enemies to go into flight:

When the soldier climbs the wall, he becomes higher than the enemy; and that enemy was inferior in strength. They descend from the wall onto the added roofs of the houses, but from the houses they leap through the level ways. Hither and thither the old men flee, the children and the young men; but no flight at all profited any.

For the count commanded that all should be bound, and that those who were unwilling to believe in Christ the Saviour should be beheaded. There so many were seen to suffer capital punishment; and from so many children together with girls a long life was taken away. For this was the Lord's judgment, because that city had been the Christians', and it had been taken from them by a like mockery of death. No one out of so great a multitude was reserved, except the man who of his own accord, confessing Christ, was baptized. And so that city was cleansed, and recalled to the worship of our faith. Then the count took counsel with his magnates, that a bishop should be ordained in it, by whose counsel and aid the city might be ruled, and the faith of Jesus Christ might be made firm in the hearts of those newly baptized. Therefore a wise and distinguished man was chosen, strong in the learning of letters and endowed with both kinds of knowledge, and he was sent to Antioch for ordination.

HERE ENDS THE SEVENTH BOOK.

————— RHC.843

Here begins the eighth book.

Chapter I.

That our soldiers returned to Antioch.

The strong come together, of whatever companies they were.

When the summer time, the burning of the sun having been repressed, was now passing, and night was exceeding the day in the numerousness of hours, the soldiers of Christ, wherever they had summered, returned to Antioch, and on the Kalends of November, on the feast day of the solemnity of All Saints, they came together there. And blessed be the glory of the eternal King, because then the crowd of those returning was more numerous than it had been when they divided themselves from one another; for from many parts of the world many outstanding soldiers and foot-soldiers had followed the footsteps of the first, and daily the Christian soldiery was growing.

————— RHC.843–844

Chapter II.

On the discord of Bohemond and Raymond.

Consul Raymond and Duke Bohemond contend.

And when they were thus sitting together as one, and were arranging concerning the way of the holy Sepulchre, whither they should direct their journey, Bohemond asks for the pact of the city, which they had pledged to him. The count of Saint-Gilles was saying that that could not be done because of the sacraments which they had made through Bohemond to the Constantinopolitan emperor. From there, for very many days, an assembly was made in the church of Saint Peter, and a great conflict of words from either side. And when in the common assembly no definition could be made which would

suit peace, the bishops and abbots, and the dukes and counts of sounder sense and counsel, entered the place in which is the chair of Saint Peter, and there they divided among themselves how they might both keep the promises to Bohemond and the sacraments made to the emperor. But when they came out from the place of counsel, they were nevertheless unwilling to make the counsel known to all. And so, by a household address, the counsel was revealed to the count of Saint-Gilles, and he himself praised the arrangement: yet in such a way that Bohemond should complete with them the journey begun. Bohemond, asked the same, praised it, and each promised in the hands of the bishops, by a stipulation of faith, that the way of the holy Sepulchre would never be deserted by them; nor, for any rupture which they might have had between themselves, would it be disturbed by them. Then Bohemond fortified the castle which stands above the city, and the count the palace of Cassianus and the tower which is above the gate of the city, on the side of the port of Saint Symeon. But because Antioch has detained us, a long course of historical narrative having been given, and has fatigued our pilgrim soldiers for 8 months by its siege, and it could not be overcome by any human force, or art, or device, let us say something of its situation or being, and let us open something of it to those who have never seen it.

————— RHC.844–845

Chapter III.

On the situation of the city of Antioch.

Here he treats accurately of the nobility of the aforesaid city, and reconciles the lords.

65 kings established this city, as its history testifies: all of whom owed to its principate the service of subjection. It is surrounded, however, by two walls. The first is made of great stones cut into a square, and polished with subtle craft; and in it 460 towers are ordered and set apart in their places. This wall smiles on those who gaze upon it with the beauty of its composition; and it is spacious with a breadth too ample. Within the precincts of the walls 4 mountains are

contained, namely great ones and standing out into height. On the higher of them a castle has been constructed, which is so fortified by its natural position that it fears neither a warlike onset nor the device of any siege-work. It obtains 360 churches in the territory of its confines, and the patriarch has 154 bishops under his principate. On the east it is furnished beforehand by 4 great mountains. On the west, however, it is watered by a certain river, to which the name Farfar is given. King Antiochus, with his, as we have said above, 65 kings, established this city, and he bestowed on it a name from his own name. And so our pilgrim soldiers besieged this royal and so very famous city for 8 months and one day; and for three weeks they were shut in inside by the nation of the Parthians: which, overcome by divine aid, they afterwards rested in it for 4 months and 8 days.

————— R.H.C. 845–846

Chapter IV.

On Rugia and Albaria taken.

Consul Raymond, second to none in worth, And the first of his crowd go forth from the city; They make for Marra; the people of Marra scorn these also.

When these things were finished, Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, went out first from Antioch with his nation, and came to the city which is called Rugia. On another day he came to the other city, which they name Albaria. These two cities he had subjected to his command by a compact soldiery, and had taken into the service of Christ. On the fourth day, November going out, he came to the city which is named Marra: which Raymond Pilet, his soldier, had first attacked, but he withdrew, bravely driven back from there. That city, however, was populous, and overly crowded by every nation that was in circuit about it. This hostile nation, when it saw our men from a distance, because they seemed to be few in comparison with itself, looked down upon them, and tried to resist them outside the city. But immediately they recognized that a compact nation is by right preferred to a drunken multitude; and especially that nation whose hope and trust is in the name of the Lord. For our men, when they saw them

prepared to resist, with shields set against their breasts and with the points of the lances set in front, burst into them with a military onset; and so, going through the middle, they break them apart. *There the Lord broke the powers of the bows, the shield and the sword and the war:* because, after the fight is waged with swords, the bow and the arrow are useless. He who was nearer to the gate of the city judged himself to be more blessed; but he who was far off greatly wished with his whole affection either that he might become closer to the gate, or that the gate might come to him. Indeed it profited them much, because that engagement was made near the door of the city. Nevertheless not all who had gone out unharmed went back by a safe withdrawal. Those especially had bad goings-back, whom our men found in the first onset. They shot very many of our horses with arrows; but of their own riders, rolled down to the earth, they left far more. Those therefore having been received within the city, our men place tents at the throw of one arrow. Watch having therefore been kept the whole night, when on the next day the radiance of the sun mixed itself with the day's light, our men, equipped with arms, walled the city on every side, and attacked it in a most fierce engagement.

Missiles, stakes, and stones fly, and fires and torches, From which the roofs of the houses might burn within.

But with the immense multitude of the enemies standing against them, on that day our men prevailed nothing, but weary they returned to the tents.

————— RHC.846

Chapter V.

Bohemond and many others followed the count of Saint-Gilles.

Consul Raymond is at hand together, and Bohemond.

On that very day Bohemond, having followed the count with his people and with many others, they came there, and, encamping, they walled the city on every side. Those who were within, seeing this, are struck with too great terror, and all the gates of the city are blocked by them with stones thrown in the way.

The counts therefore took counsel with one another, because the battle was not coming into being on equal terms. Rams are commanded to be made, namely iron-shod beams, which, hung from ropes and drawn by the hands of the soldiers, would be driven against the wall, and so by their frequent blows the walls would be destroyed. A wooden tower also was made, sufficiently higher than the stone towers, and standing out above all the engines that were within. It had, however, 3 stories, which were well furnished beforehand with shields and pulleys. In the 2 upper stories were mailed men with missiles and stakes and arrows and stones, javelins and torches. Below were armed men no less, who were thrusting the wheels upon which they had set up the tower itself. Others indeed applied the tortoise that had been made to the wall, and they leveled the ditch, which was huge, so that they might join the tower to the wall, and, protected by its fortification, they might be able to pierce the wall itself: which was done thus. But the wretched citizens on the other side made a certain instrument, with which they were throwing great stones against the tower, and they were even sending out Greek fire, with which they might burn it. But, the grace of God protecting, all their attempts and all their siege-works were frustrated and reduced to nothing. For the wooden tower, when it was near the wall, put to shame all who were on that part of the wall, as if looking down upon those beneath it.

————— R.H.C. 847-848

Chapter VI.

Of William of Montpellier and Gulerius.

On every side there is fighting, and yet it is still not stormed.

William of Montpellier himself was with many others in the upper storey. There was with him, however, a certain hunter named Everard, who was endowed with the spirit of sounding the trumpet. For by the sound of his tumultuous voice he both terrified the adversaries and incited his own men to the wars. And while William with his men lays waste the things that are around him (for, millstones having been sent, he was breaking the very roofs of the houses), those who were

below him were digging the wall; and others were raising a ladder to the bulwarks of the wall, which, once raised, when no one dared to be first in the ascent, a certain Gulferius of Dature, an honorable soldier, did not endure it, but climbed the wall without delay, and many strong men followed him. But the Gentiles, when they saw them climbing upon the wall, were moved with vehement wrath, and they rise against them from every side, and they so hemmed them in with javelins and arrows that some of our men who had climbed the wall put themselves down to the earth, and, broken, found upon the earth the death which they thought to escape. When the renowned youth of our men had seen this, namely that Gulferius with a few was fighting upon the pinnacles of the walls, unmindful of themselves but mindful of their companions, they climb at once, and they cover part of the wall with their multitude. There were standing, however, beside the wooden tower priests and Levites, ministers of the Lord, invoking the defender of the Christian people, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and they were saying: *Lord, have mercy on us. Be our arm in the morning, and our safety in the time of tribulation. Pour out your wrath upon the nations that have not known you, and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon your name. Scatter them in your power, and put them down, our protector, O Lord.* While it was being done thus, that some were fighting, others were weeping, and they were singing psalms, others were undermining the walls, Gulferius was sweating in a heavier fight: because all the adversaries were against him and against his partners, and he himself with his own against all. His shield was the strong protection of all his own, namely from those who were on the wall. The short and narrow width of the wall did not allow a companion to be joined to him; nor did it permit an adversary to come, except one. But none of the enemies triumphed over Gulferius, whereas he himself had triumphed over a great many. Therefore no one now presumed to come to meet him, because each feared for himself the misfortune that had befallen others at his hands. They were throwing missiles, arrows, stakes, stones at him; and they had so loaded his shield with these that it could no longer be lifted by one man.

————— RHC.848–849

Chapter VII.

On the capture of the city.

The city is stormed, its whole people is slain.

And already the strongest man was exhausted; and already the sweats were flowing down from his whole body onto the earth; and already a great necessity was demanding that another succeed him: when those who had undermined the wall entered the city with a great onset, beheading all whom they first found. By wonder at this unexpected thing, all who were upon the walls were stunned, and

At once the vital heat left their bones, And cold fear took possession of the hearts of the guilty.

What was a nation given over to death, and out of its senses, to do, whom its enemies were pressing on every side both within and on the wall? For Gulferius, who a little before, exhausted, was failing, had taken up new strength again; and now no longer protected by shield or helmet, but holding a red sword in his right hand, swift he pursues the fleeing enemy; and he killed more by fear than by the sword, who threw themselves from the wall. There was moreover above the gate one tower which seemed the most excellent and stronger than the rest; in it Bohemond ordered the richer citizens through an interpreter that they should flee: because he himself would free them from death, if they would redeem themselves from him. Which they also did, and they entrusted themselves to his faith. Therefore that burning pursuit then ceased, because the darkening of evening refused to be stretched further. But when it was the Sabbath, there could be rest neither for the victors nor for the vanquished. The count sent sentries around the city, both within and without, lest anyone should flee and carry off the spoils of the city with him. On the next day, as day began to grow light, our men run to arms, and through the streets and squares and the roofs of the houses they run about in rage, like a lioness whose cubs have been snatched:

They tear apart, and give over to death, boys and young men, And those whom the long-lived day of bent old age weighs down.

They were sparing none, but they were hanging many with nooses, so that they might be finished more quickly. A marvelous thing, and a marvelous spectacle, that a multitude of so great a nation, and armed, was being killed thus with impunity, that none of them was resisting. Because whatever each of our men found was his, they were eviscerating the very bodies of the dead from the outside, and they were drawing bezants and gold coins out of them. O detestable greed for gold! All the ways of the city were being stained with streams of blood, and were being strewn with the corpses of those lying down. And O blind nation, and entirely destined for death! There was none from so great a multitude who was willing to confess the name of Jesus Christ. Finally Bohemond caused those whom he had ordered to be shut in the palace of the tower to come to him, and he commanded women of aged years, and decrepit old men, and the feeble of invalid body, to be killed; youths and adults of somewhat greater age and of strong body, and men, to be kept, and to be conducted to Antioch so that he might sell them all. And this wasting of the Turks was done on the 12th day of December, and on the Lord's day, yet it could not all be done on that day. But on the next day, whoever were found in whatever places were being subjected to the same cutting-off of the head. There was no place in the whole city and no pit that was not defiled with their corpses or with their gore.

————— R.H.C. 849–850

Chapter VIII.

On the discord of Bohemond and Count Raymond.

Consul Raymond is at discord, and Bohemond.

The city therefore having been thus acquired and freed from the rebellious Turks, Bohemond asked for the count's peace, namely that he should render Antioch unencumbered to him, and should permit him to have it in peace. But the count was saying against this that it could in no way be done without perjury, because of the sacrament which, with him even mediating, had been made to the Constantinopolitan emperor. Bohemond therefore returned to

Antioch, and there dismissed his company. The army of the Franks, however, delayed in that city for 1 month and 4 days; and in this delay of time the bishop of Oriensis died a precious death. Indeed they wintered there for a long time and one far too protracted: because nothing that they might eat, that they might plunder, could be found. And so, with the wrong of famine compelling, it happened, which is horrible even to say, that they were cutting the bodies of the gentiles into pieces, and cooking them and eating them. Therefore, moved by this hardship, the count of Saint-Gilles commanded all the princes who were at Antioch that they should come together at the city of Rugia, and there among themselves draw up concerning the way of the Holy Sepulchre. They indeed came together there, but they spoke not at all of that about which and for which they had come; but they held a conference about peace and concord between the count and Bohemond. When these had by no means been reconciled, all the princes returned to Antioch, and dismissed the count and the way. There remained, however, with the count not only his own, but also much youth, in whom there was a burning to complete the way. He therefore, trusting more in the Lord than in the princes, returned to Marra, where the pilgrims were awaiting him; and there was great grief in the whole army of the Christians concerning the dissension of the princes. All indeed knew that pure justice was with Raymond, and that no love or ambition could turn him aside to what was undue.

When he nevertheless saw that the way of the Holy Sepulchre was remaining because of him, he grieved greatly, and with unshod feet he came from Marra as far as Capharda. There, having sojourned 4 days, when the princes were coming together again, and a conflict of words was being held about the same matter, Count Raymond said: "Men, brothers and lords, who have denied all that is yours and your very selves for the love of God, show me whether without perjury I can be at peace with Bohemond, as he asks; or, if it cannot be done otherwise, whether for love of him I ought to be forsworn." And when no one was presuming to be judge of this speech, and all were praising concord, and were not saying how it ought to be done, they departed from one another, and returned to Antioch.

Chapter IX.

Of the Norman count who, having left Bohemond, went away with Count Raymond.

The king of the Caesareans feared the ranks of our men.

But the Norman count remained with Raymond with all his men, knowing and understanding that justice was with him. Therefore these two counts draw up their ranks, and make for Caesarea. For the king of Caesarea had often sent word to the count of Marra and Capharda that he wished to have peace with him, and to serve him gladly from his own. In this trust they went there, and pitched camp near the city. The king, however, when he saw the ranks of the Franks placed beside him, was vehemently astonished and grieved, and forbade that any market should be granted to them. On the next day he sent two counts of his own, who were to point out to them the fords of the river, and to conduct them where they could seize prey. The name of the river, however, was Farfar. And they conducted them into a sufficiently fit valley, enriched with temporal goods. Over this there was a certain most strongly fortified castle, under which they found up to 15,000 animals, grazing in that fertile valley: all of which our men carried off. And when they wished to besiege the castle, the men of the castle immediately surrendered; and they had with the counts a pact of this kind, of a pact to be kept in perpetuity: they promised on their faith and swore upon their law that they would never any longer harm Christians going as pilgrims, and would grant them market and lodging just as also to the men of their own people. They remained there, however, for five days. But on the sixth day, camels and beasts of burden having been loaded with grain, flour, barley, and cheeses, and with other things fit for eating, they went out rejoicing, and came to a certain castle of the Arabs. The lord of the castle, however, having used wise counsel, came to meet Count Raymond, and made peace with him.

Chapter X.

Of the city of Caphalia.

Thus the citizens of Caphalia quickly flee our men.

From there they came to a certain city, established in a certain fair and spacious valley, well furnished with walls and towers, and most abundantly filled with every kind of fruit, which those inhabitants call Caphalia. The inhabitants of this city, terrified when they had heard the rumor of the Franks, deserted their own seats, and fled to alien ones. Indeed the misfortune which had befallen Antioch and Marra had terrified all, and had made them household members of flight. And when our men wished to place tents around it, and to besiege it in a circle, they wondered that from so great a city no one was coming to meet them, nor was anyone appearing on the high towers or on the bulwarks of the walls, and a deep silence was held within, nor was the sound of any voice heard. Then they sent scouts, who were to inquire into the matter diligently and to report it once it had been inquired into. They, however, having set out, when they had come nearer to the gate, found the door indeed open, but they saw that there was no one within. Then, setting shields before their countenances, they go in under the gates still with some hesitation; but they found neither men, nor women, nor any beast within. They find fair furnishings there indeed: namely granaries full of grain, winepresses overflowing with wine, chests full of nuts, cheeses, and flour. They quickly go back to the counts with the work, and they report what they have found. There was no need to pitch tents there, because God was making them enter into the labors of others without iron or fight. There it was done which is said in the proverbs of Solomon: *The substance of the sinner is preserved for the just.* There they found gardens full of vegetables and beans, and of other legumes ripening to early ripeness. There they rested for 3 days; and when guardians had been appointed who were to guard the city, they climbed certain steep mountainous places, and they descended into a valley. That valley, however, was freely given, and most full with the abundance of all crops and fruits; and they remained there for 15 days. Near the valley there was a castle, full of a multitude of Saracens. Which, when on a certain day our men

were attacking it, the Saracens threw down to them from above the wall many livestock, and very many animals, thinking that our men were seeking nothing else except victuals: which our men received gladly, and they conducted them to the tents. On the other day they gathered the tents and the tents, and they directed the camp there; but when they came there, they found it empty of every people. For on that night all fled; but they dismissed a great abundance of crops and fruits, of milk and honey. There our men celebrated the Purification of holy Mary, the mother of God, glorifying God who was ministering so great goods to them.

————— RHC.853

Chapter XI.

Concerning the gifts which the kings of Camela and of Tripoli sent to our men.

The king of Camela sends gleaming missiles; From the good city of Tripoli very many gifts are sent.

The king of the city of Camela sent his messengers to the counts, while they were there, asking for those things which are of peace; sending ahead desirable gifts and horses and gold. He sent a golden bow, precious garments, and glittering missiles: all of which our men received; but they then reported nothing certain to them.

The king of Tripoli, moved by the same terror, sent 10 horses and 4 mules, likewise asking for those things which were of peace. But they did receive the gifts, and they sent word back to him that they would never have peace with him unless he were made a Christian. For the count of Saint-Gilles greatly desired his land, because it was most excellent; and his kingdom, because it was more honorable than the rest.

————— RHC.853–854

Chapter XII.

On the impregnable castle whose name is Archas.

War surrounded the castle Archas on every side.

And so, when 14 days had been completed, on the 15th they went out from the most excellent valley, and they went away to a certain most ancient castle, whose name was Archas: which, although it had the name of a castle, nevertheless could be matched with outstanding cities by the position of the place, and by the enclosure of the walls, and by the height of the towers. Into this, because of its strength, a great nation had streamed together, because it feared neither arms, nor an enemy, nor any device. Nevertheless our men, walling this about with a swift siege, attacked it with haste; but the men of the castle manfully sustained their onset. More often they attacked them with every kind of missiles and engines, and they did not prevail; but they lost more than they might gain. Then 14 of our soldiers, not knowing how to be idle, proceeded toward Tripoli; and they found 60 Turks, who had seized many captives and more than 1,050 animals, and were leading them before them. When our men saw them, although they were very few, stretching out their hands to heaven and calling upon King Sabaoth, they attacked in military fashion; and, with the Lord of hosts helping, they overcame them; they killed 6 of them, and they held their horses, and, exulting, they returned to the camp with immense prey. There was huge joy in the whole army at the great victory of the few and much plunder.

————— RHC.854

Chapter XIII.

On the city which is called Tortosa, which is found empty.

A few laid many low and plundered.

And when others saw these things, many went out from the army of Raymond, kindled with zeal for worth: Raymond Pilet and Raymond, viscount of Turenne, were in command of them, and with banners stretched on high they rode against the city which is called Tortosa. Coming to it, they attack with a strong onset; but on that day they did nothing, and as night came on they withdrew into a certain corner; and all night they made immense pyres of fire, as if the whole army of the Christians remaining behind were at hand. The nation

that was in the city, terrified by these balls of flame, thinking that all our men were at hand, all suddenly fled, and left the city full of all goods. That city, however, is utterly alien to every necessity, established in a most excellent port of the sea.

On the next day, when our men came to it as to storm it, they found it entirely empty. Therefore rendering the highest praises to God, they entered it, and as long as the siege lasted at Archas, they remained there.

————— RHC.854–855

Chapter XIV.

On the city of Maraclea.

The city of Tortosa too is taken, exceedingly precious. The city of Eraclea is not far from it.

There is, however, also another city not far from it, which is called Maraclea: whose prince entered into peace with them, and received them and their banners within. O wondrous virtue of God, and power to be wondered at! When the princes who seemed to rule and to sustain the people were far away, through the fewer and as if the lesser, the Lord began to overcome even the kings themselves, lest human presumption say: "We have subdued Antioch and the other cities; we have conquered so many and so great wars" — because for certain they would never have overcome, unless he through whom kings reign had been with them. But when the duke of dukes and the soldier of soldiers, Godfrey, had heard the happy outcomes and the distinguished trophies of those fighting, animated by zeal for gaining victory, then for the first time both he himself and the Flemish count and Bohemond moved camp from Antioch, and came to the city of Licia.

————— RHC.855

Chapter XV.

How Bohemond was divided from our men.

There indeed Bohemond divided himself from them and from all the army of God; and he had from his father, who was Frankish-born, most excellent beginnings; but from his mother, who was Apulian, he retained the footsteps.

————— RHC.855–856

Chapter XVI.

The duke and the count proceed to the city of Gibellum.

Duke Godfrey, as always thoroughly faithful, The Flemish consul, whose sword does not fail, Resolve to subject the city of Gibelle to themselves by war.

Then the duke and the count directed their lines to the city which is called Gibellum, and they surrounded it with a siege. At that hour of time indeed a messenger came to the count of Saint-Gilles that the Turks had prepared themselves to fight against him, and that the war would be all too heavy and the very greatest. Immediately the count sent a messenger to the duke and to the Flemish count, that they should come most swiftly to that battle and bring him aid. When the duke heard this, he sent the prince of the city the peace which he had already often sought. Peace having therefore been made, and the gifts of the pledged promise having been received, they flew to the hoped-for war, and they came together to the siege which was at the aforesaid castle, and they pitched camp on the other bank of the river which flows past it.

————— RHC.856

Chapter XVII.

On the war waged at Tripoli.

Hence they proceed to Tripoli, which they plunge in much blood. Hence also a pleasant valley is entered for supper; Fitting gifts of food are found there.

But when the duke saw that he was accomplishing nothing, he directed the lines against Tripoli, and found all the enemies ready there. For with bows stretched, the enemies set themselves against our men; but our men, having thrown their

shields, despised bow and arrows as straws. The fight is therefore engaged, but not on even terms, because, with the arrows drawn, they, as is their custom, wanted to flee; but our men set themselves as an obstacle between them and the city. And why should I use more words? So much human blood was poured there that the water which flowed in the city was made red, and filled their cisterns. The more noble of that city itself died there; and those who remained alive groaned much at the contamination of the cisterns. That slaughter having been completed, our men, very little content, because they had gained nothing there except missiles and the spoils of clothing, ran into the aforesaid valley Desen; and without number they plundered sheep, oxen, asses, and livestock of different kind; and together they seized 3,000 camels. Our men wondered vehemently whence so great an abundance of beasts had come together, because they had lodged in the same valley for 15 days.

They return to the camp with so great a plunder.

There was never any poverty in that siege, because ships were coming to a certain port, which were bringing all necessities. They celebrated the Lord's Easter there, which was then the 4th of the Ides of April. That besieging, however, lasted 3 months, less 1 day.

RHC.857

Chapter XVIII.

The death of Anselm of Ribemont and of certain illustrious men.

The end of our men put an end to the siege, For there very many good men perished.

Now there died Anselm of Ribemont, a man praiseworthy for many things, and outstanding in his military rank, who, while he was in the world, accomplished many things worthy of relating, among which this is to be preferred, that he was the unwearied helper of the monastery of Anchin in all things. Likewise there died Pons of Balon, whose temples a blow of a stone hurled from a siege-engine pierced. William the Picard and Guarin of Petra Mora died, the first by a javelin,

the other by an arrow. For these men and for such as they, our men abandoned that siege, because that impregnable castle feared no violence of those attacking.

————— RHC.857–858

Chapter XIX.

On the confederation with the king of Tripoli, and his gifts.

Peace is given with the king of Tripoli, not without law. Now the way is directed for which previously one comes by the city.

And so, the tents having been struck, they proceed to Tripoli, and they make firm the peace long sought from the king and the citizens. Right hands therefore having been given to one another, the nobles commended themselves to their faith to such a degree that they entered the city as far as the king's palace. The king, however, so that the trust of the peace to be kept might be believed more certain on his part, unbound from bonds 300 pilgrims from among our men, and gave them to the nobles. He also gave 15,000 bezants, and 15 horses endowed with much honorableness; and he sent to the whole army a praiseworthy market, which entirely deprived them of every necessity. He even pledged and swore to them that, if he could acquire Jerusalem for himself, and overcome the war which Amiralidus of Babylon was threatening to inflict upon them, he would be made a Christian, and would be subjected to the dominion of the king of Jerusalem. They were, however, at Tripoli for three days. Therefore the nobles and the warriors, seeing that the time of the new crops was now pressing, agreed that they would seize the Jerusalem journey entirely, and, having omitted all things, would hold the straighter way. It was, however, the fourth day of May when they went out from Tripoli, and, ascending through certain steep mountain-country, they came to the castle whose name is Betelon. On the other day they came to the city which is called Zebaris, in whose neighborhood no water could be found by which their too-great thirst might be quenched. For it was burning heat, and the horses and the whole multitude of men were thirsting. On the next day they came to the river whose name is Braim. There therefore they spent the night, and they put their thirst aside. The

following night was of the Lord's Ascension; and they themselves ascended the mountain, in which there was a way too narrow, in which they thought to find those coming to meet them; but God, who was their only leader, *and there was not with him an alien God*, made them cross unharmed. Then they came to the city Beirut, situated upon the sea; then to another, which is called Sagitta; after this to another, which is called Sur; then to Acre; from Acre to the castle whose name is Caiphaz; and so to Caesarea.

————— RHC.858

Chapter XX.

On Caesarea.

The city is Caesarea, laid out along the seas.

Caesarea, however, is a distinguished city of Palestine, in which Philip the apostle is said to have had a house, which is shown even to this day; and also the chamber of his daughters, maidens who prophesied. It is, however, situated on the shore of the sea, once called Pyrgos, that is the Tower of Strato. But, built by King Herod more nobly and more fairly, more usefully against the force of the sea, it was named Caesarea in honor of Caesar Augustus: for whom he even built in it a temple of white marble, in which his nephew Herod was struck by an angel, Cornelius the centurion was baptized, and Agabus the prophet was bound with Paul's belt. Beside it our men pitched their tents, and they celebrated the Lord's holy Pentecost.

————— RHC.859

Chapter XXI.

On the city of Ramola.

Then they came to the city of Ramola, which the Saracens had left empty for fear of them: beside which there was an illustrious church of Saint George the martyr, in which his most holy body rested, and in which place he himself received martyrdom for the name of Christ. In it the Christian soldiers, out of

veneration for the soldier of Christ, elected a bishop, established the one elected, and enriched the one established with the tithes of all their riches. And it was worthy that George, the unconquered soldier, the standard-bearer of their soldiery, should receive this honor from them. And so the bishop remained there with his own, rich in gold and silver, horses and animals. And the Christian army directed its journey to the holy city of Jerusalem, in the power of the name of him who lay dead in it, and on the third day rose again, to whom there is, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, equal power and unending glory. Amen.

HERE ENDS THE EIGHTH BOOK.

————— RHC.863

Here begins the ninth book.

Chapter I.

How our men came to Jerusalem.

O good king Christ, how many weepings this people of yours poured out, how near it saw Jerusalem!

O good Jesus, when your camps saw the walls of this earthly Jerusalem, how many issues of waters their eyes led down! And presently, falling forward to the earth, with the sound of the mouth and with the nod of the inclined body, they saluted your holy Sepulchre; and they adored you who lay in it, as sitting at the right hand of the Father, as the judge of all who is to come. Truly then from all you took away the heart of stone, and you bestowed a fleshly heart, and you placed your Holy Spirit in the midst of them. And so against your enemies who were in it, now, namely, placed from far off, they were fighting, because they were thus stirring you to their aid; and they were fighting better with tears than by hurling javelins, because although they were flowing down abundantly onto the earth, they were nevertheless climbing up into heaven before you, their defender: who, rising from prayer, hastened to the royal city; they found the enemies of the eternal king inside: around whom they placed their camps in such an order.

————— RHC.863–864

Chapter II.

In what order Jerusalem was besieged.

On the north two counts encamped, the Norman and the Flemish, beside the church of Saint Stephen the protomartyr, where he was stoned by the Jews; on the west, Duke Godfrey and Tancred; but on the south, the count of Saint-

Gilles, namely on Mount Zion, around the church of Saint Mary, the Lord's mother, where the Lord dined with his disciples. With the tents therefore thus drawn up in a circuit around Jerusalem, while, fatigued by the hardship of the journey, they rested, and prepared engines to storm the city, Raymond Pilet and Raymond of Taurina and a great many others went out from the camps, so that they might survey the neighbouring region, namely lest unforeseen enemies come upon them and find them unprepared. And so they found 200 Arabs, and fought with them, and overcame them, and killed many, and from there had 30 horses.

————— RHC.864

Chapter III.

On which day Jerusalem was first attacked.

Therefore on the second weekday of the second week of June, namely the 4th of the Ides, the Christians attacked Jerusalem, but on that day they did not prevail; nevertheless the labor was not empty. For they thus struck down the outer wall, that they raised one ladder to the greater wall; and if an abundance of ladders had then been at hand, that first labor would have been the last. For those who ascended by the ladder contended with the enemy at close quarters for a long time with javelins and swords. Many of our men died in that conflict, but far more of them. The hour of evening, unfit for war, broke off the contest, and night coming on conferred quiet on both sides. This repulse indeed brought a heavy and too long labor upon our men, because loaves could not be found to eat for intervals of 10 days, until their laden ships came to the port of Jaffa. And too great a pressure of thirst wore them down, because Siloam, which rises at the foot of Mount Zion, could scarcely water the men alone; but the horses and the rest of the animals were led 6 miles to water, and then with a great guard of soldiers: whence water was also dear among them, and flesh was sold at a price.

————— RHC.864–865

Chapter IV.

On the guardianship of the ships which had come to the port of Jaffa, and the outcome of the war, and the death of Achard.

Here thirst and hunger press our men as a penalty. If he had been late here, Achard would not have died thus.

Counsel therefore having been taken, they chose soldiers who should go to the ships and guard them from a foreign people. And so, at the very first light of day, 100 soldiers went out from the army of the count of Saint-Gilles, namely Raymond Pilet, who was always at home to every labor of soldiery and utterly foreign to leisure; and with him the other Raymond of Taurina, and Achard of Montmerle, William of Sabran also. And they were going, as ready for war, to the port of the sea; and while they were going, 30 of them separated themselves from the others, that they might learn the paths of the ways, and scout whether they would find enemies. And when they had proceeded a little of the journey, they see from a distance 700 Turks and Arabs, whom, although they were very few, they nevertheless attack without hesitation. But the numerousness of the enemies was so great that the fewness of our men could not resist. Our men nevertheless consigned those whom they struck in the first onset to perpetual death. But when, that engagement having been made, they reckoned that they could turn back, hemmed in by the multitude, they could not fulfil their wish. Then there Achard died, a warrior, strong and outstanding, and certain of the foot-soldiers. But before the war began, a messenger on a swift horse had run to Pilet, who should announce that Arabs and Turks had attacked our men. When Pilet heard this, urging his horse with the spurs without delay, he nevertheless arrived there late. For already Achard was dead, who nevertheless before he departed exchanged his life for much blood, and his death for the death of very many. But when they caught sight of our men from a distance,

As doves with trembling wing are accustomed to flee the hawk, so they flee, and they gave their backs to our men.

But our men pursued them, and killed many. And they held one of them alive, who should report to them the deceits of the Turks, and should foretell what evil they were plotting; and they held from them 103 horses, which they sent

back to the camp, and they themselves carry out the enjoined commands at the ships. The ships laden with food indeed extinguished the hunger; but they could not extinguish the vehement thirst.

————— RHC.865–866

Chapter V.

Concerning the thirst which they suffered.

So great indeed was the thirst in the siege, that they hollowed out the earth and put the damper clods to their mouths, and licked the dewy marbles. They sewed the fresh hides of oxen and of buffaloes and of other animals, and when they arranged to go to water the horses, as many as 6,000 armed soldiers proceeded. Then they filled them with that water, and brought them back to the camp, and drank from that stinking water; most, as they could bear it, fasted, because fasts tempered the thirst. And who would believe that hunger would be of use, that pain would drive out pain?

————— RHC.866

Chapter VI.

How Jerusalem is stormed and taken by our men.

Here twin towers are fashioned from wood, Beneath which the lofty parts of the walls are looked down upon. They ascend by ladders; they scale the summits of the wall.

While these things were being suffered, the nobles were having wooden beams brought from a long stretch of land, with which towers and engines might be made that would storm the city. When these had been brought, Godfrey, duke of dukes, built his own tower and ordered it to be conducted near the city from the eastern quarter. Opposite, the venerable count of Saint-Gilles set up a similar castle and applied it from the southern part. On the fifth weekday, indeed, our men celebrated fasts and distributed alms to the poor. On the sixth weekday, as dawn was flashing with serene light, the outstanding warriors ascend

the towers and put ladders to the walls. The adulterous citizens of the excellent city are stunned and tremble when they see themselves hemmed in with so great strength. Because they were seeing the last day imminent upon them and death hanging over their heads, they began to resist fiercely and, as already in no doubt of death, to fight in defense.

————— RHC.866-867

Chapter VII.

Concerning Duke Godfrey and his brothers, and the city taken.

There Duke Godfrey stood out in his tower, not then a soldier, but an archer, whose hands to battle and fingers to war the Lord was directing; for, with arrows shot, he was piercing through the enemies' breasts and both their sides. Beside him his brothers Eustace and Baldwin, like two lions beside a lion, were receiving the hard blows of javelins and stones, and they were paying them back with fourfold interest. And who could report the worth of all of them, when the eloquence of all the philosophers who now are would suffice very little for such praises? And while it was being fought thus from above the walls, a procession was being conducted around the walls themselves, and crosses and relics and consecrated altars are carried. And so for the whole day it was contended with alternating blows. But when the hour approached at which the Saviour of all underwent the cross, a certain soldier, named Letoldus, from the duke's castle, first leapt onto the wall, and Guicherus followed after him, who struck down a lion by his own power and killed it. At once the duke follows his soldiers, and all the other soldiers follow their duke. Then indeed the bows and arrows are laid aside, and thunderbolt swords are seized. When these things were seen, the enemies immediately abandon the wall, and they slip down to the ground, and the soldiers of Christ pursue with swift step and with great voices. When Count Raymond, who was eager to bring his castle near to the wall, heard these voices, he immediately understood that the Franks were in the city, and he says to his soldiers: "Why do we stand here? In vain we labor. The Frankish-born obtain the city; and they resound with great voices and blows." Then with swift step he

went with his company to the gate which is beside the tower of David, and he called those who were in the citadel, that they should open to him.

————— RHC.867–868

Chapter VIII.

The tower of David is given back to Count Raymond.

There was no other such occasion in wars. The temple of Solomon is foul with the blood of the Turks, and truncated limbs swim over the pavements.

Immediately the ammiravisus who was guarding the tower, when he recognized who he was, opened the door to him; and he commended himself and his men and his goods to his faith, that he might protect him so that he should not be destroyed. But the count said that he would never do that, unless he yielded the tower to him. He gladly assigned his assent to him; and the count pledged him, as he asked, all trust. But Duke Godfrey was not going after the citadel, not the hall, not gold, not silver, not any spoils whatever; but with his Frankish-born men he was striving to avenge upon them the blood of the servants of God which had been poured out in the circuit of Jerusalem; and he was desiring to avenge the mockeries and the insults which they had inflicted on the pilgrims. In no war, however, did he have such opportunity of killing, nor upon the bridge of Antioch, when he halved a giant gentile. But now, without any resistance, both he himself and Guicherus, who cut a lion through the middle, and many thousands of chosen soldiers, were cutting human bodies from the top of the head as far as the loins, and on the right and on the left through both sides. None of our men there was sluggish, none timorous, where no one was resisting, but each was fleeing according to his own ability; but no one was able to flee, because the multitude, entangled from itself into itself, was an impediment to itself. Those, however, who were able to slip away from so great a wasting, from so great a slaughter, entered the temple of Solomon, and they defended themselves there for a long stretch of the day. But when the day now seemed to be declining, our men, fearing the going-down of the sun, having conceived high spirit, burst into the approaches of the temple, and they brought

them down by a wretched death. So much human blood was poured out there that the bodies of the slain, the wave of blood driving them, were being rolled over the pavement, and arms or truncated hands were flowing upon the gore and were being joined to a foreign body, so that no one was able to discern whose body's arm it was, which had been joined to a truncated body. Even the soldiers themselves who were working this butchery scarcely endured the exhaling mists of hot gore. Therefore, this unspeakable slaughter having been completed, they indulged nature a little; and they reserved many of the young people, both men and women, for life, and they took them into their own service. Presently, running about through the streets and the squares, they seized whatever they found, and what each seized was his own. Jerusalem, however, was then stuffed with temporal goods, nor was it in need of anything except spiritual delicacies. Then indeed she so made rich her sons coming to her from far off that no one remained poor in her.

————— RHC.868-869

Chapter IX.

With how great devotion they came to the Lord's Sepulchre.

Peace having indeed been made, the slaughter of the wretched completed, To the Lord's fair sepulchre the bowed people runs. He who ascends the temple comes back from there shamefully.

And so, enriched with so great riches, they proceeded with glad gait to the Lord's holy Sepulchre; and giving thanks to him who was buried in it, they offered their head-coverings. On that very day, as had been foretold through the prophet, *the Lord's Sepulchre* was *glorious*, when all were going prone not with the gait of feet, but of knees and elbows, and were flooding the pavements with a rain of tears. There the Saviour's humility was triumphing, and the pomp of the deceiver was yielding far away. There the humble Christian people was venerating humble Christ, and was ashamed of that veteran Lucifer who wanted to compare himself with his creator. This offering having therefore been completed with solemn devotion, they returned to their houses, destined for

them by God; and indulging the necessities of nature, they gave food and the rest of sleep to their weary bodies. On the next day, when dawn showed her head to the lands, lest any place for ambush remain in the city, they ran armed to the temple of Solomon, namely to destroy those who had ascended onto the rooftops of the temple. For a very great abundance of Turks had climbed up there, which would more gladly have fled, if, having taken wings, it could have flown. But to those whom nature denied wings, wretched life gave unhappy endings. For when they saw our men encountering them from the opposite side upon the temple, they were coming to meet them with naked swords, preferring to fall by a most swift death than to perish at the greatest length under the yoke of wretched servitude. For they were casting themselves headlong to the earth, and at the earth which grants the nourishment of life to all mortals, they were finding death. Nevertheless they did not kill them all; but they reserved very many for their own servitude. Then it was established that the city should be cleaned; and it was enjoined upon the living Saracens that they should draw the dead outside, and utterly cleanse the city from all the filth of so great a carrion; who, immediately obeying the orders, both were mourning and were drawing them out, and outside the gate they were building huge pyres, like castle-like and defensive houses. They were gathering truncated members in baskets, and were bearing them outside; and they were washing the pavements of the temples and of the houses from blood with water.

————— RHC.869–870

Chapter X.

Godfrey is chosen as king by all.

The law is kept there where the duke is sanctified as king.

All the enemies therefore having been driven out from the city of peaceful name, the question of ordaining a king had to be discussed: namely that one out of all of them should be chosen, who should be set over so great a city and so great a people. Therefore by the common decree of all, who by vow and general assent, Duke Godfrey is chosen, namely on the 8th day on which the city is

stormed. In which good the assent of all ought to have come together; because in that governance he displayed himself such that he himself commended the royal dignity more than the royal dignity commended him. Honor did not make him illustrious; but glory was multiplied to honor because of him. For to such a degree he was over the royal dignity and was of profit to it, that, if it could come into being that the whole of the kings of the earth were at hand beside him, he would be judged by the censure of equity to rule over all, both by the merit of horseman's worth, and by the countenance-marked elegance of body and the prerogative of noble manners.

————— RHC.870

Chapter XI.

The election of the patriarch.

The king, the people, and the clergy establish a patriarch for themselves.

It was also appropriate afterwards that those who had chosen for themselves a governor of bodies, fittingly and a fitting one, should in like manner put forward a ruler of souls. And so they chose a certain cleric, named Arnulf, well skilled in divine and human law. He was, however, a scribe taught in the kingdom of heaven, that is, in Holy Church: who could well put forth from his treasure things new and old. His election, indeed, was made on the feast of Saint Peter in Chains: which feast well matches the bound city, which had long been tied with demonic bonds; because on the very day on which she had a worthy priest, she was free and loosed. Thanks therefore to God, the Saviour and liberator of his own, who so often permitted her to be destroyed and enslaved, and so often rebuilt her when destroyed, and by marvelous power freed her when enslaved.

By these, as has been said before, alternating conflicts of wars, the Gallic nation penetrated the bounds of the East; and, with divine grace helping, cleansed Jerusalem of the uncleannesses of the gentiles with which she had been polluted for about 40 years. In her, when a priest had been canonically consecrated, and a king exalted, the celebrated name of the Franks became known to all the East,

and the omnipotence of Jesus Christ crucified in her shone forth even in the minds of the faithless.

————— RHC.871

Chapter XII.

Of the Neapolitan citizens who subjected themselves to the king's command.

You Neapolitans, come to be allied with our men.

With which splendor of gleaming grace, when the ordinance of priest and king had been displayed with solemn joy, messengers from the Neapolitan city came to King Godfrey, bearing the instructions of their citizens, that he should send to them, namely of his own, and should receive their citizens and city into his governance and his dominion: for he wished to extend his own empire from themselves, they more desiring their own principate than that of another prince. Neapolis, however, is a city of Caria, which is a province of Asia. The king, having taken counsel, sent to them his brother Eustace, and Tancred, with a great band of soldiers and of foot-soldiers: whom they received with a great office of veneration, and handed themselves and the city over into their dominion.

————— RHC.871–872

Chapter XIII.

Concerning Clement, ammiravissus of Babylon, who, about to fight against the Christians, gathered a great army.

This ammiravissus of Babylon, [READING UNCERTAIN: levis / bevis] to all, Hostile, wished to destroy the Lord's Sepulchre. Against which he carried on words with a proud people.

When he had perceived that these things were thus coming into being, that twisting serpent and slippery snake, who always envies the happiness of the faithful, greatly grieved, namely that the title of the Christian name was being so

enlarged, and that the kingdom of the renewed city of Jerusalem was being so widened. And he moved Clement, or rather the demented, the ammiravisus of Babylon, against them with gall, and with him he stirred up the whole East. For the presumptor of all malice hoped to destroy all those men and the city, and to abolish the memory of the Lord's Sepulchre from the foundations. But as the thoughts of men are vain, so also powers vanish. Therefore he gathered whatever of men he could, and with pompous apparatus he came to Ascalon. When he had come there, a certain messenger in haste came, and made the matter known to him as it was. Nor was the delay long that the king sent to those whom he had sent, namely that they should hasten to come to the war which the ammiravisus of Babylon had prepared. For he himself was now at Ascalon with a countless people, and was preparing to besiege Jerusalem. When Eustace and Tancred and the rest of the warrior men heard this, they showed the imminent affair of the war to the Neapolitan citizens; and bidding them farewell, they departed with the good of joy and friendship. Our men indeed, desiring the encounter of the Turks, ascended the mountains, and sleepless and restless through the whole day and night they came to Caesarea. On the next day, walking beside the sea, they came to a certain city which is called Ramola, and there they found many Arabs, who were the forerunners of the war. Pursuing them without doubt, they seized many of them, who opened to them in truth the whole apparatus of the war. When this had been learned, they sent more quickly to the king messengers sitting on swift horses, that he should move all without delay, and proceed against Ascalon to the war.

————— RHC.872

Chapter XIV.

On Ascalon, because she had always been the adversary of Jerusalem.

This Ascalon: there were no good things.

Ascalon, however, is a distinguished city of Palestine, distant from Jerusalem by 25,000: which the Philistines once founded, and they called it Ascalon, from the name of Celon, who was the grandson of Ham and the son of Mizraim. She

was, however, always the adversary of Jerusalem, and although she is neighboring to it, nevertheless she never wished to be joined by any familiarity. In this city, therefore, the ammiravisus of Babylon was, when the messengers came to the king, and reported what we have said above. The king, however, when he heard, commanded the patriarch to be summoned, and received counsel from him, that it should be proclaimed through the whole city, that on the next day, at the very morning, all should come together to the church; that after the sacred solemnities of the masses they should receive the Eucharist of the Lord's body, and should ride to war toward Ascalon. This rumor disturbed the spirits of the hearers very little; but the following night seemed to them more drawn out with slower progress, and to have come about more quickly.

————— RHC.873

Chapter XV.

The Christians went to the church so that they might go more securely to the fight.

When first the morning dawn raised its head, The ringing bell called all to mass. The mass is concluded, the people are allied to the Lord. While the sacred gifts which are blessed are taken, The people go out from the church, and ran to arms. And hungry they proceed in opposition against their enemy. War-trumpets, sistra, trumpets, after the king goes out from the city, Sounded together: at whose blasts all The mountains in a circle with the valleys were echoing. And they were striking terror into their enemies.

Thus the Christian lines proceed to battle, bearing God, the victor of war, in body and in mind, and for that reason they are not terrified by any multitude of men, because they do not trust in their own, but in his power. The patriarch indeed left behind his functions to Peter the Hermit, so that he might ordain masses, establish prayers, and compose processions to the Sepulchre, so that God the man, who lay in it, might become a protection to his people.

————— RHC.873–874

Chapter XVI.

The king, when he came to the river, found the prey of a plentiful multitude.

Now the crowds of foot-soldiers first go out from the city; The king with the soldiers follows more swiftly: The prey which they found they immediately plunder; On the sixth weekday our columns proceed.

And when the king with his army came to the river which is this side of Ascalon, he found there many thousands of oxen, camels, asses, mules and she-mules, which were not only from the city, but had come with the army of the *ammiravisus*. 100 Arabs were guarding all these; but, as soon as they saw our men, they both left the prey behind for them and sought a refuge of flight for themselves. But our men pursued them, but they could not seize except two. They plundered the whole prey, however, and from it they plentifully made Jerusalem rich. The king indeed, the day now drawing toward evening, commanded it to be cried out through the whole column that all should rest, and should rise at first light, and should prepare themselves for war. But the patriarch anathematized all who in that conflict should plunder anything before victory had been attained. The night therefore having passed, the dawn burned brighter than usual, and stirred our men from sleep. It was, however, the sixth weekday, on which the Saviour of the human race struck down the Devil, the king of Babylon, by the trophy of the cross, and now again the Lord overcame the *ammiravisus* of his Babylon through his satellites. The king, as we said above, crossed the river, but the patriarch, with the bishops and other religious men, both Greeks and Latins, remained on this side.

————— RHC.874

Chapter XVII.

Beside the sea the lines are drawn up.

And so the king descended into a certain beautiful and spacious valley with all his own, and he entered along the shore of the sea, and there he drew up his lines. He himself set up his own as the first, the Norman count the second, the count of Saint-Gilles the third, the Flemish count the fourth, Count Eustace

and Tancred and Gaston of Béarn the fifth; and all the foot-soldiers with arrows and javelins and missiles set themselves in front of the soldiers, and thus drawn up they began to go against the Babylonians. On the right side, beside the sea, was the count of Saint-Gilles; but on the left the king rode, where the greater strength of the enemies was pressing. Between these were all the others.

————— R.H.C. 874–875

Chapter XVIII.

The ammiravisus was stunned when he heard that our men were coming to meet him.

But it is not to be passed over what Clement the ammiravisus said, when it was announced to him that our men were riding against him to battle. For of the late prey which our men had captured no one had announced to him, since no one presumed to tell him anything except glad and prosperous things, because he wished always to be in joy. For whoever announced adverse things to him found thereafter no grace in his sight. Yet no possession had disturbed him by its being taken away: what remained was of such great resources. And lest anyone say that what we are about to say is frivolous, we have it from a certain man who afterwards related these things in Jerusalem, who of his own will was made a Christian, and in baptism was called Bohemond. And so at the very morning it was said to him that truly the Franks were ready for battle, and that they were already near, coming against him. Then Clement is reported to have said to the messenger: "What you say to me, I do not dare to believe, because I do not reckon to find them even within the walls of Jerusalem." And he to him: "Most certainly let your greatness know, Lord, that they come ready for battle, and they are already near." Then he commanded that all his men take up arms and hasten to war. And when all stood ready opposite, and he himself had gazed upon our men, he said: "O kingdom of Babylon, surpassing all kingdoms, how great a disgrace you suffer today, in this: that so small a nation presumes to come against you! But I never reckoned to find them even within the precincts of any city whatsoever; and they themselves have dared to come against me by a journey

of one day! Either they have lost their sense, or they love to die as they love to live. I command you therefore, O Babylonian warriors, that you wipe all these from the earth; let your eye spare no one, and have mercy on no one." So then the battle was engaged.

— RHC.875–876

Chapter XIX.

War is engaged on both sides.

Here the Norman duke was great in the contest: He slays the king's standard-bearer before the feet of Babylon.

First, indeed, the count of Normandy, an undaunted soldier, began the engagement with his line, namely in that region in which he saw the banner of the ammiravisus, which they call *standarun*. Breaking a way with the sword through the midst of the lines, he dealt many slaughters, and at last, coming to the one who was holding the *standarun*, struck him down before the feet of the ammiravisus, and took the banner. The ammiravisus, however, scarcely escaped, and, fleeing to Ascalon, stood before the door of the city; and the wretched man looked from far off upon the most wretched disaster of his men. With not unlike boldness the king and the rest of the counts rush upon those opposite, and with the most savage punishment, on the right and on the left, they kill as many as come to meet them. There the Turkish bow was of use to none of them, because the onset of our men was so swift and so very dense that none was allowed to draw, but it was more pleasing to flee. Many thousands indeed died there, who would not have died if they had prevailed to flee. But the multitude was so great because those who were behind were driving those sent ahead onto the death-dealing swords of our men. Tancred and Eustace, count of Boulogne, rushed upon their tents, and there they did many splendid things, which, if they were written, would be worthy of memory. None of our men was found sluggish, none fearful, but all, animated with one spirit, were with one mind pursuing the enemies of the Cross of Christ. It was indeed a wonder that the fewness of our men was not terrified of the multitude of so many armed men,

but, with divine grace assisting, it was growing stronger and stronger, and was inclining their stiff-neckedness.

————— RHC.876-877

Chapter XX.

At the hour at which Christ suffered, the ammiravisus was vanquished.

And so for the whole day the conflict of the fight is entered upon until the sun climbs above the centre of the pole, namely at the hour at which our Lord Jesus climbs the cross: at that same hour all the strength of the opposing people withered, who were so changed in their wits that they could neither flee, nor were they able to defend themselves. They were climbing trees, thinking that they might so be protected there as not to be gazed upon by our men. But our men were shooting them with arrows, as fowlers do birds, and were slaughtering those plunged to the earth, as butchers do animals in a slaughterhouse. Others, however, holding swords in their hands, having thrown themselves at the feet of our men, were bowing themselves to the earth, and they did not dare to raise themselves against the Christians. Now indeed the first part of the Babylonian army was all fleeing, and the hinder part was still in doubt about the victory, whose it was, except that there was nothing for which it hoped less than the flight of their own men and the victory of the Christians. For when it caught sight of its own men running about across the level of the fields in flight, it reckoned that they were pursuing the Christians and wished to kill them. But after they learned that the victory was the Christians', sorrow overcame the joy they had had. Then they too, terrified, flee, and they furnish company to their followers as they flee; and as the north wind scatters the clouds, and a whirlwind sent in scatters heaped-up straws, so our men were scattering the wings and wedges of those fleeing. While these things were happening thus, while the soldiers of Christ were thus destroying the satellites of the Devil, and the count of Saint-Gilles, who was fighting beside the sea, was killing without number, and was compelling far more to go headlong into the sea, let us hear what Clement, now indeed demented, the ammiravisus, standing before the gate of

Ascalon, said: as the aforesaid proselyte afterwards related at Jerusalem, who was beside him, as his attendant and household-born slave.

————— R.H.C. 877-878

Chapter XXI.

Lamentation of the ammiravisus.

These, as of a madman, are the sad words of Clement.

Clement, as a madman, was saying, while the Christian nation was cutting down his nation: "O Muhammad, our teacher and patron, where is your power? Where is the power of the heavenly divinities, with whom you yourself glory? Where is the creator's effective power, to which your presence always stands? Why have you thus left your nation behind, which the poorest and ragged nation, a nation the offscouring of other nations and the dregs, rust, and slag of absolutely all men, is mercilessly destroying, scattering, killing; a nation, I say, which was accustomed to seek bread from ours, which had absolutely nothing except a staff and a scrip. So often we gave them alms, so often we had mercy on them! Alas, alas! why did we spare them? Why did we indulge their misery? Why did we not kill them all? Now we can know that they were coming here not as true worshippers, but as sly scouts. They saw the glory of our happiness, they coveted our riches, they carried the desire with them into their own land, and they announced it to these men. Now therefore these thirst for our gold and silver, and on this account they so cruelly pour out our blood. Are these then men who have such power, or surely infernal Gods? Perhaps hell has been broken open, and from there this people has burst. The abyss has sounded, and from there this nation has boiled forth, for they have no bowels of humanity, no signs of piety. If they were men, they would fear to die; but from where they emerged, they are not terrified of returning into hell.

O glory of the kingdom of Babylon, how shamefully you are today dishonored, you who lose your warriors, once strong, now weakened! What nation will be able any longer to resist this nefarious nation, when your nation cannot stand

against it even for an hour? Alas, alas! now they flee who never learned to flee, and they are shamefully struck down who were accustomed to strike others down. Ah, the grief! all things turn to the contrary for us. We used to conquer, and we are conquered; to be continually occupied in gladness of heart, and now we are afflicted with grief. For who is able to hold his eyes from tears, and to check the sobs bursting from the inmost heart? It is long now that in the gathering of this army I have expended the care of great anxiety, and I have consumed much time in vain. The stronger soldiers of the whole East I hired at an innumerable price, and I brought them to this war; and now at the end I have lost both them and the price. At a great loss of silver I had prepared wood for constructing wooden towers, and engines of every kind around Jerusalem, that I might besiege them, and they themselves far from it forestalled my face. What honor shall I have any longer in my land, when a stranger nation, an alien people, so dishonors me? O Muhammad, Muhammad, who is ever worshipped with more graceful worship than you, in shrines distinguished with gold and silver and adorned with fair images of you, and with ceremonies and solemnities and every rite of the sacred things? But this is that with which the Christians are accustomed to insult us, that the power of the Crucified is greater than yours: because he himself is powerful in heaven and on earth. But now it appears that those who trust in him conquer, but those who venerate you are conquered. But our neglect does not exact this, since with gold, gems, and all precious riches your burial is more distinguished than his. That city which is ennobled by your body has never been cut off from honor, but has always grown in every loftiness, and has shone forth with every service of due veneration. But this one in which the Crucified has been buried has never afterwards had honor, but has been destroyed, and trampled underfoot, and reduced to nothing many times. By whose fault, therefore, are we made so degenerate, when we show you every honor, and you repay us no return?

O Jerusalem, seducing and adulterous city, if at any time it should happen that you came into our hands, I would level you entirely with the ground, and I would utterly destroy the Sepulchre of your Buried One."

When Clement the ammiravisus was rolling these things and things equivalent to them with a plaintive voice, our men, not unmindful of their accustomed power, rushed upon the Babylonians before the door of the city with so great an onset that they left none of them outside the door except dead or exhausted by wounds. And so in such a manner divine power conquered the war, and victory commended our men. And who could fully report how many were killed in the narrow entrance of the gate? Then Clement could by right weep, when he saw so many extinguished corpses of his men before him. Some, still placed in their last breath, were palpitating, and they were cursing Clement, who had brought them there. It is said that then Clement wept howling, and cursed our men.

————— RHC.879

Chapter XXII.

On the flight of the sailors.

This war having been done, the enemy so utterly subdued, the slain sailors coming by sea scatter in flight.

There were, however, in the sea that lies next to the city, sailors and ships of the regions lying around the sea, who by command of the ammiravisus had brought a supply of all wealth necessary for the siege of the city of Jerusalem; who, when they saw their own men and their lord so shamefully thrown into confusion, terrified with fear, hoisted the sails and drove themselves onto the high sea.

But our men, with hands raised to heaven, returned thanks to God with their hearts, and, returning to their tents, found gold, silver, and countless spoils of garments, and an abundance of food, many kinds of animals, the instruments of all arms. They even found horses and beasts of burden, mules and she-mules, young asses and she-asses, and one dromedary. What shall I report of the sheep and the rams, and of the other livestock, which were ready for eating? Cauldrons and kettles, cooking pots, beds and their coverings, baskets full of gold and silver and of golden garments, and all their equipment was found there. Those who had the tents of the ammiravisus filled with royal riches were enriched with the richest prey.

Chapter XXIII.

On the standarun that was captured in the battle.

The count bears a very beautiful hand before the Sepulchre.

The count of Normandy offered the standarun, which had a golden apple at the summit of a silver spear, to the Lord's Sepulchre, and it was valued at a price of 20 marks. But another bought the sword for 60 bezants. But while our men were thus returning triumphantly, they were finding columns of rustics bearing wine vessels and water vessels, which they thought to be necessary in the siege for the uses of their lords: who, like beasts, stunned, were turning aside nowhere; but, with their heads inclined, they were awaiting the swords of our men. Most were rolling themselves in the blood of the dead, and as if dead they were lurking among the bodies of the dead. When, however, our men came to the river where they had left the patriarch behind, they rested, and when, fatigued, they slept their sleep. And when day is rendered to the lands, dawn forestalling, they rise, and they hastened the journey begun.

Chapter XXIV.

On the sweet melody of those sounding the horns.

<i>The echo sounding from the mountains matches equally.</i>

When they began to draw near the city to almost 2 miles, they sounded, as conquerors, on trumpets, sistra, and horns, and with every kind of musician, so that the mountains and hills answered with the measured ringing of the harmony, and in a manner shouted for joy to the Lord with them. Then in reality was being fulfilled what is said spiritually through Isaiah concerning the Church of the faithful: <i>The mountains and the hills were singing praise before you</i>. There was, however, a harmony greatly pleasing and delightful with a manifold sweetness, when the ringing of the mountains, the hollows of

the rocks, and the depths of the valleys echoed to the voice of the soldiers and to the sound of the trumpets. But when they came before the doors of the city, praises are proclaimed to the Lord by those who had remained, with divine praises, and no longer by earthly mountains but by heavenly ones. And God was deservedly praised for this, because now his pilgrims have the gates opened to them with praises, who once were received with great difficulty amid great wrongs, even when gifts were given. Concerning these pilgrims and gates it is said through Isaiah: *<i>And your gates will be opened to them continually; day and night they will not be shut</i>*. This prophecy is fulfilled in our times, because now the gates of Jerusalem are opened to *<i>the sons of pilgrims</i>*, which before were shut to them day and night. This battle, however, was accomplished, to the praise and glory of Jesus Christ our Lord, on the day before the Ides of August.

————— RHC.881

Chapter XXV.

Who first established Jerusalem, who the middle, who the last.

It shows who first founded Jerusalem.

Because this historical discourse took the beginning of its name from Jerusalem, and holds both the end and the middle, let it seem out of keeping to no one if, at the close of this work, there is written who first made her, who called her thus. Melchizedek is said to have founded her after the flood, whom the Jews assert to have been the son of Noah. This, founded in Syria, he named *Salem*, and afterwards he reigned in her for many ages; which afterwards the Jebusites held, and they added to her a part of their name, which is *Iebus*, and so, the names having been gathered into one, B having been changed into R, they called her *Ierusalem*. Afterwards, more nobly constructed by Solomon with the Temple of the Lord, and with his royal house, and with many other buildings and gardens and a pool, she is called *Ierosolima*, and as if from his name she may be understood as *Ierusalamonia*. This is called *Solima* corruptly by the poets, and by the prophets she is called *Syon*, which in our tongue is interpreted *Watching*,

for this reason: that, established on a mountain, she contemplates the things coming from far off. *Ierusalem*, however, in our speech, is transferred as *Peaceful*.

————— RHC.881–882

Chapter XXVI.

On its ancient nobility.

*Almighty Jesus, wounded for us on the Cross,
ennobled this city above all others:
by purifying the guilty one, he ennobled her;
for by redeeming the guilty one, he ennobled her.*

Concerning her ancient glorious opulence we find it written in the books of Kings *that Solomon made it so that there was as great an abundance of silver in Jerusalem as even of stones*. Indeed she shone forth much more abundantly richer, when in her the Son of God, for the general redemption of all, sustained the cross, overclouded heaven with its stars, and the earth trembled, *the rocks were split, the tombs were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had slept rose*. In which city did there ever befall so marvelous a mystery, from which the salvation of all the faithful would flow? From which this is inferred, that the Son of God so illumined her by his glorious death, because, if it had pleased our authors, she ought not to have been called *Ierusalem*, but, with R changed into S, *Ihesuslem*, and thus in our speech she could have been interpreted *Salas pacifica*. By these and such figurative actions she is the form and mystic sacrament of that heavenly Jerusalem, of which it is said: *The city of our strength, Zion the saviour, a wall and an outer wall shall be set in her. Open the gates, and a just nation shall enter, keeping the truth*. We cannot report all things concerning her praise which have been said by the prophets and the doctors of the law. But this earthly one in our age was abandoned by God, and held in hatred, from the malice of those dwelling in her. When, however, it pleased the Lord himself, he brought the Frankish-born nation from the ends of the earth, and through her he willed to free that city from the unclean nations. This from

afar he had foretold through Isaiah the prophet, when he says: *I will bring your sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, in the name of the Lord your God, and to holy Israel, because he has glorified you. The sons of pilgrims were building your walls, and their kings were ministering to you.* These and many other things we find in the prophetic books, which match this liberation accomplished in our ages. Through all things and above all things blessed is God, who by just judgment strikes and wounds, and by gratuitous goodness, when he wills and how he wills, has mercy and heals. Amen.

HERE ENDS THE NINTH BOOK.

Notes

Keyed by book, chapter, and lemma. Identifications are not marked on the reading page. Scripture is identified from Robert's Latin; a modern English Bible was not used.

Uncertain readings and residuals

- **Book IX, Chapter XIII (RHC.871–872).** Verse after *iste*: '[READING UNCERTAIN: levis / bevis]'. The 400 dpi letter is unsettled between *l* and *b*; *levis* is Latin, *bevis* is not. The marker is kept; *light* is not silently written.
- **Book III, Chapter XI (RHC.761–762).** Verse *Meanwhile Duke Godfrey and Hugh fly to*. The printed line has no destination. None is supplied.
- **Book VIII, Chapter X (RHC.851–852).** *they gathered the tents and the tents* renders printed *papiliones et tentoria* (two Latin tent-words). The doublet is kept.

Scripture

- **Prologue (RHC.723).** *beata gens, cujus est Dominus Deus ejus, populus quem elegit in hereditatem sibi* — Ps. 32:12 Vulg.; quoted verbatim. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book I, Chapter I (RHC.727–728).** *generatio scilicet quae non direxit cor suum, et non est creditus cum Deo spiritus ejus* — Ps. 77:8 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book I, Chapter I (RHC.727–728).** *verticem capilli* — Ps. 67:22 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book I, Chapter I (RHC.727–728).** *Qui amat patrem aut matrem super me, non est me dignus* — Matt. 10:37 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book I, Chapter I (RHC.727–728).** *qui reliquerit domum, aut patrem, aut matrem, aut uxorem, aut filios, aut agros, propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet et vitam aeternam possidebit* — Matt. 19:29 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book I, Chapter I (RHC.727–728).** *quae lacte et melle fluit* — Exod. 3:8 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.

- **Book I, Chapter II (RHC.729–730).** *immarcescibili gloria* — 1 Pet. 5:4 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book I, Chapter II (RHC.729–730).** *Ubi duo vel tres congregati fuerint in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum* — Matt. 18:20 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book I, Chapter II (RHC.729–730).** *hostiam vivam, sanctam et bene placentem* — Rom. 12:1 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book I, Chapter II (RHC.729–730).** *Qui non bajulat crucem suam et venit post me, non est me dignus* — Luke 14:27 Vulg.; conflated. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book I, Chapter III (RHC.730).** *spiritus Domini qui replet orbem terrarum* — Wis. 1:7 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book I, Chapter V (RHC.731–732).** *qui terrena sapiunt* — Phil. 3:19 Vulg.; allusion. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book I, Chapter IX (RHC.734).** *qui sedem suam elegit ad Aquilonem* — Isa. 14:13 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book II, Chapter II (RHC.739–740).** *Noli timere quia ego tecum sum; ab Aquilone adducam semen tuum, et ab Occidente congregabo te. Dicam Aquiloni: Da; et Austro: Noli prohibere: affer filios meos de longinquo, et filias meas ab extremis terrae.* — Isa. 43:5-6 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book II, Chapter II (RHC.739–740).** *Dominus nunc ascendit super occasum* — Ps. 67:5 Vulg.; allusion. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book II, Chapter III (RHC.740–741).** *qui in sua potestate habet omnium corda, et quo vult inclinatur ea* — Prov. 21:1 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book II, Chapter XI (RHC.744–745).** *a fructu frumenti, vini et olei sui omnes multiplicati sunt* — Ps. 4:8 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book II, Chapter XIII (RHC.745).** *illorum detestabilis sermo, ut cancer, serpebat* — 2 Tim. 2:17 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book II, Chapter XIV (RHC.746).** *magis oportet obedire Deo quam hominibus* — Acts 5:29 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.

- **Book II, Chapter XVI (RHC.747–748).** *ipsius est bellum nostrum, et ipse dominabitur gentium* — 1 Sam. 17:47 Vulg.; conflated. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book III, Chapter V (RHC.758).** *mente concipit fraudem, ut deinceps parturiat iniquitatem* — Ps. 7:15 Vulg.; allusion. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book III, Chapter XIII (RHC.762–763).** *sicut locusta et bruccus, quorum non est numerus* — Ps. 104:34 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book III, Chapter XIV (RHC.763).** *Gloriosus es, Domine, in sanctis tuis, mirabilis in maiestate tua; terribilis atque laudabilis, et faciens mirabilia.* — Exod. 15:11 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book III, Chapter XIV (RHC.763).** *Dextera tua, Domine, percussit inimicum* — Exod. 15:6 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book III, Chapter XIV (RHC.763).** *et in multitudine gloriæ tuæ deposuisti adversarios nostros* — Exod. 15:7 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book III, Chapter XIV (RHC.763).** *Dixerat inimicus: Persequar et comprehendam illos, dividam spolia, implebitur anima mea, evaginabo gladium meum, interficiet eos manus mea.* — Exod. 15:9 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book III, Chapter XIV (RHC.763).** *dux et protector fuisti in misericordia populo tuo quem redemisti. Nunc, Domine, cognoscimus quia portas nos in fortitudine tua, ad habitaculum sanctum tuum, ad sanctum scilicet Sepulcrum tuum.* — Exod. 15:13 Vulg.; conflated. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book III, Chapter XV (RHC.763–764).** *Esurientes etenim suos replevit bonis, divites vero non suos dimisit inanes; deposuit potentes, et exaltavit humiles* — Luke 1:52-53 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book III, Chapter XV (RHC.763–764).** *Ponam te in superbiam sæculorum, gaudium in generationem et generationem; et suges lac gentium, et mamilla regum lactaberis, et scies quia ego Dominus salvans te, et redemptor tuus fortis Jacob.* — Isa. 60:15-16 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book III, Chapter XIX (RHC.766–767).** *de qua meminit Paulus apostolus in suis epistolis* — 2 Tim. 3:11 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.

- **Book III, Chapter XIX (RHC.766–767).** *Qui vero erraverant in solitudine, in inaquoso, viam civitatis habitaculi invenerunt* — Ps. 106:4 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book III, Chapter XXII (RHC.768).** *Terra autem omnis silebat in conspectu ipsorum* — 1 Macc. 1:3 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book III, Chapter XXVII (RHC.770).** *in ore gladii* — Jdt. 15:6 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book III, Chapter XXIX (RHC.771–772).** *non est virtus nec ulla potestas nisi ab ipso* — Rom. 13:1 Vulg.; allusion. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book III, Chapter XXIX (RHC.771–772).** *non est hominum dirigere gressus suos* — Jer. 10:23 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book IV, Chapter III (RHC.776–777).** *fortis et potens est: Dominus potens in praelio* — Ps. 23:8 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book IV, Chapter V (RHC.777).** *Grando, nix, glacies, spiritus procellarum* — Ps. 148:8 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book IV, Chapter VI (RHC.778).** *Conservatur justo substantia peccatoris* — Prov. 13:22 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IV, Chapter VI (RHC.778).** *stultitia in cordibus incredulorum semper requiescit* — Prov. 14:33 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IV, Chapter VIII (RHC.779).** *Esurientes bonis implebat* — Luke 1:53 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IV, Chapter VIII (RHC.779).** *qui contra illos accipiebant gladium, gladio peribant* — Matt. 26:52 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IV, Chapter VIII (RHC.779).** *sine ipso nihil possumus* — John 15:5 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IV, Chapter X (RHC.780).** *si in ipso vivitis, aut pro ipso morimini, estis beati* — Rom. 14:8 Vulg.; allusion. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book IV, Chapter XI (RHC.780–781).** *illi qui quasi columnæ esse videbantur* — Gal. 2:9 Vulg.; allusion. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.

- **Book IV, Chapter XII (RHC.781–782).** *Cadebant mille a latere unius, et decem millia a dextris alterius* — Ps. 90:7 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IV, Chapter XII (RHC.781–782).** *diligentibus se cooperantur in bonum* — Rom. 8:28 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IV, Chapter XII (RHC.781–782).** *in fortitudine equi non haberent fiduciam* — Ps. 146:10 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IV, Chapter XX (RHC.786–787).** *et videntes sic admirati sunt, conturbati sunt, commoti sunt; tremor apprehendit eos: ibi dolores ut parturientis* — Ps. 47:6-7 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book IV, Chapter XX (RHC.786–787).** *Tunc evaginaverunt gladios suos, intenderunt arcus suos, paraverunt sagittas suas in pharetris, ut sagittarent ducem* — Ps. UNKNOWN:UNKNOWN Vulg.; conflated. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book IV, Chapter XX (RHC.786–787).** *persecutus est unus mille, et duo fugaverunt decem millia* — Deut. 32:30 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book IV, Chapter XX (RHC.786–787).** *cujus cor eructare* — Ps. 44:2 Vulg.; allusion. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book V, Chapter II (RHC.792–793).** *sed ejus per quem reges regnant* — Prov. 8:15 Vulg.; allusion. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book V, Chapter II (RHC.792–793).** *qui docet manus nostras ad praelium, et brachia nostra ponit ut arcum æreum* — Ps. 143:1 Vulg.; conflated. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book V, Chapter II (RHC.792–793).** *De vultu enim Domini hoc iudicium prodiit* — Ps. 16:2 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book V, Chapter XIV (RHC.800–801).** *portas areas contrivit et vectes ferreos confregit* — Ps. 106:16 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book V, Chapter XIV (RHC.800–801).** *in sæcula sæculorum* — unidentified. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book VI, Chapter I (RHC.805).** *De comedente exivit cibus, et de forti dulcedo* — Judg. 14:14 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently

verified.

- **Book VI, Chapter VIII (RHC.808–809).** *stridorque dentium* — Matt. UNKNOWN:UNKNOWN Vulg.; allusion. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book VI, Chapter XII (RHC.811–814).** *Ego occidam, et ego vivere faciam; percutiam, et ego sanabo; et non est qui de manu mea possit eruere. Si acuero ut fulgur gladium meum, et arripuerit iudicium manus mea, reddam ultionem hostibus meis, et his qui oderunt me retribuam. Inebriabo sagittas meas sanguine, et gladius meus devorabit carnes.* — Deut. 32:39 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book VI, Chapter XII (RHC.811–814).** *Ecce ego mittam angelum meum, qui praecedat te, et custodiat semper. Observa et audi vocem meam, et inimicus ero inimicis tuis, et odientes te affligam, et praecedet te angelus meus.* — Exod. 23:20 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book VI, Chapter XII (RHC.811–814).** *Persequetur unus de vestris mille, et duo fugabunt decem millia* — Deut. 32:30 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book VI, Chapter XII (RHC.811–814).** *A solis ortu et occasu, ab Aquilone et mari, erunt termini vestri, et nullus stabit contra vos.* — Ps. 106:3 Vulg.; conflated. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book VII, Chapter I (RHC.821–822).** *CONGREGATI SUNT INIMICI NOSTRI ET GLORIANTUR IN VIRTUTE SUA* — unidentified. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book VII, Chapter I (RHC.821–822).** *prout Spiritus sanctus dabat eloqui illi* — Acts 2:4 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book VII, Chapter II (RHC.822–823).** *Audite, populus Domini et servi Dei excelsi, vocem meam, et sermonibus meis inclinate aurem vestram* — Ps. 77:1 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book VII, Chapter III (RHC.823).** *Gloria in excelsis Deo* — Luke 2:14 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book VII, Chapter VII (RHC.826–827).** *spiritus sapientiae non intrat in malivolum animam* — Wis. 1:4 Vulg.; conflated. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book VII, Chapter VIII (RHC.827–828).** *Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedic hereditati tuae, et rege eos, et extolle illos nunc et in aeternum.* — Ps. 27:9 Vulg.;

quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.

- **Book VII, Chapter VIII (RHC.827–828).** *Esto eis turris fortitudinis a facie inimicorum suorum.* — Ps. 60:4 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book VII, Chapter IX (RHC.828–829).** *quia terribilis est castrorum acies ordinata* — Cant. 6:3 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book VII, Chapter X (RHC.829–830).** *Confortamini, et estote viri robusti* — 1 Sam. 4:9 Vulg.; conflated. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book VIII, Chapter IV (RHC.845–846).** *Ibi confregit Dominus potentias arcuum, scutum et gladium et bellum* — Ps. 75:4 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book VIII, Chapter VI (RHC.847–848).** *Domine, miserere nostri. Esto brachium nostrum in mane, et salus nostra in tempore tribulationis.* — Isa. 33:2 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book VIII, Chapter VI (RHC.847–848).** *Effunde iram tuam in gentes quæ te non noverunt, et in regna quæ nomen tuum non invocaverunt.* — Ps. 78:6 Vulg.; quoted verbatim. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book VIII, Chapter VI (RHC.847–848).** *Disperge illos in virtute tua, et depone eos, protector noster, Domine.* — Ps. 58:12 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book VIII, Chapter XII (RHC.853–854).** *regemque Sabaoth* — unidentified. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book VIII, Chapter XII (RHC.853–854).** *Domino exercituum* — unidentified. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book VIII, Chapter XIV (RHC.854–855).** *per quem reges regnant* — Prov. 8:15 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book VIII, Chapter XIX (RHC.857–858).** *et non erat cum eo Deus alienus* — Deut. 32:12 Vulg.; quoted verbatim. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book VIII, Chapter XX (RHC.858).** *Philippus apostolus dicitur domum habuisse, quæ usque hodie monstratur; nec non et cubiculum filiarum ejus, prophetantium virginum* — Acts 21:8-9 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book VIII, Chapter XX (RHC.858).** *nepos ejus Herodes est ab angelo percussus* — Acts 12:23 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.

- **Book VIII, Chapter XX (RHC.858).** *Cornelius centurio baptizatus* — Acts 10:1 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book VIII, Chapter XX (RHC.858).** *Agabus propheta zona Pauli est ligatus* — Acts 21:10-11 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IX, Chapter I (RHC.863).** *quantos exitus aquarum oculi eorum deduxerunt* — Ps. 118:136 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book IX, Chapter I (RHC.863).** *cor lapideum abstulisti, et cor carneum contulisti* — Ezek. 36:26 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book IX, Chapter I (RHC.863).** *Spiritumque Sanctum tuum in medio eorum posuisti* — Ezek. 36:27 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book IX, Chapter I (RHC.863).** *sedentem in dextera Patris* — Ps. 109:1 Vulg.; allusion. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book IX, Chapter VII (RHC.866–867).** *cujus manus ad praelium et digitos ad bellum Dominus dirigebat* — Ps. 143:1 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IX, Chapter IX (RHC.868–869).** *Sepulcrum Domini fuit gloriosum* — Isa. 11:10 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IX, Chapter XI (RHC.870).** *scriba doctus in regno caelorum ... de thesauro suo proferre nova et vetera* — Matt. 13:52 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IX, Chapter XIII (RHC.871–872).** *sicut cogitationes hominum vanæ sunt* — Ps. 93:11 Vulg.; allusion. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book IX, Chapter XXIII (RHC.879–880).** *somnum suum dormierunt* — Ps. 75:6 Vulg.; allusion. Identification from an RHC lettered note, independently verified.
- **Book IX, Chapter XXIV (RHC.880).** *Montes et colles cantabant coram vobis laudem* — Isa. 55:12 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book IX, Chapter XXIV (RHC.880).** *Et portæ tuæ eis aperientur jugiter, die ac nocte non claudentur* — Isa. 60:11 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.
- **Book IX, Chapter XXIV (RHC.880).** *filiis peregrinorum* — Isa. 60:10 Vulg.; allusion. Project identification, independently verified from Robert's Latin.

- **Book IX, Chapter XXVI (RHC.881–882).** *quia fecit Salomon ut tanta abundantia argenti esset in Iherusalem, quanta et lapidum* — 1 Kgs. 10:27 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book IX, Chapter XXVI (RHC.881–882).** *petrae scissae sunt, monumenta aperta sunt, et multa corpora sanctorum qui dormierant surrexerunt* — Matt. 27:51-52 Vulg.; quoted verbatim. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book IX, Chapter XXVI (RHC.881–882).** *Urbs fortitudinis nostrae Syon salvator, ponetur in ea murus et antemurale. Aperite portas, et ingredietur gens justa, custodiens veritatem* — Isa. 26:1-2 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.
- **Book IX, Chapter XXVI (RHC.881–882).** *Adducam filios tuos de longe, argentum eorum et aurum eorum cum eis, in nomine Domini Dei tui, et sancto Israeli, quia glorificavit te. Aedificabant filii peregrinorum muros tuos, et reges eorum ministrabant tibi* — Isa. 60:9-10 Vulg.; quoted loosely. Project identification, independently verified from Robert’s Latin.

Dating

Liturgical and regnal forms in the English are not converted. Modern equivalents below are notes only. Two rows record a rubric/body mismatch in the same unit.

- **Book I, Chapter I (RHC.727–728).** *Anno Dominice Incarnationis millesimo nonagesimo quinto* — 1095.
- **Book I, Chapter VIII (RHC.733).** *festivitas Sancti Michaelis* — 29 September (Western feast); RHC lettered note d adds an. D. 1096.
- **Book II, Chapter VIII (RHC.743).** *duobus diebus ante Natale Domini* — 23 December (lettered b; year 1096 is the same note).
- **Book II, Chapter XII (RHC.745).** *solemnitatem Dominice Nativitatis* — 25 December (Western feast); year not in the main text.
- **Book III, Chapter I (RHC.755).** *pridie nonas Maii* — 6 May (Roman calendar; lettered d: die vi^a mensis Maii); year 1097 is the margin.
- **Book III, Chapter II (RHC.756).** *Die siquidem Ascensionis Domini* — 14 May (lettered a: die XIV^a mensis Maii); year 1097 is the margin.
- **Book III, Chapter XIII (RHC.762–763).** *Ab hora ... diei tertia usque noctis crepusculum* — third hour of the day commonly about 9 a.m.; twilight of night = dusk; year 1097 is the margin.
- **Book III, Chapter XVI (RHC.764–765).** *Die tertia / Altera autem die, que erat tertia mensis Julii* — 3 July (year 1097 is the margin).

- **Book III, Chapter XXIX (RHC.771–772).** *Quarta feria, .XII. kal. Novembris* — 21 October (year 1097 is the margin).
- **Book IV, Chapter IV (RHC.777).** *De die Nativitatis Domini / sacratissima dies Dominicæ Nativitatis* — 25 December (Western feast); year 1097 is the margin of RM-IV-03.
- **Book VI, Chapter VI (RHC.807).** *In crastinum, id est feria sexta* — Friday 4 June (RHC n. *; not in English).
- **Book VII, Chapter IV (RHC.824).** *ab hora diei tertia usque in nocte media* — third canonical hour to midnight; not converted in the English.
- **Book VII, Chapter XIX (RHC.836).** *.IVto. kalendas Julii, vigilia scilicet Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* — 28 June 1098 (RHC note a; not in the English).
- **Book VII, Chapter XXI (RHC.837).** *kalendas Novembris* — 1 November (notes only). Rubric and body disagree.
- **Book VII, Chapter XXI (RHC.837).** *kalendas Octobris* — 1 October (notes only). Rubric and body disagree.
- **Book VII, Chapter XXIII (RHC.839).** *in festivitate scilicet sancti Petri quæ dicitur Ad vincula* — 1 August.
- **Book VIII, Chapter I (RHC.843).** *in kalendis Novembris, die festo solemnitatis omnium Sanctorum* — 1 November.
- **Book VIII, Chapter IV (RHC.845–846).** *Quarta die, exeunte Novembrio* — late November 1098 (notes only; RHC margin A. 1098. on 846 not in English).
- **Book VIII, Chapter VII (RHC.848–849).** *Sabbatum vero quum esset* — Saturday (not converted in the English).
- **Book VIII, Chapter VII (RHC.848–849).** *.XIIo. die Decembris, et in die Dominica* — 12 December (RHC marginal A. 1098. at circa; notes only).
- **Book VIII, Chapter X (RHC.851–852).** *Purificationem sanctæ Mariæ Dei genitricis* — 2 February (Candlemas); year not in this unit's main text.
- **Book VIII, Chapter XVII (RHC.856).** *Dominicum PaschaIVto. Idus Aprilis* — IV Idus Aprilis = 10 April (Ides of April = 13; inclusive count). Year not stated in this unit..
- **Book VIII, Chapter XX (RHC.858).** *sanctam Domini Pentecosten* — RHC 858 n. m: 29 May 1099 (not used in the English).
- **Book IX, Chapter XI (RHC.870).** *in festivitate sancti Petri ad Vincula* — 1 August.
- **Book IX, Chapter XVI (RHC.873–874).** *feria .VI^a.* — Friday.
- **Book IX, Chapter XX (RHC.876–877).** *hora videlicet qua Dominus noster Jesus crucem ascendit* — noon (hour of the Crucifixion).

Glossary

English forms used in this translation, with the Latin of the RHC print at first logging. Identifications that did not enter the English stay out of this table. The working files under `terminology` are the full log; this list is the public register.

House distinctions

These contrasts are kept in the English. They are not collapsed for elegance.

- *Franci / Latini / Christiani / peregrini* — Franks, Latins, Christians, pilgrims.
- *Turci / Sarraceni / Arabes / Persae / Babylonii* — Turks, Saracens, Arabs, Persians, Babylonians.
- *Graeci* — Greeks, not Byzantines.
- *milites* — soldiers in this translation.
- Title immediately before a name is capitalized (**Duke** Godfrey, **Pope** Urban); title alone or with “of” is not (the **count** of Toulouse, the **bishop** of Le Puy).
- *dominus* with a name: the **lord** Bohemond.

Persons

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
Achard of Montmerle	<i>Achardus de Monte Merulo / Achardus</i>	RHC.864
Agabus	<i>Agabus</i>	RHC.858
Alexius	<i>Alexius</i>	RHC.732
Amiralidus of Babylon	<i>Amiralidus Babilonie</i>	RHC.857
ammiravissus	<i>ammiravissus</i>	RHC.876
Anselm of Ribemont	<i>Anselmus de Ribodi Monte</i>	RHC.857
Antichrist	<i>Antichristus</i>	RHC.828
Antiochus	<i>Antiochus</i>	RHC.771
Arnulf	<i>Arnulfum</i>	RHC.870
Baldwin	<i>Balduino</i>	RHC.732

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
Barnabas	<i>Barnabas</i>	RHC.771
Bernard	<i>Bernardus</i>	RHC.721
Bohemond	<i>Boamundo / Boamundum / Boamundus / Boamundi</i>	RHC.740
Caesar Augustus	<i>Cæsaris Augusti</i>	RHC.858
Caliph	<i>Caliphæ</i>	RHC.811
Cassianus the Great	<i>Cassiani Magni</i>	RHC.788
Celon	<i>Celon</i>	RHC.872
Charlemagne	<i>Karoli Magni</i>	RHC.728
Christ	<i>Christo</i>	RHC.734
Clarenbald	<i>Clarenbaldus</i>	RHC.833
Clement	<i>Clemente / Clementem</i>	RHC.871
Constantine	<i>Constantinus</i>	RHC.750
Corbanam	<i>Corbanam</i>	RHC.808
Cornelius	<i>Cornelius</i>	RHC.858
David	<i>David</i>	RHC.723
Demetrius	<i>Demetrius</i>	RHC.796
Drogo	<i>Drogo</i>	RHC.833
Eustace	<i>Eustachii</i>	RHC.731
Everard	<i>Ewrrardus</i>	RHC.796
Everard	<i>Everardus</i>	RHC.847
Eward of Puteolus	<i>Ewardus de Puteolo</i>	RHC.833
Fulcher	<i>Fulcherius / Fulcherio</i>	RHC.799
Gaston of Béarn	<i>Guastom de Bebart</i>	RHC.874
George	<i>Georgius</i>	RHC.832
Gerard	<i>Gerardus / Gerardi</i>	RHC.833
Godfrey	<i>Godefrido</i>	RHC.731
Goliath	<i>Golias</i>	RHC.786
Gregory	<i>Gregorius</i>	RHC.730
Gualo	<i>Gualo / Gualonis</i>	RHC.794

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
Guarin of Petra Mora	<i>Guarinus de Petra Mora</i>	RHC.857
Guicherius	<i>Guicherius</i>	RHC.867
Gulferius of Dature	<i>Gulferius de Dature</i>	RHC.847
Guy	<i>Guido</i>	RHC.816
Ham	<i>Cham</i>	RHC.872
Herluinus	<i>Herluinus</i>	RHC.825
Herod	<i>Herode rege</i>	RHC.858
Herod	<i>Herodes</i>	RHC.858
Hugh the Great	<i>Hugo Magnus / Hugone Magno</i>	RHC.739
Isaiah	<i>Isaïe</i>	RHC.739
Jacob	<i>Jacob</i>	RHC.764
Jesus Christ	<i>Jesu Christi</i>	RHC.772
Joshua son of Nun	<i>Ihesu Nave</i>	RHC.723
Letoldus	<i>Letoldus</i>	RHC.867
Louis	<i>Ludovici</i>	RHC.728
Lucifer	<i>Luciferum</i>	RHC.869
Mars	<i>Mars / Marte</i>	RHC.775
Mary	<i>Maria</i>	RHC.821
Maurice	<i>Mauricius</i>	RHC.796
Melchizedek	<i>Melchisedech</i>	RHC.881
Mercurius	<i>Mercurius</i>	RHC.832
Mizraim	<i>Mesraim</i>	RHC.872
Moses	<i>Moyes</i>	RHC.723
Muhammad	<i>Mathomus</i>	RHC.788
Noah	<i>Noe</i>	RHC.881
Odo of Beaugency	<i>Odo Belgentiacus / Odo / Odonis</i>	RHC.831
Og	<i>Og</i>	RHC.812
Pagan of Beauvais	<i>Paganus Belvacensis</i>	RHC.833
Paul the apostle	<i>Paulus apostolus</i>	RHC.766
Peter	<i>Petrus</i>	RHC.731

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
Peter	<i>Petrus (apostolorum princeps)</i>	RHC.771
Peter	<i>Petrus (peregrinus)</i>	RHC.822
Peter of the Alps	<i>Petrus de Alpibus</i>	RHC.769
Pharaoh	<i>Pharaonem</i>	RHC.812
Philip	<i>Philippi</i>	RHC.739
Philip	<i>Philippus apostolus</i>	RHC.858
Pirrus	<i>Pirrus / Pirro</i>	RHC.796
Pons of Balon	<i>Pontius Balonensis</i>	RHC.857
Rainald	<i>Rainaldus</i>	RHC.732
Raymond	<i>Raimundi</i>	RHC.739
Raymond of Taurina	<i>Raimundus de Taurina</i>	RHC.863
Raymond Pilet	<i>Raimundus Piletus / Piletus</i>	RHC.838
Raymond, viscount of Turenne	<i>Raimundus vicecomes de Tentoria</i>	RHC.854
Richard	<i>Richardus princeps</i>	RHC.744
Robert	<i>Robertus</i>	RHC.722
Robert	<i>Rotbertus, comes Normannus</i>	RHC.740
Robert	<i>Rotbertus, comes Flandrensis</i>	RHC.740
Robert Guiscard	<i>Roberti Wischardi</i>	RHC.742
Roger of Barneville	<i>Rogerus de Bardavilla</i>	RHC.808
Saint Andrew	<i>Andreas apostolus</i>	RHC.822
Saint George	<i>Sancti Georgii</i>	RHC.732
Saint Michael	<i>Sancti Michaelis</i>	RHC.733
Saint Remigius	<i>Sancti Remigii</i>	RHC.722
Samson	<i>Sanson</i>	RHC.805
Samuel	<i>Samuel</i>	RHC.723
Sensadulus	<i>Sensadulus</i>	RHC.809
Sihon	<i>Seon</i>	RHC.812
Soliman	<i>Solimannus</i>	RHC.764
Soliman the Elder	<i>Solimanni Veteris</i>	RHC.764

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
Solomon	<i>Salomon</i>	RHC.778
Stephen	<i>Stephanus</i>	RHC.739
Sultan	<i>Soldano</i>	RHC.811
Tancred	<i>Tancredus</i>	RHC.744
Tetigus	<i>Tetigus</i>	RHC.782
the Aquitanian	<i>Aquitanicum</i>	RHC.828
the Crucified	<i>Crucifixus / Crucifixi</i>	RHC.878
the Devil	<i>Diaboli</i>	RHC.784
the Flemish	<i>Flandrensis / Flandrensi</i>	RHC.739
the Holy Spirit	<i>Spiritus sanctus</i>	RHC.822
the Norman	<i>Nortmannus / Normanno</i>	RHC.739
Thomas	<i>Thomas</i>	RHC.833
Urban II	<i>Urbanus secundus</i>	RHC.727
Walter	<i>Walteri / Waltero / Gualteri</i>	RHC.735
William	<i>Guillelmus Marchisi filius</i>	RHC.742
William Bleniensis	<i>Bleniensis Guillelmus</i>	RHC.831
William of Montpellier	<i>Guillelmus de Monte Pislerio</i>	RHC.847
William of Sabran	<i>Guillermus Sabratensis / Guillermus</i>	RHC.865
William the Carpenter	<i>Guillelmus Carpentarius</i>	RHC.781
William the Picard	<i>Guillelmus Picardus</i>	RHC.857

Peoples

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
Agarenes	<i>Agareni</i>	RHC.762
Alemanni	<i>Alemannorum</i>	RHC.732
Amorites	<i>Amorreorum</i>	RHC.812
Angulani / Agulani	<i>Angulanis / Agulani</i>	RHC.762
Arabs	<i>Arabes</i>	RHC.762
Armenians	<i>Armenii / Armeniorum</i>	RHC.768
Azimites	<i>Azimite</i>	RHC.808

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
Babylonians	<i>Babylonienses</i>	RHC.791
Babylonians	<i>Babilonici</i>	RHC.875
Candei	<i>Candei</i>	RHC.763
Christians	<i>Christiani</i>	RHC.727
Curti	<i>Curti</i>	RHC.808
Franks	<i>Francorum</i>	RHC.723
Gauls	<i>Galli</i>	RHC.727
Gentiles	<i>Gentiles</i>	RHC.806
Germans	<i>Germani</i>	RHC.727
Greeks	<i>Græcorum</i>	RHC.728
Israel	<i>Israel</i>	RHC.728
Jebusites	<i>Jebusei</i>	RHC.881
Jerusalemites	<i>Iherosolimitanorum</i>	RHC.723
Jews	<i>Judei</i>	RHC.863
Latins	<i>Latini / Latinis</i>	RHC.874
Lombards	<i>Longobardorum</i>	RHC.732
Medes	<i>Medi</i>	RHC.762
Neapolitans	<i>Neapolitani / Neopolitæ</i>	RHC.871
Parthians	<i>Parthi</i>	RHC.825
Pechenegs	<i>Pincenatibus</i>	RHC.743
Persians	<i>Persarum</i>	RHC.727
Philistines	<i>Allophyli</i>	RHC.872
Provençal	<i>Provinciale</i>	RHC.828
Publicans	<i>Publicani</i>	RHC.762
Roman	<i>Romanis</i>	RHC.727
Saracens	<i>Sarraceni</i>	RHC.762
Surani	<i>Surani</i>	RHC.781
Syrians	<i>Syri</i>	RHC.763
Syrians	<i>Suriani / gens Suriana</i>	RHC.838
Teutons	<i>Teuthonicorum</i>	RHC.731
the Apulians	<i>Apulienses / Apulienstibus</i>	RHC.742

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
the Caesareans	<i>Cæsareorum</i>	RHC.851
the Flemings	<i>Flandrensiūm</i>	RHC.778
the Frankish-born nation	<i>Francigenæ gentis</i>	RHC.731
the Gallic nation	<i>Gallicana</i>	RHC.744
the heretics	<i>Hereticorum</i>	RHC.745
the people of Caphalia	<i>Caphalienses</i>	RHC.851
the people of Marra	<i>Marrenses</i>	RHC.845
Turcoples	<i>Turcopolis</i>	RHC.743
Turks	<i>Turcis</i>	RHC.731

Places

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
Acre	<i>Acra / Acram</i>	RHC.858
Africa	<i>Africa</i>	RHC.750
Albaria	<i>Albaria</i>	RHC.840
Aleph	<i>Aleph</i>	RHC.778
Alexandretta	<i>Alexandreta</i>	RHC.815
Amalfi	<i>Malphi</i>	RHC.740
Andronopolis	<i>Andronopolim</i>	RHC.745
Antioch	<i>Antiochia</i>	RHC.770
Apulia	<i>Apuliam</i>	RHC.740
Arabia	<i>Arabie</i>	RHC.730
Archas	<i>Archas</i>	RHC.853
Areth	<i>Areth</i>	RHC.776
Armenia	<i>Armenia</i>	RHC.768
Ascalon	<i>Ascaloniam / Ascaloniæ</i>	RHC.871
Asia	<i>Asia</i>	RHC.750
Athena	<i>Athena</i>	RHC.768
Auvergne	<i>Alvernia</i>	RHC.727
Babylon	<i>Babyloniæ</i>	RHC.784

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
Babylon	<i>Babiloniæ</i>	RHC.857
Bardarum	<i>Bardarum</i>	RHC.746
Bari	<i>Barim</i>	RHC.742
Bashan	<i>Basan</i>	RHC.812
Beauvais	<i>Belvacensis</i>	RHC.833
Beirut	<i>Baruth</i>	RHC.858
Betelon	<i>Betelon</i>	RHC.858
Boulogne	<i>Boloniensis</i>	RHC.731
Braim	<i>Braim</i>	RHC.858
Brindisi	<i>Brundusium</i>	RHC.742
Britain	<i>Britanniæ</i>	RHC.739
Bulgaria	<i>Bulgariam / Bulgaria</i>	RHC.744
Byzantium	<i>Bizantium</i>	RHC.750
Caesarea	<i>Cæsarea / Cæsaream / Cæsareæ</i>	RHC.851
Caesarea	<i>Cæsarea</i>	RHC.858
Caesarea of Cappadocia	<i>Cæsarea Cappadociæ</i>	RHC.769
Caiphas	<i>Caiphas</i>	RHC.858
Calabria	<i>Calabræ / Calabriæ</i>	RHC.742
Camela	<i>Camela</i>	RHC.853
Canaan	<i>Chanaan</i>	RHC.812
Caphalia	<i>Caphalia / Caphaliam</i>	RHC.851
Capharda	<i>Capharda</i>	RHC.850
Cappadocia	<i>Cappadocia</i>	RHC.769
Caria	<i>Carie</i>	RHC.871
Castoria	<i>Castoriam</i>	RHC.745
Chartres	<i>Carnotensis</i>	RHC.739
Civito	<i>Civito</i>	RHC.734
Clermont	<i>Clari Montis</i>	RHC.721
Clermont	<i>Clarus Mons</i>	RHC.727
Constantinople	<i>Constantinopolitana</i>	RHC.727
Constantinople	<i>Constantinopolim</i>	RHC.732

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
Coxor	<i>Coxor</i>	RHC.769
Damascus	<i>Damasco</i>	RHC.778
Daturre	<i>Daturre</i>	RHC.847
Desen	<i>Desen</i>	RHC.856
Durazzo	<i>Durachium</i>	RHC.742
Egypt	<i>Ægypto</i>	RHC.747
Eraclea	<i>Eraclea</i>	RHC.854
Exerogorgo	<i>Exerogorgo</i>	RHC.733
Farfar	<i>Farfar</i>	RHC.844
France	<i>Francia / Franciæ</i>	RHC.739
Gaul	<i>Gallia</i>	RHC.727
Gibellum	<i>Gibellum / Gibelle</i>	RHC.855
Heraclea	<i>Heraclea</i>	RHC.767
Hungary	<i>Hungariam</i>	RHC.731
Iconium	<i>Iconium</i>	RHC.766
Iebus	<i>Iebus</i>	RHC.881
Ierusalamonia	<i>Ierusalamonia</i>	RHC.881
Ihesuslem	<i>Ibesuslem</i>	RHC.882
Italy	<i>Italiam</i>	RHC.740
Jaffa	<i>Japhiæ</i>	RHC.864
Jerusalem	<i>Iberosolimitana</i>	RHC.721
Jerusalem	<i>Iberosolimorum</i>	RHC.727
Jerusalem	<i>Iberusalem</i>	RHC.729
Jerusalem	<i>Iberosolima</i>	RHC.872
Khorasan	<i>Chorozaïm</i>	RHC.809
Le Puy	<i>Podiensis</i>	RHC.731
Licia	<i>Licia</i>	RHC.855
Lycaonia	<i>Lycaoniam</i>	RHC.766
Machumaria	<i>Machumariam</i>	RHC.785
Manustra	<i>Manustra</i>	RHC.768
Maraclea	<i>Maraclea</i>	RHC.854

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
Marasim	<i>Marasim</i>	RHC.771
Marra	<i>Marra</i>	RHC.838
Melion	<i>Melione</i>	RHC.833
Melun	<i>Milidunum</i>	RHC.781
Montmerle	<i>Monte Merulo</i>	RHC.865
Montpellier	<i>Monte Pislerio</i>	RHC.847
Mount Zion	<i>Syon / mons Syon</i>	RHC.863
Neapolis	<i>Neapolis / Neapolitana urbs</i>	RHC.871
Nicaea	<i>Nicaam</i>	RHC.733
Nicomedia	<i>Nicomediam</i>	RHC.733
Normandy	<i>Normannia</i>	RHC.875
Oriensis	<i>Oriensis</i>	RHC.850
Otranto	<i>Otrentum</i>	RHC.742
Palagonia	<i>Palagoniam</i>	RHC.745
Palestine	<i>Palæstinae</i>	RHC.858
Paradise	<i>Paradisus</i>	RHC.729
Petra Mora	<i>Petra Mora</i>	RHC.857
Philomena	<i>Philomenam</i>	RHC.816
Puteolus	<i>Puteolo</i>	RHC.833
Pyrgos	<i>Pyrgos</i>	RHC.858
Ramola	<i>Ramola</i>	RHC.859
Ribemont	<i>Ribodi Monte</i>	RHC.857
Romania	<i>Romanie</i>	RHC.733
Rome	<i>Romam</i>	RHC.740
Rugia	<i>Rugia</i>	RHC.770
Rusa	<i>Rusa / Rusam</i>	RHC.770
Sabran	<i>Sabratensis</i>	RHC.865
Sagitta	<i>Sagitta</i>	RHC.858
Saint-Gilles	<i>Sancti Ægidii</i>	RHC.739
Salem	<i>Salem</i>	RHC.881
Sarmata	<i>Sarmata</i>	RHC.793

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
Sicily	<i>Siciliæ</i>	RHC.742
Siloam	<i>Syloe</i>	RHC.864
Solima	<i>Solima</i>	RHC.881
Sur	<i>Sur</i>	RHC.858
Susa	<i>Susa</i>	RHC.747
Syria	<i>Syria</i>	RHC.769
Talamania	<i>Talamania</i>	RHC.838
Tarsus	<i>Tharsum</i>	RHC.767
Taurina	<i>Taurina</i>	RHC.863
the Adriatic sea	<i>Adriaticum mare</i>	RHC.750
the Arm of Saint George	<i>Brachium Sancti Georgii</i>	RHC.732
the bridge of Antioch	<i>pontem Antiochiæ</i>	RHC.867
the Constantinopolitan sea	<i>mare Constantinopolitanum</i>	RHC.834
the Farrean bridge	<i>pontem Farreum</i>	RHC.771
the Ocean	<i>Oceani</i>	RHC.730
the port of Saint Symeon	<i>portum Sancti Symeonis</i>	RHC.785
the Red Sea	<i>mare Rubrum</i>	RHC.747
the Scaphardian sea	<i>Scaphardi pelagi</i>	RHC.740
the Tower of Strato	<i>Turris Stratonis</i>	RHC.858
Tortosa	<i>Tortosa</i>	RHC.854
Tripoli	<i>Tripolis</i>	RHC.853
Turenne	<i>Tentoria</i>	RHC.854
Zebaris	<i>Zebaris</i>	RHC.858

Polities

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
bishopric of Reims	<i>episcopatu Remensi</i>	RHC.722

Buildings

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
a cell of Saint Remigius	<i>cellæ Sancti Remigii</i>	RHC.722
church of the blessed Peter	<i>ecclesia beati Petri</i>	RHC.822
monastery of Anchin	<i>Aquicingensis cænobii</i>	RHC.857
Tancred's castle	<i>castellum Tancredi</i>	RHC.833
the church of Saint Mary	<i>ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ</i>	RHC.863
the church of Saint Stephen the protomartyr	<i>ecclesia Sancti Stephani protomartyris</i>	RHC.863
the holy Sepulchre	<i>Sepulcrum</i>	RHC.728
the Meridian gate	<i>Meridianam portam</i>	RHC.757
the palace of Cassianus	<i>palatium Cassiani</i>	RHC.844
the Temple	<i>Templum</i>	RHC.791
the temple of Solomon	<i>templum Salomonis</i>	RHC.867
the tower of David	<i>turris David</i>	RHC.867

Other names

ENGLISH	LATIN (RHC)	FIRST PAGE
bezants	<i>bizanceos</i>	RHC.788
Joshua	<i>Josue</i>	RHC.723
Kings	<i>Regum</i>	RHC.723
Old and New Testament	<i>Veteris ac Novi Testamenti</i>	RHC.723
Phosphorus	<i>Phosphorus</i>	RHC.775
Salas pacifica	<i>Salas pacifica</i>	RHC.882
the East	<i>Orientem</i>	RHC.740
The History of Jerusalem	<i>HISTORIA IHEROSOLIMITANA</i>	RHC.721
the holy lance	<i>lancea sancta</i>	RHC.834
the Lord's lance	<i>Lancea Domini</i>	RHC.823
the North	<i>Aquilone</i>	RHC.734
the South	<i>Austro</i>	RHC.734
the West	<i>Occidente / Occidens</i>	RHC.739
the west	<i>occasum</i>	RHC.740

Rows: 326 names from `terminology\names\_places.tsv` (FIXED).