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THE SEA

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AUSTIN P. EVANS, Editor

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A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea

By William Archbishop of Tyre

Volume Two

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SOURCEs AND STUDIES

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THE THIRTEENTH BOOK BEGINS

CAPTURE OF TYRE; EXTENSION OF ROYAL INFLUENCE TO OTHER LATIN STATES

1. The antiquity and renown of Tyre is described.

The city of Tyre dates from very remote times, according to the statement of Ulpian, a man learned in the law who was born there. In the Digest under the heading "De censibus," he writes: "It is well known that certain colonies have Italian rights, as, for example, the magnificent colony of Tyre, in Syria of Phoenicia, my birthplace. This city, with its commanding position, great antiquity, and prowess in arms, held tenaciously to the treaty which she had made with the Romans. The divine Severus, our emperor, granted Italian rights to this city as a reward for its signal loyalty toward the republic and the empire of Rome."¹

To this city, if we hark back to ancient stories, belonged King Agenor and his children, Europa, Cadmus, and Phoenix. It is from the latter, as the Phoenicians claim, that the whole region derives its name. The other son, Cadmus, founded the city of Thebes and was also the inventor of the Greek alphabet. Thus he bequeathed a distinguished name as an inheritance to his descendants. The remaining child, a daughter, gave her name to the third part of the globe, which is called Europe.²

The citizens of Tyre were noted for keenness of mind and vivacity of disposition. They were the first who tried to designate by suitable characters the separate elements of the spoken word. They also claim the distinction of being the first of mankind to build treasure houses for the memory and to bequeath to posterity through the visible symbols of thought a knowledge of writing and speech. This fact is stated in histories of ancient times, and Lucan, the distinguished historian of the civil wars, mentions it as follows: "The Phoenicians were the first,

¹ Corpus juris civilis, Digest, I. xiv. 1.
² These statements hark back to the Polyhistor of Solinus and to the Metamorphoses of Ovid, with both of which William was familiar.
CAPTURE OF TYRE

if report may be trusted, who ventured to mark the length of tones by rude signs." 3

Tyre was also the first to make known the wonderful purple color made from the powdered conch and the precious murex. This color, famous there even today, is called Tyrian from the name of the city itself.

From here also are said to have come Sychaus and his wife, Elisa Dido, who founded in the diocese of Africa that wonderful city Carthage, the rival of the Roman empire. They called it the Punic kingdom, Phoenician as it were, in remembrance of the land from which they had come. For the Carthaginians, ever mindful of their origin, always desired to be called Tyrians. Thus, in the first book of Maro we read, "There was an ancient city inhabited by colonists from Tyre"; 4 and also, "Trojan and Tyrian alike shall be treated by me with no discrimination." 5

In the beginning, Tyre had two names: Sor, 6 in Hebrew, the name more generally used now, and Tyre. The latter name seems to be of Greek origin (it is, being interpreted, Angustia, or straits). This was certainly taken from the name of the founder, for, according to very ancient traditions, it is clear that Tyras, the seventh son of Japhet, the son of Noah, founded this city and gave it his own name. How famous was the renown of this city in early times may be readily inferred from the words of Ezekiel, to whom the Lord said: "Now, thou son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyrus; and say unto Tyrus, O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles . . . O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty. Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy ship boards of fir trees of Senir: they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee. Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim. Fine linen with broderied work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee." 7

Isaiah also has written of Tyre: "Pass ye over to Tarshish; howl,

3 Lucan Pharsalia 111. 221. 4 Virgil AEneid 1. 12. 5 Virgil AEneid 1. 574.
6 Or "Sur," which is used by the Arabs in our own time. Much of this antiquarian material was collected by Fulcher.
7 Ez. 27: 2–7.
ye inhabitants of the isle. Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days? her own feet shall carry her afar off to sojourn. Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth?" 8

Hiram, who aided Solomon in building the temple of the Lord, was king of Tyre, as was also Apollonius, whose deeds are of widespread renown. To this city also belonged Abdimus, son of Abdaemon. He it was who with marvellous subtlety solved the sophistries of the many riddles and parables which Solomon used to send to Hiram, king of Tyre. In the eighth book of the *Antiquities* of Josephus one may read: "Menander, who translated the Antiquities of the Tyrians from the Phoenician into the Greek tongue, also mentions these two kings as follows: 'On the death of Abibalo his son Hiram succeeded to the throne. He lived fifty-three years and reigned thirty-four. At that time Abdimus, son of Abdaemon, was in prison, he who used to solve the riddles which the king of Jerusalem sent.' And again farther on we read, 'Moreover, Solomon, the king of Jerusalem, had sent to Hiram, king of Tyre, certain riddles which he begged him to solve, with the understanding that if Hiram was unable to do so, he would pay a certain sum of money as a forfeit. And when Hiram acknowledged that he could not solve them and was about to suffer great pecuniary loss, the riddles which had been propounded were solved by a certain Abdimus, a Tyrian. This man in turn proposed other riddles with the condition that if Solomon could not guess them he, in his turn, must pay a large forfeit to King Hiram." 9 Possibly this is the man who in popular and fabulous stories is called Marcolfus, of whom it is said that he used to solve the enigmas of Solomon and in return propounded others of equal difficulty for the king to guess.

This same city still guards the body of Origen, as may be proved by the testimony of one's own eyes. Jerome, writing to Pammachius and Oceanus in the letter which begins, "The schedules which you have sent" states the same thing: "It is now about a hundred and fifty years since Origen died at Tyre." 10

To refer to scriptural history also, this is the native city of that admirable Canaanite woman whose great faith when she pleaded for her daughter, who was troubled by an evil spirit, the Saviour com-

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8 Is. 23:6–8. 
9 Josephus *Ant.* viii. 5. 
10 Jerome *Ad Pammachium et Oceanum.*
mended, saying, "O woman, great is thy faith." 11 She left a memorial of wondrous faith and praiseworthy patience to the daughters of her fellow citizens, for she was the first to teach them to pray to Christ the Saviour with the gifts of faith, charity, and hope, according to the words of the prophet who said, "and the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift." 12

Tyre is the metropolis of all Phoenicia, which has always held the first rank among the provinces of Syria, both because it is rich with blessings of every description and also because of its large population.

2. The lands and extent of Syria.

It should be observed that the name Syria is used, sometimes in a broad sense as applying to the whole province, and again in a more limited way to designate only a part of the same. At times also, with the help of an additional word, it denotes some particular province. Thus Greater Syria contains many provinces within its boundaries. Beginning at the Tigris river, it extends as far as Egypt and from Cilicia to the Red sea. The first province of the lower part between the Tigris and the Euphrates is Mesopotamia, so called because it lies between two rivers. In the Greek language a river is called potamos, in the Latin fluvius. And because this is a part of Syria, it is often called in the scriptures Mesopotamia of Syria.

The next largest province of this same Syria, after Mesopotamia, is Coele Syria, which contains the noble city of Antioch with all its dependent cities. The two Cilicias, both of which are parts of Syria, lie next to this on the north. To the south it borders on Phoenicia, distinguished among the divisions of Syria. This country was for many years one single province, but now it is divided into two parts. The first of these is Phoenicia Maritima. Its metropolis is Tyre, the city of which we are now speaking, with its fourteen dependent cities. It extends from the river of Valenia which flows by the castle of Margat, to the Pierced Rock now known as Districtum, near the very old city called Ancient Tyre. The cities which lie within this province are as follows: on the south, the first is Porphyrian, also called Haifa, and in the vernacular Caifas. The second is Ptolemais, also known as Acre. The third, to the east, is Banyas, which is Caesarea Philippi.

11 Mat. 15: 28. 12 Ps. 45: 12.
fourth, on the north, is Sarepta; the fifth is Sidon; the sixth is Beirut; the seventh, Jubail; the eighth, Botrium [Botron]; the ninth, Tripoli; the tenth, Artusia; the eleventh, Arka; the twelfth, Arados; the thirteenth, Tortosa; and the fourteenth, Maraclea.

The other Phoenicia is called Phoenicia Libanica. The capital of this is Damascus. It is sometimes called Syria also, as, for example, “the head of Syria is Damascus.” This Phoenicia was also later divided into two parts: Phoenicia of Damascus and Phoenicia of Emisena.

The two Arabias are also parts of Syria. The capital of the first is Bostrum and that of the second is Petra of the Desert. Syria Sobal with its capital Sobal is also a part of Greater Syria.

The three Palestines likewise form a part of Syria. The first, properly called Judea, has as its capital the city of Jerusalem; the capital of the second is maritime Caesarea; and of the third, Scythopolis, also called Bethsan. The site of this latter city is now occupied by Nazareth.

The last province of Greater Syria, toward Egypt, is Idumea.

3. *Describes the environs of Tyre and the advantages which it offers.*

Not only was Tyre extremely well fortified, as has been stated, but in addition it was famous for its unique beauty of location and the fertility of its soil. Although lying in the sea itself, entirely surrounded by the waves like an island, yet it had before its gates extensive arable fields, excellent in every respect, while a level plain of rich and productive soil stretched out from the city itself and furnished the people of Tyre with abundant supplies.

Although this area may seem small compared with that of other regions, yet its great productivity compensates for its limited extent, and its exceeding fertility makes it equal to acres of boundless extent. Nor is it, in fact, contained within narrow limits. On the south it extends toward Acre to the place now called the District of the Scandalium, four or five miles distant from Tyre, while in the other direction it stretches out toward Sarepta and Sidon for about the same distance. At its narrowest extent it is about two miles wide, at its widest about three. There are many springs in this plain from which flow clear and salubrious streams, whose cooling waters afford delightful refreshment in hot weather.

13 *Is. 7: 8.*
The most celebrated of these and the one best known to the world is believed to be the one of which Solomon speaks in the Song of Solomon: "A fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon." 14

These waters have their origin in the lowest part of the plain and do not rise in the mountains as do many other springs. They seem in fact to gush forth as from the very depths of the abyss. Yet they have been artificially raised into the upper air by the care and skill of man, so that they water abundantly all the surrounding region and in their beneficent course render the plain available for many purposes. By means of an admirable structure of stonework rivalling iron in its strength, the water has been raised and conducted aloft to the height of ten feet. Thus, the spring which in its natural low position was of little use, when elevated by artificial means contrary to nature, has become a benefit to the whole surrounding country and pours forth its waters in abundance for the production of crops.

As one draws near to examine this remarkable work, the outer tower looms up prominently but no water is visible. On reaching the top, however, one sees that a great reservoir of water has been brought together here which is distributed thence to the adjacent fields by means of aqueducts of equal height and massive structure. For the convenience of those who wish to ascend to the top of the tower, a staircase of solid stone is provided, the incline of which is so gradual that even those on horseback can ride without difficulty to the top.

All the country round about derives immense benefits from these waters. Not only do they supply gardens and delightful orchards planted with fruit trees, but they irrigate the sugar cane also. From this latter crop sugar (zachara) is made, a most precious product, very necessary for the use and health of mankind, which is carried from here by merchants to the most remote countries of the world.

A very fine quality of glass, also, is marvellously manufactured out of sand which is found in this same plain. This is carried to far distant places and easily surpasses all products of the kind. It offers a material suitable for making most beautiful vases which are famous for their transparency. In this way, also, the fame of the city is spread abroad among foreign peoples and the profit of the merchants is increased manifold.

14 Ca. 4: 15.
Tyre possessed not only all these rich resources, but in addition, it had the advantage of incomparable fortifications, which will be spoken of in the following pages. Because of its many advantages and its strong defenses, Tyre was most precious and agreeable to the prince of Egypt, who was practically the most puissant of all [Oriental potentates]. The entire country from Laodicea in Syria to the Libyan desert was under his absolute control. He regarded Tyre as the bulwark of his kingdom and as the seat of his empire. He had therefore carefully provided it with food and arms and had garrisoned it with stalwart warriors, for he believed that if he could keep the head uninjured, all the other parts of the body would remain safe.

4. Relates how in earlier time it had often been besieged.

On the sixteenth of February, therefore, as we have said above, our two armies arrived before the city of Tyre and blockaded it as far as was possible. But, in the words of the prophet, this city lay "at the entry of the sea," and was surrounded by water on all sides except for a strip of land equal to the distance that an arrow could be shot. Ancient writers say that it was once really an island entirely separated from the mainland. They state that when Nebuchadnezzar, the powerful Assyrian prince, was besieging it, he wished to connect it with the land but did not finish the work. The prophet Ezekiel mentions this siege as follows: "Behold, I will bring upon Tyrus Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north, with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people. He shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field: and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up a buckler against thee," and so on.

Josephus also mentions this siege in the tenth book of the Antiquities, as follows: "Diocles also mentions this king in the second book of the Colonies; and Philostrates has said in his histories of India and Phoenicia, that this king besieged Tyre for three years and ten months at the time when Jotabel was ruling over Tyre. After this man, Alexander of Macedon connected Tyre with the land and then seized the city by force of arms."

Josephus speaks of this siege in the eleventh book of the Antiquities

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15 Ez. 27: 3. 16 Ez. 26: 7–8. 17 Josephus Ant. X. 11.
also, saying: “So Alexander came to Syria and took Damascus, and, after subjugating Sidon, he besieged Tyre.” And further on: “Because he persevered vigorously in the siege he took that city and after he had taken it, he went on to the city of Gerasa.” And again: “After besieging Tyre for seven months and Gerasa for two, Sanballat died.”

Before this time, Salmanassar had also besieged it and had invaded the whole of Phoenicia. Of him also, Josephus speaks in the ninth book of the Antiquities saying: “For he made an expedition against Tyre in the reign of Eluleus. Menander, who wrote the history of the times and translated into Greek the Antiquities of Tyre, also speaks of this, as follows: ‘Eluleus reigned thirty-six years. On the revolt of the Scythians he sailed to them and reduced them to submission, but Salmanassar, king of the Assyrians, rose against them a second time and invaded all Phoenicia. But after he had made peace with all of them, he retired. Then the cities of Sidon and Arka and Ancient Tyre and many others deserted Tyre and surrendered to the same king of the Assyrians. And since Tyre had not submitted, the king again proceeded against her, the Phoenicians furnishing him with sixty ships and eighty galleys with oars. The Tyrians sailed against them in twelve ships, and, having scattered the enemy’s fleet, they took five hundred prisoners, whereby the prestige of Tyre was greatly increased. But the king of Assyria returned. He placed guards over the river and the aqueducts of the city and thus prevented the Tyrians from obtaining water. This condition of affairs lasted five years during which time they had to drink from wells which they dug. These things were written in the archives of Tyre concerning Salmanassar, king of Assyria.””

5. The city is described and the status and condition of the citizens explained.

This city, as we have said, is like an island, for it is surrounded by a stormy sea, dangerous because of hidden rocks of varying height. It is hazardous, therefore, for pilgrims and others unacquainted with the locality to approach Tyre by water. For unless they have a pilot who is familiar with the surrounding sea they cannot reach the city without danger of shipwreck.

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On the sea side, Tyre was surrounded by a double wall with towers of goodly height at equal distances apart. On the east, where the approach by land lies, it has a triple wall with enormously high and massive towers so close together that they almost touch one another. There was a broad mole also, through which the citizens could easily let in the sea from both sides. On the north, its entrance guarded by two towers, was the inside harbor which lay within the walls of the city. The outer shore of the island received the first violence of the waves and broke the force of the raging sea. Thus a safe harborage for vessels was formed between the island and the land, which was entirely sheltered from all winds except that from the north.

Into this harbor the fleet was directed and stationed in a sheltered place. The army was already in possession of the orchards near the city and had established the camp in a circle round the town. This position prevented the citizens from going in and out and compelled them to remain within the walls.

The city was subject to two lords: the caliph of Egypt held two parts of it as overlord and had granted the third part to the king of Damascus, because he was near at hand. He trusted that the latter would not molest it but would, on the contrary, assist the citizens in dangerous crises.

There were in Tyre many noble citizens of great wealth. Through their constant trading voyages to most of the provinces along the Mediterranean sea, these merchants had brought back vast riches and a great amount of foreign merchandise to swell the resources of the city. Moreover, rich and distinguished citizens from Caesarea, Acre, Sidon, Jubail, Tripoli, and other coastal cities which had now fallen under our power, had fled to Tyre to seek the protection of its fortifications. These people had bought homes for themselves in the city at a high price. For it seemed inconceivable that a city so strongly fortified could, under any circumstances, fall into the hands of the Christians. Then, as now, it was regarded as a matchless bulwark, an incomparable tower of strength, without an equal in the entire region.20

20 It is difficult to appreciate the fact, in view of his sympathetic account, that William is here speaking of Muslim merchants. The description of Tyre and its surroundings is that of an eyewitness, and the account of the siege is derived largely from eyewitnesses. None of William's written sources is nearly so full or vivid. The division of ownership between the Egyptians and the Damascenes was an emergency arrangement to procure the help of Damascus, according to Qalanisi (H. A. R. Gibb, trans., The Damascus Chronicle, p. 170), and had been made just before the siege.
6. The blockade is established and the leaders assigned to special positions therein. The city is besieged in hostile manner.

After placing the baggage in order and making all other arrangements to the best possible advantage, the Christians drew up all their ships on dry land near the harbor, with the exception of one galley that was kept ready for any emergency which might arise. They then dug a deep ditch from the sea outside to that within, thus enclosing and protecting the entire army. From the large stores which the Venetians had brought with them, suitable material for building engines was brought, and workmen were summoned to build machines of various kinds.

The patriarch and the nobles of the realm, acting in the place of the king, called together carpenters and skilful builders, provided the necessary materials, and directed them to build a tower of great height. From the top of this, the fighters could engage in close combat with the defenders in the towers on the walls and could overlook the entire city. Machines capable of hurling huge stones which would shatter the walls and towers and carry consternation to the hearts of those within the city were also ordered built.

The doge and his company, in emulation of the king's party, also built similar machines and set them up in strategic positions. They carried on the work with the utmost diligence and pressed on without flagging. Their enthusiastic efforts gradually hemmed in the citizens more and more, while the engines never ceased to work havoc upon the place. Constant attacks and skirmishes gave the defenders no chance to rest. The latter, however, anxious to defend themselves, strove to repulse the attacks of the Christians and, in turn, to inflict injury on their adversaries. They, too, built machines within the city from which they launched huge rocks that fell without intermission upon our towers. The fear inspired by these flying stones enabled the foe to become masters of that particular section, for none of the Christians dared to remain in that vicinity. Even those whose lot it was to guard the engines ventured to approach them only at the utmost speed, nor could they remain within except at extreme peril. From their stations in the high towers, the enemy, armed with bows and ballistae, poured forth showers of javelins and arrows; and meanwhile a never-ceasing
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torrent of huge rocks hurled from within the city pressed the Christians so hard that they scarcely dared to thrust forth a hand.

Nevertheless, our people in the siege towers returned blow for blow with equal fury and repelled force by force. Thus the defenders upon the walls and in the towers were compelled to put forth such intense efforts that, though often relieved during the day, they were unable to endure the burden of the conflict. Meanwhile, those who were manning the machines, instructed by experts in the art of throwing missiles, continued to hurl great stones with such effect that the towers and walls were nearly demolished by the force of the blows. Dust rose in clouds from the shattered stones and loosened mortar and formed a screen between the fighters, so that it was impossible for the defenders on the walls and towers to see the Christians. Whatever flying missiles passed beyond the ramparts and towers crashed with force into the city and reduced to minute fragments great buildings and their inhabitants.

In the country outside, both cavalry and infantry forces fought with manly courage in almost daily skirmishes against the enemy who sallied forth from the city to engage them. Frequently it happened that our men challenged those within the city to battle, and again it was the citizens who took the initiative in attacking the besiegers.

7. The Damascenes in the city fight with fiery courage, but the citizens themselves are somewhat remiss.

Thus day by day in a doubtful contest the Christians and the townspeople continued to try each other’s mettle, now by attacks from the machines and now by fighting around the gates, for each side was exerting itself to the utmost to provoke the other. At this juncture, Pons, count of Tripoli, who had been summoned by the princes of the realm, arrived with a noble retinue. His coming seemed to double the strength of the Christians and to reanimate their courage. To the enemy, on the other hand, it brought fear and a sense of the futility of resisting.

There were in the city seven hundred knights of Damascus, whose example inspired the citizens with courage to resist, for the latter, though noble, were weak and effeminate in character and not at all accustomed to warfare. These Damascenes, by their example, tried to animate the townspeople to resistance and to furnish them the aid they so sorely needed. Nevertheless, even they finally lost interest
and wisely declined the burden which they could not carry alone. For they saw that our strength was daily increasing and our efforts succeeding, while the resources of the besieged were gradually lessening and their forces were daily imperilled. Although they did not advise the citizens to surrender, still they did not encourage them to place much reliance on their strength.

Then, as now, there was but one entrance to the city and a single gate. As we have said before, the entire city was almost an island, surrounded by water on all sides, except at a certain narrow place through which was the approach to the gate. At this point, various engagements both of cavalry and infantry were continually going on, as is usual under such circumstances.

8. The people of Ascalon march to Jerusalem to attack the city. But on the return they meet with harsh treatment from the citizens.

This, then, was the situation at Tyre. In the meantime, the people of Ascalon perceived that the kingdom was stripped of its troops and that the entire strength of the land was fully occupied in the siege of Tyre. Accordingly they at once took advantage of the opportunity. Crossing the intervening plain with all their forces, they hurried toward the mountains on which Jerusalem was built. They expected to find the Holy City almost deserted and hoped to carry off as prisoners any of the inhabitants who might incautiously venture forth. Their arrival was entirely unexpected, and they killed about eight of the townspeople who were taken unaware in their fields and vineyards.

But the Christians, though few in number, were yet glowing with faith and afire with righteous zeal for their country, their wives, and their children. They seized their arms and, issuing forth from the city, rushed as with one mind against the foe. For the space of three hours the two hostile forces gazed upon one another. The Christians dared not attack their adversaries, for their forces were foot soldiers only, while the Ascalonites, for their part, realized that it was impossible without great danger to remain long in that position. Nor was it safe so near the city to engage a courageous and obstinate people who were determined to resist to the utmost. Accordingly they prepared to beat a hasty retreat. The Christians followed them cautiously for a short distance and succeeded in killing forty-two men, besides captur-
ing four knights and seventeen horses. Then, having successfully accomplished their purpose, they turned back to Jerusalem in entire safety.\footnote{This effort to distract the army from the siege of Tyre by an attack on Jerusalem is told by Fulcher, who was there at the time, and is copied by William.}


In the meantime, the Tyrians, wearied by repeated vigils, constant skirmishes, and endless hardships, began to come forth to fight less often and performed their allotted duties less vigorously. They were amazed beyond measure that a city to which crowds of people flocked almost daily both by land and by sea, a city which was usually filled to repletion with all sorts of merchandise brought thither by both routes, should be reduced to such straits that neither citizens nor strangers could enter or leave it. Moreover, the food supply was giving out, and scarcely any provisions now remained. After taking counsel together, therefore, they wrote to the caliph of Egypt and also to the king of Damascus to inform them of the desperate situation that prevailed. Most earnestly they begged their lords to hasten to their aid, for affairs at Tyre were now almost hopeless. They set forth the perseverance of the enemy, whose strength was increasing day by day; they described their own weakness, the lack of food supplies, and their intolerable situation. This action roused their spirits somewhat, and while awaiting the hoped-for aid they encouraged each other to keep up the usual resistance. Many who were so dangerously wounded that they were unable to fight themselves yet urged the others with all their might to resist.

Word was presently received that Tughtigin, king of the Damascenes, moved by the letters and messages of the besieged, had left Damascus with an innumerable force of Turks and a large number of knights. He was now encamped in the vicinity of Tyre on the banks of a river about four miles from the city. It was furthermore rumored that an Egyptian fleet, much larger than usual and equipped with more than the ordinary number of armed soldiers, would arrive within three days with reinforcements of men and the necessary food supplies for the Tyrians. The king of Damascus was said to be expecting still more
reserves. For that reason he had prudently deferred crossing the river and attacking the Christians until the fleet should arrive, in order that, while he was fighting with us, the naval force might have free and unhindered entrance to the city.\(^{22}\)

When this news reached our camp, the leaders conferred together and, after careful deliberation, decided to divide the entire host into three sections. The entire cavalry forces and the mercenary infantry were to issue forth from the camp under command of the count of Tripoli and William de Bury, the king's constable and administrator of the realm. If it should be necessary to fight with the Damascene, this division was to engage him with the help of the Lord. The doge of Venice and his forces were to set sail in the galleys, and, if they encountered the fleet of the Egyptians, they were to try the fortune of war and, as valiant warriors, put the enemy to the test of the sword. The third division consisted of the people who had come thither to take part in the siege from all the cities of the realm and the greater part of the Venetians. To this contingent was assigned the duty of guarding the machines and movable towers. They were to see to it that the fighters in the siege engines did not slacken their efforts, that the hurling machines continued their usual assaults, and that the fighting before the gate was not interrupted.

This plan seemed good to all, and it was deemed expedient that it be put into immediate execution. Accordingly, the count of Tripoli and the king's constable with all the cavalry squadrons rode out of the camp against the enemy. They advanced two miles, yet the foe did not venture to appear. Nevertheless, it was evident that Tughtigin had originally placed his camp by the river with heart and soul intent on crossing the stream. But when he learned through reports that our army had adopted such prudent plans, he decided that it would be dangerous to risk an encounter with men so wise and valiant. Accordingly, he ordered the trumpet to sound the summons calling his men together and gave the command to return home.

The doge arranged his fleet in battle formation and sailed down to Alexandrium which is about six miles from Tyre. This city is generally known today as Scandalium. Here he learned that the king of Damascus had returned home. As there was no sign of the Egyptian fleet which

\(^{22}\) The participation of the Damascenes in the effort to defeat the besiegers is in general confirmed by Qalanisi (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 170–72).
he was expecting, he again drew up the galleys on the shore, and all returned to the camp to press forward the siege more vigorously than ever.

10. *The townspeople set our machines on fire. Our troops put up a vigorous resistance. The leaders send to Antioch for a man skilled in the art of throwing missiles.*

One day it happened that some young men of Tyre bound themselves together by a solemn pledge and determined to steal into our camp to set fire to our machines and movable towers. In this way they hoped to win the esteem of their fellow citizens and acquire undying fame in the eyes of posterity. In pursuance of this plan, they stealthily left the city and succeeded in setting fire to an engine which was of great use to us. The act was seen by the Christians, however, who immediately flew to arms and tried to quench the flames by pouring on quantities of water. An admirable deed was wrought there which is worthy of record. A certain young man of unusual character and courage saw that the machine was on fire. He mounted to the top and kept pouring on water as fast as it was brought to him by others. The defenders who were stationed in the towers with bows and ballistae noticed him at once and immediately directed all their efforts toward him. But, although his position made him a target, as it were, for their arrows, yet their efforts were in vain. Not a single wound did he receive during the whole day. But the young men who had set the fire were caught by our soldiers and to a man perished under the avenging sword in the sight of their friends.

Presently the Christians noticed that a machine within the city was aiming enormous stones so accurately against our siege towers that both were being seriously injured. Since there was no one in camp who possessed the expert skill necessary for aiming and hurling the mighty missiles, they sent to Antioch for a certain Armenian named Havedic, who was said to be very proficient in that art. He came immediately and displayed so much skill in directing the machines and hurling the great stone missiles that whatever was assigned to him as a target was at once destroyed without difficulty. As soon as he reached the army, he was granted an honorable salary from the public treasury, so that he might maintain himself in his customary magnificence. He applied himself earnestly to the work for which he had been summoned
and showed so much skill that the war seemed to be carried on with renewed strength. In fact it assumed the aspect of a new war in the eyes of the Tyrians, whose woes were greatly increased by his coming.  

II. Balak is slain at Hierapolis. The news causes great joy in the Christian army, and the siege of the city is pressed on with even more vigor.

While these events were happening at Tyre, Balak, the powerful Turkish satrap in whose chains the lord king was still held, was besieging the city of Hierapolis. During the progress of the siege, he summoned the governor of the city to him with conciliatory but crafty words. The latter, a simple and credulous man, trusted Balak's words and at once repaired to his presence. But even as he stood before him Balak ordered him to be beheaded.

Now when the elder Joscelin,  

count of Edessa, learned that Balak was besieging a city in his own neighborhood, he feared that if the present ruler were driven out, another, far more dangerous to him, might be placed there. He therefore assembled a large force from the land of Antioch and from his own domains as well and hastened against the satrap's army. After locating the enemy, he drew up his own lines in battle formation and made a sudden attack. The foe had been routed and forced to flee, when Joscelin happened to fall in with Balak himself. Entirely unaware that this was the commander of the army, he slew him with the sword, threw him to the ground, and cut off his head. This was clearly the fulfillment of Balak's dream. For he who cuts off a man's head and puts an end to both his sight and his life may be said with truth to have torn out his eyes.  

Joscelin was a man of foresight and very wide experience. He immediately charged a young man to carry the head of the prince to the army, that it too might rejoice over the news of this good luck. The messenger was directed to go by way of Antioch, that the townspeople as well as the troops might be informed of this great success. The arrival of the youth rejoiced the hearts of all and raised the happiness of the Christians to the highest point.

23 Fulcher does not mention this expert artillery service, but William's account is too specific to be denied.
24 William's awareness of both Joscelin II and Joscelin III led to the qualification of Joscelin I, for which the reader is not yet ready.
25 See Book XII, chap. 19.
CAPTURE OF TYRE

Pons, count of Tripoli, with his following was present in the camp. He was ever obedient to the patriarch and the other leaders as one of the lowest servants and always showed himself modestly zealous for the public welfare. That he might show his respect for the count who had sent the messenger and also because of the importance of the mission, he raised the young man to knighthood and conferred upon him the arms of that rank.  

When those who were with us on the expedition heard of this act they raised their hands to heaven and began to praise, bless, and glorify God who “is terrible in His doing toward the children of men.” Then, indeed, were our troops fired with more ardent enthusiasm. With courage and strength renewed, they pressed on still more earnestly the work which they had undertaken and, by keeping up continual skirmishes, refused to allow the beleaguered city any respite. The citizens, on the other hand, were suffering desperately from famine, for their provisions were now entirely exhausted, and since no hope of aid supported them, they began to relax their efforts somewhat.

One day a noteworthy event happened. Some young men of the city, expert swimmers, ventured out from the inner harbor to the one outside and succeeded in reaching the galley which, as we have mentioned before, was always lying on the sea outside ready for any emergency. They had brought with them a rope which they fastened firmly to the vessel. They then cut the moorings and began to tow the boat after them to the city. But the lookouts guarding the towers saw the attempt and gave the alarm. Our men, roused by the summons, hurried to the shore. Before they could decide what to do, however, the youths had already towed the vessel inside the city harbor. The galley was manned by five men who had been assigned to guard it. One of these was killed, but the other four leaped into the sea and swam safely to shore.

12. While the Christian army is engaged in the siege, the people of Ascalon again invade the country around Jerusalem.

The Ascalonites, like persistent gnats, were ever on the alert to injure the Christians. They were well aware that the flower of the army was still engaged in the siege of Tyre, and that, consequently, the whole

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26 This is an early instance of such reward for such service.  
27 Ps. 66: 5.
land was without defenders, exposed to the incursions of the enemy. Accordingly, they once more assembled their forces and went up to the hill country of Judea. There they made a sudden attack on a place called Bilin, about five or six miles to the north of Jerusalem, better known today as Mahumaria. They took the town by force and put most of the inhabitants to the sword. The old men, however, with the women and children, retreated to the tower and thus escaped death.

The Ascalonites spread unchecked over all the adjacent country. They slaughtered or took captive all whom they encountered, for no one hindered them in their mad course as they raged according to their own good pleasure against all who dwelt in that vicinity.

13. The citizens struggle with grievous famine. They prepare to surrender. Tughtgin hastens to their aid but in vain. The city capitulates to the Christian army.

Meanwhile, the Tyrians, driven beyond endurance by the terrible straits of famine, began to consider other plans. Gathering in groups they began to discuss how to put an end to the miseries which they were suffering. Far better would it be, they thought, to surrender the city to the enemy, and thus liberated, flee to other cities of their nation, than to waste away through hunger at Tyre—to look on, helpless to aid, while their wives and children perished of starvation.

After the situation had been discussed by groups in this way, the matter was finally carried by unanimous consent to the elders and governors of the city and to the people in general. The entire city assembled in a public meeting where the facts were laid before them and carefully considered. The opinion was unanimous that conditions so terrible must be brought to an end and peace obtained, no matter at what risk or on what terms.

In the meantime, the king of Damascus had learned of the misfortunes of the Tyrians and was moved by their desperate plight. He summoned his allies from every direction and went down to the sea, where he had been before. Again he encamped near the river close to Tyre. When the Christians heard of this, they rightly feared the purpose of his coming and again drew up their lines in battle forma-

28 Fulcher and the documents of the time call this place Birrum or Bire (see H. Hagnmeyer, ed., Fulcheri Carmotensis historia Hierosolymitana, p. 731, note 4).
tion, in anticipation of an engagement before the gates. Yet they did not swerve from their purpose and continued to press on the siege without interruption.

The king of Damascus now sent wise and discreet men as envoys to the chiefs of our army, namely, the patriarch, the doge of Venice, the count of Tripoli, William de Bury, and the other lords of the realm. They bore proposals of peace couched in conciliatory language. After much discussion and many disputes, an agreement was reached between the two parties: the city was to be surrendered to the Christians on condition that those citizens who wished be allowed to depart freely with their wives and children and all their substance, while those who preferred to remain at Tyre should be granted permission to do so and their homes and possessions guaranteed to them.29

But the common people and those of the second rank among the Christians, on learning the character of the negotiations which the barons were considering, became very angry that the city should be surrendered on such terms, for, in that case, they would be deprived of the plunder and spoils which would fall to their lot were the place taken by force. Accordingly, utterly disagreeing with the wishes of their superiors, they unanimously determined to seize upon the results of their labors under the necessity of war. The saner will of the more prominent men finally prevailed, however; the city was taken over and an opportunity of leaving without hindrance was given to the townspeople, as provided in the pact.

Then, in sign of victory, the king’s standard was raised on the tower over the city gate; in like fashion, the banner of the doge of Venice was placed over the one called the Green tower; while from the tower of Tranaria floated gloriously the colors of the count of Tripoli.

Long before the city was taken or even besieged, however, the greater part of the diocese of Tyre had already passed into the hands of the Christians. All the hilly country near the city, extending nearly to Lebanon, both strongholds and fields, was held in peaceful possession by a very powerful nobleman who lived in the mountains. Humphrey of Toron, father of the younger Humphrey who has since been made

29 Qalanisi accords Tughtigin credit for the extremely favorable terms granted to the Muslim inhabitants of Tyre. He also states that only the extremely old or the rich remained in Tyre, but there is reason to believe that a considerable number remained (see Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 171–72).
the royal constable, held in undisputed right all the lands as far as the fourth or fifth milestone from Tyre. In these same mountains, he possessed a castle, strongly fortified both by its location and by artificial means, and from it he often made sudden sallies against the citizens of Tyre. Moreover, the lord of Tiberias, William de Bury, the royal constable, and Joscelin, count of Edessa, who had been his predecessor as lord of Tiberias, also held large estates in these mountains, from which they often laid dangerous and unexpected pitfalls for Tyre. To the south also, on the shore six or seven miles from Tyre, near a clear and beautiful spring, King Baldwin of precious memory, the predecessor of Baldwin II, had built a castle called Scandalium. For a long time, Tyre had suffered greatly from recurring attacks proceeding from these points and consequently was less able to resist the importance of the Christians.

The venerable Odo is said to have died on this expedition. He had been ordained metropolitan of the church at Tyre while the city was still in the power of the enemy and is said to have been consecrated by the patriarch of Jerusalem.

14. After the surrender of the city, the townspeople go out to visit the camp. The Christians take possession of the city.

Then the townspeople, worn out by the long siege, emerged from the city and hastened to our camp. They were eager to relieve their weariness and to see what manner of men these Christians might be. For as if made of iron, so patient in hardships and so trained in the practice of arms were they that, in a few months, they had reduced Tyre to the extremity of destitution and had compelled that splendid city, with its magnificent fortifications, to submit to the hardest of terms. It gave them great delight to examine the form of the machines, to gaze at the height of the movable towers and the variety of weapons; they admired the position of the camp and even desired to know the names of the leaders. Every detail was investigated with the utmost care, that an accurate and trustworthy narrative might be compiled for posterity.

Humphrey of Toron, the younger, was constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem from 1152 to 1179. This statement clearly indicates that William wrote this passage before 1178, perhaps before 1174, for Humphrey was already dead when William resumed writing toward the end of 1180.

See Book XI, chap. 30.
When the Christian forces entered the city, they too, in their turn, marvelled. They admired the fortifications of the city, the strength of the buildings, the massive walls and lofty towers, the noble harbor so difficult of access. They had only praise for the resolute perseverance of the citizens who, despite the pressure of terrible famine and the scarcity of supplies, had been able to ward off surrender for so long. For when our forces took possession of the place they found only five measures of wheat in the city. And although at first the common people felt it hard that the city should surrender under the terms named above, yet afterwards they rejoiced. For the great efforts which they had put forth were commended, and they realized that an achievement worthy of remembrance forever had been attained largely through their efforts and at their expense.

The city was now divided into three parts, two parts being assigned to the king and the third to the Venetians in accordance with the provisions previously made. Then all with joy and gladness returned, each to his own land. This city was taken and restored to the Christian name on June 29, in the year 1124 of the Incarnation of our Lord, which was also the sixth year of the reign of Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem.\(^{32}\)

\[15. \textit{The king is released from captivity. He invests Aleppo, but, after an engagement with the enemy, he raises the siege. He returns to Jerusalem. Pope Calixtus dies. Honorius is chosen in his stead.}\]

For about eighteen months or a little longer, King Baldwin of Jerusalem had been held prisoner by the enemy. On August 29 of this same year, on promise of paying a fixed sum of money and giving hostages, he was released and returned to Antioch under the protection of the Lord. It is said that the sum fixed for his ransom was one hundred thousand micheles, a kind of money chiefly used in those countries in transactions of commerce and in buying and selling in the markets.\(^{33}\)

The king returned to Antioch, much perplexed as to the means of

\(^{32}\) It seems strange that William should have erred in the date of the capture of his archiepiscopal city. The astronomical statement of Fulcher yields July 7, 1124, with which most of the Arabic sources, including Qalanisi, agree (see \textit{H.F.}, p. 735, note 7; Gibb, \textit{Chronicle}, p. 172).

\(^{33}\) The date of Baldwin's release is correctly stated, but the interval of his captivity was about sixteen, rather than eighteen, months. The sum of the ransom is variously stated by different writers (\textit{H.F.}, p. 750; see also Book XI, note 44).
raising money for the ransom pledged and of redeeming his hostages. He consulted some of his wise men on the best method of procedure and was advised to besiege Aleppo. That city was then struggling under a lack of supplies and was almost without inhabitants. The citizens, when hard pressed by a siege, might easily be brought to restore the hostages or to pay a sum equal to that which he had agreed to give for his own ransom. The king agreed to the project. He summoned all his cavalry from the entire realm, surrounded the city with the usual blockade, and began siege operations. Thus the citizens could neither go in nor out and were forced to depend upon their scanty stock of food.

Thereupon, the people of Aleppo sent out repeated letters to the princes of the Orient, and above all to those beyond the Euphrates, to inform them of the critical situation. They stated that unless aid came at once the city would soon fall. The princes, filled with the solicitude for an allied city, at once assembled troops and united their forces to render aid. They crossed the Euphrates and advanced in all haste to relieve the city from the perils of siege. The relieving force consisted of seven thousand cavalry, besides those in charge of the baggage and impedimenta and the servants who rendered to their liege lords the obedience which they owed.

Perceiving that the enemy was arriving with such vast forces, the king and those with him deemed it wiser to retreat and thus secure their own safety and that of the army rather than incautiously to risk an engagement with the foe’s superior forces. Before the hostile army reached the city, therefore, the Christians had retired to one of their fortified castles called Cerep. From there they proceeded together to Antioch where they separated. The king with his own following returned to Jerusalem. He was received with high honor by the entire body of clergy and people, and his presence, long desired, for he had been absent about two years, was most welcome both to the city fathers and to the common people.\(^{34}\)

That same year, Pope Calixtus II, of precious memory, departed from this life. He was succeeded by Lambert, bishop of Ostia, a native of Bologna, who is known as Honorius. Lambert was elected over his competitor, Theobald, a cardinal-priest of title St. Anastasia. As the

\(^{34}\) Baldwin II reached Jerusalem April 3, 1125, after an absence from Jerusalem of more nearly three years, though in this error William is following Fulcher’s statement (see H.F., p. 757).
election had not been conducted in strict canonical order, however, Honorius resigned at the end of twelve days, and in the presence of his brethren voluntarily laid aside his miter and mantle.

But at this evidence of humility, the brethren, bishops and priests, cardinals and deacons, feared for the future, lest some innovation be introduced into the Church of Rome. They therefore remedied the errors made in the original election and a second time elected Honorius as pope. They then fell at his feet and showed him the customary obedience as shepherd and pope over all.\textsuperscript{35}

16. Bursequinus, a Turkish prince, lays waste the lands of Antioch. The king proceeds against him. A battle is fought. The enemy is defeated.

While the king was still at Jerusalem, he was informed by frequent messengers that Bursequinus [Bursuqi],\textsuperscript{36} a powerful Oriental potentate, with a mighty host gathered from the countries of the East, had crossed the Euphrates and was now in the territory of Antioch. Since there was no one to hinder him, he was overrunning the land according to his own good pleasure. Whatever he found outside the cities and fortified places he consigned to the flames, and he allowed his soldiers to pillage the whole country. The leading men of Antioch had tried to resist him, but, after several unsuccessful attempts, they realized that they could do nothing. They therefore made known their straits to the king, who long ago had been charged with the care of the principality, and besought him to come to their aid without delay. Burdened as he was with the dual responsibility of the kingdom and the principality, the king nevertheless felt little anxiety about the realm although he was bound to it by closer ties. For, often called upon to act in the difficulties of the principality, he had devoted nearly all his efforts and means to its welfare during a period of ten years. It was while thus engaged that he had been taken prisoner and for almost two years had suffered the indignity of the enemy’s chains and dungeons. In the kingdom, on the contrary, protected by the divine hand,

\textsuperscript{35} Election of Honorius II occurred in the midst of local political interference, which all regretted. It was corrected as William here indicates.

\textsuperscript{36} Bursuqi was not a relative of Bursuq but a mamluk in his service. He was, however, known by that name. The possessive form of the name is used in this translation to distinguish him from his patron.
he had met with no misfortune, for God, the Comforter of His chosen kings, had in all things guided him to prosperity and success. Eager faithfully to carry out his promises, however, he assembled all available troops and marched in haste to Antioch.

Meanwhile, Bursuqi, a very powerful prince who had much experience in war, had formed an alliance with Tughtigin, king of Damascus, and before the arrival of the king, who, as he knew, had been summoned by the people of Antioch, the two laid siege to a fortress called Kafartab. By dint of many attacks, they compelled the besieged to surrender on condition that their lives should be spared. Then, in the hope of obtaining other like successes, Bursuqi crossed Syria Minor and laid siege to the stronghold of Sardona. For several days he put forth great efforts against this place, but, finally convinced that he could not succeed, he turned his attention to blockading the famous town of Ezaz, which was not as strongly fortified.

He was engaged in setting up his engines, making ready the apparatus of war, and testing out his strength for the destruction of the besieged, when the king arrived, accompanied by the count of Tripoli and the count of Edessa. They had come with large forces, at the command of God, to render immediate aid to the besieged. As they approached the enemy, the Christians formed into three divisions. The first, on the right wing, was composed of the chief men of Antioch; the second, which formed the left wing, was placed under the command of the two counts, each with his own army; while the center was held by the king. Their force consisted of eleven hundred cavalry and two thousand infantry.

As the Christians advanced, Bursuqi recognized with certainty that like wise men they were prepared for an immediate engagement. As he could not honorably decline battle, he also drew up his forces—which were said to number fifteen thousand knights—in twenty battalions. When the two armies had been thus disposed in military formation, they advanced precipitately upon each other with more than ordinary violence. Sword clashed against sword with equal ardor, causing terrible carnage and death in many a form. "For in conflicts of this nature, resentment inspired by sacrilege and scorn of laws always acts as an incentive to bitter hatred and enmity. War is waged differently and less vigorously between men who hold the same law and faith than it is between those of diverse opinions and conflicting traditions."
For even if no other cause for hatred exists, the fact that the combatants
do not share the same articles of faith is sufficient reason for constant
quarreling and enmity.”

So the two armies engaged in furious combat with each other. Our
side finally prevailed, however, for the God of mercy, who can easily
overcome many with a few, was on our side; He who hath said con-
cerning His chosen people, “How should one chase a thousand, and
two put ten thousand to flight, except their Rock had sold them, and the
Lord had shut them up?” 37 The enemy was routed and the Christians
triumphed most gloriously, for the victory was granted them from on
high. It is said that the infidels lost two thousand men in that battle,
but our people, only twenty-four. 38

Bursuqi, covered with confusion and fear (for the expedition had
turned out far otherwise than as he had anticipated), now crossed the
Euphrates and returned to his own land. His retreat, however, was not
attended by the same haughty assurance which characterized his ad-

The king paid his ransom with a large sum of money, collected in
part from the spoils of the enemy and in part through the generosity
of his friends and loyal adherents. In return, his five-year-old daughter,
whom he had given as hostage, was sent back to him. He then took
leave temporarily of the people of Antioch and returned in safety to
Jerusalem, a conqueror. That same year he built a fortress in the moun-
tains above the city of Beirut and called it Mt. Glavianus.

17. The king defeats the people of Ascalon and the Egyptians
who had come to assist them.

The period of temporary peace and truce, which had been concluded
between the king and Tughtigin in consideration of a sum of money,
had now passed. Accordingly, the king assembled all the knighthood
of the realm and invaded the land of Damascus. He overran that coun-
try without hindrance, destroyed some places in the surrounding fields,
and carried away as prisoners some of the people. Then, laden with a
vast amount of plunder, the richest spoils of the enemy, he returned
home safe and sound.

37 De. 32: 30.
38 This battle was fought June 11, 1125 (see H.F., p. 767). These numbers, also
given by Fulcher, may indicate relative losses but cannot be accepted as literally true.
Three days had hardly passed, however, and the troops had not yet been demobilized, when news came that an Egyptian army in magnificent array had arrived before the city of Ascalon. The Egyptians were accustomed to send yearly four fresh expeditions to that city, that the strength of the Ascalonites might be continually renewed. Thus they were enabled to sustain the ever-present conflicts with the Christians and the continual losses so incurred. The new arrivals were generally eager to try an encounter with our forces, for they desired to test our strength and at the same time to give conclusive proof of their own valor. It frequently happened in these skirmishes that many were captured or even slain by the sword, for the Egyptians were not acquainted with the country and had not attained full experience in warfare. The citizens, older and more experienced, prudently avoided encounters with our men, although they occasionally pursued them rather indifferently if the Christians took to flight.

When this information arrived, the king, rather continuing than renewing his campaign, hastened thither. As soon as he arrived, he selected a place well adapted for the purpose and, with some of the strongest and most valiant of his followers, placed himself in ambush. Some of the light-armed cavalry were sent on with orders to rove here and there over the country in order to irritate the people of Ascalon and draw them out in pursuit.

At sight of the Christian forces roaming freely about on the outskirts of the city, the citizens could not restrain their wrath over such bold presumption. Eagerly they seized arms and, regardless of consequences, issued from the city in separate detachments. Our men of their own accord turned their backs and fled. The Ascalonites, still utterly without caution, pursued the retreating foe until the place was reached where the king with his picked knights was lying in ambush. He did not disdain the offered opportunity. With the help of his comrades who sustained him loyally, he rushed out, stopped the infidels, and cut them off as they tried to retreat to the city. A fight at close quarters followed; the Christians attacked the infidels vigorously with their swords, and before the latter could regain the city in safety forty of their number were slain. The rest escaped into the town but could scarcely believe themselves safe even when they were within the walls.

The Egyptians had practiced this policy of changing the garrison at Ascalon for many years. According to Wiet, the changes took place twice each year and did not involve a complete change of garrison each time.
The wailing and lamentation which arose from within the city was so unprecedented that it was evident that those who had fallen were among the bravest and noblest of their people.

Then the king ordered that his men be recalled by the sound of trumpet and roll of drum. With heartfelt joy he made camp near the city and there as victor passed the entire night in peace. He then returned safe and sound to Jerusalem.


In January of the following year (which was 1126 of the Incarnation of our Lord and the eighth of the reign of this same King Baldwin) the king and the lords gave orders that all the people, from the least even unto the greatest, be assembled. Through every city of the realm these orders were proclaimed by the voice of the herald. Thus within a few days, the entire military strength of the kingdom was levied and the entire body concentrated near the city of Tiberias, prepared to invade the land of Damascus.

As soon as the troops had assembled at the place appointed, the military signals were given, the baggage was arranged, and the ranks formed in order of march. They then traversed the country of Decapolis and entered the country of the enemy. Thence they crossed a narrow valley called Cavea Roab and arrived at the plain of Medan. This plain is of wide extent with unobstructed view. Through it, between Tiberias and Scythopolis, formerly called Bethsan, runs the river Dan on its way to unite with the Jordan. Some think—and the name itself supports their theory—that it is this river which furnishes the last syllable of the name Jordan; for the waters which descend into the sea of Galilee and flow out thence to the confluence of this same river, are called Jor. But when the two streams of the Jor and the Dan mingle the river so formed is called the Jordan. On the other hand, Bede and certain others of our learned men whose authority is not to be disputed, say that both streams have their origin near Caesarea Philippi, which lies at the foot of Mt. Lebanon.⁴⁰ One of these rivers is called Jor and

⁴⁰ Bede did not include this book, *Libellus de situ Hierusalem sive de locis sanctis*, in the list of his works, perhaps because he felt himself to be only a抄ist. His copy, however, became famous as a guidebook for pilgrims. It was a somewhat abridged
the other Dan. From the union of the two is formed the flood of
Jordan, which then descends as one stream into the sea of Gennesaret,
which is the sea of Galilee. From this it again emerges as one river,
and after flowing for almost a hundred miles through the famous
valley, it empties into the lake of Asphalt, which is also known as the
sea of Salt.

Crossing this plain our army came to the village which is called
Salome. Then, as today, it was entirely peopled by Christians. Our
men spared it, therefore, and treated the inhabitants like brethren.
From there, with battalions arranged in good order and all the forces
assigned to suitable places, they hastened on to a place called Mergi-
safar. It was here, according to the story, that Saul, the persecutor of
the Church of God, that ravening wolf, heard the voice of one saying,
“Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?” 41 and so on. It seemed indeed
divinely ordained that the army of the faithful should have arrived
at that place on the anniversary of the day when these things are said
to have occurred: namely, when from a persecutor of the Church, Saul
was converted to a chosen vessel of the Lord.

At Mergisafar the assembled host remained for two days. 42 Oppo-
site them and not far away they beheld the camp of the enemy. On
the third day, the two forces met in battle. Careful preparation for
fighting had been made by each side, and now, with troops marshalled
in battle array, both infidels and Christians fought fiercely. Since both
sides advanced to the conflict with equal force, the result of the battle
was for a long time doubtful. In accordance with his usual custom, the
king pressed the enemy hard. Calling his valiant men by name, he
cheered them to the onslaught by word and example and promised
them assurance of victory. In return, they strove valiantly as best they
might to imitate their leader. Endued with the fervor of faith, they
fell upon the enemy with drawn swords and endeavored to avenge at
one and the same time not only their own wrongs but also those that
had been committed against the Lord.

version of the description of the Holy Land which Adamnan made from the recital of
Arculf, the Frankish bishop who was shipwrecked on the western coast of Britain on
his return from the pilgrimage. Bede's version was the one most frequently cited.
41 Ac. 9: 4.
42 The place of this battle in the last week in January, 1126, is spelled Marj al-Suffar
by Gibb. The fluctuations of fortune during the battle are confirmed by Qalanisi
(Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 175-77).
Tughtigin, on his part, inspired his men with no less ardor by his words and roused their fighting spirit by his promises. He reminded them that they were fighting a just war for the sake of their wives and children; nay, more, they were striving for liberty, an even nobler task, and for the defense of their fatherland against robbers. Cheered by these words, they pressed on with courage not less and with strength not unequal to ours.

Inspired by the example of the king and the knights, the infantry forces launched a fierce attack upon the enemy's ranks and pressed them hard. They instantly dispatched with the sword any wounded or fallen infidel whom they chanced to find and thus prevented all possibility of escape. They lifted up those who had been thrown down and restored them to the fray. They sent the wounded back to the baggage train to receive care. Others devised a scheme which is believed to have been most destructive that day to the enemy's hordes; they turned their attention to wounding the horses of their adversaries and thus rendered the riders easy victims to the Christians who were following.

The king, followed by some of his valiant and illustrious knights, hurled himself like a lion against the serried ranks of the foe. Destruction on the right and on the left attended his progress, a massacre terrible even in the eyes of the conquerors. Our annals, even to the present time, contain no account of such a desperate and uncertain battle. Although the conflict was prolonged from the third to the tenth hour, it was scarcely possible to decide even in the eleventh hour which side had won. Finally, by divine favor at the intercession of the great teacher of the Gentiles, the infidels were put to flight. They had suffered a massacre which will be memorable forever, for more than two thousand of their number are said to have fallen on that day. When a count was taken of the Christian forces, both cavalry and infantry, it was found that only twenty-four knights and eighty foot soldiers had been lost.

Thus victory was conferred on the Christians from on high, and the king held the field as conqueror. With great joy and thanksgiving, he led his army thence and began the return march to his own land. On the way, he found a tower to which ninety-six Turks had retreated in the hope of saving their lives. He attacked this vigorously, seized the fugitives, and put them to death by the sword. A little farther on,
another tower was taken by assault, but since it was surrendered without difficulty, the privilege of life was granted to the twenty Turks who had been sent there to protect it. The Christians undermined this tower and it was soon so completely wrecked that it fell to the ground with a mighty crash.

Then, after obtaining several victories worthy of remembrance forever, the troops returned in exultation to their own country.


About this time, Pons, count of Tripoli, determined to besiege Raphania, a city near his own dominions, for he perceived that this could be easily accomplished. In order to carry out his plan more effectively he sent numerous letters and messages to the king of Jerusalem, begging that he would come and help him. The indefatigable king, ever ready to participate loyally in any enterprise for the common welfare of the Christians, at once repaired thither with an honorable escort. On his arrival, he found the count fully prepared for the campaign. Machines and everything necessary for besieging a city, including provisions sufficient for several days, were taken with them from Tripoli; the infantry was sent on ahead, and the two leaders conducted their own troops to the vicinity of their proposed activity.

On reaching the place, they at once placed a blockade around it, a maneuver which effectually prevented the citizens from going in or out. Because of its natural situation and the small number of inhabitants, Raphania was poorly fortified. Moreover, it had become so exhausted by repeated attacks that it was unable to hold out very long.

For Count Pons had built a fortress in the mountains near his own lands, and the constant attacks made by the garrison from that place had reduced the city to dire straits, in fact almost to the last extremity. Accordingly, after the siege had been carried on vigorously for eighteen days, the citizens were forced to surrender. They were granted the privilege of departing freely with their wives and children and were promised security.

Raphania is one of the dependent cities of the province of Apamea in which it is situated. It was taken on the last day of March. After the surrender the king returned to Jerusalem and there celebrated Easter with much devotion.
CAPTURE OF TYRE

About the same time, Henry, emperor of the Romans, died. In his stead reigned Lothair, duke of Saxony, a man commendable in every respect. Lothair afterwards went down into Apulia with a large army and took forcible possession of the entire country as far as Farum. He compelled Count Roger, who had seized Apulia by force, to flee into Sicily and placed as ruler in Apulia a wise and discreet man called Renaud. After the emperor had departed, however, Roger returned to Apulia. He fought with Renaud, slew him, and regained the duchy. Later he became king of Sicily and of the entire province of Apulia.

20. Bursuqi again invades the land of Antioch. He is finally stabbed by his own men and dies. The Egyptian fleet proceeds to Syria. There it suffers defeat and is forced to return without completing the campaign.

While the king was still lingering at Tyre, a messenger arrived in haste from Antioch. He brought the news, both by letter and word of mouth, that Bursuqi, that unspeakable persecutor of our faith, had entered Coelesyria with a large force of cavalry. Since there was no one to oppose him, he was besieging cities and burning places everywhere on the outskirts according to his own good pleasure. At the same time, he was carrying off the people as his prisoners and reducing women and children to slavery.

The king distrusted the Egyptians and had no doubt that they would soon arrive with the immense fleet which they had prepared. Yet, at this news, “like the wise physician who hastens to apply his remedies when he perceives that the disease is becoming worse,” he at once laid aside all other cares and hastened thither to cope with the most pressing need. But as soon as Bursuqi learned of this movement, he at once raised the blockade which he had carefully placed around the noble fortress of Cerep and retired to the most remote part of the enemy’s country. Before the king arrived, however, Bursuqi had seized by force a certain town of no great renown and had captured some women and their children. The men of the besieged town had with much difficulty and danger escaped the hand of the enemy. They had chosen to seek safety alone rather than to be caught in the wretched bonds of

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43 Henry V died May 23, 1125. Fulcher, who was writing in Jerusalem, probably learned of it from pilgrims at the Easter festival following and inserted it in his account, which William follows. The further information about Lothair’s policy in southern Italy was added by William, but from what source is unknown.
captivity with their wives and children. Some time later, however, the wicked Bursuqi, a son of perdition, was stabbed to death by his servants and other members of his household. Thus by his own acts he brought upon himself the natural consequences of his wickedness and reaped the fruit of his impiety.

This, then, was the situation in the lands of Antioch. Meanwhile, as rumor had forecast, the Egyptian fleet of twenty-four galleys was sailing along the shore, seeking an opportunity to inflict injury upon some of our cities, and had reached Beirut. They were ever on the alert, also, as if emerging from ambush, to surprise and seize any Christians who might be passing without due caution or approaching Syria. Finally, however, their water supply gave out and they were compelled to land near a river to seek means of satisfying their thirst. Thereupon, the citizens of Beirut issued forth and, with the help of others from the neighboring towns, drove them with violence from the stream. This action utterly deprived the Egyptians of the opportunity of using the water. Making vigorous use of their weapons, the townspeople forced the enemy back to the ships, whither they were forced to retire with a loss of one hundred and thirty men who had fallen by the sword.

21. Bohemond the Younger arrives at Antioch. The king restores the lands which belonged to the prince by ancestral right and gives him his own daughter Alice to wife.

In the following autumn, the younger Bohemond, prince of Taranto, son of the older Bohemond, made an alliance with his paternal uncle, William, duke of Apulia, and concluded a treaty with him in regard to the future succession, by which it was stipulated that the one who died first was to be succeeded by the other in entirety. A fleet of ten galleys and twelve other vessels suitable for carrying the baggage and equipment as well as arms and provisions had been made ready. With this Bohemond started for Syria, for he felt confident of the good faith of

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44 Bursuqi was killed in late November or early December, 1126, according to Qalanisi (Gibb, *Chronicle*, p. 177).

45 Bohemond II arrived in September, 1126. The fact that the marriage of Bohemond II and Alice, daughter of Baldwin II, occurred so soon after his arrival suggests the probability that negotiations had been going on for some time and the marriage was a real condition to Baldwin's relinquishment of Antioch.
the king, who had promised that, when he came to claim the heritage left him by his father, it would not be refused.

When the king learned that the fleet of the prince had safely entered the mouth of the Orontes river, he went forth with the great lords of the land to meet him. And as soon as Bohemond had entered Antioch, Baldwin with all kindness restored to him the city and the whole land, the burden of which he himself had borne with watchful care and anxiety for eight years.

After the principality had been thus restored, all the leading men and the chiefs of the land, in the presence of the king and at his behest, swore fealty to Bohemond in his own palace. Then through the offices of certain friends of both parties, the king gave Bohemond his second daughter Alice in marriage. This alliance was arranged under conditions approved both by the king and the prince, that the friendly relations and esteem between them might be increased.

Bohemond was about eighteen years old. He was rather tall and of fine figure. He had blond hair and well-made features. His whole bearing plainly showed the prince even to those who did not know him. His conversation was agreeable and easily won the favor of those who listened to him. He was of a generous nature and, like his father, truly magnificent. In respect to high lineage according to the flesh, he was second to none. His father, Bohemond the Elder, was the son of the illustrious Robert Guiscard, a man whose name will live forever. His mother, Constance, a daughter of Philip, the excellent king of the Franks, was a woman conspicuous among illustrious women for her admirable and noble character.46

The nuptials were celebrated according to custom and the princess with due ceremony united to the prince in the bonds of lawful marriage. Then the king, relieved of the greater part of his burden, returned to Jerusalem safe and sound.

In the following year, Bohemond laid siege to the fortress of Kaftab, which had been subjugated several years before by the strong hand of the enemy. Military forces were summoned from the entire principality, and the engineers were ordered to build the machines necessary for storming a stronghold. The place fell a short time after siege operations were begun. Bohemond spared none found therein,

46 Book XI, chap. 6.
but slew all, regardless of the bribes offered by those who endeavored thus to secure life and safety. Such were the first fruits of his youthful prowess which this noble and distinguished prince offered as proofs of his natural ability.

22. *A serious enmity arises between Bohemond II and Joscelin, count of Edessa. The king hurries thither and settles the strife. The Africans make a fierce attack on Syracuse, a city of Sicily.*

Before long, a serious enmity arose between this prince and the elder Joscelin, count of Edessa. The reasons for this are unknown, at least to us, but they were assuredly hateful in the eyes of God, for contrary to the honorable custom and laws of our times, Joscelin called to his aid bands of infidel Turks, an act which established a vicious precedent for his descendants.47 Aided by them, he ravaged the land of Antioch with fire and sword and forced its inhabitants, true servants of Christ, to bow beneath the yoke of unmerited servitude. This conduct seems all the more extraordinary and deserving of divine censure, because it is said to have happened while Bohemond, ignorant of what was going on, was fighting in the service of Christ against the enemies of the Lord. Hence the aforesaid Joscelin merits the execration of all to whom this story, fraught with hate and indignation, comes.

Rumors of this trouble reached the king and caused him much anxiety. He was concerned, in the first place, lest this discord might afford the enemy a favorable opportunity to molest the Christians, because, according to the word of the Lord, “Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation.” 48 In the second place, both parties were closely related to him by blood, for the one was his cousin, the son of his mother’s sister, and the other was his son-in-law, to whom he had recently given his daughter in marriage. Accordingly, he set out in haste for Antioch to try to bring about a reconciliation. With the devoted and loyal coöperation of Bernard, the patriarch of Antioch, he was successful in establishing most cordial relations between the

47 The alliance of Christian leaders with Turks was no new policy, for William has recounted earlier instances. Either this marks a resumption of writing after a considerable interval during which he forgot those earlier instances, or he has in mind the later careers of Joscelin II and Joscelin III. This quarrel occurred in the summer of 1127.

48 Lu. 11:17.
two lords. Luckily for the king’s purpose, the count in the meantime had contracted a serious illness. It was while he was suffering from this and in great danger of death that he repented of his evil deeds and made a vow that if God would grant him life and health, he would give satisfaction to the prince, become reconciled to him, and pay rightful homage. And this came to pass. For after Joscelin was fully recovered, the two were reconciled in the presence of the king and the patriarch. Good will in full measure now existed between them. Joscelin swore fealty to him and observed it thereafter as in duty bound. After thus happily ending this affair, the king returned to Jerusalem.

Just about this time, Count Roger of Sicily is said to have set sail for Africa with a fleet of forty galleys which he had caused to be prepared with great care. The news of his coming had preceded him, however, and the people of that province, forewarned, had prudently taken precautions, so that he might have no opportunity of injuring them. On the contrary, with zeal equal to his own, they armed all their galleys and swiftly gave chase. The Christians were forced to flee without accomplishing their object, for the pursuit was continued to the very shores of Sicily. On arriving there with eighty galleys, the enemy made an unexpected attack upon Syracuse. This ancient and noble city had become enervated from long-continued peace, and, in its fancied security, was wholly without apprehension of such danger. It at once succumbed. Without regard to age or sex, the Africans massacred a large number of citizens, while the few who were spared had to suffer a slavery worse than any form of death. The bishop of the place with a few clerics escaped with much difficulty by fleeing to the country outside the city.49

23. The first archbishop of the Latins at Tyre is appointed.

In the following spring, which was the fourth year after Tyre had been restored to the Christian faith, the king and the patriarch met with the leading men of the realm at the city of Tyre to choose an archbishop over the church there. William, the venerable prior of the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, was finally appointed. He was

49 This episode, which has no direct connection with the affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem, is another instance of William’s familiarity with the affairs of southern Italy.
an Englishman by birth, and a man of most exemplary life and character.

At this point, we are entirely unable to restrain our lamentations; for, as the proverb says, "Where love is, there are the eyes; where sorrow abides there is the hand." This matter weighs heavily upon us, and the pain it inflicts permits our heart no rest. For although we admire the prudence of that time, yet we are perplexed and regard it rather as rashness. For those, who two years before this city was restored to Christian liberty had consecrated a bishop over them, afterwards, with dilatory and crass prudence neglected to provide a head for that same church until four years later. Consequently, during that time, the churches were broken up and the cathedral church, although it ought to have received attention first of all because it had the responsibility of governing, was curtailed of its own members. Thus, like one accursed, it received the worser lot; for it is written, "Cursed is the man who causes his own portion to deteriorate."

Nevertheless, that predecessor of ours and all of us who have followed him in that same church have with justice escaped the effect of that curse.\(^{50}\) For it was not we who brought about the deterioration of our lot; on the contrary, we were forced to enter upon conditions that had been made worse by others. May the Lord spare those who so mishandled the church and not consign them to Gehenna.

After receiving the gift of consecration from the patriarch of Jerusalem, William, our predecessor of good memory, started for Rome to receive the pallium. This he did in direct opposition to the wishes of the one who had consecrated him, and in spite of the latter's efforts. William was kindly received at Rome by Pope Honorius II, who granted his request and sent him back to his own land with much honor, the bearer of an apostolic letter. The tenor of this was as follows:

"Honorius, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his brethren the venerable suffragan bishops, to the clergy, and to the people of Tyre, salutation and the apostolic blessing.

"We have received with due affection on the occasion of his coming to us, your archbishop, our very dear brother William. Upon him,

\(^{50}\) This is the first definite indication that he was writing after June, 1175, when he was made archbishop. Whether this material was inserted after 1180 or written during the period from 1175-1178 is not clear.
eled according to canonical rules and consecrated by our venerable brother Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem, we have conferred the dignity of the pallium, that is, the full pontifical powers. We believe that from him, by the aid of divine mercy, will come much fruit to your mother church at Tyre. Hence we deem it well to send him back to you with the favor of the apostolic see, as the bearer of our letter. We command you as a whole to receive him kindly and to render him in all humility subjection, obedience, and reverence as your own metropolitan and the bishop of your souls. . . ."

"Honorious, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem, salutation and the apostolic blessing.

"Having received your letter of brotherly affection, we have welcomed with kindness our brother William, whom you have consecrated archbishop over the church at Tyre, and we have invested him with the dignity of the pallium, that is, with the fullness of the pontifical office. Moreover, we have commanded the suffragans of his church to render to him subjection, obedience, and reverence as to their own metropolitan.

Given in the territory of Bari, July 8." 51

With the archbishop the pope sent also, as legate of the apostolic see, Giles, bishop of Tusculum, an eloquent and very learned man, whose famous letters to the people of Antioch are still extant. By Giles the pope sent a letter to Bernard, the patriarch of Antioch, in which he admonished the latter to restore to the lord of Tyre the suffragans belonging to that church, whom Bernard was withholding. Among other things, he said, "Wherefore, we command you by the apostolic letter and by our venerable brother Giles, bishop of Tusculum and legate of the apostolic see, that you restore to William the suffragans of the church at Tyre, that, unless they show the rightful submission to him within forty days after the reading of the letter which we have sent you, we suspend them from that time from the episcopal office."

How it happened that William had been consecrated by the patriarch of Jerusalem and owed obedience to him, although from the time of the apostles even to that day it is certain that the church at Tyre was

51 July 8, 1128, according to R. Röhricht (see Regesta regni Hierosolymitani, no. 123).
subject to the see at Antioch, will be related in a suitable place in the following history.\footnote{\textit{William's implication that it was wrong to have the archbishopric of Tyre subject to Jerusalem suggests a point of view which he may have developed more strongly after 1180. He has already recounted the circumstances which led to this arrangement.}}

24. \textit{The count of Anjou arrives at the invitation of the king. Melisend, the king's eldest daughter, is given to him in marriage.}

About midspring of the following year Fulk, the magnificent and illustrious count of Anjou, landed at Acre. By the unanimous advice of all the princes, both ecclesiastical and secular, the king had invited him hither to wed the lady Melisend, his eldest daughter. He came attended by an honorable retinue of nobles and with a magnificence and pomp which surpassed that of kings.

With Fulk came William de Bury, the royal constable, who, on the king's release from captivity, had been sent with some other nobles to invite the count thither.\footnote{This mission must have been sent some time later, for William de Bury was still in Palestine in 1126 (\textit{R. Reg.}, no. 115), perhaps not until 1127. The proposal had the approval of Pope Honorius, whose letter commending Fulk to Baldwin II is dated May 29, 1128 (\textit{R. Reg.}, no. 122).} On setting forth upon this mission, William had been instructed to take a solemn oath by the soul of the king and of the princes of the realm that within fifty days after the said count reached the kingdom in safety he would be given the king's eldest daughter in marriage, with the expectation of succeeding to the throne at Baldwin's death. At soon as he landed, therefore, and even before the celebration of Holy Pentecost which was near at hand, the king gave him his eldest daughter in marriage, according to the terms of the agreement.\footnote{Just before June 2, 1129.} At the same time he endowed the pair with the cities of Tyre and Acre, to be held by them during the king's own lifetime. These cities continued to be in their possession until the king's death.

Fulk showed himself a wise and discreet man. During Baldwin's lifetime, he devotedly fulfilled all the duties of a son. He was faithful and active in attending to matters of the realm, and in his deference to the lord king he proved that he was not lacking in those qualities which ordinarily win friends.
25. Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem, dies. Stephen is chosen in his place. Difficult questions arise between the king and the patriarch.

That same year, Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem of precious memory, was besieging a fortress in the district of Sidon called Belthasem, which at that time was held by bandits. There he contracted the seeds of death and was stricken with a serious illness. He was carried to Sidon, where, as his illness increased, he finally paid the debt of mankind and went the way of all flesh. He had ruled over the church at Jerusalem for nearly ten years. In his place was chosen a man, noble according to the flesh indeed, but far more noble in life and character, Stephen, abbot of St. John of the Valley, in the city of Chartres. He was a native of Chartres and a kinsman of King Baldwin. Of knightly rank and mode of life, he had been before his conversion viscount of that city. Later, he renounced the world, put on the habit of religion in the monastery just mentioned, and finally, because of his merit, was made head of that church. In his youth he had been thoroughly instructed in the liberal arts.

Abbot Stephen had come on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the sake of prayer and devotion and was waiting there to make the return passage. It happened to be the very time when, after the obsequies of the Patriarch Gormond, the clergy and people were engaged in choosing a new shepherd. By common consent their choice fell upon Stephen, and he was elected.

After his consecration, however, he began to raise troublesome questions in opposition to the king. He alleged that the city of Jaffa belonged by right to him and to the church of the Resurrection of the Lord. He even claimed that, after the capture of Ascalon, the Holy City itself should by right submit to the church in the same way. He was a man of lofty spirit and honorable character, unswerving in everything he undertook and zealously insistent upon his own rights.

The reference to "the same year" is misleading. Gormond had become patriarch in 1118, his ten-year reign thus ending in 1128. This accords with other evidence (see R. Röhricht, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291, p. 184, note 8).

The assertion of such claims by the patriarch against the king evidently meets with William's approval. Compare the claims of Daimbert and William's justification of them (Book IX, chaps. 17 and 18).
Consequently, a serious enmity arose between him and the king; but his premature death, according to the story, put an end to this. For he died before he had completed a term of two years. Some think that he was poisoned, but we have no definite information as to that. It is said, however, that while he was lying on his deathbed the king came to see him and inquired how he was. His response was, “Sire, I am now in the condition which you desire.”

26. In company with the prince of Antioch, the count of Tripoli, and the count of Edessa, the king invades the land of Damascus. He is compelled to retreat in disorder, however, with the loss of a part of the army. The patriarch Stephen dies. William is chosen in his stead.

In the following year, Hugh de Payens, the first master of the Knights of the Temple, and several other men of religion returned. They had been sent by the king and the chief men of the kingdom to the princes of the West for the purpose of rousing the people there to come to our assistance.57 Above all, they were to try to induce men of influence to come to help us besiege Damascus. Led by their persuasive words, many companies of noblemen had arrived in the kingdom. Accordingly, relying upon the powerful assistance of these newcomers, all the Christian princes of the East convened as by agreement. There were present King Baldwin; Fulk, count of Anjou; Pons, count of Tripoli; the younger Bohemond, prince of Antioch; and the elder Joscelin, count of Edessa. After taking counsel together, all these leaders levied military forces from every direction and summoned their allies. Then, in zealrous emulation of each other, they marched in battle array to besiege the renowned and noble city of Damascus. It was their hope that they might take the city by fighting at close quarters, or by laying siege to it force it to surrender. Divine providence, however, with just though unseen judgment, blocked this great enterprise. Until they entered the land of Damascus, they had been attended by good fortune under the leadership of God. At a place called Mergisafar, however,

57 Hugh de Payens, who had attended the council of Troyes in 1128, where the rule of the order of the Templars was approved, had recruited followers both for the order and for the needs of the kingdom (see Book XII, chap. 7). The sum total of the knights and other troops who came from the West with Hugh de Payens and with Fulk of Anjou must have been considerable to permit such an ambitious undertaking as the siege of Damascus.
men of lesser rank separated from the main army. It was the customary duty of these men to spread here and there through the fields in search of the provisions and fodder necessary for the use of men and beasts. William de Bury with a thousand knights was in charge of this party. As is usual on such forays, the contingent separated into small parties, which began to roam recklessly over the country. They purposely kept apart from one another, that each band might claim for itself whatever it found and not share with the rest. Intent upon this and busy in devastating the fields, all bent on carrying away plunder for their own companies, these forces began to conduct themselves very imprudently and soon passed beyond the bounds of military discipline.

News of this reckless behavior soon came to the ears of Tughtigin, the prince of Damascus. Well aware that these troops were unacquainted with the locality, the prince hoped that by making a sudden attack with only his best and most experienced warriors, he might succeed in destroying them. His hopes were realized. While they were incautiously roaming about in search of food, he made a sudden attack upon them and easily put them to flight, for they were intent upon other things and wholly unprepared for danger. Dispersed as they were through the fields, many fell by the swords of the infidel. The prince continued the pursuit until he had put to flight not only the rank and file but also the flower of the army who had been detailed to guard the foraging party. Many of these picked soldiers were also slain.

When news of this disaster reached the army, the hearts of all were kindled with wrath. Eager to resent such a wrong and to seek revenge against the enemy, they snatched their weapons and, with resolute and fiery courage, prepared to move against the foe. But against the will of divine power, the purposes of man can make no progress. Suddenly a violent rainstorm accompanied by fog descended upon them from on high. The roads were rendered impassable by the downpour, and the fury of the tempest alone was such that it was hardly possible to hope to escape alive. Long before this, the dense clouds and the fog, the winds rushing from every direction, the constant thunder and lightning had given unmistakable warning of the storm. But the mind of man, ignorant of the future, heeded not the divine forbearance which would have recalled them. On the contrary, the forces strove to pro-

58 Tughtigin had died February 11, 1128. His son, Taj al-Muluk Buri, was now in charge of affairs.
ceed against the will of God, a thing which is impossible. At length, they realized that the tempest had been sent upon them because of their sins. Reluctantly they were obliged to abandon their purpose. Conditions were now entirely changed. When they first set out, they were greatly feared by the enemy as a terrible menace. Now these same men were a burden to themselves. Merely to return in safety to their own land, would, they felt, be a great victory. The enemy, on the other hand, was now quite at ease and had even become superior.

This disaster occurred eight days before the Ides of December (December 6) in the year 1130 of the Incarnation of our Lord and the twelfth year of King Baldwin's reign. It happened at almost the very place where four years before the king had obtained a notable and ever-memorable victory over the same enemy.\(^59\)

Marvellous is it, O eternal Saviour, truly marvellous and far beyond the conception of man, how Thou bringest low those who presume on their own merits! Thou piercest the hearts of those who trust in man and in the arm of their own flesh by hurling Thy malediction against them as they indeed deserve. Thou seekest no helper or sharer in Thy glory. For Thou hast said, blessed God, "I will not give my glory unto another." \(^60\) "Vengeance is mine; I will repay." \(^61\) "I kill, and I make alive; I wound, and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand." \(^62\) Truly, O Lord, hast Thou spoken! For as long as the king committed himself entirely to superabounding divine grace and employed only the forces of his own realm, he often announced unhoped-for victories over the enemy. When, however, he began to rely upon numbers and presumed on his power to exalt himself by the work of men, when he began to multiply his allies and to trust in human valor, Thou didst withdraw Thy favor and didst abandon him to his own resources. For, when he trusted in the aid of the Lord, he was wont, even with small forces, to triumph easily over the enemy; but now, even though accompanied by a multitude, he was forced to retreat discomfited.

\(^59\) The date of this defeat was late in 1129. Qalanisi, who was presumably in Damascus at the time and wrote a lengthy account of it, placed it in November of that year instead of December 6, as William has it. It is strange that William omitted the highly interesting events which preceded the campaign. The Assassins had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Damascenes and had given Banyas to Baldwin as a means of saving it from Damascus. This omission illustrates William's difficulty in carrying on historical research without written guides and with many distractions of public office (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 187-99; also *R.K.J.*, pp. 186-87).

\(^60\) Is. 48: 11. \(^61\) Ro. 12: 19. \(^62\) De. 32: 39.
So, at this time, the very heavens fought against them. Driven back by the storm sent from on high, they were unable to accomplish their purpose and could not avenge their comrades who had fallen by the sword of the enemy.

After these unfortunate occurrences, our leaders separated, for it was evident that the work which they had undertaken could not be carried out successfully. Consequently, all returned home.

During this time, Stephen, patriarch of Jerusalem, of precious memory, died. He was succeeded by William, prior of the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord. William was a plain, sincere man, handsome of appearance and commendable for his noble character, although but slightly versed in letters. He was Flemish by birth, a native of Malines. He proved very acceptable to the king, to the princes of the realm, and to the people in general.

27. Bohemond, prince of Antioch, is killed in Cilicia, near Mamistra. The king repairs to Antioch in haste. Bohemond's widow tries to prevent her father from entering the city, but, by the efforts of the citizens, the state is entrusted to the king and the princess is exiled.

Soon after Bohemond, prince of Antioch, the king's son-in-law, returned to his own province from that campaign, Ridwan, prince of Aleppo, a very powerful Turkish ruler, a son of Satan, invaded the land of Antioch. Bohemond, hoping thereby to keep him out of his own territory, hastened against him into Cilicia. Other reasons also relating to private and domestic affairs called the young prince thither. While encamped there in a broad plain called the meadow of the Mantles, he was suddenly attacked by a great number of the enemy. His men deserted, and Bohemond was slain by the foe. He would have been a great prince, beloved of God, had not premature death and invidious fate snatched him from the world. This misfortune utterly overwhelmed the people of Antioch. Since he was young, they had felt that they might be safe for a long time under his rule, and consequently they had ventured to undertake more than was expedient.

63 His death occurred late in the year 1130 (see R. Reg., no. 133).
64 This is an error. Ridwan of Aleppo, who had been prominent during the siege of Antioch in 1098, had died in 1114. Zangi had acquired Aleppo, and it was now ruled by him directly or through a lieutenant named Sawar.
65 The death of Bohemond II occurred in February, 1130. His headless body is said to have been found and given proper burial in Antioch.
Again they renewed their lamentations, complaining that without the help of a prince they were in danger of falling a prey to the enemy; and again, after holding a council, they called on the king of Jerusalem.

Baldwin was greatly disturbed at the news of this fresh calamity, for he feared that, deprived of a leader, some worse misfortune might befall the principality. Since he regarded nothing that happened to the Christian princes as alien to himself, he at once laid aside his own concerns and began to assume the burdens of others. Anything that he could do for a Christian people seemed worthy of his attention. Accordingly, he proceeded to Antioch as speedily as possible.

But as soon as his daughter [Alice] learned of her husband's death, and, in fact, before she was aware of her father's intention to come to Antioch, an evil spirit led her to conceive a wicked plan. In order to make her position more secure and to carry her plan into effect, she sent messengers to a certain powerful Turkish chief, called Sanguis [Zangi]. By his aid she hoped to acquire Antioch for herself in perpetuity, despite the opposition of her chief men and the entire people. For Bohemond of happy memory had left an only daughter, who apparently did not stand high in the favor of her mother. Whether she remained a widow or remarried, Alice was determined to disinherit her daughter and keep the principality for herself in perpetuity. By one of her own servants she sent to the nobleman just mentioned a present of a snow-white palfrey shot with silver. The bridle and other trappings were likewise of silver and even the silken saddle cloth was white, so that uniformity prevailed throughout. By chance this messenger was intercepted on his way and, when brought into the presence of the king, confessed all the details of the plot. As the fitting consequence of his evil doings, he was put to death with extreme torture.

On learning of the unfortunate events which have just been related, the king hurried to Antioch. When he reached there, however, he was refused admission to the city by his daughter's orders. The pangs of conscience had laid hold on her and she feared her father's decision.

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66 This is Zangi, whose father had been governor of Aleppo under Malik Shah. When the father was killed in 1094, Zangi, then ten years old, had been sent to Mosul. His military career began quite early and with good fortune. He became governor of Mosul in 1126–1127 and extended his sway to Aleppo in 1128.

67 Some of the details of this story appear legendary. Alice's efforts to bring about peace with Zangi even at the cost of the marriage of her daughter with a Muslim prince, provided she herself could continue to rule at Antioch, has confirmation in Arabic accounts.
CAPTURE OF TYRE

She accordingly entrusted the place to her accomplices and to those whom her money had corrupted, and made every effort to resist, that she might be free to exercise her tyrannical will. But the result proved to be far other than as she had planned. For there were God-fearing men in that same city who scorned the bold insolence of a foolish woman. Among these were Peter Latinator, a monk of St. Paul, and William Aversa. With the consent of others, they secretly sent messengers to summon the king and, by a prearranged plan, placed Fulk, count of Anjou, at the gate of the Duke and Count Joscelin at the gate of St. Paul. The gates were then unbarred, and the king entered the city.

When the princess learned of this, she at once retreated to the citadel. Later, however, in response to the summons of the wiser men of Antioch and by the advice of those in whom she had full confidence, she presented herself before her father, prepared to obey his will. Baldwin was very indignant at her conduct, yet he was not without paternal feelings and was finally induced to give way to the pleading of those who made intercession for her. Antioch was surrendered to him, and, lest she might at some other time make a similar attempt, the king granted her the coast cities of Laodicea and Jabala. For her husband, in his last will, had destined these cities for her, because they had formed her dowry at the time of her marriage.

When the king had thus arranged the affairs of Antioch, he entrusted it to the care of the principal men and returned to Jerusalem, where private matters called him. Before he left, however, he caused all, both great and small, to take the solemn oath that during his own time and thereafter they would faithfully keep Antioch and its dependencies for Constance, the minor daughter of Bohemond the Younger. For he feared the wicked malice of his own daughter, lest she should make a second attempt to disinherit her minor daughter.

28. The king returns to Jerusalem. He is attacked by a serious illness from which he dies. He is buried with the other kings in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord.

On his return to Jerusalem, the king was attacked by a serious malady and perceived that the day of his death was at hand. Thereupon he laid aside his royal state and, as a humble supplicant in the sight of the Lord, went forth from the palace. He caused himself to be carried into
CAPTURE OF TYRE

the palace of the lord patriarch, because that was nearer to the place of the Lord's resurrection. For he had full hope that the One who had overcome death in that place would make him a sharer in His own resurrection. He then summoned to him his daughter and his son-in-law and the boy Baldwin, who was now two years old. To them, in the presence of the patriarch and the prelates of the church and some of the nobles who happened to be present, he committed the care of the kingdom with full power. Then, as a devout prince, he bestowed upon them his fatherly benediction.

After this, having assumed the garb of religion as a true confessor of Christ and professed the religious life, if he should live, he rendered up his spirit to Him who is the Father of spirits and by the will of God departed to receive his reward with the other princes who had gone before. He died on the twenty-first day of August, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1131, and of his own reign the thirteenth. He was buried with his predecessors, those kings of pious memory, at the foot of Mount Calvary, before the place which is called Golgotha. His obsequies were celebrated with great pomp and ceremony by his people, with all the magnificence befitting a king. Even unto the present time, his memory is held in veneration by all, because of his exemplary faith and illustrious deeds.

68 This is the future Baldwin III. William's unusual phrase jam bimulo seems somewhat ambiguous, for unless Baldwin had been born in 1129 he could hardly have been two years old by August 21, 1131.

HERE ENDS THE THIRTEENTH BOOK
THE FOURTEENTH BOOK BEGINS

FULK OF ANJOU AS KING OF JERUSALEM:
TROUBLES IN NORTHERN SYRIA

1. The lineage and character of Fulk, the third king of Jerusalem.

When Baldwin du Bourg, the second Latin king of Jerusalem, was called from this world, he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Fulk, count of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, to whom, as we mentioned above, he had given his eldest daughter, Melisend, in marriage. This Fulk was a ruddy man, like David, whom the Lord found after His own heart. He was faithful and gentle, affable, kind, and compassionate, unusual traits in people of that complexion. In works of piety and the giving of alms, he was most generous. Even before he was called to guide the affairs of the kingdom, he was a powerful prince, according to the flesh, and very successful in ruling his own people. He was an experienced warrior full of patience and wisdom in military affairs. He was of medium height and was already well advanced in age, a man of more than sixty years.¹

Among other failings from which he suffered because of human frailty was that of a poor memory, so fleeting that he seldom remembered faces or names, not even those of his own domestics. If someone on whom he had recently conferred the high honor of his friendly favor appeared suddenly before him, he was obliged to inquire carefully who he was. This often proved embarrassing to those who, presuming on their acquaintance with him, offered to act as mediators for others and found that they themselves needed a patron with him.

His father, likewise called Fulk, surnamed Rechin, was the count of Touraine and Anjou. He married Bertelea [Bertrada], sister of Amaury de Montfort. They had two sons, the Fulk of whom we are speaking and Geoffrey Martel; also a daughter, Hermengarde,² who

¹ It is possible, even probable, that William had seen Fulk. Actually Fulk was barely forty years old when he became king and only fifty-three when he died, but to a lad of ten he must have seemed a very old man. This impression remained with William, who thought of Fulk always as an old man.

² Fulk IV, le Rechin, had had three wives (A. Fliche, Le Règne de Philippe Ier, roi de France, 1060–1108, pp. 44, 233) or four wives (L. Halphen, Le Comté d'Anjou
married as her first husband William, count of Poitou. Spurned and cast off by him, she fled to the count of Brittany, to whom she clung with the affection of a wife. To this pair was born Conan, count of Brittany, who was called the Fat.

After bearing these three children to her lawful husband, Fulk the Elder, Bertrada deserted him and took refuge with Philip, king of the Franks. He put aside his legitimate wife and took Bertrada as the sharer of his couch and the companion of his cares. Contrary to the law of the church and despite all the efforts of the bishops and nobles of his realm, he continued to keep her with him and later treated her with the affection of a husband. By her, he had two sons, Florus and Philip, and a daughter, Cecilia, who was mentioned above. Cecilia married as her first husband Tancred, prince of Antioch, and, after his death, she espoused Pons, count of Tripoli.

Fulk's younger son and namesake married, after his father's death, Guiber [Eremberge], the daughter of Elia [Hélie], count of Maine.

She bore him two sons and two daughters. His mother brought about this marriage. In his youth, Fulk was serving as cupbearer at the court of his lord, the count of Poitou, when the news of the death of his elder brother arrived. The count immediately seized the young man

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*au XIe siècle, pp. 169-70*) before he married Bertrada. The last two had been repudiated by him and were still living when he married her. This marriage occurred probably in 1090, certainly no earlier than 1089. Her son, Fulk, could therefore have been born no earlier than 1089 nor later than 1092. She fled to, or was abducted by, Philip at Orléans on the night of May 15, 1092 (Halphen), which might indicate that her son had been born no later than 1091. Mlle Chartrou, who has assembled all the available information on this problem (Joseph Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151*, p. 77), prefers either 1090 or 1092 as the date of his birth. Fulk was therefore no older than forty-one years and may have been only thirty-nine when he became king of Jerusalem. The other children mentioned by William were of the earlier marriages. The name of the daughter suggests that she, like Geoffrey, was the child of the second wife, Ermengarde de Bourbon.

5 Various stories arose to explain the separation of Bertrada from Fulk IV. Fliche, after examining all of them, concludes that it was her irresistible charm which led Philip to abduct her, repudiate his wife, Bertha, who had grown flabby, and marry Bertrada. The marriage took place very soon after the abduction in 1092. This violation of the marriage sacrament was the chief cause for the excommunication of Philip (see Fliche, *Phélie leR*, pp. 40-77).

4 Her name was Eremberge rather than Guiber, and through her Fulk received the inheritance of Hélí de la Flèche, count of Maine (see Fliche, *Phélie leR*, p. 231).

5 When his oldest son, Geoffrey, died in 1106, Fulk IV asked to have his other son, Fulk, then at the court of France with his mother, succeed him. William IX, duke of Aquitaine, leader of the crusade of 1101, happened to be at the court at the time and was entrusted with the task of taking young Fulk to his father. Instead, William kept Fulk for a year or more until his father agreed to give up some disputed border country (see Fliche, *Phélie leR*, pp. 232-35).
and put him in prison. His object was to wrest from Fulk by force certain castles located in his own domain which had long been held by Fulk's father and brother by hereditary right, although in fief to himself as count of Poitou.

Long before this, his mother had separated from his father and had fled to the king of the Franks. When she learned of her son's imprisonment, her maternal feelings were aroused. She went to the king and, as a suppliant, implored him to order her son's release from prison and to restore his paternal inheritance. She obtained her request and also succeeded in persuading the king to bestow upon Fulk in marriage the only daughter of Count Hélie, mentioned above, with her entire heritage. By Eremberge, Fulk had, as we have said above, two sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Geoffrey, succeeded his father as count, and to him Henry the Elder, the powerful king of the Angles, gave as wife his only daughter, Matilda, the widow of Henry, emperor of the Romans.6

By this marriage Geoffrey had three sons: Henry, who now wisely and vigorously administers the kingdom of England; Geoffrey, surnamed Plantagenet; and William, known as Long Sword.

Fulk's second son bore the name Hélie for his maternal grandfather. To him Rotrou, count of Perche, gave his only daughter in marriage. He promised that he himself would not remarry, but would, on his death, transfer to Hélie in all integrity her entire inheritance. Regardless of this agreement, however, and of his lavish promises, he married a sister of Count Patritius, an English lord, by whom he had several children. Thus Hélie, contrary to his expectations, lost his wife's inheritance.

Sibylla, one of Fulk's daughters, married the noble and distinguished Thierry, count of Flanders.7 Of this marriage was born Philip, who

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6 Matilda was the daughter of Henry I, king of England, whom William calls "Elder" to distinguish him from his grandson, Henry II, who ruled England in William's time. She had been sent to Germany before she was ten to become the wife of Henry V. Her English companions were dismissed, and she was brought up in the strict etiquette of the imperial court. Her marriage took place when she was twelve. She was a widow at twenty-three. She was much beloved in Germany, but her father wanted her to become his heir in England. Her ways were doubtless strange there, and she was always referred to as "the empress" even after her marriage to Geoffrey of Anjou, ten years her junior and scarcely seventeen at the time of the marriage. Even her son, Henry II, was called Henry Fitz-empress (son of the empress).

7 Sibylla had originally been married to William Clito, the natural son of Robert of Normandy, older brother of Henry I. The latter took the initiative in having this marriage annulled on the grounds of consanguinity. Fulk was very angry when the
today holds the county of Flanders. The second daughter, Matilda, had been betrothed to Henry, son of the king of England. Before the marriage took place, however, her betrothed, while sailing to England, suffered shipwreck and was drowned. Matilda vowed perpetual celibacy, and in the abbey of Fontevrault she led a holy life until her death.

2. How, before he was summoned by King Baldwin, Fulk had visited Jerusalem on a pilgrimage; and how he was raised to the throne.

After the death of his wife and before he was summoned by the king, Fulk went to Jerusalem for the sake of prayer. There he devoted himself nobly to the service of the Lord and gained, as he well deserved, the favor of all the people as well as that of the king. He lived on terms of intimate friendship with all the barons. For the space of a year, he maintained in the kingdom, at his own expense, an hundred knights. At length he returned in safety to his own land, where he arranged marriages for his sons and daughters and put the affairs of his domain in splendid condition. Some years after his return, while he was administering his affairs with wisdom and energy, an embassy arrived from the king of Jerusalem.

Baldwin was anxious to arrange a marriage for his eldest daughter so that he might provide for the succession. Accordingly, after long deliberation, by the unanimous advice of the nobles and with the approval of the people also, he had sent some of his chief men, namely,

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pope acceded to Henry's request, burned the papal edict, and defied the pope. Excommunication for himself and an interdict on Anjou, however, finally brought him to terms in 1125. Sibylla was to figure in the affairs of the Holy Land.

5 The son of Henry I was named William. He was drowned in the famous tragedy of the White Ship, November 25, 1120, in which so many young nobles lost their lives. Fulk's daughter, Matilda, was thought by some to have drowned with him. The convent of Fontevrault was a famous refuge for many a titled woman, and Henry II is known to have donated generously to its maintenance.

6 This first journey, according to Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, was undertaken after Fulk had made peace with Henry I and arranged the marriage of William and Matilda. He is thought to have left Anjou in the spring of 1120 and to have returned in the fall of 1121. While in the East he associated himself with the Templars and on his return arranged to give them an annual revenue of thirty livres of Anjou (see Ordericus Vitalis xii. 29). Mlle Chartrou says that he left shortly after April 25, 1120, and was back before January 29, 1122. She refers to his grant of "thirty livres" to the Templars (Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, pp. 14-15).
FULK OF ANJOU AS KING

William de Bury and Guy de Brisebar, to invite Fulk to espouse his daughter and become the heir to the throne.

The count accordingly arranged his own affairs and set the county in order. He then blessed his children and, in response to the call of the king, set forth on the journey, attended by a splendid retinue of his nobles. Within a few days after his arrival in the kingdom, the king gave him his oldest daughter to wife, as had been provided in the agreement, and conferred upon him as her dowry the two coast cities, Tyre and Acre. These Fulk held for nearly three years and continued to be called count as before. Then, on August 21, in the year 1131 of the Incarnation of our Lord, the king died. On September 14, the day of the exaltation of the Holy Cross, Count Fulk and his wife Melisend were solemnly crowned and consecrated, according to custom, in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, by William, patriarch of Jerusalem, of happy memory.

3. Joscelin the Elder, count of Edessa, though sick and lying on a litter, meets the enemy and puts them to flight. He then dies. Also concerning his son, Joscelin.

At this time, Joscelin, count of Edessa, exhausted by a long illness, was lying on his bed awaiting the day of his death, which was imminent. In the year that had just passed, while he was in the country near Aleppo, a tower built of sundried bricks had fallen upon him. To facilitate the capture of the place with some of the enemy who were shut up within it, he had ordered it to be undermined. But, since he did not

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10 The date of Fulk's final departure for the Holy Land revolves around the date of his son Geoffrey's marriage with Matilda, "the empress." This marriage was mutually vital to the peaceful relations of Anjou with its formidable neighbor, Henry I of England. Fulk remained to see that marriage concluded and left shortly after it occurred. Historians of Western Europe—Stubbs, Ramsay, G. B. Adams, and even Luchaire—have been inclined to date that marriage in 1129, whereas historians of the crusades have as a rule preferred 1128, perhaps to permit Fulk's marriage to Melisend at Jerusalem in 1129. Miss Norgate, however, reached the conclusion that the marriage of Geoffrey and Matilda took place in 1128 (Kate Norgate, England under the Angevins, p. 258). Mlle Chartrou, scrutinizing local records, fully supports Miss Norgate, dating the betrothal of the pair at Rouen May 22, 1127, the knightings of Geoffrey by Henry I June 10, 1128, and the marriage June 17, 1128 (Chartrou, L'Anjou, pp. 20-23). Fulk formally took the cross at Le Mans on May 31, 1128. He remained in the West for some months after the marriage, engaged in the settlement of his affairs, and, after a final visit to his daughter at Fontevrault at the beginning of 1129, he started for the East (Chartrou, L'Anjou, pp. 226-27). This accords with William's account and definitely dates the marriage of Fulk and Melisend as in 1129.
exercise due caution, he was himself caught in its sudden fall and almost buried alive. His people rescued him with much difficulty, and he was found to be suffering from many fractures. For a long time he had been ill from his injuries, but as yet had succeeded in detaining his spirit, which was struggling to depart. One day a messenger arrived in haste. He brought the news that the sultan of Iconium had laid siege to Cresson, one of Joscelin’s fortresses. At this, the high-spirited man, feeble and weak of body but still strong of heart, at once ordered his son to be called. He bade him take all the forces of the country and go forth to meet the enemy valiantly in the place of his helpless father. The son, however, began to make excuses. He urged, as an objection, that the above-named sultan was reported to be advancing at the head of a great host, in comparison with which his own soldiers were but few. The father reflected with bitterness on his son’s pusillanimity, well understanding from his reply what manner of man he would be in the future. Then he himself ordered the army and all the people of the locality to be called out. When this had been done, he directed that a litter be made ready for himself. Regardless of his suffering and weakness, he placed himself upon it and advanced against the foe. He had accompanied the army in this manner for some distance when one of the great barons of the land, Geoffrey, surnamed the Monk, came to him with the information that the sultan, on hearing of his advance, had abandoned the siege of Cresson and beat a hasty retreat.

On learning this, the count ordered the litter on which he was being carried to be placed on the ground. He then raised his hands toward heaven and, with tears and sighs, gave fervent thanks to God that in his last days the Lord, in His gracious mercy, had visited him with such favor; that he, though half dead and on the very verge of the grave, was still formidable to the enemies of the Christian faith. While in the very act of giving thanks thus, he rendered up to heaven his last breath. His son, who bore the same name but was far inferior to his father in glory, was left as the sole heir to all his property.

The mother of Joscelin the Younger was a sister of Leo the Armenian, a very influential man among his own people. Though small

11 Qilij Arslan was forced to seek another capital after the crusaders took Nicaea in 1097. Iconium was finally selected and his successors were usually referred to as sultans of Iconium or Rum.

12 This was Leo, brother of Constantine, whose daughter Arda had married Bald-
of stature, Joscelin was stout of limb and very robust. His skin and hair were dark, his face broad and covered with scars from the disease called smallpox. He had bulging eyes and a prominent nose. Although of a generous disposition and distinguished for military prowess, he was yet given to excessive revelry and drunkenness. He was devoted to licentiousness and uncleanness of the flesh to the point of infamous notoriety. He married Beatrice, the widow of William de Saône, a woman of noble rank but of still more noble character. By her he had a son, Joscelin the Third, and a daughter [Agnes], who became the wife, first of Renaud of Marash and later of Amaury, count of Jaffa, afterwards king of Jerusalem. Of this latter union was born Baldwin, the sixth king of Jerusalem, and Sibylla, his sister. But, through his lack of energy and in punishment for his sins, this Joscelin \(^\text{13}\) lost the entire land over which his father had ruled so ably, as will be explained later.

4. *The people of Antioch appeal to the king; the wickedness of the princess is revealed.*

During the first year of Fulk's reign, both the city and the entire land of Antioch were without the support of a prince, for Bohemond the Younger had died before King Baldwin, leaving as his heir an only daughter. The great men of the country, fearing that the province through lack of a protector might be exposed to the wiles of the enemy, appealed to the king. They begged him to assume the responsibility of Antioch and to take everything under his own care. The widow of the late prince, a daughter of King Baldwin and sister of Queen Melisend, was an extremely malicious and wily woman. With the help of certain accomplices in her designs, she was intrigue to wrong the principality. Her plan was to disinherit the daughter whom she had borne to her husband and thus secure for herself the entire kingdom. Then, after obtaining possession of the principality, she intended to marry again according to her own pleasure. But immediately after the death of her husband, King Baldwin, who was then living, had frustrated these plans. He ordered her to be expelled by force from Antioch and admonished her to be content with the portion which her husband had

\(^\text{13}\) Joscelin II (see Book XVI, chaps. 5, 16, and Book XVII, chap. 11).
given her as dowry at the time of her marriage, namely, the two cities on the coast, Jabala and Laodicca.

On the death of her father, Alice thought that a favorable time to carry out her original plan had come. By lavish gifts and promises she had secured certain powerful nobles as accomplices in her plot: namely, William de Sehunna, brother of Guarenton; Pons, count of Tripoli; and Joscelin the Younger, count of Edessa. This was the very thing which the nobles of the land had dreaded, and therefore they were striving with all their power to counteract her wicked intentions. Hence, as was mentioned above, they appealed to the king, that they might have his assistance and guidance in this matter.

5. The count of Tripoli tries to oppose the king as he is hastening to Antioch but is worsted. The affairs of Antioch are put in good condition.

The king listened with much concern to the statement of the deputation from Antioch in regard to the disturbance there. The situation seemed to him very serious. Accordingly, he at once responded to the call and proceeded on his way as far as Beirut. As the count of Tripoli refused to allow him to pass through his land, the king took with him Anselm de Brie, one of his own loyal noblemen, and went by sea to the Port of St. Simeon. There he was met by some of the noble and influential men of Antioch, who led him into the city and placed the whole country under his command.

The count of Tripoli hastened after him to Antioch, that he might oppose whatever he did; for, although his wife was the king's sister as has often been mentioned, rumor said that Pons had been bribed by the princess to assist her. He possessed in that vicinity two fortresses, Arcicanum and Rugia. These he held in right of his wife [Cecilia], widow of Tancred of pious memory, who on his deathbed had given them to her as her dowry. These Pons now fortified with arms and soldiers and used as bases from which to molest the king and his men. This roused great indignation among the people of Antioch, and they urged the king to march against the count to check his insolent aggres-

14 The wiles of a foolish and power-loving Alice are insufficient to explain the support of Pons and Joscelin II. Baldwin II as regent of Antioch and personal overlord of Joscelin I had indicated the possibility of a Latin empire under the king of Jerusalem. Pons had resisted that. Now, when conditions again presented a similar opportunity to Fulk, both Pons and Joscelin II resisted.
sion. Mindful of the affront offered him on his journey when Pons refused to allow him to pass through the land of Tripoli, the king agreed to their request. He mustered as large a force as possible and proceeded toward his adversary. The forces met near Rugia. Both sides were drawn up in battle array, and a fierce combat ensued. For a long time the result was doubtful. Finally, however, the king gained the advantage and put the count and his men to flight. Many of the latter’s soldiers, exhausted by the fight, were captured and led in chains to Antioch. Eventually, however, through the earnest efforts of loyal advocates of peace, the king and the count were reconciled. The captured knights were restored to the count, and the affairs of the land of Antioch seemed to have been put into better condition. Nevertheless, the wiser men of the province feared that after the king returned to his own land the country might be shaken by internal sedition, which would afford the infidels a better chance to attack it. They therefore earnestly implored him to remain longer among them. To this the king graciously consented, for he felt that through the mercy of God his own realm was rejoicing in a state of perfect security, while Antioch, where he was now sojourning, was in great need of a protector.

Accordingly, with the advice and assent of the chief nobles, he set in order by his judicious management the affairs both of the city and of the adjacent lands. In order to bring everything into the best possible condition, he expended upon this task as much care as he gave to his own affairs, or rather far more. This course of action won for him the ever-increasing gratitude of all the citizens and also of the loyal party among the nobles. He remained at Antioch as long as the situation seemed to demand. Then, having placed all the affairs of that land in safe condition and arranged everything in good order, he returned to the kingdom, where his own responsibilities called him. The principality was left in charge of a capable man of high birth, Renaud Masoier.16

15 These events must be dated in the summer of 1132. William offers very few dates for the events of the next two books. He has no contemporary written guides, and his own distractions with current affairs prevented him from pursuing systematic investigation. He was therefore more or less dependent upon oral tradition for the events of Fulk’s reign.
16 Now constable of Antioch. He had been prominent in the campaign of 1119.
6. The king is again summoned by the people of Antioch. Zangi lays siege to a fortress in the land of Tripoli. At the earnest request of his sister, the king relieves the place.

An interval passed during which King Fulk was actively engaged in the affairs of the kingdom committed to him by God and, like Martha, was constantly occupied in carefully ministering to its needs. Then came a messenger from Antioch with the news that a vast host of Turks from the Persian gulf and the entire Orient had crossed the great river Euphrates and invaded the land of Antioch in large numbers. This news caused the king to fear greatly for the principality which had been given into his care. He was anxious about the safety of those dwelling there, especially because they had placed all their hope in him. He was also worried because he remembered the common saying, “When your neighbor’s house is burning, your own property is in danger too,” and he knew that the downfall of his neighbors would be fraught with danger to himself. Realizing that it was a noble work to minister to brethren in need, he summoned forces, both foot and horse, from all over the realm and prepared to march thither in haste. He had reached Sidon with his army when he was met by his sister, the Countess Cecilia, the wife of Count Pons of Tripoli. She brought the deplorable news that Zangi, prince of Aleppo, a powerful Turkish satrap, was vigorously besieging her husband in one of his castles, called Montferrand. Most urgently and persistently, as women will, she begged and besought the king to lay aside everything for the present which did not imperatively demand his attention and to hasten at once to relieve the desperate situation of her husband. The king, moved by her plea, put off temporarily the matter upon which he had set forth and directed his march toward the castle. With him went certain knights of the county who had not accompanied the count on his expedition. As soon as Zangi learned that the king was on his way to relieve Pons, however, he took counsel with his people and voluntarily abandoned the siege. He then returned with his legions to his own land.

17 Horace Ep. xviii. 84.
18 Zangi made his first attack on Montferrand (Barin) in 1133. The capture of Banyas by the Damascenes, which took place before this, is not mentioned by William until Chapter 17.
7. The king hastens to Antioch. He puts to flight the infidels who had assembled there. The citizens are enriched by the spoils taken from the foe.

Thus the count was freed. The king, relieved from that anxiety, now returned to his original purpose and proceeded by forced marches to Antioch, as he had at first intended. The people heard that he was on the way and went out to meet him. With the utmost joy they welcomed their royal guest, for they hoped that through his energetic efforts they might be enabled to withstand safely the violence of the foe, now said to be close at hand. For numbers, however large, are of little avail without a leader, and numerous cohorts without a commander, like sand without lime, will hardly hold together.

Meanwhile, frequent rumors and reports all pointed definitely to the fact that the infidels had crossed the Euphrates with a strong, well-equipped army. They had associated with their own forces others whom they had encountered on this side of the river, men who were well acquainted with the locality. They were now encamped near Aleppo, whence they were making sudden raids and laying waste the entire country. Furthermore, troops from all the neighboring territory had been concentrated at a place called Canestrivum. From there, by the advice of those who knew the country, they proposed to make sudden forays with all their multitude upon the land.

The king therefore levied the full strength of the principality and, with the knights who had come with him, left Antioch and encamped near the fortress of Harim. Here he waited for a few days, like a prudent man (for "impetuousity often ruins everything"), on the chance that the infidels, whose forces were said to exceed his own, might challenge him to fight or in some way disclose their intended plan of action. They did nothing of the kind, however, but quietly remained safe in their camp, perhaps waiting for larger reinforcements. Accordingly, Fulk made a sudden attack upon them. They were taken by surprise, and before they could seize their weapons he had fallen upon them with sword and lance. A few, thanks to their horses, suc-

19 This is Qinnesrin (ancient Chalcis). Stevenson dates the battle January, 1133 (W. B. Stevenson, The Crusaders in the East, p. 132), while Qalanisi dates it a year later (see H. A. R. Gibb, trans., The Damascus Chronicle, pp. 220–23).
ceeded in escaping; the rest were slain. About three thousand of the
enemy perished in that affair. The camp, filled with all kinds of com-
modities and furnishings, was abandoned.

Our victorious troops returned to Antioch in exultation. They were
laden with marvellous spoils, even to the point of satiety, so that they
desired no more. With them they brought a great variety of booty—
slaves, horses, herds, flocks, and tents, in fact, riches of all kinds.

From this time, the king enjoyed full favor with the people of
Antioch, lords and common people alike. The princess hated him and
resented his presence at Antioch, and, up to this time, some of the
nobles who favored her cause by reason of the lavish gifts which she
distributed had been opposed to him. Now, however, the hearts of all
were completely won over to him.

8. The patriarch of Jerusalem and the nobles of the realm build
a greatly needed fortress and call it Castle Arnold.

Thus the king was detained in the land of Antioch, for, until a prince
should be chosen there by common agreement, he had again under-
taken the administration of that country, as if it were his own. Mean-
while the Christians left in the kingdom, namely, the patriarch and the
citizens of Jerusalem, putting their trust in the Lord, assembled in full
strength at a place near the ancient Nobe, which today is generally
called Bettenuble [Bait Nuba]. 29 There, on the slope of the hill at the
entrance to the plain, on the road leading to Lydda and from there to
the sea, they built a fortress of solid masonry to ensure the safety of
pilgrims passing along that route. In the narrow mountain pass, among
defiles impossible to avoid, pilgrims were exposed to great danger.
Here the people of Ascalon were accustomed to fall upon them sud-
denly. The work, when successfully accomplished, was called Castle
Arnold. Thus, by the grace of God and also because of this fortress,
the road became much safer and the journey of pilgrims to or from
Jerusalem was rendered less perilous.

29 Castle Arnold was about five miles north and slightly west of Bait Nuba on the
road to Jaffa.
9. By the advice of the king, Raymond, son of the count of Poitou, is invited to marry Constance, the daughter of Bohemond.

The fact that the king had obtained such a signal victory and was successfully managing the affairs of Antioch according to his own good pleasure gained for him a distinguished reputation. It seemed plain that he had been appointed by divine providence to administer the government of the two kingdoms and to ensure peace and safety for the people.

Accordingly, the nobles of Antioch and particularly those who ardently desired to observe loyalty to the late Lord Bohemond and to his daughter, who was still a minor, came to consult him confidentially. Since he had a wide acquaintance with illustrious young nobles in the lands beyond the mountains, in the course of a friendly conversation they begged him to suggest the name of that one who, among so many princes, would be best fitted to wed the daughter of their lord, the heiress of her father’s estate. The king listened graciously to their request; he commended their loyal solicitude and began to consider the matter with them. After many names had been discussed, it was finally decided by general consent to invite for this purpose Raymond, son of Count William of Poitou, a noble youth of distinguished ability.\(^{21}\) He was said to be at the court of Henry the Elder, king of the English, from whom he had received the arms of a knight. Meanwhile, William, his elder brother, was governing Aquitaine by hereditary right. After weighing all aspects of the matter, they decided that the wisest course would be to send a secret embassy. Gerald, surnamed Jeberrus, a brother of the Hospital, was accordingly sent on this mission with letters from the patriarch and all the nobles.\(^{22}\)

It was feared that if Raymond were summoned with ceremony by envoys of higher degree, the princess, a woman full of malicious wiles, might interpose obstacles. It would be easy to hinder anyone from coming. For Roger, who was then duke of Apulia and who later became king, desired to succeed Bohemond, his kinsman, and was claiming

\(^{21}\) Raymond was the son of William IX, duke of Aquitaine, who had led the crusade of 1101 and who also had held Fulk a captive in 1106. Apparently the captivity had not been unpleasant.

\(^{22}\) This is an early instance of the use of members of the military orders in diplomatic missions. The practice was to become quite common.
Antioch with all its possessions as belonging to him by hereditary right. Robert Guiscard, father of the elder Bohemond, and Roger, count of Sicily, surnamed Bursa, father of this King Roger, were own brothers, born of the same father and mother. The younger Bohemond, however, son of the elder, was the father of the maiden whom the young Raymond was to be invited to marry. It was necessary to use caution, therefore, in presenting the invitation, for if his rivals learned of the affair, violence or intrigue might be used to prevent his coming. When the matter had been arranged in this manner, the king went back to Jerusalem, followed by the good will of all.


About this time, Bernard, the first Latin patriarch of Antioch, an aged man of precious memory, sincere and God-fearing, went the way of all flesh, in the thirty-sixth year of his pontificate. After his death all the suffragans of that extensive see, bishops as well as archbishops, assembled according to custom, to provide suitably for the consolation of the church, thus bereaved of its pastor. While they were giving careful consideration to this important matter, as is the custom in such cases, one Ralph, archbishop of Mannistra, from Castle Domfront, on the confines of the dioceses of Normandy and Maine, was elected. He was a military man, very magnificent and generous, a great favorite both with the people and with those of knightly rank. He was chosen, it is said, by the vote of the people alone, without the knowledge of his brethren and fellow bishops, and was placed on the throne in the cathedral of the Prince of the Apostles.

When this became known, those who had assembled for the purpose of placing a patriarch over themselves, by the will of God, at once dispersed. They feared the attack of the shouting, frenzied mob, but they refused to show obedience to one whom they themselves had not chosen. Notwithstanding this, Ralph took possession of the church and palace and at once assumed the pallium from the altar of St. Peter,

23 The Normans of Sicily naturally felt a continuing claim upon Bohemond's principality of Antioch. Despite all the precautions, there is little evidence of any real interference in the accession of Raymond of Poitou. Perhaps the fact that the title was conveyed through the daughter of Bohemond II was of some consolation to the Normans of Sicily.

24 The death of Bernard and the election of Ralph occurred in 1136.
without regard for the church at Rome. In the course of time, he drew into his own communion some of the suffragans of the church. We have been informed by many that, if he had kept on good terms with the canons of the church and had not presumed in a spirit of pride to disturb their possessions, he might have passed his life there in peace. But as the proverb truly says, "It is difficult for things which have a bad beginning to come to a good end." As punishment for his sins, Ralph became so overbearing because of his great riches that he esteemed himself superior to all others and carried himself rather as a prince of Antioch than as the successor of Peter or Ignatius. Some of the elders of the church he removed by force; others he bound and threw into prison as if they had been guilty of capital crimes. Among his victims was a certain Arnulf, a learned man of noble birth, a native of Calabria; and likewise Lambert, an archdeacon of that same church, a man of wonderful simplicity and noble life, moreover a learned man. Like men of blood they were thrust into the dungeon of a certain fortress and lodged in a room filled with lime. There they were tortured for many days under the pretext of having conspired for the death of Ralph. By these and similar acts of savage cruelty committed against his subordinates he incurred universal hatred. Finally, constantly pricked by the stings of a guilty conscience, he felt that he was safe nowhere, not even among his followers and servants.

But enough of this subject for the present; in the following chapters, at the fitting time and place, we shall speak of his end.  

11. Pope Honorius dies; Innocent is elected in his stead. A dangerous schism arises. William, archbishop of Tyre, dies; Fulcher is put in his place. He goes to Rome to ask for the pallium and receives it.

While these events were transpiring in the Orient, Pope Honorius paid the debt ordained by fate and came to the end of his days. A meeting was held to select his successor, but the wishes of the cardinals were widely diverse. Since they were unable to agree, two candidates were chosen; Gregory, cardinal deacon of St. Angelo, who, after his consecration was called Innocent; and Peter, surnamed Leo, cardinal-priest of title St. Mary beyond the Tiber, which is called Fundens Oleum. The latter, after his consecration, was called Anacletus by

25 Book XV, chaps. 16 and 17.
those who had chosen him. Out of this division there arose a very
dangerous schism which imperilled the churches of the city and caused
the death of people in civil strife. In fact, it shook practically the entire
world, and through the partisan zeal which it roused kingdoms were
brought into conflict with one another. After many hardships and
great dangers, Innocent was finally triumphant, for Peter, the rival
pope, passed away first.

About the same time, William, our predecessor, laid aside the burden
of the flesh and departed to the Lord. He was the first Latin arch-
bishop of Tyre after the liberation of the city (for one Odo, who had
been ordained incumbent of this church while Tyre was still held by
the enemy, died prior to the liberation of the city, as has been men-
tioned), and was succeeded by Fulcher of good memory, an Aquitanian
from the county of Angoulême. Fulcher was religious and God-fearing,
possessed of little learning, but a faithful man and a lover of discipline.
He had been abbot of the convent of Celles, presiding over his brethren,
the regular canons. At the time of the schism mentioned above, which
arose between Pope Innocent and Peter, son of Peter Leo, the legate
of the apostolic see was Gerard, bishop of Angoulême. He favored
Peter and consequently visited many annoyancees upon the partisans of
the other side. Fulcher, a man of revered life, could not endure this
treatment. He took leave of his brethren and went to Jerusalem for
the sake of prayer. He professed the regular life with constant attend-
ance in the cloister of the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord
and was finally called to the church at Tyre.

For twelve years, he ruled that church vigorously and well and was

26 This double election to the office of pope occurred in 1130. Innocent II was
chosen by a small number of the cardinals, Anacletus II by a majority. The latter was
a member of the wealthy Pierleone family of Rome and was trained at Cluny. The
cause of Innocent II was espoused by Bernard of Clairvaux, leader of the Cistercians.
Ultimately Lothair of Germany, Louis VI of France, and Henry I of England were
all won to support Innocent II, but Anacletus continued to claim the office and to hold
Rome most of the time until his death in 1138. An extended account of this election
is given by Gregorovius (see F. Gregorovius, A History of the City of Rome in the
Middle Ages, Vol. IV, Part II, chap. 3 passim; see also “Innocent II,” Catholic Ency-
clopedia).

27 Anacletus II died in 1138, and though his cardinals chose a successor, they were
persuaded to end the schism and recognize Innocent II. Bernard of Clairvaux was
largely responsible for this decision. Innocent II ruled until 1143.

28 The death of William I, archbishop of Tyre, may be dated 1134 or early 1135 at
the latest by subtracting the twelve years of Fulcher’s incumbency from 1146 or Janu-
ary, 1147, when the latter became patriarch of Jerusalem.
the fourth incumbent before us, who now preside over that same church, not as deserving it by merit but solely by the will and long-suffering of the Lord. After he had received the gift of consecration from the hand of William, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Fulcher desired, after the example of his predecessor, to visit the church at Rome to receive the pallium. The patriarch and his accomplices, however, prevented him by intrigue and violence, so that he had great difficulty in escaping from their hands in order to go to the church at Rome, for the purpose above mentioned. This is plainly shown from the tenor of the following letter of Pope Innocent. He writes:

"Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother, William, patriarch of Jerusalem, salutation and the apostolic blessing. Evangelical authority has declared that the headship of the whole church and of the ecclesiastical institution was conferred upon the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, by divine privilege."

And below:

"We are astonished that, after the church at Rome has labored so exceedingly for the liberation of the church of the East, and, by pouring out the blood of many sons, has inspired to her service the hearts of both clergy and laymen, you have by no means cared to give a fitting response to that mother church. For you did not deem it sufficient that you had dared to disturb our venerable brother Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, when he came, according to the custom of his predecessors, to receive the pallium from the church at Rome, but in addition you showed yourself unkind, difficult, and exceedingly harsh toward him on his return from us. To such an extent did you carry this treatment that you refused to restore to him the ancient dignity of the church at Tyre; and to do him justice according to our mandate, within three months after the receipt of our letter, for the losses suffered by him, either at Haifa or at Porphyrius. In any case it would be unjust that the honor which should be shown him by the church at Antioch, if in her obedience, should be taken away by you or by your successors. Moreover, you are said to conduct yourself too arbitrarily toward those who are subject to that church. Therefore, by our apostolic authority, we command that, as you desire to be cherished by the pious zeal and solace of that same mother church,
and as you wish to be aided in your necessities by her patronage, you love and honor the said archbishop and presume not to disturb him in any way. On the contrary, do not defer showing him full justice in all matters concerning which he has made complaint against you, and that within forty days after you receive this present writing. Furthermore, do not presume to do anything contrary to the statutes of the canons against those subject to him. Otherwise you may have cause to fear lest we withdraw from your obedience both him and his suffragans and retain them in our own hand.

Given at the Lateran, December 17."

12. The church at Rome commands Fulcher to be obedient to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and that he hold the same rank in that church which he formerly held over the people of Antioch.

On his return from the church at Rome, Fulcher received the command that, while the matter as to which of the two patriarchs he should submit to in perpetuity was under consideration, he should be obedient to the patriarch of Jerusalem, according to the directions given to his predecessor; and he was directed to hold in the church at Jerusalem the same dignity which his predecessors had held in the church at Antioch as long as they had been subject to it.

It is certain that among the thirteen archbishops who, from the days of the apostles, had been subject to the see at Antioch, the archbishop of Tyre had occupied the first place, so that he was called Prothronus in the Orient. In the list of the suffragan bishops who were under the jurisdiction of the church of Antioch, one may read as follows:

First see, Tyre, under which are thirteen bishoprics;
Second see, Tarsus, under which are five bishoprics;
Third see, Edessa, under which are ten bishoprics;
Fourth see, Apamea, under which are seven bishoprics;
Fifth see, Hierapolis, under which are eight bishoprics;
Sixth see, Bostrum, under which are nineteen bishoprics;
Seventh see, Anavarza, under which are nine bishoprics;
Eighth see, Seleucia, under which are twenty-four bishoprics;

20 This letter, here dated December, has been assigned to January 17, 1139 (see R. Röhrich, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani, no. 187).
Ninth see, Damascus, under which are ten bishoprics;
Tenth see, Amida, under which are seven bishoprics;
Eleventh see, Sergiopolis, under which are four bishoprics;
Twelfth see, Theodosiopolis, under which are seven bishoprics;
Thirteenth see, Hims, under which are four bishoprics;
Independent metropolitans, eight;
Archbishops, twelve.  

From the rescript of the letter of Pope Innocent sent to the same
William, patriarch of Jerusalem, it is evident that the church at Tyre
held the first place among the suffragans of the church at Jerusalem,
and that she was obedient to it solely by the command of the pope.
It reads as follows:

"Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to William, patri-
arch of Jerusalem, salutation and the apostolic blessing.

"In as much as the gracious munificence of God has greatly exalted
the church at Jerusalem in your times, so much the more ought you
to show yourself kindly toward your brethren and to honor with mutual
love those who render obedience to you. Therefore, we direct you,
dear brother, to love and honor with brotherly kindness our venerable
brother Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, who by the command of the
holy church of Rome, is obedient unto you. See to it with all care
that you do not bring upon him any trouble, or that under pretext of
this submission to you and the church of Jerusalem, which, indeed,
has been imposed upon him by the favor of the apostolic see, the noble
and renowned church at Tyre suffers any detriment to its rights and
dignity. For it is not fitting that the honor which would be shown
to it by the church at Antioch, if it were obedient to her, should be
taken away by you or your successors.

Given at Albano, July 17."  

13. The pope commands Fulcher's suffragans to obey him, and
to this end he dispatches several letters.

On his return from Rome, Fulcher recovered, although with some
difficulty, his suffragan bishoprics which until that time had been under

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30 This traditional organization of the Christian church in the East was established
by the council of Chalcedon in 451.
31 Dated July 17, 1138 (see R. Reg., no. 176).
the authority of the patriarch of Jerusalem: namely, Acre, Sidon, and Beirut. The others, that is, Jubail, Tripoli, and Tortosa, which held the other bishoprics under jurisdiction of that same church as if they belonged to them by proprietary right, were retained by the patriarch of Antioch by force. He gave as an excuse that he was not subject to the archbishop, although he did not deny that these bishoprics were under the jurisdiction of the latter. In order that this might be prevented and that these bishoprics might return to their own mother church at Tyre, Pope Innocent wrote to the bishops of the above-named churches and also to the patriarch of Antioch, as follows:

“Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brothers, Gerard of Tripoli, R. of Tortosa, and H. of Jubail, bishops, salutation and the apostolic blessing. You must know, dear brothers, that the status of the church is rendered more illustrious when the ranks that have been established therein are kept intact and the reverence due to each prelate is shown without contention or contradiction. It is fitting that each one who has submitted himself to the church should consider the proper reverence and honor which is due to his superiors, if such there be; for if this reverence is wrongfully and unjustly withheld, the principle of unity to which, for the sake of promoting stability, ecclesiastical discipline has reduced everything by the most careful organization of all things within the church, will at once disappear. Therefore, lest the honor and dignity of your churches be threatened or made void on account of undue contention or rebellion we command and direct you, by this apostolic letter, that you show the obedience which you owe to our venerable brother Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, as to your metropolitan. For, in virtue of our apostolic authority, we restore you and your churches to the church at Tyre, which is your metropolis, and, in like manner, we absolve you from the oath of fidelity by which you have been bound to the patriarch of Antioch. But if you neglect to obey our commands and within three months after the receipt of this letter do not return to the obedience of our brother named above, by the authority of God we shall hold ratified the sentence which the archbishop shall promulgate against you, according to canonical laws.

Given at the Lateran, January 17.”

32 Dated January 17, 1139 (see R. Reg., no. 184).
In order that the patriarch of Antioch, who had held these bishoprics for a long time and who was very powerful, might not hinder them from carrying out his orders, the pope wrote to that patriarch in these words:

"Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God to his venerable brother Ralph, patriarch of Antioch, salutation and the apostolic blessing.

"It is written in the institutions of the holy canons that each one must be content with his own territories and not seek to usurp the rights of others. Human and divine laws alike forbid us to do unto our neighbor that which we would not wish done to ourselves. Since this is so, we command you, dear brother, not to hinder the suffragans of the church at Tyre from showing the obedience and reverence due to their metropolitan, our venerable brother, the archbishop Fulcher. Furthermore, to withdraw from metropolitan the obedience of their suffragans is against canonical rules. We desire, therefore, that between prelates and their subordinates their own rights and the established order be maintained without contradiction.

Given at the Lateran, January 17." 33

Not only did the lord pope write thus to these prelates, but he also wrote in like manner to those bishops who had been retained by the patriarch of Jerusalem and who, through fear of him, refused to obey the apostolic command. He directed them to lay aside all excuses, and to show obedience at once to the lord of Tyre. These letters read as follows:

"Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brothers, Baldwin of Beirut, Bernard of Sidon, and John of Acre, bishops, salutation and the apostolic blessing.

"The holy fathers desired that there should be in the church different ranks and orders that, as inferiors showed submission and reverence to their superiors, unity might result from this very diversity, and the administration of each office might be carried on to the best advantage. But we are annoyed and greatly astonished to learn that, although long since we commanded you by apostolic letters to show obedience and reverence to our venerable brother Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, your metropolitan, you have disdained to do this and have offered excuses

33 Dated January 17, 1139 (see R. Reg., no. 185).
and unsatisfactory explanations. For, assuredly, rebellion is as the sin
of witchcraft, and stubbornness, as the crime of idolatry. 34

"And so we command you, and in virtue of our apostolic authority
again we direct you, henceforward to cast aside all excuses and to obey
in every respect our brother Fulcher. We forbid you, under pretext of
the obedience which you are rendering to another primate, to withhold
from him one tittle of the submission and reverence which you owe to
him as your metropolitan. Furthermore, if you continue to be obsti-
nate, we shall ratify, by the authority of the Lord, the sentence which
this same archbishop has pronounced, or shall pronounce, against you
according to canonical laws. And if, because you have obeyed this, our
brother, the patriarch of Jerusalem, shall give any judgment against
you, we decree that that same sentence shall be without force, and we
declare it to be worthless.

Given at the Lateran, January 17." 35

14. The circumstances which gave rise to the controversy be-
tween the two patriarchs are explained, and the defense of
each is given.

The fact that, while the archbishop of Tyre held by right fourteen
suffragan bishops, the pope wrote to six only, needs some explanation.
At this time, the city of Banyas, which is Caesarea Philippi, had no
bishop, and these six sees held the other bishoprics under their jurisdi-
cction. The see of Sidon held Sarepta as it even yet holds it; Tripoli held
the bishoprics of Botron, Arka, and Artasium; and the see of Antara-
dos, which is also known as Tortosa, held the bishoprics of Arados and
Maraclea. Three of these six, namely, Tortosa, Tripoli, and Jubail,
were retained by the patriarch of Antioch under his own jurisdiction.
When these cities just named were taken by the Christians, the patri-
arch consecrated bishops in them. His intention was that when the
metropolis of Tyre should be freed and its archbishop, according to
the former arrangement, showed the obedience owed to him as patri-
arch, he would, without difficulty, restore them to the archbishop of
Tyre, as indeed he was bound to do by right. But the cities just men-
tioned were in the county of Tripoli, where, as there was no interfer-
ence from the king, the patriarch of Antioch could do this freely.

34 I Sa. 15: 23. 35 Dated January 17, 1139 (see R. Reg., no. 186).
FULK OF ANJOU AS KING

In the other three, however, Beirut, Sidon, and Ptolemais, which is Acre, the patriarch of Jerusalem consecrated bishops, with the intention of transferring them to his own jurisdiction when the metropolis of Tyre should be captured and he himself should consecrate there an archbishop. For he assumed that, contrary to the former custom, the archbishopric of Tyre ought to owe allegiance thereafter to himself. In this matter he relied on the letter of Pope Paschal, in which he seemed to have granted to Baldwin, the first king of Jerusalem, and to Gibelin, the third patriarch of Jerusalem, that the bishops of all cities which the lord king and his armies had already acquired or might thereafter acquire should be subject to the patriarch of Jerusalem. This was related before when we were treating of the reign of Baldwin, the first king of Jerusalem. 38

Accordingly, since the whole province of Tyre was freed before the metropolis itself, the two patriarchs divided the diocese between them. The church of Antioch held and still holds subject the part which was outside the kingdom of Jerusalem, from the place which is called Passus Pagani, while the patriarch of Jerusalem held subject that part which was on this side and within the limits of the kingdom. At length, through the mercy of God, the metropolis of Tyre was freed, and in the fourth year after its liberation, the patriarch of Jerusalem, as we have said, consecrated an archbishop there and restored to him the suffragans which he had retained under his own jurisdiction.

But during the time that the patriarch of Jerusalem had Tyre under his own care, it became so weakened and utterly reduced that of the churches within the circuit of the city itself only one was preserved for the future archbishop. 37 This result proved the truth of the proverb: "For those who demand it, even though they may be undeserving, many shoe latches are made from the leather of others." For even to the present day, the two lords just mentioned contend for our very vitals, strong unto our injury and enriched at the expense of our poverty. And the church, with her members torn asunder, through whose unity, by the consent of the seven holy universal councils, she had

38 This cross reference to the reign of Baldwin I may imply that all of this archival material relating to church organization was inserted into the history at one time, perhaps in 1182.

37 The churches in the quarter allotted to the Venetians were subject to Venice and therefore exempt from jurisdiction of the archbishop of Tyre. There is no clear indication of how the remaining churches likewise became exempt.
flourished far and wide, from ancient days, even from the time of the apostles, the church, I say, now lies mangled and deprived of those more powerful members. She awaits consolation, and there is no one to comfort her. She stretches forth her hand, and there is none to aid her. We have become like to those of whom it is said, "Whatever folly the kings commit, for that the Greeks suffer." They are sated with our flesh, and would that sometime it might be even to the point of nausea.

Nevertheless, not without justice do we impute the cause of this great evil to the church of Rome itself, who, while she commands us to be obedient to the patriarch of Jerusalem, suffers us to be maimed unjustly by the patriarch of Antioch. For if our unity were restored to us, we would be ready, with willing hearts, as sons of obedience, to submit to either patriarch, without gainsaying or trouble.

Let no one regard it as foreign to our task that we, who have undertaken to write history, have inserted these details about the condition of our church. For it is not fitting that we should treat of the affairs of others and be unmindful of our own. As the proverb says: "He who is forgetful of himself speaks but poorly."

But now let us return to the history.  

15. The count of Jaffa is accused before the king, and a great disturbance is caused in the realm.

On the return of the king from Antioch, as we have mentioned before, a very dangerous disturbance again arose. For certain reasons some of the highest nobles of the realm: namely, Hugh, count of Jaffa, and Romain de Puy, lord of the region beyond the Jordan, are said to have conspired against the lord king. In order that this may be explained more clearly, it is necessary to go back a little in the story.

In the time of Baldwin du Bourg, who preceded King Fulk on the throne, one Hugh du Puiset, of the diocese of Orléans, a man of high rank and one very influential among his own people, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He was accompanied by his wife Mamilia, daughter of Hugh Cholet, count of Roussy. On the way a son was

38 Horace Ep. i. ii. 14.
39 Even William himself doubted the propriety of including this material in his history. He seems to be apologizing for its insertion. Perhaps an important reason for including it was the lack of sufficient other information about Fulk's reign to fill out the two books allotted to it.
FULK OF ANJOU AS KING

born to them in Apulia, for the Lady Mamilia was with child when she started on the journey. Since the boy was very delicate and could not safely be taken along, Hugh sent him to Lord Bohemond, his relative, and then crossed the sea to King Baldwin, who was also his kinsman according to the flesh.40

Immediately upon his arrival there, the king bestowed upon him as his own with hereditary rights to himself and his heirs the city of Jaffa with its dependencies, and there, not long after, the noble Hugh died.

The king then gave his widow and the aforesaid city to Count Albert, a noble lord from the bishopric of Liège, brother of the count of Namur and a man of great influence in the empire. Before very long, however, both Count Albert and his wife died. Meanwhile, the child Hugh, who had been left when an infant in Apulia, had reached the age of manhood. He sought and obtained from the king his paternal inheritance which, on the death of his parents, devolved by hereditary right upon him. He then married the Lady Emelota, niece of the Patriarch Arnulf and widow of the illustrious noble, Eustace Gernier.41 By her Lord Eustace had had twin sons, Eustace the Younger, lord of the city of Sidon, and Walter, who ruled over Caesarea. After the death of King Baldwin and the elevation of Fulk to the throne, there arose from causes unknown a serious enmity between the king and Count Hugh. Some said that the king cherished a deep distrust of the count, who was rumored to be on too familiar terms with the queen, and of this there seemed to be many proofs. Hence, spurred on by a husband’s jealousy, the king is said to have conceived an inexorable hatred against the man.42

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40 William appears to be in error in ascribing the coming of Hugh’s father, Hugh II, to the time of Baldwin II. He has probably confused him with his cousin, Hugh III, who did come to the Holy Land in 1128. La Monte has shown that Hugh II started on the expedition with Bohemond I in 1106, which is a more convincing explanation of his wife’s stay in Apulia and the birth of Hugh there about 1106 or 1107 (J. L. La Monte, “The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades,” Speculum, XVII (1942), 102–106).

41 See Book XI, note 63.

42 This whole episode of Hugh, so interesting for its detailed account of the operation of feudal justice, has been questioned (see R. Röhrich, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291, p. 201, note 2). It does involve the retelling of relatively trivial court gossip to which William seldom stoops. Perhaps he felt forced to include it because of lack of other material for the reign of Fulk. Röhrich has dated the episode as occurring in 1132, but it must be referred to a later date, for Hugh’s name appears on a grant by Alice of Antioch as late as 1134 (see J. L. La Monte, Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100–1291, note 36).
Count Hugh was young, tall of stature, and of handsome countenance. He was distinguished for his military prowess and was pleasing in the eyes of all. In him the gifts of nature seemed to have met in lavish abundance; without question, in respect to physical beauty and nobility of birth as well as experience in the art of war he had no equal in the kingdom. On his father’s side he was closely related to the queen, for their fathers had been cousins-german, that is, sons of two sisters. Some, desiring to make light of such rumors, declared that the only source of this hatred was the overweening arrogance and presumption of the count, who refused to be subject to the king like the other nobles of the realm and obstinately declined to obey his commands.

16. Walter of Caesarea challenges Count Hugh to single combat. The latter takes refuge with the enemy. He is deserted by his followers.

One day Walter of Caesarea, the stepson of Hugh, a man in the full vigor of life, of fine appearance and famous for his strength, rose in the assembly of the nobles when the royal court was thronged. At the instigation of the king himself, it was claimed, he publicly accused Hugh in the royal presence of high treason and of having conspired with certain accomplices of the same faction against the life of the king, contrary to good morals and the laws of the times.

The count denied the charge but said that although he was innocent he was ready to submit to the judgment of the court on the accusations. After this exchange of words, single combat between them was decreed according to the custom of the Franks, and a suitable day was set for the combat. The count then left the court and returned to Jaffa. He did not present himself on the appointed day, however. Whether his conscience smote him because he was conscious of his guilt or whether he distrusted the court is uncertain, but by this action he justly brought upon himself, even among his own partisans, still greater suspicion of the crime imputed to him. In view of his obstinate disobedience to the summons, the court and the assembly of nobles condemned him in his absence as guilty of the charge against him.

On learning of this, the count took a singular course, worthy of uni-

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43 This reference to trial by combat as “a custom of the Franks” instead of “our custom” is another indication that William’s parentage may be of non-French origin.
versal hatred and indignation. He set sail in haste for Ascalon, that city hateful to the Christian name and friendly to our enemies, and demanded help from them against the king. The people of that city gave a ready assent, for they realized that the internal dissensions and civil discord among the Christians would redound to their own advantage and cause great danger to the kingdom. A treaty satisfactory to both sides was concluded. Hugh thereupon gave hostages and returned to Jaffa.

Then the Ascalonites, inspired by inexorable and stubborn hatred against us and rendered more confident by the treaty with the count and by his favor, invaded our territories with unwonted boldness and presumption. Without hindrance from anyone, they raided our territory as far as Arsuf, also known as Antipater, and carried off booty.

News of these forays reached the king. He immediately summoned military forces from all over the kingdom and with a great host of people laid siege to Jaffa. It soon became evident to the count’s faithful followers who were with him in that same city, namely, Balian, senior, and other God-fearing men, that Hugh was determined to rush headlong into danger—that he could not be restrained from his fatal enterprise by the sane warnings of his faithful friends. On the contrary, he was obstinately determined to pursue a course leading to greater danger. They therefore abandoned the fiefs which they held from him and wisely betook themselves to the king.

17. *The city of Jaffa is besieged; the nobles of the kingdom treat concerning peace. In the meantime Banyas is taken by the enemy.*

In the meantime the Patriarch William, a very gentle man and a lover of peace, together with certain princes of the realm, undertook the task of mediation and, for the sake of peace, tried to effect a compromise between the king and the count. Mindful of the words of the Gospel, that "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; every city or house divided against itself shall not stand," they saw that these internal dissensions were most dangerous to the kingdom, and they feared, as well they might, lest the enemies of the Christian faith might seize this as an opportune time to do them injury.

Finally, after many disputes, as is usually the case in affairs of this

44 Mat. 12: 25.
kind, it seemed best to the peacemakers, both for the sake of harmony and for the greater honor of the king, that the count be exiled for a period of three years. At the expiration of that time, by the king’s grace, he and those whom he had led with him might be permitted to return to the kingdom, and this without incurring the reproach which would otherwise fall upon him as the result of this affair. Meanwhile, all his debts and whatever moneys he had borrowed anywhere were to be paid from the revenues of his possessions.

Thus, at this time, the king was engaged in the vicinity of Jaffa, and Lord Renier, surnamed Brus, with other nobles of the realm, was also there. Meanwhile, the city of Banyas was under siege by Tegelmeluch [Taj-al-Muluk Buri], king of Damascus. The king was endeavoring with all his power to procure aid to relieve this situation, but before he succeeded, the city was taken by force and fell into the hands of the enemy. The citizens were taken prisoners, and all the mercenary soldiers in the city, both knights and foot soldiers, were seized. The wife of the noble and valiant Renier was also captured and carried away with the others.

18. The count of Jaffa is severely wounded at Jerusalem. A tumult again arises. After recovering, however, he crosses the sea, according to agreement.

During this time, the count of Jaffa was awaiting passage and lingering in Jerusalem as he was wont to do. One day he happened to be playing dice on a table before the shop of a merchant named Alfanus in the street which is called the street of the Furriers. The count, intent upon the game, had no thought of danger. Suddenly, before all the bystanders, a knight of Brittany drew his sword in hostile fashion and stabbed the count again and again. The entire city was shaken at the news of the outrage; a great crowd at once assembled, and an ominous murmur arose. But one sentiment issued from the lips of all, namely, that not without the knowledge of the king could this crime have been committed; that the miscreant would hardly have dared to attempt such a deed unless he had been confident of the king’s favor. Through the crowd ran the cry that the count was suffering unjustly

\footnote{Taj al-Muluk had died June 6, 1132. His son, Shams al-Muluk, was now ruler. The capture of Banyas was made by the Damascenes on December 11, 1132 (see Gibb, \textit{Chronicle}, pp. 208–18). This account is out of place here (see note 18).}
from a charge of which he was innocent and that the king had given a plain proof of the unreasonable hatred, far beyond the merits of the case, which he had conceived against him. Accordingly, the count grew in universal favor and good will, and it was felt that the accusations made against him, of whatever nature, had proceeded entirely from malice.

When the king learned of this sentiment, he felt it necessary to exonerate himself. In order to give substantial proof of his innocence, he ordered the culprit to be placed on trial. No accuser or witnesses were necessary to prove the crime, for it was well known to all. Since the regular process of law was needless, therefore, the king ordered a sentence commensurate with his guilt to be pronounced upon the man. The court accordingly convened, and the assassin was sentenced by unanimous consent to suffer the penalty of mutilation of his members. The judgment was reported to the king, who ordered the sentence to be carried out. He directed, however, that the tongue should not be included among the members so mutilated. This exception was made lest it be said that the tongue had been removed purposely so that the criminal would be unable to confess the truth of the matter, namely, that he had been sent by the king. By this action Fulk very wisely protected his own reputation and quieted the intense indignation which had been roused against him. It was impossible to extort from the criminal, either in secret or in public, before or after the sentence was carried out, an admission that this monstrous act had been done by the order or with the knowledge of the king. On the contrary, he declared that he had ventured to do the deed on his own initiative in the hope of gaining the king's favor.

The count remained for a while in the kingdom, that his wounds might be cared for and his health restored. Then, when fully convalescent, he left the kingdom and went to Apulia. His heart was full of sadness, both on account of the injuries so recently inflicted upon him, and also because by the decree he was compelled to wander like a beggar through unfamiliar places, an exile from his ancestral heritage.  

Roger, who had now conquered all that region, received him kindly. He felt that this noble and valiant man had been driven from the

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46 This expression of sympathy for Hugh in exile recalls Ovid's exile, with which William was very familiar.
kingdom through the jealousy of his rivals. Accordingly, he had compassion on him and gave him the county of Gargan. There the count, a man well worthy to be mourned by posterity, met a premature death and never returned to the kingdom.

From that time, all who had informed against the count and thereby incited the king to wrath fell under the displeasure of Queen Melisend and were forced to take diligent measures for their safety. For her heart was wrung with deep sorrow for the exiled count, and her own good fame was in some measure besmirched by the infamous accusation. Above all others, she persecuted in every possible way Rohard the Elder, later called Rohard of Nablus, who had been especially active in exciting the jealousy of the king. It was not safe for these informers to come into her presence; in fact, they deemed it prudent to keep away even from public gatherings. Even the king found that no place was entirely safe among the kindred and partisans of the queen. At length, through the mediation of certain intimate friends, her wrath was appeased, and the king finally, after persistent efforts, succeeded in gaining a pardon for the other objects of her wrath—at least to such an extent that they could be introduced into her presence with others. But from that day forward, the king became so uxorious that, whereas he had formerly aroused her wrath, he now calmed it, and not even in unimportant cases did he take any measures without her knowledge and assistance.  

19. *A treaty is made with the Damascenes; the prisoners who were taken at Banyas are restored.*

About this time, the king granted a temporary peace to the Damascenes at their request. In addition to other things which they offered in order to obtain this truce, they restored, according to agreement, all the captives taken from the city of Banyas. The wife of the valiant Renier de Brus, the lord of that city, was among this number. She was returned to her distinguished husband after an absence of two years, and he graciously restored her to her position as his wife. Later, however, he discovered that her conduct while with the enemy had not been altogether discreet. She had not satisfactorily preserved the sanc-

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47 There is evidence enough to prove that Melisend was a strong-willed woman without waiting upon such an incident for its expression. William's conception of Fulk is colored throughout by his boyhood impression of the king as a very old man.
tity of the marriage couch as a noble matron should. Accordingly, he cast her off. She did not deny her guilt, but entered a convent of holy women at Jerusalem, took the vows of perpetual chastity, and became a nun. After her death, the distinguished man married Agnes, a niece of William de Bury. On Renier’s death, Agnes became the wife of Gerard of Sidon. Of this marriage was born Renaud, who now rules over this same city of the Sidonians.

The city of Banyas, which, as we have said, was conquered in the absence of its lord, had long been held by the people of the Assassins. Shortly before the time of which we are speaking, however, one of their rulers named Emir-Ali had ceded it to the Christians in return for a fitting compensation agreed upon by treaty. The king thereupon at once granted it as a possession with hereditary rights to this same Lord Renier.

At a future time and place a description will be given of the people of the Assassins and an explanation of the worthless traditions, hateful to God, which they follow. In the meantime, let it suffice to know concerning them that they are a people very much distrusted and justly feared by the Christians as well as by nations of other faiths, above all, by princes.

20. Raymond, son of the count of Poitou, arrives secretly at Antioch. He marries Constance, the daughter of Bohemond, against the will of the princess, her mother, who strives to prevent the alliance. Thus he obtains the kingdom.

In the meantime, as we have said, the people of Antioch had sent envoys to Raymond, the son of the count of Poitou. In accordance with their instructions, they made careful inquiries as to where he might most readily be found. From reliable reports, they learned that he was at the court of Henry the Elder, king of England, from whom he had received the arms of a knight. They therefore proceeded straightway to England, where they found the young man and in all secrecy explained to him the reason for their coming. On the advice of the king,

48 This had occurred in 1128. Qalanisi calls the leader of the Assassins who gave Banyas to Baldwin II, “Ismail, the Persian” or the “Missioner” (see Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 191–94).
49 That the Assassins were feared as much by the Muslims as by the Christians is abundantly testified in Arab accounts (see P. K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, pp. 446–48).
his benefactor, Raymond gratefully embraced the opportunity offered him and, after making all necessary preparations for the journey, set out incognito. For Roger, duke of Apulia, was already aware of the plans of the people of Antioch in respect to calling Raymond and, in consequence, had made arrangements in every coast city of Apulia to waylay him. If the young man could be prevented from crossing, the duke hoped that by bribing the great men of that land he himself might easily gain the advantages of the inheritance which Raymond was seeking.

Raymond, however, prudently concealed the real purpose of his journey. He cast aside all pride and, travelling as one of the common people, now on foot, now astride a humble beast of burden, pursued his journey among the people and never gave the slightest evidence of rank or wealth. Those who accompanied him were divided into bands and his household retainers likewise. Some of these people preceded him by three or four days' journey, and others followed behind, as if having no connection with him.

Thus, clad in the lowly habit of a pilgrim, often himself performing the duties of a servant, he deceived everyone by his appearance and escaped the snares laid by his shrewd and powerful enemy. His arrival at Antioch delighted his friends and brought no little fear to others, partisans of the princess, who were endeavoring to hinder his elevation.

Shortly before this time, yet after the departure of the envoys to invite Lord Raymond, the Princess Alice, widow of Lord Bohemond and sister of Queen Melisend, had again marched to Antioch. Despite the fact that her father had formerly thrust her from that city and ordered her to be content with Laodicea and Jabala, she assumed the role of sovereign and again took everything under her own sway. Her sister had interceded with the king not to interfere with her actions, and she had the support of certain nobles.

In the meantime, Ralph, the crafty patriarch of Antioch, a man well versed in wiles, induced her to believe that Raymond, now said to be close at hand, had been sent for to become her own future husband. In this way the prelate hoped to secure her favor and influence against the clergy who were persecuting him. Alice's credulous mind readily accepted that false hope.

It was at once apparent to Raymond that without the good will and
influence of the patriarch he could not hope to attain his desired end. Accordingly, through interpreters friendly to both Ralph and himself, he asked for an audience, that he might win the favor of the patriarch and gain his support. It was required of Raymond that he show fealty to the patriarch by solemn oath; and in return, it was agreed that he should marry Constance without opposition and receive the principality in full peace. In addition, it was provided that if Henry, his brother, should come to Antioch, the patriarch would endeavor loyally to secure for him Alice, mother of the young princess and widow of Bohemond, as his wife, together with her two maritime cities and the lands attached to them.

As soon as this agreement had been made and confirmed with an oath, Raymond was introduced into the city. While Alice still supposed that all the arrangements were being made for her own nuptials, he was conducted to the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles and there married to the Lady Constance. The young princess was not yet of marriageable age, but the great nobles all demanded that the marriage take place, and the patriarch himself bestowed the bride upon her husband.  

On learning how she had been deceived, Alice at once left Antioch and retired to her own domain. Ever after she pursued the prince with relentless hatred. From that day, too, the patriarch assumed a more haughty attitude. Firm in the belief that he had established himself securely with the prince, he displayed unwonted arrogance and became unduly presumptuous in his demands on the prince. But in this respect he found himself entirely deceived. For the prince felt that the oath of fealty which the patriarch had extorted from him reflected disgrace upon himself. Accordingly, forgetful of the benefits which he had received from the prelate, he began to persecute him unmercifully and, in spite of his sworn oath, aligned himself with the pontiff's adversaries.

50 Röhricht has dated this marriage 1136 (see R.K.J., p. 203), though there is some reason to think that it occurred in 1137. Constance in either case was well under ten years of age at the time.

51 This was the first time that a prince of Antioch had received the investiture of his state from a patriarch of Antioch. As Raymond became acquainted with local traditions and, even more, with the clerical opponents of the patriarch, he may well have resented the arrangement without further provocation from Ralph. The previous investiture of a prince of Antioch by a patriarch was that of Bohemond I by Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem in 1100 (see Book IX, chap. 15).
21. An account of Raymond: his manners and appearance; his ancestors and lineage.

Lord Raymond was of noble blood and ancient lineage. He was very tall and in personal appearance extremely pleasing. He was young—his cheeks were still covered with the light down of youth—he was handsome far beyond all the kings and princes of the world, and he was affable and agreeable in conversation.\(^52\) In fact, his entire bearing was in every respect that of a charming and elegant prince. Experienced in military matters and expert in the use of arms, he easily surpassed all his predecessors as well as those who followed him. Although but slightly learned himself, he was nevertheless a patron of men of letters.\(^53\) In religious matters, he was most devoted and listened attentively to the offices of the church, especially on feast days. After his marriage, he was careful to observe and maintain faithfulness in the conjugal relation. He was temperate in eating and drinking also, and munificent and free-handed to excess. But he was not provident and was far too fond of vicious games of dice and chance. He had, among other defects of character, a rash disposition, a habit of acting on a hasty impulse, and he frequently gave way to anger without restraint or reason. He was seldom lucky. He paid no attention to the oath of fealty which he had sworn to the patriarch and did not redeem the promises he had made to him.

22. The king builds a fortress to check the insolent inroads of the Ascalonites. It receives the name Gibelin or Beersheba.

Now, because of their continued success, the Ascalonites were becoming increasingly bold and insolent and were overrunning the entire region without restraint. Ascalon itself was subject to a very powerful Egyptian potentate. If this city should be taken, the prince foresaw with alarm that the Christian army might invade Egypt and disturb the peaceful conditions which existed there. Accordingly, at a great

\(^{52}\) Raymond was at least twenty years old by this time and may have been several years older still. Röhrich's statement that he was born in 1099, however, is an error due to a confusion of Raymond with his older brother William, who was born at that time (see Auber, *Histoire générale du Poitou*, VIII, 21, 105-107).

\(^{53}\) This allusion to Raymond's patronage of letters is tantalizing, for William must have had specific instances in mind. What literary productions, whether in the vernacular or in Latin, flowed from this patronage are unknown. Yet there must have been such writings with which William was acquainted.
outlay of money and effort, he was endeavoring to make the land of Ascalon a barrier, as it were, between Egypt and our territory. Fearing that the strength of its people might give way under the constant hardships and perils of warfare, he took great care to send to their assistance every three months new people and fresh legions, together with provisions and supplies of arms. The new arrivals naturally wished to try their strength and to give proofs of their courage. Hence, against the wishes of the veterans, they often made experimental sallies and expeditions.

The Christians perceived that the bold incursions of the enemy showed no signs of ceasing; their forces were constantly renewed, and, like the hydra, they gained increased strength by the death of their citizens. Hence, after long deliberation, our people resolved to erect fortresses round about. These would serve as defenses against this monster which ever increased by the loss of its heads and, as often as it was destroyed, was reborn to our exceeding great peril. Within these strongholds forces could be easily assembled which, from their very proximity, could more readily check the enemy’s forays. Such fortresses would also serve as bases from which to make frequent attacks upon the city itself.

They accordingly chose a place suitable for the purpose, in that part of Judea which, in the original distribution, fell by lot to the tribe of Simeon, and there they prepared to rebuild an ancient ruined city called Beersheba. The site selected lay at the foot of the mountains just at the beginning of the plain which extends without interruption from those mountains to the aforesaid city. All the people of the vicinity were called together; the patriarch William and the nobles also came. Thus the task, well-planned and begun under good auspices, was finished successfully with the help of the Lord. For twelve miles from Ascalon they built a strong fortress surrounded by an impregnable wall with towers, ramparts, and a moat. This place, in the time of the children of Israel, was the southern limit of the Land of Promise just as Dan, now called Banyas or Caesarea Philippi, was the northern. One often reads in the Old Testament, “from Dan even unto Beer-sheba.” 54 Here Abraham is said to have established a well, as he did in many other places, and because of the great quantity of water it gave he called it the Abundance.

54 Ju. 20: 1.
Josephus also speaks of it in the book of the *Antiquities*, as follows: "Abimelech gave him land and flocks and they agreed that they would dwell peacefully together without guile. They made a treaty at a certain well known as Beersheba, which may be called the Treaty of the Well, and indeed it is so called even to this time by the people of the vicinity. This place is also called the Seventh Well, and in Arabic it is known as Bethgeberis, that is, the House of Gabriel."  

When the fortress was finished and complete in every part, it was granted by common consent to the brothers of the house of the Hospital, which is at Jerusalem. They have guarded their charge with all due diligence, even to the present time; and from that day, the attacks of the enemy in that place have become less violent.

23. *The count of Tripoli is slain at the Mount of the Pilgrims through the treachery of some of his own people. He is succeeded by Raymond, his son, who avenges the death of his father.*

Not long after this, Baswaj, commander of the army of Damascus, invaded the land of Tripoli. Count Pons marched valiantly forth against him with all his forces. The two armies met near the fortress called Mount of the Pilgrims, and a fierce battle was fought. But the lines of his army were broken and put to flight, and the count himself was taken prisoner. Through the treachery of the Syrians who lived on the heights of Lebanon, he was betrayed and put to death. He left a son, Raymond, who, as his heir, succeeded him in the care of the county. Gerald, bishop of Tripoli, was also captured at this time. He remained in captivity for a while without being recognized, but at last a prisoner held by the Christians was given in exchange for him and he was restored to his former liberty. In this battle some of the nobles of Tripoli fell, but the great majority of those slain were from the middle class.

After the death of his father Raymond collected the remnant of the cavalry and with a strong body of foot soldiers in addition went up to Mt. Lebanon with great valor. There he seized and carried away in chains to Tripoli as many of those men of blood, with their wives and

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55 Josephus *Ant.* 1. 12.
56 Stevenson has dated the building of this fortress in 1136 (see Stevenson, *Crusaders*, p. 136).
57 The death of Pons is dated by Qalanisi as March 25, 1137. Raymond II succeeded his father (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, p. 241).
children, as he could find. For he considered them guilty of his father's death and responsible for the general massacre of the Christians, since by their persuasive words they had drawn that powerful man into the plain of Tripoli. Accordingly, to avenge the blood of those who had fallen in battle, he visited upon them divers tortures in the presence of the people, and, in just proportion to the enormity of the crime which they had committed, he caused them to suffer death in its most cruel forms.

Such were the first proofs of valor which were given by the young count, whereby he won the affection of all his people and universal approval.

24. John, emperor of Constantinople, marches upon Antioch and seizes all Cilicia.

Meanwhile numerous reports began to circulate through the land. It was rumored that John, emperor of Constantinople, son of Alexius, was about to descend swiftly upon Syria. From every part of his empire he had summoned people of all tribes and tongues, and now, with a countless number of cavalry and a vast array of chariots and four-wheeled carts, he was on the march. Nor was this mere empty rumor. As soon as he learned from reliable sources that the people of Antioch had summoned Raymond thither, that they had given the city to him, and had bestowed upon him as his wife the daughter of Lord Bohemond, John determined to go to Antioch. Very wroth was he that, without his knowledge or command, they had presumed to give the daughter of their lord in marriage and, without consulting him, had dared to hand over the city to the rule of another.\(^{58}\) He claimed Antioch with all the adjacent provinces as his own and wished to recall them to his own jurisdiction. He asserted that those great princes, men of valor and immortal memory who, at the command of God, had come on the first expedition (time does not permit the mention of their names one by one), had entered into a definite agreement with Alexius, his father and predecessor in the empire, with much interchange of gifts and courtesy.\(^{59}\) The terms were that whatever cities or

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\(^{58}\) According to Chalandon, Alice had made overtures of a marriage alliance between Constance and the emperor's son, Manuel (F. Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, II, 122).

\(^{59}\) William habitually refers back to the early agreements which the crusading leaders had made with Alexius in 1097. In a sense the claims did start there, but John had a more definite basis for his claims in the agreement which Bohemond I had made in 1108 (see Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, II, 122-26).
fortresses the Christians might by any chance take on that entire campaign should be surrendered without contest to the empire. These, when captured, they had undertaken to guard faithfully to the best of their ability and strength until he should come with his army. These provisions, John asserted, were included in the pact, and the princes had confirmed them with solemn oath.

There is no question that these princes had concluded an agreement with the emperor and that he, in turn, had bound himself to them by definite pledges which he had been the first to break. Since he had not kept to the terms of the agreement, the signatory princes steadfastly maintained that they were not bound to him. No less did they regard those who had already died as released from their agreement, since Alexius, as a vacillating and unstable man, had dealt fraudulently with them and had been the first to break his own pledges. According to the law of treaties, therefore, they rightly claimed that they were released from the pact, "For to keep faith with one who tries to act contrary to the tenor of a treaty is wrong."

Accordingly, the emperor sent officers throughout all his empire, and an entire year was spent in making the necessary preparations for a campaign, as befitted imperial magnificence. Then, followed by chariots and horses, an innumerable host, and accompanied by treasures of inestimable weight, number, and measure, he sailed across the Hellespont, which in common parlance is called the arm of St. George, and took the road toward Antioch. After crossing the intervening provinces, he came into Cilicia and halted to besiege Tarsus, a famous city of Cilicia Prima. This he took by force of arms, cast out the loyal subjects of the lord of Antioch, to whose faithful care it had been entrusted, and put in his own nobles. Without delay, in like fashion, he made himself master of Adana, Mamistra, and Anavarza, the most populous city of Cilicia Secunda. He also took the other cities of that province, together with all the fortified towns and castles. Thus, contrary to all justice and right, he seized as a part of his own kingdom the entire province of Cilicia, which the prince of Antioch had held in undisputed possession for forty years. For even before Antioch had come under our power Tarsus had been restored to Christian liberty by Baldwin, the duke's brother, and Mamistra with all the rest of that region had been freed by the distinguished Tancred.

Thence advancing in mighty strength, he pressed on to Antioch.
with all his armies. Upon his arrival there, he immediately began siege operations. Mighty machines and engines were placed in strategic positions around the city and ever-increasing pressure was exerted upon the place.

25. Zangi besieges the fortress called Montferrand. The king, with the help of the count of Tripoli, seeks to raise the siege, but in vain. The Christians are conquered, the count is taken prisoner, and the king retreats to the fortress.

Such then was the situation around Antioch. Meanwhile, Zangi, a very wicked man and a most cruel persecutor of the Christians, was well aware that the count of Tripoli had recently perished with a large host and that the entire locality was now without military forces. Accordingly, he laid vigorous siege to Montferrand. This castle was situated in the land of Tripoli on the heights above the city of Raphania, recently mentioned. By fierce attacks, persistently continued without respite, he pressed hard upon those within the fortress.

News of this situation was brought to Count Raymond of Tripoli, son of the late Count Pons and nephew of the king on his mother's side. The young count at once dispatched swift messengers to the king. With earnest entreaties, he besought Fulk to come without delay to aid them in the desperate situation.

The king ever felt paternal solicitude for all the troubles of the Christians. He at once called together the principal men of the realm, levied forces of both infantry and cavalry and, by making forced marches, arrived speedily in the land of Tripoli.

There he was met by messengers from the prince of Antioch. They brought the ill tidings, both by word of mouth and by letter, that the emperor was besieging Antioch—tidings which, alas, were too true. With the utmost urgency they besought the king to come thither with all his forces as soon as possible, that he might aid his brethren in their critical situation.

In view of this double emergency, the king called a council to consider what course to adopt. The opinion was unanimous that aid should first be given to the Christians besieged in the neighboring fortress (a task which seemed to be easy) and that then all with one accord should march on to the relief of the people of Antioch. The king and the

60 Antioch was besieged by John on August 29, 1137.
count accordingly united their forces and attempted to march against the enemy, but Divine favor did not attend them. Zangi had received information that they were advancing, and, as they drew near their destination, he abandoned the siege and led his troops in battle formation against them.

The Christians advanced at a brisk march toward the city, their forces arranged in fighting array according to the rules of military science. It was their purpose to carry aid to the besieged and to supply the town, now entirely without food, with the necessary provisions which they were bearing with them. But the guides who were leading our army left the easier, level road on the left and, whether through error or malice, followed a difficult mountain route. They led the Christians through a narrow and pathless district where there was no place suitable for a battle. Here resistance would be difficult, and a favorable opportunity for attacking would be equally lacking.

Zangi was a shrewd and experienced man of war. He at once perceived the situation and realized that the advantage was with him. Aglow with fervor, he summoned his men and, himself foremost among his thousands, roused their courage by his words and challenged them to follow his example. Fighting valiantly, he fell upon the Christian center and incited his men to our destruction. Our first lines broke ranks; they turned and fled. The leaders of our army saw that the first lines had given way; they realized that there was no hope of resistance and that they themselves in the narrow defiles could not come to their assistance. Accordingly, they counselled the king to look out for his own safety by withdrawing into the fortress near by. Fulk perceived that temporarily this was the best plan, for all the infantry had been either killed or captured. He therefore withdrew with a few attendants into the castle. The count of Tripoli, a young man of remarkable promise, was taken prisoner, and with him some of his knights.

The band following the king entered the fortress and provided for their safety as they could. All the baggage, a vast amount, was lost that day. It included the horses and pack animals which were carrying provisions intended for revictualing the fortress. The fugitives brought no food with them into the fortress. Carrying only the weapons with which they were armed, they fled thither empty handed.

Among others who fell that day was the illustrious Godfrey Char-
Fulk of Anjou as King

puulu, a brother of the elder Joscelin, count of Edessa. He was distinguished for his high rank and for his skill in arms. His death, as that of a valiant soldier, caused deep sorrow, and his melancholy end touched the entire army.

26. Zangi again attacks the fortress; the besieged call on their neighbors for help.

Zangi was well aware that the Christians had carried no food with them into the fortress. All their supplies were in his hands, and the military strength of the entire realm was exhausted. In addition, the count was his prisoner, and the king, with the greatest nobles of the realm, was shut up without provisions in a half-ruined castle. Accordingly, he determined to renew the siege of Montferrand. He hoped that now no assistance from any source could be brought to the imprisoned garrison and felt confident that within a short time he would succeed in taking the citadel. He therefore called his troops together once more. They responded to the summons so laden with the spoils taken from the Christians that they disdained even larger plunder because of the great amount already collected. Thus Montferrand was again surrounded by hostile forces, and the siege was pressed forward with vigor.

Among the great lords of the realm who had taken refuge with the king in the fortress were William de Bury, the constable, Renier de Brus, an illustrious warrior, Guy de Brisebar, Baldwin of Ramlah, Humphrey of Toron, a young man without experience in warfare, and many others. With them the king took counsel as to what should be done in such a desperate crisis. It was decided unanimously to appeal for aid to the prince of Antioch and the younger Joscelin, count of Edessa, to summon the patriarch of Jerusalem with all the people of the kingdom, and in the meantime to await the coming of this relief as best they might.⁶¹

Such was the situation at Montferrand. Just at this time also Renaud, surnamed the Bishop, a valiant soldier distinguished for his military prowess, was taken prisoner. He was the nephew of Roger, bishop of Lydda, and head of the order of St. George.⁶² While engaged in pur-

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⁶¹ The surrender of Montferrand is dated in the third week of August. Raymond and Joscelin II arrived some days later.

⁶² The order of St. George was short-lived. It is thought to have been originally
suing the people of Ascalon in his usual vigorous manner, but all too rashly, he happened to fall into an ambush and fell a prey to the enemy.

Meanwhile the messengers did not tarry but sped with all haste on their way. One went to Antioch, explained the dire straits of the king and his companions, and urged the prince to hasten to their relief without delay. Another by his vigorous entreaties moved the count of Edessa to action, while a third sped to Jerusalem and roused the entire people.

The prince of Antioch hesitated for a little, uncertain as to what to do. The emperor was before his gates, and he feared for the fate of his city if he should attempt to leave it. On the other hand, it seemed harsh and inhumane not to go to the aid of the king in such a desperate situation. At length, sympathy with the woes and anxieties of the king and the Christian people won the day. He committed his city to the care of the Lord, in the full assurance that it was better to share all evils with his brethren than to rejoice in complete prosperity and peace while they were suffering thus. He summoned the nobles and the chief men among the people, explained his sentiments, and invited them all to go to the aid of the king. They were easily persuaded and all voluntarily agreed to his desire, so pleasing to God. Preparations for departure were speedily made. They left the city, blockaded as it was by the emperor's forces, and set forth as with one mind to the relief of the king.

The count of Edessa, moved by similar emotions, made ready all his forces and marched with amazing swiftness toward the same goal. William, the patriarch of Jerusalem, assembled all the troops left in the kingdom and, carrying with him the Sacred Cross of the Lord, also hurried eagerly thither. Everywhere, as he hastened on his way, he endeavored to raise reinforcements and begged them to go to the help of the king.

27. Baswaj, governor of Damascus, pillages and burns Nablus.

While the affairs of the king were in this condition, news of the situation was brought to Baswaj, governor of Damascus and chief of the army, who was mentioned above. He learned that the kingdom had been stripped of its usual army, that the king was besieged in a remote

established by knights and pilgrims from England. It is not connected, so far as is known, with any of the other orders of St. George.
part of the realm, and that the nobles and all the people, anxious to liberate him, were flocking thither as with one mind. He was convinced that the long-desired opportunity of injuring the Christians had now arrived. Accordingly, with a large force, he invaded the kingdom and suddenly attacked the unfortified city of Nablus, a place without walls, outworks, or even a moat. Thus, wholly without warning, like a thief in the night, he fell upon the unsuspecting citizens and, in a furious onslaught, spared neither sex nor age. Alive to the danger, but alas, too late, the survivors with their wives and children finally succeeded in reaching the citadel in the middle of the place. Thus with the greatest difficulty they escaped through the midst of fire and massacre. Unopposed, Baswaj raged throughout the city with unbridled license and consigned everything to the flames. He then departed without loss. With him he carried plunder, slaves, and everything else of value in the city.  

28. The relief forces hurry to the aid of the king, but meanwhile still greater woes are inflicted upon the besieged.

Meanwhile, Zangi continued his vigorous attacks upon the besieged with unremitting zeal. The very walls shook under the impulse of his mighty engines. Millstones and huge rocks hurled from the machines fell into the midst of the citadel, shattered the houses within, and caused intense fear to the refugees there. Great fragments of rock and all kinds of whirling missiles were hurled with such violence against them that there was no longer any place of security within the walls where the feeble and wounded might be hidden. Everywhere was danger, everywhere hazard; everywhere the specter of frightful death hovered before their eyes. Apprehension of sudden destruction and a sinister foreboding of disaster ever attended them. With this very object in view, their cruel foe redoubled his assaults. He arranged his men in alternate divisions and, by using successive relays, renewed his strength. When the first detachment became weary, fresh men were brought into line, so that the battle seemed continuous rather than begun anew. Insufficient numbers prevented the Christians from enjoying these refreshing changes, yet they sustained with unswerving exertion not only the earlier but also the later attacks. But some succumbed

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63 This raid was made in the summer of 1137 while Fulk was involved with Zangi at Montferrand (see Stevenson, Crusaders, p. 146, note 2).
to severe wounds and others to illnesses of various kinds, so that day by day our ranks decreased. One failing was common to all, the impossibility of enduring constant engagements. Their nights, devoted to keeping watch, were sleepless, while during the day their strength was further exhausted by never-ending combat. The enemy granted them no respite for the restoration of their wearied bodies.

As a culmination of all these woes, the refugees had brought no provisions with them; there was no food remaining in the fortress from the former siege, and all that they had intended to bring in had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Soon after they entered the citadel, therefore, the Christians were obliged to use their horses for food, since there was nothing else. After these were gone, there was no food of any description. So even the strong and robust grew weak from hunger, and leanness, induced by famine, ravaged the strength of even the most vigorous.

Moreover, the number shut up within the fortress was so large that the supplies were not sufficient to afford even a modicum to each one. The lodging places were so overcrowded that great numbers lay in the streets and squares—in fact, the ground seemed as if covered with rushes. Javelins incautiously thrown at random by the archers often fell in their midst and inflicted fatal wounds. Zangi received full information of all these details by reliable messengers. Confident that the Christians could not long endure such straits, he urged his men to yet stronger measures. He massed his cohorts so closely around the fortress and guarded all the entrances so strictly that no one, not even in a most desperate attempt, could reach our people, nor could they themselves go forth.

The situation in the beleaguered city grew worse from day to day. Food was wholly lacking and hope was utterly gone. In this extremity the Christians learned by their own experience how imperious is the rule of famine and how true is that saying, “Famine alone makes cities free [from their masters].”

Yet hope of succor from the prince, the count of Edessa, and Jerusalem in some measure sustained the almost perishing people. But, since “for the yearning soul nothing moves swiftly enough,” they distrusted all delay, their eagerness increased because deferred, and an hour seemed as a year.

64 Lucan Pharsalia III. 56.
29. **Relief arrives. In the meantime, however, the king is induced to surrender. He enters into an agreement with the foe and returns in safety to his own land.**

While these events were transpiring at the besieged castle of Montferrand, Prince Raymond was already drawing near with his legions. The count of Edessa, also with a large force, was not far away, and the army of Jerusalem, led by the Cross of Salvation, was likewise marching rapidly thither. Information of their approach was brought to Zangi by reliable messengers. He dreaded the arrival of these great leaders and, above all, of the emperor, who was, he knew, at Antioch. He feared that the monarch, on learning of the troubles of the besieged Christians, might feel compassion for them, and with his own unconquerable army march out in wrath against him. Before news of the approaching relief could reach the prisoners in the castle, therefore, he sent envoys to make overtures of peace. They were instructed to say to the king and his nobles that the fortress, already half demolished, could not hold out much longer; that the Christians, exhausted by starvation, had lost courage and had no longer strength to resist. His own army, on the contrary, possessed in abundance all things necessary. Nevertheless, out of respect for the king, a great and illustrious prince among the Christians, he was willing to restore all the captives whom he had recently taken, including the count, and to permit the king and all his company to leave the place freely and peacefully and return to their own country, on condition that the fortress should be surrendered.

The Christians were ignorant that aid was so near. Hunger, vigils, hardships, and anguish of mind, together with deadly wounds had utterly exhausted their strength and reduced them to a state far from warlike. They received the proffered terms with great eagerness and were astonished that such humanity could exist in a man so cruel. Gratefully they accepted the conditions imposed, without questioning the reason thereof. As soon as the understanding had been reduced to an agreement pleasing to both parties, the count of Tripoli was released and with him a large number of captives. The king and his men then marched out at once, receiving kindly treatment from the enemy, and the fortress was surrendered to the Turks. The king, agitated indeed but yet happy in his release from a situation of great perplexity and
danger, went down from the heights into the fields near Arka. There he learned that the prince and the count were at hand. He met them with great affection and commended their brotherly love and solicitude, but lamented that it was offered too late. He thanked them heartily because they had showed so much consideration for his affairs and as far as lay within their power had rendered the desired aid. Then, refreshed by friendly talk with one another, they parted and each returned to his own land.65

30. **On his return to Antioch the prince finds the city under siege. He makes a valiant resistance. Finally, however, through the intervention of certain individuals, he is reconciled to the emperor.**

The prince of Antioch returned home with all haste, for his own affairs were in a very critical condition. He had left the most powerful prince of the world before his gates intent on hostile measures. Entering by the upper gate, which is next to the citadel and stronghold of the city, Raymond found the emperor still determined to carry out his original design. Accordingly, for several days there was active warfare between the two armies. Often secretly but still more often openly, the people of Antioch sallied forth against the emperor's army and frequently wrought great havoc. Without regard to the fact that both sides professed the same faith, they fought with one another as with enemies.

The emperor, for his part, caused immensely heavy rocks to be hurled from the mighty machines and engines. In this way, he sought to weaken and break down the defenses of the city and to shatter the walls and towers at the gate of the Bridge. The legions, armed with arrows and all sorts of missiles, were disposed in a circle round the place. Aided by a strong band of slingers, they sought at long range to prevent the townspeople from defending the walls and were ever on the watch for an opportunity to approach and undermine the fortifications.

As this critical situation developed, men of good sense in both armies began to fear that, if wiser counsel did not speedily prevail, things would come to such a desperate pass that a fitting solution for possible dangerous crises would not easily be found. Accordingly, in apprehen-

65 The narrow margin of time between the surrender of the king and the arrival of the relief forces is confirmed by Qalanisi (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 242–43).
sion of such a result, certain persons interposed as arbitrators. They went to the camp of the emperor with proposals of peace and, with propitiatory words and a great show of humility, endeavored to soften his wrath. In this wise and discreet manner, as was meet, they approached the monarch and tried to pave the way for peace. It was finally arranged by the arbiters and those who had charge of bringing about the much-desired peace, that the prince, attended by all his barons, should present himself before his imperial majesty and, in the presence of the illustrious and distinguished nobles of the imperial palace, should with all due solemnity swear allegiance and fealty to the emperor. Furthermore, he should take a solemn oath that whenever the emperor desired to enter Antioch or its citadel, either in war or peace, the prince should not refuse to allow him a free and undisputed entrance. If the emperor should peacefully restore Aleppo, Shayzar, Hama, and Hims to the prince, as had been stipulated in the treaty, Raymond was to rest content with these cities and others near by, and without contest give back to the emperor the city of Antioch to be held by right of ownership.

In return for the fealty shown him, the emperor should agree that if, by the aid of God, he succeeded in taking Aleppo, Shayzar, and all the adjacent region, he would allow the whole to be given to the prince without trouble or diminution and that the latter and his heirs should hold it in peace by perpetual right, but in benefice, which is commonly called in fief.

In accordance with this agreement, the prince, attended by his noble suite, proceeded to the imperial camp. He was received by the emperor with fitting honor, and, after the covenant had been revised to the satisfaction of both parties, the prince tendered the oath of fealty to the emperor. Thereupon, the emperor at once granted him the investiture of the cities named above, with all their dependencies, and promised faithfully that if, by the will of God, he should take them the following summer, he would personally surrender them to the prince.

As soon as the treaty was concluded and peace fully reestablished, the imperial standard was raised over the principal tower of the citadel. Then, laden with most bountiful gifts, the prince returned to Antioch with his retinue. Since the severe winter season was at hand, the emperor went back to Cilicia with all his army, that he might spend the winter on the seacoast near Tarsus.

HERE ENDS THE FOURTEENTH BOOK
THE FIFTEENTH BOOK BEGINS

EMPEROR JOHN SEeks TO EXTEND HIS INFLUENCE OVER THE LATIN STATES

1. *The emperor lays siege to Shayzar; the prince and the count of Edessa attend him, as in duty bound by their oath of allegiance to him.*

The emperor passed the winter months in Cilicia. On the approach of spring, that season most favorable for the pursuit of war, he sent forth the heralds to proclaim an imperial edict by which the commanders of the army, the centurions, and the commanders of fifties were instructed to draw up their forces, to repair the engines of war, and to arm the entire people. Envoys had already been sent to invite the prince, the count of Edessa, and the other principal lords of those parts to march forth with the emperor to war.

Accordingly, from all directions the troops assembled. About April 1, the emperor, in order to make good the agreement between himself and the prince, directed the entire host, with blare of trumpts and roll of drums, to proceed toward Shayzar. He entered the enemy’s country and a few days later encamped before the city.

As soon as they learned of this, the prince and the count levied troops from all over their domains and, with the same purpose in view, followed the emperor as quickly as possible. Soon they arrived with their armies before the city named above.

The situation of Shayzar is very similar to that of Antioch, between the mountain and the river which flows past the latter city. The greater part lies in the plain which extends to the river, but there is also another part built on the slope of the mountain. On the heights above towers the citadel, which was generally believed to be impregnable. From this stronghold, on the right and on the left, the walls run down to the river and enclose the city with the suburbs adjacent to it.

The emperor crossed the river, encircled the city with his troops, and laid siege to the place on that side which seemed most easily assailable because of the suburbs before it. From the machines, set up in
strategic positions, poured forth constant volleys of heavy stones which shook the towers and walls and even the houses of the people within. Under the repeated blows of these enormous missiles, the fortifications, on which the inhabitants had relied as their greatest defense, were utterly overthrown and in their fall wrought dreadful havoc among the townspeople.

The emperor, a man of great courage, pressed on the assault with glowing zeal and promised rewards for victory. Thus he kindled the enthusiasm of the young, ever eager for glory, for the strife and combats of war. Protected by the breastplate and girt with the sword, his head covered with a golden helmet, he mingled with the ranks and cheered now these, now those, with words of encouragement. Again, like a man of the people, he roused their valor by his example and fought valiantly, that he might render others more courageous for the fray. Thus did this man of lofty spirit move about without ceasing among the troops. From the first hour of the day even unto the latest he endured the heat of battle. He gave himself no rest—not even to take food. For either he was admonishing those who served the engines to take better and more frequent aim or he was inspiring courage in those who were engaged in the thick of the combat. He restored the strength of the fighters by successive relays of men and substituted fresh troops for those who were exhausted.

But while others were engaged in strenuous conflict, the prince and the count, both young men, let themselves be drawn away by the frivolous pursuits common to men of their years. They were continually playing at games of chance to the great detriment of their own interests. Moreover, by this lack of interest in warlike pursuits, they influenced others to take a less active part in the siege.

When their ill conduct came to the notice of the emperor, he was greatly incensed, and more than once by friendly admonitions given in secret he strove to call them back to their duty. He set before them his own example and reminded them of the fact that he, although the most powerful monarch of the land, did not spare himself physical hardships and great expense. For some days the army continued without ceasing to carry on engagements and conflicts of this nature. Finally, the emperor, indignant that a weak city could so long resist his incomparable army, wearied of the delay. He accused his men of laxity and tried to incite them to more vigorous efforts. He com-
manded that the attacks be redoubled and the siege pressed on with more boldness.

During the vigorous but ineffective siege of the city, that suburb in the lower part of the town, which was mentioned above, was captured in a hand-to-hand fight. No mercy was shown to the citizens found there, except in the case of those who by word or dress or by some other sign indicated that they would follow the Christian faith. For Shayzar contained and had contained from the beginning many people who belonged to the faithful and who, under the wretched yoke of slavery, were unjustly oppressed by their infidel masters.¹

2. The emperor in anger raises the siege and returns to Antioch without accomplishing his end.

As soon as the suburb was taken, the citizens, alarmed lest the enemy should burst forcibly into the inner part and attack their wives and children, begged for a short truce. This was granted. The lord of Shayzar was a certain noble Arab named Machedolus.² This man secretly sent messengers to the emperor and humbly besought him with many prayers to save the city and protect the citizens. He promised to give in return a large sum of money. The dissolute and inactive conduct of the prince and the count during the campaign had deeply angered the emperor, especially in view of the fact that in pursuance of his promise he was laboring in their behalf. Their promises of fealty, rather specious than reliable, he counted as nothing; they were, in fact, dead without works. Accordingly, he detested them, and, to punish their faithlessness, he had already determined in his own mind, with the counsel of a few intimate advisers, that at the first opportunity which offered the least semblance of honor, he would raise the siege and return home.

Accordingly, as soon as the money agreed upon for raising the siege was paid, the heralds were ordered to proclaim peace, and the legions were directed to make ready for departure. Camp was at once broken.

¹ Shayzar was the native city of Usamah and is described in his autobiography (see P. K. Hitti, An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh, pp. 3-5 et passim).
² It is difficult to recognize in William’s Machedolus the name of Usamah’s uncle who governed the city at this time. The uncle’s name is Izz-al-Din abu-al-Asakir Sultan. He died in 1154 and was succeeded by one Taj-al-Dawlah (see Hitti, Usamah, Introd., p. 6).
Orders were given that the legions proceed toward Antioch and that the entire army hasten thither.  

When the count and the prince learned of the emperor's action, they repented of their conduct, but, alas, too late. They endeavored to alter his intention, but he could not be swerved from the decision he had made. He rejected all their efforts at persuasion and hastened his departure. The count, far more sophisticated and wily than the prince, is said to have acted very maliciously in this matter. Influenced by a secret hatred against the prince, his lord, which he later openly acknowledged, he led the imprudent youth astray by his own greater subtlety so that the latter's power might not be increased. By every possible means he endeavored to bring upon him the emperor's displeasure, lest through that monarch the importance of the young prince might be increased.

3. The emperor again demands the citadel of Antioch from the prince and thus indicates his intention of remaining for a time in that vicinity.

The emperor arrived at Antioch with his sons and his suite and entered the city attended by a large body of soldiers. He was conducted with great ceremony, first to the cathedral and then to the palace of the prince, who, with the count, assumed the office of marshal. The patriarch with all the clergy and people followed in procession according to custom. Songs of praise and the sound of musical instruments accompanied his progress as well as frequent bursts of joyous applause from the populace.

For several days, as if the palace were his own, the emperor indulged freely as he would in the pleasures of the baths and other recreations pertaining to physical welfare. To the prince and the count, to their nobles, and even to some of the citizens, he showed profuse and almost prodigal munificence. At length, he caused the two lords with all the nobles of the province to be summoned to his presence. When they appeared before him, he addressed the prince as follows: "You know, my dear son Raymond, that out of love for you we have tarried in this vicinity a long time, that we might enlarge your principality

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3 According to Qalanisi, who describes the emperor's spring campaign on the upper Orontes, the real reason for raising the siege was the news that Zangi was collecting a large army and would soon pounce upon the Christians (see H. A. R. Gibb, trans., The Damascus Chronicle, pp. 248-52).
and extend your possessions to the detriment of the enemies of our faith. This we have done in accordance with the agreement formerly entered into, through the mediation of wise men, between our empire, beloved of God, and you, our loyal vassal. An opportune occasion has now come, and it is time to fulfil our promise and to place all the adjoining region under your rule, as the stipulations of the treaty clearly provide. But you well know, and these nobles who stand with you in our presence also know, that to carry out the obligations by which we are bound is not the matter of a short time. On the contrary, it is evident that your affairs demand an even longer sojourn on my part and yet greater outlay. Consequently, you must surrender to our care the citadel of this city, according to the tenor of the agreement, that our treasure may be placed there in security. Our forces must also have free access to the city, that they may come and go without hindrance. The engines of war needed for the siege of Aleppo cannot be so readily procured from Tarsus or Anavarza or the other cities of Cilicia. For these purposes this city affords far better facilities than any other place can offer. Fulfil your promise, therefore, and, conforming to the fealty which you have shown, do your duty. It will be the task of our imperial highness to carry out the obligations resting upon us and to interpret these liberally and with overflowing measure.”

The prince and his nobles were appalled at the severity of these words. For a long time they anxiously deliberated over the problem, uncertain what response to make. For it seemed a very harsh and serious matter that the city, which our nation had acquired at such peril and which had been restored to the Christian faith at the expense of the precious blood of happy princes, should fall into the hands of the effeminate Greeks. Antioch had always been the head and governor of many great provinces, and, without her, it seemed to us that the rest of the country could not hold out. On the other hand, there could be no question that this had been included in the agreement made by the prince. Moreover, the emperor had brought in with him so many of his own men that it would be difficult to resist him if he should be inclined to use force. The matter was at this critical point when the count of Edessa spoke thus, on behalf of all. “Sire, the words of your imperial highness are fraught with divine eloquence and are worthy of all acceptance, for we see that their purpose is wholly concerned with increasing our power. But a new matter calls for fresh consideration,
nor does it lie within the power of the lord prince alone to agree to this demand. He must consider most carefully with the advice of his nobles, of me, forsooth, and of his other loyal subjects, how your dic-
tum and demand may best be carried into effect. For if there should be an uprising of the populace, the execution of your demand might be hindered."

The count's response was acceptable to the emperor. A short delay
was thereupon granted, that the proposed deliberation might be held.
The count then went home; the prince remained in the palace, where,
according to report, he was practically a prisoner.

4. An uprising occurs in Antioch; the emperor in alarm rescinds his
demand; the quarrel is settled, and the emperor leaves the city.

As soon as the count reached home, he dispatched secret messengers to
inform the people of the emperor's demands and to rouse them to
arms. A tumult, accompanied by loud shouting, soon arose throughout
the city; crowds assembled from every direction, and the din increased
to a mighty uproar. When the count heard the disturbance, he took
horse and rode swiftly to the palace, as if fleeing from the pursuit of the
populace. He threw himself, breathless, at the feet of the emperor.
The monarch, astonished at his abrupt entrance, inquired solicitously
why, contrary to the etiquette and discipline of the sacred palace, he
had rushed so informally into the presence of his imperial majesty. The
count answered that necessity knew no law. The pursuit of a raging
mob had compelled him to transgress customary rules in order to
avoid peril of death. In answer to the emperor's repeated inquiries for
details he said that he had entered an inn to rest and was about to re-
fresh himself there.4 Suddenly, the entire populace, armed with swords
and other weapons such as fury supplies, besieged the door of the
house. As one man they began to denounce him as a man of blood, a
betrayer of his country, a murderer of the people, one who had taken
money from the emperor and was about to sell the city to him. They
demanded that he be surrendered to them. They had actually broken
into the house before he had succeeded in making his escape through
the midst of a thousand dangers.

In the meantime, the mighty uproar was heard throughout the city;

4 The mention of an inn, hospitium, as a place fit to house one of the Latin princes
implies a highly developed system of caring for transients, both merchants and soldiers.
unbridled tumult reigned. Repeated rumors circulated throughout the city that Antioch had been sold to the Greeks, that the citadel had already been surrendered to them, and that the citizens would be forced to leave the homes of their forefathers and depart from their ancestral possessions. Kindled to fury by these reports, the townspeople attacked members of the emperor’s household wherever found. They dragged them down from their horses, despoiled them with violence, beat them with whips, and put to the sword all who showed the least resistance. Fugitives, desperately trying to escape from wounds and death, were pursued with drawn swords into the very palace of the emperor.

The clamor of the citizens and the vehement outcries of his own followers roused the emperor to action. He ordered the prince and the nobles to be summoned immediately. Alarmed lest some serious demonstration be made against himself, he restrained his anger for the time being, and in reference to the rather free remarks which he had made that day in the presence of all, he said: “I remember that I discussed with you today a matter which may perchance have given rise to this excitement among the people. At this time, I wish all the people as well as the fathers of the city to know that, since my demand seems to you so harsh and difficult, I revoke my sentence and retract that which I proposed. Retain for yourselves the citadel and the whole city as well. It is sufficient for me that the conditions which have prevailed up to this time continue. I know that you are in very truth my loyal servants, and I am confident that you will never prove false to the fealty which you have promised and guaranteed. Go, therefore, and try to quiet the raging populace. If my sojourn in Antioch causes them any degree of apprehension, let them not be further concerned. Tomorrow, God willing, I shall take my departure.”

All present manifested approval of the emperor’s resolve. His prudence, his farseeing counsel, and his wise discernment were highly extolled. The prince and the count then went out with others of the principal men and by words and gestures, nods and signs, endeavored to calm the uproar. Silence was at last obtained and the mob reduced by friendly words to some degree of tranquillity. The mediators then earnestly besought them to return to their homes, to lay aside their arms and be quiet. This result was finally brought about.

On the following day the emperor, attended by his sons, his kindred,
and all his following, left Antioch, and by his orders the camp was established outside the walls.\(^5\)

5. *Envoys are sent to the emperor to try to appease his anger. In this they are successful. The emperor returns to his own land.*

Wise men in the city, however, realized that the emperor's wrath had been excited against the prince and the great nobles. Although he had wisely concealed his real feelings, yet he believed that they were responsible for instigating and secretly encouraging the popular uprising. Accordingly, in the hope of restoring peace, men of experience and judgment were sent as envoys to his imperial majesty. They were to offer excuses for the prince and the principal men of the land and to declare that they were not guilty of exciting sedition among the people.

The deputies were introduced into the presence of the emperor. Acting on behalf of their mission, they earnestly alleged the innocence of the prince and strove to convince the emperor of the fact in the following words: "Your imperial majesty and august highness knows far better than we that in all communities, and far more in cities and wherever men congregate in large numbers, all are not possessed of equal wisdom or endowed with equal judgment. People have different manners and customs, they follow varied pursuits, as their interests direct. Most true is that wise saying: 'My three guests seem almost to quarrel.'\(^6\) And this also: 'As many men, so many minds.'\(^7\) In the midst of this great variety of manners and habits, it is the duty of the wise man to discern those who are deserving and to distribute rewards in proportion to merit. Following out this reasoning, the frenzied actions of an irresponsible mob should not redound to the detriment of the better-disposed element. It often happens that a disorderly mob, which brooks no restraint, rashly excites quarrels and disturbances. But it is also certain, as ancient and long-approved custom shows, that in all well-constituted cities the rash impulses of the populace are restrained and unbridled audacity checked by the wise moderation of the

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\(^5\) This account of the reason for the departure of John from Antioch is accepted by Chalandon. There were deeper reasons than this ruse of Joscelin for the resentment of the Latin populace against the Greeks. The overlordship of Antioch by John carried with it, expressed or implied, the reestablishment of a Greek patriarch. Innocent II, alarmed by John's conduct in Cilicia, issued a bull forbidding Latin Christians to serve in the army of the Greeks (Jaffe, Reg., no. 7883); F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène, II*, 154-56; see also note 17, below.

\(^6\) Horace *Ep. II. ii. 61.*

\(^7\) *Terence Phor. II. iv. 14.*
elders. If it were otherwise, the condition of the crowd would be far better than that of the nobles; unless the elders were permitted to correct the errors of the thoughtless populace, the confusion of a heedless mob would prevail rather than the experience of the wise. Without the knowledge of the prince and of those charged with carrying on the most important affairs of state, the irresponsible people committed this outrage. Let them bear the punishment they deserve, but let the prince and the nobles be held guiltless. In proof of his innocence, the prince is ready to abide by the terms of the treaty and, if permitted, to transfer the city with the citadel into the hands of the emperor."

By this plea and others of similar import, the emperor was induced to change the feeling of intense indignation, which was due to suspicion alone, for one of a kindlier nature. He sent for the prince and also the count and the nobles and directed that they approach his presence in a friendly way. Thus the cloud of anger which had separated them was dispersed; the emperor graciously received their salutations and in return extended a kindly greeting.

At length he informed them that urgent reasons compelled him to return home. On taking leave, he solemnly promised that, with the help of God, he would return with a strong force and would carry out the agreement which he had made. He then led his entire army into Cilicia.\(^8\) Thence, when his business in that country and in Syria was finished, he made ready his forces for the march and returned to his own land.

6. The king of Jerusalem lays siege to a fortress beyond the Jordan and takes it by force. Our army suffers a deplorable defeat at Tekoah. Eudes de Montfaucon falls at that place.

In the following summer, not long after these events had happened at Antioch, Thierry, count of Flanders, a great and distinguished man among the princes of the West and a son-in-law of the lord king,\(^9\) came on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, with a noble retinue.

The king and the people as a whole received him with the utmost joy. By the advice of the patriarch and other princes of the realm, it

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\(^8\) The acquisition of Cilicia and the capture of Leo and other leaders of the Armenian state were the most tangible results of John's campaign during these two years.

\(^9\) Thierry of Alsace profited from the misfortunes of William Clito, son of Robert Curthose. He obtained Flanders and Sibylla, the daughter of Fulk, both formerly in Clito's possession. This, the first of his journeys to the Holy Land, was made in 1139.
was unanimously decided, with the help of the splendid force of valiant knights who accompanied him, to besiege a certain stronghold on the other side of Jordan, near Mt. Galaad, in the territory of the Ammonites. This fortress was a great menace to our lands. It was a cavern, on the slope of a very high mountain, the approach to which was practically inaccessible. Above it towered a mighty precipice which reached from the top of the promontory to the depths of the adjacent valley. On one side, a narrow and dangerous path between a high projecting cliff and the precipice just described led to the same cave.

In this cave a band of wicked robbers and bandits from the lands of Moab, Ammon, and Galaad had established themselves; and from this base, as opportunity offered, they were in the habit of making frequent and unexpected forays upon our lands. These raids were often attended with great danger to us. Full information of the conditions prevailing in Christian territory was supplied to the bandits by scouts well acquainted with the region who were sent out before each attack. Our leaders were exceedingly anxious to remove these evils, and accordingly, as we have said, they proposed to besiege the cave. They summoned all the people from that locality and, accompanied by military forces, crossed the Jordan. On reaching their destination, they seized the approach, as far as the inequalities of the country and the narrow defiles permitted, and located their camp there. Then the forces were stationed in a circle around and the place besieged. In accordance with the laws of warfare, they proceeded to harass the enemy in every way and to hem them in as closely as possible, in order to force them to surrender. The robbers, on their part, with all the cunning that ever attends on misfortune, vigilantly prepared to defend themselves.

Thus almost the entire Christian army was as with one mind valiantly engaged upon this siege. Meanwhile, certain Turks had perceived that all the region across the Jordan had been stripped of soldiers and thus lay exposed to hostile attacks. Accordingly, they seized the opportunity offered at this time and crossed the Jordan. Leaving the land of Jericho on the right, they proceeded along beside the lake of Asphalt, which is also called the Dead sea, and from there advancing to the mountainous country, they fell upon that part of the province which in olden times belonged by lot to the tribe of Judah. They took possession by force of Tekoah, the city of the prophets Amos and Habakkuk, and killed the few people who still remained there. They
found it almost denuded of inhabitants for, warned betimes of the
every’s approach, all had departed and, with their wives and chil-
dren, their herds and flocks, had fled to the neighboring cave of
Odolla. Consequently, as the village was empty, the invaders entered
the houses of the fugitives and carried off whatever had been left.

Now it happened that in those days there had come to Jerusalem
from Antioch Robert, surnamed the Burgundian, of pious memory
in the Lord. He was a distinguished knight, valiant in arms, noble both
according to the flesh and by nature, an Aquitanian by birth and master
of the Knights of the Temple. Accompanied by some of his brethren
and by a few knights of various ranks who had remained at Jerusalem,
he immediately made all speed to the place just mentioned. At their
head marched Bernard Vacher, one of the king’s household, bearing
the royal standard, and all the people followed.

But as soon as the Turks learned that the Christians were on the way,
they left Hebehis, the home of the prophet Joel, and fled toward
Hebron, the burial place of the patriarchs. From there they intended
to descend into the plain and proceed toward Ascalon. The Christians,
however, although they knew that the foe was in full retreat, did not
follow in close pursuit, as if confident of victory. On the contrary, they
scattered recklessly in different directions, more intent on plunder than
on destroying the enemy. The Turks, although already in flight, soon
perceived this. With renewed courage, they again massed in their usual
fashion and as far as possible strove to rally their scattered forces. Full
of confidence, they fell unexpectedly upon the bands of Christians, who
were roving hither and yon without thought of danger, and wrought
great destruction with the sword. Nevertheless, a few of our people
made an effort to resist. They gathered together and engaged in battle.

Meanwhile, the shrill sound of trumpets and horns, the champing
of horses, the flash of glittering armor, the voices of the leaders cheer-
ing on their men, together with the clouds of dust raised by the horses’
hoofs, carried the alarm to the scattered forces of the Christians. They
hastened to the place of combat. But before they could join their com-
rades who were trying to make a resistance, our first ranks gave way
and fled. The enemy had showed their superiority, and our people were
vạnquished.

Closely pursued by the enemy with arrows and drawn swords, the
Christians tried to flee. But escape was practically impossible, because
the place was rough with rocks and almost pathless. Some perished by the sword, and others were hurled headlong from precipices. From Hebron, which is Kirjath-Arba, even to the boundaries of Tekoah the Turks pursued and wrought terrible massacre upon the Christians. Many noble and famous men fell on that day. Among others who perished was the illustrious Knight Templar, Eudes de Montfaucon. His death caused universal sorrow and mourning.

The victorious enemy returned in triumph to Ascalon, rejoicing over the destruction of the Christians and the spoils which they carried with them.

When our people who were engaged in the siege [at Mt. Galaad] learned of the disaster which had befallen us, they were filled with consternation. A realization of the fact, however, that by the law of war victory falls now to one side and now to the other comforted them, and they continued their work with renewed vigor. Within a short time, by the will of God, they took that stronghold and returned home covered with glory.

7. Zangi causes the kingdom of Damascus much uneasiness. The Damascenes appeal to the Christians for aid. They obtain it under certain conditions. Zangi returns to his own land.

While these events were taking place in the land of Jerusalem, Zangi, mightily puffed up by his successes, like an ever-restless worm, dared to aspire to conquer the [Saracen] kingdom of Damascus. Word was brought to Ainardus [Anar], the governor of that country, who was likewise the chief of the army and the father-in-law of the king, that Zangi had entered his territory with a hostile army.\(^1\) The governor at once dispatched envoys to the king of Jerusalem. Most earnestly he begged in conciliatory words that he and the Christian people would lend their aid and counsel against a cruel enemy, equally dangerous to both kingdoms. Lest he might seem to be boldly soliciting free aid from the king and his nobles, with little hope of return, he promised to pay twenty thousand pieces of gold per month for the necessary expenses of the enterprise. The treaty also included the provision that as

\(^1\) Anar, or Mu'in al-Din, who had distinguished himself by holding Hims against Zangi in 1137, was a mamluk of Tughtigin and became the actual, if not nominal, ruler of Damascus in 1139.
soon as the enemy had been driven from Damascus the city of Banyas, which had been wrested from us a few years before, should be restored without contest. Moreover, as a guarantee that the articles of the treaty would be carried out, he promised to give as hostages sons of nobles, in number as agreed upon.

After listening to these proposals, the king called together all the nobles of the realm, laid before them carefully all the provisions and details of the treaty offered by the deputies, and asked their advice as to the response. For a long time they deliberated, and finally, after mature consideration and a careful interchange of opinions over each detail, it was resolved to lend assistance to Anar and the Damascenes against this most cruel enemy, a menace to both kingdoms.

It was thought best that this assistance be given freely, "lest the enemy, rendered more powerful because of our inactivity, should gain that kingdom and use its power thus increased against us." Additional circumstances rendered the cause very popular; the most potent reason and the one which lent universal favor to the proposition was the fact that at the end of the treaty was added the clause about the city of Banyas.

8. With the help of the Damascenes, the city of Banyas is besieged.

Thus the general plan was approved. As soon as the hostages mentioned above had been received and placed in security, large forces of cavalry and infantry from all over the realm were ordered to assemble at once at Tiberias. Meanwhile, Zangi, in his superabundant valor, had invaded the land of Damascus with immense forces of cavalry. Leaving the city behind him, he had already advanced as far as a place called Rasaline. There he had established himself and his legions temporarily, for the advance of the Christians caused him some hesitancy. Unless our forces hindered his plans, however, he felt confident that he could easily attain his desired end.

News that Zangi had halted at the place mentioned above reached the Christians; also that the Damascenes had marched out from the city and were awaiting the arrival of the king and his troops at Nuara. Accordingly, they broke camp and, with standards raised, hastened as with one mind to the aforesaid place. But as soon as Zangi was informed of this movement, he hastily withdrew, for he was ever on the
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alert and had no mind to come into conflict with two armies at the same time on hostile soil. Accordingly, before the Christians could unite with the Damascenes he left his position and hastily retreated. Leaving our forces and those of the Damascenes on the left, he proceeded by forced marches to the region commonly known as the valley of Baccar.

Our troops, nevertheless, continued on to the appointed place, where they united with the Damascenes. There they learned definitely that Zangi had departed. Accordingly, by unanimous consent, the course of the entire army was turned toward Banyas, as agreed upon in the treaty. We have already mentioned that a few years before this, Tughtigin, king of Damascus, had taken this city by force of arms.\(^{11}\) Afterwards, however, the magistrate to whom he had entrusted it had deserted the Damascenes and gone over to their enemy, Zangi. This was the reason our allies were making such strenuous efforts to bring it under the power of the king of Jerusalem. They preferred that it should be restored to the Christians, whose favor they enjoyed, rather than see it held by an enemy whom they greatly feared and distrusted; for from it as from a near vantage point he could do them much injury and cause them even greater trouble.

9. *The prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli also come to help in the siege. The city is closely blockaded.*

Banyas is the city which is commonly called Belinas and which, before the children of Israel entered the Promised Land, was known as Leshem. Afterwards, the sons of Dan received this as their allotment and called it Leshem Dan, as may be read in Joshua, where it is written: “therefore the children of Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father.”\(^{12}\)

Later this city was called Caesarea Philippi, because Philip the Tetrarch, son of the elder Herod, enlarged it in honor of Tiberius Caesar and made it famous with marvellous buildings. Thus it owed one appellation to the name of Caesar and the other to that of the man who enlarged it.

Toward this city the allied armies directed their course. They reached there May 1, and at once blockaded it on all sides. Anar and

\(^{11}\) See Book XIV, chaps. 17, 19, and notes 18, 45.  
\(^{12}\) Jos. 19:47.
his forces took up a position on the east, between the city and the woods, in a place called Cohagar. The forces of the king were stationed on the west toward the open fields. The position of the troops thus encircling the city prevented all approach to those shut up within and removed any opportunity of entrance or exit. It was moreover deemed wise—and the action was sanctioned by common consent—to dispatch messengers to Raymond, prince of Antioch, and to the count of Tripoli to invite them to participate in the siege already begun. This was immediately done.

Meanwhile, the Christians, with the help of their equally zealous allies, the Turks, ever ready for the daily conflict, continued to press on the siege without intermission. From the hurling engines called petrarias they threw huge stones of great weight, which shook the walls and demolished the buildings within the city itself. Showers of arrows and darts also rained like hail upon the harassed townspeople, so that it was impossible to find any place of security within the walls. Even the defenders, though protected by wall and ramparts, as they hurled stones or drew their bows scarcely ventured to look upon the assailants without.

Then might have been witnessed a strange and novel sight: a hostile people encouraging an enemy to the fiercest warfare and, as an ally, actually in arms for the destruction of a common foe. Nor could it be readily discerned which of the allied armies battled the more valiantly against the common adversary or urged on the attack the more bitterly or persevered the longer in the burden of battle. Christians and Damascenes were equal in courage and united in purpose. Although in training and in the practice of arms they were indeed unlike, yet in the desire to inflict injury upon the enemy one race did not yield to the other.13

The besieged, although wearied to the point of exhaustion by the ceaseless attacks and by the burden of vigils and excessive toil, still kept up a vigorous resistance. As far as their strength permitted, they made every effort to defend their wives and children and, above all, their liberty. The pressure of misfortune made them more ingenious, and every possible mode of resistance was tried. This continued for some time. It finally became evident to the Christians that no advantage

13 William apparently found it not too difficult to approve of an alliance with Muslims against other Muslims.
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could be gained unless they could build a wooden tower, move it close to the walls, and wage war upon the besieged from above. But in all that region no suitable material for such a purpose was to be found. Anar therefore dispatched men to Damascus for tall beams of great size which long ago had been set aside especially for such a purpose. He bade them use all possible speed to accomplish their errand and return.

10. The prince and the count arrive. A storming engine is erected. The citizens, in the hope of aid, stoutly defend themselves.

Meanwhile, the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli, who had been summoned by our deputies, arrived. They brought, as had been hoped, a large number of strong fighters, with whom they joined our camp. Their coming doubled the distress of the besieged, and they seemed to lose all hope of resistance. The newcomers were anxious to test out their strength, in eager emulation of one another. Longing for praise and glory, they formed their men into separate companies and vigorously attacked the city. As a result, the terror of the besieged increased, and lack of confidence in their own forces fell upon them. The allied forces, on the other hand, grew more certain of victory, their courage increased, and ennui diminished as day after day found them stronger for assault.

While these events were happening before Banyas, the messengers sent to Damascus returned without delay. They brought with them immense beams of the necessary size and strength. These were quickly dressed by the carpenters and workmen and put together solidly with iron nails. Soon an engine of great height towered aloft, from whose top the entire city could be surveyed. From this vantage point, arrows and missiles of every sort could be sent, while great stones hurled by hand would also help to keep the defenders back. As soon as the engine was ready, the ground between it and the walls was levelled off, and the machine was attached to the ramparts. There, as it looked down upon the whole city, it seemed as if a tower had been suddenly erected in the very midst of the place.

Now for the first time the situation of the besieged became intolerable; they were driven to the last extremity, for it was impossible to devise any remedy against the downpour of stones and missiles which
fell without intermission from the movable tower. Moreover, there was no safe place within the city for the sick and wounded, or where those who, still strong and vigorous, were sacrificing themselves in defense of the others might withdraw to rest after their labors.

In addition, they were now debarred from passing back and forth about the ramparts and could not without peril of death carry aid to their comrades who were falling. For the weapons and modes of assault used by those fighting below could be considered little or nothing in comparison with the manifold dangers to which they were exposed from the fighters in the tower. In fact, it seemed to be rather a war with gods than with men. Zangi had promised faithfully to come to their aid, and at first and even up to that very moment they had cherished the belief that he would do so. Now, however, in the imminent danger all hope of relief or chance of defense had apparently departed.

II. A legate of the church of Rome lands; he proceeds to the siege. The city is taken and a bishop is ordained there. All the princes repair to Jerusalem.

During the progress of this campaign, a legate from the church of Rome arrived at Sidon. Albericus, bishop of Ostia, was a Frenchman by birth, from the bishopric of Beauvais. He had been sent on a special mission to investigate the trouble which had arisen in the church at Antioch between the lord patriarch and his canons. A short time before this, Peter, archbishop of Lyons, a man of revered life, had come to Syria in the capacity of envoy on this same matter. But he was stricken by death and did not accomplish the mission entrusted to him. Hence Albericus was appointed in place of the venerable archbishop just named to bring the controversy to a fitting end, as will be related further on. When Bishop Albericus learned that the entire Christian army was still engaged in the siege of Banyas and that William, patriarch of Jerusalem, Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, and other princes of the realm were there, he hurried thither as rapidly as possible. Although the Christians had not faltered in their undertaking but were, on the contrary, zealously carrying it on, yet the support of this wise man and the sanction of apostolic authority spurred them on. His words of exhortation gave them added stimulus and fired them with desire to attack the city still more vigorously.

Meanwhile, those who had been detailed for work at the machines
continued to press the besiegèd mercilessly and without ceasing. No opportunity for rest was given, and to their condition of chronic fatigue was added ever-increasing panic and apprehension of danger. Their number too was constantly decreasing; for some had fallen by the sword, and others had suffered fatal wounds. Still others gave way through utter exhaustion, so that the defenders could not continue to ward off attacks as they had been doing.

Anar, the governor of Damascus and the commander in chief of the army, was a man of keen insight who loyally adhered to the strict terms of the covenant which he had made with us. He realized the plight of the enemy; he knew also "that misfortune ever inclines one to lend a listening ear and that cumulative misery is wont to drive its victims to accept even the hardest terms." Accordingly, he put the saying literally to the test. He secretly sent some of his own followers to invite the people to surrender, that they might save their lives. At first they shrank from the idea with abhorrence and pretended that they could hold out for some time longer, as if they still had hope of further resistance. Nevertheless, in the end, they thankfully embraced the proffered terms with much avidity. Their ruler, however, a powerful nobleman whom they themselves call the amir, fearing that he might come to want, added a provision to the terms offered. In consideration of the surrender of the city, he asked that he be given some compensation therefor, the amount to be determined through the good offices of some just man. For it seemed shameful and disgraceful that a noble lord, the former ruler of a great city, should be driven from his hereditary possessions and compelled to beg. This petition seemed fairly just and reasonable to Anar. He therefore guaranteed that the request should be granted, for he was absolutely determined to bring the city into our power as soon as possible. The provision was as follows: an annual revenue, in amount as agreed upon between them, was to be assigned to the amir, payable from the proceeds of the baths and orchards; free permission to depart with all their goods should also be obtained for those citizens who wished it. To those who preferred to remain there or upon their estates, whether in the city or in the country, either permanently or temporarily, rather than to go elsewhere, he promised tranquil possession under good conditions, when assurance of fealty should be given.

The king and all the rest of the Christians received this arrangement
with favor, and all the citizens prepared to surrender the place without delay. Then Anar, perceiving that the negotiations had arrived at the desired point of harmony and that the matter was settled in every detail, placed the facts in a friendly way before the king, the patriarch, the prince, and the count. He carefully explained all details of the secret negotiations which he had conducted and urged them with all the eloquence in his power to agree to the treaty. Out of respect for the wisdom and sincere fidelity of the man, they approved the terms, gave their assent, and promised that in all good faith they would act in every respect according to the arrangements which he had made.

Upon the surrender of the city, therefore, the townspeople with their wives and children and all their belongings were permitted to leave without hindrance. Accordingly they departed to the place which they had chosen.\footnote{The siege had lasted nearly a month, May 20 to June 12, 1140. The town was surrendered to Anar, who in turn gave it to the Christians according to promise (Gibb, \textit{Chronicle}, pp. 259–61).}

As soon as the city came into their power, the Christians, at the suggestion of the patriarch and with the consent and approval of Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, under whose jurisdiction the church at Banyas certainly belonged by his right as metropolitan, chose as bishop of that place Adam, archdeacon of Acre. To him was committed the spiritual care of the faithful who desired to remain there. The temporal jurisdiction, however, was restored to Renier, surnamed Brus, from whom, a few years before, it had been wrested by force.

The king, accompanied by the prince of Antioch, the patriarch, and the papal legate, then hastened to Jerusalem to render thanks and solemn sacrifices to God. The prince tarried there for some days to make the customary prayers and then returned to Antioch. Before his departure, he endeavored to ascertain the legate’s intentions concerning the patriarch of his own city. He assured him that he might have full confidence of his own support and begged him to come to Antioch without delay. For the legate, as has been said, had been sent to investigate certain charges made against the patriarch by some of the canons of his own church and to bring the matter to a proper conclusion.

It is now time to explain what has already been said about this patriarch. That this may be more readily understood, it is necessary to go back somewhat earlier in the story.
12. The prince of Antioch conspires with the adversaries of the patriarch of that city. The patriarch departs for Rome. He is taken prisoner by Roger, duke of Apulia. A reconciliation is eventually brought about between them. The patriarch finally reaches Rome.

When Lord Raymond first came to Antioch and, indeed, even before he married his destined bride, in order that he might more easily gain his desired end he took an oath of fealty to Ralph, who at that time presided over the church at Antioch. He promised on his honor, according to the formula of showing allegiance, that “from that day forth he would do nothing either in thought or deed, by which the patriarch might lose honor, life, or limb or be held in vile captivity.” He did not abide by this oath, however, even for a short time. On the contrary, as soon as, through the interest and efforts of the patriarch, he had won his wife and obtained control of the entire country, he allied himself with the latter’s opponents and, contrary to the allegiance which he had sworn, lent them aid and counsel to the detriment of the patriarch.

With the assistance of such a powerful coadjutor, the patriarch’s enemies continued their hostile designs with even more boldness and went to Rome. His adversaries were Lambert, an archdeacon of that same church, a man of honorable character, well lettered but with little or no experience in secular affairs, and one Arnulf, a learned man of noble rank, well versed in worldly matters, by birth a Calabrian. With the consent and approval of the prince, these two men set out for Rome to appeal to the pope. The patriarch, although much against his will, was constrained by the prince to go there also.

Matters were so arranged that Arnulf went on ahead and proceeded by a shorter route to Sicily. There he associated himself with his friends and relatives, for he was a native of Calabria, where he later became bishop of Cosenza (for, as we have said, he was a man of very high rank). He went to Roger, duke of Apulia, to whom he was well known and said, “Illustrious prince, your mortal enemy, who has deprived you and your heirs forever of Antioch and, in defiance of law, has raised over it an unknown man, is given into your hand as you

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15 Roger II had been crowned king of Sicily by Pope Anacletus II in 1130. His title was recognized by Pope Innocent II at the peace of Mignano, July 25, 1139. For what reasons William here prefers the title of duke of Apulia is not clear.
desired, and that without cost. Behold the Lord has delivered the patriarch of Antioch to you, and his numerous sins have brought him here. Rouse yourself, then; consider how you may best capture him; for assuredly, through him, the way may again be opened for you to succeed to your rightful and legitimate heritage of which you have been unjustly deprived by this man.”

Influenced by these words, the duke of Apulia, a shrewd and wily man, at once ordered secret pitfalls to be carefully laid in all the coast cities so that the patriarch, on his arrival, might be seized, cast into chains, and sent immediately to Sicily. Accordingly, when Ralph, apprehending nothing of the sort, landed at Brindisi after a prosperous voyage, the directions of the duke were carried out. All the effects which he, as a powerful prince, had brought with him were seized, his retinue was dispersed, and he himself was bound and handed over to that same Arnulf to be dragged to Sicily and conducted before the duke. Thus for the first time Arnulf had the opportunity to indulge his rage freely against Ralph, his wicked persecutor, and to take a double revenge for all the evils which he had suffered at his hands.

The patriarch was finally brought before the duke. Friendly colloquies took place between the two. Ralph was a discreet man of fine appearance and possessed an eloquent tongue. He finally recovered, although under certain conditions, all that he had lost. His retinue was also restored to him. On his part, he promised that on his return he would revisit the duke. He was then dismissed with all honor and continued on his journey to Rome.

On arriving there, he had difficulty at first in obtaining an audience with the pope. He was regarded as a persecutor of the church, one who desired to lessen the preëminence of the apostolic see and infringe upon its prerogatives by setting up a rival chair and claiming that it was equal to that of Rome. Consequently, as guilty of lèse majesté, he was refused entrance to the holy palace and audience with the pope.

13. He is accused by his enemies, but finally returns to his own land in full favor.

The pope and the entire church were much inclined to take advantage of any honorable opportunity to make matters difficult for the patriarch, while they showed the utmost favor toward his adversaries. They regarded him in fact with suspicion, because he was a rich and mag-
nificent man and refused to acknowledge that the see which he held, that is, Antioch, was subject to the church of Rome. He contended, on the contrary, that it was equal in all respects to that of Rome. "Each," he said, "was the church of Peter, but that of Antioch was, as it were, distinguished by the prerogative of the first born." Hence they strove in many ways to annoy him.\textsuperscript{10}

Finally, certain mediators, friendly to both, interceded for him and opened the way. Through their kind offices, he was admitted to the presence of the pope, surrounded by his court in solemn assembly. Great magnificence attended his reception. After he had appeared several times in the consistory, his adversaries seized their opportunity and publicly accused him. The charges were presented and preparations made with all the solemnity of the law to proceed to the trial.

But it was well known to the entire court that the accusers were not sufficiently prepared so as to be able fully to convince the pope and his coadjutors with regard to the charges. It was suggested, therefore, that both parties rest, until the pope on his own part could send someone to Antioch, there to obtain witnesses and proofs whereby the full facts of the case might be ascertained. Meanwhile, the patriarch resigned the pallium which on his own authority he had assumed from the altar of the church at Antioch, in despite, as it was claimed, of the apostolic see, and gave it to the cardinals. Thereupon another, taken from the body of the blessed Peter, was conferred upon him in the customary manner by the prior of the deacons.

The patriarch remained for a while at Rome, as long as his affairs seemed to demand. He then took leave, in full favor and safe as far as the case was concerned, and returned to Sicily. Duke Roger received him with honor, and frequent colloquies and intimate discussion over many necessary matters took place between the two. Then the duke furnished him with a number of galleys sufficient for the voyage, and, attended by favoring winds, he set sail for Syria. He landed at the place commonly called the Port of St. Simeon, about ten miles more or less from Antioch, at the mouth of the Orontes river, which flows by that city.

\textsuperscript{10} This uncertainty of the papal court about the obedience of the Latin patriarchs in the East must be reckoned as a factor in papal policy toward the Latin churches of Syria. Doubtless it led the popes more readily to exempt ecclesiastical establishments in the Holy Land from local patriarchal jurisdiction than might otherwise have been done.
14. At the instigation of the prince, his clergy refuse to receive him on his return. He withdraws into the land of the count of Edessa. He is finally reconciled to the prince and returns to Antioch.

As soon as the lord patriarch arrived at Coelesyria, as has been related, and thus was near his own city, he wrote to his church desiring that upon a stated day he should be met by a solemn procession at a designated place outside the city. His people were well aware, however, that the prince was pursuing him with inexorable hatred, in defiance of the oath of fealty which he had taken. Accordingly, with a view to the prince's favor, they flatly refused his request or to obey their patriarch at all. In fact, owing to the violence of the prince, they even forbade him to enter the city. When he perceived the wickedness of his clergy and the aversion in which he was held by those from whom he had deserved far different treatment and also the obstinate anger of the prince, he withdrew into the hill country near the city, known commonly as the Black mountains. There he remained for a while, in the monasteries with which the place abounds. It was his hope that, when the rancor of the prince and his own clergy had abated and kindlier feelings prevailed, he might be called back to the city.

But the prince continued to display his animosity even more openly than before. For Arnulf had sent him news from Sicily which strengthened his hatred and gave it still more impetus. He wrote that the patriarch had concluded a secret alliance against the prince with Duke Roger, his rival, and in proof of this he alleged that the duke had loaded the patriarch with gifts and honor on his return through Sicily. He had also provided the galleys necessary for the voyage. All these circumstances naturally tended to convince the prince that this information was true.

While the patriarch was staying in the places just mentioned, special messengers came to him from Joscelin the Younger, count of Edessa. Influenced by hatred of the prince and by good will toward the patriarch, the count sent an urgent invitation that he come with all his reti-
nue to make him a visit. He might feel perfect confidence and security in doing this, for the bishops of that land, namely, the archbishops of Edessa, Coritium, and Hierapolis, favored the cause of the patriarch and venerated him devoutly as their lord and father. The patriarch was delighted at the invitation. He proceeded thither and was received with high honor by all the prelates of that land. The count also carried out his promise and gladly welcomed his coming in a kindly and devout spirit.

Through the mediation of common friends, the prince at last restored him to favor. It was merely by the lips, however, and not from the heart, for it is said that he was led to do so by a monetary consideration. Hiding ulterior motives under conciliatory words, he sent by envoys a friendly invitation to the patriarch to return to the city and to resume his office.

On receiving this message, the patriarch made preparations to return at once. With him he took the bishops of that land, whose much-needed devotion to him in his adversity he had tested by sure proofs, and repaired to Antioch. He was met on his arrival not only by the entire body of clergy and people but by the prince himself with a large following of knights. Then, to the accompaniment of hymns and spiritual songs, he was solemnly conducted in his pontifical robes into the city, then to the great church, and thence to his own palace.

15. The archbishop of Lyons, papal legate, dies at Acre. Albericus, bishop of Ostia, is dispatched thither. A synod is called at Antioch.

Meanwhile, Peter, archbishop of Lyons, arrived in Syria and landed at Acre. He had been sent by Pope Innocent as legate of the church of Rome, to bring the patriarch’s case to a proper conclusion. He was a Burgundian by birth, a man of devout life, simple and God-fearing, but he was already well advanced in years and beginning to be an old man.

As soon as he arrived in Syria, he repaired to Jerusalem for the sake of prayer. Then, in response to the urgent plea of Lambert and Arnulf that he would hasten to Antioch to end the case, he left there and returned by the shortest route to Acre. Before he could proceed farther, however, he was taken dangerously ill. He sank rapidly and died. It was rumored that his death was brought about by poison administered
in his drink. Thus the patriarch’s enemies, who had hurried to Antioch, found themselves disappointed and utterly deprived of the aid which they had anticipated from the coming of the legate. Exhausted by the fatigue of their journey and the hardships which they had so long endured, they supplicated for peace through mediators whom they judged well fitted for that office. They professed themselves ready to retract their accusations and to show fealty and begged that their benefits be restored. Lambert was given back his office of arch-deacon, but Arnulf found no mercy. Accordingly, relying upon the aid of the prince, with his usual courage he prepared to undertake again the hardships of a journey. He proceeded to Rome and, in season and out of season, renewed his accusations. At length, through his bold persistence, he obtained the concession that the legate about whom we are now speaking should be sent to Syria. He reached Jerusalem, as we have related, and, after completing his prayers, summoned the patriarch and all the bishops of the land to a synod to be held at Antioch on December 1. Thither he himself repaired with all haste.

16. The patriarch is accused in the assembly of bishops. He is summoned but delays coming. Serlo, archbishop of Apamea, takes his part and is deposed.

On the day appointed, there assembled from the diocese of Jerusalem William, the patriarch, Gaudentius, archbishop of Caesarea, and Anselm, bishop of Bethlehem. Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, devoutly loyal to the church of Rome, was also present. On the latter, the legate placed his entire hope of successfully accomplishing his mission, for he was a magnanimous man and very discreet. Fulcher brought with him two of his suffragan bishops, Bernard of Sidon and Baldwin of Beirut. All the prelates from the province of Antioch were in attendance, for it was near by, but their sentiments were varied and not at all

18 This was a favorite explanation of the death of an important principal in controversies, particularly in the Mediterranean world. Modern medicine might diagnose many such deaths as due to typhoid fever or other abdominal diseases with acute symptoms. Doubtless, however, there were enough cases of actual poisoning to lend plausibility to the more common rumors. His death is dated May 28, 1139 (see R. Röhricht, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100-1291, p. 223).

19 The actions of this council, dated November 29 to December 2, 1139, are recorded by Mansi (see J. D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, XXI, 503-506, 577-80). The papacy must have acted quickly upon the news of the death of the legate, Peter, archbishop of Lyons.
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in accord. Stephen, archbishop of Tarsus, Gerard, bishop of Laodicea, and Hugh, bishop of Jabala, favored the cause of the canons against the lord patriarch; but Franco of Hierapolis and Gerard of Corice with Serlo of Apamea openly offered their protection to him as patriarch. The latter had been against him in the beginning but had later come over to his side. Others quite plainly inclined toward neutrality.

On the day appointed, archbishops, bishops, and abbots in full pontifical state assembled, according to custom, in the church of the Prince of the Apostles. The pope’s envoy presided as representative of the pope, and the papal mandate was publicly read. Then, when the contents had been carefully perused and fully understood, the accusers, Arnulf and Lambert the archdeacon, came forward openly. The latter, although he had formerly very shrewdly become reconciled to the patriarch and thus obtained the restoration of his benefice, nevertheless now “bent like a bow” and a second time presented himself as accuser. Many others joined them, for it was apparent that conditions were not favorable for the patriarch. Here was shown the truth of that saying of Ovid, now a proverb:

As long as you are prosperous, you will have many friends;
If the weather becomes cloudy, you will find yourself alone.\(^{20}\)

The accusers entered the public hall and announced that, the documents of accusation having been presented, they were ready to proceed to the accusation according to the rules of law. If defeated, they were prepared to suffer the penalty. The charges on which they proposed to indict the patriarch were written on small sheets of paper. Some had reference to his installation, which was irregular and contrary to discipline and the rules of the holy fathers. Others concerned his sins of incontinence and simony. Since the accusers insisted that he should appear in person, messengers were sent to summon him formally before the synod and to warn him to come prepared to answer the charges preferred against him. However, he utterly refused to come.

Accordingly, nothing was accomplished that day except that there was general conversation and mutual exhortation, as is usual in such gatherings. On the second day they again assembled and took their places in order. Again the patriarch was formally summoned by an edict of citation. As on the day previous, he absolutely declined to appear.

\(^{20}\) Ovid Tristia i. viii. 6.
During this time Serlo, archbishop of Apamea, sat in the assembly of bishops without a wedding garment (for he was not apparelled in his pontifical robes, like the other bishops). When asked by the lord legate why he was not in accord with the other brethren and why he did not proceed to the accusation as he had done before, he answered, "My former action, in disparagement of my father, like that of the accursed Ham who disclosed the shame of his father, was taken in a moment of ill-advised ardor, to the loss of my soul's salvation. But now, God helping me, I renounce the error of my ways and will attempt neither to accuse him nor to judge him presumptuously. On the contrary, I stand ready to fight for his safety and welfare, even unto death."

Thereupon he was ordered to depart at once. Sentence of degradation and excommunication was pronounced against him, whether justly or otherwise, and he was deposed from all priestly and pontifical office. Intense fear of the prince had fallen upon everyone, so that even the impartiality of the legate was affected and no opportunity of speaking in opposition was now given. The prince, who was far from wise or discreet, was urged on to this extreme by a certain Peter Armoin, custodian of the city's citadel. This man, wicked beyond measure, hoped that if the patriarch were deposed the prince might be induced to raise to that dignity Peter Aimer, a nephew of his own, a man whom the patriarch, to his own destruction, had made a deacon of that same church. The result proved to be as he had hoped.

Whether or not his deposition was real or even legal, Serlo at once left Antioch and set out for his own diocese. When he reached the castle of Harim, burdened with heavy cares, he fell ill and took to his bed. There, unable to endure his great wrongs, he turned his face to the wall and expired.

17. The patriarch is deposed in his absence for insubordination. He is thrown into prison and shamefully treated. Again he repairs to Rome and obtains partial favor. On his way home, however, he dies by poison.

On the third day the assembly again convened. When the prelates had taken their seats, messengers were a third time dispatched to summon the patriarch by a peremptory edict to come and answer to the charges. Again, as before, he utterly refused to obey. Whether he was
led to this course by the stings of conscience or because, fully aware that the entire synod was unanimous in their hostile attitude toward him, he feared the violence of the prince we have not been able to learn with certainty. He remained, however, with his household in his own palace, which was thronged with an immense crowd of knights and common people. For the whole city had flocked to his aid and, if they had not feared the power of the prince, would have been ready to drive the legate ignominiously from the city with all those who had consented to the deposition of the patriarch.

The legate perceived that the patriarch would not come to him. Accordingly, relying upon the powerful protection of the prince, he went himself to the palace. There he pronounced the sentence of deposition upon the patriarch and compelled him by force to give up the ring and the crozier. He then ordered him to be delivered to the prince. Shamefully bound and treated ignominiously like a man of blood, the prelate was sent away to a prison in the monastery of St. Simeon, situated upon a lofty mountain near the sea.

This same Lord Ralph, whom I myself saw in my youth, was a tall and handsome man, slightly cross-eyed, but not to such an extent that he was uncomely. Although but little learned, he was a very fluent speaker, graceful and agreeable in conversation. His generous disposition had won him much favor, not only with the knights but also with the common people. He was, however, very forgetful of his promises and agreements. Changeable and inconstant in his words, subtle and devious in all his ways, he was yet provident and discreet. In one respect alone he showed some lack of wisdom, in that he refused to receive adversaries whom he had justly roused against him, when they wished to return into favor with him. He was called arrogant (and so indeed he was) and presumptuous beyond measure. Hence, he fell into this misfortune, which he could easily have avoided if he had conducted himself somewhat more discreetly. He was taken and for a long time held prisoner in that monastery. Finally he escaped and went to Rome, where he obtained a certain degree of favor from the pope. But while he was preparing to return, he died miserably from a poi-

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21 This statement is of importance in helping to compute William's age. Where and when William saw him is difficult to determine, for it must presumably have been at Jerusalem and before the time of his imprisonment, therefore before 1140. His imprisonment must have been less than a year, for he is reported to have died in Rome in 1141.
soned draught, administered by some unknown criminal hireling. Like another Marius, he experienced fully in his own person all that fortune, whether good or bad, could do.

18. *The legate returns to Jerusalem; he holds a synod; he also dedicates the Temple of the Lord.*

When the papal envoy had deposed the patriarch and finished the mission on which he had come to Antioch, he returned to Jerusalem. There he remained until the solemnities of Easter were over. Then he took counsel with the prelates of the churches, and on the third day after Holy Easter, with the assistance of the patriarch and some of the bishops, he solemnly dedicated the Temple of the Lord.

There were present on the day of dedication many great and noble men from the parts beyond the mountains as well as from the lands on this side of the sea. Among them was Joscelin the Younger, count of Edessa, who was staying in the city with a great show of magnificence during the solemn days of Holy Easter.

When the celebration was over, the legate called together the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church and, with the patriarch, held a council in holy Sion, the primitive mother of churches. He desired to confer with them on matters which seemed especially pertinent at the moment. Maximus, the bishop of Armenia, or rather, the head over all the bishops of Cappadocia, Media, Persia, and the two Armenias, a distinguished teacher who is called the *Catholicos,* was present at this synod. The articles of faith in which his people seemed to differ from us were discussed with him, and he promised reform in many respects. As soon as this business was finished according to the usual form, the legate returned to the city of Acre and from there set sail for Rome.

The clergy of Antioch—and especially those who had conspired for the deposition of Lord Ralph—elected as patriarch a subdeacon of the same church, one Aimery. This they did at the instigation and suggestion of the prince, greatly influenced, it is said, by lavish gifts.

Aimery was an unlettered man from the province of Limousin, whose life was far from noble. The Patriarch Ralph, thinking in this way to put him under greater obligations and hence render him more

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22 The Armenians, who were usually friendly to the Latins, were on the verge of religious union with Rome on a number of occasions (see Mansi, XXI, 505-8, 583-84).
faithful to himself, had raised him to a deaconship in his church. This hope was vain, however, for from that very day Aimery is said to have allied himself with the patriarch’s enemies and, unmindful of loyalty, to have conspired for the deposition of his benefactor. In regard to the matter of his elevation, it is said that a certain Peter, surnamed Armin, castellan of the same city, brought it about by intrigues and a lavish use of gifts, for he directed the attention of both the prince and the clergy toward Aimery who was his kinsman.

19. *Again the emperor goes down into Syria. He summons the prince to carry out the covenant already initiated.*

About this time, John, emperor of Constantinople, once more recruited his forces, summoned his legions, and again directed his campaign and his armies toward Syria. Scarcely four years had elapsed since he had left Tarsus of Cilicia and all Syria, but urgent messages, oft repeated, from the prince and the people of Antioch induced him to set forth. In the greatness of his might, with horses and chariots, with untold treasure and innumerable forces, he started for the land of Antioch.

Sailing across the Bosphorus, which is the well-known boundary between Europe and Asia, he crossed the intervening provinces and arrived at Attalia, the metropolis of Pamphilia, a large city on the seacoast. While he was lingering at that place, two of his sons, Alexius, the first born, and Andronicus, his second son, fell sick of a serious illness which ended with their death. The emperor at once called to him his third son, Isaac, and sent him back to Constantinople with the bodies of his brothers so that, as humanity requires, he might cause the last reverence to be shown to the remains and commit them to the tomb as befitted imperial majesty. When the funeral rites were over, Isaac continued, by his father’s commands, to live in Constantinople until the death of the emperor.

The monarch then took his youngest son, Manuel, with him and continued his journey through Isauria into Cilicia. This country he traversed with great speed. Scarcely had the report of his advance been received before he marched with all his troops into the land of the count of Edessa and encamped without warning before Turbessel. This

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23 Only one, Alexius, died at Attalia. The other, Andronicus, died on the way back to Constantinople with the funeral cortège (see Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, II, 183).
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is a very rich fortress, twenty miles, or possibly a little more, from the Euphrates river.

As soon as he arrived, he demanded hostages from Count Joscelin the Younger. The latter was filled with wonder and amazement at the emperor's sudden arrival. At sight of the incomparable host, however, which seemingly no kingdom of the world could withstand, and also in view of the fact that he was wholly unprepared and quite unable to resist, he made a virtue of necessity and sent as hostage one of his daughters, named Isabella. The emperor's only reason for making this demand was that he might bind the count more closely to himself and render him loyal in carrying out his orders. He then led his entire army swiftly toward Antioch and on September 25 placed his camp near a certain town called Gastun.24

From there he sent messengers to the prince. In accordance with the conditions of the agreement formerly concluded between them, he demanded that the city with the citadel and all the fortifications of the town without exception be surrendered to him, that he might be able to wage war upon the neighboring cities of the enemy as from a convenient near-by base. He declared however, that he was ready, as far as lay in his power, to fulfil with a wide interpretation the terms of the written agreement and, in addition, to add good measure and overflowing, according to the nature of their deserts.

20. The citizens send envoys to the emperor repudiating the treaty and refusing him admittance to the city.

Many times ere this Raymond, prince of Antioch, had sent messengers to invite the emperor to come to Antioch.25 He now found himself in a difficult position, however, and knowing that he was bound by the terms of the treaty, he hesitated as to what he should do. Accordingly, he called together the elders and the leading men of the city and of the whole land and asked their advice as to what course should be adopted in such a dangerous crisis. After long deliberation, they unanimously agreed that it was by no means to the best interests of the land that a city so noble, so powerful, and so well fortified should be given

24 Gaston or Gastin was a fortress held by the Templars. John arrived here September 25, 1142.

25 There had been considerable correspondence between the prince of Antioch and the emperor. Recently, the advance of Zangi had led Raymond to invite and even urge the emperor to come (see Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 186-87).
over into the power of the emperor by any agreement whatsoever. The result of such action would be that through the indolence of the Greeks the city, together with the whole region, would fall into the hands of the enemy, as had happened more than once before.

Nevertheless, that the prince might not be charged, however justly, with violation of faith, they sought for a pretext under which they might veil this far from laudable act. For, on the emperor's former visit, it had been agreed between them, as has been related, that the prince should surrender the city to the monarch without difficulty. Moreover, later, Raymond had repeatedly sent messengers urging the emperor to come to Syria and had promised that he would keep good faith with him. In order to excuse their lord in some measure for this act, they resolved to send representatives to the emperor, men chosen from among the greatest nobles of the land, who, on behalf of the blessed Peter and the patriarch and all the citizens, were to forbid him to enter the city. They were instructed to say that these former acts of the prince would not be considered as in any way valid; that he had had no legal power to make covenants in that way, in the patrimony of his wife; and that she also had never had power to transfer the government to another person without the acquiescence of the citizens and lords. Nor had either of these rulers been authorized to transfer any of the land. If one or both should obstinately persist in this design, it would certainly result in their being driven from the city and their entire domain. They would be exiled from the heritage which, to the great disadvantage of their faithful subjects, they had illegally proposed to sell.26

The emperor was moved to anger at these words. Nevertheless, well knowing the hearts of the citizens and of the provincials as a whole, he commanded the army to return to Cilicia, that he might avoid the inclemency of the approaching winter in the milder temperature of the seacoast. For the air in winter is always softer on the coast, and the country is therefore better adapted to support the legions in comfort.

26 The reference to St. Peter and the patriarch suggests that the clergy played a prominent part in opposing John's entrance into Antioch. Their reason for doing so was their opposition to the reestablishment of the Greek hierarchy in the city. Raymond might treat the church problem with indifference and accede to the emperor's demand, but they refused to do so. Raymond was more or less forced to change his attitude toward the emperor (see Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 188–90).
The emperor perceived that for the present his hope of entering Antioch with his legions was wholly impossible of realization. Yet he hoped that when the winter was past and the pleasant spring weather returned he might attain at least a part of his wishes in regard to that city, even against the will of its citizens. He concealed his intention, therefore, in the depths of his heart, and, the better to disguise his real purpose, he dispatched an embassy of the highest nobility to King Fulk of Jerusalem. He announced that, if it seemed good to the Christians, he would like to come thither for the purpose of prayer and devotion; he would also gladly lend aid against the enemy in those parts. The king, however, after consulting with his advisers, sent an answer to his request by special envoys: namely, Anselm, bishop of Bethlehem; Geoffrey, abbot of the Temple of the Lord, a man skilled in the Greek language; and Rohard, the castellan of the citadel of Jerusalem. They were charged with the following message: “The kingdom is of very limited extent, nor does it afford sufficient food for so large a host. It could not sustain such an army without the risk of famine resulting from an utter dearth of the necessities of life. Nevertheless, if it pleased his imperial majesty, beloved of God, to come to the Holy City with a following of ten thousand men to visit the venerable places and to dispose all things according to his own wishes, the people would go forth to meet him with the greatest delight; they would welcome his coming with joy and exultation and would obey him as their lord and the mightiest prince in the world.”

After listening to this message the emperor withdrew his proposal. He did not regard it as befitting his imperial glory that he who was ever wont to move attended by many thousands should proceed with such a small escort. Accordingly, he dismissed the envoys with many tokens of his favor and bestowed upon them gifts with lavish generosity. He then went on to Cilicia, where he passed the winter season near Tarsus, to await the coming of spring. In his heart, however, he

27 This polite refusal of any but a pious visit from John indicated the resistance of Jerusalem to John’s plans for a general overlordship of Christian Syria, which Chalandon believes that he contemplated at this time (see Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 190-91).
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purposed that in the following summer he would accomplish in Syria
great deeds worthy of remembrance forever.

About this time a certain nobleman, Paganus by name, built a
fortress in the land of Arabia Secunda, which received the name of
Kerak. Paganus had been at one time butler to the king and later held
lands beyond the Jordan (after Romain de Puy and Ralph, his son,
for their sins had been dispossessed and alienated from them). This
place was strongly fortified both by its natural situation and by arti-
ficial means. It was situated near an ancient city, formerly called Rabba,
the metropolis of this same Arabia. It was at the siege of this place, as
we read, that by the command of David, though at the hand of Joab,
the innocent Uriah was killed. Later it was called Petra of the Desert;
whence Arabia Secunda is now called Arabia of Petra.

22. While hunting during his stay in Cilicia, the emperor is fa-
tally wounded.

The emperor of Constantinople dearly loved to hunt in the woods
and glades. In the early spring, before the season when kings ordi-
narily lead forth their armies to war, he went to the forest attended
by his usual escort assigned for the purpose. It was a custom of long
standing which served to while away the monotonous hours. With bow
in hand and quiver heavy with arrows as usual, he was pursuing the
wild beasts with his customary energy. Suddenly a wild boar which
had been started up by the dogs, infuriated by their shrill insistant
barking, rushed past the hiding place of the emperor. With marvellous
swiftness he seized an arrow, but he carelessly stretched the bow too
far and wounded himself in the bow hand with the point of the poi-
soned arrow. Thus, from so trivial a cause, he received the summons of
death. The pain of the wound soon compelled him to leave the woods
and return to the camp. Physicians were summoned in numbers. He
explained the accident to them and did not hesitate to say that he had
cause his own death. Full of solicitude for their lord’s safety, they

28 The name Paganus (Payens) occurs frequently during this period and may in-
dicate three different individuals. La Monte lists one as butler of the kingdom 1120–
1136, another as chancellor 1115–1128 (J. L. La Monte, Feudal Monarchy in the
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100–1291, pp. 256–57). There is also the Templar,
Hugh de Payens, prominent in the crusade of 1128.

29 This, one of the most famous of the crusaders’ fortresses, watched one of the
main pilgrim routes to Mecca. The incident is described in II Sa. 11: 12: 26–31.
applied remedies, but the fatal poison had already permeated his system. The means taken did not avail, and the venom continued to creep still further to the internal parts, thus effectually preventing all hope of recovery. He was advised that there was only one course which might save his life: the injured hand, in which as yet all the potent evil was concentrated, might be removed before the poison infected the rest of the body. But the emperor, a man of lofty spirit, although suffering intense agony and convinced that death was imminent, still steadfastly preserved his imperial majesty and rejected the advice. He is said to have answered, “It would be unseemly that the Roman empire should be ruled by one hand.” The army was utterly stunned and prostrated by this sinister occurrence, which was all the more appalling because there was no possibility of preventing it. The death of the great monarch caused universal grief among the legions. Anxious sorrow oppressed each heart and filled the camp with unprecedented woe.

23. The emperor proclaims his younger son emperor and expires.
The army returns home under the command of Emperor Manuel.

Meanwhile, the emperor, who was a man of keen and intelligent foresight, perceived that the day of his death was at hand. He therefore called to him his kinsmen and his relatives by marriage, many of whom always accompanied him—the chiefs of the sacred palace and the heads of the armies—and consulted with them over the matter of his successor. He was in grave doubt as to what he ought to do—whether to commit the reins of empire to his elder son Isaac, whom, as was related, he had sent back to Constantinople from Attalia with the remains of his brothers and to whom, by the law of primogeniture, the throne seemed to belong, or whether he should give the preference to the younger son, who was with him. The latter was a youth of unusual promise, who, in the estimation of all, was destined to become a great man. Another reason also caused the emperor to hesitate, for, as he remarked, “If we confer the scepter of empire upon this son, we shall seem to be acting contrary to the laws of mankind, which with justice make the elder the more important. If, on the other hand, in accordance with the usual procedure, we commit the government of the empire to Isaac there will be no one to lead safely home these armies, the strength and glory of the whole Roman empire.” It was
indeed plain that without a leader the legions could not pass through the intervening country in safety, for it was filled with enemies who would lay ambushes and summon assistance from all the country round about.

There was among the other great men of the court an illustrious prince, by name John the protosebastos. He, with those of his party, earnestly tried to secure the succession for Isaac and strove to reassure the emperor in his anxiety about the safe return of the troops. Manuel, the younger son, however, who was present on the campaign with his father, stood high in the estimation and favor of the entire army, particularly with the Latins. Some of the princes also worked diligently in every way for his interests. His father also regarded him with more affection and inclined toward him more favorably because he seemed wiser, more valiant in arms, and more affable in every way. Moreover, the responsibility of conducting the army back in safety weighed more heavily upon him.

After long deliberation, by the will of God the choice finally fell upon the younger son. Accordingly, at the command of the emperor and in his presence, imperial reverence was shown to Manuel. Then, as is the custom of that empire, he was clad in the purple hose and enthusiastically hailed as Augustus by the legions.

After Manuel had been thus raised to the supreme place of power in the empire, his distinguished father of famous memory, generous and pious, kind and merciful, yielded to fate. John was a man of medium height, with black hair and swarthy skin, and for this reason is still called the Moor. Though insignificant in appearance, he was distinguished for his lofty character and famous for his prowess in war. He died in a place called the meadow of Mantles, near Anavarza, a very ancient city, and the metropolis of Cilicia Secunda. His death occurred in the month of April, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1143, which was the twenty-seventh year of his reign and of his life the . . . .

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30 Vitae vero was never completed. William when writing these words did not know the exact age of John and left a blank, intending to fill it in later. In the haste of closing his work he either forgot this blank or had been unable to obtain the information. He is, of course, in error about the years of John's reign, 1115-1143, not quite twenty-five instead of twenty-seven years. John was born in 1088 and died in the fifty-sixth year of his life. The Greek historians are in substantial accord with William's account of John's death and the selection of Manuel as his successor (see Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 192-93).
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When the new emperor finally settled his affairs in that land, he led his armies back to Constantinople in safety. There he found that his elder brother, on the news of his father's death, had at once taken possession of the palace. Manuel therefore sent a private letter to the official who was in charge of the palace and all the treasures and ordered that his brother, who apprehended nothing of the kind, be seized at once and thrown into prison.

Later, however, after he had made his solemn entry into the city, he became reconciled to his brother through the friendly offices of kinsmen of both and of some of the nobles of the sacred palace. Thus, peacefully, Manuel obtained possession of the empire, according to the last wish of his father. As long as he lived, however, he never ceased to heap honors upon his brother as the elder and to show him abundant favor.

24. The king and the nobles of the realm build the fortress Ibelin before Ascalon.

About this time Fulk, king of Jerusalem, and the other princes of the kingdom, together with the lord patriarch and the prelates of the church felt the necessity of checking the insolent ravages of the people of Ascalon. In order to restrain them in some measure at least from overrunning the land freely, it was decided by common consent to build a fortress in the country near the city of Ramlah and not far from Lydda, which is Diospolis. There was in that locality a hill slightly raised above the plain. Here, according to tradition, there had once been a city of the Philistines called Gath. Near here, about ten miles from Ascalon, and not far from the coast, was once another city belonging to that same people called Azot.

The Christians responded as with one mind to the summons, and on the hill just mentioned, they built a fortress of very strong masonry with deep foundations and four towers. From the old buildings of which many vestiges remain to the present day, an abundant supply of stones was obtained. The wells of olden times which existed in large numbers in the vicinity of the ruined city also afforded an abundance of water, not only for use in the building operations, but also for the needs of man.

When the fortress was finished and complete in every detail, it was by common consent committed to a certain nobleman of great wisdom,
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Balian the Elder. He was the father of Hugh, Baldwin, and Balian the Younger, all of whom took the surname Ibelin from this place, which had been so called before the fortress was built there. In the guardianship of Ibelin and in the pursuit of the enemy, because of whom this castle had been built, Balian displayed great diligence. After the death of their father, his sons, noble men, valiant in arms and vigilant in every respect, maintained the same careful custody over it until the city of Ascalon was finally restored to the Christian faith.

25. By the unanimous wish of the barons, another fortress is built before Ascalon and given the name of Blanchegarde.

This experiment convinced the nobles of the realm that by establishing the two strongholds Beersheba and Ibelin they had made decided progress in checking the audacious raids of the Ascalonites. In large measure through this course the insolence of the latter had been repressed, their attacks lessened, and their projects defeated. Accordingly, in the following spring, it was resolved to build another fortress. By increasing the number of fortified places round about, they could harass the people of Ascalon by more extensive attacks and more often cause them terror, attended by sudden danger as of siege.

Eight miles from Ascalon, in that part of Judea where the mountains end and the level plain begins, near the land of the Philistines, in the tribe of Simeon, there was a place which, in comparison with the mountainous country, seemed merely a hill. In contrast to more level land, however, it might well be considered a high mountain. This place was called in the Arabic tongue Telle Saphi, which we interpret as the Clear Hill or Mount. Here the wise men of the realm resolved to plant a fortress because it was conveniently near to the other strongholds which had been built for similar purposes and also to the city. It was a site, moreover, well fortified by nature.

Accordingly, when winter was over and spring approached, the king and his nobles, together with the patriarch and the prelates of the church, well satisfied with the idea, assembled as with one accord at that place. Workmen were called, the people were furnished all necessary materials, and a stronghold of hewn stone, resting on solid foundations, was built. It was adorned with four towers of suitable height. From the top of this there was an unobstructed view as far as the
enemy's city, and it proved to be a most troublesome obstacle and a veritable source of danger to the Ascalonites when they wished to go forth to ravage the country. It was called in the vernacular Blanche-garde, which in Latin means the White Watchtower.

As soon as this fortress was completely finished in every respect, the king took it under his own protection. He furnished it with an adequate supply of food and weapons and committed it to the care of wise men who had had long experience in warfare, men whose fidelity and devotion were recognized as well proved. Often by themselves, more often in company with men at arms from the other fortresses built with similar intent, these men used to issue forth to encounter and defeat the enemy when they tried to make raids from the city. Occasionally, they even attacked the men of Ascalon on their own initiative, wrought great havoc upon them, and frequently triumphed over them.

The result was that those who dwelt in the surrounding country began to place great reliance on this castle as well as on the other strongholds, and a great many suburban places grew up around it. Numerous families established themselves there, and tillers of the fields as well. The whole district became much more secure, because the locality was occupied and a more abundant supply of food for the surrounding country was made possible.

When the people of Ascalon saw that their city was encircled by impregnable forts, they began to feel less confidence than usual in their situation. Accordingly, they dispatched messengers repeatedly to their lord, the powerful prince of Egypt, urgently warning him that since he had no more possessions in that region he should take measures to protect Ascalon, which was the bulwark of his empire.

26. The queen builds a convent at Bethany. She endows it with rich possessions and establishes her sister over it as superior.

The kingdom had at this time, through the superabundant grace of God, been reduced to a fairly satisfactory state of tranquillity. Accordingly, the Lady Melisend, that queen of pious memory, conceived the idea of founding a convent for religious women if a place suited to her wishes could be found. She desired in this way to provide for the healing of her own soul and those of her parents as also for the salvation of her husband and children. Her youngest sister Iveta had professed the religious life in the monastery of Saint Anna, the mother of the
blessed Mother of our Lord. It was consideration for this sister which led the queen to undertake this enterprise, for she felt that it was un-fitting that a king's daughter should be subject to the authority of a mother superior, like an ordinary person. Accordingly, she mentally surveyed the whole country and made a careful investigation to find a suitable place where she might found a convent. After much deliberation, she finally decided upon Bethany, the home of Mary and Martha and Lazarus their brother, whom Jesus loved—Bethany, the familiar abiding place and home of our Lord and Saviour. This village is fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, and, according to the word of the Evangel, it lies beyond the Mount of Olives, on the eastern slope of that hill. The property belonged to the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, but the queen gave to the canons Tekoah, the city of prophets, and in exchange received Bethany as her own.

Since the place lay on the edge of the desert and thus might be exposed to the attacks of the enemy, the queen at great expense caused to be built a strongly fortified tower of hewn and polished stone. This was devoted to the necessary purpose of defense, that the maidens dedicated to God might have an impregnable fortress as a protection against the enemy. When the tower was finished and a place prepared, after a fashion, for carrying on the offices of religion, she established consecrated sisters there and placed over them as mother superior a venerable woman full of years and of ripe religious experience. She endowed the church with rich estates, so that in temporal possessions it should not be inferior to any monastery, either of men or women; or rather, as it is said, that it might be richer than any other church. Among other possessions which she generously bestowed upon this venerable place was the famous city of Jericho with its dependencies, situated in the plain of Jordan and very rich in resources of every kind. She also presented to the convent a large number of sacred vessels of gold and silver adorned with gems. She likewise gave it silken stuffs for the adornment of the house of God and vestments of every description, both priestly and levitical, as ecclesiastical rules required.

On the death of the venerable woman to whom she had entrusted the charge of this convent, the queen put her original intention into effect. With the sanction of the patriarch and the willing assent of the holy nuns, she made her sister the superior of the convent. On that occasion, she made many additional gifts, such as chalices, books, and
other ornaments pertaining to the service of the church. As long as she lived she continued to enrich the place by her favor, in the interests of her own soul and that of the sister whom she so tenderly loved.

27. The king, while pursuing a hare in the plain of Acre, is thrown headlong from his horse; he dies and is buried at Jerusalem with his predecessors.

It happened in those days, when autumn was over, that the king and queen were sojourning for a time at the city of Acre. In order to vary the monotony by some agreeable recreation, the queen expressed a desire to go out of the city to a certain place in the suburbs where there were many springs. That she might not lack the pleasure of his company, the king attended her with his usual escort. As they were riding along, the servants who had preceded the train happened to rouse a hare which was lying in a furrow. It fled, followed by the shouts of all. The king, impelled by evil fate, seized his lance and joined the pursuit. In vigorous chase, he began to urge on his horse in that direction. Finally, the steed, driven to reckless speed, stumbled and fell. The king was thrown head foremost to the ground. As he lay there stunned by the pain of the fall, the saddle struck his head and his brains gushed forth from both ears and nostrils. The members of his escort, those in advance and those following him, overcome with horror at the frightful accident, rushed to his aid as he lay on the ground. They found him unconscious, however, unable to speak or understand.

When the queen was informed of her husband’s unexpected death, she was pierced to the heart by the sinister disaster. She tore her garments and hair and by her loud shrieks and lamentations gave proof of her intense grief. Flinging herself upon the ground she embraced the lifeless body. Tears failed her through continual weeping; frequent sobs interrupted her voice, as she tried to give expression to her grief; nor could she do justice to it, although she cared for naught save to satisfy her anguish. The people of the household also manifested their grief by tears, words, and aspect and gave plain proof of great sorrow.

The king’s deplorable accident soon became known. Rumor, on swift wings, spread the news throughout the city of Acre. Crowds flocked to the scene, all eager to convince themselves of the unspeakable disaster. Tearfully they bore him thence to the city, where he lived until the third day, unconscious but still breathing. Thus, on
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November 10, in the year 1142 of the Incarnation of our Lord and of Fulk's reign the eleventh, his life was brought to a close in a good old age.  

His body was borne thence to Jerusalem with fitting honors. The entire body of clergy and people went out to meet the funeral train. He was buried with royal magnificence among his kingly predecessors of blessed memory in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, at the foot of Mount Calvary, by the gate as one enters on the right. William, the venerable patriarch of Jerusalem, conducted the royal obsequies.

King Fulk left two children who had not yet attained the age of manhood: Baldwin, the eldest, then thirteen years old, and Amaury, aged seven. The royal power passed to the Lady Melisend, a queen beloved of God, to whom it belonged by hereditary right.

81 The Latin here is rather ambiguous, quarta demum die, idibus sidelicet Novembris. It might be read as meaning "on the fourth day of his illness, i.e., on the Ides of November" which is November 13, or "on the fourth day of the Ides of November" which is November 10. In this instance it clearly has the first meaning, but William himself later read it with the second meaning (Book XVI, chap. 3). The text carries the year 1142, but all the evidence points to 1143 as the year of Fulk's death. The date of Fulk's death, so vital in the chronology of the Latin kingdom, has been confused by William's dating. This may be merely a typographical or copyist's error, for it is not consistent with his other references to the event. Mlle Chartrou, on the basis of local Angevin records as well as a review of all known evidence, concludes that it could not have occurred before late 1143, fixing the other terminal date as March 26, 1144. She prefers 1144 on the basis of local western records (Josèphe Chartrou, L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151, pp. 234–36). La Monte, who has reviewed the matter more recently, is convinced that her evidence does not preclude November, 1143 (La Monte, Feudal Monarchy, pp. 14–15, note 3). Normally there would be no ship sailing from Palestine as late as November, and the West would not have learned of his death before 1144 even if a special courier had been dispatched immediately. La Monte prefers November 10, 1143, as the date of Fulk's death.

HERE ENDS THE FIFTEENTH BOOK
THE SIXTEENTH BOOK BEGINS

JOINT RULE OF BALDWIN III AND HIS MOTHER MELISEND: THE SECOND CRUSADE

1. A brief preface is given. On the death of Fulk, his son Baldwin III succeeds to the throne. The personal appearance of the latter is described.

The events which have been recorded in the present history up to this time have been assembled from the accounts of others who still preserve a faithful recollection of earlier times. It is, therefore, with much difficulty that we have obtained reliable material and the correct chronology and succession of events. As far as possible, however, we have given a faithful account of these events as received from the narratives themselves. The things which now follow we ourselves have, in part, witnessed with our own eyes and, in part, learned from the trustworthy relation of those who were present when the events occurred. Relying upon these two sources, therefore, by the will of God we shall set down for the benefit of posterity with more ease and accuracy the rest of this history. For the memory is ever wont to recall more vividly recent occurrences, and that which the eye presents to the mind is less easily forgotten than that which is conveyed by the ear alone.¹ These words of our Flaccus express our own feelings: "Things conveyed through the ear affect the feelings less deeply than those which come from the faithful observation of the eyes; things which the spectator himself has transmitted to himself."²

Fulk, the third Latin king of Jerusalem, was succeeded by Baldwin

¹ These remarks of William have been misunderstood. They were probably written after 1180. As has already appeared, he followed written sources to 1127, with a minimum of oral tradition. From 1127 to 1143 he was dependent upon such accounts as he heard or could gather from archives. In 1143 he was presumably thirteen years of age, and conscious of the drift of affairs. He had, of course, drawn something from personal recollection in the two previous books. He now felt more secure, because he had fuller conscious recollection of events. Actually, however, his work is practically our primary source for the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem from 1127 to 1184.

² Horace Ars poet. 180–82.
Baldwin III and Melisend

III, his son by Queen Melisend. As has been mentioned, Baldwin had one brother named Amaury, a little boy seven years old. When Baldwin later died without children, this brother succeeded him in the kingdom, as will be related in the following chapters. Baldwin was thirteen years old when he came to the throne, and he reigned twenty years. He was a youth of excellent natural ability and even at that time gave plain evidence of that character which later he fully attained. On reaching manhood, he was easily preëminent among all others by beauty of feature and form as well as by his general bearing. In vivacity of mind and brilliancy of speech he was superior to all the nobles of the realm. He was taller than the average man, but his limbs were so well proportioned to his height that no feature seemed out of harmony with the whole. His features were comely and refined, his complexion florid, a proof of innate strength. In this respect he resembled his mother and was not inferior to his maternal grandfather. His eyes were of medium size, rather prominent and sparkling. He had straight yellowish hair and wore a rather full beard on cheeks and chin. He was of somewhat full habit, although he could not be called fleshy like his brother or spare like his mother. In short, it may be said that his whole appearance was so superior by reason of a certain remarkable dignity which shone forth from him that even strangers could not fail to recognize his innate kingly majesty.

2. Concerning his life and habits.

Baldwin's habit of mind was equally well constituted and was in complete accord with his great physical beauty. He had an unusually keen intellect and was gifted by nature with the rare advantage of eloquent speech. Nor did he appear inferior to any other prince in his dignified and agreeable manners. He was extremely affable and tender-hearted, and, although he was liberal to almost everyone, far beyond his means, yet he was not at all desirous of the money of others. He did not trouble the patrimony of the churches, nor did he, like a prodigal, lie

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3 It is necessary to keep in mind the fact that William's chronological framework, constructed in 1182, becomes a complicating factor in determining dates. His statement of the age of Baldwin III and the number of years of his reign is consistent throughout. On that basis, Baldwin was born in 1130, began his reign in 1143, and died in 1163. This accords with the marriage of his parents (see Book XIV, note 10), which under normal conditions would make February, 1130, the earliest possible date for his birth.
in wait for the riches of his subjects. He had one characteristic that is usually very rare in youth. Even at that time of life he feared God and felt great reverence for ecclesiastical institutions and the prelates of the church. He was gifted with a vivacious disposition and had, besides, the advantage of an accurate memory. He was fairly well educated, much more so than was his brother Amaury, who succeeded him. Whatever leisure he could snatch from his public duties he delighted to devote to reading. He particularly enjoyed listening to the reading of history and inquired with great diligence into the deeds and habits of the noblest kings and princes of former times. With men of letters and wise laymen he loved above all to converse. His gracious affability led him to greet even the most lowly by name, much to their surprise. He voluntarily offered an opportunity of conversing with him to anyone who wished it or whom he casually met. If an audience was requested, he did not refuse it.

In this way, he gained the favor of both fathers and people so that he was more popular with men of both classes than any of his predecessors had been. He endured hardships with patience and, after the example of the best princes, displayed great wisdom and foresight in the uncertain issues of war. In the midst of difficult situations which he endured for the sake of extending the realm, he showed royal steadfastness and at no time lost the presence of mind befitting a brave man. He was fully acquainted with the customary law by which the kingdom of the East was governed, so that in difficult questions, even the older nobles were wont to consult his knowledge and marvel at the erudition of his trained mind.

His conversation was witty and jovial. Since he had unusual facility in adapting himself easily to everyone, he mingled acceptably with every age and condition. He was, moreover, a man of unusual courtesy, and this was the more remarkable because he permitted himself great freedom of speech. If he observed any reprehensible or striking faults in his friends, he corrected them in public regardless of whether his words pleased or offended. Yet these rebukes, since they were made more in jollity—or, rather, in lightness of heart—than with any intent to hurt, did not greatly lessen his popularity with the victims of his blunt remarks. His frankness was readily pardoned, in fact, because he bore with equanimity the cutting words which were directed against him in retaliation. In such things and in the pernicious games of chance
and dice he indulged more than befitted royal majesty. In pursuit of
the desires of the flesh, also, he is said to have dishonored the marriage
ties of others. This was in his youth, however, for when he became a
man, like the apostle he "put away childish things." Thus by the
practice of the virtues he atoned for the faults of earlier years. For after
he took a wife, he is said to have been entirely faithful to her. The
reprehensible faults, displeasing to God, which he had contracted in
his youth, under the impulse of that critical period, he later with wise
counsel abandoned and became changed for the better.

He was extremely temperate in taking bodily refreshment; in fact
he was abstemious beyond the requirements of that age. He abom-
inated excess either in food or in drink and used to say that it was touch-
wood for the worst crimes.6

3. Concerning his elevation to the throne and of how long he
reigned under the guardianship of his mother.

King Fulks died on the tenth day of November. On the day of the
Lord's Nativity following, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord
1142, Baldwin was solemnly anointed, consecrated, and crowned, to-
gether with his mother, in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord.
The ceremony was conducted by William, patriarch of Jerusalem, be-
fore the customary assemblage of the princes and all the prelates of
the church. The head of the holy Roman church at that time was Eu-
genius III; Aimery was patriarch of Antioch, and William, patriarch
of Jerusalem. Archbishop Fulcher presided over the church at Tyre.7

Melisend, the king's mother, was a woman of great wisdom who had
had much experience in all kinds of secular matters. She had risen so
far above the normal status of women that she dared to undertake im-
portant measures. It was her ambition to emulate the magnificence of
the greatest and noblest princes and to show herself in no wise inferior

5 Doubtless William has idealized Baldwin III somewhat but in so doing has given
expression to his own ideas of virtues in a king. The great intimacy of this description
would imply a close personal knowledge. William and Baldwin III were probably
of about the same age and may have been schoolfellows at some time, since both spent
their boyhood in Jerusalem. However, William nowhere makes a direct statement to
that effect.
6 See Book XV, note 31.
7 Eugenius III became pope in 1145. William is overlooking Celestine II and Lu-
cius II, whose very short reigns filled the two years between Innocent II and Eu-
genius III.
to them. Since her son was as yet under age, she ruled the kingdom and administered the government with such skilful care that she may be said truly to have equalled her ancestors in that respect. As long as her son was willing to be governed by her counsel, the people enjoyed a highly desirable state of tranquillity, and the affairs of the realm moved on prosperously. But the more frivolous elements in the kingdom soon found that the queen’s wise influence hindered their attempts to draw the king into their own pursuits. They therefore persuaded their royal master, who, like others of his age, was “pliable as wax in being bent toward vice, but rough toward those who rebuked him,” 8 to withdraw from the guardianship of his mother and to rule the kingdom of his fathers himself. It was unseemly, they said, that a king who ought to rule all others should constantly be tied to the apron strings of his mother like the son of a private person. Although this intrigue originated in the thoughtless levity or malice of certain individuals, it came near being the ruin of the whole kingdom, as will be explained in more detail later when this subject is discussed.

4. Zangi lays siege to Edessa. The location of this city is described.

That same year, during the interval between the death of King Fulk and the elevation of Baldwin to the throne, the accursed Zangi with a mighty host laid siege to Edessa. This city, also more commonly known as Rohas, was the great and famous capital of the land of the Medes. Zangi was a powerful Turk, lord and ruler of the city once called Nineveh, but now known as Mosul, the metropolis of the region formerly known as the land of Assur. His reliance lay not only in the numbers and strength of his people but also in the fact that a serious feud had arisen between Raymond, prince of Antioch, and Joscelin, count of Edessa. This latter city was situated a day’s journey beyond the Euphrates. Its lord and master, the count just mentioned, had, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, given up his home there and established his permanent residence near the Euphrates at a castle called Turbessel. The fertility of the country in that vicinity and the leisure afforded by that place had led him to make this change. At Turbessel, he was far from the disturbance caused by his enemies, he

8 Horace *Ars poet.* 163.
had time for luxurious pleasures of every kind, and he felt no responsibility, as he should have done, for the noble city.

The inhabitants of Edessa were native Chaldeans and peaceful Armenians. They were utterly ignorant of the use of arms and familiar only with the business of trading. Latins also came hither occasionally, but citizens of that race were few in number. The protection of the city was entirely in the hands of mercenaries. These did not receive wages according to the time or kind of service rendered but often had to wait a year or more before they could collect what was due them.9

Both Baldwin and Joscelin the Elder, as soon as they came into possession of this countship, had established their permanent residence at Edessa. They saw to it carefully that adequate supplies of arms and food and all else necessary for some length of time should be brought thither from the surrounding places. By this means perfect security for Edessa was obtained, and it also became justly formidable to the other cities in the vicinity. But as has been said, there was now enmity between the prince of Antioch and the count, and this was no longer concealed but had already reached the stage of open hatred.10 Consequently, neither felt any concern for the troubles or unlucky disasters of the other; rather, each rejoiced in the distress of the other and exulted over any untoward mischance.

The great prince Zangi seized the opportunity offered by these dissensions. He levied a countless number of cavalry forces from all over the East, summoned also the people of the neighboring cities, and laid siege to Edessa. He blocked all the entrances to the city so closely that the besieged could not issue forth, nor could anyone enter from outside. The people shut up within the city were soon driven to extremities by the shortage of food and provisions of all kinds. Edessa was surrounded by a massive wall and protected by lofty towers in the upper part of the city. There was another stronghold lower down, to which, even if the city should be taken, the citizens could flee for refuge. All such de-

9 The use of paid troops, including even knights, was probably more extensive in Edessa than elsewhere, owing to the fact that the large Armenian and other native Christian population had not been dispossessed by Western nobles. Doubtless the mercenaries at times included Muslims.

10 The basis for this trouble probably lay, first, in the fact that Joscelin was a vassal of the prince of Antioch for some of his land and, secondly, that Raymond was a relative newcomer whereas Joscelin had been born in the East and was half Armenian in blood. Prejudice and political rivalry were at the bottom of their antagonism.
fenses may avail against the foe if there are fighters who will put up a valiant fight for liberty, but they are useless when there are none among the besieged willing to undertake the part of defenders. For walls, towers, and ramparts avail but little if there are none to man them.

Hence, when Zangi found that the city was without defenders his hope of taking it was greatly increased. He placed his troops in a circle round about, stationed the chiefs of the legions in advantageous positions, and invested the city. Stones and missiles hurled from the engines battered the walls without ceasing and showers of arrows allowed the citizens no respite.

Meanwhile, swiftly flying rumor spread the news abroad that Edessa, faithful worshipper of God, was undergoing the horrors of siege at the hand of enemies of the Christian faith and name. The hearts of all true believers, far and near, were appalled, and the zealous began to arm themselves to take vengeance upon the wicked foe. The tidings of this critical situation roused the count to action, and he began assiduously to assemble his forces. Mindful too late of the noble city, he began, as it were, "to prepare funeral rites for the dead, for those whom, when sick and suppliant, he had neglected to aid." He went about among the Christians and besought aid from his friends. He dispatched messengers to his lord, the prince of Antioch, and begged him with most humble and earnest prayers that he would sympathize with him in his trouble and deliver Edessa from the threatened fate of slavery. News of the dire calamity also reached the king of Jerusalem. Rumors of the siege of Edessa and the straits which her citizens were enduring were confirmed. After a conference with her nobles, the queen, who held the reins of government, ordered her kinsman, Manasses, the royal constable, Philip of Nablus, and Elinandus of Tiberias to march thither with a strong force at once to assist the count and the afflicted citizens. The prince of Antioch, however, rejoiced in the count's misfortune. Without regard for his own responsibility for the general welfare and the fact that "personal hatred should not be permitted to injure the common interest," he offered excuses to delay giving the aid which had been asked.

11 An Elinandus is mentioned as bishop of Tiberias at this time (R. Röhrich, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani, no. 245). Elsewhere, however, William indicates that a layman is meant (Book XVII, chap. 1).
5. Edessa is captured and her people slain.

In the meantime Zangi continued to attack the city without intermission and ran through the whole gamut of injuries. No method was left untried which might tend to increase the woes of the citizens and help him to take the city. Through subterranean passages he sent in miners who dug tunnels under the wall. These were supported overhead by beams which were then set on fire. When the props burned away, a great part of the wall fell and left a breach which afforded the enemy an entrance more than a hundred cubits wide. The desired approach thus obtained, the legions rushed together from all directions, entered the city, and put to the sword all whom they encountered. Neither age, condition, nor sex was spared. To them might this saying well be applied: "They slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless." 12

Thus the city was captured and delivered over to the sword of the enemy. As soon as this happened, the more sensible and alert among the citizens fled with their wives and children to the citadel, which, as has been said, was in the city. Here they hoped that their lives at least might be safe, if only for a short time. But the inrush of such a crowd of people caused a panic, and many perished miserably in the struggling mob. Among others who died in this way are said to have been the Very Reverend Hugo, archbishop of Edessa, and some of his clergy. Those who were present at the time felt that the prelate was in some measure to blame for this catastrophe. Although he was said to have amassed great riches, which he might have used to pay troops for defending the city, he preferred, like a miser, to store up his wealth rather than to consider his perishing people. As a result, he reaped the fruits of his avarice and shared the fate of the populace. Unless the Lord in His mercy should come to his aid, an unsavory reputation will ever attend his memory. For terrible are the words of Scripture concerning men of his sort: "Thy money perish with thee." 13

Thus, while the prince of Antioch, influenced by foolish hatred, put

12 Ps. 94: 6.
13 Ac. 8: 20. This criticism of Hugo, archbishop of Edessa, for refusing to use the wealth of the church for secular purposes is in marked contrast to William's attitude toward Daimbert, who had been accused of a similar policy (see Books IX and X passim).
off rendering the aid due to his brethren and the count was waiting for help from strangers, the ancient city fell. Edessa, devoted to the Christian name from the times of the apostles, the city which was rescued from the superstitions of the infidels by the words and preaching of the Apostle Thaddeus, suffered the undeserved yoke of servitude.

Tradition says that the holy Apostle Thomas was buried in this city, as was also the Apostle Thaddeus and blessed King Abgar. This is that Abgar, the illustrious ruler of the city whose letter to the Lord Jesus Christ is mentioned by Eusebius of Caesarea in his work called the Ecclesiastical History. He says also that Abgar was deemed worthy to receive an answer from the Lord. He gives the letter of each one and adds the following: “In the public archives of the city of Edessa over which Abgar ruled, we found these letters so transcribed in the documents which contain the records of the deeds of King Abgar, preserved from ancient times.”

But so much on this matter; now let us resume the history.

6. A fortress beyond the Jordan, called the Valley of Moses, is taken by the king.

During the first year of this King Baldwin’s reign, the Turks, with the consent and at the invitation of certain people dwelling in that vicinity, seized one of our strongholds called the Valley of Moses, in Syria Sobal beyond the Jordan. This place is located near the waters of Strife, where Moses, when the people of Israel were murmuring and dying from thirst, struck water from the rock and the whole people and their beasts drank thereof.

When it became known that the enemy had seized this fortress and had killed the Christians dwelling there, the king, although still very young, levied forces from all over the land and set forth thither. With his troops he crossed the famous valley now occupied by the Dead sea,

14 William has overlooked the fact that Raymond was involved in difficulties with the new emperor, Manuel. He sought to free himself from the vassalage to the Greeks when he heard of the death of John. But his efforts to extend his sway in Cilicia brought swift retribution from Manuel. There was actual warfare between Raymond and the Greeks (1143–1144), and Raymond was not in a position to give any real aid to Joscelin (see F. Chalandon Les Comnènes, II, 241–43).

15 The capture of Edessa by Zangi is dated December 23, 1144, the citadel two days later (R. Röhrich, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291, p. 234, note 4).

16 See Book IV, chap. 2, and note 5.
which is also called the lake of Asphalt, and went up into the hill country of Arabia Secunda or Arabia Petra, in the land of Moab. From there he traversed Syria Sobal, or Arabia Tertia, now commonly called the land of Montreal, and came to his destination. The inhabitants of the country had already had news of our approach and with their wives and children had fled into the fortress, the defenses of which seemed to render it impregnable. For several days our forces exerted themselves in vain before the place. Volleys of stone missiles, repeated showers of arrows, and other methods of assault were tried with no result. Finally the Christians became convinced that, because of its fortifications, the place could not be taken. They therefore turned to other plans.

The entire region was covered with luxuriant olive groves which shaded the surface of the land like a dense forest. From these trees the dwellers in that land derived all their living, as their fathers had done before them. If these failed, then all means of livelihood would be taken away. It was determined, therefore, to root out the trees and burn them. It was thought that the terrified inhabitants, rendered desperate by the destruction of their olive groves, would either give up or drive out the Turks who had taken refuge in the citadel and surrender the fortress to us. This plan was entirely successful. As soon as they saw their beloved trees cut down, the people changed their tactics and adopted others. On condition that the Turks whom they had called in should be allowed to depart unharmed and that they themselves with their families should not be punished by death for their wicked conduct, they restored the stronghold to the king.

The castle was thereupon received, a garrison appointed, and supplies of food and arms sent in. Thus the king successfully finished the first campaign after his accession to the throne and, with his whole army safe and sound, returned victorious to his own land.\(^\text{17}\)

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7. Zangi is killed while besieging Calogenbar. His son Nureddin succeeds him.

Zangi was greatly elated by his brilliant success in subjugating the city of Edessa. He immediately applied himself to besieging Calogenbar, a fortified place on the river Euphrates. While he was carrying on the

\(^{17}\) This expedition must have occurred in the spring or summer of 1144, before the events in the north had become critical.
siege of this place, however, the lord of the town entered into a conspiracy with some of the chamberlains and eunuchs of Zangi's own household. One night, as the prince, gorged with wine and unusually drunk, was lying in his tent, he was slain by some of his own servants. When the news of his death arrived, one of our people remarked apropos of his assassination, "What a happy coincidence! A guilty murderer, with the bloody name Sanguinus, has become ensanguined with his own blood." 18

The murderers were received within the walls by the lord of the besieged city, according to agreement, and thus escaped the vengeance of the dead man's kin. Zangi's entire army fled when deprived of the support and protection of their lord: His sons deprived him, the one at Mosul in the Orient, and the other, Nureddin by name, at Aleppo. The latter was a wise and prudent man and, according to the superstitious traditions of his people, one who feared God. He was fortunate also in that he greatly increased the heritage which was left him by his father.

8. A certain noble of Damascus, governor of the city of Bos-trum, enters into an alliance with the king. The army of the realm is sent to that city. Anar, governor of Damascus, tries to prevent these plans.

Nor long after this, in the second year of King Baldwin's reign, a certain noble Turkish satrap came with a noble retinue to Jerusalem. For some reason he had incurred the anger of Mejeredin [Mujir al-Din], king of Damascus. He had, moreover, fallen under the displeasure of the governor, Mehen-Eddin [Mu'in al-Din], or Anar, a man whose authority throughout the land of the Damascenes was far greater than that of the king himself. This satrap assured the king and his mother that, if an honorable compensation worthy of his consideration were granted him, he would surrender to them the city of Bostrium, over which he ruled, and also the stronghold of Selcath. Bostrium is the metropolis of Arabia Prima, which today is called in the common

18 The siege of Qalat Jabar in the region of Edessa occurred in September, 1146. According to Qalanisi, the murderer was a personal favorite of Zangi, a man of Frankish origin. Zangi's drunkenness is acknowledged. His death is dated September 14, 1146. William evidently could not resist the temptation to indulge in a pun at Zangi's death (see H. A. R. Gibb, trans., The Damascus Chronicle, p. 271).
speech Bussereth. This same nobleman, Tantais by name, was said to be an Armenian by birth. He was tall of stature, of agreeable countenance, and his entire bearing gave evidence of a manly spirit.  

Accordingly, a general conference of the nobles was called. The reasons for the visit of this great man were explained and every aspect of his proposition carefully considered. It was finally unanimously resolved that he be granted an honorable and satisfactory compensation, that an army be levied, and an expedition sent to Bostrum. All agreed that, if through the agency of this man, Bostrum could be brought under our jurisdiction and added to the Christian name with perpetual right, such an increase of the kingdom would be most acceptable to God. An agreement satisfactory to both parties was thereupon concluded, and the heralds were ordered to call together all the people of the realm immediately. After imploring aid from on high, the king and his nobles took with them the Life-giving Cross of Salvation and proceeded to Tiberias. Camp was established near the bridge where the waters of the Jordan separate from the sea.

There was an alliance and a temporary peace between Anar and King Baldwin which had existed also in the time of the king’s father. Accordingly it was necessary that the governor be formally notified, in order that he might have a legitimate time, following the custom of the land, to assemble an army and make preparations for resistance. Otherwise the king would appear to have entered his territory suddenly and without official notice, which is contrary to the law of treaties. Messengers had accordingly been sent to Anar, but he, as a shrewd man, had wisely deferred sending an answer. A month had already passed. During this time, he had been actively engaged in calling to his aid both by entreaties and by money all the neighboring chiefs of his own race from far and near. When large numbers had assembled from all parts, Anar sent the following message to the king and his nobles: “Contrary to the terms of the treaty into which you entered, you are

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19 This episode, which occurred in the spring of 1147, is evidently derived from Arabic as well as Latin sources. It is not difficult to recognize in “Mejeredin” Mujir al-Din, the “king” of Damascus, nor in “Mehen-Eddin,” Mu’in al-Din, or Anar, who really ruled it. “Tantais” is Altuntash, “Selcath” is Sarkhad, “Bostrum” is Bostra of ancient times.

20 William here displays again his interest in diplomatic exchange. Note his evident conviction that treaty obligations with Muslims were to be kept as scrupulously as those with Christians.
preparing to march into the land of my lord and you are endeavoring to protect with undeserved patronage his rebellious servant, who is acting against the allegiance which he has sworn. We humbly beseech the lord king to desist from this unjust purpose and to preserve intact the substance of the agreements previously concluded between us. We are ready in all sincerity to refund to the king all the expense to which he has been put for this expedition."

To this the king responded by the advice of all as follows: "We do not intend to violate in any way the provisions of the treaty which we have made with you. But as this nobleman came to discuss matters with us in a friendly way, we cannot honorably fail a man who has placed all his hope in our kingdom. It will be satisfactory to us, however, if we are permitted to conduct him back in safety to the city which he abandoned for our benefit. After he has withdrawn into his own castle, let his lord deal with him according to the laws of the land and recompense him as he deserves. As for us, both in coming and going we will wholly refrain from inflicting any injury upon our friend, the king of Damascus, as, by the will of God, we are bound to do."

This same Anar was a man of much wisdom and a lover of our people. He had three daughters, one of whom he had married to the king of the Damascenes, just mentioned; another to Nureddin, the son of Zangi; and the third to a distinguished knight, Margar. He had, therefore, the good of the realm at heart, not only because he was the father-in-law of the king, but also because of his own great discretion. The king, however, was indolent by nature and devoted to drinking and revelry. He cared only for pleasure and gave himself up entirely to dissolute practices.

Anar, as has been mentioned, made great efforts to gain the favor of the Christians by all possible complaisance; he made use of every art by which friends are won. But whether this proceeded from the heart and from sincerity of purpose or was forced upon him by necessity contrary to his own wishes may well be questioned by the wise. Doubtless either might be the case, for he regarded his son-in-law, Nureddin, with the same distrust that he had formerly felt toward the latter's father, Zangi. He ever feared that Nureddin might drive the king, who was also his son-in-law, but a most worthless and grossly ignorant man,

\[21\] The marriage of Anar's daughter to Nureddin occurred in the early spring of this year (Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 275–76).
from the kingdom. He himself would then lose the reins of government.\footnote{22 This accurate analysis of the motives of Anar in his almost consistent policy of friendship with Jerusalem is supported by Qalanisi, the historian of Damascus, who was living and writing there at this time.}

This was the principal reason why he regarded our favor as most essential to his interests and in every possible way endeavored to secure it. This wise man seems to have had almost prophetic foresight, for the situation that he feared actually came to pass. After his death, Nureddin, with the consent of the people of Damascus, drove out the reigning king by force and seized the throne.

It was for this reason, therefore, that he exerted himself faithfully to make good the expense to which the king had been put in raising the expedition and to send him back to his own land unharmed. Doubtless he would have adopted an even less hostile attitude toward the king and his forces in this matter if he could have restrained, as he would have liked, the allies whom he had summoned from without. For we have found many reliable proofs which give definite testimony to his loyalty, sincerity, and steadfastness in various matters.

9. The army experiences countless perils while on the march. Among the envoys who brought this report was a certain Bernard Vacher, who stood in very close relation to the king. When these facts were announced, the people at once began to cry out that Bernard was a traitor, that anyone who would seek to dissuade them in this matter and put obstacles in their way was not loyal to the Christians. With loud shouts, the irresponsible mob began to demand that the march be resumed, that the effort to obtain possession of that noble city be not so readily abandoned. Thanks were due to the nobleman who had offered a service to Christianity that would be remembered throughout the ages; his proposal should be carried out in every detail faithfully and devotedly; for this purpose they ought to strive even to the death. Amid tumultuous uproar the will of the crowd prevailed, and the advice of saner minds was rejected. The baggage was accordingly arranged, the camp broken up, and the march directed toward the city. After passing Cavea Roab, they entered the plain called Medan, where the Arabs and other Eastern people are wont to hold yearly fairs. At this point our army began to encounter the enemy in such vast
numbers that even those who had formerly been most insistent that the campaign be continued would gladly have turned back, had that been possible. Yet the troops, although astounded at the magnitude of the enemy's array, prepared to go into battle at once. On the advice of those experienced in the art of warfare, however, the king ordered that camp be made first. This was done, and the troops took thought for their bodily refreshment as far as was possible in the critical situation. The night passed in sleepless vigilance. The enemy's hosts, now increased beyond number, closed in on all sides about our legions, confident that on the morrow the Christians, bound like the lowest slaves, would become their prey. Our people, however, wisely kept constant watch and attended most carefully to their duties, as behooved brave men. When morning came, a conference was held, and it was determined to advance, for to retreat seemed not only disgraceful but practically impossible. In fact, the enemy now encircled them on every side and effectually hindered either course.

Nevertheless, our men pressed on courageously. A path was finally opened by the sword through the enemy's midst, and our forces, as with one accord, advanced toward their destination. Burdened as they were, however, with breastplates, helmets, and shields, they moved at a slow pace. Their progress was hindered also by the great numbers of the foe around them. The cavalry squadrons, being without baggage, could have proceeded more rapidly, but it was necessary that they adapt their movements to the pace of the infantry companies, that the ranks might not be broken and the enemy be given a chance to break in upon the formations. So the cohorts suffered with each other, and the entire Christian company was as one. The knights showed such care for the people on foot that they often dismounted from their horses and shared like hardships. They even offered to carry the weary, that the difficulties of the march might be made lighter.

Meanwhile, the enemy continued to harass the army with ceaseless showers of arrows and strove to break our lines by increasing their efforts. But the more the Christians were menaced, the more closely they massed themselves together. Fearlessly and ardently they continued on their way.

As a culminating point of troubles, they were assailed by terrible thirst, which was intensified by the difficulty of the march and by the heat of summer. Their route was through an arid and waterless coun-
try, for that entire region is without springs. In winter the natives collect the rain water in reservoirs, both natural and artificial. At this time, however, these had become useless, for the province had recently suffered from a pest of locusts of extraordinary extent, so that all the pools of this kind had been spoiled and the water corrupted by the dead insects therein.

The region through which our road lay is called Trachonitis. Luke mentions it in his Gospel as follows: “Philip tetrarch of Ituraea and of the region of Trachonitis.” 23 The name seems to us to be derived rather from the tracones. For the hidden, subterranean caves in which that region abounds are called tracones. Nearly all the people of that locality live in grottos and caves and have their homes in these tracones.

10. On arriving at their destination, they find the city occupied by the enemy. Accordingly, they return home without accomplishing their end.

The Christians traversed a part of that country under conditions of extreme danger. About the last hour of the day, they came to a place which was called Adrumatum in earlier days, but which is now generally known as the city of Bernard d'Estampes. It is one of the suffragan cities of the metropolis of Bostrum. The inhabitants of this place had joined the enemy's forces, and therefore our people had to suffer even worse hardships than before. For when they tried to obtain water from the cisterns which lay open, they lost even the buckets which had been let down. The foe, hidden in the subterranean caverns, cut the ropes by which these had been lowered, and sent them back dangling. The frustration of this hope, for the sake of which they had so long labored in vain, intensified the agony of their thirst.

For four successive days our people never indulged in rest; indeed, they were so continually persecuted that they scarcely had leisure, even during the night, to satisfy their bodily needs. Day by day the enemy's numbers increased, while our forces as steadily decreased. Some were killed, others fatally wounded. Still others, panic-stricken and despairing of their lives, swelled the throng around the baggage, skulked among the horses and pack animals, and feigned weakness, that they might not be compelled to come out and bear the brunt of the enemy's attacks. Dense showers of arrows and other missiles fell like rain or

23 Lu. 3:1.
hail upon our forces so incessantly that the host of men and beasts seemed covered with weapons. Well might a spectator marvel at the continued perseverance of the foe in attacking and the invincible endurance of the Christians in resisting. Nonetheless, our people continued to let fly showers of arrows and darts, but as the enemy were able to move about freely, our missiles rarely injured them.

The Christians continued their march under many perils, and at last, in the fourth day they drew near their destination and saw the city at a distance. With great difficulty they drove off the enemy by force and took possession of the waters which flowed forth in moderation from the rocks. Camp was made near by, and the forces devoted themselves for a short period to bodily refreshment and relaxation. That night the Christians enjoyed some degree of rest and were eagerly looking forward to the morrow. But in the silence of midnight, a bearer of ill tidings stealthily left the city and made his way through the enemy's lines to our camp. He announced that he had private messages for the king and begged to be led to him at once. He was admitted. The nobles were summoned and also the noble lord, the former governor of the city, who had led us into the present predicament. The messenger then disclosed the fact that the wife of this same lord had betrayed the city and surrendered it to the Turks. They had introduced their forces and taken possession of all the strongholds, including the citadel itself. Everyone else had been driven out.

Our people were overwhelmed by the news of this disaster. They held a conference and finally decided that their best course was to return speedily to their own land at whatever risk. Some of the chief men of the kingdom, however, privately counselled the king to mount the horse of John Gomani, which was reputed to excel all other army steeds in swiftness and endurance, and, with the Cross of Salvation in his hand, to look out for his own safety alone. This advice was given in despair of the possibility of return and in anticipation that the entire army would shortly be destroyed. The king, however, although still very young, rejected this counsel with royal magnificence and clearly showed what his character would be in later years. He declared that he would scorn to save his own life if a people consecrated to God were to perish so wretchedly.

Although these admonitions proceeded from loyal affection, the king declined to heed them, and other plans were adopted. To ad-
vance farther meant utter destruction; therefore measures for the 
retreat were taken. Now for the first time the Christians felt the hard-
ship of their situation in double measure, for their great hope now 
was gone, and they realized that their efforts had been all in vain. 
Their troubles up to this time had been serious enough—in fact, almost 
unendurable—and they had suffered miseries equal to any they might 
encounter afterward. Yet as they struggled on, they were supported 
by the confident hope of taking the city, and these pleasurable anticipa-
tions enabled them to hold out. Now, however, this hope had failed 
them, and they realized that their project must be abandoned. Accord-
ingly, the herald proclaimed the return, and all prepared for the 
homeward march.

11. The army encounters untold perils on the return march. The 
Turks are amazed at the perseverance of our troops.

At dawn on the following day, Nureddin arrived from the city men-
tioned above and, with an infinite number of Turks, joined the co-
horts of the enemy. His father-in-law had appealed to him for aid. The 
Christians, however, started out on the return march, as had been ar-
ranged. As soon as the Turks perceived this movement, they hastened 
against them and, with a great clamor, tried to prevent the retreat. But 
the very difficulties that beset our people on every side strengthened 
their courage. With their swords they broke through the opposing 
ranks and, although with extreme danger and at the cost of many lives, 
forced their way through.

General orders had been given that the bodies of all the dead in the 
Christian ranks be placed upon camels and other pack animals, that 
the knowledge of the massacre of our forces might not tend to 
strengthen the enemy. The weak and wounded were also to be placed 
on beasts of burden so as to give the impression that not a single Chris-
tian had been killed or wounded. Even these disabled ones were di-
rected to draw their swords, that they might present at least a sem-
blance of strength. It was a source of amazement, therefore, to the 
wiser heads among the enemy that, after such volleys of arrows, such 
repeated conflicts, such torture of thirst, dust, and unbearable heat, not 
a single dead or disabled Christian could be found. This people must 
indeed be made of iron, they thought, for otherwise they could not 
sustain so persistently such continuing pressure. Accordingly, as all
their efforts were in vain, the enemy turned to other tactics. The entire country thereabout was covered with a dense growth of brambles, dry thistles and other weeds, old stubble and crops now ripe. To this they set fire, and a strong wind soon carried it furiously toward us. Our misfortunes were now doubled by the encroaching flames and the dense clouds of smoke which attended them. With cries of woe the people turned as one body to the venerable Robert, archbishop of Nazareth, and tearfully begged him: "Pray for us, father; through the Life-giving Cross which you bear in your hands, the Cross upon which we believe that the Author of our salvation hung, rescue us from these evils, for we can no longer endure them." The wind had borne the smoke toward them so that the faces and the general aspect of the people were black, like that of smiths when working at the forge. The heat from the fires in addition to the usual heat of summer, together with extreme thirst, had raised their suffering to a point beyond endurance.

The beloved man of God was deeply moved by their cries and supplications. In humility of spirit, he raised the Cross of Salvation toward the flames, which were rushing against him in all their violence, and invoked aid from on high. Immediately divine favor attended them; in a moment the wind veered about and sent the reeking volume of cloud and flame against the enemy. Thus the evil which the Turks had prepared for our undoing was turned to their own destruction. They stood amazed at the wondrous miracle; unique indeed must be that faith of the Christians which through prayer could bring about so swift an answer from their Lord God. For a time entirely engrossed by their own danger, they perforce gave our troops some peace and allowed them a short respite.

12. An envoy is dispatched to the enemy on behalf of peace. A noble knight in the enemy's ranks falls. The Turkish army is dispersed, and our forces proceed without further hindrance.

Thus our army was hard pressed by these intolerable evils. Meanwhile, the great nobles and those of wider experience began to realize that the endurance of the people could not last much longer. Accordingly, they went to the king and persuaded him to send an envoy to Anar concerning peace. Any terms would be accepted, provided only
that the Christian army be allowed to return home. For this mission was selected a man of rather doubtful repute, who, once before on a similar errand, had acted disloyally toward the people of Christ. Yet because of his familiarity with the language of the Turks, this mission also was entrusted to him. In response to the injunction that he should faithfully perform the duty laid upon him, he is reported to have said, "The suspicions against me are unjust and far beyond anything that I have deserved; yet I will go. But if I am guilty of the charges brought against me, may I not be permitted to return; or rather, may I perish by the sword of the enemy."

The wretched man had pronounced his own sentence of death and soon experienced the judgment of God, for before he reached the Turks and accomplished his mission he perished at the hand of the enemy.

Four distinguished Arab chiefs, followed by a host of their people, took part in this campaign. They were brothers, sons of the mighty and distinguished Arab satrap Morel. These troops kept making persistent and very spirited attacks upon the flanks of our army. Yet our soldiers under the commands given them did not dare to break out of line against them. For if, contrary to the discipline of war, they should break the ranks, they would be exposed to a harsh sentence as deserters from their places. In the retinue of that Turk who was with us, however, there was a certain knight who could not endure this situation and longed to relieve us of the annoyance. Regardless of the rules imposed and reckless of his life, he spurred his horse forward with great courage. He threw the spear which he was carrying against one of the four brothers, then ran him through with his sword in the midst of his ranks, and hurled the lifeless body to the ground. Then he returned without injury to our lines.

An immense throng at once gathered round the body of the dead chief. When it became evident that he had already breathed forth his luckless spirit, the assembled crowd broke into loud lamentations and gave expression to their intense grief in floods of tears.

But our people rejoiced greatly. Eagerly they demanded to know the name of the man who had exposed himself to such peril and thereby wrought a feat worthy of eternal fame. It was discovered that he was an alien who might readily be pardoned for transgressing the rules, especially as he did not know the language and had not understood
the public edict. Accordingly, although he had undoubtedly acted contrary to the rules of military discipline, yet, since he had been unaware of the command, he was mercifully pardoned, and his deed was regarded as praiseworthy, rather because of the result than because it was right.

In this way the enemy’s battle line on that side was broken. Our army was now able to spread out, and accordingly, in the more open country they soon secured compensation for the straits which they had suffered. After an uninterrupted march of several days, they again came to Cavea Roab. Since the passage was very narrow and it might be dangerous to cross here, the leaders purposely ordered that it be avoided. But Anar, the procurator of Damascus, observed that the king was leading his army toward the valley just mentioned. Accordingly, he sent messengers to say that if the king pleased he would cause a meal to be prepared for him in all good faith beyond Cavea, for he knew that now for several days the army had been suffering from lack of provisions. Whether this was a sincere offer, made out of good will toward the Christians, or whether it was simply a ruse to force the Christian army into the narrow defiles of still more dangerous valleys we have not been able to ascertain. Nevertheless, the traditional belief is that the gifts of an enemy should rightly be distrusted. Consequently, by unanimous decision, it was determined to proceed by the upper road which was more level and less dangerous.

There was no one to guide them, however, through the country which they must traverse. But suddenly there appeared ahead of the ranks an unknown knight mounted upon a white horse. He wore a breastplate and short gauntlets reaching to the elbow and carried a red standard. Like an angel of the Lord, this man led them by the shortest routes to waters hitherto unknown and showed them the best and most convenient places to make camp. It had taken the expedition practically five days to reach Cavea, but under the guidance of this leader they arrived at Gadara in three.

13. Our legions reach Gadara. The place is described. The troops return home.

GADARA is situated in the region called Decapolis, of which it is written in the Gospel of Mark, “and again, departing from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, he came unto the sea of Galilee, through the midst of
the coasts of Decapolis.” 24 As its name indicates, this land contains ten cities, namely, Hippus, Pella, Gadara, the place just mentioned, and seven others. This last-named city is situated on the borderland between the enemy’s country and our own. When our first legions reached it, the Turks once more began to harass our rear ranks, as if again seized by their former evil fury. They soon perceived, however, that their efforts were of no avail, for the Christians had already entered their own land. Accordingly, exhausted under the burden of smoke, extreme hot weather, and fatigue, they broke ranks and began to return in throngs to their own country. That night passed in unusual tranquillity. Our men allowed their wearied bodies the rest and refreshment so much needed, and on the following day they proceeded to Tiberias.

Those who still preserve an accurate memory of this occurrence all agree that the leader of this march was known to no one. When the army made camp, he always disappeared immediately. He was never seen anywhere in the camp, but in the morning he again went on ahead of the troops. No one now living can remember any equally perilous expedition during the period of the Latins in the Orient which did not result in a decisive victory for the enemy.

When the king returned to the realm and the Cross of the Lord was restored to Jerusalem, there was great rejoicing among the people who had remained at home, because their friends had now returned. Well might they cry, “For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found.” 25

Shortly after this, that same noble Turk was summoned with pacific words under pretense of reconciliation by the subtle Anar. He met with most shameful treatment, however. The wretched man was blinded and spent the rest of his life in the utmost poverty and misery. 26

14. The citizens of Edessa appeal to the count. He hurries thither and, without the knowledge of the enemy, receives the city.

While these events were transpiring in our vicinity, a deplorable thing which should be recorded happened in the county of Edessa. In

24 Mar. 7: 31.
25 Lu. 15: 24.
26 This episode is also told at some length by Qalanisi. According to him, Altuntash came to Damascus, was taken prisoner, tried, and condemned to blinding as he had blinded a brother. He was allowed to live out his life in a house in Damascus (Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 276–79).
order that the details of this occurrence may be fully understood it is necessary to go back somewhat earlier in the story.

After the death of Zangi, that greatest persecutor of the Christian faith, his son Nureddin was detained at Mosul for a time on the matter of his succession to his father's principate. Only a few of his retainers were left to keep guard at Edessa. All the rest of the population was strong in the Christian faith. Realizing this fact, the inhabitants of Edessa secretly sent messengers to Count Joscelin and announced that, with the exception of a few Turks who were guarding the citadel, their city was practically abandoned to the citizens. Now the people of Edessa were, and had been from the time of the apostles, rooted and grounded in the Christian faith so that, as has been mentioned elsewhere, there were very few, practically none, of other faiths dwelling among them. Most earnestly, they begged the count that he would assemble military forces and hasten to the city, which the citizens would at once surrender to him without danger or obstacle.

Joscelin hastily assembled all the troops of that country, both infantry and cavalry. Then, accompanied by Baldwin of Marash, a noble and powerful man, he quickly crossed the river and appeared suddenly at night before Edessa with all his followers. While the Turks who had been left as guards were sleeping, in the silence of the night, the citizens admitted some of the count's people by ropes and ladders. These opened the gates to the rest who were waiting outside. All rushed in at the same time pell-mell; they spread through the city in every direction and put to the sword every foe whom they encountered. Some of the latter, however, succeeded in escaping death and reached the citadel.

In this manner, the count and his army of Christians held the city for several days. They did not succeed in taking the citadel, however, for that was carefully fortified and well equipped with provisions, weapons, and soldiers. The lack of success in this respect was largely due to the fact that the count's forces had brought with them neither engines nor anything with which to build them. Nor could any material suitable for the purpose be found in the city.
15. Nureddin attacks Edessa. He places the city under siege. He causes the Christians extreme distress.

Messengers were now sent forth to inform Christian people everywhere of this success and to invite those in the vicinity to hasten thither to assist in holding and preserving for the Christian religion forever the city which had been received through the grace of God. Christians everywhere rejoiced over this news, and, in proportion to the deep sorrow which they had felt over the captivity of Edessa, they received consolation in like measure. Mourning soon took the place of extreme joy, however, and the sound of the zither was changed into strains of grief. Sorrow, even more intense than before, revived. For as soon as Nureddin learned that the inhabitants had surrendered Edessa to the count, he levied troops from all parts of the Orient and ordered the herald to direct the people of the neighboring cities to assemble at one place. Suddenly he appeared before Edessa, placed his legions in a circle about it, and began siege operations. Thus it was with our people as it is written, “The sword without, and terror within.”

For outside, the enemy’s lines being made ready for battle prevented all exit and threatened death to the Christians, while within, the Turks in the citadel also inspired them with fear and harassed them with constant attacks.

Beset by so many difficulties, the Christians knew not what to do. They took frequent counsel together and as frequently changed their plans. But to whatever course of action they turned, they found no path which led to safety, no escape without danger of death. At last, in view of all the exigencies of place and time, it was unanimously resolved that they must leave the city, even at the risk of death. Unquestionably, it would be better to encounter the enemy and force a path to safety with the sword than to endure a siege. In the latter case, either all without distinction would perish by the sword, or, through lack of food, be enslaved by the Turks and forced to endure the bitter yoke of servitude, a fate worse than any form of death. This decision was approved by all; the plan was extremely perilous, yet, in view of other possible fates that might befall them, it seemed to be the only course.

The citizens, by whose zealous efforts the count and his soldiers had

\[27\] De. 32:25.
been introduced into the city, heard with dismay that all hope of resistance had fled and that every path to safety was closed. If they should remain in Edessa, after the departure of the count, they, as the authors of the attempt, would certainly be punished by death in its most dreadful form. They preferred, therefore, to depart with their wives and children and to share uncertain fortune with their brethren of the Christian army, rather than to fall by certain death, or, a still more fearful fate, to suffer servitude under an insidelf enemy.

16. The count leaves the city with his army and endeavors to return to his own country. He is pursued by Nureddin. The army is massacred, but the count escapes by flight.

As soon as the gates were opened, all rushed eagerly forth as if thereby lay the only path to safety. Although they well knew that a way must be cut through the enemy's lines with the sword, yet whatever might happen after they had once left the city seemed of little consequence. Meanwhile, the Turks in the citadel had unbarred the entrances and let some of their number into the city. These pressed hard on the Christians from behind and forced them to hasten their departure. At the same time the Turks outside the gates heard that some of their people were already in the city and were fighting with the Christians. Anxious to join them, they forcibly seized the gates which had been opened to allow our people to depart. Thus a great multitude of all ranks and classes was massed at that point, as one party tried to issue forth and the other endeavored to force an entrance. A fierce struggle, serious in its consequences to both sides, ensued in the narrow space. The foe outside fought furiously to push in, but the strength and determination of the Christians finally prevailed against them. A passage was opened by the sword, at the cost of many lives on both sides, and our people spread out over the plain.

There might have been seen a most piteous spectacle, deplorable even to describe! A helpless throng of unwarlike citizens, old men and sick people, matrons and tender maidens, aged women and little ones, even babes at the breast, all crowded together in the narrow gateway. Some were trodden under the feet of the horses; others, crushed by the on-pressing multitude, were stifled to death; while still others fell under the merciless sword of the Turks. The greater part of the citizens, both men and women, who had elected to follow the departing
army perished miserably at that time. A few escaped because of their own strength and vigor or by the assistance of the horses and were able to accompany the army as it retreated.

Nureddin, on perceiving that the Christians were preparing to return home, summoned his cohorts for pursuit. He drew up his troops ready for battle and arranged his lines in good order; then, ever pressing close on their rear, he kept up a series of continual attacks. The Christians directed their march toward the Euphrates, which was about fourteen miles from Edessa. Constant fighting and ever-present danger attended the count and his army upon the entire march thither. At almost every step there were engagements, now of many, again of individuals, which resulted in great loss on both sides. There died that noble man whom we mentioned before, Baldwin of Marash, a warrior distinguished for his military achievements. Many other excellent men perished also at this time who were well worthy of being remembered. May their souls enjoy everlasting rest! Their names are forgotten but are surely written in heaven, for they died with a glorious end for the sake of the faith and liberty of the people of Christ!

The count's strength was entirely unequal to that of the enemy. He had lost the greater part of his forces and could no longer withstand the continual onslaughts of the Turks. In order to save his life, therefore, he crossed the Euphrates and retired to Samosata. The others fled in different directions as seemed best to each; the baggage and equipment was abandoned, and all thought only of life and safety.

The news of the disaster spread far and wide through all the neighboring lands, and those who had rejoiced over the capture of Edessa were now all the more cruelly depressed by the second loss of the city, the massacre of the nobles, and the discomfiture of the Christian people.28

17. William, patriarch of Jerusalem, dies. Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, succeeds to that chair, and Ralph, the king's chancellor, is imposed upon the church of Tyre by royal power.

About this time, William, patriarch of Jerusalem, of precious memory, a simple and God-fearing man, went the way of all flesh. He died on September 27, in the fifteenth year of his rule. On January 25 of the

28 This recapture and second loss of Edessa occurred late in 1146 (November-December).
following year, Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, was chosen in his place, the third in the number of our predecessors.  

About the time of the feast of Epiphany, a thunderbolt sent from on high struck the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord on Mt. Sion and exposed it to great danger. The omen terrified the entire city and was, as we believe, a portent of disaster. A comet also was visible for many days, and certain other unusual signs, prophetic of future events, appeared.

Since the church at Tyre was without a head, the king and his mother, on whom the responsibility of the realm and the entire government rested, met at Tyre with the lord patriarch who had formerly occupied that church and the suffragan bishops of that same church. Their object was to appoint someone to the archbishopric. The choice of a bishop was duly discussed, as is customary in such cases, but the views of the electors differed. One party demanded the appointment of Ralph, the royal chancellor, a man undoubtedly learned but too worldly. He was English by birth, a very handsome man, and most acceptable to the king and the queen—and, indeed, to all of the court. The king and his mother approved and strongly supported him as their choice.

The chief patrons of the other party were John of Pisa, archdeacon of Tyre and later a cardinal of the church of Rome, with title Saints Sylvester and Martin, Bernard of Sidon, and John, bishop of Beirut. These prelates, following the lord patriarch, opposed the choice of Ralph. They made an appeal against the other party, which relied on the pressure exerted by the king, and, with the patriarch as their patron, they put forth every effort to defeat it.

The result was that the Chancellor Ralph succeeded by violence in usurping the church and its possessions and for two years maintained his position. Finally the case was appealed to Rome and, in the presence of the parties, Pope Eugenius rendered the decision that the election of the chancellor was null and void.  

Later, this same Ralph,

29 William, who became patriarch in 1130, died September 27, 1145. Fulcher became patriarch January 25, 1146.
30 The detailed account of this election affords an insight into the variety of interests involved in important ecclesiastical elections. Just when this decision was rendered is not certain. Ralph's successor, Peter, was still prior of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in May, 1148, and Ralph was perhaps referred to as electus of Tyre as late as 1151 (see R. Reg., nos. 249, 258).
through the favor of Pope Hadrian IV, his compatriot, obtained the church at Bethlehem and was ordained as bishop of that city.31

But in the chair of Tyre was placed with the consent and approval of all, Peter, prior of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, a native of Barcelona in Hither Spain. He was a man of rare simplicity and gentleness, who feared God and kept himself apart from all evil, one whose memory is held in benediction both by God and man. He was noble according to the flesh but still nobler in spirit. His life and deeds deserve a far longer and more careful treatment, but our story must pass over special details and return to the discussion of general topics.32

18. The people of the West are aroused. Conrad, emperor of the Romans, and Louis, king of France, with many other princes, set forth on the way to aid the Christians of the East.

When the city of Edessa was captured, as has been related, the story of the ominous disaster was carried by rumor throughout the entire West. It was said that the impious race of Turks had not only overwhelmed the city of Edessa but was also laying waste the cities, villas, and fortified places of our people and overrunning the entire East unchecked. Thus the people of Christ were suffering extraordinary trials because of constant combats and repeated invasions.

Messengers went about to peoples and nations everywhere spreading these reports; provinces which had become lazy and enervated by long periods of peace were visited and their aid besought to avenge these great wrongs. Pope Eugenius III, a devout man of God, also felt the solicitude of a father for his sons of the East, it was said, and was in full and affectionate sympathy with them. He dispatched throughout the various regions of the West religious men, eloquent in exhortation, powerful both in word and deed, to inform princes

31 Hadrian IV, the only Englishman to hold the papal office, became pope in December, 1154. The first notice of Ralph as bishop of Bethlehem appears in June, 1156 (see R. Reg., no. 321). Hadrian IV was named Nicholas Breakspear and is known in English history, but Ralph of Bethlehem is known to have been an Englishman only through William (see Beatrice Siedschlag, English Participation in the Crusades, 1150-1220, p. 110).

32 It is interesting to speculate as to the connection between William and Peter, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, which this warm reference to the latter implies. Peter had been prior since 1130 and was therefore in Jerusalem during all of William's youth. He may have directed the education of William and been instrumental in starting him on his career in the church.
and people, tribes and tongues everywhere of the intolerable sufferings of their brethren in the East and to rouse them to go forth to avenge these terrible wrongs. Among these envoys was Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, of immortal memory, beloved of God, a man whose honorable life was an example to all and in every respect worthy of remembrance. He was chosen as the leader for carrying out this mission so pleasing to God, and with all diligence he executed the task laid upon him. Although weak of body because of approaching old age, almost constant fasting, and a too meager diet, he went about through the kingdom and through the country everywhere with his colaborers beloved of God, zealously and indefatigably preaching the kingdom of God. With all due care he described the affliction of the people of the East and the woes by which they were continually oppressed. He set forth clearly that the cities of the faithful, once devoted to the Christian profession, were now suffering the direst servitude under the persecutors of the name of Christ. Bound with chains and shackles, consumed by hunger, confined in horrible prisons, in filth and squalor, clothed with bitterness, those brethren for whom also Christ was willing to die were sitting in beggary and irons. To the task of liberating their oppressed brethren he invited them and stirred their hearts with longing to avenge such wrongs; he promised that aid from on high and eternal rewards with the elect awaited all who would undertake this pious work.

As with devoted perseverance he spread this message among nations, principalities, and kingdoms, he won instant favor with great and small. Voluntarily they gave a ready assent to his preaching and vowed to take the road to Jerusalem. Fitting upon their shoulders the sign of the quickening cross, they prepared for the journey. Not alone with the throngs of common people were his persuasive words effective, but even with the supreme rulers of the world and those who occupied the highest pinnacle of kingdoms. The most powerful and illustrious kings of the land, namely, Conrad, emperor of the Romans, and Louis, king of the Franks, with many princes of both kingdoms, embraced the word with equal desire for the same end. Upon their shoulders and garments they impressed the saving token of the reviving cross in all devotion as a sign that they too would undertake the pilgrimage.33

33 This expedition is usually called the Second Crusade. Eugenius III, like Bernard
19. The emperor sets out first with his army and arrives at Constantinople. The sultan of Iconium sets ambuscades for him.

The two monarchs made all due arrangements for the government of their kingdoms and joined to their number those who in fervent longing had taken upon themselves the vows of salvation. When all necessary preparation for the march had been completed as bespitted royal dignity, they set out upon the pilgrimage pleasing to God, in the month of May. They departed under unlucky auspices, however, and with sinister omens. For they started on the way as if contrary to the will of an angry God, and, in punishment for the sins of man, they accomplished nothing pleasing to Him on that entire pilgrimage. Nay, they even rendered worse the situation of those to whom they intended to bring succor.34

The leaders had decided to advance separately, each one conducting his own army, so that disagreements and contentions might not arise among the people. In this way, also, the necessities of life for the legions might more easily be procured, and fodder for the horses and pack animals would be more abundant.

They traversed Bavaria, crossed the mighty river Danube at Ratisbon, and descended into Austria with the river on their left. They then entered the land of Hungary, where they received honorable treatment from the king of that country. Passing through that kingdom and the two Pannonias, they went through the provinces of the Bulgarians, namely, Moesia and Dacia Mediterranea, with Dacia Ripensis on the left. They reached Thrace, passed through the famous cities of Philippopolis and Adrianople, and finally arrived at the royal city.35 They

of Clairvaux, was a Cistercian, and Cistercian leadership of this crusade was as pronounced as the Cluniac leadership had been in the First. St. Bernard is usually credited with the persuasion of Conrad and Louis VII to enlist for the crusade despite the advice of leading ministers of the two monarchs. Eugenius III had sent out his first call for a crusade in December, 1145, which he repeated in March, 1146. The most complete study of this crusade is still that of Kugler, contained in his several works on the subject (see B. Kugler, Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs; Analecten zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs; Neue Analecten zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs; Geschichte der Kreuzzüge). These should be supplemented by biographies of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (see especially E. Vacandard, Vie de Saint Bernard abbé de Clairvaux, and Byzantine histories of the period.

34 This judgment was based on the ultimate failure of the enterprise and not upon any specific errors or wrongdoing at the outset.

35 William presents a very summary account of this journey along the old pilgrim and crusaders' trail to Constantinople in contrast to the detailed account of the earlier
had a friendly interview with Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, and enjoyed a few days of rest, most necessary for the refreshment and relaxation of the armies after so many hardships. Then they crossed the Hellespont, whose waters lave the banks of Constantinople and form the boundary between Europe and Asia, and entered Bithynia, the first province of Asia which one reaches. All the legions encamped in the village of Chalcedon, whence the city they had just left could be seen not far away. It was in this ancient city that the fourth holy synod of six hundred and thirty-six fathers convened in the time of the Emperor Martian and Pope Leo to combat the heresy of Eutyches, the monk and abbot who declared that there was but one nature in our Lord Jesus Christ.

The sultan of Iconium had known for a long time that these great princes were on the march and, in great fear of their coming, he had already called for aid from the most remote parts of the Orient. Full of anxiety as to ways and means by which he might ward off the imminent dangers arising from the presence of so many enemies, he fortified cities, restored ruined strongholds, and implored aid from the neighboring peoples. With constant anxiety he awaited the arrival of the enemy who were said to be at his gates and, from day to day, looked forward with apprehension to the destruction of his people and the desolation of his country. Rumor said that the approaching host had never been equalled in number, that their cavalry forces alone would cover the whole surface of the land; the largest rivers would not suffice to furnish them drink, nor could the most fertile countries supply them with food. Although these reports were greatly exaggerated, yet the actual facts might well strike terror to the hearts of great chiefs who were not followers of the Christian faith. For, according to the

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36 The relations of Emperor Manuel with Emperor Conrad III and with King Louis VII were neither as simple nor as pleasant as William here summarizes them. Both of the latter, as soon as they decided to go on the crusade, had begun an interchange of letters and envoys with Manuel. When they neared Constantinople, Manuel's worries were even greater than had been those of Alexius. He was actually at war with Roger of Sicily at the time. His recently acquired possessions in Cilicia would be endangered by the crusaders, once they reached eastern Asia Minor. Chalandon has treated this problem, or series of problems, more fully than any other recent historian, and, though he is disposed to be more sympathetic towards Manuel than the facts fully justify, his account deserves great respect (see Chalandon, Les Comrn, II, 262–315).

37 See earlier reference to the council in Book II, chap. 12, note 16.
uniform statement of men who took part in this expedition, there were in the army of the emperor alone about seventy thousand mailed knights, besides the people on foot, women and children, and light-armed cavalry. In the army of the king of France also it was estimated that there were seventy thousand valiant men wearing the breastplate, in addition to those on foot. If God in His good pleasure had deigned to attend them and had granted them His mercy and saving grace, doubtless they might have subdued to the Christian faith not only the sultan but indeed all the provinces of the Orient. But the Lord in His just, although secret, judgment rejected their service and did not regard it as an acceptable offering, perchance because it was offered with unworthy hands.

20. After crossing the Hellespont, the army of Emperor Conrad is led astray by the malice of the Greeks and drawn into very dangerous places.

As soon as all the legions had been moved across the Hellespont, Emperor Conrad with some of the principal nobles of his suite took leave of the emperor and also sailed across the sea. The legions, each under command of its own leader, were then ordered to advance. Leaving Galatia, Paphlagonia, and the two provinces of Pontus on the left and Phrygia, Lydia, and Asia Minor on the right, Conrad marched straight through the center of Bithynia to Nicomedia, the metropolis of that land. On the right he passed Nicaea, the city where, in the time of Emperor Constantine, the synod of three hundred and eighteen holy fathers convened to combat the wicked doctrine of the unhappy Arius. From here the entire army, in battle array, followed the shortest route to Lycaonia, the capital of which is Iconium.

At this place, the sultan had assembled large forces of armed men and also an immense body of Turks from the neighboring lands. He was awaiting a favorable time and place to attack the Christians as they tried to pass and thus to prevent their advance. By bribes and entreaties he had roused against our people all the kings, leaders, and chiefs of every degree, even in the most remote provinces of the East. By a constant succession of messengers, he had prayed them to consider that if such a mighty host of armed men were permitted to pass through

38 Here again the numbers must be considered impressionistic rather than accurate.
39 See earlier reference to the council of Nicaea in Book III, chap. 1, note 1.
the country without opposition, they would reduce the entire East to their sway by force of arms. A great number of nations responded quickly to his call and from the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Isauria, Cilicia, Media, and Parthia a vast multitude assembled. With the assistance of all these nations, he hoped that he might be able to resist with somewhat equal forces the mighty host which was said to be approaching.

On departing from Constantinople, Conrad had requested the emperor to furnish him with guides who knew the country and were well informed about the neighboring provinces. These men, however, proved to be far from trustworthy. It was understood that they had been furnished to lead the armies in all good faith so that the troops following them might not be exposed imprudently to dangers and difficulties or to lack of food while on the march. As soon as they had conducted the army into the land of the enemy, however, these guides informed the leaders that in order to take advantage of a shorter route, which led through unoccupied country, necessary food for a certain number of days must be carried with them. Within a few days thereafter, they faithfully promised that the armies would arrive at the far-famed city of Iconium and would find themselves in a most fertile country full of all kinds of provisions. Obedient to this injunction, the Christians loaded pack animals, carts, and all kinds of vehicles with provisions, for they trusted their guides and followed them in simple good faith.

The guides, however, led by the malice inherent in the Greek race and also by their customary hatred of the Christians, acted treacherously. Either because commanded by their master or because bribed by the Turks, they purposely led the legions by unfrequented routes and drew them into places which offered the enemy favorable opportunities to attack and overcome a credulous people.\(^{40}\)

\[21. \text{The guides furnished by the Greek emperor to lead Emperor Conrad's army wickedly depart and leave the troops exposed to great danger.}\]

When the allotted number of days had passed and the expedition had not reached the destination so eagerly desired, the emperor ordered

\(^{40}\) Chalandon, of course, discredits this charge of treachery and explains the disaster to Conrad's army on the theory that the people had become so enfeebled through thirst
the Greek guides to be brought before him. In the presence of his nobles he began to put searching questions to them: Why was it that the army had already been upon the march longer than had been stipulated in the beginning and yet had not reached its destination? The guides as usual resorted to falsehoods and asserted steadfastly that, with the help of God, all the legions would arrive at Iconium within three days. The emperor, a man without guile, readily believed their words and answered that he would endure these three days also, since he had faith in their promises. On the following night, camp was made in the usual manner, but while all were resting after their labors, these treacherous guides secretly fled in the dead of night and left the people who had been confided to their faithful care without leaders. At length the light of day returned and the time for resuming the march approached, but those who usually led the lines could not be found. The treachery of the deserters was finally reported to the emperor and the chiefs of the army, and their perfidy became known to all.

Moreover, these men of Belial, in order to add to their wickedness and heap crime upon crime, hastened to the army of the king of France, which was reported to be in the vicinity. There they falsely declared that Emperor Conrad, who had gone on ahead under their guidance, had been entirely successful and had gained an important victory over the enemy. He had seized Iconium by force of arms and had destroyed it from the very foundations.

It seems evident to us that they made this assertion either to induce the king to follow the same route and thus fall into the same perils, or, possibly, by leading him to believe that Conrad had been entirely successful, to prevent him from hurrying to the assistance of his imperilled brethren. It may be, however, that they invented this story to avert punishment from themselves. For if they had reported that the army had perished, they would have been seized as traitors, since it was by their wickedness that the people had rushed to their destruction. Whatever their intentions may have been, it is certain that it was their perfidy which led the betrayed army to descend into that abyss of death.

As soon as the emperor realized that the army was without guides, and hunger that they fell an easy prey to the fleet mounted Turks who hovered about (Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 285–88).
he called a council of all the chiefs to consider what course of action
must be taken. An utter lack of harmony was immediately disclosed;
some declared that they must turn back, while others advised that
they continue on their way. Well might it have been said of them in
this crisis, "He poureth contempt upon princes and causeth them to
wander in the wilderness where there is no way." 41

While they were in this state of uncertainty, anxious over their
ignorance of the country and concerned about the lack of provisions
(for fodder for the horses and pack animals as well as all kinds of
food supplies for the troops had entirely given out), there came a report
that the enemy's army, a vast multitude of Turks, was near at hand.
This proved to be true. The Christians were in a sterile wilderness,
far from all cultivated land; they had been purposely led there, as
we have said before, by their traitorous guides. They should have
marched through Lycaonia, which they had left on the right. By this
route they would have passed through a cultivated land full of all
kinds of supplies and would have arrived at their destination in far
less time. Instead, the Greeks led them to the left and forced the
entire army to turn aside into the wilderness of Cappadocia, far from
Iconium.

It was common talk, and probably quite true, that these perilous
wanderings were devised with the knowledge and at the command
of the Greek emperor, who has always envied the successful advance
of the Christians. For it is well known that the Greeks have always
looked with distrust on all increase of power by the Western nations
(as they still do), especially by that of the Teutonic nation, as rivals
of the empire. They take it ill that the king of the Teutons calls him-
selvthe emperor of the Romans. For thereby he seems to detract too
much from the prestige of their own emperor, whom they themselves
call monarch, that is, the one who rules supreme over all and there-
fore is the one and only emperor of the Romans.42

41 Ps. 107:40.
42 There was some foundation to this theory of jealousy. The inability of the two
emperors to decide which should call upon the other when Conrad arrived at Con-
stantinople caused not only embarrassment but actual trouble (see Chalandon, Les' Comnène, II, 277).
22. The Turks make a sudden attack upon the Teutonic host; the legions are destroyed, but the emperor escapes.

During this time, the emperor's army was suffering from hunger, from ignorance of the country, from long-continued privations, as well as from the difficulties of the roads, the lack of horses, and the burden of the baggage. Meanwhile, the Turkish satraps and officers of various ranks, well aware of the situation, assembled their forces and made a sudden attack upon the Christian camp. This unexpected action threw the legions into utter confusion, for they had not foreseen anything of the kind. The strength of the Turks lay in their swift horses, which had suffered from no lack of food, and in their light equipment of bows and arrows. With loud cries, they surrounded the camp and with their usual agility fell furiously upon our soldiers, who were retarded by their heavy armor. The Christians were superior to the foe in strength and practice in arms, yet, weighed down as they were with breastplates, greaves, and shields, they could not combat the Turks, nor could they pursue them very far from the camp. Their horses also, emaciated by hunger and the long marches, were utterly unable to gallop hither and yon. The Turks, on the contrary, charged en masse; while still at a distance they let fly countless showers of arrows which fell like hail upon the horses and their riders and brought death and wounds from afar. When the Christians tried to pursue, however, the Turks turned and fled upon their swift horses and thus escaped the sword of their foes. Our army, hemmed in on all sides, was in mortal danger from the constant showers of darts and arrows. They had no chance to retaliate or to engage the foe at close quarters, nor could they lay hold of the enemy. As often as they tried to make a counter-attack, the Turks broke ranks, eluded all their attempts, and galloped off in different directions. Then, when the Christians returned to their camp, the Turks reconstructed their lines, again surrounded our forces, and attacked even more furiously, as if they were besieging a town.

Thus, by the hidden, though just, purposes of God, the valor of these great Christian princes, whose arms and strength, courage and numbers had seemed incomparable, suddenly collapsed under the pressure of a rather mild warfare. Scarcely a vestige of their former glory remained, and merely a remnant of their vast forces. Of seventy thousand mailed knights and many companies of foot soldiers, countless
in number, barely a tenth part escaped, according to the statement of those who were on this expedition. Some perished by hunger, others were cut down by the sword, and still others fell into the hands of the enemy as prisoners. The emperor escaped, however, with a few of his nobles. After several days, he succeeded with great difficulty in reaching the vicinity of Nicea with the remnant of his followers.

But the victorious Turks, laden with spoils and enriched by countless treasures, with horses and arms even to superabundance, retired to their own fortresses. There, since they knew the country well, they eagerly awaited the coming of the king of France, for, according to report, he had reached practically these same parts. Since they had vanquished the superior forces of Emperor Conrad, they hoped even more easily to rout the army of the king of France. The result was, in fact, as they had anticipated.

The sultan of Iconium did not participate in this great adventure. Because God permitted it, a noble and powerful Turkish satrap called Paramus, who commanded the sultan’s troops, accomplished this almost unhoped-for feat. The event took place in the month of November, in the year of the Incarnation 1146.

23. The king of the Franks crosses the Hellespont and arrives with his host at Nicea in Bithynia. The two sovereigns confer with one another. Emperor Conrad returns to Constantinople.

Meanwhile the king of the Franks, following almost the same route with his army, had arrived at Constantinople. There he remained for a short time. He held several private interviews with the emperor, who showed him great honor and, on his departure, presented him with bountiful gifts. The nobles of his suite also were treated with marked favor. From Constantinople the king passed into Bithynia with all his legions. At a point between the royal city and the Black Sea (which are distant from each other thirty miles), he crossed the Hellespont. Here it is at its narrowest, barely a mile in width. He then marched round the Nicomedian gulf which is so named from the adjacent city of Nicomedia, capital of Bithynia, and which also forms part of the

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43 William, then eighteen years old, probably talked with some of the survivors whom he met later at Jerusalem. His statement of the date of this disaster should be corrected to October 26, 1147. The proportion of the losses is probably fairly accurate.
Bosphorus or Hellespont. In the village of Nicaea, not very far from the city itself, the king established his camp until he should determine by what route to advance. He made careful inquiries about the emperor of the Romans, who had preceded him, and was told that the emperor had lost his army, but that he himself, a wanderer and a fugitive, had made his escape with a few of his nobles. At first this was merely a doubtful rumor, without trustworthy foundation. As time went on, however, it received definite confirmation. For a little later Frederick, duke of Swabia,\textsuperscript{44} came to the army of the king of the Franks from the emperor’s camp. He brought full and detailed information about the disaster, which up to that time had been known merely through vague and unreliable rumors.

The duke, a young man of admirable qualities, later succeeded his uncle, Emperor Conrad, as ruler of the Roman Empire, which he now governs with vigor and success. He had come to invite the king to a conference with the emperor, that they might consult together, albeit too late, over the route to be followed. On hearing of the tragic disaster which had befallen the emperor and the perils and destruction of their brethren, the entire army was moved with righteous indignation and pity. The king, deeply stirred by the duke’s report, held counsel with his people. Then, under the duke’s escort, he set out with some of his nobles to confer with the emperor, whose camp was not far away.

The two monarchs exchanged the customary salutations with the kiss of peace. They then engaged in a friendly conference, during which they decided to persevere in the accomplishment of their purpose and to join their forces for the advance march. Many from both hosts, however, and especially from that of the Teutons, disregarded their vows and returned to Constantinople. Their travelling money was exhausted, and the extreme hardships of the march and the necessary outlay terrified them.

After consulting with the chief commanders of both armies, the two monarchs abandoned the route which the emperor had previously taken on the left and directed the line of march toward Asia Minor. On their right were the two Phrygias and behind them Bithynia. They marched, now by the inland route, now by the road along the shore, with Philadelphia on the left, and came first to Smyrna. From there

\textsuperscript{44} This was the future Frederick Barbarossa, king of Germany and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, 1152–1190.
they proceeded to Ephesus, the capital of Asia Minor, famous for the life and preaching of John the Evangelist, and also the place of his burial. At Ephesus, the emperor commanded the legions which had survived to march back overland. He himself took ship and returned to Constantinople. The reasons for this action are unknown; perchance he was chagrined over the depleted numbers of the great host which he had led forth; perchance he found the arrogance of the Franks unendurable. He was received by the emperor with even more marked distinction than before and remained at Constantinople with his nobles until the beginning of the following spring. The two sovereigns were closely united by marriage; for their wives were sisters, daughters of the elder Berengar, count of Sulzbach, a great and noble prince, very powerful in the kingdom of the Teutons. Hence the emperor showed Conrad very great favor and, at the special request of the empress, lavished gifts upon him and his nobles most liberally.

24. The king of the Franks proceeds by a different route to Ephesus. Here Guy of Ponthieu dies. In spite of the efforts of the foe, the Franks cross the river Meander.

Meanwhile the king of the Franks, much engaged with his nobles over preparations for the march, was tarrying at Ephesus to allow his army to recuperate. During this time, Count Guy of Ponthieu, a noble distinguished for his military skill and prowess, fell ill and died. He was buried with all due honor in the vestibule of the church at Ephesus. From here the king set out with the whole army and marched with all the speed possible toward the east. After a few days' march he reached the fords of the river Meander, beloved of swans. This is the river of which our Naso writes in the *Heroides:*

So when destiny calls, cast down in the wet grass,  
The white swan sings at the shoals of the Meander.  

45 The difference in speech, manners, and customs no doubt caused considerable friction. There was also the illness of Conrad. Manuel and his wife had come by ship to Ephesus, where Conrad was staying, and invited him to return with them to Constantinople, where Manuel himself looked after him (Chalandon, *Les Connêne*, II, 308).

46 Bertha of Sulzbach had been betrothed to Manuel in 1142 before the death of Emperor John. Her name was changed to Irene and she was trained in Greek manners before her marriage in 1146 (Chalandon, *Les Connêne*, II, 210, 260).

47 Ovid *Her.* VII. 1-2.
Amid the green meadows on the banks of this river the king made his camp. Here for the first time, the longing of the Franks to see their foe was gratified, for as the Christians tried to approach the river, great numbers of Turks appeared on the opposite bank and prevented them from using the water. At last they found the fords, however, and, despite the enemy's efforts, forced a passage across the river and rushed upon the Turks. They killed many of them and took numerous prisoners. The rest turned and fled. The victorious Franks at once seized the Turkish camp, which was filled with spoils of the richest kind and supplies of every description, and by vigorous action made themselves masters of the farther bank. Filled with joy over the victory and the rich spoils which they had seized, the Christians passed a quiet night and, at dawn, prepared to resume the march.

Thence they advanced to Laodicea, a city of that same locality. Here they supplied themselves with provisions for several days, as was their custom, and again set forth as with one mind.

25. The Frankish army suffers a most disastrous defeat. The vanguard which had gone on ahead escapes.

A precipitous mountain, very difficult of ascent, blocked the path of the advancing army. According to the plan of march, it must be surmounted that day. It was customary upon this campaign to designate each day a certain number of distinguished men to act as leaders—some to conduct the advance guard and others to bring up the rear as protection for the non-militant throng and especially for the crowd of people on foot. On these men also devolved the duty of planning with the nobles the route to be followed, the length of the march, and the location of the camp for the next day. On this particular day, the choice fell, in the order of his turn, upon a certain nobleman from Aquitaine named Geoffrey de Rancogne. Accordingly, he went on ahead with the standard of the king and ascended the mountain with the vanguard. His orders were that the vanguard should make camp on the heights. When he reached the summit, however, the greater part of the day still remained, and Geoffrey decided, notwithstanding his orders, to advance a little farther, for he felt that the march had been too short that day. The guides assured him that there was a better spot for the camp near by. Accordingly, he went on farther. The
people who were following the vanguard supposed that the camp was to be placed on the summit of the mountain, and, in the belief that the day’s march was nearly completed, they began rather carelessly to lag behind. Thus the army was divided; some had already crossed the ridge, while others were still loitering upon it. The Turks, ever on the alert for an opportunity to attack, immediately recognized the situation; they were, in fact, ever following alongside the army with this very end in view, and from a distance they kept close watch on the movements of the Christians. The way was narrow and the ranks were separated, because the larger and stronger force had gone on ahead; the Turks knew that the situation of the rear ranks could not easily become known, nor could help be sent to them in their extremity. They took advantage of the favorable opportunity and seized the summit of the mountain, so as to cause still greater confusion between our van and the rear guard. Then in battle array, they fell upon our forces, and before the latter could seize arms the Turks had broken up their lines by force. No longer was the fight carried on with bows and arrows; it was fought at close quarters with the sword and brought death and destruction to the Christians. All who tried to flee were most cruelly pursued. Our people were hindered by the narrow defiles, and their horses were exhausted by the long marches and the difficulty of the roads. In addition, they were hindered by the enormous amount of baggage. Yet they resisted as with one accord and with unflinching courage fought valiantly on behalf of life and liberty and in defense of their companions of the way. They carried on the combat with swords and lances and by both words and example cheered each other to continued effort.

The Turks, inspired by the hope of victory, likewise endeavored to animate each other; they called to mind how, only a few days before, they had routed a much greater army with less danger and had easily triumphed over forces more numerous and far stronger.

The battle was long fought and of doubtful outcome. Finally, however, in punishment for our sins, the infidels conquered. Many Christians were killed and large numbers made prisoners; our army was reduced to a very few. Many noble and illustrious men perished that day, men notable for their military deeds and well worthy of pious remembrance. Among the number were the count of Varennnes, a man preëminent even among great lords, Gauchiers de Montjoy, Evrard
de Breteuil, Itiers de Meingnac, and many others. Their names we do not remember, but we believe that they are written in heaven and their memory will be held in benediction forever. 48

That day the glorious reputation of the Franks was lost through a misfortune most fatal and disastrous for the Christians; their valor, up to this time formidable to the nations, was crushed to earth. Henceforward it was as a mockery in the eyes of those unclean races to whom formerly it had been a terror.

Why was it, O blessed Lord Jesus, that this people, so devoted to Thee, who longed to adore the traces of Thy footprints and to kiss the venerated places which Thou hadst consecrated by Thy bodily presence, suffered defeat at the hand of those who hated Thee? Truly, Thy judgments are as a bottomless pit and there is no one who can understand them. For Thou, alone, O Lord, art able to do all things and there is no one who can resist Thy will.

26. The king escapes by chance and joins the advance guard.
The remnant of the army reaches Attalia and from there crosses over into Syria.

Meanwhile, the king, rather by chance than by his own efforts, escaped amid the great peril and confusion. In the silence of midnight, without a guide, he climbed the slope of the mountain so often mentioned and, with a few attendants, reached the camp which had been placed somewhat farther on. As has been said, the vanguard, following the royal standard, had traversed the narrow passes of the mountain without difficulty and had established camp without opposition in a suitable location. They were utterly unaware of all that had happened to the army in their rear. Yet when they found that the arrival of the troops was interrupted and great delay ensued, an ominous foreboding of some disaster prevailed, an inkling that all was not as could be desired. But when those who had escaped with the king arrived at the camp, the sad disaster became known with certainty. Then sorrow fell upon the army, and grievous anxiety seized the hearts of all. With tremulous voice and tearful sighs, each sought for those most dear to

48 William's information about the French army is more complete and accurate than about the German army, a portion of which, under the leadership of Otto, bishop of Freising, had preceded the French on this road and had likewise met disaster at this pass.
him, and when they were found missing, grief was redoubled. The camp resounded with lamentations, and the troops were torn with anguish. Throughout the entire camp there was not a place which was not filled with mourning for friends and household companions. One sought his father, another his master. Here a woman was searching everywhere for her son, there another for her husband. Those whose search was fruitless passed a sleepless night, burdened with anxious fear lest the worst had happened to the absent ones. During the night, however, there arrived at the camp some of each class. These, rather by chance than by their own wisdom, had escaped death by hiding among the bushes and rocks or in underground caverns under the protection of the kindly darkness. This disaster occurred in January in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1146.49

From this time, there began to be a shortage of bread and all other provisions in the camp. Moreover, for many days thereafter, they had no market of any kind. But there was an even worse trouble. They had no guides to lead them and they were wandering now here, now there, without knowledge of the locality. Finally, however, they entered Pamphylia, over steep mountain passes and through deep valleys, and with great difficulty, although without conflict with the enemy, succeeded in reaching Attalia, the capital of that district. Attalia lies upon the seacoast and is subject to the emperor of Constantinople. It possesses very rich fields, which are, nevertheless, of no advantage to the townspeople, for they are surrounded by enemies on all sides who hinder their cultivation. Therefore, the fertile soil lies fallow, since there is no one to work it. Yet the place has many other advantages which it offers freely to visitors. It is most delightfully situated, it abounds in clear and healthful waters, and it is planted with fruit-bearing trees. The grain supply is brought from overseas in ample quantities, so that those resorting there are well supplied with the necessities of life.

It borders very closely, however, on the land of the enemy, and since it was found impossible to endure their continual attacks, it became tributary to them. Through this connection, Attalia maintains trade in necessaries with the enemy. Our soldiers, unacquainted with the Greek language, corrupted the name of this city to Satalia. Accordingly that entire portion of the sea, from the promontory of Lissi-

49 This may be a copyist’s error, for the year was 1148.
dona to the island of Cyprus, is called the Attalic sea and is known in common parlance as the Satalian gulf.

At Attalia the king of the Franks and his people suffered from a serious shortage of food brought on by the great number of people who had come thither; in fact, the survivors of the army, and above all the poor, nearly perished of famine. Here the king left the people on foot and with his nobles went on board ship. Isauria and Cilicia were passed on the left, and the island of Cyprus on the right. After a short sea voyage with favorable winds, they sailed into the mouth of the Orontes river, which flows by Antioch, and landed at the place which is now called the Port of St. Simeon, near the ancient city of Seleucia, ten miles from Antioch.50

27. Raymond, prince of Antioch, receives the king of the Franks with great honor at the Port of St. Simeon and conducts him to Antioch. Later, however, they are wickedly alienated.

For many days Raymond, prince of Antioch, had eagerly awaited the arrival of the king of the Franks. When he learned that the king had landed in his domains, he summoned all the nobles of the land and the chief leaders of the people and went out to meet him with a chosen escort. He greeted the king with much reverence and conducted him with great pomp into the city of Antioch, where he was met by the clergy and the people. Long before this time—in fact, as soon as he heard that Louis was coming—Raymond had conceived the idea that by his aid he might be able to enlarge the principality of Antioch. With this in mind, therefore, even before the king started on the pilgrimage, the prince had sent to him in France a large store of noble gifts and treasures of great price in the hope of winning his favor. He also counted greatly on the interest of the queen with the lord king, for she had been his inseparable companion on his pilgrimage. She was Raymond’s niece, the eldest daughter of Count William of Poitou, his brother.51

50 His arrival here is dated March 19, 1148.
51 This is the famous Eleanor of Aquitaine, prominent in the history of both France and England. Her betrothal to Louis had been brought about largely through the efforts of Suger, abbot of St. Denis and virtually prime minister of the kingdom. He anticipated the death of William X, duke of Aquitaine, without male heir and hoped through the marriage to enlarge the kingdom. William X died about the time of the marriage.
As we have said, therefore, Raymond showed the king every attention on his arrival. He likewise displayed a similar care for the nobles and chief men in the royal retinue and gave them many proofs of his great liberality. In short, he outdid all in showing honor to each one according to his rank and handled everything with the greatest magnificence. He felt a lively hope that with the assistance of the king and his troops he would be able to subjugate the neighboring cities, namely, Aleppo, Shayzar, and several others. Nor would this hope have been futile, could he have induced the king and his chief men to undertake the work. For the arrival of King Louis had brought such fear to our enemies that now they not only distrusted their own strength but even despaired of life itself.\(^{52}\)

Raymond had already more than once approached the king privately in regard to the plans which he had in mind. Now he came before the members of the king’s suite and his own nobles and explained with due formality how his request could be accomplished without difficulty and at the same time be of advantage and renown to themselves. The king, however, ardently desired to go to Jerusalem to fulfil his vows, and his determination was irrevocable. When Raymond found that he could not induce the king to join him, his attitude changed. Frustrated in his ambitious designs, he began to hate the king’s ways; he openly plotted against him and took means to do him injury. He resolved also to deprive him of his wife, either by force or by secret intrigue. The queen readily assented to this design, for she was a foolish woman.\(^{53}\) Her conduct before and after this time showed her to be, as we have said, far from circumspect. Contrary to her royal

\(^{52}\) The prestige of the king of the Franks is attested by Qalanisi, who mentions Conrad as though he were merely a noble in the former’s army (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 280–81).

\(^{53}\) It must be borne in mind that, when William wrote this, Eleanor had been long separated from Louis VII and had taken her inheritance from Louis of France to Henry II of England. Louis and Eleanor were estranged when they returned from the crusade. They were of incompatible temperament, socially active and pleasure-loving. Eleanor contrasting with the pious, almost puritanical Louis. Eleanor was thrilled by the elaborate social life of the East, both at Constantinople and at Antioch. Whether her indiscretions involved any more than overindulgence in this social life may be questioned. It became customary for French writers to place the more sinister interpretation upon the matter, so that legends soon circulated about her amours with various persons, including even Saladin, who at this time was about ten years of age. The sources of William’s information about this matter were obviously French (see *R.K.J.*, p. 248, note 3).
dignity, she disregarded her marriage vows and was unfaithful to her husband.

As soon as the king discovered these plots, he took means to pro-
vide for his life and safety by anticipating the designs of the prince.
By the advice of his chief nobles, he hastened his departure and secretly
left Antioch with his people. Thus the splendid aspect of his affairs
was completely changed, and the end was quite unlike the beginning.
His coming had been attended with pomp and glory; but fortune
is fickle, and his departure was ignominious.

Some people attribute this outcome to the king’s own base conduct.
They maintain that he received his just deserts because he did not
accede to the request of a great prince from whom he and his followers
had received kind treatment. This is of especial interest, because these
persons constantly affirm that if the king would have devoted himself
to that work, one or more of the above-named cities might easily have
been taken.

28. The winter being over, Emperor Conrad arrives in Syria by
sea. Count Alphonse also lands at the city of Acre. He dies
at Caesarea.

Emperor Conrad passed the winter in the royal city. He was treated
with the utmost courtesy by the emperor of Constantinople, as befitted
so great a prince, and on his departure received many and splendid
gifts. Attended by his escort of nobles, he set sail for the East in a fleet
which was provided by his imperial highness and landed at the port
of Acre. From there he went on to Jerusalem. King Baldwin and
Fulcher, patriarch of precious memory, accompanied by the clergy and
the entire people, met him outside the city and, to the sound of hymns
and chants, conducted him into Jerusalem.54

About that same time there also landed at the port of Acre a splendid
and illustrious man, Alphonse, count of Toulouse.55 He was a son of
the elder Count Raymond, that great leader who rendered such im-
portant service on the first expedition. Alphonse was eminent because
of his own worth but still more so because of the precious memory
left by his father. While on his way to Jerusalem to give thanks for

54 Conrad arrived in Jerusalem about the second week in April, 1148.
55 See Book X, note 54.
the successful accomplishment of his pilgrimage, he stopped at the coast city of Caesarea. A few days after reaching there, however, he fell sick and died. It was rumored that he was poisoned, but the author of the fell crime was not discovered. The arrival of this man of famous memory had been anticipated with eagerness by the entire people, for it was hoped that he would bring to the kingdom the happy and prosperous omens of his father.

29. The king of the Franks leaves Antioch and proceeds to Jerusalem. The patriarch of Jerusalem is sent to meet him.

Meanwhile, news was received at Jerusalem that the king of the Franks had left Antioch and was approaching the land of Tripoli. The nobles at once unanimously resolved to send Fulcher, patriarch of Jerusalem of precious memory, to invite the king with fitting words and salutary counsel to visit the kingdom. For it was feared that the prince of Antioch might become reconciled to him and call him back or that he might be detained by the count of Tripoli, his kinsman. In either case, the desires of the people of Jerusalem would be hindered.

The possessions of the Latins in the East were divided into four principalities. The first to the south was the kingdom of Jerusalem, which began at the brook between Jubail and Beirut, maritime cities of the province of Phoenicia, and ended at the desert which is beyond Daron. The second toward the north was the county of Tripoli, which began at the rivulet just mentioned and extended to another stream between Maraclea and Valenia, likewise maritime cities. The third was the principality of Antioch. This began at the last-named rivulet and extended toward the west to Tarsus in Cilicia. The county of Edessa, the fourth division, began at the forest called Marrim and extended out toward the east beyond the Euphrates.

From the first, the great and powerful lords of these countries had cherished the hope that through the valiant assistance of these sovereigns who were coming they might be able to enlarge their own territories and extend their boundaries immensely. All had powerful enemies whose hated cities, so near their own territories, they longed to add to their own domains. All were anxious over their own affairs and eager to extend their lands. Accordingly, each one, intent on anticipating the others, sent messengers with gifts and invitations to the two monarchs. Of these, the hopes of the king and people of Jerusalem
seemed most likely to be realized. Love and reverent devotion for the holy places naturally drew all thither; moreover, the emperor was now with them. There was reason to believe that the king of the Franks would also hasten thither, both to accomplish his pilgrimage and to offer his prayers, and also that he might engage in some work for the advancement of Christianity, as decided by common counsel.

The chief men of the realm greatly feared that the king might be detained in the vicinity of Aleppo by the prince, to whom he was closely bound by the ties of marriage and affection, a contingency which seemed quite probable. They feared also that the queen might intervene. They therefore sent the patriarch to meet him.

When they learned, however, that the king and the prince had parted with far from friendly feelings, they felt increased hope that he would leave there without delay and come to Jerusalem. Yet to guard against the tricks of fortune and to anticipate anything that might happen, they sent the venerable patriarch to use his influence with the king. Nor was this hope in vain; the king was persuaded by Fulcher’s words and proceeded at once to Jerusalem.⁵⁶ All the clergy and people went out to meet him on his arrival. With all due honor and ceremony he was welcomed to the city and, to the accompaniment of hymns and chants, was led with his nobles to the venerable places.

When at last his prayers had been accomplished according to custom, a general court was proclaimed at the city of Acre to consider the results of this great pilgrimage, the completion of such great labors, and also the enlargement of the realm. On the appointed day they assembled at Acre, as had been arranged. Then, together with the nobles of the realm who possessed an accurate knowledge of affairs and places, they entered into a careful consideration as to what plan was most expedient.

⁵⁶ William’s clear analysis reveals one of the great weaknesses of the Latin East, but William apparently does not condemn the rivalry so long as Jerusalem gains by it.

HERE ENDS THE SIXTEENTH BOOK
HERE BEGINS THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK

THE CAPTURE OF ASCALON OFFSETS THE FAILURE OF THE SECOND CRUSADE

1. A general council is held at the city of Acre on the coast. The names of the princes who attended are given.

It seems well worth while and quite in harmony with the present history that the names of the nobles who were present at the council just mentioned, men who had come from lands of great importance, should be recorded here for the benefit of posterity. Foremost among these was the famous Conrad, king of the Teutons and emperor of the Romans. He was accompanied by the following ecclesiastical nobles of his court: Otto, bishop of Freising, his brother, a man of letters; 1 Stephen, bishop of Metz; and Henry, bishop of Toul, brother of Count Thierry of Flanders. Theotwin, bishop of Porto, the papal legate, a Teuton by birth, also accompanied the emperor’s train by command of Pope Eugenius.

Among the secular princes present were Henry, duke of Austria, the emperor’s brother; Duke Guelf, a distinguished and powerful noble; and Frederick, the illustrious duke of the Swabians and Vindelicians [probably Bavarians], son of the emperor’s eldest brother. The last-named prince was a young man of remarkable character who later succeeded his uncle Conrad and now rules the Roman Empire with vigor and courage. There were present also Hermann, margrave of Verona; Berthold of Andechs, later duke of Bavaria; [the elder] William, margrave of Montferrat, the emperor’s brother-in-law; and Guy, count of Blandras, whose wife was the sister of the margrave just named. The two nobles last mentioned, both great and distinguished

1 Otto, bishop of Freising, the great German historian of the twelfth century, was a half brother of Conrad III. Their mother, widow of Conrad’s father, married the duke of Austria. Otto, one of the younger members of a very large family, had been destined for an ecclesiastical career. When he finished his studies at Paris he was converted to the monastic life and entered the new Cistercian order. He became an abbot and later was chosen bishop. He accompanied Conrad on the crusade and was in charge of one of the detachments on the march across Asia Minor. His account of the crusade, however, is very meager, consisting chiefly of incidental mention in his two chief historical works, the Chronicle and the Deeds of Frederick I.
princes, were from Lombardy. Other noted men of high rank, whose
names and titles we do not recall, also attended.  

Louis, most pious king of the Franks, of famous memory in the
Lord, was also present. With him were Godfrey, bishop of Langres;
Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux; Guy of Florence, cardinal-priest of the
church of Rome, with title St. Chrysogonus, the legate of the apostolic
see; Robert, count of Perche, the king’s brother; and Henry, count of
Troyes, son of the elder Count Theobald and also son-in-law of the
king, a young man of fine character. With the king also were Thierry,
the magnificent count of Flanders, brother-in-law of the king of Jeru-
salem; and Ives de Nesle from Soissons, a wise and loyal man. Many
other important nobles of high rank were also present. All are worthy
of remembrance, but since it would take too long to record them here,
their names are intentionally omitted.  

From our own lands there were present Baldwin, king of Jerusalem,
a youth of great promise, and his mother, a wise and circumspect
woman, strong of heart and not inferior in wisdom to any prince what-
soever. They were accompanied by the Patriarch Fulcher; Baldwin,
archbishop of Caesarea; Robert, archbishop of Nazareth; Rorgo,
bishop of Acre; Bernard, bishop of Sidon; William, bishop of Beirut;
Adam, bishop of Banyas; Gerald, bishop of Bethlehem; Robert, master
of the Knights of the Temple; and Raymond, master of the Hospital.

Among the lay nobles were: Manasses, the royal constable; Philip
of Nablus; Elinandus of Tiberias; Gerard of Sidon; Walter of Caes-
area; Payens, lord of the country which lies beyond the Jordan; the
everbal Balian; Humphrey of Toron; Guy of Beirut, and many others.
To name each one individually would take far too long. All these great

2 William’s list of the German dignitaries is, as he confesses, not complete. The
“Blandras” is probably Biandrate in Italy. Röhrich has added many names to this list
(see R. Röhrich, Die Deutschen im Heiligen Land, pp. 27-41, and Geschichte des
Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100-1291, p. 249).

3 The author’s greater familiarity with the French is here definitely stated. It is
also evident in the greater amount and accuracy of his information about them. This
fact led to the belief that he had used a French source, the Gesta Ludovici, for his
information. The conclusion of the scholars’ debate on this question, however, is that
the Gesta Ludovici derived this portion of its chronicle from William’s account (see
Introduction, note 4).

4 The archbishop of Tyre is missing from this nearly complete list of the prelates
of Jerusalem. Ralph, the royal chancellor, who claimed the office, had not been con-
formed by the pope. It is not improbable that William, then a theological student
about eighteen years old, was himself present at Acre. It is unfortunate that he did
not report more of the discussion at the council in light of the later events.
men had assembled, as we have said, at the city of Acre for the purpose of considering, first of all, the best time and place when, by the will of God, they might endeavor to enlarge the kingdom and add to the glory of the Christian name.

2. They decide to lay siege to the city of Damascus and march thither as agreed upon.

Accordingly, the matter was thoroughly discussed. Various opinions of diverse factions were offered and arguments pro and con presented, as is customary in matters of such importance. At last it was agreed by all that under the circumstances it would be best to besiege Damascus, a city of great menace to us. When this decision was finally reached, the herald was ordered to proclaim that upon the appointed day all with one accord must be ready to lead their troops to those parts. Accordingly, the entire military strength of the realm, both cavalry and infantry, natives and pilgrims alike, was mustered. The two great sovereigns, beloved of God, also arrived with their forces. Then, on the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year 1147 of the Incarnation of our Lord, led by the Cross of Salvation, the united armies proceeded, as had been arranged, to the city of Tiberias.\(^5\) Thence, the entire host was conducted by the shortest route along the sea of Galilee to Banyas, which is Caesarea Philippi. Here the leaders conferred with persons well acquainted with the situation of Damascus and the adjacent country. Then, after consulting with their own leading men, they decided that the best way to blockade Damascus was first of all to take the orchards which surrounded the greater part of the city and afforded it much protection. When these had been seized the city itself could undoubtedly be easily taken.

In pursuance of this plan, therefore, they resumed the march. Crossing famous Mt. Lebanon which lies between Caesarea Philippi and Damascus, they descended into the plain at the village of Daria, four or five miles from the city. From this place the metropolis and the surrounding plain could be easily seen.

\(^5\) The year should, of course, be 1148. It is not certain whether this is merely a copyist's error or a mistake in William's chronology.
3. *The situation of Damascus is described.*

**Damascus** is the largest city of Lesser Syria, sometimes called also the Phoenicia of Lebanon. It is also the metropolis of that region, for, as we read, "the head of Syria is Damascus." The name of the city is derived from its reputed founder, a servant of Abraham, and is, being interpreted, the bloody city or the city full of blood. It lies in a plain which is arid and sterile except as it is irrigated by ancient canals which bring the water from above for its benefit. From a neighboring mountain ridge in the upper part of that region, a river descends and is received in canals, whence its waters can be led at will through the plain and distributed over the various parts of the lands below to fertilize the sterile soil. Since the supply is very abundant, the river also waters the orchards on both banks, which are planted with fruit trees, and then continues on its course past the eastern wall of the city.

At Daria, since the city was now so near, the sovereigns drew up their forces in battle formation and assigned the legions to their proper places in the order of march. For, if they advanced without method, quarrels might arise which would hinder the work before them.

Because of its supposed familiarity with the country, the division led by the king of Jerusalem was, by the common decision of the princes, directed to lead the way and open a path for the legions following. To the king of the Franks and his army was assigned the second place or center, that they might aid those ahead if need arose. By the same authority, the emperor was to hold the third or rear position, in readiness to resist the enemy if, perchance, an attack should be made from behind, and thus to guard the troops ahead from surprise in the rear. When the three armies had been arranged in this strategic order, they moved the camp forward and endeavored to approach close to the city.

On the west, the direction from which our army was approaching, and also on the north, the orchards stretched out five miles or more in the direction of Lebanon and, like a dense, gloomy forest, encircled the city far and wide. To indicate the limits of each orchard and also to prevent trespassers entering at will, these groves are enclosed by walls of mud, for stone is scarce in that region. These enclose and protect the orchards in such a way that the holding of each owner is clearly

6 *Is. 7:8.*
defined. Paths and public ways are left free, narrow to be sure, yet wide enough to allow the gardeners and caretakers to pass through them with the pack animals which carry the fruit to the city.

These orchards are of the greatest protection to the city. The vast number of trees planted close together and the narrow paths made it difficult—in fact, well nigh impossible—for anyone to approach Damascus from that side. Yet, from the very first, our leaders had determined to lead the army through the orchards and in this way open an approach to the city. There were two reasons for this: first, because after the most strongly fortified places on which the people of Damascus placed their greatest hope had been taken, all else would seem light and easily accomplished; secondly, because they wished to give the troops the benefit of the fruit and the water.

The king of Jerusalem, accordingly, was the first to lead his men through those narrow orchard paths. The army advanced with extreme difficulty, however, sometimes hindered by the narrow ways and again harassed by the wiles of the enemy who lay hidden in the copses. Occasionally, it was even necessary to engage in open conflict, for the foe had already blocked the approach and seized the winding paths. The people of the city had come out into the orchards as with one accord, that they might try to stop the passage of the army, both from cover and by open attack.

Within the orchards themselves, moreover, rose high buildings well defended by men whose possessions lay close by and who were determined to fight for them. From these vantage points they kept up a constant downpour of arrows and other missiles which effectually protected the gardens and prevented all approach. Arrows shot from a distance also made the public thoroughfares very unsafe for travel. Nor did these formidable measures against our advance proceed from one part of the gardens only; from every direction there was equal danger for any incautious passer-by. Peril of instant death from another source was also to be feared. Along the wall inside lurked men armed with lances who, themselves unseen, could look out through small peepholes carefully arranged in the walls and stab the passer-by from the side. It is said that many perished miserably in this way that day. Innumerable other dangers of various kinds also beset all who tried to traverse those narrow ways.
4. The Christians force their way into the orchards and, in spite of the enemy's efforts, take possession of the river with a strong hand. A remarkable feat of the emperor, well worthy of wonder, is described.

The Christians, well aware of the situation, pressed on all the more fiercely. They broke down the barricades by force and eagerly took possession of the orchards. All persons found within the enclosures or in the houses there were either put to the sword or taken captive. On learning this, the townspeople who had come out to help defend the orchards departed in terror lest the same fate should overtake them and fled to the city in crowds. So, since the enemy had been either routed or slain, our troops entered without further opposition.

It was realized that the Christians would presently advance from the orchards to besiege the city. Accordingly, the cavalry forces of Damascus and of their allies who had come to help them hastened to the river which flows by the city. By using their bows and ballistae they hoped to keep the weary soldiers from the river and to prevent them from relieving their intense thirst by means of its eagerly desired waters. On hearing that the river was so near, the Christians had, indeed, hurried thither, intent on satisfying the cruel thirst which their strenuous labors and the clouds of dust raised by the feet of horses and men had induced. The sight of the large forces massed on the river bank caused them to halt for a little. Soon, however, they rallied. Necessity furnished them courage and boldness; once and again they strove to gain the river but without success.

While the king and his knights were exerting themselves thus to no purpose, the emperor, in command of the forces following, demanded to know why the army did not advance. He was told that the enemy was in possession of the river and would not allow our forces to pass. Enraged at this news, Conrad with his knights galloped swiftly forward through the king's lines and reached the fighters who were trying to win the river. Here all leaped down from their horses and became foot soldiers, as is the custom of the Teutons when a desperate crisis occurs. Holding their shields before them, they engaged the enemy in a hand-to-hand fight with swords. The Damascenes at first resisted bravely, but soon, unable to sustain the onslaught, they abandoned the river and fled to the city with all possible haste.
During this engagement, the emperor is reported to have performed a memorable feat. He is said to have slain in a most remarkable way a Turkish knight who was making a strenuous and courageous resistance. With one blow of the sword, he severed from the body of his enemy the head and neck, the left shoulder with the arm attached, and also a part of the side. This indeed caused such terror, not only to those citizens who witnessed the feat but even to those who merely heard the story from others, that they lost all hope of resisting and despaired even of life itself.\(^7\)

5. *The citizens, in their despair, meditate flight. They bribe some of the Christian leaders, at whose instigation the army is transferred to the opposite side of the city.*

So the river was won and the bank freely conceded. The Christians now encamped in widespread ranks around the city and, without opposition, enjoyed at pleasure the river and the orchards thus won by force. The citizens were overwhelmed with astonishment at the number and valor of the Christians. They began to doubt whether their strength was sufficient to withstand them, and in terror lest their foes should suddenly fall upon them, they took counsel together and, with that cleverness which ever attends those in adverse and distressing circumstances, resorted to desperate measures. With tall beams of immense size they barricaded all the streets on the side of the city where our camp was located, for their only hope lay in the chance that they might escape in the opposite direction with their wives and children, while the Christians were engaged in tearing down these barriers.

To all appearance it seemed certain that, if divine power was propitious, the city would soon be taken by the Christians. But He, who is "terrible in his doing toward the children of men,"\(^8\) judged otherwise. The city was in desperate straits, her citizens had lost all hope of resistance and were preparing to leave with all their effects in the hope of saving their lives. At this crisis, however, in punishment for

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\(^7\) This feat recalls the similar feat of Godfrey at the siege of Antioch. Both appear legendary. Qalanisi, who was in Damascus during the siege, heard nothing of it (see H. A. R. Gibb, trans., *The Damascus Chronicle*, p. 283). Röhrich, however, is disposed to accept it, regarding the feat as another example of the proverbial "Schwaben-streich" (see *R. K. J.*, p. 252, note 1).

\(^8\) *Ps. 66*: 5.
our sins, the Damascenes began to work upon the cupidity of some of our people. By offering inducements, they attempted to capture the hearts of those whose bodily strength they could not hope to overcome. Skilful arguments led certain of our nobles to assume the role of the traitor Judas and induced them, on assurance of receiving a great sum of money already collected, to endeavor to raise the siege. Led on by avarice, the root of all evil, these men allowed themselves to be so corrupted by bribes and promises that they descended into the depths of crime. Their wicked suggestions persuaded the king and the pilgrim princes, who fully relied upon their loyalty and assiduity, to leave the orchards and move the armies to the opposite side of the city. In order to conceal their guilt under some plausible pretext, they said that on the opposite side of the city which faced south and east there were no protecting orchards and neither river nor moat to hinder the approach to the fortifications. The low wall, built of unbaked bricks, they declared, could scarcely sustain the first attack. There would be little need of machines or strenuous efforts on that side, for the wall would fall at the first attempt and it would not be difficult to force a passage into the city. Their sole purpose in presenting these arguments was to cause the removal of the army from its present position, for here the city was particularly hard pressed and powerless to hold out, while on the other side the siege could not possibly be long maintained. This specious talk was believed by the kings and all the principal leaders of the united host. The position which had been won with great toil and loss of men was abandoned, and under the direction of the traitors all the legions were moved, and camp was established on the opposite side of the city.

They soon perceived, however, that this position was far away from the abundant fruit and the convenient supply of water, and as food was already beginning to fail they realized that treachery had been at work. Then, all too late, they began to murmur that they had been maliciously induced to move from that most advantageous position.  

9 This maneuver as here described does little credit to the intelligence of the leaders of the expedition. None of the Arab writers mention such a shift of the Christian camp. Qalanisi, the best authority on the siege, gives a day-by-day description of the battles from Saturday to Thursday with a statement of the location. According to him, the Christians remained in the same general area until the day when they withdrew from the siege entirely (Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 282-87). Stevenson has refused to accept William’s statement about the change.
6. Food fails in the Christian camp. The wickedness of the traitors is revealed. The siege is raised and our people return home.

Food now began to fail in the camp. Before setting out on the campaign, the Christians had been led to believe that the city would be taken without delay, and hence supplies for a few days only had been brought. This was especially the case with the pilgrims, and for it they could not be blamed, since they had no knowledge of the country. They had been persuaded to believe that Damascus would be easily taken at the first attack; in the meantime, even if all other food should be lacking, they had been assured that a vast army could be fed on the fruit which could be had for nothing. Great doubt and perplexity assailed the Christians in this emergency. Consultations were held openly and in private as to what course should be taken. To return to the position they had left seemed difficult, in fact, impossible. For as soon as the Christians departed, the enemy, their end accomplished, immediately entered in and established even stronger defenses than before. The roads by which the Christians had previously entered were now barricaded with immense beams and heavy masses of rocks, and a large body of archers, located there, now prevented all possibility of entrance. On the other hand, to make the attack from the present position of the camp would require some delay, a matter which the inadequacy of the food supply would not permit.

The pilgrim princes therefore took counsel with one another. All too clearly they now perceived the treachery of those to whose loyalty they had entrusted their lives and interests and abhorred the perfidy by which they had been deceived. Convinced that their undertaking had no chance of success, they determined to abandon it and return home. Thus, because of our sins, the kings and princes who had gathered in untold numbers were compelled to retreat without accomplishing their purpose. Covered with confusion and fear, they returned to the kingdom over the same road by which they had come. Henceforward, as long as they remained in the Orient, and, indeed, ever after, they looked askance on all the ways of our leaders. They justly declined all their plans as treacherous and showed utter indifference about the affairs of the kingdom. Even when permitted to return to their own lands, the memory of the wrongs which they had suffered
still ranked, and they regarded with abhorrence the wicked conduct of those nobles. Not only was this true in regard to themselves, but their influence caused others who had not been present there to slacken in love toward the kingdom. As a result, fewer people, and those less fervent in spirit, undertook this pilgrimage thereafter. Moreover, even to the present day, those who do come fear lest they be caught in the same toils and hence make as short a stay as possible.

7. Various opinions are expressed as to the responsibility for this great treachery. It is proposed to lay siege to Ascalon a second time, but the attempt is unsuccessful.

I recall that I have often interviewed wise men and those whose memory of those times is still fresh, particularly with a view to using the information thus obtained in the present history. I endeavored to learn the reason for this great wrong; who were the instigators of such treachery; and how so detestable a crime could have been carried through. I found that the reports vary greatly in regard to this matter. Some think that a certain act of the count of Flanders was responsible; for, as has been said, he was with the army on this expedition. After our legions arrived before Damascus, when the orchards and the river had already been seized by force and the city lay under siege, he is said to have approached each of the kings separately, one after another, and urgently demanded that the city when taken be given to him. It is said that this was granted. Although some of the great lords of our realm gave their consent, yet others, on hearing of it, were indignant. They resented the fact that this great prince, whose own possessions should

10 William here reveals one of his favorite methods of obtaining information. Note his unwillingness to accept one account alone or even to indicate a strong personal preference. The failure of this crusade was a great blow to the expectations which Europe had entertained for it, not only because it was led by two great monarchs, but even more because it had been sponsored by Bernard of Clairvaux, who was already widely regarded as a saint. Only treachery would satisfy the latter’s many friends as the explanation of the failure. William apparently shared the feeling (see E. Vacandard, Vie de Saint Bernard, abbé de Clairvaux).

11 Theodore, or Thierry, of Flanders visited the Holy Land at least three times (1137, 1148, and 1157), each time accompanied by a considerable force which did some fighting for the Latin states. Perhaps this led to the impression that he desired to gain territory there for himself. His wife, Sibylla, it must be remembered, was a daughter of King Fulk and therefore half sister of young Baldwin III. According to Robert of Torigni, she ultimately entered a convent in the Holy Land. There is no real basis for the charge here made. It does however reflect a chronic suspicion which the Latin nobles in the East felt toward the nobles from the West.
have sufficed for him and who was seemingly fighting without recom-
pense for the glory of the Lord, insisted that so large a portion of the
kingdom be given to him. They themselves were hoping that whatever
increase accrued to the realm through the valiant efforts of these princes
might be used to enlarge their own possessions. Actuated by resent-
ment, therefore, they stooped to this wicked course, for they preferred
that the Damascenes should keep their city rather than to see it given
to the count. It seemed utterly unjust that they who had endured un-
told privations and whose lives had been spent in fighting for the king-
dom should now be passed over without hope of reward, while others
who had only recently come should gather in the fruits which they
themselves had earned by long-continued labor.

Others say that the prince of Antioch used all his influence to cause
the king's enterprise to fail. He was incensed because the latter had
parted from him in anger and, despite many kindesses, had not as-
sisted him in any way. Accordingly, he prevailed on some of the nobles
in the army to manage affairs in such a way that the king was com-
pelled to abandon the project and retire ingloriously.

Still other stories are to the effect that nothing happened except that
the enemy bribed certain persons by a vast sum of money to bring
about this great disaster. They still speak of it as marvellous that after-
wards all this money so wickedly obtained was found to be spurious
and utterly worthless.\textsuperscript{12}

Thus opinions differed as to the responsibility for this detestable
act, but I have been unable to obtain definite information on the sub-
ject. Whoever the guilty ones are, however, they may be sure that
in due time they will obtain the reward which they justly deserve, un-
less, indeed, they seek forgiveness, when God, in His gracious mercy,
may grant them pardon.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12} This charge also appears somewhat legendary. Two later Syrian writers claimed
that Elinandus or Helinandus of Tiberias was the guilty person, and that the fifty
thousand gold pieces which he received from Damascus were later found to be spurious.
It must be put to William's credit that he refused to attach any name to the charge.

\textsuperscript{13} The charge of treachery for the failure of the siege of Damascus and of the
Second Crusade was also made by later writers against the Hospitallers, the Templars,
and even Baldwin III, none of whom William includes in his list. One or two very
important facts have been regularly overlooked in the discussion. The army that be-
sieged Damascus was not a very large one, probably no larger than the one which
had attempted the same task twenty years before. There were more and greater names
in the army, each betokening a large following in the West, but not here, because
most of the leaders had come by boat from Attalia or other ports of Asia Minor,
Thus it was, as has been related, that our people returned without glory. The Damascenes rejoiced in their departure, for fear of the Christians had lain heavy upon them. As for our people, on the contrary, "my harp also is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep."  

On returning to the kingdom, the kings again called an assembly of the nobles and tried, but in vain, to arrange for undertaking some other work which would render their memory glorious in the eyes of posterity. It was suggested by some that they lay siege to Ascalon, which was still in the hands of the infidels. Since this city lay nearly in the center of the kingdom, everything necessary could easily be transported thither and it would be a short and easy task, they maintained, to restore it to the Christian faith. Many similar proposals were made, but each was abandoned as the first had been, and almost before it was conceived it was rejected. For the Lord in His wrath seemed to render all their undertakings of no avail.

8. The Emperor Conrad returns to his own land, but the king of the Franks tarry in Syria.

The Emperor Conrad now perceived that the Lord had withdrawn his favor from him and had denied him the privilege of taking further part in the affairs of the kingdom. He therefore ordered his ships to be made ready, said farewell, and returned to his own realm. Within a few years after this, he died at Bamberg and was there buried with much magnificence in the great church. He was a man of fine appearance, pious and merciful, distinguished for his lofty spirit and for his wide experience in military affairs. His life and character were exemplary in every respect, and his memory is held in benediction.

Frederick, the illustrious duke of Swabia, who had been the in-

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while their less fortunate followers had to follow the land route and were cut down by famine, thirst, and Turks. The army which besieged Damascus, therefore, consisted of too many officers and not enough troops. Qalanisi adds a factor which undoubtedly also played its part, namely, that Muslims summoned by letter were arriving in constantly increasing numbers and Nureddin himself was on the way to relieve Damascus. This news discouraged the Christians (see B. Kugler, Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs, p. 200; F. Lundgreen, Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Tempelorden, p. 84).

14 Job 30: 31.

15 Conrad III died in 1152 and was succeeded, as William states, by his nephew Frederick I, Barbarossa, who ruled until 1190.
separable companion of the emperor on his pilgrimage, succeeded him on the throne. He was a young man of fine character, the son of Conrad’s eldest brother, and he it is who today rules the empire with vigor and success.

The king of the Franks passed a year among us. Then, at the time of the spring crossing, after celebrating Easter at Jerusalem, he returned to his own land with his wife and nobles. On his arrival there, remembering the wrongs which he had suffered from his wife on the journey and, in fact, during the entire pilgrimage, he decided to put her away. An annulment was solemnly granted in the presence of the bishops of his realm on the ground of blood relationship. Immediately, without lapse of time, and even before she returned to Aquitaine, her paternal inheritance, she was taken to wife by Henry, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou. Shortly after the marriage, Henry succeeded Stephen, king of the Angles, who died without male children.

The king of the Franks, happier in his second choice, then espoused Maria, daughter of the emperor of Spain, a maiden pleasing to God and highly esteemed for her saintly life and character.¹⁷

9. Nureddin invades the land of Antioch; Prince Raymond attacks him; a battle ensues; Raymond is slain.

From this time, the condition of the Latins in the East became visibly worse. Our enemies saw that the labors of our most powerful kings and leaders had been fruitless and all their efforts vain; they mocked at the shattered strength and broken glory of those who represented the substantial foundations of the Christians. With impunity they had scorned the actual presence of those whose very names had formerly terrified them. Hence their presumption and boldness rose to such

¹⁰ Louis VII returned to France in the summer of 1149. Suger, abbot of St. Denis, who had originally arranged the marriage, sought to prevent the separation of the estranged couple and was successful up to the time of his death in 1151. At the beginning of spring in 1152, however, Louis had the marriage declared void on the grounds of consanguinity. Eleanor was so much sought by ambitious suitors that she had to flee to avoid being captured. She selected Henry of Anjou as her husband and was married to him little more than a month after the annulment. He became king of England in 1154 and, with Eleanor’s inheritance, ruled over half of France as well.

¹⁷ Her name was Constance, not Maria. She was the daughter of Alfonso VII, who is distinguished among the rulers of Castile and Leon as the “emperor.” He was crowned “emperor in Spain” in 1135 in the presence of many Spanish princes, both Christian and Muslim. The title had been claimed by other earlier rulers and its memory lingered on after his time, but Alfonso VII is the one with whom the title is peculiarly associated (see R. B. Merriman, The Rise of the Spanish Empire, I, 89–91).
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heights that they no longer feared the Christian forces and did not hesitate to attack them with unwonted vigor. Immediately after the departure of the two sovereigns, Nureddin, the son of Zangi who was mentioned above, mustered a vast army from all over the Orient and began to devastate the country around Antioch with unusual boldness. Perceiving that the land of the Latin princes was destitute of aid, he decided to invest the fortress called Neva.\textsuperscript{18} Reliable news of this movement was brought to Raymond, prince of Antioch. Without waiting for the escort of his cavalry which he had ordered to be called, he at once hurried rashly to the place with a few men, for he was a man of undaunted and impetuous courage who allowed himself to be ruled by the advice of no one in matters of this kind. He found Nureddin still intent on the siege of the castle named above.

When Nureddin heard that the prince was coming, he hesitated to wait and encounter him, for he feared that Raymond might be bringing large forces with him. He therefore left the siege and retired to a place of safety. Here he remained until he could ascertain through repeated reports what kind of forces the prince had with him and whether still larger reserves were expected.

Elated by his first success and, as usual, undertaking more than he should have done, the prince began to be somewhat careless.\textsuperscript{19} Although he possessed fortresses near by where he might have remained in safety with his followers and thence led them back without danger, he preferred to trust to the open plain. He deemed it unworthy that he should seem to have retired even temporarily, through fear of Nureddin, and preferred to expose himself to the wiles of the enemy. When Nureddin perceived that the prince had received no additional aid, he believed that he could easily conquer the forces that Raymond had brought with him. That night, therefore, he surrounded the prince's company and stormed the camp as if he were besieging a city.

When morning dawned, Raymond saw that he was ringed in by

\textsuperscript{18} William fails to mention the earlier attack upon the fortresses of Areima in Tripoli. According to Arab historians, Raymond II of Tripoli invited Nureddin and Anar, whose forces had been united when the former came to the relief of Damascus, to attack this fortress, which was then held by the widow and son of Alphonse of Toulouse. Raymond feared their pretensions to his principality. Nureddin and Anar captured the fortress and carried off Bertram and his mother as prisoners. This happened shortly after the siege of Damascus had been abandoned (W. B. Stevenson, \textit{The Crusaders in the East}, p. 164).

\textsuperscript{19} Nureddin's campaign in the territory of Antioch late in 1148 had been unsuccessful. Raymond of Antioch had indeed gained a victory over a portion of Nureddin's army.
the enemy’s hosts, and too late, alas, he began to feel doubtful about his own strength. Nevertheless, he drew up his lines in battle formation, stationed his knights in order, and prepared to fight at close quarters. In this way the battle began; but Raymond’s forces, being inferior in strength, were unable to withstand the great numbers of the foe. They turned and fled. The prince was left with only a few of his men around him. He fought valiantly, like the high-spirited and courageous warrior he was, but finally, wearied by killing and exhausted in spirit, he was slain by a stroke of the sword in the midst of the slaughter which he had wrought. The Turks cut off his head and right arm and left the mutilated remains among the corpses of the slain on the field.

Among others who fell in that engagement was that great and powerful knight, forever regretted by his own land, Renaud of Marash, to whom the count of Edessa had given his own daughter in marriage. Other nobles also fell at the same place, but their names are lost.

Raymond was a man of lofty spirit, one who had had much experience in warfare; he was greatly dreaded by the enemy, yet he was unlucky. The many noble and valiant deeds which he wrought in the principality are worthy of a special account, but we must hasten to resume the general history and can not delay for details of this kind or allow the pen to linger over them.

Raymond was slain in the year 1148 of the Incarnation of the Lord, on the twenty-seventh day of June, which is the feast day of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. He was in the thirteenth year of his rule. The place where he fell is called the Walled Fountain. It lies between the city of Apamea and the fortress of Rugia. The body of the prince was found among the other dead and was recognized by certain marks and scars. It was borne to Antioch and there interred with solemn rites amid the tombs of his predecessors, in the vestibule of the church of the Prince of the Apostles.

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20 This disaster occurred June 29, 1149. Nureddin followed up the victory by a successful siege of Apamea, which he captured July 26 (Stevenson, Crusaders, p. 165).
10. Nureddin treats the entire region according to his own pleasure. The king hurries thither to render aid. The sultan of Iconium invades the land of the count of Edessa.

In token of his victory and to increase his own prestige, Nureddin sent Raymond's head and right arm (which he had caused to be cut off for the purpose) to the caliph of Bagdad, the mightiest prince and monarch of the Saracens, as proof that the most formidable persecutor of the Gentiles was dead. It was then sent on to all the other Turkish satraps throughout the Orient.

The people of Antioch, deprived of the support of their great leader, abandoned themselves without restraint to grief. With plaintive words and tearful lamentations they recalled the great achievements of that valiant man. The report of his death not only cast gloom over those in the vicinity, but to all far and wide it carried woe and filled the hearts of both great and small with bitter sorrow.

Nureddin, like his father, was a mighty persecutor of the Christian name and faith. Since the prince of the land and the main part of his valiant forces had fallen in battle, he saw that the whole province lay at his mercy. Accordingly, he at once sent forth his troops and began to overrun the whole country in hostile fashion. After passing close to Antioch and burning everything in that vicinity, he went on to the monastery of St. Simeon, which lies high up on the mountains between Antioch and the sea. Here also he acted freely according to his own good pleasure and treated all with unrestrained license. From there he went down to the sea, which he now saw for the first time; and, in token that he had come as conqueror even to the sea, he bathed there in the presence of his army. On the return march, in passing, he seized the fortress of Harim, scarcely ten miles from Antioch, and at once carefully strengthened it with arms, food, and soldiers, so that it might be able to endure a siege of many days.

Panic now seized upon the entire people, and the land was humbled before him, because the Lord had given into his hand the flower of the army and the prince of the land. There was no one to offer powerful protection against the dangers which threatened them. Constance, the widow of Prince Raymond, had been left with two sons and two daughters 21 in some charge of the state and principality, but there was no

21 Constance was still a very young woman, scarcely twenty-two years old at the death of her husband.
leader to undertake the duties of the prince and to rouse the people from their state of dejection. In this emergency Aimery, the patriarch of Antioch, an able man of great wealth, came forward as protector of the deeply afflicted land. Contrary to his usual habits, he supplied money liberally to hire troops and thus provided temporarily for the immediate necessities of the land.\textsuperscript{22}

The news of Raymond’s death and the desperate condition of Antioch overwhelmed the king of Jerusalem with consternation. He at once mustered troops for the relief of his brethren in distress and hastened to the land of Antioch. The disheartened people, who felt no confidence in themselves, were greatly comforted by his presence. He united the forces which he had led with him with troops from that entire region and called on the people to resist. To help them in regaining their wonted courage, he laid siege to the fortress of Harim, which, as was stated above, had been lately taken by the enemy. The place had been so carefully fortified, however, that, after spending several days there without success, he gave up the attempt and returned to Antioch.

The sultan of Iconium, on hearing of the death of the prince, also went down into Syria with an immense host.\textsuperscript{23} He took many cities and fortresses in that land and finally laid siege to Turbessel, though Count Joscelin and his wife and children were within it. During this time, the king sent Humphrey the constable with sixty knights to protect the fortress of Ezaz and to prevent its being taken by the Turks.

The count finally released all the sultan’s subjects whom he was holding as prisoners and, in addition, gave him twelve suits of armor. Thereupon, peace was concluded between them; the sultan departed and the count, delivered from the siege, proceeded the same day to Ezaz. Thence he hastened to Antioch to thank the king for the kindness which he had showed toward him. Then, after visiting that monarch, he said farewell and returned to his own land accompanied by the modest escort which he had brought with him.\textsuperscript{24}

The king assumed the responsibility of the distressed country and for that purpose remained at Antioch until affairs were reduced to

\textsuperscript{22} Aimery, whose election William had not approved, was in difficulties with the papacy at this time. His aid, under the circumstances, is all the more commendable.

\textsuperscript{23} This was Masud, son of Qilij Arslan, who ruled the sultanate of Rum or Iconium 1116-1156.

\textsuperscript{24} This visit of Baldwin III and Joscelin II must be dated in the latter part of 1149.
order as far as time and place permitted. Then, when some degree of tranquillity had been established, he went back to his own land to attend to his private affairs.

II. After the king’s departure from Antioch, the count of Edessa is captured by the enemy and dies ignominiously.

Joscelin the Younger, count of Edessa, was far inferior to his father in character. He was a lazy, idle man, given over to low and dissolute pleasures, one who spurned good ways and followed base pursuits. He had pursued the prince of Antioch with insatiable hatred and regarded the fall of the latter as most fortunate for himself. He paid but slight attention to the truth of the saying, “When your neighbor’s house is burning, your own property is in danger.” 25 At the summons of the patriarch, it is said, he set out for Antioch at night. Attended only by a young man who was leading his horse, he had left his escort and turned aside to relieve the needs of nature, when, unknown both to those ahead and those following, he was attacked by brigands who rushed forth from ambush. He was seized and led in chains to Aleppo. There, overcome by the squalid conditions of the prison and the heavy iron chains, wasted by mental and physical sufferings, he reaped the result of his dissolute ways and came to a wretched end.

At dawn, the members of his escort, entirely unaware of what had happened, anxiously sought for their lord but could not find him. When their search proved without result, they turned back and reported the disaster that had overtaken them. Again the whole land was dazed with consternation. Hitherto the people had felt no compassion for the misfortunes of their neighbors, but now, overwhelmed by disaster themselves, they learned, by a similar experience, how to sympathize with the troubles of others. Some time later, it was learned from reliable sources that the count was a prisoner at Aleppo.26

His wife, a chaste and sober woman, one who feared God and found favor in His sight, was left with a minor son and two daughters. With the assistance of the principal men still left in the kingdom, she tried to govern the people to the best of her ability; and, far beyond the

25 Horace Ep. I. xviii. 84.
26 Joscelin II had been captured by some of Nurreddin’s troops. According to Arab accounts he was kept in prison at Aleppo for nine years until the time of his death and forced to endure tortures of various kinds (see R. K. J., p. 265). Qalanisi (Gibb, Chronicle, p. 300) dates his capture as May 5, 1150.
strength of a woman, she busied herself in strengthening the fortresses of the land and supplying them with arms, men, and food.

Thus, in punishment for our sins, these two countries were deprived of the wise counsels of their princes and, under the government of women, were holding their own with difficulty.

12. The king and the lords of the realm rebuild Gaza, near Ascalon.

Shortly after these events occurred in the land of Antioch, divine mercy visited the kingdom. Rising out of the depths of depression into which they had fallen because of the repeated disasters that had overtaken them, the king and his nobles again took heart and resolved to rebuild Gaza. By this course, they hoped to put a more effective curb on their redoubtable enemies, the people of Ascalon, and to prevent their disastrous raids.

Gaza, a very ancient city, lay about ten miles south of Ascalon. It was now in ruins and entirely uninhabited. This place they resolved to reconstruct, so that Ascalon might be hemmed in on the south just as it was on the north and east by the fortresses they had built there. From this direction also repeated attacks against that city could be made and aggressive warfare carried on without ceasing. Accordingly, on the appointed day the entire people assembled as one man at the place designated. They attacked the work with concerted efforts and each vied with his neighbor in assisting to rebuild the place.

This same Gaza, a most ancient city, was one of the five cities of the Philistines. It was celebrated for its buildings, and many handsome churches and spacious houses of marble and huge stones, though now in ruins, still gave splendid evidence of its ancient glory. Many reservoirs and wells of living water also still remained. It was built on a slight eminence and enclosed within its walls much widespread territory.

The Christians realized that it would not be expedient to rebuild the whole city and also that their strength might not be sufficient for such a task at that time. They therefore took a part of the hill, laid foundations of suitable depth, and built a fortress notable for its wall and towers. Within a short time, by the help of God, the work was successfully completed. When entirely finished in all its parts, it was committed by general consent to the care of the Knights of the Tem-
ple, to be held by them in perpetuity together with all the adjacent district. This charge the brothers, brave men and valiant warriors, have faithfully and wisely guarded even to this time. Again and again they have vigorously assaulted Ascalon, sometimes openly and again by attacks from ambush. As a result, those enemies who formerly overran and desolated the whole region and made themselves dreaded by the Christians, now consider themselves most fortunate if, by entreaties or money, they can obtain a temporary peace and permission to dwell quietly within their walls.

Gaza proved useful not only in restraining Ascalon, for whose annoyance it had been built, but, after that city had been conquered, it also served as a fortified boundary at the south and was a great protection to that district against the Egyptians.

In the early spring, when the interior of the fortress was partly finished, the king and the patriarch returned to Jerusalem. They left at Gaza the Knights of the Temple, to whose care the castle was committed. Now, the Egyptians were in the habit of sending additional forces three or four times a year to reinforce the strength of the Ascalonites. After the king’s departure, it happened that these forces appeared in large numbers before the stronghold at Gaza and made a furious attack on the place, whither the townspeople had fled through fear of the foe. After several days had been wasted in the siege, however, the officers in command perceived that their efforts were in vain and departed for Ascalon. From that day the strength of the foe was apparently weakened and their power of injuring decreased until gradually they ceased to harry the lands around them.

The Egyptian army, also, which, as we have said, had so often brought aid to the now afflicted city, presently began to come by sea only. They feared the ambuscades arising from the fortress lying on the way and stood in great awe of the knights.

27 The building of this fortress must have occurred in the winter of 1149–1150. According to Qalanisi the king was still engaged in that work when he was summoned by Damascus to help repel Nureddin’s attack upon that city. Anar had died August 28, 1149. The combination of unusually heavy rains in April and the coming of Baldwin III discouraged Nureddin at this time so that he signed a treaty of peace with Damascus May 1, 1150 (Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 299–300).

28 William persists in his statement that the garrison was changed three or four times each year, though the settled policy of the Egyptians was to change it twice each year. The first serious test of this fortress occurred in 1152. Perhaps William has that in mind (Gibb, Chronicle, p. 312).
13. Serious discord arises between the king and his mother; he is crowned without her knowledge.

At this time, the affairs of the kingdom in the East were progressing satisfactorily and a certain degree of tranquillity prevailed. This condition was somewhat impaired, however, by the fact that the county of Edessa had passed into the power of our enemies and was thus lost to us; and, also because the land of Antioch was constantly subject to hostile attacks. Presently, Satan, the enemy of man, who is ready to sow the seeds of tares, began to look with envy upon our prosperity and sought to disturb our peace by exciting civil dissensions. The origin and cause of the trouble was as follows. As has been related, Queen Melisende, of glorious and pious memory in the Lord, was left, on the death of her husband, with two children still under age. Acting as their legal guardian, she assumed as by hereditary right the care and administration of the realm. With the advice of the barons of the realm, strenuously and faithfully, beyond the strength and courage of women, she had ruled as regent up to that time. Her eldest son, Baldwin, of whose acts we are now writing, lived in entire harmony with her and wisely complied with her dictates, even after he ascended the throne.

Among others on whose assistance and counsel she relied was her kinsman, Manasses, a man of high rank and her intimate friend. As soon as she undertook the government, she made him constable and put him in supreme command of the army. He, taking advantage of the queen's favor, is said to have conducted himself very haughtily. He assumed an insolent attitude of superiority toward the elders of the realm and refused to show them proper respect. This roused intense hatred toward him on the part of the nobles, and, if the authority of the queen had not been exerted, they would have carried their animosity into action. Manasses had married the widow of the elder Balian, a noble matron, mother of the three brothers, Hugh, Baldwin, and Balian of Ramlah. By this alliance he had acquired much wealth and had greatly increased his possessions. The king was foremost, both in feeling and act, among those who hated Manasses and claimed that the man was alienating his mother's good will from him and thwarting her munificence.

There were many who hated the power and evil domination of this man. They continually fanned the flame of the king's dislike toward
him and constantly urged that he remove his mother from the control of the kingdom. Now that he had reached years of maturity, they said, it was not fitting that he should be ruled by the will of a woman. He ought to assume some of the responsibility of governing the realm himself.\textsuperscript{29}

Influenced by the counsels of these advisers and others like them, the king determined to be crowned at Jerusalem on Easter day. The patriarch and other wise men who desired peace for the kingdom begged him earnestly to allow his mother to participate in his glory. By the advice of the counsellors just mentioned, however, he deferred the time which had been set for the ceremony in order that his mother should not be crowned with him. Then unexpectedly, on the following day, without summoning his mother he appeared in public, crowned with the laurel.

14. \textit{The kingdom is divided between the mother and son. The king enters Jerusalem by force and makes his mother a prisoner in the tower of David. Peace and tranquillity are finally restored.}

When the solemnity was over, the king called an assembly of his nobles, Count Ives of Soissons and Walter, the castellan of St. Omer, being also present. Baldwin went to his mother and demanded that she at once divide the kingdom with him and assign to him a portion of his ancestral heritage. After much deliberation on both sides, the inheritance was finally divided. The king was given the choice and took for his share the maritime cities in the lands of Tyre and Acre with their dependencies. Jerusalem and Nablus, also with the cities pertaining to them, were left to the queen. Thus they were separated from one another, and the people hoped that, for the sake of peace, the agreement determined upon might endure and that they would be contented with the portion which had fallen to each of them. At this time, also, the king appointed as his constable and commander of the army a certain magnificent noble, Humphrey of Toron, who had great

\textsuperscript{29} Baldwin III reached the age of twenty-one in the year 1151. The legal age at which a king might reign in Jerusalem was fifteen. Baldwin III must have become increasingly restive under the rule of his mother and her able but unpopular constable. It would seem reasonable to expect this trouble in 1151, though Röhrich has put it in the following year (see \textit{R. K. J.}, pp. 268–70).
and extensive possessions in Phoenicia among the mountains which lie near Tyre.

But not even in this way was the wish to persecute the queen stilled. On the contrary, the still-smouldering fire was rekindled on trivial pretexts and blazed forth into a conflagration far more dangerous than before. At the instigation of those same nobles to whose counsels he had formerly harkened, the king again began to make trouble for his mother. He proposed to seize that portion of the kingdom which she had received by the good will of both, and thus wholly exclude her. On learning of his design, the queen left Nablus in the care of some of her loyal nobles and hurried to Jerusalem.

The king, in the meantime, mustered as large a force as possible and besieged Manasses in one of his own castles called Mirabel. The latter was forced to surrender and compelled to renounce the kingdom and all the region on this side of the sea [Palestine]. The king then seized Nablus and advanced to Jerusalem in pursuit of his mother.

Certain nobles whose possessions lay within the queen’s domains and who were attached to her by merely nominal loyalty disregarded their oaths of fealty and withdrew from her. The few who adhered to her cause, however, preserved a strict loyalty. Among these were her son, Amaury; count of Jaffa, a very young man; Philip of Nablus; and Rohard the Elder, with a few others whose names are unknown.

When the queen heard that her son was advancing with an army, she retired to the citadel with her household staff and loyal followers and trusted herself to the defenses of the fortress. But the Patriarch Fulcher, of good memory, perceived that dangerous times and days of peril were threatening. Desiring to intervene as peacemaker and plead for proposals of peace, he took with him religious and God-fearing men from among the clergy and went out to meet the king. He admonished him to desist from his wicked project, to abide by the terms of the agreement, and to suffer his mother to rest in peace. As these warnings were of no avail, however, he returned to the city in utter detestation of the king’s purpose.

The king, bent on carrying out his intention, placed his camp before the city, and the citizens, to avert the royal wrath, finally opened the gates and admitted him with his troops. He at once laid siege to the citadel, whither his mother had retreated. He set up his engines in position for assault and, with ballistae, bows, and hurling machines,
stormed it in enemy fashion. So incessant were the attacks that the besieged were denied any chance to rest. They, on their part, resisted with all their might and strove to repel force by force. Using the same methods employed by the besieging force outside, they hesitated not to hurl back injuries upon their enemies and to work equal destruction upon them.

The contest lasted for several days with great peril to both sides, for the king, although he made little progress in capturing the citadel, was still loath to withdraw. At length, however, certain individuals came forward as mediators of peace and amity. The queen was induced to be content with the city of Nablus and its territory and to resign Jerusalem, the capital of the kingdom, to the king. A guarantee was offered on the part of the king and a solemn oath given that he would not molest her in the possession of that city in perpetuity. Thus they were restored to the good graces of one another; and as the morning star which shines forth in the midst of darkness tranquillity again returned to the kingdom and the church.

15. The sultan of Iconium again invades the county of Edessa. The king repairs thither with all haste.

News of the deplorable disaster which had resulted in the capture of the count of Edessa was brought to the king of Jerusalem, and from reliable sources he learned that Edessa, left entirely without a defender, was lying exposed to the wiles of the enemy. That entire province and the land of Antioch as well, abandoned to feminine rule, required the king’s care. In response to this urgent need, Baldwin took with him Humphrey the constable and Guy of Beirut and repaired to the land of Tripoli. From the queen’s domains he had been unable to obtain any response, although he had summoned each of her nobles by name. At Tripoli he was joined by the count of that land and his knights, and the whole force proceeded as rapidly as possible to Antioch.

It was said everywhere, and it was in fact true, that a powerful Turkish prince, the sultan of Iconium, with immense cavalry forces had invaded that country and seized nearly all the region bordering on his own territory. The inhabitants, unable to resist and to withstand the might of his army, had surrendered to him all their cities and fortresses on condition of being granted a safe and unhindered exit with their wives and children and safe conduct to Turbessel. That place was
better fortified than the others and had more inhabitants, the count had his permanent residence there, and it appeared to be, as yet, undisturbed. But when he, the sultan, had seized all the district with the exception of a few fortresses, he was obliged to return home to attend to more important affairs. Even so, the hardships of the provincials were not lessened, nor was their anxiety diminished. For Nureddin, that most troublesome persecutor of our people and a very powerful Turkish prince, was harrying the entire region. So incessant were his attacks that no one dared to appear outside the fortresses. Thus that wretched people was continually ground, as it were, between two milestones. It was tortured beyond endurance by two exceedingly great princes, although barely able to endure the violence of one.

16. The emperor of Constantinople sends an army to the land of Antioch. He demands that the county of Edessa be surrendered to him. He obtains his demand. The fortresses are surrendered to the Greeks. The king leads the Latins forth.\(^{30}\)

In the meantime, the emperor of Constantinople, learning of the desperate condition of Edessa, had sent thither one of his nobles with a great store of supplies and a large force of his own knights. He offered to the countess a fixed annual revenue sufficient to afford herself and her children an honorable livelihood always, if, in return, she would surrender into his control the fortresses still in her possession. Because of his immense riches, he was confident that if the province were resigned to him he could protect it unharmed from the incursions of the Turks and without difficulty restore to his empire those parts which had been lost.

When the king arrived at Antioch and the reason for the coming of the imperial envoys was disclosed, they themselves also explaining their mission, a disagreement arose among the nobles of that land. Some said that affairs had not yet reached such an extremity that this course was necessary; others maintained, on the contrary, that action must be taken before the land had fallen entirely into the hand of the enemy. In the midst of these uncertainties the king saw that the country

\(^{30}\) Emperor Manuel's attention had been aroused by the events of 1149. The situation seemed to offer an unusual opportunity to realize ancestral claims upon the region. He not only reinforced his army in the neighborhood, but also prepared to extend his interests in both Edessa and Antioch. The transactions here recorded must be dated in 1150 (see F. Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 424-25).
could not long continue in its present state; the responsibilities of his own kingdom would not permit him to remain there very long; nor had he sufficient forces to enable him conveniently to rule two provinces lying a journey of fifteen days apart. In consideration also of the fact that Antioch, midway between the two countries, had been for several years without the protection of a prince, he came to the conclusion that it was best to transfer to the Greeks, under the conditions proposed, the strongholds which still remained. He felt but little confidence that the province could be maintained in good condition by the Greek forces, yet he preferred that disaster should overtake it while it was under their power rather than that the downfall of a people already in jeopardy and the ruin of their imperilled country should be laid to him. With the consent of the countess and her children, therefore, a treaty satisfactory to both parties was concluded, based on the terms stated above. A day was also set when the king should go down to that county with all his forces to surrender all the fortresses and put the emperor's men in possession. At the appointed time, according to agreement, the king, accompanied by the count of Tripoli and noblemen both from the kingdom and from Antioch, marched into the land of the count of Edessa to Turbessel. The Greek deputies attended him. There he took under his protection the countess and her children and all others of both sexes, whether Latins or Armenians, who wished to leave, and surrendered the land to the Greeks. The fortresses which up to this time remained in the possession of the Christians were: Turbessel, Hantab, Ravendal, Ranculat, Bile, Samosata, and possibly some others. All these were given over into the power of the Greeks.

The king then prepared for the march. With him went all the people who desired to leave, together with their pack animals and a great amount of baggage, for each man proposed to take with him his entire household and domestic staff as well as all his furniture. So with this great crowd of unwarlike people and an enormous amount of baggage, the king hastened to depart, that he might lead them to a place of safety.
17. Nureddin meets the king on the way and succeeds in stopping the exodus. The king returns to Antioch with some difficulty. Nureddin thrusts forth the Greeks and seizes the entire region.

The news that the people of Edessa, in despair of retaining the land, had surrendered their fortresses to the mild and effeminate Greeks and that the king had marched thither to conduct the people away reached Nureddin. The consciousness of the fear felt by the Christians made him still bolder. He at once mustered armed forces from all the adjacent regions and descended suddenly upon those parts where he hoped to encounter the king with the people who had so greatly distrusted their own strength. If he could meet them under such circumstances, hindered as they were by an excessive amount of baggage, it would be greatly to his advantage. Accordingly, scarcely had the king reached the city of Tulupa, not more than five or six miles from Turbessel, when Nureddin poured forth his forces over the whole land. There was a fortress near by, however, called Hantab, past which the Christians were to pursue their course. Realizing their danger and wishing to hasten, they drew up their lines in battle formation and arranged their forces in good order in expectation of an immediate encounter. The enemy’s troops, also in battle formation, eagerly awaited our approach as if confident of victory. Yet matters turned out contrary to their expectation. Our army, led by the mercy of God, reached that fortress in safety, and there the weary men and beasts were permitted to rest all that night. Meanwhile, the leaders, in council assembled, deliberated on the plan of march for the following day.

Certain of the principal nobles demanded that the fortress be given over to their charge; with the help of God they believed that their strength was sufficient to hold the place against the attack of the Turks. Among those from the kingdom who held this view was Humphrey of Toron, the royal constable, a man of high courage. Robert de Sourdeval, a powerful noble from the principality of Antioch, also concurred in this opinion. The king, however, was convinced that neither of the two had strength or power sufficient for the task; he rejected the

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31 There is a slight chronological confusion here. Humphrey of Toron was made constable by Baldwin III when the latter assumed sole rule in 1151 or 1152, whereas the transfer of these fortresses of Edessa to the Greeks was made in 1150. Humphrey of Toron was no doubt with Baldwin but not yet constable.
offer of both as unworthy of consideration and insisted on keeping the
treaty. The place was delivered to the Greeks and the people ordered
to prepare to continue the march.

In that throng were to be seen men of high birth and noble matrons
with highborn maidens and little children. With tears and sobs, they
were leaving their native soil, the homes of their ancestors and the
land of their fathers and, in deep distress, were migrating to the land
of strangers. Hearts of adamant might well have been moved by the
groans and lamentations of this people as they went forth into exile.

When day again returned, the baggage was arranged and the march
resumed. The enemy also formed in line of march and advanced along
with them on either side, ready to swoop down upon the column from
every direction. When the Christians saw that great array in marching
order, they rearranged their own battalions with the five hundred
knights whom they had with them and assigned regular places to all.
The king was to march ahead with the vanguard and direct the advance
of the crowds on foot. The count of Tripoli and the royal constable,
Humphrey, were assigned to protect the rear divisions. With the
largest and strongest forces they were to sustain the attacks of the foe
and defend the people from their violence. The nobles of Antioch were
placed on the left and the right of the column, that a strong force of
brave men and armed knights might encircle the multitude who had
been placed in the center.

Throughout that entire day, until sunset, the Christians advanced
in this order. Without intermission, they were harried by intolerable
evils, repeated attacks, and skirmishes at close quarters. Showers of
arrows rained upon the advancing troops until all the baggage bristled
with darts like a porcupine. Dust and heat, always prevalent in August,
exhausted the people beyond endurance and, in addition, severe thirst
assailed them. Finally, just as the sun was sinking to rest, the Turks,
who had no food supplies with them and who had, moreover, lost some
of their nobles, gave the signal for retreat. Overcome with wonder at
the incomparable perseverance and steadfastness of the Christians, they
now ceased to follow our army.

Humphrey, the constable, armed with his bow, was pursuing the
retreating infidels a little apart from the army when a soldier from
the enemy’s ranks approached him. Laying down his arms, he clasped
his hands, first on one side, then on the other, in sign of reverence. He
was a confidential retainer of a very powerful Turkish noble who was bound to the constable in a fraternal alliance and that very closely. This man had been sent to greet Humphrey and to inform him of conditions in the hostile army. He reported that Nureddin intended to return with his army to his own land that very night, for all the provisions in his camp were exhausted and he could not pursue the Christians farther. The messenger then returned to his own people, and the constable went back to the camp. He communicated the news that he had received to the king, and, as night was now at hand, the entire company encamped at a place called Joha. There was no further trouble. During the following days, the king conducted the people through the wood called Marrim, to territory which was under the jurisdiction of the Christians. He then returned to Antioch.

Nureddin now perceived that the land of the count was left without the aid of the Latins. Accordingly, taking advantage of the unwarlike character of the Greeks to whose charge it had been resigned, he began to trouble it sorely. The Greeks found themselves unable to sustain his repeated attacks. In the end, he sent large forces and laid siege to the strongholds. The Greeks were driven out by force and, within a year, he had seized the whole region.\(^{32}\)

Thus, because of our sins, that exceedingly wealthy province, full of streams, woods, and pastures, a land with most productive soil and abounding in all kinds of commodities, a place capable of affording sufficient support for five hundred knights, passed into the enemy’s hands and even to the present day is alienated from our jurisdiction.

The church of Antioch suffered the loss of three archbishoprics in that land, namely, those at Edessa, Hierapolis, and Coritium. These churches, much against their will, are still held by the infidels in the superstition of the Gentiles.

18. The king advises the princess to marry one of the princes to rule her realm, but his advice is not heeded. He goes thence to Tripoli on his way home.

Great was the anxiety of King Baldwin of Jerusalem at this time on behalf of Antioch and the lands adjacent to it. He feared lest, deprived

\(^{32}\) Territories were soon lost, it is true, but most of them were captured by Masud in the next three or four years. Nureddin acquired many of them after the death of Masud in 1155 or 1156.
as it was of the protection of its prince, it might fall into the hand of
the enemy and suffer the pitiable fate of Edessa, as just related. This
would cause still more trouble and bring intolerable loss upon the
Christian people. He himself was not free to remain longer at Antioch,
since the responsibilities of his own kingdom required his return. He
therefore repeatedly advised the princess to choose one of the nobles
as a husband, by whose counsel and efforts the principality might be
governed.

There were in the land at that time a number of noble and distin-
guished men attached to the camp of the king. Among them were Ives
de Néle, count of Soissons, a distinguished man, wise and discreet, of
great influence in the kingdom of the Franks; Walter de Falkenberg, castellan of St. Omer, who was later lord of Tiberias, a discreet man
and very courteous, wise in counsel and valiant in arms; and also Ralph
de Merle, a noble of the highest rank, experienced in the practice of
arms and noted for his good sense. Any one of these seemed with justice
quite capable of protecting the region. The princess, however, dreaded
the yoke of marriage and preferred a free and independent life. She
paid little heed to the needs of her people and was far more interested
in enjoying the pleasures of life.

The king, well aware of her predilection, called a general council
at Tripoli, consisting of the nobles of the kingdom and the principality.
To this he invited the patriarch of Antioch and his suffragans and also
the princess with her nobles. His mother, Queen Melisend, was also
present, attended by the princes of the kingdom. After subjects of
general interest had received careful attention, the matter of the mar-
riage of the princess was given consideration. Neither the king nor the
count, her kinsmen, neither the queen nor the countess of Tripoli, her
two aunts, was able to induce her to yield and thus provide for herself
and her land.

It was rumored, however, that she was guided by the advice of the
patriarch. He, being a very arthful and subtle man, is said to have sup-
ported her in this mistake, in order that he might have a freer hand
in the government of the land—a thing which he greatly desired. Since

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33 Walter de Falkenberg was a member of the famous family of castellans of St. Omer,
one of whom, Hugh, had been the second lord of Tiberias (R. Grousset, Histoire des
croisades et du royaume franc de Jerusalem, II, App. 1; see also note 40).
34 Emperor Manuel was quite as much interested in having Constance accept a
suitable husband as was Baldwin III. His choice, however, was a Greek, Caesar John,
his own brother-in-law (Chalandon, Les Comnènes, II, 426).
nothing could be accomplished in respect to this matter, the assembly broke up and all returned home. \[35\]

19. The king and his mother meet at Tripoli to try to effect a reconciliation between the count and his wife, but without results. The count is killed by the Assassins at the city gate.

During this time an enmity arising from jealousy sprang up between the count of Tripoli and his wife, a sister of Queen Melisend. It was in the hope of settling this unpleasantness and at the same time of visiting her niece, the princess of Antioch, that Queen Melisend had come thither. Since she had met with but little success in patching up the matter, however, she determined to take her sister back with her, and, with this end in view, the two had already left the city of Tripoli. The count accompanied the princess for a time on her journey; then, after a little time, he took leave of her and returned. As he was entering the city gate, without thought of evil mishap, he was struck down by the swords of the Assassins at the entrance to the gate between the barbican and the wall and perished miserably. With him was slain also that distinguished nobleman mentioned above, Ralph de Merle, and one of his knights, both of whom had chanced to be with the count on that journey.

During this time the king, free from care, was enjoying himself over a game of dice in the city, unconscious of all that had happened. At the news of the count’s murder, the whole city was roused. The people flew to arms and without discrimination put to the sword all those who were found to differ either in language or dress from the Latins. In this way it was hoped that the perpetrators of the foul deed might be found.

Roused by the sudden uproar, the king learned of the count’s murder. Saddened and greatly depressed, he could not refrain from tears and sighs, and ordered that his mother and aunt be recalled at once. On their return, the body was committed to the tomb with due magnificence amid the lamentations and tears of all. By the king’s order, all the nobles of those parts then swore allegiance to the countess and her children.

\[35\] The time of this meeting at Tripoli is not clear. It might have occurred on Baldwin’s return from the north late in 1150, but the events of the next chapter are apparently intertwined with this and involve the death of Raymond II of Tripoli, which cannot be placed earlier than 1151 (see Stevenson, Crusaders, p. 170, note 5).
The count left a son of the same name, Raymond, hardly twelve years old, and a younger daughter called Melisend. When the king had arranged affairs in this way, he returned to the kingdom accompanied by his mother and the nobles of his court.

20. *A great army of Turks advances against Jerusalem to take it, but the Christians march forth and defeat them with much valor.*

Not very long after this, certain Turkish satraps surnamed Hiaroquin, powerful men of distinguished lineage among their own people, assembled a great number of Turks and determined to go to seize Jerusalem as belonging to them by hereditary right.\(^{36}\) For, prior to its deliverance by the Christians, the sacred city is said to have belonged to them by ancestral heritage. Their mother was a zealous advocate of this course and reproached her sons because they had allowed themselves to be exiled for so long from their hereditary possessions.

Moved by the incessant admonitions of their aged mother, they set out on the march at the head of a large number of knights with the intention of accomplishing their desired end, if the Lord should so permit. At Damascus they tarried for a while to refresh their troops and recruit their strength. The people of that city tried in vain to divert them from their foolish project, but they refused to listen. They replenished their supplies, rearranged the baggage, and again resumed their march to Jerusalem, as if without doubt of success. With their numerous train they crossed the Jordan and went up into the mountainous country where the holy city lies and came to the Mount of Olives, which towers above Jerusalem and is adjacent to it. Thence they could gain an unobstructed view of all the venerable places and especially of the temple of the Lord, which they hold in peculiar reverence; in fact, the outlook embraced the whole city.

Most of the armed forces of the region had gone to Nablus, where they feared the enemy might assemble since the city itself was without fortifications. When the people who were left at Jerusalem saw the

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\(^{36}\) This interesting undertaking by descendants of the Turks who had held Jerusalem up to 1098 is not mentioned by Qalanisi. The leader whom William calls Hiaroquin (probably for Yaruk) has been identified as Timurtash of Maridin, of the Ortuqid dynasty. Both Röhrich and Stevenson accept the identification. Despite William's statement that the expedition stopped at Damascus on its way, it is not mentioned in the Damascus Chronicle (see *R. K. J.*, p. 271).
army of Turks advancing, they feared that it would soon descend upon them. They at once seized their weapons and, invoking aid from heaven, marched zealously forth against the enemy, eager to engage them.

The road which goes down from Jerusalem to Jericho and thence to the Jordan is very rough and dangerous. The many steep and precipitous places render both the ascent and the descent very difficult for travellers even when the road is unchallenged and there is no reason for fear. When the foe entered this road, the Christians fell furiously upon them and put them to flight in panic. Many fell headlong and perished without the aid of the sword, for the cliffs and narrow defiles afforded no easy passage to fugitives. Some who had taken to the more level roads tried to continue their flight, but here too they encountered the swords of the Christians and, mortally wounded, met sudden death. Their horses, fatigued by the hardships of the long march, were unable to endure the rough road; they gave out utterly and refused to obey their riders. The Turks were thus forced to become foot soldiers. Burdened by their arms and wholly unaccustomed to hardships, they were cut down like sheep by the swords of their pursuers. So terrible was the massacre of both men and horses that the progress of the Christians was hindered. Yet all the more eagerly they pursued their advantage. Scorning thought of plunder, they passed by the spoils and continued the fierce slaughter, for it was regarded as the supreme reward to be bathed in the blood of the foe.

As soon as the people who had assembled at Nablus heard that this enemy was marching to attack Jerusalem, they left as with one accord and rushed to the fords of the Jordan to prevent the Turks from crossing. They attacked on the side those who had escaped their pursuers, caught them off guard, and slew them. The hand of the Lord was indeed heavy upon our enemies that day, for, as it is written, “That which the palmer-worm hath left, hath the locust eaten.” 37 Those who thought they had escaped their pursuers, thanks to the speed of their horses or in some other way, fell by the swords of the Christians who attacked them from another direction. Others who had entered the Jordan ahead of the main line, through their ignorance of the fords, were seized by the tumultuous waves and drowned in the river. Thus the host which had gone up with many thousands, strong in the

37 Joel 1:4.
pride of their might, relying on the strength of their cavalry, returned to their own land reduced to a small number and covered with confusion and terror. It is reported that about five thousand of the enemy were killed that day.

This happened on the ninth day before the Kalends of December [November 23] in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1152 and the ninth year of the reign of King Baldwin, the fourth king of Jerusalem.38

Laden with the spoils of the foe and driving before them as trophies much plunder in the shape of cattle, the Christians returned to Jerusalem to offer solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving to the Lord.

21. The king and the barons of the realm repair to Ascalon with the intention of devastating the orchards which encircle the city. Improving on their original plan, however, they lay siege to the city.

This victory, granted by divine favor, raised the hopes of the Christians greatly. Accordingly, the Lord directing their purposes, it was unanimously resolved, by the wish of the least as well as the greatest, to try in some way to injure their enemies in that vicinity who had so often brought serious trouble on them, namely, the people of Ascalon.

It seemed the most satisfactory plan for the time being to try to destroy with a strong force the orchards in the vicinity of Ascalon. These were of great value to the citizens, and, in this way, some loss might be inflicted upon the insolent foe. With this purpose in view, the entire strength of the realm was gathered in large numbers before the city just mentioned. If this plan could be successfully carried out they felt that it would be sufficient.

But divine mercy in marvellous fashion attended the Christians assembled before that city and suddenly began to spur them on to greater things. Scarcely had our forces taken up a position before the city when a panic seized on the townspeople. In great haste they retreated within the city, and not a man dared venture outside the walls to meet our soldiers. Taking advantage, therefore, of the enemy's terrified condition, the Christians, directed by divine grace, decided

38 This statement of the date is formal and appears to be correct. William has not applied his determination to Count Godfrey as the first king, which would have made Baldwin III the fifth king. The reckoning of 1152 as the ninth regnal year of Baldwin III serves as a point of comparison with other formal dates used by William.
to besiege the city also. Messengers were at once sent throughout the kingdom to announce the plan, inspired by God, and to summon those who had remained at home, that no one might fail to be present on the day appointed.

Those who had been called assembled joyfully and without delay. They joined their comrades who had preceded them and encamped with the others around the city. And that all might continue steadfast in their undertaking without thought of wavering, they bound themselves by solemn oath, one to another, that they would not abandon the siege till the city had been taken. Thus the whole strength of the kingdom having been convoked and the people assembled with unanimity of purpose, the king and the patriarch with the other nobles of the realm, both secular and ecclesiastic, accompanied by the life-giving and venerated sign of the Cross of the Lord, encamped before Ascalon under happy auspices on the eighth day before the Kalends of February.\(^{39}\)

There were present the following prelates of the church: Fulcher, the lord patriarch of Jerusalem; Peter, archbishop of Tyre; Baldwin, archbishop of Caesarea; Robert, archbishop of Nazareth; Frederick, bishop of Acre; and Gerald, bishop of Bethlehem. There were certain abbots present also. Bernard de Tremelay, master of the Knights Templars; and Raymond, master of the Hospital, also attended.

Among the lay princes present were: Hugh d'Ibelin, Philip of Nablus, Humphrey of Toron, Simon of Tiberias, Gerard of Sidon, Guy of Beirut, Maurice of Montreal, Renaud de Châtillon and Walter of St. Omer. These last two served the king for pay.\(^{40}\)

The tents were set up and arranged in a circle and definite and suitable quarters assigned to each noble. They then applied themselves loyally to the work in hand, with wisdom and foresight putting forth the efforts which so important a task demanded.

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\(^{39}\) January 25, 1153.

\(^{40}\) It is interesting to note that nobles of some importance, such as Walter, castellan of St. Omer, served for pay. Both of these men were noble adventurers each of whom gained a place in Latin Syria through marriage. There is a very brief collection of references to Walter de Falkenberg, castellan of St. Omer, by Giry (see A. Giry, "Les Châtelains de Saint-Omer 1042-1386," Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes, XXXV [1874], 341-43). Renaud de Châtillon is the subject of an extended biography (see G. Schlumberger, Renaud de Châtillon).
22. The situation of the city is described and its advantages set forth.

Ascalon is one of the five cities of the Philistines. It lies upon the sea-coast in the form of a semicircle, the chord or diameter of which extends along the shore, while the arc or bow lies on the land looking toward the east. The entire city rests in a basin, as it were, sloping to the sea and is surrounded on all sides by artificial mounds, upon which rise the walls with towers at frequent intervals. The whole is built of solid masonry, held together by cement which is harder than stone. The walls are wide, of goodly thickness and proportionate height. The city is furthermore encircled by outworks built with the same solidity and most carefully fortified. There are no springs within the confines of the walls, nor are there any near by, but wells, both without and within the city, furnish an abundant supply of fresh water fit for drinking. As a further precaution, the citizens had constructed within the town cisterns to receive the rain water.

There are four gates in the circuit of the wall, strongly defended by lofty and massive towers. The first of these, facing east, is called the Greater gate and sometimes the gate of Jerusalem, because it faces toward the Holy City. It is surmounted by two very lofty towers which serve as a strong protection for the city below. In the barbican before this gate are three or four smaller gates through which one passes to the main entrance by various winding ways.

The second gate faces the west. It is called the Sea gate, because through it the people have egress to the sea. The third to the south looks toward the city of Gaza, to which reference has been made above, whence also it takes its name. The fourth, with outlook toward the north, is called the gate of Jaffa from the neighboring city which lies on this same coast.

Ascalon is at a disadvantage, however, from the fact that its location admits of neither a port nor any other safe harborage for ships. The shore is very sandy, and the violent winds make the surrounding sea so tempestuous that it is generally feared by all who approach it except in very calm weather.

The soil of the fields surrounding the city is overlaid with sand and is consequently unfit for agriculture, yet it is well adapted to the culture of vineyards and fruit trees. There are, however, a few valleys on the
north which, when well fertilized and irrigated with water from the wells, furnish the townspeople with a certain amount of fruits and vegetables.

There was a large population in that city, even the least of whom—and, indeed, according to the general report, even the youngest babes—received pay from the treasury of the caliph of Egypt. That monarch and his princes felt the utmost solicitude for Ascalon, realizing that if it should fall and come into the power of the Christians there would be nothing to prevent our leaders from invading Egypt without let or hindrance and seizing that kingdom by force.

They regarded Ascalon as a bulwark, therefore, and four times a year with lavish munificence they furnished assistance to the city, both by land and by sea. As long as Ascalon held out and our people exhausted their zealous efforts upon it, the Egyptians themselves might enjoy the coveted peace. At great expense, therefore, they furnished the city with everything needful and at regular intervals sent arms, food, and fresh troops, for while the Christians were occupied with Ascalon the Egyptians felt less anxiety over our dreaded strength.

23. Siege operations are begun; officers are placed in command of the fleet and also of the land army.

For fifty years and more after the Lord had given the rest of the Land of Promise into the hands of the Christian people, Ascalon had resisted all our attempts and shown itself a formidable rival to us. The Christians finally resolved to besiege the place. This was an arduous and almost impossible feat, for Ascalon was well defended by walls and barbicans, towers and embankments, and equipped with an incredible amount of arms and provisions. In addition, it had a large population well trained and thoroughly versed in the practice of arms. In fact, from the very beginning of the siege even unto the end the number of defenders was double that of the besieging host.

The king, the patriarch, Peter, archbishop of Tyre, our predecessor, and other great men of the realm, princes as well as prelates of the church, and the citizens of each city set up their tents separately and blockaded the city by land. The fleet of fifteen ships, beaked and equipped to sail, was placed in the command of Gerard of Sidon, one of

41 See Book XVII, note 28; Book XIII, note 39.
the great barons of the realm. He was to prevent any approach from the sea and likewise to frustrate all attempts at egress from the city. Almost daily our people, now the knights and again the foot soldiers, made attacks upon the city. The townspeople, however, met these attempts with courage and resisted with spirit, for they were fighting for their wives and children and, what is far more important, for liberty itself. In these engagements, as usually happens under such conditions, victory fell now to the citizens and again to the Christians, but on the whole success more often fell to the lot of our forces.

There was said to be such security in that camp, such opportunities of buying all kinds of commodities, that the people in their tents and pavilions lived as they were accustomed to do at home in their walled cities.

The townspeople guarded the city with especial care at night. Relays of watchmen were employed, and even the leading men of the city took their turn at patrolling the walls, passing the greater part of the night without sleeping. Along the walls and on the ramparts of the towers were placed glass lamps fed by oil and provided with transparent covers to protect the flame. These made it as bright as day and assisted the watchmen while they were making the rounds of the walls.

In the Christian camp detachments of sentinels were also provided for the protection of our troops. The watch never ceased, for it was feared that the citizens might attack the camp under cover of night. There was also danger that the Egyptians, hastening to the aid of Ascalon, might suddenly and unexpectedly fall upon the army, although scouts had been stationed in many places around Gaza to give timely warning of the enemy's approach.

24. During the second month of the siege, a crossing of pilgrims occurs. This is of great assistance to the Christians in carrying on the blockade.

The siege continued for two months without change. About Easter time, the customary crossing took place which brought great numbers of pilgrims thither. After taking counsel together, the Christians dispatched messengers from the army forbidding all sailors and pilgrims,

This is one of the clearest indications of the existence of a royal fleet. Whether the ships were built or bought for the occasion or were part of a permanent force is not stated, though the appointment of Gerard of Sidon as commander would seem to be purely temporary.
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by the king's command, to return home. All, under promise of pay, were invited to take part in the siege, a labor so acceptable to God.\footnote{48 The use of money had become increasingly common in the conduct of warfare in the East by this time. It could purchase many forms of service ranging from manual labor to responsible military aid.} All vessels also, whether great or small, were ordered to sail to Ascalon. Within a very few days, therefore, all the ships that had come in that crossing arrived before the city, sped by a favoring breeze, and great forces of pilgrims, both knights and foot soldiers, joined our ranks. Thus, day by day, the strength of the army increased. Great was the joy in camp, and hope of winning the victory was unbounded.

Among the enemy, on the contrary, grief and anxiety prevailed ever more and more. They began to feel less confident of their own strength and, although more frequently challenged, sailed forth less often to the conflict. Again and again they besought the caliph of Egypt to send them aid as soon as possible, for otherwise they must soon give way. Accordingly, the caliph took active measures for their relief. He ordered the nobles responsible for such work to prepare a fleet and muster an army. He had the tall ships loaded with arms, provisions, and engines of war, appointed commanders, and provided for the necessary expenses, all the while chiding delay and commanding haste.

In the meantime, the Christians had purchased ships for a great sum and removed the masts. Workmen were then called in and ordered to build a very high tower of the wood. This was carefully protected against fire and other untoward accidents by wickerwork and hides, both inside and out, that the fighters who were to attack the city from it might be quite safe. The material which was left from the wooden ships was used to construct hurling engines, which were then placed in strategic positions for battering down the walls. Covered sheds were also made from the same material under protection of which the embankments might be approached and levelled in safety. All these preparations were duly made and the section of wall to which the engines could be most easily applied carefully considered. Then when the greater part of the embankment had been levelled, as mentioned above, the tower was moved with loud shouts to the wall. From its top a view of the entire city could be gained and a hand-to-hand fight with the defenders in the towers near by carried on. The townspeople, however, now from the walls and now from the mounds, boldly and persistently used their bows and arrows to harass those concealed within the mov-
able towers. All their efforts were in vain, however, for they were unable to harm those who were pushing the engine forward. A great crowd of defenders was then massed at the section of the wall opposite the tower, and the bolder spirits among them were ordered to try their strength there in a continual fight with the assailants in the movable tower.

Incessant fighting was also going on at the same time at various points elsewhere along the walls. Scarcely a day passed without carnage, to say nothing of the great number of wounded on both sides. We have heard stories of memorable deeds wrought at that siege by certain individuals and of the remarkable valor shown both by the enemy and the Christians. Since we are writing a general history, however, little attention can be paid to incidents of this kind.

25. During the fifth month of the siege, the Egyptian fleet arrives at Ascalon, an event which affords much consolation to the besieged.

For five consecutive months our leaders had persevered in the siege, and the strength of the foe was apparently becoming somewhat impaired. The prospect of taking the city seemed brighter than usual, when suddenly the Egyptian fleet, borne by favoring breezes, appeared before the city. At sight of it the Ascalonites raised their hands to the heavens and, with loud shouts, cried out that the Christians would now have to retreat or soon perish. When Gerard of Sidon, the commander of the Christian fleet, perceived that the ships were nearing the city, he tried to hinder their progress by attacking them with his small number of galleys. At last, however, alarmed at the large numbers of the foe, he turned back again and took measures for life and safety by flight.

The enemy’s force sailed boldly toward the city with the long-deferred assistance for the besieged. The fleet consisted, according to report, of seventy galleys and some other ships laden to the limit with men, arms, and food. The vessels were of immense size and had all been sent for the aid of the city by the Egyptian prince mentioned above. Thus reinforced, the enemy once more began hostilities, and, as with strength renewed, more boldly and more frequently they now challenged us to fight. The citizens themselves, who well knew the prowess of our men, were somewhat wary, but the rougher element and
the newcomers thirsted for glory and longed to show their strength and courage. They rushed into the conflict without caution and fell in large numbers, until, having experienced the steadfast courage of the Christians, they learned to deliver their attacks with more caution and to sustain our onslaughts with more moderation.


While these things were happening in the camp before Ascalon, the Lady Constance, widow of Prince Raymond of Antioch, who, after the fashion of women, had refused many distinguished nobles, secretly chose as her husband Renaud de Châtillon, a knight in the pay of the king. She did not wish this to be made public, however, until she had secured the authority and consent of the king, her cousin, under whose protection her principality lay. Accordingly, Renaud hastened to the army to communicate her intention to the king and, after obtaining his consent, returned to Antioch and married the princess. Many there were, however, who marvelled that a woman so eminent, so distinguished and powerful, who had been the wife of a very illustrious man, should stoop to marry an ordinary knight.44

During this time also, Nureddin, a man of much foresight and discretion, learned of the death of his father-in-law, Anar.45 This distinguished man, the commander in chief of the army of Damascus and the administrator of the king’s affairs, had always strenuously resisted all the projects of his son-in-law. Nureddin was aware that the king of Jerusalem with all the chivalry of the land had been for some time engaged in besieging Ascalon, and he felt confident that Baldwin would not willingly abandon that undertaking to respond to the appeals of the Damascenes for assistance against himself. He therefore seized the opportunity and marched against Damascus with a large army to take the kingdom by force. The people received him with favor, however,

44 This statement is somewhat inconsistent with both William’s earlier statement regarding Walter of St. Omer and his list of prominent leaders at Ascalon among whom he included both Renaud de Châtillon and Walter, castellan of St. Omer.

45 Anar had died August 28, 1149, according to Qalanisi, who describes the event in some detail (Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 294–95). Nureddin made attempts to gain Damascus after Anar’s death as well as before. He finally succeeded in April, 1154, having prepared the way by a sort of blockade of foodstuffs (Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 320–21).
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and surrendered voluntarily; whereupon he removed their monarch, a dissolute and worthless man, from power and forced him to fly to the Orient, a fugitive and exile over the earth. This change was decidedly disastrous to the interests of the kingdom. In place of a man without power, whose weakness rendered him harmless to the Christians and who up to this time, as if subject, had rendered them an annual tribute, a formidable adversary arose. For just as "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation," according to the words of the Saviour, so many kingdoms when united tend to gain strength from one another and rise with greater strength against a common foe.

Thus, after Nureddin had taken Damascus and subdued all the region round about, he desired to assist Ascalon as far as was possible from such a distance. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Christians, he besieged the city of Banyas, which lies at the extreme end of the kingdom. He hoped that our people, on being summoned to the relief of the beleaguered city, would abandon the siege of Ascalon. But by the mercy of God which guided us, his great hopes were not realized, and neither of his projects succeeded. For he was unsuccessful in the siege of Banyas, and the Christians, by the aid of the Lord, compelled Ascalon to surrender.

About this time, also, Bernard, bishop of Sidon, of blessed memory, died, and Amalrich, of pious memory in the Lord, was chosen in his place. Amalrich was abbot of the regular canons of the order of the Premonstratensians in the monastery of St. Habakkuk, or St. Joseph of Arimathea. He was a sincere and God-fearing man of godly life. Since no one was allowed to go far away from the besieged city, he is said to have received the gift of consecration in the church at Lydda from the hands of Peter, archbishop of Tyre, of revered memory.

27. The besiegers make a furious assault upon the city. The citizens try to burn the machine outside the walls. A portion of the city wall falls. Some of the Christians, while attempting to rush in, are killed. Our army abandons hope.

Meanwhile, those who were engaged in this campaign pressed on their project with great energy and kept up vigorous assaults on the

46 Mat. 12: 25.
47 Nureddin had called upon the people of Damascus to aid him in the siege of Banyas under the terms of his latest treaty with them. Though they joined him, it
city without intermission. This was especially the case around the
Greater gate, as it is called, where the attacks were renewed again and
again with results most disastrous to the citizens. Volleys of mighty
rocks hurled from the casting machines threatened to weaken the walls
and towers and to overthrow from their very foundations the houses
within the city. Great was the slaughter which resulted. With their
bows and arrows, the soldiers in the movable tower also wrought great
destruction not only upon the defenders who were resisting them from
the top of the towers and walls, but also on those who were forced by
necessity to move about the city. In comparison with the ills which as-
sailed them from this tower all the trials which the citizens endured
at other points, however hard, appeared light.

They took counsel, therefore, with one another. Profiting especially
by the advice of those who had had much experience in matters of this
nature, they resolved, no matter at what risk and danger, to destroy
that machine. Dry wood and other material suitable for kindling and
increasing the flames were to be thrown between the wall and the
tower. This was to be set on fire stealthily and the tower burned. There
seemed to be no other hope, nor had they courage to resist longer, for
they were now reduced to the lowest depths of despair.

Certain brave men, noted for their strength and courage, men who
considered the safety of their fellow citizens before their own, imme-
diately responded to the appeal and offered to undertake the dangerous
task. Wood was carried to the part of the wall nearest to the tower and
thrown over into the space outside between the wall and the machine.
When a great pile of wood had been built up, sufficient in their judg-
ment to burn the tower, they poured upon it from above pitch, oil,
and other liquids provocative of fire, anything which would make a
fi ercer flame. As soon as it blazed up, however, divine clemency was
manifested toward us; for, although the flames at once increased in
violence, a strong wind from the east sprang up which turned the entire
fury of the flames against the walls. This wind, then, by its own fury,
drove the fire against the wall, and an incessant gale, which continued
throughout the entire night, reduced it to ashes. About dawn an entire
portion of the wall, between two towers, crumbled away entirely with
a noise that roused the whole army.

was with a feeling of distrust which finally led to quarrels between them and the
abandonment of the siege in June, 1153 (see Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 315–16).
But the mass as it fell struck against the tower with such force that some of the necessary parts of the machine, which the fire had been unable to injure, were shattered. The sentinels on duty at the top and on the projections were almost thrown to the ground. Roused at the sound of the crash, the entire army seized arms and rushed to the place, eager to enter at once as if an entrance had been opened from on high. But Bernard de Tremelay, the master of the Templars, and his brethren had reached there much before the rest; he held the opening and allowed none but his own men to enter. It was charged that he kept the rest back in order that his own people, being the first to enter, might obtain the greater and richer portion of the spoils and plunder.\textsuperscript{48} For when a city is taken by assault, custom among the Christians has made it a law, even to this day, that whatever anyone on entering seizes for himself, that he may hold in perpetual right for himself and his heirs. If all had entered with equal chance, the city might have been taken and the spoils would have been sufficient for all. But “it is rare that an enterprise bad in inception and perverse in purpose has a good ending,” for “Gain basely obtained brings no good results.”\textsuperscript{49} Through cupidity, they refused to allow their comrades to share in the booty, therefore they alone justly suffered peril of death. About forty entered, but the rest were not able to follow.

Up to this time the citizens had feared for their very lives and were prepared to endure extreme measures without resistance. Now, however, perceiving that these few were cut off from their comrades, they fell upon them with renewed strength and courage and killed them. They then rallied their forces and, as with courage reborn, again seized the arms which they had laid down as if defeated and rushed with one accord to the place where the wall had fallen in. There, by joining together immense beams and huge blocks of wood, of which the ships afforded a large supply, they filled the breach, closed the opening, and with the utmost ardor made the place impenetrable.

After strengthening the towers next to the burned area on both sides, which had been abandoned because of the furious flames, they again girded themselves for the combat and renewed the fight. Of their own accord, as if with no thought of their former reverses, they chal-

\textsuperscript{48} This charge of cupidity against the Templars is regarded by Lundgreen as a reflection of William’s prejudice against the order, and unjustified by the facts, which could be explained in other ways.

\textsuperscript{49} Ovid \textit{Am.} 1. x. 48.
lenged us to battle. The fighters in the tower, however, knowing that its foundations had been weakened and that the lower part of the solid frame had been injured, felt no confidence in it and accordingly fought with little energy.

The enemy, for our undoing, suspended the bodies of our slain by ropes from the ramparts of the wall and, with taunting words and gestures, gave vent to the joy which they felt. But deepest grief soon took the place of this joy, and the events which followed plainly showed how true is the saying, "Pride goeth before destruction and an haughty spirit before a fall." 50

The Christians, on the contrary, were prostrated in mind and heart. Overcome by grief, in bitterness of spirit, they became faint-hearted and lost all hope of ultimate victory.

28. *Again the Christians are comforted; they are encouraged to continue the siege and press on more zealously than ever.*

In the meantime, the king, appalled at the terrible calamity, called the chiefs together. When they had assembled in his tent (the patriarch and the archbishop of Tyre and other prelates of the church being also in attendance), he placed before them the Life-giving Cross and anxiously inquired what was to be done in such a great change of fortune. As, in the fear of God, they deliberated with the utmost solicitude, there arose a division of opinion which split the assembly into two parties. For some, doubtful of their power to win the city, maintained that they had wasted their efforts there for a long time in vain. Their forces had been slain in large numbers, the leaders either wounded or taken prisoners; even their resources had given out. They contended that the city was impregnable; the citizens had an abundance of all commodities, their strength was frequently repaired, while ours was failing. They advised a return.

Others, of a saner mind, counselled that they persevere, hoping in the mercy of the Lord, who was not wont to abandon those who with pious long-suffering trusted in Him. It was of little use, they said, for an enterprise to have a good beginning unless it was brought to a like end. Much time and expense had indeed been employed, but it was with the hope of a more abundant reward of which, though it seemed

50 Pr. 16:18.
deferred, God would not deprive them. Their forces had indeed fallen, but yet the hope remained that they would find a glorious resurrection; for the promise to the faithful was: "Your sorrow shall be turned into joy" 51 and "Seek, and ye shall find." 52 Reasoning in this way, they advised against returning and strove to induce the Christians to persevere as strong men in this task. Almost all the lay princes upheld the opinion of the first faction; the king, also, wearied by adverse fate, seemed to lean toward that view.

The patriarch, the archbishop of Tyre, and all the clergy, also Raymond, the master of the Hospitallers, and his brethren agreed with the opposite faction.

Thus the assembly was divided and all gave various reasons supporting opposite opinions. But divine mercy, ever present with them, caused the opinion of the patriarch to prevail, for it seemed to have greater merit and promised more glory. 53 It was therefore unanimously resolved to return to the Lord and, after imploring aid from Heaven, to persevere in the task they had undertaken until the Dayspring from on high should visit them and look with favor upon their labors.

Accordingly, with unanimity of purpose, all seized their arms and, returning to the task in hand, ordered the trumpets to sound the signal. The clarion's call and the voice of the herald soon summoned the whole people to battle. Eager to avenge the wrongs of their murdered brethren, the people gathered before the city with unusual fervor and with avidity challenged the foe to battle. To survey our ranks, it was as if they had suffered no loss or had, at least, received fresh reinforcements. Seized with a mad fury for extermination, they rushed upon the enemy and attacked them so fiercely that the foe marvelled and stood dumbfounded before the evidence of our insuperable strength and indomitable perseverance. Although they made desperate efforts to retaliate with equal fury, it was all in vain, for they could not stand against the shock of our troops or avoid their swords. The battle that day was waged between far from equal forces, yet knights and foot soldiers alike won the palm of victory everywhere and triumphed at every point over the foe.

51 Jno. 16: 20. 52 Mat. 7: 7. 53 It is of interest to note at this point not only another instance of the aggressive, vigorous attitude of Patriarch Fulcher, but also of the cooperation of Fulcher with the Hospitallers, who were apparently the only military group strongly in favor of continued operations.
Thus great slaughter was wrought upon the enemy, and the injury suffered by the Christians three days before was returned in overwhelming measure. There was not a household in the city whose domestic circle was not touched with deepest anguish. The city was covered with confusion, and the woes already experienced seemed light by comparison with the present peril. At no time, from the beginning of the siege even to that time, had similar disasters befallen them, nor had they ever experienced equal losses. For, since the flower of their kingdom was destroyed and the rulers of the city killed, they lacked counsel, valor languished, and all hope of resistance vanished.

By general consent, therefore, certain of their principal leaders were sent to the king as ambassadors. They were to ask a temporary truce for the purpose of exchanging the bodies of the dead, that each side might have the privilege, according to its own custom, of rendering the last honors with fitting funeral rites.

The terms demanded met with the approval of the Christians. The bodies of the dead were exchanged and committed to the tomb with solemn obsequies.

29. The people of Ascalon give way to despair; by general consent they are disposed to surrender.

When the people of Ascalon saw the evidence of the slaughter of their host and perceived the mighty strength which the Lord had directed against them, the grief and consternation of their hearts was renewed, and, in proportion to the magnitude of their distress, their courage melted away. Moreover, that nothing might be lacking to the sum of their misfortunes, that same day a further disaster overtook them. Forty of their gallant soldiers were dragging a mighty beam to a place where it was needed when a huge stone, cast by our hurling machine, fell upon the beam and crushed it completely, together with the men moving it.

Then, in bitterness of heart, struggling under the weight of troubles, the surviving elders of the city called the people together. With tears and lamentations they assembled; among the throng were women clasping their little ones to their breasts and feeble old men whose last breath was almost spent. Then, with the general consent of all, certain wise and eloquent men addressed the assembled people as follows: “Men of Ascalon, you who dwell within these gates, you know, and no
one better than you, how we have for fifty years waged a dangerous and difficult struggle against this redoubtable people, so persistent in their purpose. You know full well by actual experience how often they have overthrown our sires in battle and how many times, stepping into the places of their fathers, our sons have renewed the struggle to repel their injuries. The hope of preserving this spot whence we derived our origin, of defending our wives and children and that far greater privilege, liberty, has ever led us on. For forty-four years this strife has continued, since the time when that people, so troublesome to us, came upon us from the most remote regions of the West and with a strong hand took violent possession of the whole region from Tarsus of Cilicia even unto Egypt. This city alone, by reason of the valorous efforts of our forefathers, has remained intact, in the midst of such strong adversaries, even unto the present day. Yet the hazards endured up to this time, when compared with those now threatening us, may be deemed little or nothing. Even now, not one among us has less inclination to resist, but the army is wasted away, the supplies are exhausted, the burden of hardships is unendurable. The mighty host of the enemy is ever on the watch and exceedingly persistent; their constant molestation have weakened our strength, both of body and mind, and deprived us of the power to prolong the struggle.

“Accordingly, it seems expedient to the chief men of Ascalon, if you also agree, that we try to extricate ourselves at this time from our present sufferings. Let us send envoys on behalf of the whole people to that powerful king who is besieging us, and endeavor to obtain on definite terms permission to depart freely with our wives and children, servants and maidservants, and all our goods. In return, we, on our part, will agree to surrender the city to him—with groans do we utter these words—in order to put an end to such terrible misfortunes.”

30. Envoys chosen from the leading men of the city are sent to the king. They obtain from him permission to depart freely with their wives and children and all their substance. The city is surrendered.

This speech seemed good in the eyes of all, and it was approved with loud shouts of assent, as is usual under such circumstances. Wise and

54 This speech must, of course, be regarded as William's own imaginative reconstruction. It offers an interesting instance of his sympathetic appreciation of the plight of the enemy.
CAPTURE OF ASCALON

discreet men of venerable and revered appearance were chosen from the assembled people to convey to the king and his nobles the proposition which they had decided upon. These envoys, on receipt of permission to advance under safe conduct, issued forth from the gate and approached the presence of the king.

When all the princes had assembled, as requested by the envoys, the proposition was placed before them, and the terms stipulated were explained in detail. The ambassadors were then asked to retire for a time while the king conferred with his leading counsellors as to their advice. They, however, burst forth into tears of joy and, with eyes and hands raised aloft to heaven, returned profound thanks to their Creator, who had deigned to bestow upon them, all unworthy as they were, such abundant favor.

The messengers were then recalled. A unanimous answer was given them, namely that the terms offered would be accepted, if, within the three following days, they should vacate the entire city. To this the envoys assented, but asked that it be confirmed by an oath to give strength to the treaty. An oath was accordingly taken with due solemnity, the king and certain chosen nobles giving their hand that, in good faith, without evil designs, they would keep all the terms of the aforesaid agreement. They then surrendered the hostages, whom the king had demanded by name, and returned joyfully to their own domains. A number of Christian knights accompanied them to place the king's standard over the loftiest tower of the city in token of victory.

When our army, who were waiting in eager expectation, saw the royal standards floating from the highest towers, a great shout burst from the exultant company. Cries of praise not unaccompanied by tears rose to heaven as from one voice, saying, "Blessed be the God of our fathers who has not deserted those who trusted in Him; and blessed be the Name of His Majesty which is holy, because today we have seen wondrous things."

Although according to the treaty a truce of three successive days had been granted to the townspeople, yet so greatly did they fear the presence of the Christians that within two days all their preparations were completed. Then, girt for the journey, they set out with their wives and children, servants and maidservants, and all kinds of paraphernalia. In accordance with the agreement, the king furnished them guides as
The king and the patriarch, accompanied by the other princes of the realm and the prelates of the church, together with all the clergy and the entire people, then entered the city with hymns and spiritual songs, led by the Cross of the Lord. The Cross was borne into the principal chapel of the Turks, a building of exceeding beauty, later consecrated in honor of the apostle Paul. After the divine rites and services of thanksgiving had been solemnized there, all withdrew to the quarters assigned to them and passed a joyous day, memorable forever.

Within a few days thereafter the patriarch organized the church in Ascalon. He established there a definite number of canons and gave them fixed incomes called prebends. He also ordained as bishop of the city one Absalom, a regular canon of the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, although Gerald, bishop of Bethlehem, vigorously protested against this appointment and forbade that it be made. Later the case was referred by appeal to the pope at Rome. The latter removed the bishop consecrated by the patriarch and granted to the bishop of Bethlehem the church at Ascalon with all its possessions, to be held by him and the church at Bethlehem in perpetual right.

By his mother's advice, the king distributed possessions and the lands dependent thereon both within and without the city to those who had well deserved them; to some, also for a price. The city of Ascalon he generously bestowed upon his young brother Amaury, count of Jaffa. Ascalon was taken on the twelfth day of August in the

55 William had seen this chapel before he wrote this account, which is another evidence of his unusual interest in architecture. The vividness of his description of the siege almost suggests that William himself was present during part of it, though he nowhere indicates his presence. He was about twenty-three years old at the time and still a student, probably at Jerusalem, which was not very far away.

56 The relationship of Bethlehem and Ascalon was thus reversed from its traditional organization. However, this problem had arisen during the First Crusade, and the precedent was then established for the papal action (see Book IX, chap. 1, note 21; Book XI, chap. 12). Ascalon might have been maintained as a separate bishopric, but the protests of Gerald and Ralph, who became his successor in the bishopric of Bethlehem, succeeded in having it made subject to that see. The question was decided by Pope Hadrian IV.

57 It is of interest to note that the king's mother had not lost her interest in the management of affairs despite her defeat a year or two before. The sale of privileges indicated by William reflects the importance of the commercial element in the Latin states.
year 1154 of the Incarnation of the Lord and the tenth year of the reign of King Baldwin III.58

A deplorable calamity overtook the unfortunate people of Ascalon on their journey down to Egypt. When the men who had been appointed by the king to guide them on their way and to see that no one molested them departed, the refugees were attacked by one Nocquinus, a Turk, strong in arms but of evil life and utterly disloyal. This man had shared their hardships and for a long time had fought with them for pay. He pretended that he wished to accompany them on the journey to Egypt. When he saw that the guides had left them, however, he scornfully cast aside all good faith and humanity and fell upon them. Then, after robbing them of all their goods, he departed and left them to wander in the wilderness.59

58 The errors in this date may be due to copyists. The year should be 1153 and the day of the month probably August 22 instead of 12 (see Stevenson, Crusaders, p. 171, note 3).

59 No other accounts mention this incident of Nocquinus, but such raids were probably too common to arouse comment by Arab historians, even though this one did arouse William's sympathy.

here ends the seventeenth book
HERE BEGINS THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK

LATIN JERUSALEM AT ITS HEIGHT UNDER BALDWIN III: THE LURE OF EGYPT

1. The patriarch of Antioch is shamefully abused by Renaud de Châtillon. He takes refuge in the kingdom. A severe famine spreads over the land.

RENAUD DE CHÂTILLON had married the widow of Raymond, prince of Antioch, as has been related above. From the first he had perceived that this marriage was displeasing to the patriarch, and as the prelate continued to maintain the same attitude, Renaud looked with suspicion on all he did.¹ The patriarch, a very rich and powerful man whose authority was supreme, often expressed himself rather freely, both in public and in private, about Renaud and his doings, and, as is usually the case, these remarks were reported to the prince by persons who sought to increase the hatred between the two. Thereupon, Renaud was moved to violent and inexorable wrath. He laid violent hands upon the patriarch and with diabolic daring caused the venerable man to be seized and ignominiously conducted to the citadel which towers high above Antioch. Then—a most abominable act—he forced the aged priest, a successor of Peter, the chief of the apostles, although an almost helpless invalid, to sit in the blazing sun throughout a summer’s day, his bare head smeared with honey. No one, for piety’s sake, offered him any relief from the relentless rays of the sun or tried to drive away the flies.

When news of this outrage reached the king of Jerusalem, he was overwhelmed with amazement and dismay at the mad conduct of the foolish prince. Almost beside himself with consternation, he dispatched to Renaud two venerable envoys, Frederick, bishop of Acre, and Ralph, the chancellor. They were the bearers of a letter in which the king, by virtue of his royal authority, reproved the prince for his outrageous act and warned him to turn from his wicked ways. When the prince

¹ This episode of the quarrel of Renaud de Châtillon and Patriarch Aimery extended over a number of years. William’s reason for placing it here is doubtless the fact that Renaud married Constance in 1153. The incidents which he recites, however, extended all the way to 1160 if not beyond.
had heard the messengers and perused the king’s letter, he released the patriarch, but not without heaping much abuse upon him. The goods which had been taken by violence from the prelate and his people were also completely restored. In the end, however, the patriarch left the land of Antioch and repaired to the kingdom of Jerusalem. He was kindly received by the king and his wise mother, as indeed by the patriarch and all the bishops of the kingdom, and there he remained for several years.

In the following year, a severe famine spread over the whole land. The Lord, filled with anger toward us, took away our main support, bread, so that a measure of wheat was sold for four gold pieces. In fact, had it not been that a supply of grain was found in Ascalon when that city was taken, famine would have invaded the land and the people would have almost wholly perished. For fifty years, through fear of hostilities, the fields around Ascalon had lain without cultivation. But during the years following its capture, the land was under the care of the farmer, and the people of that district, relieved from fear of the enemy, could freely cultivate the ground. Hence the entire kingdom enjoyed such abundance that all former years, in comparison with the present, might with justice be called sterile and fruitless. The soil, so long uncultivated and deprived of the care of the plough, had retained within itself all its strength; as a result it responded to the farmer’s care with multiplied interest and produced a sixtyfold crop.

2. On the death of Anastasius, Hadrian is elected pope. Emperor Frederick is crowned at Rome. A serious enmity arises between the pope and King William of Sicily.

While these events were happening in the lands of the Orient, Pope Anastasius IV died at Rome and Adrian III [Hadrian IV] was chosen in his stead. This pope was English by birth, from the castle of St. Albans. He had been abbot of the regular canons in the church of St.

2 This famine of 1154 is also mentioned as occurring in Damascus in that year. Qalanisi, however, ascribes it there to a deliberate blockade of Damascus by Nurreddin, who forbade the usual export of grain from the north (H. A. R. Gibb, The Damascus Chronicle, p. 317).

3 Hadrian IV (not III), Nicholas Breakspear, was elected pope toward the end of the year 1154. He was the first and thus far the only pope of English birth. The main events of his life as given here are substantially correct, though the place of his birth is usually given as Langley, near St. Albans (see Dictionary of National Biography; also Catholic Encyclopedia).
Rufus, near the city of Avignon, in Provence, in the diocese of Arles. Thence he was called to the church of Rome by Pope Eugenius of precious memory and was ordained bishop of Albano under the name Nicholas. Later, he was sent as legate by Anastasius, the successor of Pope Eugenius, to Norway, the most remote province of the West. On his return after the death of this pope, he was present at the election and was unanimously chosen pope by the clergy and people and given the name Hadrian.

This same year, it happened that Frederick, king of the Teutons, although not yet emperor, went down into Italy with large forces and laid siege to Tortona, a city of Lombardy. The siege was long continued, but when the place was finally taken, he determined to go to Rome and there be crowned emperor.4

During the same time, also, serious enmity arising from various causes developed between Pope Hadrian, of whom we have been speaking, and William, king of Sicily, son of Roger of good memory. The discord between the two had reached a point of such open animosity that the pope hurled the sentence of excommunication against the king and began deadly warfare against him.5

Nevertheless, Frederick, bent upon his purpose, hastened on his way and within a few days advanced from Lombardy to Rome, where his sudden arrival gave rise to some suspicion in the minds of the pope and the whole Roman church. At last, however, through the work of certain mediators, the customary terms were arranged, and on the sixth day before the Kalends of July [June 26] Frederick was crowned with great ceremony in the church of St. Peter and proclaimed emperor.6

Three days later, on the feast day of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, the king, adorned with the imperial insignia, and the pope, wearing the distinctive decorations of the supreme pontifical office, joined

4 Tortona was captured April 18, 1155, after a siege of nine weeks. After a short rest in Genoa, Frederick moved toward Rome, visiting a number of towns, including Bologna, on the way (see H. Simonsfeld, Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Friederich I, I, 301–36).

5 The trouble between William I of Sicily and the papacy had begun before the election of Hadrian IV. Hadrian refused to recognize William as king and continued the struggle which now became open warfare (see F. Chalandon, Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile, II, 194 ff.).

6 The meeting of Hadrian and Frederick was attended with a series of misunderstandings. The famous incident of Frederick's refusal to hold the pope's stirrup occurred at this time. The coronation of Frederick as emperor took place somewhat earlier than William's date—June 18, 1155 (see Simonsfeld, Jahrbücher, I, 335–36).
forces at a place called the Lucan bridge, near the city of Tivoli. Thence, amid the rejoicing of clergy and people and crowned with the laurel, they proceeded on their way together, and when the festal day was over parted from one another in good accord. The emperor hastened to Ancona, whither the affairs of the empire called him, and the pope proceeded to the vicinity of Rome, where he tarried for a while in the hill cities.

Meanwhile, the king of Sicily had ordered his nobles to lay siege to the city of Benevento, which was the peculiar property of the Roman church, and to blockade the town as closely as possible. The pope was annoyed beyond measure at this action. Desirous of repaying an ill turn with equal measure, he endeavored to stir up the king's own nobles against him, nor were his wishes in that respect ungratified. Success attended his efforts, for he persuaded the most powerful count of Sicily, Robert of Bassavilla, the son of the king's aunt, and many other nobles besides to rise against their lord by promising that they should never lack the aid and counsel of the Roman church. Moreover, many illustrious and powerful nobles who had been deprived of their patrimony and driven from the realm as exiles by William and his father were induced by the pope's admonitions to return to the kingdom and resume possession of the property which belonged to them by hereditary right. In the number were Robert of Sorrento, prince of Capua, Count Andreas of Rapacanina, and many others. To all these the pope gave his solemn assurance as pope that the church of Rome would never fail them. Notwithstanding this promise, he urged both the Roman emperor and the emperor of Constantinople—the former, who was still in Italy, openly by word of mouth and the latter privately by letters—to seize the kingdom of Sicily.  

7 The revolt of William's cousin, Robert of Loritello, and other nobles of southern Italy created a critical situation into which either Frederick Barbarossa or Manuel might inject a decisive influence. Manuel's representatives were quick to take advantage of the situation, although Manuel was too occupied elsewhere to send any considerable army.

8 Whether Hadrian negotiated with both at the same time or with Manuel after Frederick had indicated his inability to interfere at the moment is uncertain. There is some question whether the initiative in the relations between Hadrian and the Greeks was taken by the former or the latter. (F. Chalandon, Les Commène, II, 358–60).
3. An altercation arises between the patriarch and the brethren of the Hospital over the question of tithes and also over certain injuries done to the churches by that order.

While the churches of Italy were in this unsettled state and affairs in the kingdom of Sicily were likewise disturbed, our part of the Orient was not free from troubles. For, at the very time when, by divine favor, the city of Ascalon was restored to the Christians, when the affairs of the kingdom also were progressing satisfactorily and crops were abundant, the enemy of man, begrudging the tranquillity granted by the Lord, began to sow tares. For Raymond, master of the house of the Hospital, together with his brethren who were also filled with the same spirit (although in other respects he seemed to be a religious and God-fearing man), began to cause great trouble to the patriarch and the other prelates of the church over matters of parochial jurisdiction and tithes. The Hospitallers were in the habit of receiving to the celebration of the holy sacrament, without discrimination or question, those who had been excommunicated by their own bishops or interdicted by name and who, thus, in punishment for their sins, were cut off from the church. Neither did they refuse the viaticum and extreme unction to these same persons when sick, or deny them burial. When, because of crimes committed, silence was imposed upon all the churches or upon those of a certain city or castle, the Hospitallers were wont to ring their bells and call more loudly than usual, to summon those under interdict to divine service. This they did that they themselves might enjoy the offerings and other revenues which rightly belonged to the mother churches, that, while others were sorrowing, they alone might rejoice.  

They forgot the words of the illustrious preacher who said, "Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep."  

Moreover, they did not present their priests to the bishop of the place, according to the ancient law of the sacred canons, that they might have the consent of their superiors to celebrate the holy offices in their dioceses. Nor did they, when it became necessary to remove a priest

9 Great friction between the secular and regular clergy usually arose shortly after the founding of each new order. This was aggravated by the greater mobility of the later orders. When the military orders were given the right to have their own chaplains and their exemption from local prelates, instances of conflicting jurisdiction were certain. William here recites a nearly complete list of grievances which the local prelates held against the military orders.

10 Ro. 12:15.
from his parish, whether justly or unjustly, make this known to their bishops. They absolutely refused to give tithes from their own benefices and from all the revenues devolving, by whatever right, upon them. All the bishops had this grievance against them; all the cathedral churches everywhere suffered this same loss. The most intolerable wrong of all, however, a thing abhorrent to all Christians, was done to the patriarch and the holy church at Jerusalem. For, before the very doors of the church of the Holy Resurrection, to show their insolent contempt for the church itself, they began to erect an edifice far higher and more costly than that church which had been consecrated by the precious blood of our Saviour, who hung upon the cross—the church which afforded Him an acceptable sepulchre within its walls after the agony of the crucifixion.\(^{11}\)

Moreover, whenever the lord patriarch went up to speak to the people, according to custom, from the place where the Saviour of mankind hung for our salvation and thus bought complete redemption for the whole world, they endeavored to hinder the celebration of the office entrusted to him. With intentional malice they set their many great bells ringing so loudly and persistently that the voice of the patriarch could not rise above the din, nor could the people, in spite of all his efforts, hear him. The patriarch often complained to the citizens of the outrageous conduct of the Hospitallers, which was perfectly obvious. Yet, though many besought them to cease, they remained incorrigible, and even threatened that eventually they would use measures still more strenuous. This threat they carried out; for they carried their presumption to such extremes that, in a spirit of audacious fury, they armed and, breaking into the church beloved of God as into the house of a common person, hurled forth showers of arrows, as if against a den of robbers. These arrows were later collected and tied into a bundle, and we ourselves as well as many others saw them hanging from a rope before the place of Calvary where the Lord was crucified.\(^{12}\)

\(^{11}\) This was the main building of the Hospitallers in Jerusalem, probably in all Palestine. It had to be large to meet their expanded needs, the housing of their knights, the care of the sick, as well as their business interests. Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Jerusalem about 1163, describes it as housing four hundred knights in addition to the sick and visiting pilgrims. Probably no offense was intended by this enlargement of their building, but during the quarrel the secular prelates so interpreted it.

\(^{12}\) Such an outrage would seem to represent an advanced stage in the friction between the Hospitallers and the secular church, near the time of the appeal to Rome. The incident attests William's own presence in Jerusalem about this time.
Those who have made a careful study of this subject believe that the Roman church was primarily responsible for this great evil, although perhaps unwittingly and without having given sufficient consideration to the privilege which was demanded. For it was the church which unjustly removed the house of the Hospital from the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem, to whom it had been rightly subject. Hence the Hospitalers have neither reverence toward God nor regard for any man except those whom they fear. Yet not indiscriminately do we accuse all of arrogance, a sin most odious to God, and the mother of all vices. We believe, indeed, that in so large a body it would be almost impossible that all should proceed by the same path without any variation of conduct.

In order to explain in this history how from a modest beginning this house has developed so powerfully and how unjustly it has acted and still continues to act against the churches of God, it is necessary to begin the story somewhat farther back; this, with the help of God, we shall endeavor to do without deviating in the least from the truth.

4. The origin and development of the house of the Hospital is described.

In the time of the Roman Emperor Heraclius, according to ancient histories, the power of the people of Arabia became very great against him. As a result, the kingdom of Jerusalem, with all Syria and Egypt and the adjacent provinces, because of our sins fell into the hands of enemies of the Christian faith and name. Nevertheless, although the holy places were thus under the power of the enemy from time to time, many people from the West visited them for the sake of devotion or business, possibly for both. Among those from the West who ventured at that time to go to the holy places for the purpose of trade, were certain men from Italy who were known as Amalfitani from the name of their city.  

13 The reference is to the various papal privileges from that of Innocent II, March 29, 1139, to that of Anastasius IV, February 17, 1154. Each of these grants involved some extension of privilege, and it was doubtless the one of Anastasius IV which precipitated the trouble in Jerusalem (see F. Lundgreen, Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Tempelorden, App. I, 183–85).

14 Amalfi was one of the principal commercial cities of the western Mediterranean before the crusades. Its affiliations were with Constantinople, but it was practically independent (see W. von Heyd, Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge, I, 98–108).
The city of Amalfi lies between lofty mountains and the sea. To the east, about seven miles distant by sea, is the noble city of Salerno. To the west lie Sorrento and Naples, the city of Virgil; to the south, about two hundred miles away across the Tyrrenian sea, is Sicily. The people of Amalfi, as has been said, were the first who, for the sake of gain, attempted to carry to the Orient foreign wares hitherto unknown to the East. Because of the necessary articles which they brought thither, they obtained very advantageous terms from the principal men of those lands and were permitted to come there freely. The people also were favorably disposed toward them.

At that epoch the prince of Egypt held all the coastal region from the city of Jabala, situated on the shore near Laodicea in Syria, as far as Alexandria, the last city in Egypt. Over each city was placed a governor who made the power of the prince feared far and wide. The Amal恰好, however, enjoyed the full favor of the king as well as of his nobles and were able to travel in perfect safety all over the country as traders and dealers in the useful articles which they carried. Faithful to the traditions of their fathers and the Christian profession, these merchants were in the habit of visiting the holy places whenever opportunity offered. They had no house of their own at Jerusalem, however, where they might remain for a while, as they had in the coast cities. To carry out a long-cherished plan, therefore, they assembled as many people of their own city as possible and visited the caliph of Egypt. They gained the good will of the people of his household, presented a petition in writing, and received a favorable response, in accordance with their desires.

5. How the caliph of Egypt, at the petition of the Amal恰好, ordered a place to be set aside for them where they might build a church.

A written order was accordingly sent to the governor of Jerusalem, directing that a very ample area at Jerusalem, in that part of the city occupied by the Christians, be designated at their request for the people

15 Here, as in a number of places, William reveals a familiarity with southern Italy which suggests a personal acquaintance. Why he regards Naples as Virgil’s city is not clear.

16 William's sympathetic appreciation of commerce appears here as elsewhere. It is doubtful whether the people of Amalfi were the first or only people to bring the products of the West to the Levant, but their definite connection with Jerusalem condones this exclusive notice by William (Heyd, Histoire du commerce).
of Amalfi, friends and carriers of useful articles. There they were to erect such a building as they desired. The city was divided at that time, as it is today, into four almost equal parts; of these that quarter alone which contains the Sepulchre of the Lord had been granted to the faithful as the place of their abode. The rest of the city, with the Temple of the Lord, was occupied exclusively by infidels.

In accordance with the caliph’s command, a place sufficiently large for the necessary buildings was set aside for the people of Amalfi. Offerings of money were collected from the merchants, and before the door of the church of the Resurrection of the Lord, barely a stone’s throw away, they built a monastery in honor of the holy and glorious mother of God, the Ever Virgin Mary. In connection with this there were suitable offices for the use of the monks and for the entertainment of guests from their own city.

When the place was finished, they brought an abbot and monks from Amalfi and established the monastery under a regular rule as a place of holy life acceptable to the Lord. Since those who had founded the place and maintained it in religion were men of the Latin race, it has been called from that time until this the monastery of the Latins.

Even in those days it often happened that chaste and holy widows came to Jerusalem to kiss the revered places. Regardless of natural timidity, they had met without fear the numberless dangers of the way. Since there was no place within the portals of the monastery where such pilgrims might be honorably received, the same pious men who had founded the monastery made a suitable provision for these people also, that when devout women came they might not lack a chapel, a house, and separate quarters of their own. A little convent was finally established there, by divine mercy, in honor of that pious sinner, Mary Magdalene, and a regular number of sisters placed there to minister to women pilgrims.

During these same perilous times there also flocked thither people of other nations, both nobles and those of the middle class. As there

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17 This procedure may or may not have been followed at the time, but the statement suggests what was probably the procedure in such matters in William’s own time. Heyd believes that most of the credit for these establishments at Jerusalem should be given to a certain lord of Amalfi, Maurus, who died in 1071 (Heyd, Histoire du commerce, I, 104–6). He would date the rebuilding of these monasteries between 1063 and 1071 during the reign of Caliph Mustansir.

18 Literally of the second class, secundae classis. Social classes were more clearly differentiated in William’s time than they had been earlier, even as late as 1100.
was no approach to the Holy City except through hostile lands, pilgrims had usually exhausted their travelling money by the time they reached Jerusalem. Wretched and helpless, a prey to all the hardships of hunger, thirst, and nakedness, such pilgrims were forced to wait before the city gates until they had paid a gold coin, when they were permitted to enter the city. Even after they finally gained admission and had visited the holy places one after another, they had no means of resting even for a single day, except as it was offered in a fraternal spirit by the brothers of this monastery. All the other dwellers in Jerusalem were Saracens and infidels with the exception of the patriarch, the clergy and the miserable Syrian people. These latter were so overburdened by daily exactions of manifold corvees and extra services, and by work of the most menial nature, that they could scarcely breathe. They lived in the direst poverty and in continual fear of death.

Since there was no one to offer shelter to the wretched pilgrims of our faith, thus afflicted and needy to the last degree, the holy men who dwelt in the monastery of the Latins in pity took from their own means and, within the space allotted to them, built a hospital for the relief of such pilgrims. There they received these people, whether sick or well, lest they be found strangled by night on the streets. In addition to offering shelter in the hospital, they arranged that the fragments remaining from the food supplies of the two monasteries, namely, of the monks and of the nuns, should be spared for the daily sustenance of such people.

Furthermore, they erected in that place an altar in honor of St. John the Almoner. This John was a native of Cyprus, a holy man and worthy of praise in every respect. Later, because of his merits, he became patriarch of Alexandria. He was especially noted for his works of piety, and his devoted zeal and generous almsgiving will ever be celebrated by each church of the saints. Hence he was called by the holy fathers Eleymon, which, being interpreted, is "merciful." 10

This venerable foundation which thus stretched out the hand of charity to its fellow men had neither revenues nor possessions; but each year the citizens of Amalfi, both those at home and those who followed the business of trading abroad, collected money from their own number as a voluntary offering. This they sent to the abbot of

10 See Book I, note 52.
the hospital, whoever he might be at the time, by the hands of those who were going to Jerusalem. From this money food and shelter were provided for the brethren and sisters and the remainder was used to extend some assistance to the Christian pilgrims who came to the hospital.²⁰

For many years this place existed under those conditions, until it pleased the Supreme Maker of the world to purge from the superstitions of the Gentiles that city which He had made clean with His own blood. There came at last a Christian people, led by chiefs under the protection of God, to whom the Saviour willed that the kingdom be surrendered. At that time there was found in the convent for women, serving as a infirmary, a certain holy woman devoted to God, named Agnes. This noble woman, a Roman by birth and of high lineage according to the flesh, continued to live at Jerusalem for some years after the city was restored to the Christian faith.²¹

In the hospital also was found one Gerald, a man of upright life who, under the orders of the abbot and monks, had long rendered devoted service to the poor in that place during the supremacy of the enemy. Gerald was later succeeded by that Raymond of whom we are now speaking.²²

6. The patriarch, with most of the bishops of the East, goes to Rome to visit Pope Hadrian.

From this modest beginning the importance of the brethren of this house increased so greatly that first they withdrew from the jurisdiction of the abbot, and then, as their wealth multiplied greatly, they were released from the hand and power of the patriarch by the Roman church.²³ After this dangerous liberty was obtained, they never again showed any reverence to the prelates of the church and absolutely

²⁰ William has oversimplified the support of these monasteries. There is evidence that collections of money were made in southern France and doubtless elsewhere to support this work (see Heyd, Histoire du commerce, I, 105).
²¹ Agnes and Gerald are semilegendary persons, whose memory is treasured in the history of the Hospitallers because of their mention here. William has mentioned Gerald earlier (Book VII, chap. 233; see E. J. King, The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land, chap. 2 passim. Fulcher of Chartres wrote an epitaph for Gerald at the time of his death, 1120 (H. Hagenmeyer, ed., Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana, pp. 641–42, note 25).
²² Raymond du Puy, second master of the Hospital, 1120–1160. For a brief sketch of his life and administration of the order, see King, Hospitallers, chaps. 3 and 4.
²³ See note 13.
refused to give tithes from any of their estates regardless of conditions under which these had come into their possession. Influenced by this example, many of those places which are called venerable, both monasteries and hospitals, eventually fell away from their allegiance because of their wealth. Many of these the church had originally established out of pure liberality, in her usual spirit of piety, and had led them along to an enviable state of prosperity. But they abandoned their pious mother, who had at first nourished them like babes on her own milk and later, as time went on, had supplied them with more solid food; so that with justice may the church complain of them, “I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.” May the Lord spare such and permit them to return to their right mind, that they may learn to serve with reverence the mother whom they have abandoned. May He be even more indulgent than to that one who, although he himself had an hundred sheep, desired the one ewe lamb of the poor man. To that man the Lord said, “Hast thou killed and also taken possession?” Woe to that one, whoever he may be! For according to the word of the prophet, “He is a man of blood.”

Again and again the patriarch and other prelates of the church demanded their rights from these same brethren, but ever in vain, until at last, as has been said, both parties had recourse to the court of the pontiff at Rome. The patriarch, although a very aged man, indeed almost a centenarian, set out thither. He took with him some of the prelates of the church: namely, Peter, archbishop of Tyre, with his suffragans; Frederick, bishop of Acre; and Amalrich, bishop of Sidon;

24 Doubtless such establishments as the bishopric of Bethlehem, that of Nazareth, and many monasteries such as those on Mt. Sion, Mt. Tabor, Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat are included under this characterization. William never was disposed to recognize the difficulties which these foundations caused the church. Pious pilgrims from all parts of Christendom insisted upon making bequests to these establishments. These grants were usually in the form of income from properties equally scattered, or even of pieces of land. There was no adequate method of insuring the permanence of such grants except through the papacy, whose authority was acknowledged universally. The patriarch of Jerusalem was scarcely in a position to guarantee such protection. Hence the several establishments sought privileges from the papacy. As has been indicated a number of times, the papal curia was uncertain of the aspirations of the patriarchs, whether of Jerusalem or Antioch, and hence was all the more ready to grant such privileges and with them exemption from the jurisdiction of the patriarch and from that of local bishop and archbishop. It was this last fact which Archbishop William especially resented.

25 Is. 1: 2.

26 I Ki. 21: 19.
Baldwin, archbishop of Caesarea; Constantine, bishop of Lydda; Régnier, bishop of Sebaste; and Herbert, bishop of Tiberias. As soon as the pleasant spring weather returned and the turbulence of the wintry waves began to subside under the influence of the west wind, they set forth on their journey and, after a prosperous voyage, by the will of God, came safely to the coast city of Otranto in Apulia.  

7. The emperor of Constantinople, with the pope's consent, invades Apulia. The patriarch arrives at the court with his escort.

At the time when the lord patriarch and the bishops of the Orient landed in Apulia, as has been related, the emperor of Constantinople, at the suggestion of the pope, had sent some of his nobles with a vast sum of money to invade that region by armed force. This was done with the consent of the chief men of those parts. Consequently, when the patriarch and his suite arrived at Brindisi from Otranto, the emperor's people were already in possession of that city. The entire place had been surrendered by the citizens with the exception of the citadel, where a few faithful adherents of the king still remained. Moreover, Count Robert, who was mentioned above, together with those who had joined him more through hatred of the king than through attachment to himself, had seized by force the two famous cities, Taranto and Bari, with all the coast region to the very boundaries of the kingdom. Robert, prince of Capua, and Count Andreas, great and distinguished men, had taken possession of the entire land of Campania, commonly called the Land of Labor, as far as Salerno, Naples, and San Germano. The whole country, in fact, was in such an unsettled state that those who wished to pass through it found no peace or security anywhere. Frederick, the emperor of the Romans, was still in the vicinity of Ancona with his legions, but the forces which he had brought with him into Italy had suffered great losses; many of the greatest and most noble princes of the empire had perished, so that barely a tenth of his host remained. The survivors wished to return

27 This journey must have occurred in the spring of 1155 to fit in with the events in Italy to which William alludes.
28 These events of the war in southern Italy are described at length by Chalandon (see Chalandon, Normans, Vol. II, chap. 7).
29 Frederick had been approached both by emissaries of the pope and later of Emperor Manuel to interfere in southern Italy. He was sorely tempted and only reluctantly,
to their own land, and the emperor, since he could not hold them back, was preparing to return also; very unwillingly, however, for many matters still remained which required his presence, most important of all the campaign against the king of Sicily.

The patriarch and his fellow travellers, therefore, anxiously considered by what route they might most safely pass through such an unsettled country in order to reach the pope, for war and sedition everywhere seemed to cut off all approach to him. The shortest road was by way of Benevento, but that city was under siege by Arsequinus, chancellor of the king of Sicily. The patriarch sent messengers thither to ask for an escort, but the chancellor absolutely refused to allow the party to pass through that region. Finally, by the advice of certain wise men, Patriarch Fulcher decided to follow the shore route and arrived at Ancona with all his suite. Thence he sent some of his bishops to convey his salutations to the emperor of the Romans (who was now on the eve of departing for his own country, as has been stated) and to obtain from him imperial letters for the pope, in connection with his own mission. In this the envoys were successful, although the emperor, anxious to return home, had already passed beyond the cities of Sinigaglia and Pesaro.

The patriarch with all his cortège then directed his journey toward Rome, in close pursuit of the pope, who had already left the city of Narni. At Rome the party remained for several days; learning, however, that the pope had stopped at Ferentino, the patriarch hastened thither in the hope of accomplishing the matter which had brought him to Italy.

Some said that the pope intentionally avoided the patriarch in order to weary him and increase the burden of his expenses. They asserted that long ago the Hospitallers had visited him and had bribed him by the lavish use of gifts so that he was most favorably inclined toward them. Others said that the pope had hastened his journey in behalf of Benevento, which was under siege. The fact was plain, how-

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20 This was Asclettin, according to Chalandon.
31 The envoys of Patriarch Fulcher overtook Frederick, probably early in August, 1155. William appears to be familiar with this famous old Roman road whose sequence of towns he lists correctly (Simonsfeld, Jahrbücher, I, 371).
32 Hadrian must have reached Benevento about October 1, 1155 (Chalandon, Normans, Vol. II, chap. 7 passim).
ever, that the pope and his entire court had received the Hospitallers with great cordiality, but had, on the contrary, repelled the patriarch and his people with contemptuous wrath, like illegitimate and undeserving sons.\textsuperscript{83}

8. Pope Hadrian hurries to Benevento. The patriarch also makes haste thither and lays the case before him, but the court, bribed by lavish gifts, refuses justice. The patriarch returns without accomplishing his object.

On his arrival at Ferentino, the patriarch at once presented himself before the pontiff, according to custom. He was not favorably received, and the treatment accorded him was still worse. The cardinals were, for the most part, opposed to him. He arrived, therefore, at a clear understanding of the pope's attitude toward him. Nevertheless, being a man of resolute character, he acted on the advice of some of his wise counsellors and concealed his feelings. He was constantly in attendance on the pope and appeared assiduously in the consistory on feast days surrounded by his train of reverend bishops. He was always assisted by a throng of advocates ready to do their office whenever it should be necessary.\textsuperscript{84}

An audience was finally granted to the two parties, and the matter was argued for many days without result. At last the patriarch perceived, and indeed was informed by some of his intimate friends, that he had no chance of success. He therefore took leave and started on his return journey in embarrassment and fear, his situation rather injured than improved. Of all the throng of cardinals only two or three were found who, following after Christ, piously desired to aid His servant in that cause. These were Octavius and John of St. Martin, who had been an archdeacon of the patriarch when the latter was archbishop of Tyre.\textsuperscript{85} All the others, led astray by gifts, followed the

\textsuperscript{83} The treatment of Patriarch Fulcher on this occasion is not unlike that received by other Latin patriarchs at the papal court. That the Hospitallers, like the Templars, were in great favor there at the time is certain.

\textsuperscript{84} The presence of advocates at the papal court to aid appellants for papal attention and favor reflects the enormous increase of business which claimed the pope's attention. These "advocates" professed to know how to reach the pope's presence and offered their services for a price, which was soon to lead to charges of venality at the court.

\textsuperscript{85} This recital affords an intimate glimpse of the practical operation of the papal curia. In the course of time, the widespread church orders tended to depend upon certain cardinals for aid. The secular hierarchy whose business with the curia was more intermittent were usually not so fortunate.
ways of Balaam, the son of Bosor. But the pope, actuated by responsibilities at home, crossed Campania and repaired to Benevento.

In the meantime, William, king of Sicily, had been informed through numerous messengers of the troubles in Italy. He learned that Count Robert of Bassavilla, aided by the Greeks, had seized the land of Apulia by force of arms; that the prince of Capua and Count Andreas were extending their rule far and wide in Campania; and that the pope had repaired to Benevento, whence he was supplying forces and encouragement to all the rulers just mentioned. Thereupon William immediately levied troops from all parts of Sicily and Calabria and marched into Apulia at the head of a very large force. Count Robert immediately fled. In the first battle near Brindisi, William defeated the Greek forces and, after completely destroying that army, took their commanders captive and bound them in chains. Thus by force of arms, attended by good luck, he turned into his own coffers the vast treasures which the Greeks had brought with them. Then, having regained the whole region which had revolted from him and restored the people to favor, he laid siege to Benevento. There he brought great trouble upon the pope and his cardinals as well as upon the city itself; for the food supply began to fail and all became exceedingly anxious about their safety. Through envoys acting as mediators, peace was finally concluded between the pope and the king, under certain secret terms. All those, however, who, at the pope's solicitation, had become involved in these great dangers and hardships were excluded from the treaty.36

Perceiving that matters had turned out contrary to their expectations and that the pope had made a peace for himself and the church of Rome without obtaining grace for them from the king, the nobles realized that they were in a desperate plight. Anxiously they sought to find some way by which they might be able to retire from the kingdom in safety. Robert and Andreas, with certain other nobles, hurried into Lombardy and presented themselves before the emperor. The prince of Capua, more unfortunate than the others, was taken prisoner by his own bearers, while he was preparing to cross the Garigliano river by boat. He had sent his people on ahead and was

36 There is some uncertainty about the exact dates of these events. The defeat of the Greeks at Brindisi is dated in April, 1156, the treaty of Hadrian with William I, June 18, 1156 (Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 361-70).
himself waiting with a few knights to cross to the opposite shore when he was seized. He was handed over to loyal subjects of the king and carried to Sicily, where he was cruelly blinded and confined in prison until his miserable existence ended.37

9. A civil outbreak occurs in Egypt. The sultan flees and is slain by the Christians. His son, Nosceredinus, is taken prisoner.

At this time, by the mercy of God, the kingdom of Jerusalem was enjoying a fair degree of prosperity, but the neighboring regions on either side were greatly agitated because of an unexpected occurrence. The caliph, the ruler of the land, whom the Egyptians are accustomed to cherish and revere as a supreme divinity, was treacherously slain by a certain powerful Egyptian lord who held the office of vizier and as such had charge of his lord’s private affairs.38 One day this man came to the caliph familiarly in one of the most retired rooms of the palace and treacherously slew him. He is said to have committed this crime in the hope of raising his own son Nosceredinus [Nasr al-Din] to the caliphate, that thus he himself, under the rule of his son, might continue to administer the kingdom without care or trouble. He trusted that the deed would not be discovered for several days, until he had seized the greater palace and gained possession of the entire treasure. Then, with the aid of a band of friends and retainers whom he had assembled, he expected to be strong enough to resist those who would put him to death for the murder. But the affair turned out quite differently. For within a short time the crime became known, and a crowd of people, both great and small, gathered as one man. They completely surrounded the house to which he had fled after committing the crime, and with one voice demanded that the man of blood, the dastard who had assassinated the lord of the land, should be given up for punishment. These threats were so persistently continued that, finally, seeing no other way of escape, he ordered the

37 For a more extended account of William’s treatment of the conquered country, see Chalandon, Normans, II, 232–35.
38 Abbas, a member of a famous north African family, had gained prominence at Cairo as a military commander. He had been ordered to take command of the garrison in Ascalon in 1153 but refused and murdered the vizier, who was his father-in-law, and seized his office. His position, however, was insecure, and he therefore plotted to murder the caliph, Zafir. Even the murder of Zafir and the substitution of young Faiz was not sufficient, so he had to flee for his life as here indicated.
gold, gems, and whatever other valuables he possessed to be thrown out of the window to the howling mob. He hoped that while they were busy picking up the spoils, he might find some way of escape. What more need be said? In spite of the besieging mob, he succeeded in escaping from the city and, attended by a noble escort of sons and nephews, took the road toward the desert, bound for Damascus, it was said. The avengers were not slow in pursuing him and made vigorous attempts to prevent his escape. But his oldest son and some of his retainers, wise and valiant men, kept the foe back at some distance, sustained the attacks themselves, and prevented the pursuers from gaining on the fugitive. From time to time, also, they craftily left behind vases of gold and silver, precious robes and silken stuffs of great value, in order to tempt those following to stop and gather them up, whereby a quarrel might arise over the division of the spoils.  

The Egyptians finally realized that pursuit was futile and returned home baffled. The vizier, believing himself safe and confident that no further trouble would arise, continued on his way. While fleeing from Scylla, however, he fell into Charybdis. For the Christians, apprised of his approach, had laid an ambush for him, a common device for injuring an enemy; and there they were stealthily lying in wait. The vizier, all unsuspecting, fell into the trap. At the first encounter he was fatally wounded by a sword thrust and at once perished. The name of this noble Egyptian was Habeis [Abbas].  

His son Nasr and all his household, together with the immense riches which they had carried away with them out of Egypt, fell into the hands of the Christians, and the booty was divided among them according to custom. Consequently, our people returned home laden with the richest spoils, indeed fairly bending under the burden of treasures hitherto unknown to our land.

Among others who participated in that affair were many Knights Templars. These, by virtue of their numbers, carried off the largest portion of the plunder, including slaves. In the distribution of the

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39 The best source of information about these events is the account of Usamah, who was in Cairo at the time and an intimate friend of Abbas (P. K. Hitti, An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades, Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh, pp. 43-55).

40 Habeis is William's approximation of Abbas and Noscredinus for Nasr al-Din or Nasr. These were father and son as William states. The battle and death of Abbas are dated June 7, 1154.
spoil, beside other things there fell to them by lot Nasr, the son of Abbas, a man of great daring and unusual military prowess among the Egyptians. His very name was dreaded by the people of that region, and at sight of him their hearts quailed with terror unspeakable. The brothers of the Temple held this man a prisoner for a long time. He professed an ardent desire to be reborn in Christ and had already learned the Roman letters and been instructed in the rudiments of the Christian faith when he was sold by the Templars for sixty thousand pieces of gold to the Egyptians, who demanded him for the death penalty. Heavily chained hand and foot, he was placed in an iron cage upon the back of a camel and carried to Egypt, where, to satisfy their savage passions, the people literally tore him to pieces bit by bit with their teeth.\footnote{The details of this story, especially those which reflect on the Templars are denied by Lundgreen as preposterous (see Lundgreen, \textit{Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden}, pp. 93–96).}

10. \textit{Prince Renaud seizes the island of Cyprus by force of arms and despoils the inhabitants.}

During the following year, Renaud de Châtillon, prince of Antioch, on the advice of evil men by whom he was too greatly influenced, was again guilty of a shameful deed. He sent forth his legions as against an enemy and laid violent hands on Cyprus, the neighboring island which had always been useful and friendly to our realm and which had a large population of Christians. The causes leading to this outrageous invasion seem to have been as follows. In the land of Cilicia, near Tarsus, there dwelt a powerful Armenian noble, called Thoros. This man by his capricious and unloyal acts had often fallen under the displeasure of the emperor and incurred his rebuke. Since his lands were far distant from the empire and his residence in the high mountains was difficult of access, he often descended into the plain of Cilicia and carried off booty and spoils. He preyed without scruple upon the land of his lord in every way and brought heavy and unmerited trouble upon the faithful subjects of the empire, without regard to rank or condition. The emperor, on being informed of this situation, wrote to Renaud to send forth his knights and keep Thoros away from the lands of the empire, that the possessions of his Cilician subjects might be safe from such raids. If money were needed for the
purpose, he himself would send a sufficient sum from his own treasures at a convenient season.

In obedience to the imperial command, Renaud at once summoned a large force of cavalry and proceeded to Cilicia, where he repulsed Thoros and completely destroyed his army. But the honorable recompense which he hoped to receive for his valiant deed seemed slow in arriving; hence, impatient of delay, he committed the crime alluded to above.42

The people of Cyprus had been warned of the danger by some of the faithful, and all the forces of the island, such as they were, had been assembled; but Prince Renaud, marching upon them, at once defeated their army and shattered their forces completely so that thereafter no one might dare to raise a hand against him. He then completely overran the island without meeting any opposition, destroyed cities, and wrecked fortresses. He broke into monasteries of men and women alike and shamefully abused nuns and tender maidens. Although the precious vestments and the amount of gold and silver which he carried off were great, yet the loss of these was regarded as nothing in comparison with the violence done to chastity.43

For several days Renaud’s forces continued to ravage the whole country; and, since there was none to offer resistance, they showed no mercy to age or sex, neither did they recognize difference of condition. Finally, laden with a vast amount of riches and spoils of every kind, they returned to the seashore. When the ships were ready, they embarked and set sail for Antioch. There, within a short time all the wealth which had been so wickedly acquired was dissipated; for, as says the proverb, “Booty wickedly acquired brings no good results.” 44

42 There is some uncertainty regarding the date of these events. William places them “in the year following” the death of Abbas, which would presumably be in 1155. After defeating Thoros and recovering several castles for the Templars, Renaud seems to have formed an alliance with the Armenian, and the two collaborated in the raid on Cyprus (see Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 436–39).

43 This charge of atrocities committed by Renaud de Châtillon is confirmed by Syrian historians. To what extent William’s recital was influenced by the fact that Renaud was a political opponent of Raymond of Tripoli is difficult to determine, for Renaud’s ruthless treatment of opposition is abundantly attested by others. This expedition occurred either late in 1155 or early in 1156 (Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 438).

44 Ovid Amor, I. x. 48.
About this same time an immense company of Arabs and Turkomans, in far larger numbers than ever before, had assembled in a forest near the city of Banyas. These people, like the Arabs, habitually live in tents and sustain life on milk.\textsuperscript{45} The forest is now generally known as the forest of Banyas from the city of that name, but in olden times the entire tract, including those parts which extend toward both north and south as well as that which covers Lebanon itself, was called the forest of Lebanon. It is written in the scriptures that in this forest Solomon built a magnificent mansion of marvellous workmanship which was called the house of the forest of Lebanon.\textsuperscript{46} Now, however, as has been said, the entire forest is called by the name of the neighboring city. Into this wood, after first obtaining the king’s permission and a solemn treaty of peace, the people just mentioned had driven a large number of animals, principally horses, because of the excellent pasturage it afforded.

But certain wicked men, sons of Belial, who had no fear of God before their eyes, approached the king and easily persuaded him to fall in with their evil schemes. They suggested that, regardless of his faithful promise and the treaty made with these nomads, he should make a sudden attack upon them after they had driven their flocks and herds into the forest to graze and give them and their beasts as prey to his own people. This plan was adopted. The king, burdened by debt and held fast by many obligations which he had no means of satisfying, easily inclined to this as to any scheme by which he might relieve the pressure upon him. He lent a ready ear to the wicked counsellors and acquiesced in their suggestion. Led astray by the counsel of evil men, he summoned his knights and made a sudden raid upon those people. Finding them unprepared, without thought of any attack, he charged them as enemies and delivered them over to the rapacity of his followers. Some, thanks to their swift horses, were able to save their lives by flight; others, spurred on by necessity,

\textsuperscript{45} Turkomans, a branch of the Iranian Turks, were devoted to horse breeding, and the milk referred to was probably mare’s milk or possibly camel’s.

\textsuperscript{46} I Ki. 10:17; II Chron. 9:20.
escaped by hiding in the woods; but all the rest were either slain by
the sword or led into cruel servitude.47

It is said that the number of captives and the amount of booty taken
in this raid was never equalled in our land. A very large number of
horses was distributed by lot, and in this division every individual,
even those of the lowest rank, shared. Yet this deed brought no glorious
or laudable renown to our people, for they had violated a treaty of
peace and had maltreated, as they would, an unsuspecting people—
men who relied upon the good faith of the king and who had, more-
over, no means of resisting.

But the Lord, the God of vengeance, He who brings just retribu-
tion on sinners, did not suffer us to enjoy the rewards of our sin long;
indeed He soon made it plain that, even with infidels, faith must be
kept. As punishment for that crime, He took vengeance upon us
to our undoing and, for our many sins, He doubled our punishment
and brought confusion upon us, as will be shown in the following pages.

12. Humphrey, the constable, grants to the Hospitallers a half
part of the city of Banyas. Supplies which are being brought
thither are captured by Nureddin, and the city itself is
besieged.

About the same time, Humphrey of Toron, the king’s constable,
became weary of the continual responsibility and expense which de-
veloped upon him in the care of the city of Banyas, his hereditary
possession. Since he could not without aid suitably rule and protect
it, with the king’s consent he decided to share it equally with the
brothers of the Hospital. The terms agreed upon under this arrange-
ment were as follows: the brothers were to own one half of the city
and all outlying dependencies, they were to pay one half of the
expenses for all necessary and useful outlay, and to bear due responsi-
bility for one half the city.

Banyas lay on the confines of the enemy’s country and very close to
it, so that no one could approach or leave the city without danger unless
in a strong company or by following secret ways. After the brothers

47 Nureddin, according to Qalanisi, had made a truce with Baldwin III for a year
beginning September, 1156. This raid, which the same writer also describes, occurred
in February, 1157. His explanation of Baldwin’s act is that the arrival of new troops
from the West had emboldened him to disregard the truce (see Gibb, Chronicle,
pp. 327–28).
had assumed the charge of their part of the city, they desired to put
the place in a good state of defense and for that purpose assembled
supplies of provisions and arms and also a body of troops. On a cer-
tain day, with an adequate train of camels and other pack animals
loaded with supplies under convoy of a body of knights who were
to conduct the entire expedition to the city by force (if necessary),
they were proceeding to Banyas with the intention of provisioning
the place with all necessary supplies for a long time thereafter. As
they drew near the city with all their train, however, the infidels, who
had been advised of their approach, fell upon them. Vigorously using
their swords, the Turks broke up the Christians' line of march and
killed many of their number. They then seized the baggage, while
the survivors fled for their lives. Those whom the furious attack of
the foe prevented from escaping were either slain by the sword or
made prisoners. Thus, all the supplies which had been collected for
provisioning the city fell into the hands of the infidels to be used
against it. After this disaster, the brothers, fearing the cost of similar
misfortunes, withdrew from the agreement which they had made and
returned Banyas with its burdens and emoluments to the constable.48

Elated by this success, Nureddin decided to take advantage at once
of the opportunity to invest Banyas while it was prostrated by the
catastrophe. He summoned his cavalry, had his engines of war moved
to the place, and suddenly appeared before the city. The forces were
placed in a circle around it and siege operations begun. There was a
citadel in one part of Banyas well equipped with arms and men and
with sufficient food for a short time. This would have afforded refuge
for the citizens even if the city were taken. But the people had great
confidence in the fortifications of their city, especially as they had
frequently suffered similar attacks, and accordingly they decided to
make a vigorous attempt to defend the place. They might, in fact,
have succeeded as they hoped, had they not felt too much confidence
in themselves and so proceeded to act without due discretion.

Nureddin attacked with the machines and hurling engines and at
the same time kept up a steady, incessant shower of arrows which gave

48 The destruction of this band of Hospitallers and Templars was a cause of great
rejoicing at Damascus. Nureddin's brother led the Muslim detachment which had
gained the victory, and the captives as well as the severed heads of the slain were
carried through the city in a great procession. The battle occurred April 26, 1157
(Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 330–32).
the besieged no respite. Night and day they were forced to fight without intermission until they were exhausted to the point of fainting. For so many had been slain and so many fatally wounded that few were left to carry on the work of defense. Had not the constable and his son, who nobly emulated his father's valor, shown themselves ready to fight zealously for their hereditary possessions and by their example encouraged others to resist, without doubt the citizens, exhausted by their heroic efforts, would have given way before the superior strength of their foes. But, as has been said, the presence of their lords restrained them, and the unflagging courage of their superiors, successful in animating others, restored their failing strength and gave them fresh courage for resistance.

One day, while the foe was pressing them more fiercely than usual, the besieged opened the city gate and made a sally against the enemy outside. Since they offered battle without due caution, however, they roused a multitude of the enemy against them. The Turks rushed upon them, and the citizens, unable to maintain their position, tried to withdraw into the city. The gate could not be shut, however, because the pressure of the crowd trying to enter was so great. Consequently, the enemy, intermingling with the townspeople, entered in such numbers that the town was taken by force. The Christians, at great risk and with much loss of life, were forced to retreat to the citadel.  

Meanwhile the king had learned that Banyas was suffering dire straits at the hand of Nureddin—that it was, in fact, about to fall. As quickly as possible, he mustered all the troops available at the time, both knights and foot soldiers, and marched rapidly to Banyas with his legions. He was determined either to raise the siege or to try the fortune of battle with Nureddin.

13. The king hastens to Banyas and raises the siege. On the return march our army advances without due caution and falls into dangerous ambushes.

As soon as Nureddin learned that the king was coming with a fixed purpose, he raised the siege, for he was unwilling to trust himself to

49 According to Qalanisi, Humphrey had already offered to capitulate provided he and his men in the citadel be permitted to withdraw in safety, an offer which Nureddin rejected. Baldwin's arrival, recounted in the following chapter, thus saved Humphrey.
the uncertain chances of battle. Before he retired, however, he under-
mined and set fire to the city which he had taken by assault. He did
not, however, permit the forces which he had assembled to disband,
but, with keen foresight, kept them with him. He summoned even
larger forces and lay in ambush in the neighboring forest to await
the outcome of events.

The arrival of the king at Banyas brought the succor so eagerly
desired by the besieged. He promised that he would remain until the
fallen places had been raised, the breaches mended, and the city, its
walls repaired, restored to its former state. From the neighboring cities
and the whole region, he summoned masons and all who had some
experience in the art of building. The walls and towers were thor-
oughly repaired and the ramparts renewed. Within the circuit of the
walls, the houses of the inhabitants were rebuilt and the public build-
ings restored to their original condition, for Nureddin, during his
occupancy of the city, had taken great care to destroy them completely.

When all was finished, the king and his nobles felt that a longer
sojourn there in the interests of the citizens was unnecessary. Every-
thing was now entirely restored and the fortress sufficiently equipped
for the time being with arms, food, and men. He accordingly dis-
missed the infantry forces and determined to return to Tiberias ac-
companied by the cavalry squadrons only. Setting out from Banyas,
he directed his march toward the south and encamped by a lake called
Michel. There the army rested that night, but without taking proper
precautions or observing the regulations for camps, in fact, far other-
wise than the requirements of military discipline demanded.

It often happens that when affairs are moving successfully and hap-
pily people become somewhat careless. In adversity men ordinarily
exercise more care in their affairs. The same thought is contained
possibly in this well-known saying, “A thousand shall fall at thy side”
(at the left, probably) “and ten thousand at thy right hand.” For
under prosperous conditions, the majority, elated by success, generally
rush headlong to destruction; while, on the contrary, those who are ex-
hausted by losses and misfortune have been taught by their own danger
to conduct themselves prudently under dubious conditions and always

Banyas had been under siege almost a month, May to June, 1157 (Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 333–36).
60 Ovid Met. vi. 576.
61 Ps. 91:7.
to distrust fortune, which, as their own experience shows, is often cruel.

Reflecting on the fact that he had forced this great prince to withdraw from the siege of Banyas, the king felt confident that Nureddin was now far away with his forces and could not readily reassemble so many nations against him and his people. Accordingly, he began to exercise too little caution, as we have said, and was inclined to be too indulgent to the whims of individuals. News soon reached the enemy who were lurking in ambush that the king’s infantry forces had been dismissed and that the rest of the army was encamped in a careless and unguarded fashion near lake Michel. Some of the leaders, as Philip of Nablus and various others, were also reported to have left with their contingents. Perceiving, therefore, that matters had turned out according to their wishes, the infidels speedily moved their camp. Their shrewd leader hastened matters along, as he knew was expedient, and led the army at a rapid march in that direction. They soon arrived at the Jordan, which lay between the two armies, crossed the river, and placed themselves in ambush at a spot commonly called Jacob’s ford, on this side Jordan, where the king’s army would cross the following day.

At daybreak, the Christian army, all unaware of the ambush laid during the night and of the schemes of their foes, resumed their march toward the place which the Turk had already secretly taken. They were marching along in fancied security, fearing no untoward accident, when suddenly those who had been stationed there for the purpose of surprising the incautious Christians rushed forth from their hiding places. As the Christians advanced, carefree and without apprehension of danger, they were met by the drawn swords of an enemy intent on either slaying or wounding. Roused to the danger, although too late, the Christians perceived that a serious encounter was imminent; they ceased their trivial chatting, ran to their horses, and took arms. Before they could range themselves in battle formation, however, and rally for defense, their ranks were broken; the foe attacked them furiously at close quarters with sword play, so that it was impossible for our men to hold together anywhere, except in very small groups.
14. The king flees from the field of battle and retires to the fortress of Safed. The army is defeated, and most of the commanders are captured.

The king remained surrounded by a few knights who still clung to him. He perceived, however, that the lines were broken and that the army, disorganized, was everywhere exposed to the fury of the enemy. Moreover, the strength of the enemy was increasing from every direction while our ranks were giving way, as in fact had been the case from the beginning. Accordingly, he wisely withdrew to a hill near by, to provide for his own safety. From there, with great difficulty avoiding the enemy now on his right and again on his left, he succeeded, thanks to the horse which carried him, in reaching the fortress of Safed, which is on the same mountain. A very large number of our leaders were taken prisoners that day, but very few were killed. For all indiscriminately, warriors renowned for wisdom and experience in war and common soldiers alike, to save their miserable lives surrendered without resistance like the lowest slaves, utterly regardless of the shameful yoke of slavery and the ignominy which would cling to their names forevermore.

Among the prisoners were the noble and distinguished Hugh d’Ibelin; Eudes de Saint-Amand, the king’s marshal; John Gotmanus; Rohard of Jaffa and Balian, his brother; Bertrand de Blanquefort, the master of the Knights of the Temple, a religious and God-fearing man; and many others whose names are unknown to us.

Justly as our ways deserved, the Lord rendered to us the fruits of our evil doing; and we, who in scorn of the laws of humanity had wrongfully oppressed the innocent and those who relied on our good faith, were ourselves overwhelmed with confusion in like measure. As penalty for our sins, our illustrious leaders were made a reproach to the Gentiles and were exposed to the derision of the enemy. "Thou makest us a by-word among the heathen, a shaking of the head among the people." 52

Yet in His great compassion, not wholly without pity hath He dealt with us, neither hath He withheld His mercy in anger, since He saved the king. If our lord had fallen that day, the whole realm would, without question, have been plunged into the deepest peril. Which may

52 Ps. 44:14.
God avert! For in the case of a knight, however great, the fortune of one man only is concerned; but the peril of the king involves danger to the entire nation. Thus, loyal David, when full of anxiety about his king, implored, "Lord, preserve the king."

During this time, rumors of varying import concerning the king's safety caused great anxiety throughout the realm. Some said that he had perished by the sword, others that he had been carried away captive among the other prisoners, although the enemy were not aware of his identity. It was also rumored that, through the protection of divine mercy, he had escaped uninjured from the tumult of battle. The entire people felt deep concern on their king's behalf like that of a devoted mother for an only son. Ignorant of his fate, they imagined the worst that could happen and in their loving sympathy feared lest this had been his fate.

When he found himself at some distance from the enemy, the king, with the few who had followed him to Safed and some others who had escaped the perils of the previous day, hastened to Acre, where the people welcomed him with enthusiastic shouts of joy as one returned from the dead.

This happened in the fourteenth year of King Baldwin, in the month of June, on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of July.\textsuperscript{53}

15. \textit{Nureddin besieges Banyas a second time, but without success, for the king marches forth against him.}

Nureddin, an indefatigable warrior, eager to continue his successes, overran the entire country and enriched himself with booty, taken now in one place and now in another. Again he called forth his battalions and caused still larger forces to be levied from Damascus and from all the lands subject to his control, for he was determined to besiege Banyas a second time. Nothing was further from his thoughts than that the king and the nobles whose forces he had utterly crushed would again come to the rescue of the besieged. In pursuance of his design, therefore, he again established a blockade around Banyas and set up his numerous engines in strategic positions. The mighty blows

\textsuperscript{53} William's date here agrees exactly with that of Qalanisi, June 19, 1157, which was the fourteenth year of Baldwin's reign. The latter, however, says that Baldwin did not rebuild the walls of Banyas. He also says that the Muslims thought they had slain Baldwin but were unable to find his body. The parade of prisoners and booty was held at Damascus five days after the battle (see Gibb, \textit{Chronicle}, pp. 336–37).
of the stone missiles shook the towers and weakened the walls. At the same time, showers of darts and arrows fell like hail and prevented all resistance on the part of those within. The people of Banyas, however, remembering how futile had been their earnest efforts to save the city during the siege just past, voluntarily retreated to the citadel in a body to forestall a similar experience.

When the constable left the city to attend to other affairs, he had placed in supreme control a kinsman of his own called Guy of Scandalium, a man of wide experience in war, but of doubtful loyalty and one who feared not God. This man, for the sake of him who had placed him in charge and also with a view to his own reputation, lest the fame which his warlike prowess had won him might be diminished, endeavored by word and example to inspire the others to resistance. He assured them that relief would soon arrive and that a glorious renown forevermore awaited those who should deserve it. As a result, all fought as for their personal advantage, and their ability to endure long vigils and continual hardships excited the wonder and admiration of the enemy. Nevertheless, the Turks, determined to fight with all their might against an adversary who likewise resisted to the utmost, inflicted endless woes upon the defenders. Their numbers were larger, and they could relieve each other in turn. The Christians, on the contrary, had no reserves with which to recruit their strength, and the daily pressure was forcing them almost to the point of giving way.

Meanwhile news reached the king that Banyas was in dire straits, nor was that fact hidden from the nobles of the kingdom who still survived. Messengers were immediately dispatched to the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli to urge that they hasten without delay to the relief of the city. Heralds were also sent out by the king to summon the few remaining knights in the kingdom. Thus, it happened by divine mercy that within a short time, indeed sooner than was expected, both these illustrious princes with their noble retinues arrived at the royal camp. From this position, which was located near Chastel Neuf, at a place called Noire Garde, the besieged city could be seen not far away.54

Nureddin was soon informed that the two leaders had joined the

54 This second attack on Banyas is not specifically mentioned by Qalanisi, who alludes only vaguely to Nureddin's efforts to follow up the earlier victory over the king.
king and were preparing to march with him to Banyas. The prince was a man of much foresight and discretion in the management of his affairs. Although he had already succeeded in making many breaches in the stronghold and the besieged had lost all hope of resistance, yet he thought it wise to avoid the vicissitudes of battle with its perils and uncertainties. He therefore abandoned the siege and withdrew to a remote part of his own kingdom.

16. Thierry, count of Flanders, lands. Ambassadors are sent to Constantinople to seek a wife for the king.

Thus many events of widely differing character were taking place in the kingdom, and, since most of our leaders were in captivity, the land was lying in desolation. Just at this time it chanced, by divine mercy, that Thierry, count of Flanders, landed at the port of Beirut with his wife Sibylla, the king’s half sister by the same father. The visits of this eminent and distinguished man had more than once been of much assistance and solace to us.

The entire people welcomed him with great joy, for his arrival with his following seemed to promise that the intolerable distress of the realm would now be relieved in large measure. Nor were the ardent hopes of those who so devotedly longed for the peace of the kingdom disappointed, for immediately on his arrival, like an angel of good counsel, he assumed the direction of their affairs and led them forward for the good of the realm and the glory of the Christian profession, as will be related hereafter.56

About this time, the fact that the king, although he had now arrived at the age of manhood, was still unmarried began to be a matter of much concern to the princes of the realm, both secular and ecclesiastical. It was most important that he have children, that a son might succeed him as the legitimate heir to the kingdom. They accordingly met to deliberate about an honorable marriage for their lord, who was as yet childless. After long consideration, the various opinions were brought into harmony, and it was unanimously agreed to confer with the emperor of Constantinople on this matter. In his palace there were

56 Thierry’s arrival must be dated toward the end of the summer, 1157. Several circumstances caused the scene of activities to shift to northern Syria, where Qilij Arslan II had invaded the territory of Antioch, while Nureddin, who had gone to the relief of the earthquake-stricken cities along the upper Orontes, found it more convenient to attack the same territory from the south.
many noble maidens closely related to him by ties of blood, and furthermore it would be possible for him, as the most powerful and wealthy prince of the world, to relieve from his own abundance the distress under which our realm was suffering and to change our poverty into superabundance. By common consent, therefore, envoys were sent to carry out this design, with the aid of God. Attard, archbishop of Nazareth, and Humphrey of Toron, the royal constable, were chosen for this task. After providing for their affairs meanwhile, they proceeded to the coast and there embarked.\(^{56}\)

17. The king, accompanied by the count of Flanders, hastens to Antioch with all the forces of the kingdom. Nureddin is stricken with a serious malady.

It was the unanimous opinion that the arrival of such a great prince with so many noble and valiant men in his train ought not to be futile and without result. It was therefore determined by common consent, under the inspiration of divine grace, that they proceed to the land of Antioch with the united fighting forces. This purpose was communicated to the prince of that land and to the count of Tripoli, and both were cordially invited to have their troops in readiness on an appointed day to invade the enemy’s country. Accordingly, led by divine favor, all the Christians from the various parts assembled at a place known as La Boquea, in the land of Tripoli. Thence in battle array, they marched into hostile territory. At first, however, success did not attend them. A vigorous attack was made upon one of the enemy’s strongholds called Chastel Rouge, but nothing was accomplished. “Better luck followed a poor beginning,” \(^{57}\) however. Accordingly, at the suggestion and earnest entreaty of Renaud, prince of Antioch, the assembled princes proceeded, under more favorable auspices, toward the land of Antioch.

While they were tarrying there to work out the plan most expedient under the circumstances, a messenger charged with most agreeable news came to the king and the lords. He affirmed as a fact that Nureddin, our most powerful enemy, who had been encamped with a great host near Castle Nepa, was either dead or lying desperately ill of an

\(^{56}\) This embassy, according to the context, must have started for Constantinople shortly after the arrival of Thierry, perhaps in September, 1157, though it may have been later.

\(^{57}\) Ovid Met. vii. 518.
incurable disease. In proof of his assertion, the messenger stated that on the day previous he had witnessed great confusion in Nureddin’s camp. Apparently his slaves, even his most trusted retainers, and all his private possessions, had been given over indiscriminately to be pillaged at the will of anyone. He furthermore reported that the troops, weeping and wailing in deepest sorrow, had dispersed hither and yon in the utmost confusion.\textsuperscript{58}

The report brought by the messenger proved in fact to be true. Nureddin had been attacked by a most serious malady; the ranks had become disorganized, and, as is the custom among them when the master dies, plundering and unrestrained violence was rife in his army. Nureddin himself, disabled in body and entirely helpless, had been carried in a litter to Aleppo by his faithful attendants.

At this report of the state of affairs, the Christians perceived that all things were working together for the success of their enterprise. By unanimous agreement, therefore, messengers were dispatched to Thoros, a very powerful Armenian prince, with a most friendly invitation that he deign to join them in an undertaking which promised to be very fruitful. The envoys were instructed to use every means to induce him to cast aside all excuses and join the allied forces at Antioch with reinforcements. Thoros received the message with alacrity. A man of prompt and energetic character, he at once assembled a great army and made a forced march to Antioch. The Christians greeted him with rejoicing; the troops were immediately led forth from the city and the march directed toward Shayzar.

18. \textit{Shayzar is besieged and, within a short time, is taken by storm.}

The city of Shayzar lies upon the same Orontes river which flows by Antioch. It is called by some Caesarea, and by them is believed to be the famous metropolis of Cappadocia over which the distinguished teacher St. Basil once presided; but those who hold this view are in grave error. For that Caesarea is a fifteen days journey or more from Antioch. This city is in Coelesyria, a province which is separated from Cappadocia by many intervening provinces. Nor is the name Caesarea, but rather Caesara. It is one of the suffragan cities belonging to the

\textsuperscript{58} This severe illness overtook Nureddin early in October, 1157, and led to the confusion here described (see Gibb, \textit{Chronicle}, pp. 341–42).
patriarchate of Antioch. It is very conveniently situated. The lower part extends along the plain, while upon the heights of the upper part is the citadel, fairly long in extent but rather narrow. It is well fortified, for in addition to its natural defenses, the river protects it on one side and the city on the other, so that it is entirely inaccessible.

The Christians advanced with ranks drawn up according to the rules of military discipline. As soon as they reached the city the several leaders at once disposed their troops in the best order and blockaded the place. Fear of the enemy caused the citizens to withdraw within the walls as soon as the siege began. The king and those encamped outside immediately set up their engines and hurling machines. Never for a moment did they relax their efforts but endeavored to do all possible harm, that the strength of the defenders might be exhausted by unremitting toil and hardship. Each commander exerted himself valiantly in the special sector to which he had been assigned at the outset and by words of encouragement and promises of reward cheered his men on to ever more vigorous efforts. Each desired to be the first to break through into the city, and each sought to win for himself the glory of being the first to enter. Hence they wrought such havoc that death seemed to threaten the townspeople from every direction.

The inhabitants of Shayzar had but little knowledge of arms; their attention was devoted almost entirely to trading. Furthermore, completely ignorant of the recent misfortune, there was nothing they feared less than a siege. They had confidence in the defenses of their city and in the strength of their lord, who was, as they supposed, in good health. Hence they were unable to sustain burdens of this kind and could not hold out under the continual assaults and skirmishes. After a few days, they gave way under the constant pressure of their assailants; whereupon the Christians, breaking through the fortifications, rushed into the midst of the city and took it by force. The people retreated to the citadel, all that remained of the lower city was abandoned, and everything without exception was given over to the enemy for pillage. For several days, therefore, the Christians used the houses of the people with all that they contained, according to their own good pleasure.

But just when it seemed certain that, under the continued pressure, the citadel also might be taken easily together with all who had fled thither for refuge, an insignificant but most annoying source of friction
arose among our leaders. The king was anxious to provide for the wel-
fare of the lands. Knowing that the count of Flanders with his large
force of knights and abundant means would be fully able to protect
the city against the strength and intrigues of the Turks, he had, from
the first, destined Shayzar for him. With this in view, therefore, he
determined to make a more vigorous assault upon the citadel, that he
might put both the city and the fortress under the protection of the
count, to be held by him as a hereditary possession forever. This ar-
rangement seemed most suitable to all the leaders, and they unani-
mously agreed to it.

Prince Renaud alone raised difficulties; he declared that Shayzar
with its dependencies had, from the beginning, formed a part of the
heritage of the prince of Antioch; hence, whoever held it must pledge
loyalty to him as lord. Although Count Thierry was ready to do loyal
homage to the king for the possession of Shayzar, he absolutely refused
to swear fealty to the prince of Antioch, whether it be to Renaud,
who was now administering the principality, or to the young Bohe-
mond, who, it was hoped, would soon take over the power. Never, he
said, had he done homage except to kings.\(^{50}\)

In punishment for our sins, a controversy thereupon arose among
the leaders over this question. The enterprise, so important and almost
within their grasp, was abandoned, and the Christians returned to An-
tioch with their legions, laden with plunder and booty even to the point
of satiety.

19. The brother of Nureddin moves against us. Fulcher, patri-
arch of Jerusalem dies. The fortress cave beyond Jordan is
restored to us. The king lays siege to the castle of Harim, in
the country of Antioch, and takes it.

About this time, Mirmiran [Musrat al-Din], Nureddin’s brother,
learning of his brother’s misfortune and believing him dead, came to
Aleppo. The citizens immediately surrendered the city to him without
making any difficulty. But, while he was vigorously storming the cita-
del to force the surrender of that also, he heard that his brother was

\(^{50}\) This new failure of the Christians to capture Shayzar, Qalanisi again ascribes
to the arrival of Muslim reinforcements (Gibb, Chronicle, p. 342).
still living. Accordingly, he at once disbanded his troops and departed. 60

At this same time also, Fulcher, the eighth Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, a religious man who feared God, went the way of all flesh. His death occurred in the twelfth year of his patriarchate, on the twelfth day before the Kalends of December. 61

About the same time, likewise, the Christians regained a stronghold on the other side of Jordan in the land of Gilead. This place, a well-fortified cave, through the carelessness of our forces had been taken a few years earlier by the trickery of the enemy. Its recovery was largely due to the zealous efforts of Queen Melisend, aided by the vigorous work of those who were left in the kingdom; in particular, by the care and vigilance of Baldwin de Lille, to whom the king had entrusted the responsibility of the realm during his own absence. News of this success was sent to the king; it brought great joy to the entire army and was a source of much happiness to all.

In the meantime, the Christian leaders were still lingering at Antioch. Notwithstanding the fact that they had been somewhat at variance before Shayzar, they had now, by the grace of God, arrived at unanimity of spirit. They therefore resolved in the bonds of peace to undertake again some notable work which would be worthy of remembrance forever. With the approval and aid of all, it was determined to lay siege to a fortress about twelve miles from Antioch. This place exercised great power and jurisdiction over the villages, called casalía, and was very troublesome to the city itself. Accordingly, upon the day of the Lord’s nativity, the entire army, as with one mind, repaired thither and encamped before the place.

Meanwhile, Nureddin was still held in the grasp of the illness which had attacked him. The wisest physicians had been summoned from all over the Orient, but his infirmity still failed to respond to the remedies which they applied and his life was now despaired of. This seemed to the Christians an especially favorable manifestation of the divine will, working with them in their undertaking. For, had Nureddin been in the enjoyment of his usual health and strength, it

60 Amir Miran, Murat al-Din, the brother of Nureddin, had been the victor over the Hospitallers early in 1157. William’s account of his seizure of Aleppo and voluntary withdrawal is almost a summary of Qalanisi’s version (Gibb, Chronicle, p. 342).
61 November 20, 1157. See chap. 22.
would hardly have been possible for our army to have acted so freely in the districts subject to him.

The king and those who accompanied him on this expedition turned the opportunity to their own advantage. The definite knowledge that this great warrior was unable to take any part in his own affairs led them to pursue their project with greater fervor and to press forward the siege more ardently. Accordingly they encircled the fortress on all sides, set up their engines, and prepared all the instruments which are customarily used in besieging a citadel.

The fortress under discussion was situated on a low-lying hill, which presented the appearance of a mound artificially built there as a foundation for the structure. The wisest men in the army devoted themselves to constructing covered passages from suitable material, in which the soldiers who were to undermine the embankment might lie securely hidden. It seemed to them—and they were not far from right—that if the hill were mined by concealed passages, some portion of the buildings superimposed upon it must fall. Wickerwork of osiers, ladders of moderate height, and all other instruments that might be of service in such work were hastily prepared. When everything had been made ready with the greatest care, the chiefs of both the infantry battalions and the cavalry squadrons were directed by the voice of the herald and also by secret instructions to apply themselves promptly and diligently to the work of attack. A definite place was assigned to each chief, and there he, with his own retainers and friends, pressed on the work with fury as if the success of the whole matter rested upon himself alone. Each commander was anxious to prove that his own followers were the best; consequently by constant attacks and daily skirmishes they kept up the work so Persistently that an undertaking which would ordinarily have occupied many days was by vigilant attention accomplished within two months.

One day a huge stone cast forth from a hurling machine which was battering the citadel night and day chanced to fall upon the chief commander of the castle upon whom the entire defense rested. He was instantly ground to bits. Upon his death the people dispersed like sheep when the shepherd is struck down, and, as sand without lime cannot hold together, so the obstinate resistance which they had hitherto shown ceased.

As soon as this was realized, the Christians redoubled their efforts,
and the resistance of the besieged correspondingly slackened. Very soon after—in fact, within a few days—they sent a deputation to the king and offered to resign the place to him, on condition that they be permitted to go home freely and peaceably with all their goods. They also asked that guides be furnished to protect them from attack and to conduct them safely to their desired destination.

Thus the fortress was taken. It was delivered to the prince of Antioch, under whose jurisdiction it had formerly been, and the leaders returned to Antioch after completing a successful campaign. There, after words of farewell had been exchanged, the king left them and returned to the kingdom, accompanied by the magnificent count of Flanders. The count of Tripoli courteously attended them on the way as far as Tripoli.\(^{62}\)

20. *Amalrich, quondam prior of the canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, is elected patriarch. His election causes strife among the bishops.*

At this time, because of the death of Fulcher of precious memory, the church at Jerusalem was without a patriarch. The prelates of the church assembled therefore at the Holy City to act on the matter of choosing an incumbent for this important see, in accordance with canonical rules. It is claimed that, through the intervention of a sister of Queen Melisend and Sibylla, countess of Flanders, the king's sister, the choice was irregularly made, and Amalrich, prior of the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, was elected.\(^{63}\)

Amalrich was a Frank by birth, from the town of Nesle, in the bishopric of Noyon. He was a man of good education, but very simple and of little advantage to the church. He was elected to the position in opposition to the wishes of Hernesius, archbishop of Caesarea, and Ralph, bishop of Bethlehem, who appealed from the decision. After he took possession of the see, Amalrich placed the matter in the hands

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\(^{62}\) This fortress, whose siege and capture are described in such detail, has not been definitely identified, unless it be Harim (see W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, p. 179, note 1). If so, it must have been recently lost, perhaps to Qilij Arslan earlier in the year.

\(^{63}\) It is strange that William does not mention which of the queen's sisters is meant. It was probably Iveta, the youngest, who was now abbess of her convent. Sibylla of Flanders was especially devoted to this sister of her stepmother, Melisend, and is said to have remained with her when her husband returned to Flanders (see L. Delisle, ed., *Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel*, I, 325).
of Frederick, bishop of Acre, who went to the Roman church then ruled over by Hadrian. By the lavish use of gifts, it is claimed, Frederick secured for Amalrich, in the absence of his adversaries, the favor of the Roman pontiff and brought back with him the pallium in full recognition of Amalrich's claim to the office of patriarch.

21. Nureddin lays siege to a cave in the region of Suta, belonging to the Christians. The king marches out against him and succeeds in raising the siege. Nureddin fights with the Christians and is defeated.

In the meanwhile, however, Nureddin had been cured of his malady through the careful treatment of his physicians. The king had now returned to his own realm, and the Turkish prince, in full vigor of health, repaired to Damascus. In the course of the following summer, that he might not pass the time in idleness there and be accused of relaxing his usual vigilance, he summoned his army, mustered a large force of reserves, and made a sudden attack upon one of our fortresses. This was a cavern in the district called Suta [Sawad], situated on the side of a high and very steep hill. There was no access to this place from above or below but only from the side, by way of a narrow and dangerous path along a precipice. Within were rooms and sleeping arrangements which afforded the necessary accommodation for those living there. There was also a spring of living water which never failed, so that, as far as the narrow limits of the place permitted, it was fairly well equipped and was regarded as very useful to the district.

The news of this siege was brought to the king by a reliable report. He at once mustered the forces of the realm and hurried thither, accompanied by the count of Flanders. The people within, unable to endure the rigors of a siege, had already made tentative conditions of surrender such as necessity usually imposes; namely, that unless help arrived within ten days, they would without fail surrender the fortifications at the expiration of that time. This fact also was made known to the king. He therefore made all possible haste to their relief and with his army encamped near Tiberias, by the bridge where the waves of the Jordan separate from those of the lake of Gennesaret.

But as soon as Nureddin learned that the king was at hand, on the advice of Siraconus [Shirkuh], his commander in chief, a man of great
valor but of overweening self-confidence, he left the siege and marched forth with his army against the Christians.

The king, learning that Nureddin intended to attack him, summoned his lords to his quarters at earliest dawn. Humble adoration was first rendered to the Life-giving Cross, which Peter, of precious memory, our predecessor as archbishop of Tyre, was bearing; then by unanimous consent battle was declared. The ranks were put in motion, and, in exultation of spirit as if already assured of victory, they marched forth to the place where Nureddin’s hosts were said to be. When close upon the foe, according to their wish, the Christian battalions, in battle array and armed to the teeth, dashed en masse upon the Turks and made furious use of their swords, as if determined to fight to the death. But the undaunted Turks sustained the charge without wavering. They counterattacked with the sword and with gallant resistance endeavored to repel the assault of their adversaries.

After varying tides of fortune, victory was finally vouchsafed from on high to the Christians. The enemy was routed with heavy losses, and the king as victor held the field with his army. This battle took place at Puthaha on the Ides of July, in the fifteenth year of King Baldwin’s reign.\(^{64}\)

Thence, Baldwin deemed it expedient to march on with his army to the fortress which had been under siege. There he repaired the damage that had been done and carefully supplied the place with arms, food, and valiant men. He then disbanded his army, sent them away to their homes, and returned to the realm after a successful campaign.

22. The envoys sent to Constantinople on the matter of the king’s marriage return. They bring with them a niece of the emperor as a wife for the king.

As has been mentioned, envoys had gone to Constantinople to arrange a marriage for the king. One of their number, Attard, archbishop of Nazareth, died there, and his body was brought back to his own church by the zealous care of his faithful companions. He was succeeded by Letard, prior of the canons of the same church, a very kindly man, gentle and affable, who still remains in the same charge in the twenty-

\(^{64}\) July 15, 1158. Qalanisi’s account of Nureddin’s defeat is somewhat briefer (Gibb, *Chronicle*, p. 347).
third year of his pontificate. The surviving envoys, namely, Humphrey the constable, Jocelin Pisellus, and William de Barris, noble and illustrious men, well versed in secular affairs, pursued with due diligence the task entrusted to them at the court of the emperor. After numberless delays and equivocal answers expressed in mystifying circumlocutions such as the subtle Greeks delight in and usually employ, their request was gratified. Arrangements concerning the dowry and the donation for the marriage having been concluded, an illustrious maiden, a princess who had been reared in the strictest seclusion of the imperial palace, was named as the king’s bride. She was in fact a niece of the emperor, the daughter of his elder brother Isaac, and was called Theodora. She was in her thirteenth year, a maiden of unusual beauty, both of form and feature, whose entire appearance favorably impressed all who saw her. Her dowry consisted of a hundred thousand hyperperes, of standard weight, and in addition ten thousand of the same coins, which the emperor generously granted for her marriage expenses. The bridal outfit of the maiden, in gold and gems, garments and pearls, tapestries and silken stuffs, as well as precious vessels, might by a just estimate be valued at an additional fourteen thousand hyperperes.

The king had sent a guarantee to the emperor in his own handwriting that whatever his envoys should agree to on his part he himself would ratify. On his behalf, they faithfully promised that, in case of the king’s death, the queen should hold as a marriage portion with life tenure, in all tranquillity and without contest, the city of Acre with all its appurtenances. Thus, with settlements satisfactory to both parties the matter was concluded. Bridal attendants selected from the highest peers of the empire were assigned to accompany the lady on her journey to the king, and she set out for Syria, under the escort of the envoys, to go to her husband.

During the course of the following September she landed safely at Tyre with all her retinue. Within a few days thereafter she was consecrated at Jerusalem as the custom of the realm decreed and crowned

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65 This allusion to Letard’s twenty-third year in office dates the time of William’s writing of this passage in 1181.

66 The embassy to Constantinople presumably left late in 1157 and returned with the Greek princess as the prospective bride of Baldwin III in September, 1158 (Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 439–40). The hyperperus, nomisma, or solidus was at one time a gold coin worth about two dollars. It was, however, somewhat debased by the Comneni and issued also as a silver coin (A. A. Vasiliev, *A History of the Byzantine Empire*, II, 149).
with the royal diadem. Then, after the solemn rites of marriage had been accomplished, she was given to her husband. The patriarch-elect of Jerusalem had not at that time received the gift of consecration, for the envoys sent to the pope on behalf of his cause had not yet returned. Aimery, patriarch of Antioch, was therefore summoned by royal mandate to confer the grace of royal unction upon the queen and to celebrate the customary rites of marriage. From the time that he took a wife, the king laid aside all the levity which, according to rumor, he had hitherto unduly displayed. Thenceforward he might say with the apostle, “When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.” He is said to have cherished his wife ever after with affection worthy of praise and is believed to have been faithful to her even to the end. Having thus laid aside light conduct, as if changed from that former man, he began to undertake important works and to occupy himself entirely with serious matters.

23. The emperor of Constantinople comes to Antioch. Prince Renaud makes amends for the outrages he committed in Cyprus and is restored to favor.

During the course of that same year, the emperor of Constantinople determined to go down into Syria. He mustered troops from all the provinces of his realm, in keeping with his imperial magnificence, and with this great army gathered from all tribes and peoples, tongues and nations, he crossed the Hellespont, passed swiftly through all the intervening country and about the beginning of December appeared at the head of his armies in Cilicia so suddenly that it seemed almost incredible. The immediate reason for this hurried march was as follows: a powerful Armenian prince named Thoros, of whom mention has been made, had seized by force the entire land of Cilicia bordering on the mountains in which he owned several strongly fortified castles. Not a single walled city or the most distant village escaped. Tarsus and Anavarza, the capitals of Cilicia Prima and Secunda respectively, had fallen under his power; and other cities also, among them Mamistra, Adana, and Sisium, where he had driven out the governors placed

67 Aimery was present in Jerusalem in September of 1158.
68 I Cor. 13:11.
69 Virgil Aen. II. 274.
there in charge of imperial affairs. The emperor had, therefore, hastened his march and concealed his purpose in order to take the Armenian unaware.\textsuperscript{70}

His journey had another purpose also. His compassion had been roused by the pitiful case of the Cyprians, who had well deserved his favor and who, as has been related, had been subjected to the monstrous tyranny of the prince of Antioch, who treated them as if they had been enemies of the faith and detestable parricides.

So unexpected was the coming of the imperial armies that Thoros, who was then staying at Tarsus, had barely time to flee to the neighboring mountains before the legions and the chiefs of the army were spreading over the open plain.

When Renaud, prince of Antioch, heard this news, he was assailed by the stings of a guilty conscience. Shortly before the coming of the emperor, he had wreaked his fury upon the innocent Cyprians and had perpetrated upon them and upon their wives and children outrages abominable in the sight of both God and men. Consequently, he feared the arrival of the emperor, lest, moved by the loud complaints of an injured people, he should undertake to avenge their injuries. Straightway, the prince began to ponder, now in his own mind, and again in consultation with intimate friends whom he summoned, as to his course of action and how he might satisfactorily atone to his imperial magnificence for so deep an injury. The arrival of the emperor had terrified him so greatly, it is said, that he would not wait for the king [of Jerusalem], who was soon to arrive, even though he knew that through the latter’s intercession and influence, increased as it was by the new alliance, he might secure far better terms for himself.

Following the advice of his staff, therefore, he chose certain nobles from among their number to accompany him and started for Cilicia where the emperor was at the time with his forces. Gerard, the venerable bishop of Laodicea, also attended him on his journey. Having first won the favor of some of the members of the emperor’s court to intercede for his petition, he proceeded to the city of Mamistra, where, after making many elaborate explanations fraught with shame and disgrace to the Christians, he was restored to the favor of his imperial majesty.

\textsuperscript{70} Emperor Manuel reached Cilicia in the fall of 1158 and remained in the neighborhood for more than half a year (see Chalandon, Les Comiènes, II, 441; also Gibb, Chronicle, p. 349).
For in view of the assembled legions, he is said to have appeared before the emperor barefooted and clothed in a woolen tunic short to the elbows, with a rope around his neck and a naked sword in his hand. Holding this by the point, he presented the hilt to the emperor. As soon as he had thus surrendered his sword, he threw himself on the ground at the emperor’s feet, where he lay prostrate till all were disgusted and the glory of the Latins was turned into shame; for he was a man of violent impulses, both in sinning and in repenting.  

24. *The king hastens to the land of Antioch and is graciously received by the emperor, who lavishes gifts upon him.*

On learning of the emperor’s arrival, the king, accompanied by his brother and attended also by an escort selected from the greatest nobles of the realm, repaired to Antioch. The count of Flanders had decided to return home by the next crossing and therefore remained behind.

On his arrival, the king sent an embassy to the emperor, consisting of Geoffrey, abbot of the Temple of the Lord, a man well versed in the Greek tongue, and the noble Joscelin Pisellus. They were to convey in a courteous manner the salutations due to his imperial highness and to inquire whether it was his good pleasure that the king should appear before his presence. In reply to their message, the envoys were instructed to invite the king most urgently to come immediately. In addition, the emperor sent his illustrious chancellor as the bearer of a letter from himself and charged him to urge the king by word of mouth also, as a beloved son of the empire, not to delay to come to him.

Upon the appointed day, therefore, the king, with a chosen escort of very distinguished lords, went thither and was received in most honorable fashion. By the emperor’s orders, he was met by two nobles of the highest position among the illustrious men of the sacred palace; John the *protosebastos* and Alexius the chamberlain, brothers born of the same mother and nephews of the emperor himself. A splendid

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71 According to the Greek historians, Patriarch Aimery had offered to deliver Renaud de Châtillon to the emperor, and Baldwin III had been partner to the offer, hoping thereby to gain the principality of Antioch. Manuel refused the offer, preferring to have Antioch separately ruled, even by Renaud (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 443–48). Greek and Syrian historians insist that Baldwin sought to ameliorate the conditions imposed on Renaud, which included, among others, the removal of the Latin patriarch and the substitution of the Greek patriarch of Antioch. On this point, Baldwin could make no gain, though the actual arrival of the Greek patriarch did not occur until some years later.
retinue of nobles attended them. Under this escort, the king was conducted to the entrance of the tent where the emperor and his most distinguished nobles temporarily resided.

He was presented with much ceremony. The emperor greeted him graciously, gave him the kiss of peace, and placed him by his side in a seat of honor although in a somewhat lower position than his own. He then honored the king's companions with fitting salutations and gave them, too, the kiss of peace. At the same time he made solicitous inquiries about the king's own health and that of the members of his staff. The joyous expression of his countenance, as well as his words and general attitude, showed that he was greatly pleased at their coming and that he rejoiced in the presence of such an illustrious king and his retinue. For ten days Baldwin was constantly with the emperor; he enjoyed agreeable intercourse with him and they had frequent colloquies both in private and in the assembly of the nobles. The king was of an affable and friendly disposition, and during his stay he won great favor with the emperor and his nobles, whose hearts were drawn to him by ties of deep affection; in fact, ever after, as long as he lived, he was cherished by them as a son. Even to the present day, though he is now dead, they have never ceased to hold him in precious remembrance.

Baldwin was an energetic man of shrewd insight with respect to worldly affairs, and he desired that his sojourn with the emperor might be turned to good account. He observed that the emperor had ordered forces to be assembled in a camp outside the city for the purpose of sending an expedition against Thoros, whom he was pursuing with insatiable hatred. After first asking permission, Baldwin undertook to bring about a good understanding between the emperor and that nobleman. He called Thoros to him and arranged an agreement, by which the prince surrendered the fortress which the emperor demanded and thereupon was restored to full favor. Thus, through the king's mediation Thoros, before returning to his own domains, took an oath of liege fealty to the emperor.\(^2\)

At length the king and his train returned to Antioch, followed by the good will of all. With them they carried rich gifts most liberally bestowed by the emperor, as beseeemed imperial magnificence.

\(^2\) The negotiations with Thoros were conducted jointly by Baldwin III and the Templars (Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 448–50).
We have learned from certain people whose testimony is entirely reliable that in addition to the gifts showered with profuse generosity upon the king’s followers—and these were said to be countless—the treasure bestowed upon the king alone was reputed to amount to twenty-two thousand hyperperes and three thousand marks of silver of standard weight. Garments, silken stuffs, and precious vases also formed a part of the treasure bestowed.\footnote{73}

At Antioch the king found his brother Amaury, count of Jaffa and Ascalon. With him was Hugh d’Ibelin, who had lately been released from captivity among the enemy and had returned to reëstablish himself in his former position. As they also desired to visit the emperor, they soon set out thither and were well received by his imperial majesty. Great honor was shown them in accordance with imperial custom and, at the close of their visit, they were presented with rich gifts and sent back to the kingdom rejoicing.

\textit{25. The emperor enters Antioch. He shows great liberality toward the citizens. Thence, soon after, he returns to his own land.}

The emperor celebrated the holy season of Easter in Cilicia and passed several days in that land. He then led his armies on to Antioch and stood before the gates of the city, formidable because of his vast array of troops. The patriarch, bearing the books of the Evangels, and the clergy surrounded by all the ceremonial splendor of the church, went forth to meet him accompanied by the entire people. The king also issued forth with great ceremony to welcome him, attended by the prince of Antioch and the count of Ascalon and followed by all the chief men of the kingdom and the principality of Antioch. To the martial sound of trumpets and drums, the emperor in all the splendor of the imperial insignia and crowned with the diadem of the empire, was led into the city; first to the cathedral, that is, to the church of the Chief of the Apostles, and then to the palace, accompanied by the same escort of city fathers and people.\footnote{74}

\footnote{73 It is not unlikely that William obtained this information from Amaury, the brother of Baldwin III.}

\footnote{74 Manuel’s entry into Antioch and his stay there were somewhat in the spirit of a military triumph which Renaud tried in vain to prevent. Manuel took the precaution of requiring hostages for his stay there. It was on this occasion that Manuel held a}
After several days spent in the enjoyment of the baths and other pleasures, during which time he showered gifts most liberally upon the people of the town, according to his usual custom, the emperor determined to make a hunting trip to while away the time. So, accompanied by the king, he visited a place where there was good game. They were riding through the forest, as hunters do in pursuance of that sport, when, on the solemn day of the Ascension of our Lord, an accident befell them. The king, borne along on his fleet horse, was riding over rough ground covered with low-growing shrubs and brambles, when he was flung headlong to the ground from his horse and suffered a fractured arm.

As soon as the emperor learned of the accident, he took upon himself, with the most gracious sympathy, the office of surgeon; he knelt down by the king and attentively ministered to him, as if he himself were merely an ordinary person. Meanwhile, his nobles and kinsmen were dumb with wonder and dismay. That the emperor, regardless of his imperial majesty, should lay aside his august dignity and show himself so devoted and friendly to the king appeared to all unseemly. When, on account of this accident, they returned to Antioch, he visited the king daily, himself renewed the poultices and healing ointments, and then carefully replaced the bandages. Indeed, he could scarcely have shown more solicitude had Baldwin been his own son.\(^75\)

When the king had completely recovered, the emperor proclaimed by the voice of the heralds that the commanders of the legions were to send ahead the machines and engines of war and on a certain day conduct the army to Aleppo. Soon after, he himself, accompanied by the king and the rulers of the two kingdoms, left Antioch to the sound of trumpets and drums, the challengers to battle. At the ford of Balena, so called in common parlance, the entire army halted.

From that place the emperor sent messengers to Nureddin, who chanced to be at Aleppo at the time, and through these envoys arranged that one Bertram, a natural son of the count of St. Gilles, with certain other prisoners should be released.\(^76\) Shorty after this, the monarch

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\(^75\) Manuel seems to have prided himself upon his knowledge of medicine and his skill in treating wounds (see also Book XVI, note 45).

\(^76\) Bertram, the son of Alphonse, had been captured by Nureddin in 1149, a fact which William failed to mention at the time (see Book XVII, note 18). Nureddin,
returned to his own realm, whither his private affairs called him. After his departure, the king also returned to his land, together with those who had accompanied him.


About this time Pope Hadrian died of quinsy at Anagni in Campania. His body was borne to Rome and there buried with great honor in the church of St. Peter, the chief of the apostles. The cardinals thereupon assembled to discuss the question of his successor, and it happened, as it often does under such circumstances, that their wishes were at variance. One faction chose Roland, cardinal-priest of the same church of St. Peter, with title St. Mark, who had been chancellor of the holy see; and, laying hands upon him, ordained him pope under the name Alexander. The other party, however, chose Octavianus, a nobleman according to the flesh, cardinal-priest of the same church with title St. Cecilia beyond the Tiber; he too was consecrated in the same manner and constituted pope under the name Victor.\(^{77}\)

This schism, because of our sins, practically caused a division and an irrevocable separation in the entire Latin church; the greatest nobles of the land formed into factions and allied themselves to one side or the other.

This condition lasted almost nineteen years. Finally, Frederick, the emperor of the Romans, who had been aiding and advising the party of Victor, brought about unity in the church by becoming fully reconciled to Pope Alexander.\(^{78}\) Thus harmony was restored to the church of God and, the shades of error having been dispelled, peace shone forth, as “the morning star in the midst of the clouds.”\(^{79}\)

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who was loath to give up captives, released a number of prisoners at Manuel's request, perhaps a condition of peace between them.

\(^{77}\) The death of Hadrian IV occurred in 1159 and was followed, as William says, by the schism which Frederick Barbarossa for political reasons helped to keep alive for many years.

\(^{78}\) This reconciliation occurred some time after the battle of Legnano, 1176, in which Frederick's troops had suffered a severe defeat from the Lombard cities. The Lateran council of 1179, at which William was present, was in a sense a celebration of the restored unity of the church.

\(^{79}\) Ecclus. 50:6.
27. Nureddin invades the country of the sultan of Iconium and takes a part of it by force. The king ravages the land of Damascus.

Meanwhile, Nureddin was greatly delighted at the departure of the emperor. The arrival of that mighty potentate had caused him great fear, and his sojourn in the country had agitated him still more. He now felt secure from the dreaded power of the great monarch and, perceiving that the king had returned to his own land, thought that the opportunity he had so long desired had come. He accordingly summoned troops from all over his dominions and directed a campaign against the land of the sultan of Iconium, which bordered on his own territory. The city of Marash as well as the two strongholds, Cresson and Behereselin, fell under his power, for the sultan was far distant from these parts and could not easily render them aid. It was with full knowledge of this situation, in fact, that Nureddin had ventured to attack Iconium against one stronger than himself.

News of this campaign was brought to the king, who was still detained with all his forces in those parts. Well knowing that the land of Damascus, stripped of its military forces, would lie exposed as an easy prey to the wiles of an enemy, the king resolved to turn the fact to his own advantage. Gathering an army, he invaded the land of Damascus, where without opposition he burned and laid waste everything according to his good pleasure. The entire land from Ostro [Bostra?], that famous city of Arabia, even to Damascus was given over to the soldiers to burn and plunder at will.

There was at Damascus a nobleman named Negem-ed-Din [Najm al-Din], to whom, because of his reputation for experience in worldly matters, Nureddin had entrusted his personal affairs and the charge of the city with its dependencies, to be governed according to his own good pleasure. Najm realized that his master was occupied with important affairs at a distance while he himself had only a small force with which to resist the king. He therefore wisely sought other means of avoiding the dangers which beset him. He offered the king four thousand pieces of gold and gave up six knights of ordinary rank whom he was holding and, in return, demanded a truce of three months. By the judicious use of money he had bribed many to intercede for him,
and consequently his request was granted. By these prudent measures he succeeded in relieving the country of the king’s army.  

During this time Queen Melisend, a woman of unusual wisdom and discretion, fell ill of an incurable disease for which there was no help except death. Her two sisters, the countess of Tripoli and the abbess of St. Lazarus of Bethany, watched over her with unremitting care; the most skilful physicians to be found were summoned, and such remedies as were judged best assiduously applied. For thirty years and more, during the lifetime of her husband as well as afterwards in the reign of her son, Melisend had governed the kingdoms with strength surpassing that of most women. Her rule had been wise and judicious. Now, wasted in body and somewhat impaired in memory, she had lain on her bed for a long time as if dead, and very few were allowed to see her.

Meanwhile, the time of the truce had elapsed which had been agreed on with Najm, the governor of Damascus, and Nureddin, not yet having completed his undertaking, was still detained in the parts mentioned above. The king, therefore, entered the land of the enemy by force of arms and devastated the country as he would. He drove off cattle and slaves, burned and plundered without hindrance. Then, having laid waste the land, destroyed the surrounding fields, and taken the inhabitants captive, he again returned in safety to his realm.

28. Prince Renaud of Antioch is captured by the Turks and thrown into prison at Aleppo.

Not long after this, Renaud, prince of Antioch, was informed by his scouts that in the country which had formerly belonged to the count of Edessa, between Marash and Tulupa, there was a land full of flocks and herds. Since this locality was without military forces and the people were unaccustomed to the use of arms, it lay easily exposed to pillage. The credulous Renaud lent a ready ear to this report. He at once mustered a large force and under evil auspices set out on the march. On reaching the place, he found that the story was correct.

80 These events at Damascus took place too late to be included in the chronicle of Qalanisi, who died March 18, 1160. The lieutenant whom Nureddin had left in charge of Damascus was Najm al-Din, according to Gibb (see Gibb, Chronicle, pp. 357–68).

81 The two sisters were Hodierna and Iveta. William’s statement of the length of her rule would imply the year 1161 as the date of her illness.
There was indeed an enormous number of flocks and herds, but the people to whom they belonged were Christians. For, except in the fortresses, there were no Turks in all that region. Even these were few in number, since they were merely stationed in those places to protect the strongholds, collect tribute from the people, and guard it, when paid, for the great lords whose agents they were. The fields around were occupied entirely by Syrian and Armenian Christians, who tilled the soil and devoted themselves to agriculture.

Renaud and his forces, without the slightest opposition, seized plunder and spoils on all sides. Loaded with booty and enriched by all kinds of stolen goods, they were returning home in safety and tranquillity when suddenly they were met by Megedin [Majd al-Din], the governor of Aleppo, a true friend and loyal ally of Nureddin. Having learned that Renaud was returning from his foray, he had hastened against him with all the light-armed cavalry of that region. His purpose was to surprise the Christians in some narrow defiles and rout them while they were encumbered with baggage and booty, or at least to compel them by force to relinquish the plunder.

Following out the shrewd plan of the governor, the Turks had marched forth against Renaud under the guidance of the scouts who had brought the news and were now at the place named, near which the prince with all his plunder was encamped.

On learning that the enemy was at hand, the prince consulted with his people as to what was best to be done under the circumstances. The wisest plan was to abandon the booty and hasten home unencumbered, which could easily have been done; but instead they preferred to keep the plunder and, if necessary, put up a vigorous fight. The next morning, when the day was somewhat advanced, the hostile forces met in battle. The enemy attacked with bows and swords and fought most pugnaciously. At first the Christians tried to make a stout resistance, but finally they gave way to panic, abandoned the spoils, and fled. In punishment for his sins, the prince was forced to expiate in his own person all the crimes which he had committed. A captive, bound with the chains of the foe, he was led to Aleppo in most ignominious fashion, there to become, with his fellow captives, the sport of the infidels.

This disaster occurred on November 23 in the eighteenth year of
King Baldwin's reign, at a place called Commi, between Cresson and Marash. 82

29. One John, cardinal-priest of the church of Rome, comes to Syria as legate; an altercation arises among the bishops in regard to his being received. A son, Baldwin, is born to the king's brother, Amoery, count of Jaffa.

During this same period a certain John, a man of much learning, cardinal-priest of the church at Rome, of title Saints John and Paul, landed with some Genoese at Jubail. He had been sent by Pope Alexander as legate to the countries of the Orient. Wishing to obtain permission to enter the country as legate, he endeavored to ascertain the sentiments of the king and the princes of the realm, both ecclesiastical and secular, in regard to his coming to them. For, as has been mentioned, a schism had arisen which involved the whole world—some favoring Pope Alexander, and others, the opposite party. After long consideration had been given to the problem, the legate was directed to remain at Jubail for a time; he was not to venture to enter the kingdom until the prelates of the church and the princes of the realm had considered the matter more fully. He would then be instructed what was their pleasure in the matter.

Accordingly, the patriarch and all the other prelates of the church were summoned to Nazareth, where in conference with the king and some of the barons also, they began to consider what course to pursue in such a difficult situation. For while all the prelates of the East in the two patriarchates openly preserved neutrality, as private individuals, some secretly favored one side, some the other.

As is usual under such conditions, they could not agree and were swayed by their wishes in many directions. Some declared that Alexander and his legate should be received, as having the better cause. The chief partisan of this view was Peter, of pious memory in the Lord, our predecessor as archbishop of Tyre. Others, on the contrary, preferred the cause of Victor, on the ground that he had always been

82 The year is somewhat uncertain, for William's usual list of the years of Baldwin's reign would make this 1161, which is also given by several Arabic historians. Both Chalandon (Les Comnène, II, 520) and Stevenson (Crusaders, p. 183, note 2) prefer 1160 as the year, accepting William's statement of day and month.
a friend and protector of the kingdom; the latter party maintained that the legate should, under no circumstances, be received.

The king, supported by some of the barons and church dignitaries, advised that a middle course be adopted and neither party received; he feared a division of the bishops which would cause a schism in the church. If the legate, laying aside his official rights and dignities, desired to go as a pilgrim to the holy places for the sake of prayer, permission should be given and liberty granted him to tarry in the kingdom until the first crossing, at which time he must return. The king gave the reason for his decision as follows: "The schism is of recent date, nor does the world as yet know which faction has the stronger cause. In a doubtful matter, it is dangerous to adopt an opinion independently, to venture to pronounce in advance a definite decision, while the result is still uncertain. Moreover, there is no need of a legate in the kingdom to burden the churches and monasteries with expenses and weaken them by his extortions."

This was the opinion of the king. It seemed most sensible, yet the advice of the party which maintained that the legate should be received prevailed. He was, therefore, invited to enter the kingdom and later proved a heavy burden to many who had approved of his being received.83

About this time a son was born to Amaury, count of Jaffa, and his wife Agnes, the daughter of the count of Edessa. At the father's request, the king received the child at the baptismal font and gave him his own name. When he was asked in jest what he would bestow upon his nephew, the son whom he had received at the holy font, Baldwin answered in his customary merry and affable manner, "The kingdom of Jerusalem." This remark struck deep into the hearts of some of the wise men who heard it, for it seemed to them an ominous prediction that the king, despite his youth and that of his wife, would die without children, which proved to be the case.84

83 This council was held in 1160, probably late in the year (see R. Röhrich, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani, no. 357, and J. D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, XXI, col. 1145–46).

84 Amaury's son Baldwin became Baldwin IV, king of Jerusalem 1174–1185. By inference from William's later statements that young Baldwin was nine years old in 1170 and thirteen at the death of his father, 1174, his birth occurred in 1161.
30. The king is summoned by the people of Antioch and hastens thither. Imperial envoys arrive to request a kinswoman of the king as a consort for their lord.

The imprisonment of the prince deprived the province of Antioch of the support of a leader, and fear and anxiety again laid hold on the people of that land. From day to day, in painful suspense, they awaited the destruction of the land, unless perchance the Lord should become their defender. At length they determined to have recourse to their usual source of aid and to seek help against the evils which threatened them by appealing to him to whom they had so often applied and never in vain. A delegation was accordingly sent to implore the king of Jerusalem with tears and prayers to come without delay to the help of a despairing people, a people about to perish, whereby he might win for himself honor and glory in the eyes of men and eternal reward from God.

On learning of the desperate situation at Antioch, the king was moved with the deepest compassion for the troubles of that people. Following the example of his predecessors, he wholeheartedly assumed the task and hastened to Antioch, accompanied by a noble escort of knights, where he was received with manifestations of extreme joy and exultation by the elders and people. At Antioch he remained as long as the exigencies of time and place required and displayed the utmost care for the affairs of the principality as if they had been his own. Then he committed the government of the land temporarily to the patriarch, until he himself could return, and after arranging for the support of the princess as befitted her position, he returned to his kingdom, where his own affairs demanded his presence.

After his return imperial envoys, nobles of high position and renown in the sacred palace, arrived from the emperor of Constantinople. They were the bearers of a letter with a golden seal and also of private messages for the king. The leader of the embassy was the illustrious Gundostephan [Contostephanus], a blood relation of the emperor; the other was the supreme interpreter of the palace, Trifulus [Theophylact] by name,85 a shrewd man and very zealous on behalf of the

85 These envoys were named John Contostephanus and Theophylact, the latter an Italian. William's spelling of the names suggests that he obtained this information orally. Bertha of Sulzbach, or Irene as she was renamed, the first wife of Manuel, had died.
imperial interests. These envoys, as we have said, bore sacred dispatches, the tenor of which was, in substance, as follows: "Know, O dearest friend, most beloved of our empire, that our imperial consort, the illustrious Irene, of precious memory in the Lord, has finished her allotted days on earth and henceforward dwells with the spirits of the elect. She has left us an only daughter as the heir to the empire. But as we have no male offspring, we are filled with solicitude about the succession and have frequently held earnest conference with the most illustrious nobles of the court in regard to a second alliance. With the consent and approval of all our princes, it has finally been judged desirable that we take as our imperial consort a lady of your lineage, since, of all our empire, we hold you in the deepest affection. Whomsoever of your kinswomen you shall choose for us, be she the sister of the illustrious count of Tripoli, or the younger sister of the magnificent prince of Antioch, her we shall receive, with entire confidence in your loyalty and your choice, as, by the will of God, our imperial consort and companion in the realm."

When the emperor’s intention was made known to the king, both by letter and by word of mouth from the envoys, he promised obedience and assistance. Most earnestly he thanked his imperial majesty: first because he proposed to ally with himself in such an exalted position one of the king’s own lineage, and secondly, because, in recognition of Baldwin’s loyalty, the choice of the emperor’s future bride and imperial consort was left to the king alone.

31. The king designates as the emperor’s bride the illustrious maiden Melisend, sister of the count of Tripoli; but after a year’s delay, the emperor declines the king’s choice and marries Maria, daughter of Prince Raymond.

After conferring with his advisers as to the alliance which would be most desirable for his own interests and those of his imperial majesty, the king called the emperor’s deputies and, with persuasive words, directed them to receive as the wife of their lord Melisend, a sister of the count of Tripoli, a maiden of fine character and ability. They received the communication of the king with due reverence and gave assent, but requested that the decision be announced to the emperor both by messengers and letters.

Meanwhile, an enormous array of ornaments, surpassing those of
royalty itself, was prepared at infinite expense by the mother and aunt of the maiden destined for this exalted position, and by her brother and her many friends as well: bracelets, earrings, pins for her headdress, anklets, rings, necklaces, and tiaras of purest gold. Silver utensils of immense weight and size were prepared for use in the kitchen and for the service of the table and the toilet, besides bridles and saddles—in short, every kind of furnishing. All these things were prepared at vast expense and with great zeal; the workmanship alone was evidence of their exceeding great cost and easily surpassed the luxury of kings. During this time, the Greeks carefully scrutinized each detail and inquired into the life and conduct of the damsel even to the most secret physical characteristics. While awaiting their return, they were in constant communication with the emperor. And thus a year glided by.

The king and the court, as well as the other relations and friends of the maiden, were very indignant at this delay. They summoned the imperial messengers publicly and pronounced an ultimatum: either they must reject the marriage long since arranged and refund the money spent, or cease to invent inexplicable reasons for delay and end the matter by consummating the marriage according to the conditions originally agreed upon. The count had been put to vast expense; he had ordered twelve galleys to be built and completely equipped, for he intended to accompany his sister to her husband. In addition, all the most important lords, both of the principality and of the kingdom had come to Tripoli in anticipation of the lady’s approaching departure; and for these guests the count was defraying the necessary expenses, either wholly or in part.

As always, however, the Greeks gave evasive answers and tried to drag the matter along still longer. To checkmate their wily designs the king dispatched Otto of Risberg as a special envoy to Constantinople. He was empowered to make an eloquent demand that the actual intentions of the emperor be made known to him as deputy and that without circumlocutions. Sooner than had been anticipated the envoy returned. He brought a letter from the emperor and messages also to the effect that all which had been done in regard to this alliance was wholly displeasing to his imperial highness.

When the king received this news, he withdrew from the negotiations. That an alliance which had been arranged through his own
mediation and completed as far as his own part was concerned should come to naught seemed most insulting and would unquestionably reflect unfavorably upon himself.

The imperial envoys, fearing that the indignation of the count of Tripoli would be vented upon them, hastily departed for Cyprus in a small boat which they had the good luck to find ready.

As soon as the company of nobles gathered at Tripoli had departed, the king repaired to Antioch; for, as was mentioned, at the earnest entreaty of that people he had assumed the charge of the principality. On his arrival he found there the same envoys of the emperor who were supposed to have left Tripoli [for home]. They were holding daily and intimate conferences with the princess in reference to her youngest daughter, Maria. Moreover, they had in their possession letters sealed with gold in the presence of the emperor in which he guaranteed to ratify whatever agreement should be made by them with the princess and her friends on the subject of this marriage. These negotiations were made known to the king immediately on his arrival. He had been so deeply offended in regard to the former affair that he would have been justified in refusing to interest himself for the emperor in the present matter. Yet, out of consideration for his orphaned kinswoman, who was without a father to protect her, he undertook that role and, after many delays, succeeded in arranging the marriage.

As soon as the matter was concluded, the galleys were made ready at a place called the Port of St. Simeon at the mouth of the Orontes river. The maiden was delivered over to the envoys, and, attended by an honorable retinue of the greatest nobles of the land, who were to escort her to her husband, she set forth on her journey.

86 The chronological interrelationship of these events is of great importance, but William does not furnish the precise information needed to establish it. He himself was probably studying in the schools of the West during 1161-1163 and was therefore out of touch with local gossip in Palestine. Apparently Manuel had sent an embassy to Baldwin some time before he knew of the capture of Renaud de Châtillon. The negotiations for the marriage of Melisend of Tripoli were in progress when Constance sent an appeal for aid to Manuel. She may have offered her daughter, Maria, in marriage at the same time. At any rate, the two negotiations crossed each other, and the alliance with Antioch offered greater attractions to Manuel. William must be in error in his implication that Manuel did not begin negotiations with Baldwin until after the capture of Renaud (see Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 517-25).

87 The marriage of Manuel and Maria took place at Constantinople on December 25, 1161 (Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 523). William is here glossing over some embarrassing details. It is doubtful whether Manuel sought or used Baldwin's help in these negotiations.
32. The king rebuilds a stronghold near Antioch called the bridge of Iron. His mother, Queen Melisend, dies.

In order to make his presence at Antioch of service to the land, the king, while sojourning there, rebuilt a fortress which had formerly stood at a bridge over the Orontes river, commonly called the Iron bridge. This place, about six or seven miles from the city of Antioch, was of great use in preventing hostile raids and also served as an obstacle against the surreptitious entrance of bandits.

While the king was occupied thus with the affairs of the principality, his pious mother, wasted by the constant suffering attendant on a lingering illness, went the way of all flesh. Her death occurred on the eleventh day of September. When the king received the news, he gave himself up to grief and by the depth of his emotion clearly showed how sincerely he had loved her; in fact, for many days thereafter he was inconsolable.

Queen Melisend of illustrious memory, thenceforward to dwell with the angelic host, was buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat on the right as one descends to the sepulchre of the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord. Her body rests in a stone crypt with iron gates. Near by is an altar where mass is celebrated daily for the healing of her soul and for the souls of all Christians who had died in the Lord.\textsuperscript{88}

33. The count of Tripoli, enraged at the rejection of his sister, endeavors to harm the emperor in every possible way.

Meanwhile, the heart of the count of Tripoli was rent with grief and anger because he had been mocked by the emperor, who, after putting him to such enormous expense, had finally rejected his sister without cause, like the daughter of a common person. He gave utterance to deep groans and sighs as he anxiously pondered over means of requiting the emperor in like fashion and returning measure for measure. Although in the midst of his reflections he realized that the emperor was the most powerful monarch on earth and that his own strength was entirely inadequate to do him any injury, yet re-

\textsuperscript{88} Her death is dated September 11, 1161, by Röhrich (see R. Röhrich, \textit{Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem}, 1100–1291, p. 307). Baldwin must have spent the winter at Antioch.
sentiment drove him to action. Lest he seem indifferent or oblivious to the insult which had been offered him, he ordered the galleys which he had prepared for another purpose to be armed. Then he summoned pirates and desperados, men who had committed the most shocking crimes, and delivered the ships into their charge with orders to devastate the lands of the emperor without mercy. Neither age, sex, nor condition was to be spared; everything was to be given to the flames without distinction, including churches and monasteries, and the work of pillage and rapine carried on far and wide. Let them ever keep in mind that they were employing arms and force in a just cause.

Obedient to his command, they set sail upon the sea and roved over the domains of the emperor. Both in the islands and on the lands bordering on the sea, they interpreted the count’s orders in the widest sense. On all sides they plundered, burned, and massacred. They violated churches and broke into monasteries without respect for the venerable places. They laid hands on the travelling money of pilgrims as they journeyed to and from the holy places and thus forced them to die, or, needy and naked, to prolong their lives by begging. They seized the goods of travelling merchants who earned a livelihood for their wives and children in that way and forced them to return home empty handed with the loss of both principal and gain.  

34. The king is poisoned at Antioch. Falling thereby into his last illness, he begs to be carried home. His illness becomes worse on the journey, and he dies at Beirut.

While the count of Tripoli, in his desire for revenge, was thus engaged, the king was at Antioch. Desiring to take a physic before the approach of winter, as was his custom, he obtained certain pills from Barac, the physician of the count, a part of which were to be taken at once and the rest after a short interval. For our Eastern princes, through the influence of their women, scorn the medicines and practice of our Latin physicians and believe only in the Jews, Samaritans, Syrians, and Saracens. Most recklessly they put themselves under

89 William’s vivid and sympathetic account of the sufferings of the house of Tripoli would indicate that he condoned, to some degree, the terrible vengeance which Raymond III exacted. Melisend is said to have entered a convent after this unfortunate affair.

90 Whether this preference was due to the fact that so many of the women were themselves Eastern or because they recognized a definite superiority in Eastern medical knowledge is not clear, but the preference is clear enough.
the care of such practitioners and trust their lives to people who are ignorant of the science of medicine. It was rumored that these pills were poisoned, and this was probably the fact. At any rate, when later at Tripoli the rest of the medicine was put into bread and administered as an experiment to a dog, the animal died within a few days. As soon as the king had taken the pills, he was seized with a fever and dysentery which developed into consumption from which he was never able to obtain relief or help. Perceiving from the intensity of his suffering that the disease was increasing, he left Antioch and went to Tripoli. There he lay for several months hoping from day to day to improve. Finally, realizing that his malady was becoming worse and that recovery was improbable, he caused himself to be carried to Beirut and directed that the prelates of the church and the nobles of the realm be summoned in haste. Before them all, he acknowledged his faith with piety and devotion and, in humble and contrite spirit, confessed all his sins to the priests. Then his spirit, released from the prison of the flesh, departed to heaven, there to receive, God willing, in the company of the elect the crown that never fades.

King Baldwin died on February 10 in the year 1162 of the Incarnation of our Lord, in the twentieth year of his reign and the thirty-third year of his life. As he left no children, his brother was the heir to the throne. Amid universal mourning his body was borne to Jerusalem with reverence and royal ceremony. The funeral procession was met by the clergy and all the people and conducted to the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord. There he was honorably entombed among his predecessors before the place Calvary, where the Lord was crucified for our salvation.

91 The date here is definite, yet is contradicted in the opening paragraph of the next book. The events after 1160 are somewhat confused. William fails to mention an expedition which Baldwin III made into Egypt during this time. He conveys the impression of two expeditions to Antioch in successive years. William's absence from Palestine during these years doubtless accounts for some of this confusion. The date of Baldwin's death, as William here states it, has been accepted by so many historians, including both Röhrich and La Monte, that it seems necessary to enumerate a number of inconsistencies. If Baldwin was born no earlier than February, 1130 (see Book XIV, note 10; Book XVI, note 3), he would be barely thirty-two years old February 10, 1162. If his reign began when his father died on November 10, 1143, he had ruled but eighteen years and three months. Furthermore, if his brother was seven years old when Baldwin began to rule in 1143, he could only be twenty-six years old at most by February, 1162, instead of the twenty-seven which William assigns to him (Book XIX, chap. 1) at this time. The only way in which all of these stubborn inconsistencies can be removed is by accepting 1163 instead of 1162 as the year of Baldwin's death.
There is no record in any history, nor does any man now living recall, that such deep and poignant sorrow was ever felt over the death of any other prince of our own or other nations. For, in addition to the manifestations of grief and mourning displayed by the people of the cities through which the royal funeral train passed, there came down from the mountains a multitude of infidels who followed the cortège with wailing.

For eight successive days, while the funeral procession moved from Beirut to Jerusalem, lamentation was unrestrained and grief was renewed almost hourly. Even his enemies are said to have grieved over his death. When it was suggested to Nureddin that while we were occupied with the funeral ceremonies he might invade and lay waste the land of his enemies, he is said to have responded, "We should sympathize with their grief and in pity spare them, because they have lost a prince such as the rest of the world does not possess today."

As we come to the end of this book recording the works of this king, we too pray that with the spirits of the elect saints his soul may enjoy holy repose. Amen.

HERE ENDS THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK
THE NINETEENTH BOOK BEGINS

AMAURY I: THE STRUGGLE FOR EGYPT,
FIRST STAGE

1. Amaury succeeds his brother Baldwin on the throne.

Baldwin III, the fourth Latin king of Jerusalem, died without children, as has been mentioned. He was succeeded in the Holy City by Amaury, his only brother, count of Jaffa and Ascalon. The latter became the fifth Latin king in the year 1163 of the Incarnation of our Lord and the sixty-second of the liberation of that same city, beloved of God. At this time, Alexander was head of the holy Roman church, in the third year of his pontificate; the holy church of the Resurrection was ruled by Amalrich, the ninth patriarch of the Latins, in the fourth year of his patriarchate; over the holy church at Antioch presided Aimery, the third patriarch of the Latins in that same city, in the twentieth year of his office; and the church at Tyre was subject to Peter, the third archbishop of the Latins after the taking of the city, who was in the thirteenth year of his office.

The succession to the throne after the death of Baldwin was the occasion of much discord among the barons of the realm, who were variously affected by the change of monarchs. In fact, it came near causing a serious quarrel involving the danger of schism. But happily divine providence, which knows how to apply proper remedies in the gravest crises, was with us. The clergy and the people, as well as a few of the great men of the kingdom, were strongly in favor of Amaury, and the efforts of the disaffected nobles were quickly brought to naught. On the twelfth day before the Kalends of March, which was the eighth day after the death of the king, his brother Amaury was raised to the throne of the realm, which belonged to him by

1 This paragraph is probably a part of William's framework made hastily in 1182. His resolve to include Godfrey in the list of the kings was probably made later, but he may have had it partly in mind, since he here dates from the liberation of Jerusalem, 1099, instead of the beginning of the Kingdom, 1100. This necessitated the difference of a year from the last two digits of the Christian era, but William has reversed the figures. It should read either 1163 and sixty-fourth year or 1162 and sixty-third year. It is difficult to check the year by reference to the other chronological items because the adjectival expression allows a margin of nearly a year in each case.
hereditary right. In the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord he received the grace of royal unction at the hand of the patriarch, assisted by the assembled archbishops, bishops, and all the prelates of the church, and was given the insignia of the crown. At the time when he became a knight and assumed arms, he had been created count of Jaffa. Later, his brother Baldwin, of illustrious memory, with royal liberality granted him the city of Ascalon. This metropolis of the Philistines was captured in Baldwin's own time and thus restored after a long interval to the Christian profession, as was described in more detail when the events of the reign of Baldwin were related. Amaury was twenty-seven years old when he came to the throne, and he reigned eleven years and five months.\(^2\)

2. The characteristics of King Amaury with some remarks on his life and manners.

Amaury was a man of prudence and discretion, well versed in secular affairs. He had a slight impediment in his speech, not serious enough to be considered as a defect but sufficient to render him incapable of ready eloquence. He was far better in counsel than in fluent or ornate speech. He was well skilled in the customary law by which the kingdom was governed—in fact, he was second to no one in this respect. In keenness of intellect and true discernment he surpassed all the nobles of the realm. He handled with strength and wisdom the frequent crises which arose during his vigorous and unceasing efforts to extend the limits of the kingdom and always maintained a fearless attitude combined with regal firmness. He was fairly well educated, although much less so than his brother. Thanks to his keen intellect and retentive memory, however, he was sufficiently well informed on the questions which are usually important to kings. In this he was assisted by his habit of constantly asking questions and of reading whenever the affairs of the kingdom allowed him leisure. He displayed much subtlety in putting his questions and took pleasure in seeking solutions for them. He listened eagerly to history and preferred it to all other kinds of reading.\(^3\) He never forgot what he heard and recited it afterwards

\(^2\) These two statements of date are definite and consistent, and both indicate that Amaury became king in 1163.
\(^3\) The implications of this statement are too often overlooked. It is the clearest evidence that William himself read history to Amaury and that William wrote originally to read his history to him.
with ease and accuracy. Serious matters absorbed his attention entirely, and he had no interest in theatricals or games of chancé. He took great delight in watching the flight of falcons and herons in pursuit of prey. He endured hardships with patience; but as he was inclined to corpulence and was altogether too fat, he suffered little inconvenience from heat and cold.

He was pious in that he commanded tithes to be given to the church in their entirety and without dispute. He religiously heard mass every day unless prevented by sickness or some other emergency. He bore with equanimity the curses and reproaches which were often hurled against him both in public and private, even by low and contemptible persons, and concealed his feelings so well that it appeared as if he had not heard the things said. In both eating and drinking, he practiced moderation, for he despised excess in both. He is said to have placed so much confidence in his agents that he required no accounting from them after they had been put in charge of his affairs and refused to listen to insinuations against their good faith. By some people this was regarded as a fault, while others considered it a virtue and said that it was a proof of genuine trust.

From these excellent gifts of mind and character certain conspicuous faults detracted and in some measure dimmed the good traits just described. He lacked a genial temperament and was far too taciturn. He was entirely without that gracious affability which princes need more than other people in order to win the hearts of their subjects. Rarely did he speak to anyone unless compelled by necessity or unless, perchance, annoyed by being addressed first. This defect was the more noticeable because his brother Baldwin had always been ready with pleasant words and was most affable to all.

Amaury is said to have abandoned himself without restraint to the sins of the flesh and to have seduced married women; for which may the Lord in His mercy forgive him! He was, moreover, a violent opponent of the liberty of the churches. During his reign he reduced them to the point of exhaustion by frequent demands on their patri-

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4 This affords excellent evidence of the spirit of freedom which prevailed in the feudal kingdom of Jerusalem. Though some of the refinements of life in the East had been introduced, the ceremonial suppression of free speech which prevailed in Eastern courts had evidently not yet been adopted.

5 This frequent comparison of the two brothers suggests that William must have known Baldwin also and therefore have been at court even before the days of Amaury, with whom, of course, he was very intimately acquainted.
mony, so that the holy places were burdened with debt far beyond the extent of their revenues.  

His greed for money was greater than was seemly or honorable in a king. By the free use of gifts, he often acquired it and still more often retained it quite contrary to the demands of strict justice and right. In talking familiarly with me, he tried to excuse this avaricious conduct by giving the following reasons: “Every prince, and above all a king, should ever see to it that he is never in straitened circumstances, and that for two reasons: first, because the wealth of the subject is always safe when the ruler is not in need; secondly, that he may have resources at his disposal from which to provide for the necessities of his realm whenever an unexpected emergency arises. In such a case, the provident king should be most munificent and should spare no expense. Thus it will be plain that whatever he has he possesses not for his own benefit but for the good of the realm.”  

Even those who disliked the king could not deny that these reasons were applicable in his case. For when the kingdom was in critical straits he spared no expense, nor was he restrained by mere physical fatigue. But the wealth of his subjects was far from safe, for again and again he took advantage of the most trivial pretexts to make serious inroads upon their patrimony.

3. Of his physical traits and of a certain question which he pro-
pounded to one of his friends for solution.

He was of goodly height, taller than many although shorter than those of maximum stature. His features were comely, and his bearing plainly proclaimed even to strangers the dignity of a prince to whom reverence was due. He had sparkling eyes of medium size; his nose, like that of his brother, was becomingly aquiline; his hair was blond and grew back somewhat from his forehead. A comely and very full beard covered his cheeks and chin. He had a way of laughing immoderately so that his entire body shook. He loved to talk with wise and discreet men as well as with those who were familiar with far countries and foreign customs.  

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6 This has reference, doubtless, to special levies for campaigns, though William evidently disapproved of such practice except for emergency when the kingdom was actually endangered.

7 This suggests a definite intellectual interest at the court of Jerusalem.
I recall that he once summoned me in a friendly way to the citadel of Tyre, while he was suffering from a low fever there, which was, however, unattended by danger. During the hours of rest and in the intervals which occur in intermittent fevers, I talked with him intimately on many subjects and answered some of his questions as well as the time permitted. In fact he was much edified by our conversation.

Among other questions which he put to me at that time, there was one which moved me greatly; first, because the query was unusual and the subject one that hardly admitted of discussion, for our universal faith taught it and had handed it down as entitled to sincere belief, and secondly, because my heart was deeply wounded that an orthodox prince, the scion of orthodox ancestors, should entertain a doubt in regard to a fixed doctrine and should question it in the depths of his heart.

He asked me, in short, whether outside of the teaching of the Saviour and the holy men who followed Christ, doctrines which he did not doubt, there was any way of proving by reliable and authoritative evidence that there was a future resurrection? Much agitated by the novelty of his query I answered, "The teaching of our Lord and Redeemer is sufficient, for, in many passages of the Gospel He plainly teaches the future resurrection of the body. He promises that He will come as judge to judge the quick and the dead and the world with fire. To the elect He says that He will give a kingdom prepared from the foundation of the world; but the wicked shall be consigned to the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels. The pious declaration of the holy apostles and the patriarchs of the Old Testament suffices."

To this he responded, "I firmly believe all this; but I seek a reason whereby this can be proved to one who doubts these things and does not accept the doctrine of Christ and believe in a future resurrection and that there is another life after this death." I answered, "Put yourself then in the place of a man so afflicted and let us try to ascertain something about this matter." "It is well," he said. I then asked, "You acknowledge that God is just?" He answered, "I acknowledge that nothing is more true." Then I continued, "It is also just that good be repaid for good and evil for evil?" He replied, "That is true." "In this life," I went on, "that does not often happen. For some good people suffer nothing but troubles and adversity in this world, while
many evil persons rejoice in continual happiness, as the evidence of daily life teaches us.” Again he answered, “It is so.” “Then,” I resumed, “that will take place in another life, for it is impossible that God should not act justly. Therefore there will be another life and a resurrection of this flesh, when all who have merited either good or evil in this life must receive their reward.” To this he said, “This seems to me good beyond measure; you have wrested all doubt from my heart.”

By these and similar conversations his spirit was greatly refreshed. But let us return to our subject.

Amaury was excessively fat, with breasts like those of a woman hanging down to his waist. Nature had framed his other members with a kinder hand, however, for these displayed not merely ordinary comeliness, but, in fact, a rather unusual beauty. Not even his enemies could deny that in the use of bodily nourishment he was moderate and in regard to wine most abstemious.

4. Relates how, before his coronation, he was forced to put away the wife whom he had married contrary to the sacred canons.

While his brother Baldwin was still actively concerned in human affairs and was ruling the kingdom with success, Amaury had married Agnes, daughter of the younger Joscelin, count of Edessa. During the lifetime of his brother, he had by her two children: a son, Baldwin, whom his uncle received at the sacred font, and an older daughter, Sibylla, a namesake of the countess of Flanders, the sister of Baldwin and Amaury.

After the death of his brother, however, when Amaury claimed the kingdom devolving upon him by hereditary right, he was forced to put away his wife. It was in opposition to the expressed will of the Patriarch Fulcher, of revered memory, that he had espoused her in the beginning, for it was claimed that they were within the fourth degree of blood relationship, a fact which was later solemnly attested in the face of the church by relatives common to both. An annulment

8 The dialogue between the king and his chronicler recalls the conversations between Charlemagne and Alcuin, though the subject of the dialogue reveals the existence of some scepticism in secular circles of the twelfth century.

9 Robert of Torigni mentions this marriage as occurring in 1157.

10 Agnes must have been a woman of unusual attractiveness. She was already betrothed to one of the nobles of the kingdom, Hugh d'Ibelin, when Amaury became infatuated with her.
according to the forms of ecclesiastical law was pronounced, therefore, and the marriage dissolved in the presence of the Patriarch Amalrich, of good memory, and John, cardinal-priest of Saints John and Paul, the papal legate. The kinsmen of both parties attested the relationship by solemn oaths and swore that the facts were as had been stated. Provision was made, however, that the offspring of the two should be considered legitimate and should have full right of succession to the inheritance of their father.

Being curious about such matters, I later made a careful investigation as to the degree of relationship between the two. For at the time that this event took place at Jerusalem, I had not returned from the schools but was still sojourning beyond the sea, engaged in the study of the liberal arts. I finally learned the facts through the Lady Stephania, abbess of the convent of the Holy Mary the Elder (which was situated opposite the Sepulchre of the Lord at Jerusalem). This pious woman, noble both according to the flesh and by reason of her holy life, was the daughter of the elder Joscelin, count of Edessa, and the sister of Roger, prince of Antioch and son of Richard.11 Although she was now far advanced in years she remembered the details of the matter well and gave the genealogy of the two as follows.

Baldwin du Bourg, the second king of Jerusalem, a splendid man in every respect (of whose life and manners, as well as of his deeds both good and evil, we wrote at length when we were treating of his reign), and the elder Joscelin were sons of two sisters. Of Baldwin was born Queen Melisend; of Melisend were born the two kings Baldwin III and Amaury. Likewise of the elder Joscelin were born Joscelin the Younger, father of the Countess Agnes, wife in fact, though not in law, of Amaury, and her brother Joscelin III, now seneschal of the king and uncle of King Baldwin IV who is now reigning.12 Amaury remained unmarried for a time, but Agnes at once united herself in the bonds of matrimony with the noble and illustrious man, Hugh d’Ibelin, son of the older Balian. Hugh was the brother of Baldwin of Ramlah, who now rules that city, his brother having

11 Joscelin I had married the sister of Roger, after whose death he married the Armenian princess.

12 Joscelin III was made seneschal of the kingdom shortly after his release from captivity in 1176, a position which he held until 1190. His sister Agnes was doubtless responsible for his new start in life (see J. L. La Monte, “The Rise and Decline of a Frankish Seigneur in Syria in the Time of the Crusades,” Revue historique du Sud-Est européen, XV [1938], 301-20).
died without children, and of Balian the Younger, who married the widow of King Amaury. After Hugh's death and while Amaury was still living, Agnes entered into the same bonds of affection with Renaud of Sidon, son of Gerard. This alliance is said to have been not less illegal than her former relation to King Amaury. For Gerard, the father of Renaud, a blood relation of both as he certainly was, established by his sworn statement the consanguinity of these two, as he had heard it from his ancestors. A second annulment consequently followed in the manner already described.

5. The king goes down into Egypt. A battle is fought with Dirgham the sultan. Shawar introduces Shirkuh into Egypt. Dirgham sends envoys to the king to sue for peace.

After Amaury had been established on the throne and during the first year of his reign, the Egyptians refused to pay the annual tribute according to the agreement which they had made with his brother. The king thereupon assembled a strong force of knights and a large army and, about the first of September, descended upon Egypt with a great host. Dargan [Dirgham], the governor of that kingdom, who in that tongue is called the sultan, marched out against him at the head of a countless multitude and did not hesitate to risk an encounter in the desert on this side of Egypt. He was unable to sustain the attack of the Christians, however, and, after losing the greater part of his men either by capture or death, he was forced to retreat with the remnant of his army to the nearest city, which in the Egyptian tongue is called Belbeis [Balbis]. The Egyptians now feared that the king, after accomplishing this feat, might decide to lead his armies against the more remote parts of the realm. In despair, therefore, of finding any other remedy against our inroads, they broke down the retaining dykes which held back the overflow of the Nile until the proper season, and let in the waters of the river now swollen by its usual increase. By these barriers, at least, they might hope to prevent the further advance of their foes and, by the help of the all-pervading waters, secure their safety.

13 According to Wiet, this promise to pay tribute was a result of Baldwin's campaign to al-Arish in the early part of 1161. William failed to mention the expedition (see G. Wiet, L'Egypte arabe de la conquête Arabe à la conquête ottomane, 642-1517 de l'ère chrétienne, p. 291).
Thereupon the king returned victorious and covered with glory to his realm. He had triumphed over his enemies and had completed a successful campaign.\textsuperscript{14}

Shortly before this, Dirgham, now governor and sultan of all Egypt, as has been said, had driven out from that same office another powerful lord called Shawar.\textsuperscript{15} This change was effected partly by force and partly by strategy. Shawar succeeded in making good his escape, and with his friends and retainers and all the treasures which he could carry away, he betook himself to his fellow tribesmen, the Arabs, to seek their aid. There he lay in hiding among his own people, as has been said, to await the outcome of the matter and the result of the war. He hoped that a favorable opportunity would soon present itself when he might turn the tables against his rival. Information of the king’s return to his own land reached him, together with the news that his adversary continued to be strong and powerful as ruler. Dirgham had indeed become more arrogant than ever. He boasted vain-gloriously of the fact that he had conquered in battle a mighty chief and had forced him to retreat without causing great injury to the land. Thereupon Shawar hastened to the powerful prince Nureddin, the king of Damascus, and begged his aid. He desired to return to Egypt, drive out his rival Dirgham, and again obtain control of the kingdom. Induced by gifts and promises, Nureddin readily agreed to this proposition, for he hoped that if once his army were introduced into Egypt, he might seize the kingdom himself. He assigned to Shawar the chief of his knights, Shirkuh, an able and energetic warrior, eager for glory and of wide experience in military affairs. Generous far beyond the resources of his patrimony, Shirkuh was beloved by his followers because of this munificence. He was small of stature, very stout and fat and already advanced in years. Though of lowly origin, he had become rich and had risen by merit from his humble estate to the rank of a prince. He was afflicted with cataract in one eye. He was a man of great endurance under hardships, one who bore hunger and thirst with an equanimity quite unusual for that time of

\textsuperscript{14} There is some controversy about the date of this expedition. Röhrich and Schlumberger place it in the fall of 1163. Derenbourg and Wiet insist upon 1162 as the date. Wiet regards the matter as settled by a poem of congratulation addressed to Ruzzik, who ceased to be vizier December 28, 1162 (see Wiet, \textit{L’Égypte arabe}, p. 291).

\textsuperscript{15} Shawar succeeded Ruzzik as vizier, obtaining the office by force early in 1163. He himself was driven out by Dirgham in August, 1163 (see Wiet, \textit{L’Égypte arabe}, p. 292).
life. Such was the man whom Nureddin sent to Egypt with a great army.\(^16\)

Messengers were constantly going to and fro. From them and from common report as well, Sultan Dirgham learned that the enemy whom he had once driven out was returning with a Turkish army of many thousands. As he had little confidence in his own strength, the sultan was forced to beg for assistance. He dispatched envoys to the king with messages of peace, wherein he earnestly pleaded for aid against the enemy who was now threatening to attack him. He promised to pay not only the tribute originally agreed upon with King Baldwin, but a larger amount to be fixed as the king determined. He also declared that he was prepared to give hostages in token of perpetual subjection and an alliance for all time.

6. Peter, archbishop of Tyre, dies. He is succeeded by Frederick, bishop of Acre.

About the same time, on March 1 in the second year of King Amaury’s reign, Peter, the venerable archbishop of Tyre of pious memory in the Lord, went the way of all flesh.\(^17\) Within a few days—in fact, before the month passed—Frederick, bishop of Acre and suffragan of the same church, was appointed in his stead at the express desire of the king.

Frederick, a Lotharingian by birth, was noble according to the flesh. He was an extremely tall man. He possessed little education but was inordinately devoted to the art of war.

7. Dirgham, the sultan of Egypt, is slain by the machinations of his own people. Shawar becomes sultan. He invites the king to come to his aid. The king goes down into Egypt. Shirkuh is driven out by force.

Meanwhile the Egyptian envoys were negotiating with the king and, in fact, had practically arrived at a satisfactory agreement. Before they could return to their own country, however, the aforesaid Shawar and

\(^16\) Shirkuh had figured prominently in the capture of Damascus. Despite his own great achievements as a warrior, he is remembered chiefly as the uncle of Saladin, under whom the latter received his training in military affairs.

\(^17\) There is some uncertainty about this year. The evidence of the charters would indicate March, 1164, as the probable date (see R. Röhrich, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani, nos. 385 and 397).
Shirkuh had entered Egypt with all their forces and had met the sultan Dirgham in battle. In the first engagement they were vanquished and suffered a severe defeat. However, before they could try their fortune in a second battle under the same conditions, Dirgham was struck by an arrow sent by the hand of one of his own men and perished, greatly lamented by his followers. Upon his death, Shawar entered Cairo as victor, just as he had desired. He put to the sword all the friends, relations, and retainers of Dirgham who could be found and again assumed his former official position. For it is a matter of indifference to a supreme ruler whether one rival claimant or the other wins, as long as there is someone who will devote himself slavishly to the care of his lord’s personal affairs and to those of the realm.

Shirkuh at once attacked the neighboring city of Balbis and began to claim that city as his own. By his deeds and possibly by his words, he showed that he intended, if fortune favored him, to bring the other parts of that kingdom under his own power, in spite of the sultan and the caliph. Before long, Shawar began to fear that by introducing such a guest he had injured his own cause as well as that of his master and had received one who, “like a mouse in the wardrobe and a serpent in the bosom,” would poorly requite his hosts. As speedily as possible, therefore, he dispatched envoys to the king in Syria, charged with messages of peace. They were empowered to carry out at once, not merely by word but by action, the terms of the agreement formerly concluded between the lord king and the Sultan Dirgham and, if necessary, to offer even greater inducements.

As soon as the pact had been confirmed by both parties, the king, in the second year of his reign, marched forth at the head of his entire army and went down to Egypt a second time. There he was joined by Shawar with the Egyptian forces, and together they besieged Shirkuh in the city of Balbis, whither he had retired as into his own citadel. After a long siege, Shirkuh was finally forced through exhaustion and lack of provisions to surrender the place. The terms demanded were that he be permitted to depart to his own land with all his forces freely and without hindrance. This was granted; thereupon he abandoned the city and returned by way of the desert to Damascus.

18 The death of Dirgham occurred in a battle under the walls of Cairo, August, 1164 (Wiet, L’Égypte arabe, p. 294).
19 This campaign of Amaury’s was carried on during the fall of 1164 (Wiet, L’Égypte arabe, pp. 294–95).
8. Nureddin is defeated in the country around Tripoli and barely escapes from the hands of the Christians by flight.

Nureddin was at this time sojourning in the environs of Tripoli, at a place commonly known as La Boquée. The great elation which he felt over his victories had had the effect of rendering him somewhat careless, and as a result he suffered a disaster which was almost irreparable. Just at this time, certain nobles had come from the land of Aquitaine on a pilgrimage for the sake of prayer. Among them were Godfrey, surnamed Martel, a brother of the count of Angoulême, and Hugh de Lusignan the Elder, who was surnamed the Brown. After their devotions were accomplished according to custom, they proceeded to the land of Antioch. Here they learned that Nureddin was still with his army in the vicinity of Tripoli at the place named above. In too great fancied security, he was enjoying at his leisure a period of rest and relaxation. The Christians accordingly gathered their forces and made a sudden attack upon his army. Nureddin was taken by surprise; many of his men were made prisoners, and still more perished by the sword; in fact, his army was almost annihilated. The prince himself, in despair of his very life, fled in utter confusion. All the baggage and even his sword were abandoned. Barefooted and mounted on a beast of burden, he barely escaped capture at the hands of our forces. But the Christians, laden with spoils and manifold riches, returned victorious to their own land.

Gilbert de Lacy, a nobleman of high rank, an experienced warrior and commander of the Knights Templars in those parts, led this expedition. He was assisted by the two great men named above, by Robert Mansel who commanded the Galensians on that expedition, and by some other knights.  

9. Nureddin lays siege to the fortress of Harim in the land of Antioch. The prince of Antioch, the count of Tripoli, and Colman, the governor of Cilicia, are taken prisoners.

Nureddin, extremely angry and filled with confusion and fear, was overwhelmed with dismay at this unlucky disaster. Anxious to wipe out the disgrace and to avenge his own injuries as well as those of

20 This defeat of Nureddin must have taken place late in 1163 at the very latest (see F. Lundgreen, Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden, pp. 99-100).
his people, he besought aid from relatives and friends. There was scarcely a prince in the East on whom he did not call as a suppliant, now entreaty assistance by prayers and again by promise of reward. Meanwhile, he recruited his own strength and collected military reinforcements from all sides. With a great host and thousands of knights assembled in this way, he laid siege to Harim, one of the Christian strongholds in the land of Antioch. He stationed his engines around it in the customary manner and began to assault the place with a fury which permitted the inhabitants no rest.

The leaders of the Christians were soon informed of his activities. At once all the forces, both infantry and cavalry, that could be gathered anywhere, hastened to Harim. These included Bohemond III, prince of Antioch, the son of Raymond; the younger Raymond, count of Tripoli, son of Count Raymond; Calamanus [Colman], the governor of Cilicia, a kinsman of the emperor, in charge of the imperial affairs in that province; and Thoros, a very powerful Armenian prince. They marched with forces drawn up in battle formation, determined to relieve the siege in spite of Nureddin’s efforts.

But that prince and the Parthian leaders associated with him, after consultation, decided that it would be safer to raise the siege and depart of their own accord, rather than to risk encountering the enemy who were now almost upon them. They therefore arranged the baggage and endeavored to make good their retreat. But the Christians, emboldened by the success that had attended their efforts, started in pursuit. They could not rest content with having relieved the citizens from the siege at the hand of these great princes. So, regardless of the rules of military discipline, they recklessly dispersed and roved hither and yon in pursuit of the foe. Suddenly the Turks rallied, regained their courage and strength, and turned upon them. Trapped in a confined and swampy place, the Christians broke ranks at the first charge, and those who shortly before had caused the utmost terror in the ranks of the Turks became the pitiful sport of that same enemy. Overwhelmed and shattered by the swords of the enemy, they were shamefully slain like victims before the altar. No one called to mind his former valor; no one, remembering his own prestige and that of his fathers, strove to avert disaster or to fight for the defense of liberty and the glory of his ancestors. Regardless of honor all threw down their arms precipitately and ignominiously begged for life, which
would have been better expended in fighting manfully for the fatherland as an example for posterity.

At this crisis, Thoros the Armenian, perceiving that the Turks were gaining the upper hand and that the Christians, on the contrary, had succumbed, decided to save himself by flight and withdrew from the tumult of battle. From the first he had opposed the pursuit of the Turks and had endeavored to dissuade the Christians from attempting it, but the foolish advice of others prevailed.

To save their lives even at the cost of shame and reproach, Bohemond, prince of Antioch, and Raymond, count of Tripoli, surrendered to the enemy. Colman, the governor of Cilicia, Hugh de Lusignan, who was mentioned above, Joscelin III, son of Joscelin II, count of Edessa, and many other nobles followed the same course. Chained like the lowest slaves, they were led ignominiously to Aleppo, where they were cast into prison and became the sport of the infidels.

Encouraged by this success and great good fortune, Nureddin and his allies again attacked the stronghold which they had been besieging before and this time with more confidence. Siege operations were once more resumed, and within a few days the place was captured by force.

This event happened on the fourth day before the Ides of August, in the year 1165 of the Incarnation of our Lord and the second year of King Amaury's reign. The king himself was still in Egypt at this time, detained there by his own affairs.21


These great changes and dire disasters so seriously affected the condition of the Christians that they were reduced almost to the last extremity. No ray of hope now remained. All with despairing hearts were daily dreading worse misfortunes, when Thierry, count of Flanders, arrived. He was accompanied by his wife, the king's sister, a religious and God-fearing woman, and followed by a goodly company of knights.22 The people universally welcomed him with rejoicing,

21 The year 1165 is obviously wrong, perhaps a copyist's error. William clearly intends to correlate these events with Amaury's expedition into Egypt in 1164.

22 This was the fourth journey of Thierry of Flanders to the Holy Land. He had entrusted the county of Flanders to his son, Philip. According to Robert of Torigni, who notes Thierry's departure under the year 1164, Sibylla had remained in Jerusalem with Iveta, abbess of St. Lazarus in Bethany, when Thierry went home in 1158 (see
for he seemed a very present help, like unto a pleasant breeze after the intense heat of the sun, and by his support they hoped that they might be able to hold out until the king and the Christian army should return. But, alas, this state of serenity, bright as it was, was soon dispelled by a dense cloud which suddenly arose and turned all into darkness. For Nureddin had become so arrogant through his success that he determined to seize the opportunity to besiege the city of Banyas. Well he knew that the kingdom was stripped of its customary defenders, for the king was absent with the entire military strength of the realm and the principal leaders were his own prisoners.

Banyas is a very ancient city situated at the base of the famous Mt. Lebanon. During very early times, in the days of the people of Israel, it was called Dan. It was the northern boundary of the Israelitish possessions, just as Beersheba was the southern, and, accordingly, when the length of the Land of Promise is described it is spoken of as “from Dan to Beersheba.” Philip, son of the elder Herod, tetrarch of Iturea and the region of the Traonites, as one reads in Luke, enlarged it during his time in honor of Tiberius Caesar and in order to preserve his own name forever called it Caesarea Philippi. It is also known as Paneas, but our Latins corrupted the name, as is generally their custom with names of cities, and called it Belinas. On the east it borders upon the land of Damascus, near the place where the two streams of the Jordan have their origin. This is the city which is spoken of in the Gospel where it is written that “When Jesus came into the coasts of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples,” and so on. Here also it was that Peter, the prince of the disciples, received the keys of the kingdom of Heaven from the Lord as the reward of his excellent confession.

To this place Nureddin laid siege. He found it undefended, for Humphrey, the royal constable to whom it belonged by hereditary right, was absent with the king in Egypt. The bishop of the place was also away and the population had been greatly diminished by slaughter. Machines and engines of war were at once set up in position round about, the wall was undermined and the towers weakened for the most part by constant volleys of stones. Within a few days, therefore,
it was taken. The people within were forced to surrender, on condition, however, that they should be permitted to leave the city unmolested with all their goods. Thus, in the year 1167 of the Incarnation of our Lord, Nureddin took over the city. This event occurred in the second year of King Amaury's reign, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of November.²⁶

On departing for Egypt, the lord constable had put Banyas in charge of one of his own loyal knights, Walter de Quesnoy. It is affirmed by some that this man was negligent in defending the place. It is rumored further that in collusion with a priest named Roger, a canon of that church, he treacherously accepted a bribe in return for effecting the surrender. Consequently, the two traitors were greatly terrified when the king returned from Egypt, lest they be put to death. We have no trustworthy information on these points, however, except that the city was surrendered to the enemy.

¹¹. On his return from Egypt, the king repairs to Antioch. The prince is restored to liberty on payment of a ransom. The cavern at Sidon is surrendered to the Turks. They also gain possession of another cave beyond Jordan.

This, then, was the situation in Syria. Meanwhile, the king had driven Shirkuh from the land of Egypt and established Shawar in the government as sultan. He now returned, a glorious conqueror, to his own land. There he learned of the sad events which had taken place in the kingdom. Although some information of all this had reached him before, he now listened to a detailed account of the disasters and heard that the people of Antioch, in an almost desperate situation, had appealed to him for aid.²⁷ Accordingly, in brotherly pity and compassion, he took with him the count of Flanders and hurried by forced marches to Antioch to render the assistance so greatly needed by that afflicted land. On his arrival he at once assumed charge of the prince's affairs. These he managed faithfully and well with even more care

²⁶ Elsewhere William has indicated 1164 as the second year of Amaury's reign. The use of 1167 must therefore be regarded either as a copyist's error or a slip of William's pen due to haste, for he obviously relates this to Amaury's absence in Egypt in 1164. W. B. Stevenson (The Crusaders in the East, p. 189) dates the capture of Banyas October 18, 1164.

²⁷ The news of Nureddin's activities behind him may have prevented Amaury from following up his success by further penetration of Egypt.
than he ordinarily gave to his own concerns. He governed both nobles and people with great kindness and wise foresight. In each city he placed a capable man to take faithful and sensible charge of all matters pertaining to the prince’s domain, after which he returned to his own kingdom. With the assistance of loyal followers and friends of the prince, however, he continued to interest himself in the matter of that lord’s ransom. As the result of his active efforts, the prince, on payment of a large sum of money, was restored that same summer to his former state of honor and liberty. His captivity among the enemy had lasted for nearly a year. Bohemond did not rest in idleness after his return to Antioch but displayed great energy in raising the ransom for the hostages he had given so that their return also might not be delayed. A short time before this the emperor of Constantinople had married the prince’s youngest sister, Maria. Thither [Bohemond] hastened. He was received by the emperor with honorable and kindly treatment and, after a short visit, returned to Antioch, laden with munificent gifts from his imperial majesty.

It seems strange that Nureddin, wise and far-seeing prince that he was, should have consented to release the prince of Antioch so soon. He was always loath to free Christian captives and gloried above all in the fact that he held many of our people, especially those of high rank, as his prisoners. Two possible solutions of this problem occur to me. He may have feared that the emperor would intervene; that the mighty potentate, whose request he would not dare refuse, might demand that he restore the prince without ransom. He may also have considered the possibility that the people of Antioch, if their prince were detained too long, might provide for their interests by choosing a stronger ruler in the place of Bohemond, for the prince was a youth who gave little promise of future good. Thus a more formidable adversary might be raised up against himself. Hence, Nureddin, shrewd and provident, deemed it better for his own interests that Bohemond should continue to rule at Antioch, for he too looked for little good from him. A wiser and more powerful prince placed in that position might be more difficult to deal with. This latter theory, in my opinion, explains the real motives which governed this most sagacious prince.

28 Bohemond III was released in the summer of 1165, as much the result of the military success of Thoros of Armenia as of Amaury’s powers of persuasion.
29 Nureddin still held a number of important Latin princes, including Renaud de Châtillon and Raymond III of Tripoli. He had held Joscelin II captive for nine years.
About the same time Shirkuh, so often mentioned, a man bent on destroying the Christians, seized a fortress belonging to the Christians near Sidon suddenly and without warning. The place was known as the cave of Tyre and was considered impregnable. It is said that the capture was accomplished by bribing the custodians. That the fortress had fallen into the enemy's hands through collusion with its guardians was quite apparent, for as soon as it was surrendered all those within escaped to the enemy's country, with the exception of their chief. By a lucky chance he was caught and came to a miserable end at Sidon, where he was hanged.

During this same year, William, king of Sicily, of illustrious renown, the son of King Roger, was overtaken by death. About this same time, also, a fortress of similar nature, that is, an impregnable cave, lying beyond Jordan on the borders of Arabia, was likewise surrendered to Shirkuh by the brothers of the Knights Templars, to whose care it had been confided. The king hurried to its rescue with a goodly company of knights, but while he was encamped on the banks of the Jordan, news came that the stronghold had already fallen into the hands of the enemy. Disconcerted and infuriated at this news, the king caused about twelve of the Templars responsible for the surrender to be hanged from a gallows.

Thus, during that year which was the third of King Amaury's reign, the Christians suffered many reverses, and, because of our sins, the entire kingdom was in a very parlous state.

It was only under pressure that he released such prisoners, the threat of Manuel's invasion being the most striking instance. This was another. Ordinary offers of ransom did not tempt him. Perhaps William is justified in his speculation as to Nureddin's reason for releasing Bohemond. Röhrich suggests a more probable reason in the threat of another attack by Manuel (R. Röhrich, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100-1291, p. 319).

30 William I of Sicily died May 7, 1166, and was succeeded by his son William II, who was only thirteen years old (see F. Chalandon, Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile, II, 303-305).

31 William's date for this tragedy is in Amaury's third year, or 1165. Lundgreen, who places it in 1166, is unable to find any other authority for the hanging of the Templars and questions William's statement without being able to refute it (Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Tempelorden, p. 101).
12. The return of the writer of this history to his own land is described and something of his progress is related.

[The text of this chapter does not appear in any of the extant manuscripts.]

13. Shirkuh goes down into Egypt at the head of a large body of soldiery.

This, then, was the situation among our people at that time. Meanwhile a persistent story emanating from various sources was widely circulated. It was said that Shirkuh at the head of a mighty force of knights gathered from the lands of the East and the North was preparing to descend again in martial splendor upon the land of Egypt. Nor was this report without foundation. For Shirkuh had visited the caliph of Bagdad, that greatest of all Saracen rulers, he who far excels all others and is recognized as the supreme monarch over all. On his arrival there, Shirkuh offered the customary salutation and then began to describe in great detail the immense wealth of Egypt. He told of the marvellous abundance of all good things there and of each individual commodity; the inestimable treasures belonging to the prince himself; the imposts and taxes from the cities both on the coast and farther inland; and the vast amount of annual revenue. He added that the people, devoted to luxurious living and ignorant of the science of war, had become enervated through a period of long-continued peace. Again and again he endeavored to impress upon the caliph's mind the fact that the prince now ruling Egypt, and his ancestors as well, had raised up a rival caliph in opposition to himself [the caliph of Bagdad] and his predecessors. This caliph, they had insolently

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32 Prutz has various conjectures regarding this missing material (H. Prutz, "Studien über Wilhelm von Tyrus" Neues Archiv, VIII, 98–99). If the assumption that William had not been able to finish this work is correct and that the unfinished portion was that of the years 1160–1166 inclusive, the most reasonable explanation is that William did not write it. He had planned the chapters for the whole work, which accounts for the captions, but in his haste had been unable to fill it out. The very sketchy nature of the chapters preceding this lends further support to the explanation. His absence from Palestine during a part of this period may, as noted above, account for the vagueness of the material for the years from 1160 to 1163 inclusive, while the relative fullness and accuracy of related events in 1164 would indicate that he was then back in the Holy Land. If so, only the haste of closing his work would explain the few entries for 1165 and almost none for 1166. The contrasting fullness of the next year, with which he probably began his work as historian, emphasizes this possibility.
dared to claim, was on an equality with his own unparalleled excellency. Moreover, they had assumed to teach another law and traditions directly opposed to those of the caliph. By reiterating such suggestions Shirkuh so wrought upon the caliph’s mind that he was induced to carry out the sultan’s will. He wrote to all the princes who accepted his false doctrines and commanded them strictly to muster their forces and follow Shirkuh to lend him aid.33

When Amaury heard this news, he called a general assembly at Nablus to devise means of anticipating and forestalling the caliph’s designs. There, in the presence of the patriarch, the archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries of the church as well as the barons and all the people, he explained with great care the danger which threatened the kingdom and earnestly besought their aid. In view of the circumstances, it was thereupon unanimously decided that everyone without exception should give one-tenth of all movable property toward the relief of the kingdom. This decree was put into effect.

The report continued to circulate that Shirkuh, well supplied with the requisite food for many days and an abundant provision of water carried in skins, had already started on his march through the desert, over the route by which the children of Israel had entered the Land of Promise. The king thereupon mustered all his available cavalry and set out in haste to meet him and oppose his progress. He advanced as far as Kades-Barnea in the desert, but not finding Shirkuh there, he at once retraced his course.

14. _The king, following Shirkuh, likewise goes down to Egypt to assist the Egyptians._

The heralds were now ordered to summon from every city the entire military strength of the kingdom, both infantry and cavalry. The forces were directed to concentrate at Ascalon.34 On January 30, the army set forth, carrying with them the necessary supply of food for the journey, and by forced marches crossed the vast wilderness with lies between Gaza, the last city of our kingdom, and the land of Egypt.

33 This account of the situation in Egypt is quite evidently made without regard to the previous chapters, another reason for concluding that William began his history at this point.

34 The preliminaries of this campaign, including the council of Nablus, must have reached back into the fall of 1166. The march began from Ascalon on January 30, 1167.
At al-Arish, an ancient fortress in the desert, they held a census of their forces and awaited the rest of the army. The army as a whole finally reached the city now known as Balbis, although in ancient times it was called Pelusium and as such is often mentioned in the Prophets.

When the Sultan Shawar learned that the king had come, he was seized with terror. Dismayed at the sudden appearance of the Christians, he doubted the good faith of the oncoming host and feared that the martial array might be directed against himself. He was, in general, a wise and able ruler and was considered particularly farsighted, but on this occasion he displayed cowardice and gross ignorance. Although informed of the reason for our coming, he could scarcely believe it true. Finally, almost too late and reluctantly, he dispatched scouts to the desert to obtain definite information about the enemy's movements. On their return, the messengers reported that the Turkish army had reached Attasi. Then, indeed, the sultan marvelled at the sincere loyalty of the Christians and praised them highly. In recognition of the solicitude which the Christian army had shown for their Egyptian allies, he placed at the disposal of the king all the riches, both of the kingdom and of the caliph. Moreover, from that day forth, he showed great zeal in carrying out all the king's wishes. Accordingly, Amaury freely availed himself of this help whenever he had need.

15. A description of Cairo and some remarks on the founder of the city.

The Christians proceeded on their way past the cities of Balbis and Cairo, of which the latter, with its magnificent buildings, was displayed as the seat of royal power and the supreme glory of Egypt. With the noble and famous city commonly called Babylon [Babilyun], but known in the Arabic tongue as Macer, on the left, they established the camp on the bank of the Nile. We have been unable to discover what name this city bore in ancient times. Babylon or

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35 This place was later called Farama, or al-Farama.
36 Babilyun was a strong fortress at the time of the Arab conquest. It was the scene of a pitched battle and a long siege. The fortress was captured April 6, 641. The city of Cairo was built later just north of Babilyun. It was probably from Babilyun that the Westerners derived their name for Egypt, which they commonly called "Babylon." William is right in refusing to identify it with ancient Memphis, which he correctly located some ten miles farther up the Nile.
37 "Macer" is of Egyptian origin and is more correctly spelled Misr, which is today the official name for Egypt.
Babylonia was a very ancient city in the Orient, but histories relating to very early times do not refer to any city of this name as ever existing in Egypt. It is probable, therefore, that this place was founded not only after the time of the Pharaohs, who were the first to reign in Egypt, and after that of the Ptolemies, who ruled later, but even subsequent to the period of the Romans, who reduced Egypt to a province. As to Cairo, this city is known to have been founded by Johar [Jawhar], commander in chief of the forces of Mehezedinalla [Muizz]. This ruler was at that time reigning in Africa after Jawhar had won for him all the land of Egypt. How this happened will be related farther on.

Yet some writers confidently assert that this Babilyun is the ancient Memphis, that noble and far-famed city, so often mentioned in ancient histories and in the Prophets, and which is said to have been the capital and queen of that whole kingdom and of many neighboring provinces. But ten miles beyond the Nile which flows by this Babilyun of which we are speaking there still exists a venerable city of vast extent where there are still evidences of bygone grandeur, and this the dwellers in those parts positively assert is the Memphis of antiquity.

It is quite probable, therefore, that the people of Memphis, either through necessity or because this site offered greater advantages, transferred their homes to the other side of the river and at that time, or possibly later, changed the original name.

We consider it definitely established also that it was Jawhar who built Cairo. As has been said above, he had been sent from Africa with the armies of the great prince Muizz to conquer Egypt. In the year 358 of the Muslim era, after he had won the entire land and made the people tributary, Jawhar established this city near Babilyun, and it became the principal and favorite residence of his master. Three years later, Muizz left Kairawan, which had been the seat of his kingdom for some years, and, according to the intentions of the prince, made this place glorious as the capital of his kingdom and his own

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38 This is a clear indication that William used more than one Arabic source for his history of Egypt. His conclusion regarding the Fatimid conquest of Egypt and the founding of Cairo is in accord with the best modern research. The year 358 A.H. extended from November 24, 968, to November 13, 969 A.D. The construction of Cairo was completed June 22, 972, and the caliph established himself there June 11, 973 (see Wiet, L'Égypte arabe, pp. 179–88). This passage is almost the only one in which William specifically cites the Muslim era, though he frequently uses the reckoning.
residence. This occurred in the year 361 of the Muslim calendar and the twentieth of Muizz's own rule, as has been thoroughly narrated elsewhere in our history of the princes of the Orient.

16. *The king marches forth to meet Shirkuh, but the latter, anticipating such action, crosses the river.*

When the Christians had established their camp on the banks of the river less than two stadia from the city just mentioned, they held a council. After long deliberation and the careful consideration of diverse opinions, they judged it best to march out to encounter Shirkuh and his forces before they should cross the river. To prevent him from entering the kingdom would be far wiser than to join battle after his hosts had made the passage, when the difficulty of recrossing would cause them to fight more desperately.

They broke camp, therefore, and marched rapidly toward the spot where the enemy was supposed to be. This was reported as about ten miles from the place where our forces had earlier encamped. On reaching the spot, however, they found that Shirkuh, a very sagacious leader, had already made the crossing with nearly all his troops. Only a few remained, and these our men at once seized and bound. When questioned, they gave the Christians a great deal of useful information, especially in relation to Shirkuh's passage of the river and the number of his troops.

A fact that was unknown to our people was disclosed by their story, namely, that after their forces had passed Syria Sobal in the desert a terrible whirlwind suddenly sprang up. Particles of sand raised aloft swirled through the air like clouds or dense fog. The men dared not open their mouths to speak to one another, nor could they keep their eyes open. Dismounting from their horses, they lay prostrate clinging to the ground, their hands pressed into the sand as far as possible, lest they be swept aloft by the violence of the whirlwind and again dashed to the ground. For in that desert waves of sand like those of the sea are wont to rise and fall as in a tempest, a fact that renders the crossing of these perilous reaches not less dangerous than sailing over the sea. At last, pleasant weather returned, and after several days spent in wandering aimlessly here and there, un-

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Kairawan, which is so easily confused with Cairo, is located a short distance south-east of Tunis. It had been the earlier Fatimid capital.
certain of the route and hoping only for life, they reached Egypt, as has been related. Their camels and the greater part of their supplies were lost; many of their people were dead, and still more were scattered over the vast wastes of the far-reaching sands.

When it became evident that Shirkuh and his host had already crossed the river, our army retraced their steps along the route by which they had come and again encamped on the riverbank near the city which they had left earlier.

17. Shawar, the sultan, renews the treaty in order to keep the king with him.

Shawar now realized that it was impossible for him to resist the foes who had penetrated to the very heart of his kingdom, or to drive them from the land except by the assistance of the king. He anxiously sought the most effective means, therefore, by which he might keep the king in Egypt, for he feared that Amaury, weary of the great hardships, might resolve to return to his own land. In fact, the only means of keeping the king in the land seemed to be by offering him a larger amount of tribute and promising an adequate sum for the expenses of himself and his barons.

He resolved therefore—and the proposition seemed good to the Christians also—to renew the old agreements and to establish a treaty of perpetual peace between the king and the caliph on an inviolable and stable basis. The annual tribute was to be increased and a fixed payment guaranteed to the king from the treasury of the caliph, for the matter was apparently one that could not easily be accomplished without the expenditure of much labor and time. After examining the demands and wishes of both parties, those in charge of arranging the treaty and the stipulations thereof decided that four hundred thousand pieces of gold should be allowed the king. Of this amount two hundred thousand was to be paid at once and the remaining two hundred thousand was to be sent without any trouble at certain specified times. The terms were as follows: "that the king should guarantee with his own hand, in good faith, without fraud or evil intent, that he would not depart from the land of Egypt until Shirkuh and his entire army should be utterly destroyed or entirely driven from the territories thereof." These terms met with the approval of both parties, and in token of his agreement to the treaty the king extended his
right hand to the caliph's representatives. At the same time, however, he sent Hugh of Caesarea, a young man of admirable wisdom and discretion far beyond his years, with several others to obtain the caliph's ratification of the covenant by the hand of Hugh, according to the stipulations agreed upon; for the sultan's guarantee alone in this matter seemed insufficient.

18. Envoys are sent to obtain the renewal of the treaty from the caliph. The magnificence of the royal palace is described.

Since the palace of that monarch is unique and after a fashion quite unfamiliar to our world, I have deemed it well to set down in detail what I have learned from the trustworthy accounts of those who visited that great prince, to describe his state and grandeur, his vast riches, and exceeding magnificence. To have an accurate understanding of all this will surely be of no slight advantage to my readers.

Hugh of Caesarea, accompanied by Geoffrey Fulcher, a knight of the Temple, entered Cairo under the escort of the sultan, as chief of the embassy which was sent thither. On arriving at the palace, which in the Egyptian language is called Cascare, they were led through narrow passages entirely without light, preceded by a numerous and noisy throng of attendants armed with swords. At each entrance they found bands of armed Ethiopians who zealously showed their reverence for the sultan by repeated salutations.

After passing the first and second guards, they were conducted into a large and spacious court open to the sky which freely admitted the sun's rays. There, supported by columns of marble covered with designs in relief were promenades with fretted and gilded ceilings and pavements of various colored stones. Throughout the entire circuit royal magnificence prevailed. So elegant was both material and workmanship that involuntarily the eyes of all who saw it were ravished by the rare beauty and never wearied of the sight. There were marble fishpools filled with limpid waters; there were birds of many kinds, unknown to our part of the world. These were larger than those familiar to us, their forms were unusual, their colors strange, and their songs different. The food of each varied according to its species and was suited to its own kind.

40 This term is an Arabic loan-word from the Latin name for fortress, castrum. It acquired a new dignity in becoming identified with a "palace."
From this court the chief eunuch led them still further on, where they saw buildings which surpassed in elegance those recently seen, just as the latter had seemed more splendid than common and ordinary structures. Here was an amazing variety of animals such as the playful hand of the painter or the imagination of the poet loves to picture, or such as the mind sees in the visions of the night—creatures such as are often found in the countries of the East and the South but which are never seen and rarely heard of in the West. Undoubtedly it was from these places that our Solinus derived the account contained in his Polyhistor.\(^{41}\)

19. *The treaty is concluded, and in confirmation thereof, the caliph gives his right hand to Hugh of Caesarea.*

After passing through many winding passages and devious ways, whose wonders might well detain even the busiest of men in contemplation, they reached the palace itself. Here still larger groups of armed men and throngs of attending satellites testified by their appearance and numbers to the incomparable glory of their lord. The very aspect of the place gave indisputable proof of the opulence and extraordinary riches of the monarch.

They approached and were admitted to the inner part of the palace. Here the sultan showed the usual reverence to his lord, according to custom; twice he prostrated himself on the ground and humbly offered as to a divinity due worship and a kind of abject adoration. Then for a third time bowing to the ground, he laid down the sword which he wore suspended from his neck. Thereupon the curtains embroidered with pearls and gold, which hung down and hid the throne, were drawn aside with marvellous rapidity, and the caliph was revealed with face unveiled. Seated on a throne of gold, surrounded by some of his privy counsellors and eunuchs, he presented an appearance more than regal.\(^{42}\)

With all reverence, the sultan approached him and, humbly imprint-

\(^{41}\) Solinus does not make special mention of many birds in his discussion of Egypt, though he does mention animals. William's statement indicates a general familiarity with the whole work.

\(^{42}\) This was Caliph Adid, who reigned 1160–1171. He was a cousin, not a son, of the previous caliph, Faiz, and was about sixteen or seventeen years old at this time. William derived this account of the palace and its ceremonial directly from Hugh of Caesarea. The contrast in manners described in this chapter suggests that the Latins in the East had not yet lost all their Western ways.
ing a kiss upon the foot of the seated monarch, stated the reason for the envoys' visit, the provisions of the treaty, and the urgent needs of the kingdom. He explained that an enormous hostile force was standing in the very heart of the empire and in a few words stated what was asked of the caliph and what would be rendered by the king in return. To this the caliph, with cheerful and undisturbed countenance, very affably responded that he was ready to fulfil all the stipulations of the treaty that had been arranged and accepted by both parties, and that with a most liberal interpretation, because of his own regard for the king.

The Christians then requested that he confirm this statement with his own hand as the king had done. At first, the courtiers who surrounded him, as well as his counsellors and gentlemen of the chamber, on whom rested the responsibility of the royal plans, were shocked at the suggestion, as a thing utterly beyond comprehension. Finally, however, after long deliberation, at the persistent urging of the sultan, he very reluctantly extended his hand covered. Then, to the consternation of the Egyptians, who were amazed that anyone should talk so freely to their supreme lord, Hugh of Caesarea said to him: "Sire, good faith has nothing to conceal, but when princes bind themselves together in true loyalty everything ought to be open; and everything which is inserted in good faith in any pact should be confirmed or refused with frank sincerity. Therefore, unless you offer your hand bared we shall be obliged to think that, on your part, there is some reservation or some lack of sincerity."

Finally, with extreme unwillingness, as if it detracted from his majesty, yet with a slight smile which greatly aggrieved the Egyptians, he put his uncovered hand into that of Hugh. He repeated, almost syllable by syllable, the words of Hugh as he dictated the formula of the treaty and swore that he would keep the stipulations thereof, "in good faith, without fraud or evil intent." The caliph was, as Hugh reported to us, a young man of an extremely generous disposition whose first beard was just appearing; he was tall, of swarthy complexion and good frame. He had a large number of wives.

After dismissing the envoys, he sent them gifts in token of his royal liberality. These both in quantity and kind recommended the royal donor greatly to the ambassadors, who left the princely presence in high delight and returned with joy to their own land.
20. *Explains why the prince of Egypt is called mulene.*

Having described the magnificence of the caliph, according to the reports of those who witnessed it with their own eyes, we shall now proceed to tell about the title of his high estate, his origin, and his progress, as far as is known to us. This information is derived from studying histories of olden times and also from the trustworthy accounts of many persons. For without the aid of history it would be impossible to inform the reader in regard to these details.

The prince of Egypt is known by his people under two names. He is called the caliph, which, being interpreted, is the successor or heir, because he occupies the place of their supreme prophet and holds the succession by hereditary right. He is also called *mulene* [mawalana] which means, our lord.\(^{43}\) The origin of this second name seems to date from the days of the pharaoh, when the famous Joseph bought the entire country of Egypt and that people were forced by dire famine to sell their possessions. Joseph made these lands and all the inhabitants thereof subject to the pharaoh, from the uttermost boundaries of Egypt even to its remotest frontiers. He said to those who tilled the fields, “You shall give a fifth part to the king, but the remaining four parts I permit you to keep for planting, that you may provide for your households, your homes, and your children.” First, he bought their possessions and then their persons. Hence it is that the Egyptians are held to their lord by a stricter bond than is the case with inhabitants of other lands, since he bought them and their possessions with a price. This also explains why they are bound to him in a servile capacity of the humblest order.

Thus through the extreme solicitude of this best of governors the Egyptians became serfs and ever after called their prince by that revered name *mawalana.* This condition originated in the days of the pharaohs. It prevailed through the epoch of the Ptolemies and continued through the rule of the Romans, who reduced the land, as was their custom with other conquests, to the status of a province. A trace

\(^{43}\) This title occurs in an inscription recently discovered under a coat of plaster in the Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. It is there applied to Mustansir, caliph 1035–1094. William may well have read that inscription (see S. A. S. Husseini, “Inscription of the Khalif El-Mustansir Billâh 458 A.H. [= A.D. 1065],” Palestine, Department of Antiquities, *Quarterly*, IX [1942], 77–80).
of that old status still lingers in the fact that the prince of Egypt is absolutely free from responsibility and knows nothing of tumults and seditions. He devotes himself entirely to the enjoyment of leisure and luxury, while a governor, like Joseph of old, administers all the affairs of the realm, wielding the power of the sword and executing justice in the place of his lord. This governor is called the sultan, and this was the office held by that Shawar of whom we have so often spoken.

21. Relates why he is called caliph and why he is the adversary of the caliph of Bagdad.

The reason for the title caliph is as follows: Muhammad, their prophet, or rather their destroyer, who was the first to draw the peoples of the East to this kind of superstition, had as his immediate successor one of his disciples named Abu-Bakr. The latter was succeeded in the kingdom by Omar, son of Khattab, who was likewise followed by Uthman, and he by Ali, son of Abu-Talib. All these prophets were called caliphs, as were also all who followed them later, because they succeeded their famous master and were his heirs. But the fifth in the succession from Muhammad, namely Ali, was more warlike than his predecessors and had far greater experience in military matters than his contemporaries. He was, moreover, a cousin of Muhammad himself. 44 He considered it unfitting that he should be called the successor of his cousin and not rather a great prophet himself, much greater, in fact, than Muhammad. The fact that in his own estimation and that of many others he was greater did not satisfy him; he desired that this be generally acknowledged. Accordingly, he reviled Muhammad and spread among the people a story to the effect that the Angel Gabriel, the propounder of the law, had actually been sent to him from on high but by mistake had conferred the supreme honor on Muhammad. For this fault, he said, the angel had been severely blamed by the Lord. Although these claims seemed false to many from whose traditions they differed greatly, yet others believed them, and so a schism developed among that people which has lasted even to the present. Some maintain that Muhammad is the greater and, in fact, the greatest of all prophets, and these are called in their own tongue, Sunnites; others declare that Ali alone is the prophet of God, and they are called Shiites.

44 Ali was cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad.
The above-named Ali was slain, however, and the rival faction gained the supremacy. The kingdom of the Orient, therefore, was under the sway of the successors of Muhammad, and they, holding the power, oppressed all who held the opposite opinion. In the two-hundred and eighty-sixth year after the rule of the aforesaid seducer,\(^45\) there arose a certain nobleman, by name Abdallah [Ubaydullah] son of Muhammad, son of Japhar [Jafar], son of Muhammad, son of Ali, son of Hussen [Husayn], son of the greater Ali, of whom we have been speaking. He went out from the city of Salamia in the Orient and crossed over to Africa. After conquering all the lands of that region, he called himself Almahadi [al-Mahdi], which means the Leveller,\(^46\) that is, one who has reduced all things to peace and made the ways smooth and without obstacle for the people. He built the great city Mahadia [Mahadiyyah], so called from his own name; this he intended should become the capital of his dominions, a metropolis surpassing all others. He built a fleet, seized Sicily, and laid waste certain parts of Italy. He was the first of all his line after Ali, his ancestor, who ventured to call himself caliph; not that he considered himself the successor of Muhammad, whom he execrated, but rather of Ali, that greatest and most famous prophet from whose stock he was descended, as has been said. Indeed, he even dared to hurl curses openly against Muhammad and his successors and to establish another ritual and another form of prayer.

One of his descendants, Abu-Tamin, surnamed Muizz, subjugated Egypt through Jawhar, the commander in chief of his army. The latter also built Cairo which, being interpreted, is the Conqueror,\(^47\) because it was destined to be the residence of his great and supreme master, the conqueror of all things.

This caliph left Caroca [Kairawan] in the province of Africa, where four of his predecessors had lived, went to Egypt, and made the city just mentioned the seat of his kingdom. From that time until now

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\(^{45}\) The year 286 A.H. extended from January 16, 899, to January 6, 900 A.D. There is considerable variation among Arabic scholars as to the correct genealogy of Ali's descendants, there being at least eight different lists (see P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 618).

\(^{46}\) The translation should be "the Guided One." Professor Hitti believes that William here mistook the Arabic word for another which is almost identical and has the meaning assigned by him. Evidently William knew his Arabic almost too well.

\(^{47}\) Hitti prefers "Triumphant" as the translation of the word (see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 619, note 2).
there has never ceased to be, ruling in Egypt, a rival to the caliph of the East, who had been supreme for so many years, a rival ever striving to be on a par with him—nay, even claiming to be his superior.48

If anyone wishes to know more of these matters, he may read the history which we have written with great care from the Arabic sources at the instance and command of King Amaury. It deals with the princes of the East and their acts from the time of the seducer Muhammad; that is, it covers a period of five hundred and seventy-seven years to the present, which is the year 1182 of the Incarnation of our Lord.49

22. The king builds a bridge over the Nile. Shirkuh descends upon the island; the king attacks him.

When the treaty had been renewed and reduced to terms satisfactory to both parties, as has been related, all girded themselves as with one accord for the work planned, prepared to attack the enemy and drive him out of the entire realm. Meanwhile, the approach of night afforded an excuse for resting. In the morning they found the situation somewhat changed. During the night Shirkuh had arrived and encamped on the other bank of the same river opposite our army. The king, thereupon, caused boats to be brought and trunks of the palm tree, which is native there, and had a bridge constructed. The vessels were joined together two by two and made stable by anchors; then the beams were laid upon them and covered with earth. Finally the bridge was fortified with wooden towers, equipped with engines. The work was continued for several days until the middle of the river was reached, when fear of the enemy prevented the extension of the work to the opposite bank. Here, then, for a month or longer, all actual encounter was suspended, since the Christians were unable to cross the

48 The Fatimid caliphate was brought to an end by Saladin in 1171, as William himself relates later. William's definite statement that there was still a caliph at Cairo when he was writing would indicate that this passage was written before William had learned of the change, perhaps before 1175, and is here incorporated from the Gesta orientalium principum.

49 This statement of time is of exceptional interest. The material of the two preceding chapters was obviously drawn from his History of the Princes of the Orient. Whether he took it as he had originally written it or summarized a portion of it is not clear. The statement referring the reader to that other work is an indication that he had excerpted the material immediately preceding. The year 577 A.H. extended from May 16, 1181, to May 6, 1182, and its identification with the Christian year 1182 is therefore limited to the first four months of that year. He was thus engaged in the revision of this book during those months.
river and the enemy, on their part, did not dare to venture far, lest we fall on their rear. This was the situation in the vicinity of Cairo. In the interim, Shirkuh had sent a party of men to seize, if possible, a neighboring island which abounded in all kinds of supplies, for he wished to prevent the Christians from raiding it at some future time. This undertaking was successfully accomplished.

As soon as the king learned that the enemy had seized the island, he sent thither Milon de Plancy and Chemel [Kamil], a son of the sultan, with a force of knights. They found that the Turks were already in possession and were treating the inhabitants most shamefully. An attack was immediately made, and a battle ensued which was waged very fiercely on both sides. Finally, by the help of God, the Christians prevailed; they forced the enemy headlong into the river near by, where those who escaped the sword were drowned in the raging waters. Five hundred of the enemy perished that day from various mishaps. When the report of this battle reached Shirkuh, he was overwhelmed with dismay and began to entertain grave doubts about the ultimate success of his undertaking.

This was the state of affairs when certain leading men of the kingdom arrived at the camp, namely Humphrey of Toron, the royal constable, and Philip of Nablus. They had not marched out with the king but had remained behind for private reasons. As swiftly as possible, however, they followed the army and joined our camp. The cohorts greeted them with demonstrations of great joy, for they were brave men, valiant in arms and trained from their earliest years in the art of war.

A council was at once held to determine what plan of procedure should be adopted. It was finally decided by unanimous consent that, in the silence of night, without the knowledge of the enemy, the entire fleet should be conducted to an island about eight miles below the camp. About the first watch, the whole army was to be ferried across the river; then, during the night, they were to fall stealthily upon the foe while off guard and do all the damage possible. It was ordered that this plan be carried into execution. The fleet immediately descended to the place decided upon, without discovery by the enemy. The army in utter silence followed. They were quickly ferried across and seized the island.
While they were trying to cross the farther channel of the river, however, in the same way, according to their orders, a whirlwind suddenly arose which prevented them from carrying out their purpose. They were obliged to make camp, therefore, on that part of the island which faced the farther shore. A part of the force was left behind, however, to finish the bridge and guard it after its completion. In command of this detachment was Hugh d’Ibelin, a valiant and powerful knight, who, as has been said, had married the divorced wife of King Amaury.

23. The island is described; the names and number of the mouths by which the Nile enters the sea are given. The Christians drive out the foe and take possession of the island. Shirkuh flees into the desert.

The island now under discussion is called by the natives Mahalla. It has a very productive soil and abounds in all good things. The waters of the Nile separate at this point and form this island, and the branches which part here do not again join the main stream until they reach the sea. Even then the waters do not unite but mingle with the sea through four separate mouths. The first branch, which faces our Syria, flows into the sea between two ancient maritime cities, Tanis and Farama. It flows very close to one of these cities in its passage, even laving its buildings, but is about three or four miles distant from the other. The second arm joins the sea at Damietta, an old and noble city; the third, at Sturio. The fourth flows into the sea at Rosetta, which is about four or five miles from Alexandria. We have discovered no other mouths of this river, although careful search and inquiry have been made. This we regard as singular, for the ancients call the Nile the sevenfold flowing, because it entered the sea by seven mouths. The only explanation which occurs to us is that, through successive ages, the face of the country has altered and the river has changed its channel, as has happened in the case of so many other rivers. Possibly, however, the people of that earlier epoch did not understand the truth of the matter; or perchance the river, swollen by more than its usual complement, overflowed and, at the time of its annual increase, formed other channels besides these four, which the sea abandoned when the water again subsided within its bed. If any still exist, we have not counted them

50 Ovid *Meta. 1. 422.*
as branches because they are not always filled but, like torrents, are full only at certain seasons.\textsuperscript{51}

Although the island had been taken, the lesser channel still remained. As the day grew bright, the enemy, roused from sleep, discovered that the foe had departed and the fleet had sailed away. They flew to arms, fearing a sudden attack by the Christians. As they hurriedly advanced, extending their lines along the river, they saw that our forces had seized the island and, by introducing the fleet, were asserting their right to the channel yet to be crossed. Accordingly they placed their camp opposite, somewhat back from the shore, although in this position they had no free access to the river but were obliged to go farther downstream even to water their horses.

The Christians had determined to try their fortune to the utmost on the following day and to open a path by the sword, if necessary. But during the night, unknown to them, the infidels departed. When morning came and our army saw that the enemy had left, they quickly crossed the river and hastened in pursuit. That the cavalry might advance more rapidly, the foot soldiers were left behind, and the king set out accompanied only by a few knights. He dispatched Hugh d'Ibelin, however, and Kamil, the sultan's son, with a large force of cavalry, both Christian and Egyptian, to protect Cairo and the bridge which the soldiers had built from sudden hostile attack. The towers and all the fortifications of that noble city were put in charge of our people, and the palace of the caliph, heretofore unknown to the Christians, became very familiar to them, for the lord himself and his entire household relied for safety entirely on the king's forces. Then there was revealed to the Christians that holy of holies which had been hidden from the world, and the inmost precincts whose wonders were once familiar to only the few were disclosed.

The king also sent Gerard de Pougy and another son of the sultan, called Mahadan, to the farther bank of the river, again with a force made up of both nationalities. They were ordered to check the foe, if perchance he should attempt to cross the river. The king himself, leaving behind most of the impedimenta, as we have said, then set out in pursuit of the foe, against the current of the stream; for the formation

\textsuperscript{51} William here, as in a number of other places, refuses to accept the testimony of books, however ancient, if they are at variance with observed fact.
of the country was such that the enemy’s route could be traced without difficulty.

24. The land of Egypt and its characteristic features.

The entire land of Egypt from the most remote frontiers, where it is said to border on the country of the Ethiopians, lies between two sandy deserts, doomed to be infertile forever. The land itself neither knows nor produces fruitful crops of any kind except as it is rendered fertile at fixed seasons by the inundation of the Nile when in flood. It is only where the nature of the adjacent land permits that the river makes the soil fit to bring forth crops. For wherever it finds a level surface in the vicinity, the river spreads freely over a wide area and renders it productive. The wider the distribution of the waters, the more extensive is the country which thus becomes arable.

Beyond Cairo toward the sea, where the country is very flat, the waters have a wider range. Hence this district is extremely productive throughout the wide extent irrigated by the Nile. The river thus ensures very abundant crops and also extends the limits of the kingdom. From the fortress called Phacus, which faces Syria, even to Alexandria, which borders on the Libyan desert and is the last city of Egypt, the Nile carries the blessings of fertility and cultivation for a hundred miles and more. Above Cairo, however, until Chus, the southernmost city of Egypt, is reached—a place which is said to abut on the kingdom of the Ethiopians—the country is shut in by the encroaching sand hills. Consequently, only here and there does the river stretch out to the width of seven or eight miles and generally only to four or five, sometimes on both sides and again only on one, according to the extent of the flood. In this way it contracts or expands the lateral extent of the kingdom, for the places not irrigated by the river are doomed, as has been said, to perpetual sterility, because of the intense heat of the sun’s rays. This upper region is called in the Egyptian tongue Seith. As yet we have been unable to find the origin of this name. Legend says, however, that in very early times there was an ancient city in this upper part of Egypt called Sais. Our Plato, in the Timaeus, mentions the city through his disciple, Critias, who introduces Solon, a man of great authority. As better evidence of this, it seems well to give his very words that nothing authoritative may be lacking. “There is,” he
says, "a part of Egypt called the Delta, at the extremity of which the waters of the Nile divide. Near this place, there was once a great city, Sais by name, which was governed according to an ancient custom, called the Satyran law." The Emperor Amasis was originally from this city," etc.

Still another part of this country belongs to Egypt; it lies a day's journey from Cairo, across uninhabitable land. This region, thanks to the benefits received from the river through some of its branches, has excellent, fertile soil and rejoices in luxuriant fields and vineyards. The Egyptians call this part of the country Phium [Philae].

Traditions of olden times say that this was formerly barren land which had never experienced the plough, but had been left without cultivation and care from the beginning of the world, just like the other portions of this same desert. But Joseph, that wise governor of Egypt, ever alert to discern anything that might be turned to advantage, investigated the location of the place and perceived that this region was lower than the surrounding land. He saw that if certain low mounds which lay between the habitable land and this part of the desert were removed this locality also might readily receive the benefit of the waters. He built dykes, levelled off the ground between, and let in the overflow of the Nile. The water was conducted through ditches already prepared for it and produced a fecundity hitherto unknown there.

Although we do not know its ancient name, we believe that in early times this region was called the Thebaiad. From here is said to have come the legend of the holy Thebans who were crowned with martyrdom at Agaunum under Diocletian and Maximianus Augustus, and whose first martyr, we read, was Mauritius. There is another proof, also; the best opium found anywhere grows there and is called by physicians Theban.53

Now the land of Goshen which Joseph is said to have given to his brethren is in that part of Egypt which faces Syria, according to the description given in the book of Genesis, as the diligent reader may easily discover for himself. This region, on the contrary, which faces nearer Libya is situated at the other extremity of Egypt and is on the

52 This quotation is from the Latin translation of the Timaeus by Chalcidius and includes a mistranslation of the name of the law.
53 The use of opium by physicians of the twelfth century is an interesting item in medical history.
farther bank of the river. It is far from being of small extent; indeed, it is said to include within its boundaries three hundred and sixty-six cities and villages.

By reason of the nature of the country, therefore, the kingdom was so narrow, as we have said, that it was impossible to turn either to the right or left. Constant information of the enemy's progress was brought to the king and the sultan by scouts. The pursuit was continued for three days, and on the fourth, which was the Sabbath before the Lord's day when "Rejoice, Jerusalem," is sung in the church, the foe was reported to be in the vicinity.  

25. A battle involving great peril to both sides is fought in the desert between the king and Shirkuh.

A council, necessarily short, was immediately held, for it was evident that there was need of wise advice and a bold spirit and the pressing emergency did not admit of long delay. Battle was decided upon by unanimous consent, and the decision that the matter must be settled by the sword was greeted with applause. The number of mailed warriors in the two hosts, however, was very unequal. Shirkuh had twelve thousand Turks, of whom nine thousand wore the breastplate and helmet and the other three thousand used only bows and arrows. He had in addition ten or eleven thousand Arabs who, according to their custom, fought with lances only. The Christians, on the other hand, had barely three hundred and seventy-four knights besides the worthless and effeminate Egyptians, who were a hindrance and a burden rather than a help. They had also some light-armed cavalry called Turcopoles, but I do not know in what number. Many have told me, however, that in the great conflict of that day these forces were, for the most part, useless.

As soon as the two hostile armies became aware of each other's proximity, both drew up their forces in battle array, as the occasion seemed to demand, arranged their battalions, and displayed their weapons. Veterans, with the wisdom obtained from experience in former conflicts, exhorted the rest; they instructed the recruits and roused their courage by promising victory and immortal glory, the fruit of success.

54 "Laetare Hierusalem" was sung on the fourth Sunday of Lent, hence on March 18, 1167.
The field where the engagement was to take place was on the borderland between the fertile country and the desert. The ground here was uneven, broken by hills of sand and depressions, so that those coming or going could not be seen from a distance. The place was called Beben, which means the Gates, because the passage between the hills on either side is very narrow at this point. It is ten miles from Lamonia, hence this engagement is sometimes known as the battle of Lamonia.

With energetic foresight, the enemy had already seized the hills on both right and left and had drawn up their forces in battle array. The rising ground and the yielding nature of the sand made it difficult for our men to approach with a rush against this position. The cohort commanded by Shirkuh occupied the center, and the others were drawn up on either side. The conflict soon reached the point where fighting at close quarters became necessary. The king’s division advanced valiantly as with one thought; they overwhelmed Shirkuh’s cohorts and put them to the sword. Shirkuh himself fled, with the foe in close pursuit.

Hugh of Caesarea attacked the division commanded by Saladin, Shirkuh’s nephew; he was, however, deserted by his men and, consequently, was defeated and taken prisoner. A large number of his troops were taken, and many more were slain. Eustace Cholet, a noble and valiant lord from the land of Ponthieu, also fell in this combat.

Elated by this success, the other Turkish divisions united. They completely surrounded the Christian forces which had been detailed to guard the baggage and equipment, and in a furious attack promptly dispersed and routed them. Hugh of Creona is said to have fallen in this battle. He was a nobleman of Sicilian birth, a young man of upright and honorable life.

The Christian lines were now broken; many of our people were dead, and those who had escaped the sword took refuge in flight. The enemy seized the baggage and equipment without a struggle and carried it off.

The scattered forces, dispersed here and there among the little valleys, fought with varying fortune. The only witnesses were the fighters themselves, for no one else could see it. The battle was indecisive; sometimes the Turks and again the Christians had the upper hand, all alike ignorant of what was transpiring elsewhere. Each side considered itself at one place victorious, at another defeated. In the
confusion, our venerable brother, Ralph, bishop of Bethlehem, the 
royal chancellor, whom we later followed in that office, was seriously 
wounded and lost all his baggage. 65 For a long time the result of the 
battle was uncertain. The actual decision of victory was deferred until 
the close of day warned the scattered troops to return to their standards. 
Then, at length, through fear of the oncoming night, those who were 
still at large began to hurry back to their own ranks, eagerly seeking 
the king. From all directions they rallied and again joined the lines.

The king had come off conqueror at the point where he had fought. 
Others, in one place or another, had tried the fortune of war with vary-
ing results, here enjoying success, there adverse fate, so that neither 
side could claim a decisive victory. Finally, the king withdrew with a 
few of his retainers to a certain hill, somewhat elevated above the 
plain, and there took his stand. Raising his standard to recall his scat-
tered forces, he awaited his comrades. When these had rallied in part, 
the Christians saw that the Turkish division which had destroyed their 
baggage train, after killing some and capturing others, was in disarray 
upon the two hills opposite them. No other way of retreat was possible 
for our army except that which passed between the two hills occupied 
by the enemy. Determined to retreat, however, the Christians formed 
in order of battle and began to advance slowly between the enemy 
whom they saw both on the right and on the left. With such steadiness 
did they proceed that the infidels dared not attempt any hostility 
against them. Placing the strongest and best-armed men around the 
column, our people in close array made their way to a certain part of 
the river where they crossed in safety by a ford. In this same formation 
they continued to retreat throughout the entire night along the same 
route by which they had previously advanced.

At Lamonía they were met by Gerard de Pougy. With fifty knights 
and a hundred Turcopoles, assisted by Mahadan, a son of the sultan, he 
had been holding the other bank of the river to check the enemy if 
they should try to cross. The arrival of Gerard was most opportune, for 
the king had been much concerned lest the enemy might attack him 
alone on one side of the river or the other. He was still anxious about 
the infantry detachments, however, which were to follow under com-

65 This passage must have been written after the death of Amaury and the time of 
William’s appointment as chancellor, late in 1174.
mand of a wise and valiant knight, Joscelin of Samosata. There was
indeed great danger that they might suddenly encounter the foe while
off their guard.

For three days he awaited their arrival at Lamonia. By the fourth
day the infantry had gradually assembled and were again united with
his forces. They thereupon proceeded to Cairo by continuous marches
and encamped by the bridge before Bablyun. There the king took a
census of his knights and found that a hundred were missing. The
enemy is said to have lost fifteen hundred in that encounter.

26. Shirkuh withdraws to Alexandria. The king goes thither
in haste and lays siege to the city.

Shirkuh now rallied all his remaining troops and formed them into
one body. Then secretly, unknown to the Christians, he marched
through the desert to Alexandria, where the people at once surrendered
the city to him.

Information of this fact was soon brought to the king. He at once
summoned his chief counsellors, together with the sultan and his sons
and the Egyptian nobles, and counselled with them as to what meas-
ures should be taken. After long discussion, as is usually the case in
doubtful matters, it was decided to station the fleet in the river as an
obstacle, for Alexandria has within its own borders no resources of
grain or other food supplies and is entirely dependent upon what is
brought by ships from upper Egypt. In this position the fleet could
completely shut off all commerce with people outside.

When this had been done, the king led his entire army to the vi-
cinity and established his camp between Toroge and Demenhut, at a
place about eight miles from Alexandria. From here he sent out scouts
to visit and break up all settlements in the vicinity and even those far
remote in the desert. He wished to prevent any assistance being sent
to the besieged and also to intercept all messengers leaving the city
to solicit aid from outside. As a further check, the fleet prevented all
passage of the river and permitted no one, however well known, to
descend without undergoing a thorough questioning.

A period of one month rolled away under these conditions. During
that time the city had received no provisions from outside, and the
people were already beginning to murmur. For bread was failing in
their chests, and they had no food. When this came to the knowledge of
Shirkuh, he began to fear lest he and his army might also be forced to suffer famine with the rest. Accordingly, he left his nephew Saladin with about a thousand knights in charge of the city, and he himself withdrew by night through the desert. Although he passed very near our forces, he managed to escape to the upper part of Egypt, whence he had come only a short time before.

As soon as Shirkuh's departure became known, the king at once started in pursuit and had proceeded as far as Bablyun. His whole army was ready to advance, and he had already ordered the baggage arranged with a view to further pursuit when Ben Ercarselle, a powerful Egyptian nobleman, suddenly approached and informed him that Alexandria was struggling with desperate famine. He said, furthermore, that he had relatives of great influence in the city itself, the governors, in fact, of the place. They could easily sway the people, now under the stress of hunger, in whatever direction they wished, even to the extent of surrendering the city into the hands of the king with all the Turks who had been left there.

Influenced by this news, the king thereupon inquired of his counsellors what policy seemed best in their eyes; and finally, since the wishes of all were in accord, and even the sultan approved, they returned to Alexandria and placed the two armies as a blockading force around it.

27. The situation of Alexandria is described.

Alexandria is the last of all the cities of Egypt in that part of the country which extends westward toward Libya. It lies on the border between the cultivated land and the arid desert. Beyond the walls of the city and closely adjoining it on the west lies a vast waste which has never felt the blessings of cultivation and care. According to ancient histories, this city was founded by Alexander of Macedon, the son of Philip, from whom it takes its name. Julius Solinus states that it was built in the hundred and twelfth Olympiad, in the consulship of Lucius Papirius, son of Furius, and of Gaius Petilius, son of Gaius. It was laid out by the architect Dinocrates, who occupies the second place after its founder in the grateful remembrance of the people.66

Alexandria is situated not far from that mouth of the Nile which some call the Heracleoticon and others the Canopic mouth. Now, how-

66 Solinus Polyhistor xxxii, 41.
ever, the place from which the arm nearest that city takes its name has lost its ancient appellation and is called Ressith [Rosetta]. The city is five or six miles distant from the bed of the river, but, during the season of its annual increase, part of the water is carried to the city by several canals. This influx of water is saved with great care in vast cisterns specially designed for the purpose, for the use of the people during the entire year. As much as is necessary, however, is diverted through underground conduits, for the purpose of irrigating the orchards which lie outside the city.

Alexandria is most conveniently situated for carrying on extensive commerce. It has two ports which are separated from one another by a very narrow stretch of land. At the end of that tongue rises a tower of marvellous height called the Pharos. Julius Caesar is said to have built this for utilitarian purposes and to have led a colony hither.\textsuperscript{57}

By the Nile, Alexandria receives from upper Egypt an abundance of food supplies of every kind and, indeed, a wealth of almost every commodity. If there is anything which the country itself lacks, it is brought by ships from the lands across the sea in profuse abundance. As a result Alexandria has the reputation of receiving a larger supply of wares of every description than any other maritime city. Whatever our part of the world lacks in the matter of spices, pearls, Oriental treasures, and foreign wares is brought hither from the two Indies, Saba, Arabia, and both the Ethiopias, as well as from Persia and other lands near by. All this merchandise is conveyed to upper Egypt by way of the Red sea, which forms the route from those races to us. It is unloaded at the city of Aidab\textsuperscript{58} on the shore of that same sea, and thence descends the Nile to Alexandria. Consequently, people from the East and the West flock thither in great numbers, and Alexandria is a public mart for both worlds. It is famous under both its ancient and modern titles, but it derives especial honor because of the preaching and conversation of the blessed Mark, the spiritual son of the prince of the apostles who was sent by divine will to that church. It is furthermore made illustrious by the fact that the holy fathers Athanasius and Cyril chose it as the place of their abode and are there buried.

\textsuperscript{57} Solinus xxxii, 43.

\textsuperscript{58} Near the site of modern Suez. The old trade route ran almost directly west to strike the Nile near Cairo. This route was so important that both in ancient times and again under the early Muslims a canal was built from the Nile toward the Red sea. Such a fresh water canal from Cairo to Suez was finally built in 1869.
KING AMAURY I

Alexandria ranks second among the four patriarchates, and to it as their metropolis look Egypt, Libya, Pentapolis, and many other provinces.

Thither the entire fleet was dispatched. Every gate and all means of approach were blockaded and no one allowed to enter.

28. The king continues to carry on the siege and oppresses the citizens most grievously.

Meanwhile, the Christians who had remained in Syria learned that the king had laid siege to Alexandria. They knew that by sailing without making any stops they could reach that city within a few days. Accordingly they seized arms and eagerly undertook the journey. Loading the ships with all necessary provisions, they joyously set sail on their own initiative. With them went Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, our predecessor. Moved by the enthusiasm of others and also by an ardent affection for the king, he went down to Egypt by ship, accompanied by a rather distinguished retinue. But soon he began to suffer from a dangerous attack of dysentery caused by drinking the water of the Nile, and, his illness increasing, he was forced to return home before Alexandria was surrendered to the king.

The besieging host assembled before the city now collected an immense number of masts, summoned craftsmen and carpenters, and caused them to erect a tower of great height from whose top the entire city could be surveyed. Machines called petrarias which hurl forth enormous stones of great weight were also placed in strategic positions around the walls. From these, almost incessantly, were hurled immense stones of great weight which shattered the walls and terrified the people almost beyond endurance.

Surrounding the city like a leafy forest were fertile gardens of most delightful aspect, full of fruit trees and medicinal plants. The very sight of this charming retreat invited the passer-by to enter and, having entered, to rest there. Our soldiers invaded these orchards in large numbers, primarily with the object of finding material for building the engines. Soon, however, they were seized with the sole desire of causing injury and loss, and, with far more zealous effort than had been expended upon the original planting, they cut down aromatic trees, useful for many purposes. Before long, the orchards were levelled to the ground, and no trace of their former condition re-
mained. It was of this outrage that the people complained most bitterly after the treaty of peace had been adopted and in respect to which they felt that they had received the greatest injury.

Our army continued to press on the siege; every method of causing injury was employed and new ways of annoying the besieged constantly invented. Incessant assaults permitted the weary defenders no rest. The citizens, accustomed only to trading, untrained in the art of fighting and without experience in warfare, found this unusual kind of labor extremely hard to bear. The Turks who had remained in the city were few in number and hesitated to trust themselves to the waver- ing and unreliable prowess of the citizens. Hence they seldom came forth to the conflict and then reluctantly—an attitude which did not greatly encourage the rest to fight. Why should more be said? Daily fighting, the constant slaughter of friends, continual vigils, fear by night, and above all the lack of food, wore upon the people and caused them to despair. So disheartened had they become that now they cast aside all desire for liberty and preferred to give up the city and be enslaved by anyone rather than to die of cruel hunger on their own hearthstones, together with their wives and little ones. Murmurs began to creep about among the people; and presently it was openly said that the pestilential strangers who had brought such affliction upon them must be driven from the city. An agreement of some kind should be sought by which these unseemly woes might be dispelled, the siege raised, and the city restored to its former state of dignity and freedom.

This general state of feeling among the people was not lost upon Saladin. He dispatched swift messengers in all secrecy to his uncle with a statement of the situation: the wretched plight of the city, the entire lack of food supplies, the inclination of the people to desert him. Most earnestly he besought him by every possible argument to find some immediate relief to succor the despairing people from most imminent danger.

In the interim he appealed both to the city fathers and the people themselves; he warned them that they must fight to the death for their wives and children and urged them to emulate the customs and traditions of their ancestors. Help was before the gates; even now Shirkuh, his uncle, was traversing Egypt to drive away the enemy and to relieve Alexandria. Very soon he would arrive with a vast number of troops.

The king, well aware of the dissension among the citizens, urged
that the siege be pressed on without pause. The more he learned of their desperate situation, the fiercer became his assaults. The sultan, too, was constantly on the alert; active, diligent, and full of solicitude, he went about among all the commanders. With a liberal hand he dispensed money for building engines as well as generous sums for every necessity of warfare. He paid adequate wages to the workmen; he gave gifts to the poor and needy, and, above all, to the wounded, that they might have proper care. He was liberal also to the fighters, especially to those whom he knew were valiant in battle.

29. On hearing this report, Shirkuh confers with Hugh of Caesarea about peace.

While these events were happening before Alexandria, Shirkuh was marching through upper Egypt. On arriving at Chus, he made an attempt to take the place by storm. He soon found, however, that his efforts were in vain; a longer time was needed for such an undertaking, and the precarious situation of his nephew demanded that he proceed to other work. Accordingly, he accepted a money payment from these cities and hurried on to lower Egypt with his forces.

On arriving at Babilyun, he found that the king had sent Hugh d'Ibelin to guard Cairo and the bridge there, that, in short, existing conditions were far otherwise than he had supposed. He therefore summoned Hugh of Caesarea, whom he was holding prisoner, to a friendly conference and, being ready of speech, courteous, and genial, he began to address him in well-chosen words: "You are a great prince of high rank and much influence among your own people, nor is there any one of your barons to whom, if free choice were offered me, I would prefer to communicate this secret of mine and make my confidant. Of her own accord Fortune has granted and the chance of war has afforded an advantage which otherwise must have been sought with much effort, namely that I may have the benefit of your experience for this present need. I frankly acknowledge that I, eager for glory like all mortals, was attracted by the wealth of this kingdom, and relying upon the helpless character of the native population, I at one time conceived the hope that this realm might sometime fall into my hands.

"Therefore, at the cost of great expense and infinite hardships, futile as I now see, I have come down into Egypt through many dangers. With me is a large company of knights all of whom have been drawn
hither by the same desire. My expectations have not been realized, however, for, as I now see, fortune was against my entering the country. Would that I may be permitted to return at least under favorable auspices! You are a man of high rank, as I have said, dear to the king, and influential both in word and deed; be the mediator of peace between us. May the matter prosper in your hands. Say to the king, 'We are wasting our time here, and the days are passing without result. Many duties await us at home.' Moreover the presence of the king himself is most necessary to his realm. He is expending his efforts now for others; for, when he has repulsed us, he will resign the riches of this province to the miserable inhabitants, who are hardly worthy to live. Let him take his people who are now my prisoners; let him raise the siege and restore the captives whom he holds as well as those whom he is keeping shut up in the city of Alexandria. For my part, as soon as I have received a guarantee from him that we are to meet with no trouble on the way from his soldiers, I am ready to leave.'

30. Hugh arranges the terms of the treaty with the king and the barons.

After listening to this speech, Hugh, as he was a man of good sense and discretion, for a long time carefully considered in his own mind this proposal. He did not doubt that the terms of peace under the conditions of the treaty would be advantageous to the Christians; yet he hesitated to undertake this mission himself, lest it might seem that he was more interested in obtaining his own liberty than concerned for the public welfare. He felt, therefore, that the first steps might be more honorably taken by someone else. His feeling on the matter he later explained to us confidentially.

Accordingly, another captive, Arnulf of Turbessel, an intimate associate of the king who had been taken prisoner in the same battle as the Hugh of whom we are speaking, was sent as the bearer of the message. Charged with this mission, he hastened to the king and explained to him in detail the object of his coming. The king at once called a council, and in that assembly of the barons, the sultan and his sons also being present, Arnulf submitted the proposal and explained the nature of the treaty. The overture of peace met with the approval of all, and the terms proposed seemed to suffice both for glory and for the fulfillment in good faith of the treaty concluded between the king
and the caliph. The city was to pass by surrender into the power of the king. An exchange of all prisoners on both sides was to be made, and all the Turks who had been shut in by the siege as well as the troops of Shirkuh, now dispersed over the land of Egypt, were to leave its boundaries utterly.

Shawar, the sultan, as well as all the satraps of Egypt, approved the pact and willingly accepted the provisions of the treaty. He declared himself fully satisfied, since it excluded his most dreaded enemy, his rival for the supremacy in the kingdom.

Then Hugh presented himself and, after the treaty in all its aspects had been fully discussed by both sides, put the final touches to it and brought the matter to a satisfactory conclusion.

31. The city is surrendered to the king, and peace is proclaimed to the people of Alexandria.

Then the herald proclaimed to each cohort and to the public in general that the fighting was at an end; a legal edict was also issued forbidding further molestation of the Alexandrians. As soon as peace was concluded, the people, worn down by the hardships of the long-continued siege, issued forth rejoicing. They made light of the straits which they had endured and took pleasure in walking about unhindered, to relieve their weariness. There was now abundant food, and the resumption of commerce was granted. Accordingly, the people, relieved from the long-continued famine, devoted themselves to the restoration of their health and spirits. They delighted to watch the now friendly troops whom but a short time before they had regarded with loathing and hatred, to talk with the very men whom recently they had feared as the ministers of danger and death.

The Christians, for their part, were no less eager to enter the city so long the object of their desires. Wandering freely about the streets, they gazed at the ports and the ramparts; and by diligent observation they collected material from which, on their return home, they might oftentimes weave stories for their friends and refresh the minds of their listeners with agreeable converse.

Above this splendid city rises a tower of remarkable height called the Pharos.\textsuperscript{59} Toward this, as toward a star, guided by the brilliant light

\textsuperscript{59} The repetition of this statement about Pharos (see chap. 27) so soon suggests that these two chapters were written at different times. This mention was probably the
of its many flashing torches, ships unfamiliar with the locality direct their course at night. For the approach to Alexandria is very dangerous, and the gloomy sea is full of treacherous shoals. But sailors, warned in advance by the lights which are kept burning always at public expense upon the tower, escape the threatened danger of shipwreck and proceed in safety on their way.

Above this tower, in token of victory, the standard of the king was unfurled, and at the sight of the flag, the fact of the surrender, which until now had been known to a few only, became manifest to all. Thereupon, many who at the first talk of the treaty had cautiously held back and feared to trust themselves to the Christians, now that peace was assured, did not hesitate to join us and to rely on the sincerity of our good faith. One thing appeared marvellous beyond all others: namely, that so small an army had been able to shut up within Alexandria such a host of citizens, besides numerous foreigners who all faithfully coöperated for the defense of the place, and had forced them to an ignominious surrender. For the Christians had barely five hundred knights and only four or five thousand foot soldiers, while the besieged had more than fifty thousand men who were able to bear arms.

32. The king returns to his own land, victorious, with all his forces restored.

Saladin now issued forth from the city and repaired to the king. There he remained in the Christian camp until ready to set forth on his return. He was treated with all respect and furnished with a guard to protect him from insults that might be offered him by audacious spirits. But the sultan at the head of his troops marshalled in serried ranks entered the gates of Alexandria in triumph as a victor. Heralded by the blare of trumpets, the sound of drums, and of every other kind of musical instrument, he advanced attended by bands of singing men and preceded by numerous servitors and crowds of shouting men at arms. The citizens trembled with terror; some he condemned, others he released; for, although he punished the guilty with a strong hand, he distributed rewards to all who deserved them.

earlier and written on the basis of his first investigation of the Egyptian campaign of 1167. The previous mention is part of the antiquarian information which William was adding for the benefit of the more remote reading audience which he was addressing after 1180.
The citizens of Alexandria were finally sentenced to pay a great sum of money, not definitely fixed; administrators of the tribute and officers to have charge of the taxes and revenues of the city were appointed. After thus exacting a vast sum of money, the sultan entrusted the care of the city to loyal servants of his own and retired full of glory to his camp.

The Christian army now yearned to return home. Accordingly, those who had come by sea made the necessary provision for the trip and embarked on board ship. Committing themselves to the breezes, they returned with joy to their own land. The king ordered the machines to be burned and the baggage made ready. He then took the route to Babilyun, where those whom he had sent on before were again united with his forces. Thus having confirmed the sultan in the government of the kingdom, expelled the enemy, and recovered his men who had been taken prisoners, he entered Ascalon on the twelfth day before the Kalends of September [August 21] in the fourth year of his reign and the year 1167 of the Incarnation of our Lord.60

60 Amaury's fifth regnal year had begun in February, 1167.

HERE ENDS THE NINETEENTH BOOK
THE TWENTIETH BOOK BEGINS

THE STRUGGLE FOR EGYPT: ALLIANCE
WITH EMPEROR MANUEL

1. Hernesius, archbishop of Caesarea, and Eudes de Saint-Amand, the royal butler, return from Constantinople, bringing with them the future wife of the king. Amaury is crowned in the church at Tyre and marries a wife.

During this time, Hernesius, archbishop of Caesarea, of precious memory, and Eudes de Saint-Amand, at that time the royal butler, returned by sea from Constantinople and landed at Tyre. They had pursued the task on which they had been sent to Emperor Manuel with wisdom and loyalty, and at the end of two years their mission had been successful, for they brought with them the daughter of John the protosebastos as the future wife of the king.¹

As soon as the king learned of their arrival, he hastened to Tyre. There, after summoning the prelates of the church and the nobles of the realm, he espoused the Princess Maria, who had previously received the gift of royal unction and consecration. The marriage was solemnized with due pomp and ceremony on August 29 in the church at Tyre by the Patriarch Amalrich of good memory. The king was magnificently attired in the royal robes and wore the crown of his ancestors.

This John the protosebastos, whose daughter, as I have said, the king took as his consort, was the emperor’s nephew, the son of his elder brother. As escort for his niece, Manuel sent a number of illustrious and magnificent nobles closely attached to himself, among whom were the Lord Palaeologus and Manuel Sebastos, a kinsman of his own, and numerous others.² On them devolved the duty of

¹ This embassy must have been sent to Constantinople in 1165, one of the events of that year which William failed to mention at the time. Presumably it left in the fall of 1165, for Hernesius is recorded as still present in Palestine in a document of the late summer or early fall of that year.

Protosebastos (like sebastos and sebastocrator) was one of the honorific titles devised by the Comneni, usually applied to relatives of the emperor. There is no exact Western equivalent.

² Maria was the daughter of John Comnenus, and her escort was headed by George Palaeologus and Manuel Comnenus, all members of the imperial family (see F. Chalandon, Les Commène, II, 536).
conducting the future queen with much pomp to the lord king and of seeing to it that none of the prescribed solemnities was omitted.

The head of the church at Tyre, where these ceremonies were held, was at that time Lord Frederick, who had been transferred from the church at Acre. Three days after the coronation and the nuptials of the king had been celebrated in that city, Frederick generously bestowed upon me the office of archdeacon of the church at Tyre, which William had resigned when he was called to the church at Acre. This he did at the request and in the presence of the king and many other honorable men.³

2. Andronicus, a relative of the emperor, carries away Theodora, the widow of King Baldwin, into the land of the enemy.

At this time, while the king was still in Egypt, one Andronicus, a Greek nobleman of great influence and a relative of the emperor of Constantinople, arrived from Cilicia, attended by a large retinue of knights.⁴ He remained with us until the king returned and was a source of much comfort to us. But like a snake in the bosom or a mouse in the wardrobe, he made a poor return to his hosts and proved the truth of that saying of Maro, “I fear the Greeks even when bearing gifts.”⁵

Immediately after his return the king bestowed upon him the city of Beirut. The Greek then invited Theodora, the widow of King Baldwin, who was also the daughter of his own nephew, to go with him to visit Beirut. Theodora possessed the city of Acre, which had been given to her as dowry at the time of her marriage, and had entertained Andronicus a long time in her own house. While on this journey Andronicus, acting in collusion with Nureddin, treacherously

³ It is of interest to note William’s mention of the king’s influence in his promotion to the office of archdeacon, September 1, 1167. It probably marked the agreement of William to write a history of the deeds of Amaury.

⁴ He had been dismissed as governor of Cilicia by the emperor, both because he was inefficient and because he had conducted a violent flirtation with Philippa, the sister of Manuel’s wife, at Antioch. It practically reached the stage of marriage but was broken up by the emperor. He was therefore free to indulge in further adventures in Jerusalem. His wildly adventurous career awaits a biographer. Even the summary sketches of it read stranger than fiction (see C. Diehl, Figures byzantines, 2d Series, pp. 86–134).

⁵ Virgil Aen. 11. 49.
abducted the queen and carried her off into the enemy country, first to Damascus and later to Persia.\(^6\)

3. Churches are established at Petra and Hebron and bishops appointed over them. Stephen, chancellor of the king of Sicily and bishop-elect of the church at Palermo, goes down into Syria. Count William of Nevers dies while with us.

Scarceley anything worthy of note occurred in the kingdom during this year, except the establishment of two churches about Easter time and the appointment of bishops over them. Petra, one of these two, lies beyond the Jordan in the land of Moab and is the capital of Arabia Secunda. This church had had no Latin bishop since the Christians came into the Land of Promise. The other, namely Hebron, never had received that honor, it is said. In the time of the Greeks it had been only a parish, which was the status of the church at Bethlehem also, as is well known. But Bethlehem, because of the reverence with which it was held as the birthplace of our Lord, deservedly was raised to that honor first, and in the time of King Baldwin I, immediately after the liberation of the Holy City beloved of God, it was given the rights and privileges of a cathedral.\(^7\)

In this same year of which we are speaking, Hebron also was for the first time distinguished by that honor, as was fitting in view of her connection with those servants of God, whose memory is ever blessed, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. As bishop over the church at Petra was chosen Guerriacus, a regular canon of the Temple of the Lord, who was also made the metropolitan of Arabia; while Hebron received as head Raynald, the nephew of the Patriarch Fulcher of revered memory.

In the following summer, Stephen, a nobleman of high rank, chancellor of the king of Sicily and bishop-elect of the church at Palermo, arrived in the kingdom attended by a small retinue. Stephen was a brother of Count Rotrou du Perche and a young man of fine appearance and excellent natural ability. He had been made the victim of a conspiracy on the part of the combined nobles of Sicily, who by their intrigues had succeeded in driving him from that land. This was done

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\(^6\) His affection for Theodora seems to have been genuine. When she and the two sons she bore him were captured by Emperor Manuel, Andronicus surrendered himself.

\(^7\) See Book XI, chap. 12.
contrary to the wishes of the young king, a minor, and his mother, but they were powerless to prevent it. With the utmost difficulty, Stephen managed to evade the plots of the nobles and came to us by sea. Not very long after his arrival, however, he was overtaken by a serious illness from which he died. He was buried at Jerusalem with fitting honor, in a chapel of the Temple of the Lord.  

About the same time, also, William, count of Nevers, a powerful lord of noble family and great influence, came to Jerusalem from the kingdom of France, attended by a noble band of knights. He had come with the intention of fighting in the service of Christianity at his own expense against the enemies of our faith. But premature death, envious of his successful prowess, most unfortunately prevented this pious and noble purpose. For William was stricken with a lingering malady and, after long suffering, died at the very beginning of a most promising life. His death was mourned and regretted by all.  

4. Envoys from the emperor arrive and demand certain agreements from the king. The archdeacon of Tyre is sent as envoy to Constantinople. He concludes the proposed treaty with the emperor.

In the course of that same summer, Count Alexander of Gravina and a certain Michael Hydruntinus [of Otranto], both members of the court of the emperor of Constantinople, arrived at Tyre on an imperial mission. They were granted a private audience, to which

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8 Stephen du Perche had been chancellor of Sicily and archbishop-elect of Palermo. The pathetic career of this noble and high-minded young Norman amidst the complicated political tangles of Sicilian affairs is described by J. C. Hildt ("The Ministry of Stephen of Perche during the Minority of William II of Sicily" Smith College Studies, III [1918], 139–86). The palace revolution to which William refers occurred in 1168. Stephen's arrival in the Holy Land must therefore be dated toward the latter part of the summer (see F. Chalandon, Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile, II, 345).

9 William IV, count of Nevers, died at Acre in 1168. Robert of Torigni erroneously enters the event under the year 1170 (see L. Delisle, ed., Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel, II, 20).

10 It is interesting to note that the emissaries of Manuel were both of southern Italian origin. There were many Westerners at the court of Constantinople at this time, and Manuel seems to have relied upon them in matters of great importance. Chalandon is wrong in assuming that they demanded a part of the kingdom of Jerusalem. William is using the term regnum for Egypt (see F. Chalandon, Les Comnènes, II, 536).
the king had summoned those whom he wished to have present at the conference. The envoys explained the reasons for their coming and presented to the king a letter from his imperial majesty dealing with the same subject.

The substance of the message was as follows: "The emperor has perceived that the kingdom of Egypt, which up to the present time has been powerful and exceedingly rich, has fallen into the hands of a weak and effeminate race. The neighboring peoples also have become aware of the impotency and inefficiency of both ruler and princes. Since it seems impossible that the kingdom can continue long in its present state and the government and dominion over it must of necessity pass to other nations, the emperor believes that with the aid of the king he can easily bring it under his own power." It was upon this matter that he had dispatched the envoys to the king.

Some say—and with much plausibility—that it was the king who first suggested this matter to the emperor through messengers and frequent letters, that he had urged the latter to aid him with troops, with a fleet, and with the necessary money. In return, the emperor was to receive a certain share of that kingdom and of any spoils that might be taken.

This, then, was the nature of the business on which the envoys had come to the king. When the stipulations of the treaty had finally been agreed upon by both parties, I was added to the legation as one of their number by command of the king. As the bearer of letters, I was to visit the emperor and convey to him the decision of the king and the entire realm. Furthermore, I was empowered to ratify the agreement between them as might be required of me, but under the form already decided upon.

Accordingly, I joined the imperial envoys, who were awaiting my coming at Tripoli, as directed by dispatches from the king, and we set out together for Constantinople. The emperor himself was detained for the moment in Serbia, where the people had rebelled against his authority.

Serbia is a mountainous country lying between Dalmatia, Hungary, and Illyria. It is thickly wooded and very difficult of access. Relying upon this general inaccessibility of their country and the narrow passes leading into it, the Serbians had revolted.

Old traditions say that this entire people derive their origin from exiles who were banished to this land and condemned to work in the
marble quarries and mines. From this condition of servitude they are said to take their name. They are a rude and undisciplined people, dwelling in the forests and mountains. They have no knowledge of agriculture but possess large flocks and herds which supply them abundantly with milk and cheese, butter and meat. In addition they have plenty of honey and wax. They have magistrates who are called suppandi.

At times they obey the emperor. At other times, since they are a bold and warlike race, they sally forth from their mountain fastnesses and lay waste all the surrounding country. Because of the intolerable outrages committed against their neighbors, the emperor had valiantly marched against them with a large army. He was finally successful in subduing them and captured their principal chief. It was on his return from this campaign that we, after overcoming the many difficulties of the road, met him at the city called Butella, in the province of Pelagonia. This place is near the ancient city, formerly known as Justiniana Prima, which was the native place of the most wise, most fortunate, and invincible Emperor Justinian. It is now commonly called Acreda [Ochrida].

Here we were accorded an honorable reception by the emperor, who treated us with imperial kindness. To him we announced the motive for our journey and mission and explained with great care the tenor of the treaty. He listened to the entire report with much pleasure, graciously accepted it, and gave his approval to all that had been agreed upon. After both parties had taken a solemn oath, the emperor by his authority ratified the details as already arranged by the envoys and confirmed the treaty.

Imperial letters containing the text of the treaty in its entirety were given us, and we were then dismissed with munificent gifts, according to the usual custom. Our mission was now successfully accomplished, and accordingly, on the first day of October, we started on the return journey.

5. The king leads an army down into Egypt and, contrary to the terms of the treaty which he had concluded with the Egyptians, makes war against them.

Meanwhile, immediately after our departure and before our embassy could return to inform the king of the promised assistance of
the emperor, it began to be rumored quite generally throughout the land that Shawar, the sultan of Egypt, was constantly sending messengers to Nureddin and secretly imploring his aid. He claimed that it was entirely against his own wishes that he had joined in any treaty of peace with an enemy, and he desired to withdraw from the agreement which he had made with the king. If he could be assured of Nureddin's assistance, he would break the treaty and desert the king completely.

Moved with righteous indignation at this news, it is said, the king mustered infantry and cavalry forces from all over the realm and hastily departed for Egypt. There are those who claim that all these charges were false, that the Sultan Shawar was quite innocent and, far from deserving such treatment, had in good faith kept the treaty and all its stipulations. They assert that the war made against him was unjust and contrary to divine law; that it was merely a pretext invented to defend an outrageous enterprise. Hence it was, they maintain, that the Lord, who strictly judges the secrets of the heart and conscience, wholly withdrew His favor from us and refused to grant success to our iniquitous undertaking.

It is said that Gerbert, surnamed Assallit [Gilbert d'Assailly], the master of the house of the Hospital at Jerusalem, was the prime mover, if not the originator, of this ill-fated campaign. He was a man of high spirit, extremely generous, but unstable and vacillating in character. After exhausting all the treasures of the Hospital, he borrowed a large sum of money in addition and expended it all on knights whom he drew to him from every source. In this way he brought such a weight of debt upon his establishment that there was no possibility of its being lifted. He finally resigned his office in despair, gave up the administration of the Hospital, and left the house burdened with obligations amounting to a hundred thousand pieces of gold. He is said to have spent these immense sums on the basis of an understanding made with the king that if Egypt should be taken and subjugated, Balbis, formerly called Pelusium, with all its territory, was to become the possession of this house in perpetuity.

The brethren of the Temple, on the contrary, declined to take part in this campaign. Either because it seemed to them contrary to the dictates of conscience or because the master of a rival house was apparently the originator and leader of the enterprise, they refused
to follow the king or furnish troops. To declare war against a friendly power which was relying on our good faith seemed to them wrong, contrary to the tenor of the treaty and in defiance of right and justice, for Egypt had kept good faith and did not deserve such treatment.11

6. The city of Balbis is besieged and taken. The sultan beguiles the king by promising a large sum of money.

Accordingly the king made all his preparations and assembled all the paraphernalia of war. Then, in the month of October, in the fifth year of his reign, he mustered the forces of the realm and went down into Egypt.12 After a march of about ten days across the intervening desert, he arrived at Balbis, where he at once began siege operations. Within three days he had opened a way with the sword and taken the place by force. Without delay, on November 3 he placed his forces in full possession of the city.

As soon as the place was taken, most of the citizens were put to the sword without regard to age or sex. If by any chance some escaped death, they suffered loss of liberty and fell under the miserable yoke of bondage, a fate which to men of honor is far worse than any form of death. Among the prisoners of high rank taken at Balbis was Mahaza, a son of the sultan, and also one of the latter’s nephews. The two had been in charge of the city, in command of the troops assembled there.

As soon as an entrance was opened, the troops rushed in pell-mell and, without regard for distinctions of any kind, penetrated to the most secluded retreats. They unbarred private apartments and dragged in chains to ignominious death those who had vainly thought to escape by hiding. All men in the prime of life capable of bearing arms were immediately put to the sword. Scarcely were old men and children spared, while to the common people slight consideration was shown. Whatever seemed at all desirable became the booty of the enemy, and the most valuable articles were divided by lot as spoils.

11 Lundgreen, following Abu-Sama, believes that the Templars did finally take part after voicing their objections to the venture. The Templars were especially concerned because their grand master, Geoffrey Fulcher, had made the treaty with the caliph at Cairo in 1167. William had given chief credit to Hugh of Caesarea (see F. Lundgreen, Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden, pp. 101-6).
12 Amaury and his army left Ascalon October 20, 1168 (R. Röhricht, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani, no. 453). William, who left Ohrida on October 1, did not have time to reach home before Amaury’s departure.
Shawar, completely overwhelmed by the news of these outrages, was at a loss what course to adopt. He began to consider, as far as the time and circumstances permitted, whether to endeavor to appease the king’s wrath by an offer of money or to beg the neighboring chiefs of his own faith to assist him, either freely or for pay. Finally, as a matter of immediate precaution, he resolved to use both methods. Accordingly, he sent a deputation to Nureddin to ask for help. This was readily granted. Nureddin called Shirkuh, who was mentioned above, put him in command of a part of the army, and gave him a large number of his own nobles to share the responsibility. He ordered the necessary provisions for the march to be supplied, arranged for a goodly number of camels to carry the baggage, and sent the expedition into Egypt.

7. The king encamps before Cairo while waiting for the money promised by the sultan.

After the destruction of Balbis, the king marched on with all his forces toward Cairo. He made very slow progress, scarcely advancing a distance of one day’s march in ten days. He finally arrived at his destination, however, established camp before the city, and had the machines made ready for action. Wickerwork screens were set up and whatever else might be useful in siege operations arranged. These preparations outside the walls seemed to forecast an attack very shortly. The hearts of the besieged shook with fear, and they felt themselves already menaced by the apparition of death.\(^{13}\)

Those who know the secret reasons underlying the king’s actions declare that he purposely delayed making the attack in order that the terror-stricken sultan might have more time for reflection and so be led to offer money for the withdrawal of the troops. The king’s entire aim was to extort \(^{14}\) money from the sultan; he preferred to take a goodly bribe and withdraw rather than to give those cities over to rapine at the hands of his people, as had been done at Balbis. This statement will be explained more fully later.

During this interval, the sultan tried every means of approach to the king, through the members of his own house and those of the

\(^{13}\) Virgil *Aen.* 1. 95.

\(^{14}\) William’s choice of words here is reminiscent of Terence *Phormio* iv and Plautus *Bacch.* v. i. 16.
king, and employed every subtle device. His offers finally worked on the mind of the avaricious king; for the sum promised was so vast that the entire resources of the kingdom would scarcely have sufficed to pay it even though scraped together from every corner. He promised, it is said, two million pieces of gold for the release of his son and nephew and the withdrawal of the troops to their own country. He made this offer, as was later disclosed, not with any expectation of ever being able to redeem his promises, but to prevent the king from advancing suddenly on Cairo. The city was wholly unprepared and, in its defenceless state, might easily be taken by a surprise attack. Those who were present at the time believe that this would undoubtedly have happened, had our army advanced on Cairo by forced marches immediately after the capture of Balbis. For at that time the Egyptians were greatly disheartened—in fact, almost stupefied—by the recent massacre and the unexpected catastrophe to that great city. This does, indeed, seem most probable, for the citizens of Cairo were weak and effeminate and entirely without military training. For a long time they had devoted themselves entirely to pleasure. The neighboring city was still smoking, and they themselves were utterly prostrated over the loss of countless friends. At such a time, while fearing for themselves the fate that had overtaken others, they would have had neither courage nor strength to resist.

8. **Our fleet sails up the Nile and joins the land forces. The sultan withdraws from his agreement. He attempts resistance and begs aid from the Turks.**

This, then, was the situation in the vicinity of Cairo. Meanwhile, the fleet, which the king upon his departure from the realm had ordered to set sail with all speed, arrived. Borne by favoring winds, it is said to have entered the Nile through that branch commonly known as Carabes. Tanis, a very ancient city on that bank of the river, was at once captured by the naval forces and handed over to the troops for plunder and pillage. The fleet then attempted to sail on to join the king, but the Egyptians blocked the Nile with their vessels and prevented its passage. Thereupon the king sent Humphrey of Toron, his constable, with a picked body of cavalry to seize the opposite shore if possible, that a passage on that side at least might be kept unobstructed. This might have been done without difficulty, had not a
rumor arisen in the meantime that Shirkuh was approaching. This
compelled a change of plans. The fleet was ordered to sail out to sea
immediately and return home, which was done. Through lack of
proper precaution, however, one of the galleys was lost.

In the meantime, the sultan and his people did not cease their
efforts to drive the king from their land. What they lacked in strength
they accomplished by strategy and atoned for the weakness of their
forces by using subtle devices. As soon as the money had been
promised, they demanded an increased length of time in which to pay
it. The excuse given was that such an immense sum could not be
secured from one source, therefore more time must be granted before
the agreement could be carried out. A payment of a hundred thou-
sand gold pieces was made at once, however, and in return the sultan’s
son and his nephew were released. As hostages for the remainder he
offered his two little nephews, lads of tender years.

The king then raised the siege, withdrew with his forces to a place
about a mile away, and established his camp near the garden of
Balsam. Here the forces remained for eight days. During this time,
the king received frequent but unsatisfactory messages from the sultan
and finally again removed the camp to a place called Syriccus.

Meanwhile the sultan was sending his messengers throughout the
entire realm to beg for aid. He collected all the available arms and
summoned assistance from the surrounding country. He ordered food
supplies to be brought into Cairo, made the rounds of the city, saw
that all weak places in the fortifications were strengthened, and con-
sidered every method of resistance. With persuasive words he called
upon his people to fight for their lives, for liberty, for their wives
and children. He drew before their eyes a vivid picture of the dread-
ful disaster that had befallen a neighboring city, described the bitter-
ness of captivity, the unbearable yoke of a master, and the desperate
lot of those under slavery.

9. Milon de Plancy corrupts the king’s mind by evil counsel.
Shirkuh arrives in response to the call of the Egyptians. The
king advances into the desert against him but does not find
him. He therefore returns to his own land without having
obtained results.

There was a certain man in the king’s army, of noble family but of
degenerate morals, one who neither feared God nor reverenced man.
Milon de Plancy was a man without shame, a brawler and a slanderer, ever active in stirring up trouble. Well aware of the king’s insatiable desire for wealth, he chose to foster those avaricious tendencies rather than to offer wholesome admonitions. From the first he had consistently advised the king to devote all his efforts toward a certain end, namely, to cheat the Egyptian kingdom of the sum mentioned above and then to effect an arrangement with the sultan and the caliph, instead of attempting to take Cairo and Bablyyun by force. He did this, it is said, not because he believed it impossible to take the city, but that he might outwit the knights and others who were eagerly looking forward to the spoils and thus turn the entire rewards of this great campaign into the royal treasury. For when a city is taken by storm, the army usually reaps a far richer harvest of spoils than is the case when the surrender is made to a king or prince directly, under the definite terms of a treaty which benefits the lord only.

In the former case, amid the din and confusion of looting, the right of war permits each man to seize whatever chance throws in his way, and thus the private means of the victors are increased. In the latter contingency, however, the advantage is wholly to the king, and all that is gained by this means accrues to his coffers. Moreover, although it may appear that all which increases the fortune of the king and those in high places benefits their subjects indirectly and increases the wealth of all, yet the individual ever seeks more eagerly those gains which tend to swell his private property and to enrich his own lares and penates.

And so this diversity of feeling led to serious altercations. The majority demanded that the decision be left to the sword and that all be given over to pillage, while the king and his party held otherwise. The wishes of the latter finally prevailed, and the will of the king was accomplished.

While the army was encamped in the village just named, five or six miles from Cairo, a steady stream of messengers kept passing to and fro between the two sides. The sultan was continually sending word that he was using every effort to collect the promised sum; meanwhile he begged the king not to consider the delay but to wait patiently. He also advised him not to approach nearer to the city, lest the caliph and the people, who were relying in full security on the treaty of peace already arranged, should become alarmed. The
money would soon be paid, and the king would be able to return home under favorable circumstances. With false promises of this kind, Shawar successfully played on the credulity of the Christians and thereby counteracted the good advice and sound warnings of others who suggested wiser plans. Then, suddenly, a rumor arose that Shirkuh was at hand with a countless host of Turks. As soon as the king heard this news, he broke camp, ordered the baggage arranged, and returned to Balbis. There he supplied himself with the necessary provisions for the march, left a force of infantry and cavalry to guard the city, and on December 25 marched out into the desert against Shirkuh. When he had advanced for some distance into the wilderness, however, trustworthy scouts who knew the locality well reported that Shirkuh had already crossed the Nile with his forces. This news necessitated a change of plans. As the enemy’s strength would be doubled by these reinforcements, it would not be safe to tarry longer, for delay was fraught with extreme danger. On the other hand, to risk an engagement with Shirkuh seemed equally hazardous. The sultan no longer showed any intention of standing by the treaty, and we were helpless to force him to do so. By a shrewd and carefully considered policy of delay, he had prolonged the affair until the Turks were at hand and we must depart. Accordingly, the forces returned to Balbis, where they were joined by the detachment which had been left there to guard the city. On January 2, the Christian army in marching array took the road back to Syria.15

10. Shirkuh seizes Egypt. He kills the sultan and, a little later, is himself slain.

Shirkuh now felt the time opportune to accomplish his purpose, for, since the king had departed, there was nothing to hinder his wishes. He therefore ordered the plan which he had already formed to be carried out. He placed his camp before Cairo as if his coming were with no hostile intent, and there, like a sensible man, he waited patiently for several days. He showed no sign of unfriendly feeling

16 The detailed account of this campaign, with the emphasis placed upon the atrocities committed by the Christians, the sordid motives in their negotiations with Shawar, and the sympathetic appreciation of Shawar’s tactics, reflects not only William’s typical regard for the sanctity of treaties, even when made with infidels, but also his concern about the real, though not formal, breach of the treaty which he himself had signed with the Greeks.
or sinister design, but with the shrewdness of which he was a master he concealed his actual intention. Each day Shawar the sultan, accompanied by a large retinue, went out to visit him at his camp and, after offering the customary devoted salutation and presenting gifts, returned to the city.

The security attending these successive visits seemed to promise well for the future; and the honorable reception accorded him for several days increased the sultan’s confidence. But, alas, in this fancied security he placed too much reliance on the good faith of the Turk, and therefore Shirkuh, as the minister of murder, took him unawares. He gave secret orders to his minions that at dawn the following day, when he himself went out as if to walk down to the shore, at the time when the sultan made his daily visit, they should fall upon the Egyptian and slay him. Accordingly when Shawar went to the camp at the usual hour to pay his accustomed visit and render the salutation due, the agents of death rushed upon him and carried out their orders. They threw him to the ground, stabbed him through and through, and cut off his head.

His sons had witnessed the murder. They mounted their horses at once and galloped swiftly back to Cairo, where they prostrated themselves before the caliph and on their knees begged for life. He is said to have answered that they might hope for life on condition that they would have no secret dealing with the Turks. These terms they immediately violated, however, by secretly sending messengers to treat with Shirkuh about peace. When the caliph was informed of this, he ordered them to be put to death by the sword.

The king had now departed, and Shawar had been removed from this world. Well satisfied with the accomplishment of his desires, Shirkuh thereupon seized the kingdom and visited the caliph to pay him the reverence due. He was received with great honor and granted the high dignity of sultan. Thus, strong through the power of the sword, Shirkuh became master of all Egypt.

O blind cupidity of men, worse than all other crimes! O wicked madness of an insatiable and greedy heart! From a quiet state of

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16 According to Beha ed-Din, it was Saladin who carried out these orders for the assassination of Shawar. The caliph is said to have requested the head of Shawar and, upon receiving it, sent the robes of the vizirate to Shirkuh, who made his formal call on the caliph the next day, January 19, 1169 (see Beha ed-Din, The Life of Saladin, p. 55).
peace into what a turbulent and anxious condition has an immoderate desire for possessions plunged us! All the resources of Egypt and its immense wealth served our needs; the frontiers of our realm were safe on that side; there was no enemy to be feared on the south. The sea afforded a safe and peaceful passage to those wishing to come to us. Our people could enter the territories of Egypt without fear and carry on commerce and trade under advantageous conditions. On their part, the Egyptians brought to the realm foreign riches and strange commodities hitherto unknown to us and, as long as they visited us, were at once an advantage and an honor to us. Moreover, the large sums spent by them every year among us enriched the fiscal treasury and increased the private wealth of individuals. But now, on the contrary, all things have been changed for the worse. "How is the most fine gold changed" and "my harp also is turned into mourning." 17 Wherever I turn I find only reasons for fear and uneasiness. The sea refuses to give us a peaceful passage, all the regions round about are subject to the enemy, and the neighboring kingdoms are making preparations to destroy us. The cupidity of one man has brought all these misfortunes upon us, and his avarice, the root of all evil, has clouded the serenity which had been vouchsafed us from on high. 18 But let us resume the thread of our story.

After the death of the sultan and his sons, so undeserved, of which we, by our unrighteous conduct, were the guilty cause, Shirkuh held the royal power over Egypt as he had desired. But he was not permitted to rejoice long in his elevation, for he had ruled hardly a year when he was removed from the affairs of this world. 19

11. Shirkuh is succeeded by Saladin, his brother's son, who rules the kingdom of Egypt.

Shirkuh was succeeded by his nephew Saladin, the son of his brother Negem-ed-Din. 20 The new ruler was a man of keen and vigorous

17 Lam. 4: 1; Job 30: 31.
18 This appreciation of the importance of commerce as above politics is strangely modern and has often been quoted (see C. Haskins, Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, p. 270). These reflections were probably inserted by William when he was revising his work, about 1182, for the conditions described were not prevalent until later.
19 Shirkuh's death, the result of gluttony, occurred March 23, 1169, barely two months after he had become vizier (Beha ed-Din, Saladin, p. 56).
20 Najm al-Din Ayyub. This family was of Kurdish, not Turkish, descent and
mind, valiant in war, and of an extremely generous disposition. It is said that at the very beginning of his rule, when he visited the caliph to pay the homage which he owed, he struck his lord to the ground with a club which he held in his hand and slew him. He then put all the caliph’s children to the sword in order that he himself might be subject to no higher authority but might rule as both caliph and sultan. For the Turks were regarded with hatred by the Egyptians, and Saladin feared that sometime when he had occasion to come before the caliph his lord might order him to be put to death. Accordingly he took means to forestall any such intention and brought upon the unsuspecting caliph the fate which, if report be true, the latter was preparing to inflict upon him as sultan.  

On the death of the caliph, Saladin seized his wealth and all the royal treasures for himself, together with everything of value in the palace. He disposed of all things according to his own pleasure. To his soldiers in particular he gave with such lavish generosity that, within a few days, the wardrobes were empty and he was obliged to borrow money from others. Thus he incurred a heavy burden of debt.

Some of the late caliph’s sons are said to have been secretly saved by loyal adherents of their father, to the end that, if at some future time the Egyptians should regain control of the government, an heir of his name, rank, and blood might not be lacking.

12. Bernard, abbot of the monastery of Mt. Tabor, is established over the church at Lydda. Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, departs for the West to ask aid from the princes there.

After the king’s return to the kingdom nothing worthy of note happened during the first part of that year except the death of Raynerus, bishop of Lydda, of happy memory, and the installation of Bernard, abbot of the monastery of Mt. Tabor in his place.

hence related more nearly to the Persians. Saladin himself was called Yusuf. The family is commonly referred to as the Ayyubid dynasty.

21 This account of the death of the caliph is not confirmed by other sources. It is possible that William is confusing Saladin’s part in the destruction of Shawar and his family (note 16 above) with the death of the caliph. Caliph Adid seems to have died a natural death, September 13, 1171. The Abbasid caliphate had been proclaimed in Egypt even before his death without causing any disturbance (see G. Wiet, L’Egypte arabe de la conquête arabe à la conquête ottomane, 642-1510 de l’ère chrétienne, p. 302). The change occurred so quietly that it may have been years later before William heard of it. The Fatimid caliphate ended with Caliph Adid.
The following spring, which was the beginning of the sixth year of King Amaury’s reign, the wise men of the kingdom began to realize that the subjugation of Egypt by the Turks had been a serious injury to us and that our situation had become materially worse. By sailing out from Egypt with his large fleet, Nureddin, our most powerful enemy, could effectively shut in the realm and blockade all the coast cities by land and sea, with his two armies. Still more to be dreaded was the fact that he could hinder the passage of pilgrims on their way to us, or even refuse them permission to pass at all. It was deemed imperative, therefore, that an embassy chosen from distinguished dignitaries of the church be sent to the princes of the West to set forth with the utmost care the intolerable distress under which the kingdom was laboring, the affliction of the Christian people, and the dire calamities which were threatening the brethren. To undertake this mission, the Patriarch Hernesius, archbishop of Caesarea, and William, bishop of Acre, reverend men endowed with wisdom and persuasive eloquence, were unanimously selected. Accordingly they set sail. They carried with them letters from the king and all the bishops: to Frederick, emperor of the Romans; Louis, king of the Franks; Henry, king of the English; and William, king of Sicily; also to the noble and illustrious counts, Philip of Flanders, Henry of Troyes, and Theobald II of Chartres—in fact, to all the other great nobles of the West. The night after their departure, however, a violent tempest suddenly broke forth; the ship was tossed hither and yon, the oars were broken, and the masts thrown down. After three days, the envoys returned greatly terrified; they had barely escaped shipwreck. Another delegation was therefore chosen and dispatched in place of the first. It consisted of Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, who had been finally prevailed upon to accept the task by the urgent entreaties of the king and the nobles, and John, bishop of Banyas, suffragan of that same church. The two embarked under more fortunate auspices and, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at their destination. They accomplished little, however, in the matter which had been entrusted to them. The bishop died at Paris, soon after reaching

22 King Amaury returned in January, 1169. He would be completing six years of his reign in the following February. The following spring would mark the beginning of his seventh year, therefore. The embassy referred to in this chapter reached Rome in July and Paris in September, 1169 (see R. Röhrich, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291, p. 344).
France, and the archbishop, after a stay of two years abroad, returned without having succeeded in his mission.

13. *The emperor, anxious to carry out the treaty, sends a fleet to Syria under command of some of his nobles.*

That summer passed uneventfully without any occurrence worthy of note. At the beginning of the following autumn, the emperor, mindful of his agreement, sent the promised fleet in fulfillment of the treaty which he had made with the king at our suggestion and desire. In this matter he is highly to be commended, for with imperial magnificence he interpreted the treaty very liberally and more than carried out his promises. There were in this naval force one hundred and fifty ships of war equipped with beaks and a double tier of oars. These vessels were known as galleys and were especially designed for use in war. There were in addition sixty larger boats, well-armored, which were built to carry horses. They were fitted with large openings in the stern for greater convenience in loading and unloading the animals, and they also had bridges by means of which both men and horses might be more easily embarked and landed. The fleet included also ten or twenty vessels of huge size called *dromones*, which were loaded to capacity with commissary supplies of all kinds. These latter also carried arms of many kinds and, in addition, engines and machines of war.

The emperor placed in command of the entire fleet Megalducas, one of his nobles and a kinsman of his own. Accompanying him was another noble called Maurice, who stood very high in the confidence of his imperial master. On the experience of this man the emperor relied greatly, as was later shown when he put Maurice in charge of all the affairs of the empire. Associated with these two in the command was Count Alexander of Conversana, a nobleman of Apulia. The emperor regarded him with sincere affection because of the deep and loyal devotion displayed by the count toward himself.

To these three nobles was committed the command of the imperial

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23 This was Alexius Contostephanus, whose title, grand duke, William has used. The other two commanders were Alexander of Gravina, or Conversana, who had been a member of the embassy from Manuel in 1168, and Theodore Maurozunes whom William here calls Maurice. The fleet, after a review by Manuel, left the neighborhood of Constantinople shortly after July 10, 1169 (see Chalandon, *Les Commène*, II, 538).
army when it was sent into our part of the Orient. About the end of September after a prosperous voyage, the fleet entered the harbor of Tyre. Thence it proceeded to Acre, where it lay at anchor in a quiet roadstead between the river and the port.

14. *The king goes down into Egypt with his army. The Greeks accompany him with both land and sea forces.*

In the year of the Lord 1169, the sixty-eighth of the liberation of the city and the sixth of King Amaury's reign,²⁴ the king, having set the affairs of the realm in order and left a force of knights to protect the realm during his absence from the wiles and inroads of Nureddin, who was still hovering in the vicinity of Damascus, ordered the entire host both Latin and Greek to assemble on October 15 at Ascalon. The fleet had sailed from the port of Acre several days before, bound for the land of Egypt.

The army marched forth from Ascalon on August 16.²⁵ In order that the infantry forces might not be unduly wearied, they advanced by easy stages and made frequent use of stopping places where there was no lack of water. On the ninth day the ancient city of Farama was reached. They wished to follow the shore road, but a recent occurrence made it necessary to take the longer inland route. For some of the dykes between the plain and the neighboring sea had been broken down by the constant lashing of the waves, and the waters had forced a passage through the opposing barriers. Now unchecked, they overflowed the road into the plain beyond, where they formed a pond which, although narrow at first, broadened out within the field into a much wider expanse. This influx of the sea brought in with it such a quantity of fish that thenceforth a supply of that kind of food in abundance never dreamed of before was afforded not only to the cities in the vicinity but even to places more remote. Since the sea had inundated the country along the coast, travellers who had intended to go to Egypt by the shore route were obliged to make a detour of ten miles or even more around this pond before they could return to the road.

These details have been given because of the novelty of this marvel-

²⁴ Here again William is confused in the application of his formulae for the equation of the Christian era with the era of Latin Jerusalem and the statement of the regnal year. The date should read "1169, the seventieth year of the liberation of the city and the seventh of King Amaury's reign."

²⁵ This is evidently a slip of the pen, for October 16 is clearly intended.
lous occurrence and also because, by the constant inflow of the sea, this desert region, which was formerly exposed to the intense heat of the sun, was now covered with water and frequented by boatmen. This region, now become very productive, was filled with the nets of fishermen and yielded a harvest heretofore unknown.

The city of Farama, referred to above, is now uninhabited, but it was once the home of a large population. It is situated on the border of the desert near Carabes, the first arm of the Nile, at the point where that branch of the river flows into the sea. It lies, therefore, between the river, the sea, and the desert; yet it is three miles distant from the mouth of the Nile.

When our army reached Farama, they found that the fleet had already arrived. The necessary oarsmen were immediately provided, and the entire army was ferried across to the opposite shore. Then, leaving on the left Tanis, formerly a noble city but now merely a small town, the army proceeded for about twenty miles along a road between a marsh and the shore and finally, after a march of two days, arrived at Damietta.

15. The king blockades Damietta. In the siege of that city both the Greek and Latin armies exert themselves without result.

Damietta is one of the oldest and most famous cities of Egypt. It lies on the bank of the Nile nearer us at the point where the river flows into the sea through its second mouth. It is conveniently placed between the river and the sea, from which it is about a mile away. Our land army reached Damietta on October 27 and encamped between the city and the sea to await the arrival of the fleet, which was detained by rough seas and adverse winds. After three days the tumult of the waves subsided, and the fleet, taking advantage of favoring winds, entered the river and anchored in a quiet harbor along the shore midway between the city and the sea.

On the opposite bank a high tower, well garrisoned by a company of armed men sufficient to afford it complete protection, stood out boldly by itself. From this tower to the city was stretched an iron chain which completely barred the passage to the upper part of the river and proved a great hindrance to our forces. All ships coming from above, however, from Cairo and Babilyun, could pass to them freely without hindrance.
When the fleet had been stationed in position, the troops passed on through the orchards which lay between their place of encampment and the city itself and set up their tents quite near Damietta, where the approach to the walls was unhindered. They deferred making the attack until three days had elapsed, however, and thereby learned by experience the truth of the saying, "When all is ready it is dangerous to delay." For from the upper parts of Egypt came a host of Turks, infinite in number, and ships loaded with armed men. Thus our army was obliged to look helplessly on while the city which earlier had been practically empty was filled to overflowing. It soon became apparent that without the assistance of machines and engines of war Damietta could not be taken, although on the arrival of the Christians it had seemed scarcely able to sustain the first attack.

Workmen were accordingly chosen and suitable material provided. Then, at the cost of much expense and labor, a lofty tower of seven stories was built, from the top of which the entire city could be surveyed. Other machines of various kinds were also constructed. Some of these were designed to hurl huge rocks for battering down the walls, others, to protect the sappers who, enclosed within them as within hidden caverns, could approach the fortifications and, by constructing subterranean tunnels beneath them, cause the walls, thus deprived of support, to topple over.

Meanwhile, the approaches to the city had been levelled in such a manner that the engines which had now been built could be applied to the walls. The fighters in the movable tower kept up a continual pressure upon the besieged. Without intermission, they hurled forth showers of arrows and stone missiles together with such other weapons as their fury and the confined space furnished. At the same time the men stationed at the hurling engines sent forth volleys of huge rocks and made zealous efforts to demolish the walls and the houses attached to them.

On perceiving these attempts, the townsfolk endeavored to circumvent ruse by ruse. In order to combat our efforts with equal cunning, they erected a high tower opposite ours and manned it with armed men who were to resist our efforts from a similar machine and respond to our attacks with others of equal fury. Accordingly, they stationed their engines over against our apparatus and put forth every

\[\text{20 Lucan Pharsal. i. 281.}\]
effort to demolish it. The need of defending themselves developed skill, and the emergency lent them strength. Those who up to this time had felt unequal to resistance now, spurred on by necessity, invented schemes hitherto unthought of, and the minds of even the dullest became alert in devising means to secure their own safety. They learned by dire experience the truth of the saying, "Adversity develops shrewdness." 27

But at the very time when the Christians should have pressed on the siege more fiercely than ever, they began to show signs of cowardice and indifference. This change of morale has been attributed by some to treachery and by others to mere carelessness and neglect. It soon became evident that our troops were showing less facility and sagacity than usual or, at all events, that those in command were acting with treacherous intent. They ordered that one of the newly built towers be applied to the walls in a steep and almost impregnable place. There were in that same part of the city many places where the wall was lower and far less strong, where it would have been more easily taken, yet the movable tower was set up at the strongest and best fortified point, at a place which presented more difficulties than any other for applying the machines. Moreover, from that position the damage would be inflicted not upon the townspeople or their buildings but only upon the church of the Holy Mother of God, which was situated close to the walls.

There can be no doubt that the delay in attacking Damietta immediately after our arrival there proceeded from evil intent. At that time the city was practically deserted, occupied only by its own citizens, who were weak and peaceable people, utterly ignorant of the art of war. If the Christians had attacked the city boldly at once, as they should have done, it could have been taken at the first assault. But the besieged were allowed a respite, and during that time their number was greatly increased by reinforcements of brave and gallant fighters. The result was that they were able to withstand our attacks, not only within the city itself, but even on the field outside.

27 Ovid Met. vi. 575.
16. A famine breaks out in the camp. Our fleet barely escapes destruction by fire. All our efforts prove vain and the siege is finally raised.

At this juncture, another misfortune was added to the troubles of the Christians. The Greeks who had come in large numbers in the fleet now began to suffer from a shortage of provisions. Their bread supply had entirely given out, and, in fact, no food of any description was to be found among them. It happened that a grove of palm trees near the camp was being cut down for use in various ways. As the trees fell, the starving Greeks eagerly sought a tender morsel which grows at the top where the branches spring forth and which supplies them with sap. Being edible, this furnished a kind of food, albeit poor, which assuaged the pangs of hunger. The famished condition of these people rendered them skilful in seeking food, and the cravings of a ravenous stomach developed their ingenuity in providing for its needs. For some days they managed to eke out a miserable existence with this food. Others of their number, not wholly destitute, satisfied the demands of hunger with oats, raisins, and chestnuts. The Christians had a sufficient supply of bread and other provisions of various kinds, but, mindful of the future, they were sparing of their small stock. For if they were improvident enough to share supplies with those who had none, there was danger that they themselves might sometime be in want. Moreover, they were uncertain how lengthy a stay was to be made at Damietta and suspected that it would be of long duration.

A great deal of rain fell at this time, and the storms were so violent that the poorer people were unable by any device to keep the water from dripping through their tents. Nor were the rich in much better condition, for their pavilions were drenched by the downpour or rather cloudbursts from the sky. Only by digging ditches around the tents to carry off the floods of water could they obtain even a slight protection.

Another serious calamity now fell upon them. The galleys and other vessels of various kinds had been brought into the river from the sea and stationed near the city in a position apparently quite safe. The townspeople, however, observing that the wind was from the south and that the waves of the Nile were rolling in with great
violence, seized the opportunity to carry into effect a plan already conceived. They took a boat of ordinary size, filled it to capacity with dry wood, pitch, and whatever inflammable materials would nourish flames and set it on fire. It was then launched on the river, where the waves of their own volition carried it against our fleet. Fanned by the south wind, the flame spread rapidly to the fuel with which the boat was loaded. The blazing craft sailed down upon the fleet, where it was caught among our closely massed vessels and held fast. In this manner the flaming cargo was conveyed to our vessels, and six of the beaked ships called galleys were burned to ashes. As the violence of the flames increased, the entire fleet would have been enveloped in its fury, had it not been for the vigilance of the king. He discovered the fire, and without waiting even to put on his shoes, he quickly mounted his horse and roused the sailors. With frantic shouts and gestures, he called on them to stop the flames. This they succeeded in doing by separating the vessels from one another, and thus the fury of the all-pervading flames was quelled. Any ship which chanced to catch fire from the sparks and other inflammable materials borne by the wind was at once rescued by the application of water, thanks to the river so close at hand.

Assaults on the city were made at intervals of several days, but, as usually happens when the outcome of battle is uncertain, victory fell now to the Christians and again to the infidels. It was generally the Christians who challenged to combat, for the enemy, unless provoked, rarely offered battle. Occasionally, however, the besieged, inspired by some feeling of confidence, emerged from a postern gate opposite the camp of the Greeks and made unexpected attacks upon that part of the army. Possibly they had heard that the Greek forces were less strong than ours, or rumor may have carried the news that they were in dire extremity through hunger and so less able to withstand attack. In spite of this handicap, however, whenever opportunity offered the commander Megalducas and all the other Greeks fought gallantly and boldly in battle array. Encouraged by the example of their superiors, those of lower rank again and again attacked with unusual vigor and stood their ground with intrepidity.

The strength of the besieged, however, was continually increased by large detachments which were ever arriving both by land and by sea. As a result of this, the citizens, although confined within a city
under siege, were a source of greater terror to their opponents than were the Christians to them.

Murmurs now began to creep among the people, and the feeling was almost unanimous that our toil was being wasted. It was the general opinion that the expedition had been undertaken against the will of the Lord and that, therefore, His face was turned from us in anger; far wiser would it be to return home than to languish away in Egypt by famine or to perish by the sword of the infidel. Accordingly, a treaty with certain secret stipulations was concluded through the combined efforts of some of our leaders and certain Turkish satraps, notably through the energetic work of a chief named Jevelino. The Greeks agreed to the same compromise, and presently peace was proclaimed by the voice of the herald. 28

17. *The expedition is recalled, and the king returns to his own land. On the homeward voyage, almost the entire Greek fleet is lost by reason of unfavorable winds.*

Then the townspeople and the allies who had come to their assistance went out freely to visit our camp, and those of our soldiers who wished to do so were likewise permitted to pass back and forth between the city and the camp without hindrance. Now at length both sides could freely trade with each other, for permission was given to all to buy, sell, or exchange as they desired. For the space of three days, therefore, the Christians used the market place in common with the infidels and made all their preparations for the march. They then tore down the engines of war and burned them, after which the land army followed the king back into Syria. By forced marches they retraced their steps over the route by which they had come and, on December 21, arrived at Ascalon. Because of the approaching feast

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28 The Greek historians have much to say about this expedition, and, needless to add, they place the blame on the Latins. William, despite the mention of charges against the Greeks, really affords the Greek historians much support. The Latins were evidently divided in sentiment, many of them being none too anxious to divide Egypt with the Greeks. Such must have been the meaning of the embassy to seek aid in the West in 1169, though they already had an alliance for the purpose with Manuel. Such too had been the meaning of Amaury's hasty expedition to Egypt in 1168, though his own envoy was at that very moment returning from Manuel's court with the signed treaty. It would seem that there is much to support Chalandon's contentions (Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 546). The name of the Turkish leader who negotiated the treaty is given by Chalandon as “Djawali.”
day, the king hastened on to Acre, which he reached on the eve of the Lord's Nativity.

Those who had come by ship, however, set sail under evil omens and unlucky auspices. Scarcely had they started on the voyage when suddenly a severe storm arose. The inevitable perils of the sea were experienced, for the boats were shattered by the waves and cast upon the shore. Nearly all were wrecked. Of the great fleet which had come to us, only a few ships, some large and some small, remained uninjured and were able to return under their own power.

Although the emperor's envoys had shown all possible diligence in their efforts to complete the task entrusted to them, yet they were obliged to return unsuccessful and sad of heart, appalled by the adversity of fate. For they feared that his imperial majesty might charge to them, beyond their deserts, the disastrous outcome of the campaign. Although this result was wholly due to inevitable chance, yet it was possible that he in his anger might unjustly ascribe it to their negligence or mishandling.

I recall that after my return, I made earnest and careful inquiry of the king and some of the important men of the realm why it was that so large an expedition under the direction of such distinguished princes had resulted so disastrously. My attention during that year had been occupied with my own personal affairs, for to escape the unjust enmity of my archbishop I went to Rome.\(^29\) On my return, I endeavored to investigate the true inwardsness of the matter. By listening to many widely differing accounts, I sought to discover the actual truth, for the results of the expedition were reported to have been far other than we had hoped. I used great care in this matter, for I had already conceived the idea of writing a history of these events. I found that the Greeks had not been without blame in the matter. The emperor had faithfully promised to send sufficient money to support the great army, but in that respect his promises proved un-

\(^29\) William offers no further explanation of his difficulties with his archbishop. It would be reasonable to conjecture that Amaury had insisted upon a generous income for William as archdeacon and historiographer beyond the usual income of the office. There may have been other causes also. At any rate William was absent from the kingdom during most of the year 1169 and had to obtain his information about the campaign after his return and that of the army, sometime after Christmas day, 1169. His statement that he had already conceived the idea of writing a history tends to confirm the implication that this decision was reached in 1167. He was collecting notes at this time.
reliable. From the moment when his archons went into Egypt, where they should have been able to provide for the needs of others from the imperial bounty, they themselves began to experience the pressure of need and had to seek money to provide food as well as payment even for their own legions, and no man gave it unto them.

18. A great earthquake shakes practically the entire East. Ancient cities are destroyed.

In June of the following summer, that is in the seventh year of King Amaury, 30 a great and terrible earthquake, far more violent than any other within the memory of men now living, occurred in the Orient. Strongly fortified cities dating from very early times were completely demolished. The inhabitants, caught in the ruins of their homes, were crushed to death, and only a very few survived. Not a spot within the entire country was left untouched by loss of property and domestic tragedy. Everywhere were signs of sorrow, everywhere obsequies for the dead. The largest cities of our provinces and those of Syria and Phoenicia as well, cities famous throughout the ages for their noble antiquity, were prostrated. In Cœlesyria, Antioch, the metropolis of several provinces and once the head of many kingdoms, was utterly overwhelmed and its entire population destroyed. The massive walls and the immensely strong towers along their circuit fell in ruins. Churches and buildings of every kind were thrown down with such violence that even now, although much labor and expense have been devoted to their restoration, they are only partially repaired. Among other places destroyed in that same province were Jabala and Laodicea, famous cities on the coast. Of the cities farther inland which were still held by the enemy, there were destroyed Beroea, also known as Aleppo, Shayzar, Hama, Hims, and others. The number of fortresses wrecked was beyond counting.

In Phoenicia, on June 29, about the first hour of the day, the great and populous city of Tripoli was suddenly shaken by a violent earthquake, and scarcely a person within its walls escaped. The entire city was reduced to a heap of stones and became the burial place and common sepulchre of the citizens who perished with it. At Tyre, the most famous city of this province, the earth movement was so violent that several massive towers were overthrown. There was, however,

30 June, 1170, was in the eighth year of Amaury's reign.
no loss of life here. Both in our territories and in those of the enemy were found half-ruined fortresses, open on every side and freely exposed to the violence and wiles of the foe. But since each man feared that the wrath of the Stern Judge might descend upon him individually, none dared molest his fellow man. Each was engrossed in his own troubles and weighed down by the burden of his own affairs; hence none thought of injuring his neighbor.

Peace, brought about by the desire of all, ensued, albeit for a short interval, and a truce was arranged through fear of the divine wrath. Each, while momentarily expecting the outpouring of righteous anger from heaven in punishment for his sins, refrained from acts of hostility and curbed his own evil impulses.

Nor was this revelation of the anger of God a momentary thing, as often happens. For three or four months, indeed even longer, that awful tremor was felt both by night and by day, three or four times repeated, or more. Every movement was now a source of terror, and nowhere was safe rest to be found. Even during sleep the subconscious mind, terrified by the image of that which had frightened it while awake, caused the sleeper to start up with a leap into consciousness again.\(^{31}\)

Through the merciful providence of an all-protecting God, the upper portions of our province, that is, of Palestine, were spared these evils.

19. *Saladin invades our land and lays siege to the fortress of Daron.*

In December of this same year, that is the seventh year of King Amaury's reign,\(^{32}\) a persistent rumor spread among the people to the effect that Saladin was about to invade our land. From many sources it was reported that he had already assembled forces from all parts of Egypt and from the land of Damascus as well, that he had enlarged his numbers greatly by levying men from both the middle and lower classes and was planning to advance against Palestine to lay waste the land. As soon as this news reached the king, he at once repaired to the land of Ascalon. There he learned definitely from

\(^{31}\) The vividness of this description reflects William's own personal experience and implies that he was in Tyre when the earthquake occurred.

\(^{32}\) December, 1170, was in the eighth year of the reign.
reliable information received from his own people that this great and powerful prince with an immense army, stronger than ever before, had for two days been besieging the fortress of Daron. During that time he had given the besieged no rest and had done them great injury. Those in the fortress had been showered with arrows so continually that nearly all were wounded and only a few were still able to take arms for the defense of the place. The wall had been undermined and laid open by force. Saladin was already in possession of a part of the place, and the townspeople had perforce taken refuge in the citadel which seemed to be the most strongly fortified part. The enemy had forced an entrance into the lower part of one of the towers and had burned the entrance, but the besieged were still defending the upper part. This was the report which was brought to the king, and it proved to be true.

The commander and protector of the fortress Daron was the noble Anselm de Pass, a religious and God-fearing man, a valiant warrior. If he had happened to be away on the day when the assault occurred, the place would unquestionably have fallen into the enemy's hands.

The news of this critical situation filled the king's heart with grief and fury. He immediately assembled cavalry and infantry forces from all directions as well as the brief space of time and the close proximity of the enemy permitted and, on the eighteenth day of this same month, left Ascalon and hastened to Gaza. He was accompanied by the lord patriarch, who carried the revered and precious Life-giving Cross, and also by the two venerable men, Ralph, bishop of Bethlehem, the royal chancellor, and Bernard, bishop of Lydda. A few other nobles of the realm also accompanied him. The forces on being numbered were found to consist of two hundred and fifty knights and about two thousand infantry.

At Gaza the troops passed a sleepless night, dragging out the weary hours oppressed by the weight of deep anxiety. About sunrise the next morning they started out from Gaza. The brothers of the Knights Templars who had come thither to protect the place joined forces with them, and together they proceeded to the fortress of Daron.

This fortress, I believe, was situated in Idumea, that is Edom, beyond the stream called the river of Egypt, which marks the boundary between Palestine and the region just named. A few years before this
time, King Amaury had built this fortress on a slightly elevated site
above the ancient ruins, some traces of which still remain. A tradition
received from the ancient inhabitants of these parts states that in
earlier days there was a Greek monastery in this place. The present
name, Daron, that is, the house of the Greeks, is reminiscent of that
fact.

As has been said, the king had caused to be built on this site a
fortress of moderate dimensions, covering scarcely more than a stone’s
throw of ground. It was square in form and at each corner was a
tower, one of which was more massive and better fortified than the
rest. There was neither moat nor barbican.

Daron lies about five miles from the sea and four miles from Gaza.
Here a few cultivators of the fields near by had united with some
traders and formed a little settlement. They built a village and a
church not far from the castle and took up their abode there. It was
a pleasant spot where conditions of life for people of the lower ranks
were better than in cities.\footnote{Such sympathetic concern for the lot of peasants and lesser folk was not common in the court literature of the twelfth century.}

The king had built this stronghold with a view to extending his
boundaries; he also had in mind the fact that from this place he could
more easily collect the full revenues due annually from those dwell-
ing in the surrounding villages which our people call casalia. A fixed
toll could also be levied on those travelling past on the road.

20. \textit{The king hastens thither with a small company of knights.}
\textit{Many of our people are slain by the foe, both in the city of}
\textit{Gaza and while on the march.}

Our army accordingly set out from Gaza and, while halting on a
slight elevation along the line of march, caught sight of the enemy’s
camp. Terrified by the vast numbers, they began to crowd together
more than usual, with the result that the very density of their ranks
almost prevented any further advance. The infidels at once charged
and tried to force them apart, but the Christians, by divine help,
massed themselves even more closely together and withstood the
enemy’s attack. Then at a quickened pace they marched on to their
destination, where the entire army halted and set up tents. The lord
patriarch repaired to the citadel, but all the rest camped outside,
close to the outlying village. It was then about the sixth hour of the day. During the course of that day many single combats occurred and also some engagements in which entire companies took part. Our men displayed great courage, both in attacking and resisting. As night was now drawing on apace, Saladin drew up his lines in marching formation and led them toward Gaza. That night he rested near the river and in the morning marched on to Gaza and halted before the city.

The very ancient city of Gaza was once a famous metropolis of the Philistines. It is frequently mentioned in both ecclesiastical and secular histories, and the many noble buildings still remaining give evidence of its ancient splendor. For a long time it had lain desolate without a single inhabitant. Finally, before the capture of Ascalon, Baldwin III, of illustrious memory, the fourth king of Jerusalem, gathered the strength and resources of the realm and built on one part of the hill a fairly well fortified stronghold.\(^{34}\) On the completion of the place he gave it to the brethren of the Temple to be held by them in perpetual right. The fortress, however, did not occupy the entire hill upon which, as has been said, the city was built. But, in order to provide for their own security, the people who had come there to live tried to protect the rest of the hill with a wall and gates. This wall was, however, rather low and far from strong.

When news of the enemy’s approach reached the dwellers on the hill, they decided to take refuge in the fortress with their wives and children and to abandon the remaining undefended part of the city to the enemy. For they were tillers of the soil, unarmed men, wholly unfamiliar with things pertaining to war. Milon de Plancy, however, one of the great nobles of the kingdom but a wicked man, desired to encourage them to resist. He therefore refused them admission and bade them defend that weaker section of the city.

It happened that there was at Gaza a company of sixty-five light-armed youths, valiant fighters, natives of a town called Mahumaria, near Jerusalem.\(^{35}\) They had arrived that very night at Gaza on their way to join the army and by Milon’s order had been assigned to the gate of the outer city. Here they were fighting valiantly for their

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\(^{34}\) See Book XVII, chap. 12.

\(^{35}\) Identified as modern al-Bira, on the main road north from Jerusalem, and is called “La Grande Mahomerie” on the Crusaders’ Map of Palestine.
country and for liberty, bravely resisting the enemy’s attempts to force an entrance by the sword. Suddenly the infidels broke into the place from another direction between the citadel and the gate just mentioned. They made a sudden attack from the rear on the little band which was still stoutly defending the gate and completely surrounded them. Thus taken by surprise, the latter were unable to resist longer and perished by the sword. Although many of these valiant youths were slain and still more wounded, yet the enemy did not retire from this encounter unscathed, for theirs was a bloody victory.

The townspeople now made another attempt to enter the citadel, but, although the Turks were already inside the walls and were causing terrible and indiscriminate massacre everywhere, they were not permitted to enter, nor had they any other way of escape. The Turks at once rushed in and took possession of the city. Neither age nor sex was spared, even suckling babes were dashed against the stones, yet the boundless fury of the invaders seemed incapable of satiety. The refugees in the tower, nevertheless, kept them at a distance by continually hurling down stone missiles and other weapons, and thus, by the help of God, the stronghold remained intact.

After taking the city and murdering the inhabitants, the enemy marched back to Daron as if they were holding the palm of victory. While on the way thither, they came upon about fifty of our infantry forces who were hastening to the army without observing proper precaution. These they killed to a man, although the Christians put up a valiant fight with their swords in a desperate attempt to save themselves.

21. Saladin returns to his own land. The king returns to Ascalon after visiting Daron, now partly in ruins. That same year Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, a glorious martyr in Christ, is murdered in his own church.

The Turks now drew up their ranks in battle array according to military rule and divided their forces into forty-two divisions. Of these twenty were ordered to proceed by the shore route between Daron and the sea. The rest were to follow the road inland until the fortress was passed, when all the troops were again to unite into one body.

Perceiving that the enemy was returning in battle array, the Christians also prepared for the conflict. Their numbers were few, yet
their trust was in the mercy of God. After first invoking aid from on high, they made ready for the encounter, and the Lord gave them strength and firm courage. Nothing seemed more certain than that the Turks had returned to fight with them. Far different, however, was the intention of the latter; they turned neither to the right nor to the left, but made all haste back to Egypt.

Reliable messengers now brought word that the foe had departed without intention of returning. Thereupon, led by the Lord, the king also went back to Ascalon with his army. He left behind at Daron a force of men to rebuild the half-ruined fortress, which after its reconstruction was to be more substantially fortified and carefully guarded. Those who had witnessed many campaigns in the kingdom said that at no time within their knowledge had so great a host of Turks assembled. According to report, the number of knights alone was about forty thousand.36

About this same time, on December 29, there was celebrated at the noble and famous city of Canterbury in England, the passion of the glorious martyr, St. Thomas, archbishop of that city.37 He was a native of London and under Theobald, of blessed memory, archbishop of Canterbury, he became archdeacon of that church. He was later called by Henry II, king of England, to share in the responsibility of the realm and as chancellor was a faithful, wise, and able administrator of the entire kingdom. After the death of the blessed Father Theobald, Thomas was called, at the king’s command, to the church at Canterbury, as the reward of his services. With fearless vigor he fought for the rights of the church against wickedness and tyranny and, as a result, was compelled to flee to France to avoid the persecution of King Henry. There for seven years he endured exile with notable patience worthy of high praise. On his return from this enforced absence, while awaiting the peace that had been promised him, he was slain by the swords of wicked men in the very church over which, by the will of God, he had presided. While in the act of praying for his persecutors, he was ignominiously struck down and, crowned with his own blood, received the glorious fate of martyrdom. Through him, in that same church and indeed throughout the whole

36 Meaning a very large number, as it doubtless was, but not to be taken literally.
37 Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered December 24, 1170. This brief sketch of his life and death is substantially correct. His canonization was proclaimed by Pope Alexander III, probably at the beginning of Lent, 1173.
province, the holy and merciful Lord has deigned to work so many miracles almost daily that the times of the apostles seem verily to have returned.

22. The king visits Constantinople attended by some of his nobles. The emperor showers many honors upon him.

In the following year, which was the seventh of Amaury’s reign, the king summoned all his nobles to him and laid before them the needs of the realm. For he perceived that the kingdom was weighed down by many troubles, that the enemies of the Christian faith were constantly increasing not only in number and valor but in power and riches as well. On the other hand, our realm was completely without wise and discreet leaders. The younger generation which was taking the places of their elders were growing up in wickedness; without purpose or result they were occupying the places of illustrious men and squandering in disgraceful ways the inheritance received from their fathers. As a result, the realm had deteriorated so greatly that its weakness was apparent even to the dullest. The king therefore requested the advice of his nobles as to how these evil conditions could be remedied and the kingdom saved. After consulting together, they responded almost with unanimity, “It is because of our sins that the realm has fallen into such a desperate condition that it can neither attack its enemies nor sustain their onslaughts.” They advised that aid from the princes of the West should be implored to combat these troubles; they had no other plan of relief to suggest.

Accordingly, with the common consent of all, it was resolved that a delegation consisting of men of high rank be sent to explain the difficulties of the kingdom to the princes of the West and to ask their aid. The envoys were instructed to visit the pope and those illustrious lords, the emperor of the Romans, the kings of France, England, Sicily, and the Spains, and also other distinguished dukes and counts and implore their assistance in combatting the imminent perils now threatening the kingdom. It was further resolved that the precarious situation of the realm be made known to the emperor of Constantinople. Since he was much nearer to us and was besides far richer than the others, he could more easily furnish the desired aid. It was specified also that the envoy sent to the emperor should be a person so

88 I 171 should be the ninth, not seventh, year of his reign.
gifted with wisdom, eloquence, and authority that by his tact and ability he might incline the mind of that great prince to comply with our wishes.

While they were deliberating over the selection of a suitable person to undertake this important mission, the king had been consulting with some of his more intimate counsellors. He now laid before the assembly a plan which he had conceived. He declared that a mission of such importance could be undertaken by no one but himself and added that he was prepared to undergo all perils and hardships to relieve the desperate necessity of the kingdom. The great nobles of the realm, though filled with admiration, were almost overcome by this proposal and protested that the task was too arduous; moreover, without the presence of the king the realm would be desolate. Amaury answered, however, "Let the Lord, whose minister I am, rule the kingdom; as for me I am determined to go; no one can induce me to recall that decision."

Accordingly, on March 10, attended by a great retinue as befitted the royal majesty, he set out on the journey with an escort of ten galleys. In his train were William, bishop of Acre, and the following nobles of the realm: Guarmond of Tiberias, John of Arsuf, Gerard de Pougy, the royal marshal, Rohard, the governor of Jerusalem, and Renaud de Nephins. Philip of Nablus, who had already resigned his office as master of the Knights Templars, had been sent on ahead by land. Since the favor of the Lord was with him, the king enjoyed a prosperous voyage and reached in safety the straits of Abydos and the mouth of the Bosphorus, which in common parlance is known as the arm of St. George.

The lord emperor, a wise and discreet prince of great magnificence, worthy of praise in every respect, learned with surprise that, contrary to custom, a mighty prince, the ruler of a great and famous kingdom beloved of God, was about to visit his empire. His first thought was of wonder as to the motive for so unusual and difficult a journey. Then, reflecting how greatly such an incomparable favor thus freely bestowed upon him from on high would redound to his own glory and honor, he was filled with exultation. Nowhere in the annals of his empire was such an unusual event recorded, never before had a king of Jerusalem, the defender and advocate of the venerable places of the Lord's passion and resurrection, visited his imperial
predecessors. He determined to anticipate the king's arrival and to show him great honor. Accordingly he summoned John the *protosebastos* his nephew, one of the most illustrious nobles of the sacred palace, whose daughter King Amaury had married, and sent him to meet the royal visitor. He instructed the *protosebastos* to see to it that in all the cities and places through which the king passed great honor should be shown him, in accordance with the long-established custom of the empire and the incomparable magnificence pertaining thereto. Furthermore, he was to advise the king, as a son, to await the coming of the imperial representatives who would escort him into the royal city.

In obedience to the emperor's command, this magnificent prince with a noble retinue met the king at Gallipolis, a city on the Bosphorus, not far from the straits of Abydos. Since the wind was not in the right direction at the time to waft the ship on to the imperial city, the king disembarked here from the galley and with the members of his personal suite proceeded on horseback to Heraclea, a city on the same coast. There, in the harbor, he found the fleet. It had taken advantage of a favorable change of wind and arrived before him. Accordingly he again embarked and after a prosperous sail arrived at Constantinople.

23. *The king is introduced into the presence of the emperor, who receives him with marked honor. Frequent colloquies take place between them over matters of serious importance.*

In this city, on the shore of the sea facing east is the imperial residence known as the palace of Constantine. The approach leading up to it from the sea has a marvellous pavement of magnificent marble; marble steps descend to the water's edge, and statues of lions and columns, also of marble, adorn the place with royal splendor. This entrance was ordinarily reserved for the use of the emperor alone when he wished to ascend to the upper part of the palace, but contrary to the usual custom, as a mark of special honor, the king was given the privilege of using it. Here the great nobles of the sacred palace, surrounded by a throng of courtiers, awaited his arrival, and a most honorable reception was accorded him. Thence, attended by his suite and many attachés of the court, he was conducted through various corridors and rooms of many kinds to the upper part of the
palace, where the emperor, with his illustrious nobles, had his residence. Before the imperial audience hall hung curtains of precious fabrics, adorned with handiwork not inferior to the material itself; to it, indeed, might be aptly applied the words of Naso, "The workmanship far surpassed the material." 39

Just outside this hall, the king was met by the great lords of the empire, who conducted him beyond the curtains just mentioned. This is said to have been done that the dignity of the imperial splendor might be maintained and at the same time the good will of the king won for the emperor. For, surrounded only by the most illustrious nobles of his court, the emperor is said to have risen in a friendly way to greet the king, an act which, had it been done in the presence of the assembled court, might have seemed to show too great condescension on the part of his imperial majesty. 40

As soon as the king had entered, the curtains were quickly drawn aside, and the emperor became visible to those without. He was seated on a throne of gold, clad in the imperial robes. By his side was seated the king on another throne, splendid but slightly lower than that of the emperor.

The emperor very graciously bestowed the customary salutation and the kiss of peace upon our nobles also and made courteous inquiries about the well-being of the king and the members of his suite. Both by his words and expression he plainly showed that their coming had given him great pleasure. He had directed the attendants and officials of the sacred palace to prepare certain apartments of great magnificence within the palace itself for the king and his retinue. Separate quarters of fitting dignity in the city not far from those of the king had also been prepared for each of the attendant nobles. The visitors then withdrew from the imperial presence and retired for a time in attendance on the king. After naming the hour at which they were to return to him, the king also dismissed them and sent them away to their own quarters.

Daily, at hours specially appointed for the purpose, the envoys held earnest conferences, now with the emperor and now among

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39 Ovid Met. 11. 6. This, a favorite quotation of William, probably reflects his own interest in the products of craftsmanship.

40 Chalandon, who has retraced Amaury's procession from the ship to the grand palace step by step, denies the significance which William attached to the etiquette of the curtain (see Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 547-49).
themselves, on the matters which had brought them thither. Above all, they gave most careful consideration to the measures by which the purpose of their journey (for the furtherance of which they had endured so many hardships) might be accomplished so that they might return home crowned with success.

In frequent intimate talks with the emperor, sometimes privately and again in the presence of the illustrious nobles of the imperial court, the king explained the reasons that had led to his visit and set forth at length the needs of his kingdom. He dwelt upon the immortal fame which the emperor might win by undertaking the subjugation of Egypt and demonstrated by positive proofs how easily the project might be accomplished. Persuaded by his words, the emperor lent a favorable ear to the king's proposition and promised to carry out the wishes of the latter to the full.

Meanwhile, as befitted his imperial magnificence, he showered numerous gifts upon the king and upon the nobles of his suite and during frequent visits showed much solicitude about their well-being and health. By his orders, even the inner parts of the palace—the private apartments usually accessible only to his own people, the private chambers set apart for his own use—were thrown open to them as to his own household. These privileges were extended also to the basilicas closed to the common people, and to all the priceless treasures which had been gathered there by his imperial ancestors. Even the relics of the saints and the precious memorials of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Cross and the nails, the Lance, the sponge, the reed, the crown of thorns, the linen robe, and the sandals were freely shown to them. There was no secret or mystical object reverently preserved from the times of the good emperors Constantine, Theodosius, and Justinian in the private repositories of the sacred chambers which was not shown to them without reserve.

From time to time, on holidays and at leisure moments, the emperor invited the king and his suite to enjoy the recreation afforded by novel entertainments of dignified character such as befitted the exalted rank of both monarchs. At times, various kinds of musical instruments were brought in, from which strains of marvellous sweet-

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41 This was probably the Holy Lance that had figured in the defeat of Karbuqa at Antioch in 1098. It had been retained by Raymond of St. Gilles and given to the Emperor Alexius when Raymond revisited Constantinople in 1100.
ness in harmonious measure were evoked for their delight. Again, choruses of maidens sang, and pantomimes of great merit were presented. Yet decorum and good manners were always observed. In the king's honor the emperor also commanded that magnificent and costly games resembling those which we call theatrical plays or circuses should be given for the people living in the city.\footnote{The art of entertainment and public amusement was more highly developed in Constantinople at this time than anywhere else in Europe. Doubtless this added to its attractiveness for people from the West.}

24. The purpose of their journey accomplished, the king and his nobles return to their own land laden with gifts.

A sojourn of several days was made in the palace of Constantine. Then, for the sake of change, which is the most effective means of relieving monotony, the emperor, accompanied by the king, moved his residence to the new palace called Blachernae.\footnote{This was the palace in the northwestern part of the city, in which the emperor ordinarily dwelt.} There also the emperor observed to the full the laws of hospitality. For several days he entertained the king most graciously in his own palace, where state apartments were assigned to King Amaury in the most private precincts of the imperial residence of his ancestors. At the same time dignified and comfortable quarters not far from this palace were ordered provided for the king's retinue. Here, as before, officers of the wardrobe and others specially assigned to this duty did not cease to provide magnificently and in superabundance not only for all necessary expense but even for superfluous luxuries.

The king was escorted throughout the whole city both within the walls and without. He visited the churches and monasteries of which there was an almost infinite number; he looked upon triumphal arches and columns adorned with trophies. Great nobles who knew the places well were his guides, and on his inquiring the nature and purpose of each object he was given full information by the oldest and best-informed men.

At this time also, he sailed through the Bosphorus to the mouth of the Black sea, where the body of water known as the Bosphorus begins its course to the Mediterranean. Thus the king, a man of inquiring mind, ever eager to know the reason of things, visited places hitherto unknown to him. At length, fully satisfied with what he had
seen and heard, he returned to the city and resumed the friendly con-
ferences with the emperor, for his most earnest desire was to bring
his mission to a successful end.

After a suitable time had passed, the necessary matters were
brought to the happy termination so eagerly desired. The agreement
was reduced to a treaty agreeable to both the emperor and the king
and put into writing, to which the seals of both were affixed. The king
then took leave and, followed by the good will of all, began to make
preparations to depart. Then more than ever the lavish munificence
of the emperor, far beyond praise, was displayed toward the king
and his following. For an immense weight of gold and quantities of
silken fabrics together with most excellent gifts of foreign wares were
bestowed upon the king, while upon his retinue, even to the youngest,
presents without stint were showered.

The illustrious protosebastos also showed great generosity toward
the entire embassy. The same spirit inspired the other princes also;
they vied with each other in munificent offerings to the king, wherein
elegance of material and fine workmanship were not lacking as evi-
dence of their good will. When the fleet was ready, the king, his mis-
sion successfully accomplished, sailed from Constantinople two hun-
dred miles through the Bosphorus, which is generally recognized as
the boundary between Europe and Asia. Passing between the famous
cities of Sestos and Abydos, the homes of Leander and Hero, he en-
tered the Mediterranean sea and, borne by favoring breezes, landed
on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of July at the city of
Sidon.44

25. The king assembles the army at Sephoria. Frederick, arch-
bishop of Tyre, returns from the lands across the sea. Wil-
liam, bishop of Acre, is murdered in Romania.

On his return to the kingdom, the king learned that Nureddin with
a large army was still lingering in the vicinity of Banyas. Fearing
lest he might try to make incursions into our land from there, the
king summoned the barons of the realm and advanced into Galilee to
provide as far as possible against such a contingency. He encamped
near that famous fountain between Nazareth and Sephoria. Since this
lies very near the center of the realm, he could easily move from

44 June 15, 1171. This sentence is redolent of Ovid's writings.
there to any part of the country where he might be needed. Hence, for the reason just given, Amaury and his ancestors before him had followed the custom of assembling their armies in that place.

About the same time, Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, our predecessor, who had been sent on behalf of the realm to implore aid and counsel from the princes of the West, returned home unsuccessful after a sojourn of two years in the lands beyond the sea. His efforts had been utterly futile, and he had obtained nothing which he had asked in our name. He had, however, sent before him Count Stephen, a man of noble family but of far from noble life. Stephen was the son of the elder Count Theobald II of Blois, Chartres, and Troyes. Through the archbishop's agency, he had been summoned by the king, who intended to make him his son-in-law. On the count's arrival in the kingdom, the king graciously reminded him of the matter, but although the offer had already been made and accepted, Stephen now rejected it and, after leading a disgracefully licentious life for several months in the kingdom, decided to return home overland. In pursuance of this purpose he went first to Antioch and from there into Cilicia. Thence, after obtaining an escort from the sultan of Iconium, he intended to pass through that land on his way to Constantinople. In Cilicia, however, near the city of Mamistra, he had the misfortune to fall into an ambush which Milo [Malih], a very powerful Armenian prince, the brother of Thoros, had laid for him. The bandits rushed upon him from their lurking place and carried off as booty all the precious treasures which he had with him. By urgent entreaties he finally with much difficulty induced them to leave a wretched horse for his use. In this ignominious style, after experiencing great hardships, he finally reached Constantinople with a few attendants. The hatred of all the people of the East followed him.46

That same year, another Count Stephen, a son of Count William de Saône, arrived in the kingdom on a pilgrimage of prayer and devotion. Although he bore the same name, he differed greatly from that other Stephen, for he was an unassuming man of honorable life,

45 This was Mlech or Malih, the brother of Thoros II of Armenia (see note 50).

Possibly it was the experience of Stephen or others similarly beset by Mlech that led Henry the Lion to reject the offer of an escort through his lands (see E. Joranson, "The Pilgrimage of Henry the Lion," Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson, p. 196).

46 This is the third Stephen of Blois to figure in William's account. He was a grandson of the leader in the First Crusade and a nephew of the English king of that name.
entirely worthy of great respect. He was accompanied by Henry the Younger, duke of Burgundy, the son of a sister of the Stephen spoken of above. After a short stay in the kingdom, they returned to their own land but stopped on the way at Constantinople, where the emperor showed them marked attention and dismissed them with many gifts.\textsuperscript{47}

In the following year, which was the eighth of King Amaury's reign,\textsuperscript{48} William of good memory, bishop of Acre, met with a strange and undeserved fate. The king had sent him from Constantinople to Italy. He had travelled through that country, trying in every possible way to accomplish the mission entrusted to him, and was on his way home. While retracing his steps, he intended to visit the emperor, according to a previous arrangement, and had arrived at Adrianople, a famous city of Thracia Secunda. Much fatigued by his long journey, the bishop partook of food at the noon hour and then lay down to rest his weary limbs. A certain Robert of his staff, one whom he himself had raised to the priesthood and received among his personal retinue, was lying in the same room where the bishop was resting. He was recovering from a long illness during which he had suffered greatly. Suddenly a madness came upon him; he seized his sword and stabbed the sleeping bishop, inflicting fatal wounds. The bishop's people outside heard his cries and recognized by his groans and outcries that their master was in the throes of death. They tried to rush to his aid, but the door was securely locked on the inside so that entrance was impossible. When the door was finally broken open by force, they found their lord almost lifeless although his heart was still faintly beating. Their first impulse was to seize the murderer and deliver him over in chains to the punishment due him according to the laws against homicide. But the bishop forbade them by word and gesture and most earnestly implored them that for the good of his soul full indulgence should be granted the murderer. He was still begging that the present deed should not be held against the young man for death when he yielded up his last breath to the Lord. This happened on June 29.

As yet we have been unable to determine the reason for this deed.

\textsuperscript{47} Stephen of Saône and Henry of Burgundy. It is strange that William does not mention the visit of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, to Jerusalem in 1172—all the more so since one of Henry's retinue, Conrad, bishop of Lübeck, died in Tyre.

\textsuperscript{48} The year 1172 would be the tenth of Amaury's reign.
It is said by some that Robert, the perpetrator of the outrage, had been suffering from a long illness; that, although convalescent, he was attacked by a sudden violent frenzy and therefore was not responsible for his wicked act. Others, on the contrary, assert that he committed the crime through hatred of a certain chamberlain of the bishop, who, presuming too much on his lord’s favor, had treated Robert and others badly.  

On November 23 of that same year, Joscius, a canon and subdeacon of that same church, was made bishop of Acre in William’s stead.

26. Malih the Armenian, a brother of Thoros, joins forces with Nureddin and ravages the land of Antioch. The king hastens thither to check his evil doing.

About this time occurred the death of Thoros, a magnificent and noble man whom I have often mentioned as a powerful prince of the Armenians. His brother Malih, a most wicked man, desired to seize the heritage for himself. He accordingly went to Nureddin and earnestly begged that he be given a body of cavalry with which to take forcible possession of his brother’s domains. Now after the death of Thoros, the great nobles of that land had sent for Thomas, a nephew of these two lords on the sister’s side, and had placed him in peaceful possession of his uncle’s entire principality. Thomas was of Latin birth, but he utterly lacked the energy and sense to adapt himself readily to those who had called him.

On certain well-defined terms satisfactory to Nureddin, Malih was able to obtain a considerable force of cavalry. By thus employing the aid of an enemy and introducing an armed body of infidels into his patrimony, the hereditary land of his forefathers, Malih was the first of his race to violate the customs of his ancestors. He invaded the

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49 This is an excellent instance not only of William’s judicial attitude but also of medieval justice, which evidently recognized insanity as a plea in behalf of a defendant. Doubtless William was personally acquainted with the individuals involved.

50 Malih or Malih was a renegade in several ways. He had become a member of the western church and a Templar. Later he fled to the court of Nureddin, to whom he became very devoted. With the latter’s help he conquered his nephew’s kingdom and mistreated the Templars. He was finally murdered by his own troops in 1175 (see Frédéric Macler, “Armenia,” Cambridge Medieval History, IV, 1170–71).

51 Little is known of this Thomas beyond these statements of William. His mother was a sister of Thoros II and Malih, his father a Latin noble. He was called upon to act as regent for Rupen II, son of Thoros II. Malih drove him out and disposed of the true heir (see Joranson, “Henry the Lion,” op. cit., p. 196, note 177).
domains of his forefathers by force, drove out his nephew, and seized the whole region. One of the first acts of his rule after taking possession of the power was to dispossess the Knights Templars of all their holdings in Cilicia, although he had once belonged to their order. He then formed an alliance with Nureddin and the Turks under a treaty such as is rarely made even between brothers. Having become, as it were, an infidel, he cast aside the law of God and did the Christians all the injury he could. All those who chanced to fall into his hands, either in battle or in the storming of fortresses, were cast into chains and carried off into the enemy's country to be sold as slaves.

The outrages committed by this wicked man against the Christians soon showed him to be one of their worst enemies. Accordingly the prince of Antioch and the great men of that land took up arms against him, although it seemed a dangerous anomaly for Christians to rise against one who professed the same faith—almost, in fact, equivalent to civil war. Yet, since it was impossible to pass over the wrongs done to their brethren, they declared war against Malih and denounced him as an enemy of the realm.

On learning of the trouble that had risen in that country, the king hastened with his own forces to the land of Antioch, for he desired to do his part in any measure that tended toward peace. From there he dispatched his personal messengers to that wretch Malih, a man wholly without the favor of God, and urgently demanded that he agree to a conference with himself at a suitable time and place. Malih pretended that he was pleased by this message, but actually his sentiments were quite different. Several times the king sent envoys to him and endeavored to bring about this meeting, but in the end he found that he was being deceived by the subtle tricks of the wicked man and, accordingly, that nothing could be accomplished in this way. He finally assembled all the Christian forces of that locality and with this army invaded the land of his enemy. While marching through the plain of Cilicia (for to proceed by the steep mountainous way would have been too difficult), the troops burned the crops and endeavored to storm the castles along their line of march. But suddenly a messenger arrived with the sinister tidings that Nureddin had laid siege to Petra, the capital of Arabia Secunda, also known as Kerak—a report which proved to be true.

This news caused the king serious distress. He at once took leave
of the prince and hastily set forth with his own personal following. But before he arrived in his own land, the barons of the realm with prompt and sagacious action had assembled all the military strength of the kingdom. Humphrey the constable had been put in entire charge of the army, while to Ralph, bishop of Bethlehem, was assigned the honor of carrying the Cross of the Lord. Without delay the troops were hastening valiantly to the appointed place when they were met by a messenger who brought the important news, which proved to be true, that Nureddin had abandoned the siege without doing harm to the place and had returned to his own land. Thus it happened that the king on reaching the kingdom found, contrary to his expectation, that all was as peaceful as could be desired.

27. Saladin besieges Montreal, a fortress beyond the Jordan. His efforts prove futile, however, and he returns to his own land.

The following year, about the beginning of autumn, Saladin prepared to invade our land with mighty forces and a vast number of cavalry. At the head of innumerable hosts drawn from all over the land of Egypt, he crossed the desert and reached the place called Cannes of the Turks.

The king had anticipated his coming, however, and had already assembled his own army. Accompanied by the lord patriarch, who bore the Life-giving and Venerated Cross of the Lord, he had placed his camp near Beersheba, whence he would be able to meet the advancing enemy more easily.

The forces of Saladin were reported to be scarcely sixteen miles away from the king’s camp, but Amaury was not yet confident that the Turks had actually reached that place. The report proved to be true, however; Saladin had established his camp there because of the convenient water supply.

After a conference with his nobles, the king decided to change his route in order to avoid a meeting with the Turk. Accordingly, under pretense of seeking the enemy whom they had carefully avoided while he was close at hand, the forces and all the people proceeded toward Ascalon. From Ascalon they marched on to Daron and thence back again to their original starting point, after a useless waste of effort and expense.
Meanwhile, Saladin marched through the plains of Idumea and led his cohorts into Syria Sobal. There he laid siege to a fortress which is the principal and outstanding stronghold of that entire district. This he assailed with furious energy as far as the situation permitted, for it lay on a lofty hill and was splendidly fortified with walls, towers, and ramparts. The village outside was situated on the slope of the hill, yet in a place so steep and high that it need fear neither assaults nor attacks by machines or bows. The inhabitants were all Christians and therefore more reliance could be placed upon them. Moreover, the fortress was well supplied with arms and provisions and had a garrison of men sufficient to defend it.

For some days the infidels expended their efforts on this place without success. Finally, convinced that it was impregnable, Saladin gave the order to depart and returned to Egypt by the desert route with his forces.

28. **Saladin lays waste the entire country beyond the Jordan. The king holds his army in a place called Carmel. Count Raymond of Tripoli returns from prison.**

In the following year, which was the tenth of King Amaury's reign, Saladin again made preparations to invade the realm. Realizing that he had accomplished but little against our forces the preceding year, he desired to retrieve this failure and accordingly assembled a mighty host of warriors from all over Egypt and from elsewhere as well. That his movements might be less noticeable and, as a result, greater injury might be done to the inhabitants, he advanced by way of the desert and, in the month of July, reached the same locality which he had occupied with his armies the preceding year.⁵²

The king, however, had been informed of his advance. Accordingly, with the flower of the military forces of the realm, he went out into the desert to meet the infidel prince. Again, as in the preceding year, he was told that Saladin had turned aside into Syria Sobal. Fearing to follow him thither, lest perchance Saladin, on learning that he was pursued, might enter from another direction and devastate the realm,

⁵² Saladin's several expeditions into southern Palestine and the region of Kerak and Montreal recounted by William are so similar as to raise a question of his possible confusion in the matter (see W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, pp. 201–2; R.K.J., pp. 356–57).
the king went up into the mountainous country. There he selected a convenient position and retired to Carmel.

This is not the famous Mt. Carmel on the coast, once the abode of Elias, but a village where, as we read, the foolish Nabal formerly lived.\textsuperscript{53} The king chose this position wisely because of the convenience of water. For there was an ancient pool of great extent there which would furnish ample water for the entire army. Moreover, Carmel was near the country beyond the Jordan, separated from it only by the famous valley which forms the boundary between the two regions and in which lies the Dead sea. Hence our army could readily obtain frequent news of the enemy's movements and ascertain the condition of Saladin's forces.

Meanwhile, since the king hesitated to approach that region for the reasons just given, Saladin ravaged the whole country as he would. He caused everything found outside the fortresses to be burned, bushes and vines to be cut down, and villages to be destroyed. Finally, toward the end of September, after completely overrunning the country at his tyrannical pleasure, he returned to Egypt.

About this time, Raymond the Younger, count of Tripoli, returned to his ancestral domains. He had passed eight years as a prisoner in beggary and chains but was finally released on payment of a ransom of eighty thousand gold pieces and restored to his former state of liberty.\textsuperscript{64} The king welcomed him on his return most kindly and, without making any difficulty, restored to him the territory which had been under his own care during Raymond's absence. In addition, with royal bounty he gave him large gifts to assist in paying the price of his ransom and induced his nobles and the prelates of the church also to follow his example.

29. \textit{The sect of the Assassins is described. Also of the embassy sent by them to the king.}

About this same time there occurred among us a dreadful affair fraught with dire consequences to the kingdom and the church, a catastrophe to be regretted even today, perchance forever. In order

\textsuperscript{53} I Sam. 25: 2.

\textsuperscript{64} He had been captured at Harim in 1164. The eight years of captivity would end October 18, 1172, though the general context seems to indicate the summer of 1173 as the year of his release.
to obtain a clear understanding of the matter it is necessary to begin
the account somewhat further back.

In the province of Tyre in Phoenicia and in the diocese of Tor-
tosa there lives a tribe of people who possess ten fortresses with the
villages attached to them. Their number, as we have often heard, is
about sixty thousand or possibly more. It is the custom of this people
to choose their ruler, not by hereditary right, but by the prerogative
of merit. This chief, when elected, they call the Old Man, disdain-
ing a more dignified title. Their subjection and obedience to him is
such that they regard nothing as too harsh or difficult and eagerly
undertake even the most dangerous tasks at his command. For in-
stance, if there happens to be a prince who has incurred the hatred or
distrust of this people, the chief places a dagger in the hand of one
or several of his followers; those thus designated hasten away at
once, regardless of the consequences of the deed or the probability of
personal escape. Zealously they labor for as long as may be necessary,
until at last the favorable chance comes which enables them to carry
out the mandate of the chief. Neither Christians nor Saracens know
whence this name, the Assassins, is derived. For about four hundred
years they have followed the law and traditions of the Saracens so
strictly that by comparison all other peoples seem as prevaricators and
they alone the complete observers of the law. But during our times
they happened to choose as ruler over them a very eloquent man, of
subtle and brilliant intelligence. Contrary to the habits of his an-
cestors, this man possessed the books of the Evangelists and the apostolic
law. Over these he pored continually and for some time had with
much labor tried to follow the marvellous precepts of Christ and also
the apostolic doctrine.

55 Hitti gives a brief account of this Muslim sect, tracing its origin from the Fatimid
caliphate. William’s allusion to the extraordinary obedience of the followers of the
Old Man of the Mountain suggests that he was aware of the story of the hashish cere-
mony which Hitti quotes from Marco Polo’s account. William may have told it in
his Gesta orientalium principum, for Jacques de Vitry, who used William’s work, tells
this story (see P. K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, pp. 446–48).

56 Both Muslim and Christian leaders were murdered by the Assassins. William has
already noted Raymond II of Tripoli as one of their victims. Qalanisi ascribes several
assassinations in Damascus to them. They made an attempt to murder Saladin, but
his threat to destroy the sect ended those attempts (see Hitti, Arabs, p. 447).

57 It is now generally accepted that the name is derived from hashashin, or “users
of hashish,” the stupefying drug derived from hemp, or marijuana (Hitti, Arabs,
p. 446).
The gentle and noble doctrine of Christ and His followers, when compared with that which the miserable seducer Muhammad had transmitted to his accomplices and deluded followers, caused him to despise the beliefs which he had absorbed with his mother’s milk and to abominate the unclean tenets of that deceiver. He instructed his people also in the same way and made them cease observing the superstition of the prophet. He tore down the places of prayer which they had been accustomed to use, absolved them from fasting, and permitted the use of wine and pork. At length, desirous of advancing into a fuller understanding of the mysteries of God’s law, he sent an envoy to the king. This man, Boaldelle [Abdallah] by name, was wise and eloquent, skilled in counsel, and fully instructed in the doctrine of his master. He bore secret propositions, the main burden and most important article of which was that if the brethren of the Temple, who held certain fortresses adjacent to the lands of the Assassins, would remit the tribute of two thousand gold pieces which was paid to them yearly by his people and would thereafter observe brotherly kindness toward them, the race of the Assassins would embrace the faith of Christ and receive baptism.

30. The envoy of the Assassins is slain by the brothers of the Knights Templars. As the result of this, a violent disturbance arises in the kingdom. Ralph, bishop of Bethlehem, dies.

The king received the envoy gladly and, being a man of good sense, agreed fully to the demands made. He was even prepared, it is said, to compensate the brethren from his own treasury for the two thousand gold pieces, the amount of the annual tribute which the Assassins asked to have remitted. He detained the envoy with him long enough to complete the details of the agreement and then sent him back to his master to make the final arrangements, accompanied by a guide to lead and protect him on the way. Under the escort of the guide and companion thus provided by the king, Abdallah had already passed Tripoli and was about to enter his own land, when suddenly some of the Knights of the Temple rushed upon the party with drawn swords and killed the envoy. The latter, far from anticipating any such action, was pursuing his journey without caution, in full reliance upon the king’s safe conduct and the sincere good faith of our nation. By
this crime, the knights brought upon themselves the charge of treason.  

The news of this atrocious deed roused the king to violent anger. Almost frenzied, he summoned the barons and, declaring that the outrage amounted to injury against himself, he demanded their advice as to the course of action to be adopted. The barons were of one mind that such wickedness should not be passed over. For by that crime the royal authority seemed to be put to naught and undeserved infamy brought upon the good faith and constancy of the Christian profession. Moreover, through this act the church in the Orient seemed likely to lose the increase so pleasing to God that had been already prepared for it.

By consent of all, therefore, two nobles, Seiher de Mamedunc and Godescalous [Godechaux] de Turout, were selected as special messengers to demand from the master of the Templars, Eudes de Saint-Amand, that satisfaction be rendered to the king and the entire realm for this sacrilegious outrage.

It was said that one of the brethren named Walter du Maisnilio [Mesnil], a one-eyed man of evil repute, wholly lacking in discretion, "whose breath is in his nostrils," was the actual perpetrator of the crime, but that it was done with the cognizance of the brethren. It is further said that the master, in his desire to spare this man far beyond his deserts, sent word to the king by a messenger that he had enjoined a penance on the guilty brother and was about to send him to the pope. He forbade anyone, on the part of the pope, to lay violent hands upon the said brother. He added other remarks, dictated by the spirit of overweening arrogance with which he was possessed, but it is unnecessary to record them here.

58 Lundgreen, who is unable to cite any authority to the contrary, nevertheless scouts this story as another instance of William's prejudice, his desire to accuse them of cupidity. His only evidence is the circumstance that Henry, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, had given a generous grant of money to the Templars about this time (Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden, pp. 111-14).

59 Is. 2: 22.

60 The Templars, like the Hospitallers, had by a series of decrees, especially that of 1154, come under papal protection. As a religious order they could, of course, plead benefit of clergy, as here, to gain immunity from secular jurisdiction. This plea, so long ignored by feudal authorities, had gained great force during the twelfth century. It is interesting to note, however, that even in the Holy Land Amaury gave it only partial respect. The treatment of "criminous clerks" had been one of the chief subjects of the quarrel between Henry II and Thomas à Becket at almost the same period.
The king went himself to Sidon on this matter and found the master with many of the other brethren, including the culprit himself. After consulting with those who had accompanied him thither, the king caused that man guilty of treason to be dragged forcibly from the house and had him sent in chains to Tyre, where he was cast into prison. This outrage against the envoy came near plunging the whole kingdom into irreparable ruin. By declaring his innocence, however, to the master of the Assassins, whose representative had perished in so unfortunate a manner, the king was able to clear his own honor. In dealing with the brethren of the Temple he exercised such moderation that the matter remained in abeyance even to the day of his death. It is said, however, that if he had recovered from that last illness, Amaury had intended to take up the matter with the kings and princes of the earth, through envoys of high degree, when it would have been given most careful consideration.61

In the following spring occurred the death of the royal chancellor, the venerable brother Ralph of happy memory, bishop of Bethlehem, a man of liberal and genial nature. He was interred with high honors in the chapel of his church. After his death, the matter of electing his successor came up. While this was under discussion in the same church, difficulties caused by the conflicting views of the electors arose, which were hardly settled until the second year of King Baldwin, the son and successor of King Amaury. Because of this disagreement the church at Bethlehem incurred great expense.

31. Nureddin dies. The king lays siege to Banyas but finally concludes a truce and withdraws. He is stricken with illness and hastens to Jerusalem, where he dies within a few days.

In the month of May, scarcely a month after this time, Nureddin, a mighty persecutor of the Christian name and faith, died in the twenty-ninth year of his rule.62 He was a just prince, valiant and wise, and, according to the traditions of his race, a religious man.

On learning of his death, the king immediately convoked all the

61 William doubtless had this account of Amaury's intentions directly from the king himself. As archbishop, William resented the independence of the Templars from local ecclesiastical control and probably lent his own hearty assent to such an appeal.

62 Nureddin's death took place May 15, 1174. His father, Zangi, had been killed September 14, 1146, which renders William's reckoning of the length of his reign a third of a year too long.
strength of the kingdom and laid siege to the city of Banyas. At this, Nureddin's widow, with courage beyond that of most women, sent a message to the king demanding that he abandon the siege and grant them a temporary peace. She promised to pay a large sum of money in return. The king, however, in the hope of extorting a larger bribe, at first pretended to spurn her plea and continued the siege.

For about fifteen days he prosecuted the undertaking with vigor and zeal and caused the foe great trouble with his siege engines and in various other ways. Finally he perceived, however, that the ability of the Turks to resist was steadily increasing and began to realize that he had no chance of success. Meanwhile the envoys of the noble lady kept insistently demanding peace. He finally decided to accept the proffered money, and, on the release of twenty captive Christian knights in addition, he raised the siege with the intention of undertaking greater projects later.

On the way home, he complained to those about him that he was feeling rather ill and was far from being in good condition. He dismissed his forces and went on with his personal retinue to Tiberias, where he began to suffer from a severe attack of dysentery. Fearing the approach of illness, he continued from there on horseback (for his strength was still sufficient for that effort) by way of Nazareth and Nablus to Jerusalem. There he continued to grow worse, and a violent fever came on, although the dysentery yielded to the physician's skill. After suffering intolerably from the fever for several days, he ordered physicians of the Greek, Syrian, and other nations noted for skill in diseases to be called and insisted that they give him some purgative remedy. As they would not consent to this, he had Latin physicians called and made the same request of them, adding that whatever the result might be he would take the responsibility upon himself. They administered medicines which produced the desired result easily and seemed to give him some relief. But before he could take nourishment to strengthen his body which had been weakened by the violent remedy, the usual fever returned, and he yielded to his fate. He died on July 11, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1173, in the twelfth year and fifth month of his reign and in the thirty-eighth year of his life.63 He was buried by the side of his

63 It should be July 11, 1174. William is thus in error on the last as well as first year of Amaury's reign. Doubtless this ending is part of the chronological framework
brother among his predecessors of the same line, before the place Calvary. He was a man of wisdom and discretion, fully competent to hold the reins of government in the kingdom. It was due to his urgent entreaties that we determined to write this history concerning the deeds of himself and his predecessors.

which he constructed, probably in 1182. It is the irony of fate that William should have made more chronological misstatements in the reign of Amaury than in that of any other ruler. The chief cause of these errors was, of course, the fact that he had postponed the work on Amaury's earlier years, before 1167, until he had completed the introductory royal chronicle. The latter task had not been done when Amaury died. The year 1174 is established by the known date of Nureddin's death and William's account of Amaury's activities as a result of it. William seldom errs in his statements of the sequence of related events (see Stevenson, Crusaders, p. 213).

HERE ENDS THE TWENTIETH BOOK
THE TWENTY-FIRST BOOK BEGINS

BALDWIN IV, THE LEPER, FORCED TO ASSUME RULE OF JERUSALEM

1. Concerning the beginning of the reign of Baldwin IV, the sixth king of Jerusalem; also of his manner of life, his age, and his appearance.

The sixth Latin king \(^1\) of Jerusalem was Baldwin IV, son of Amaury, that king of illustrious memory of whom we have just been writing, and the Countess Agnes, daughter of the younger Joscelin, count of Edessa, who has also been frequently mentioned in the foregoing pages. When Amaury was called by hereditary right to ascend the throne of his ancestors, he divorced Agnes, as has been already related. He was led to this act by the coercion of the church, for Amalrich of good memory, at that time patriarch of Jerusalem, following in the footsteps of his predecessor Fulcher, obliged him to put her away. It was claimed, as was indeed true, that the blood relationship between the two was too close. This fact I carefully explained when treating in detail of the reign of King Amaury.\(^2\)

While I was archdeacon of Tyre, King Amaury, anxious about the education of his son, after many entreaties and under assurance of his favor, prevailed upon me to undertake the task of tutor.\(^3\) The boy, then about nine years old, was accordingly committed to my care to be instructed and nurtured in liberal studies. While he was under my charge, I devoted myself to my royal pupil with vigilant care and watched over him with the solicitude befitting his exalted position. I endeavored to train him in the formation of character as well as to instruct him in the knowledge of letters. He was playing one day

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\(^1\) This was obviously written before the Prologue, in which William reached the decision to include Godfrey as a king and called Baldwin IV the “seventh” king.

\(^2\) Book XIX, chap. 4.

\(^3\) This request could not have been made before the end of the year 1169, for William was absent in the West during most of that year and Amaury did not return from Egypt until December 25, 1169 (see Book XX, chap. 17). William therefore undertook the education of young Baldwin in 1170, when he was “nine years old,” and continued his duties until Baldwin was crowned king four years later when he was “barely thirteen years old.” This helps to correct the misstatement of Amaury’s death in “1173.”
with his companions of noble rank, when they began, as playful boys often do, to pinch each others' arms and hands with their nails. The other boys gave evidence of pain by their outcries, but Baldwin, although his comrades did not spare him, endured it altogether too patiently, as if he felt nothing. After this had occurred several times it was reported to me. At first I supposed that it proceeded from his capacity for endurance and not from lack of sensitiveness. But when I called him and began to inquire what it meant, I discovered that his right arm and hand were partially numb, so that he did not feel pinching or even biting in the least. I began to be uneasy, remembering the words of the wise man, "There is no question that a member which is without feeling detracts greatly from the health of the body, and one who does not realize that he is sick is in danger."  

The lad's father was informed of his condition, and physicians were consulted. Repeated fomentations, oil rubs, and even poisonous remedies were employed without result in the attempt to help him. For, as we recognized in process of time, these were the premonitory symptoms of a most serious and incurable disease which later became plainly apparent.

It is impossible to refrain from tears while speaking of this great misfortune. For, as he began to reach years of maturity, it was evident that he was suffering from the terrible disease of leprosy. Day by day his condition became worse. The extremities and the face were especially attacked, so that his faithful followers were moved with compassion when they looked at him. Nevertheless, he continued to make progress in the pursuit of letters and gave ever-increasing promise of developing a lovable disposition. He was comely of appearance for his age, and far beyond the custom of his forefathers he was an excellent horseman and understood the handling of horses. He had a retentive memory and loved to talk. He was economical but always remembered both favors and injuries. In every respect he resembled his father, not alone in face but in his entire mien; even his walk and the tones of his voice were the same. His intellect was keen, but his speech was somewhat halting. Like his father he eagerly listened to history and was well disposed to follow good advice.  

4 This phrase reflects Hippocrates Aphorism vi. 2.
5 William could speak with authority on this point, for he was himself one of the advisors.
2. Concerning the time of his consecration and coronation.

At the time of his father's death he was barely thirteen years old. An older sister named Sibylla, born of the same mother, had been brought up in the convent of St. Lazarus at Bethany by the Lady Iveta, her father's maternal aunt, who was the abbess of the place.

On the death of King Amaury, the nobles of the realm, both ecclesiastical and secular, met in assembly, and the wishes of all were found to be in perfect harmony. Accordingly, on July 15, the fourth day after the death of his father, Baldwin was solemnly consecrated and crowned, according to custom, in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord. The rites were solemnized by Amalrich, patriarch of Jerusalem of good memory, assisted by the archbishops and other prelates of the church.

At this time Pope Alexander III was head of the holy Roman church. Aimery was the patriarch of the holy church at Antioch, and Amalrich was patriarch of Jerusalem. Frederick was archbishop of Tyre. At Constantinople, Emperor Manuel of great renown and pious memory ruled. Frederick was the emperor of the Romans, and Louis king of the Franks. In England, Henry, son of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, was reigning, and in Sicily, William II, son of William the Elder. Bohemond, son of Prince Raymond, was governing Antioch; and the younger Raymond, son of the elder Count Raymond, ruled over Tripoli.

3. In the first year of the reign of Baldwin IV a fleet sent by the king of Sicily suffers an enormous loss before Alexandria. The count of Tripoli, as next of kin, demands the regency of the kingdom and the guardianship of the king.

During the first year of this king's reign, about the beginning of August, King William of Sicily sent a fleet of two hundred ships to attack Alexandria. With a splendid force of both cavalry and infantry, it sailed down to Egypt. During the stay of five or six days made before that city, through the lack of caution displayed by the gover-

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6 Chalandon has dated this attack on Alexandria as July 28-August 1, 1174. This expedition had resulted from Amaury's call for aid upon the West and failed to receive the expected support by land because of Amaury's death (see F. Chalandon, Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile, II, 396).
nors and leaders, both the infantry and cavalry forces sustained great losses by death and capture and were finally obliged to retire in confusion.

In our kingdom the affairs of the realm were in the charge of Milon de Plancy. A serious enmity now arose between this noble and some of the barons of the realm. They were jealous of his power and could not brook the fact that they were ignored and never summoned, while he alone, with overweening presumption and scorn of others, was always at the side of the king ready to assist him. Meanwhile, the rest were shut out from personal contact with the king, and Milon conducted the affairs of state without consulting them.

About this time, the count of Tripoli came to the king and, in the presence of the barons who chanced to be there, demanded the regency of the realm. He asserted that by the right of next of kin the legal guardianship of the king, who was still a minor, was due to him. And this office, he said, belonged to him for more than one reason: not only because he was the nearest of Baldwin's blood relations, but also because he was the richest and most powerful of all the loyal subjects of the king. He added as a third very cogent reason, "that when he himself was taken captive, from prison itself he had ordered his faithful people, under their pledge of loyalty, to surrender all his lands, strongholds, and castles to King Amaury, the father of this boy, and to place everything under his orders and sovereign care." Furthermore he had added as a final direction that if it should be his fate as a man to end his life in prison, he constituted the aforesaid king his sole heir, as next of kin. In recognition of all these favors, he asked that this return be made to him, rather on account of the honor than through any hope of future advantage. A response to these demands of the count was deferred on the ground that the king had about him at the time only a few of the barons of the realm whom he might consult. At an opportune time as quickly and as generally as possible they should be summoned and consulted, when, by the help of God, fitting response on all these matters would be given. On receiving this reply, the count returned to his own land. Practically all the people favored the cause of the count. Among the barons, Humphrey of Toron, the royal constable, Baldwin of Ramlah,

7 These statements are amplified in chapter 5. Of interest here is William's apparent implication that Tripoli was a vassal state of the king of Jerusalem.
Balian, his brother, Renaud of Sidon, and all the bishops were his partisans.

4. Milon de Plancy is killed at Acre. Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, dies.

This Milon de Plancy of whom we have been speaking was a nobleman of Champagne beyond the mountains, from the land of Henry, count of Troyes. He had been on very intimate terms with King Amaury, his kinsman, who made him the seneschal of his kingdom. On the death of the younger Humphrey, son of Humphrey of Toron, Stephanie, his widow, the daughter of Philip of Nablus, was given by Amaury to Milon as his wife. By virtue of his wife, Milon was lord of Syria Sobal, that is, of the region beyond the Jordan which is generally called Montreal. By her former husband, however, Stephanie had two children, a son and a daughter.

Milon, as has been said, presumed on the close friendship which he had enjoyed with the father of the present king and scorned the barons of the realm, even those greater than himself. In character he was far from discreet, a proud and even arrogant man, lavish of high-sounding phrases and filled with a spirit of excessive presumption. With a view to lessening the jealousy of the others in some way, he made use of a subterfuge only too apparent. He suborned a certain Rohard, guardian of the citadel at Jerusalem, a very ordinary man and utterly inefficient. Milon pretended to obey the orders of this man as if he himself were under his direction. In reality it was quite the contrary; the one bore a title splendid rather than substantial, while the other, under that guise, carried on the affairs of the realm just as he liked. Though conducting himself carelessly and talking imprudently, he brought under his own direction the affairs of the kingdom in spite of the others. He arranged all matters and dispensed all favors according to his wish, thereby rousing intense hatred against himself. At length matters came to such a pass that certain men were secretly incited to plot against his life.

When this was reported to him, he made light of it and continued to conduct himself as usual without taking proper precautions. One day while staying at the city of Acre, he was stabbed on the public street just at dusk and died after suffering ignominious and shameful treatment. The sentiment among the people concerning his death was
varied. Some said that he had been murdered because of the devoted loyalty which he had showed toward the king. Others, on the contrary, claimed that he was secretly taking steps to seize the royal power. It was said that he had sent messengers to his friends and acquaintances in France, urging them to hasten to him, that by their help he might be enabled to lay hold on the kingdom. I have not ascertained definitely whether either of these views is correct. It is well known, however, that Balian of Jaffa, the brother of the Rohard mentioned above, had been sent to the lands across the sea with royal dispatches and gifts and that his return was daily awaited.

About this time, in fact on the thirtieth of this same month of October, Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, our predecessor, a man of very noble rank according to the flesh, died at Nablus, where he had been detained for some time by a serious illness. His body was borne with fitting obsequies and honors to Jerusalem and buried in the chapel of the Temple of the Lord, of which church he had been a regular canon.

5. *The count of Tripoli is described; the ancestors from whom he descended; and how he undertook the regency. The writer of this history is made royal chancellor.*

About this same time, also, the barons of the realm and the prelates of the church having convened and the king also being at Jerusalem, the count of Tripoli returned to receive the answer to the petition which he had presented in regard to the regency. Again he repeated his demand and pressed the same claims. After a deliberation lasting for two successive days, the king finally agreed, with the consent of all; and amid the loud acclamations of the people the count was invested in the chapel of the Sepulchre of the Lord with the entire government and powers of the realm, second only to that of the king. Since the count's name is thus brought into prominence in the recapitulation of the events which we are presenting, this seems a fitting time to record for the benefit of posterity the facts that we have learned with certainty about him; not that we propose to write a panegyric, but as far as the necessarily limited compass of a brief history permits, we shall state who he was and of what lineage.

Count Raymond, the subject of our discussion, traced his descent

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8 October 30, 1174.
according to the flesh to that elder Raymond who was an important leader in that army of the Lord by whose zealous work and labors the kingdom of the East was restored to the service of Christ. These facts were carefully recorded when we were treating of those first chiefs who came with the first expedition. This elder Count Raymond, of precious memory, had a son Bertram, who after his father's death and the assassination of William Jordan, the latter's nephew, became count of Tripoli. Bertram had a son Pons, who, on his father's death, succeeded to the rule by hereditary right. He married Cecilia, the widow of Tancred and daughter of Philip, king of France, and by her had a son Raymond, who succeeded him in the government of Tripoli. Raymond married Hodierna, daughter of Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem, who became the mother of this Raymond now under discussion. The latter succeeded his father as count of Tripoli when the elder Raymond was killed at the city gate of Tripoli in a sudden attack by the Assassins. On the mother's side, therefore, this count was the cousin of King Amaury and King Baldwin, for they were the sons of two sisters. On the father's side he was of lesser degree; his grandmother on his father's side, the Cecilia just mentioned, was the sister of King Fulk, the father of kings Baldwin and Amaury, having the same mother, but not the same father. For the mother of both, who was the sister of Amaury de Montfort, had first been the wife of the elder Fulk, count of Anjou. After the birth of the younger Fulk, she left her husband and fled to Philip, king of the Franks, by whom she had this Cecilia and several other sons. Philip, infatuated with the Countess [Bertrada], had, contrary to the law of the church, driven out the queen, his legitimate wife by whom he already had two children, Louis and Constance. Thus the count and the two kings mentioned were closely connected on both sides.

The count was a man of slender build, extremely spare, of medium height and swarthy complexion. His hair was straight and rather dark in color. He had piercing eyes and carried his shoulders very erect. He was prompt and vigorous in action, gifted with equanimity and foresight, and temperate in his use of both food and drink, far more than the average man. He showed munificence toward strangers, but toward his own people he was not so lavish. He was fairly well-lettered, an accomplishment which he had acquired while a prisoner among the enemy, at the expense of much effort, aided greatly, how-
ever, by his natural keenness of mind. Like King Amaury, he eagerly sought the knowledge contained in written works. He was indefatigable in asking questions if there happened to be anyone present who in his opinion was capable of answering.

The same year that he entered upon the administration of the kingdom he married Eschiva, a very wealthy woman, widow of Walter, prince of Galilee, by whom she had many children. For some unknown reason, however, after her marriage with the count she had no more. But he is said to have loved her and her children as tenderly as though she had borne them all to him.

Now, after this short digression, let us return to the main account.

During the preceding summer, Ralph of precious memory, bishop of Bethlehem and chancellor of the kingdom, had departed from the light of this world. In order that there might be someone in charge of the royal correspondence, the king, by the advice of his barons, appointed me to that office and invested me with the dignity of chancellor.

6. At the request of the people of Damascus, Saladin takes possession of that city and the other parts of that region. The count of Tripoli marches against him to oppose his plans.

During the course of that same year, Saladin, son of Najm al-Din, who had succeeded his uncle Shirkuh, his father's brother, over the kingdom of Egypt, was secretly summoned by the important men of Damascus. Their legitimate lord, Melehe Salah [al-Malik al-Salah], son of Nureddin, who had not yet reached the age of maturity, had his residence at Aleppo. Saladin committed the care of Egypt to one of his brothers named Seifedin [Sayf al-Din] and, hastening through the desert wastes of Syria, arrived at Damascus to take possession of the kingdom. A few days later, after receiving the city at the hands of the citizens, he advanced to Cœlesyria where he hoped to bring all

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9 This statement seems to contradict the earlier one about his captivity, in which he was represented as in chains and confinement. Raymond was generally regarded by Muslim historians of the period as a man of very keen intellect, the ablest of the Christian leaders at this time.

10 Ralph's last extant signature as chancellor is on a document of April 18, 1174 (R. Röhricht, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani, no. 514), William's first is on a document of December 13, 1174 (R. Reg., no. 518). Earlier (Book XX, chaps. 30 and 31) William implied that the death of Ralph had occurred in April, about a month before the death of Nureddin.
the cities of that land under his rule without war. Nor did his hope prove false, for within a short time the inhabitants of those places surrendered and voluntarily unbarred their gates to him. Thus, contrary to the loyalty he owed to his lord and master, Saladin took over all the cities of that province: namely, Heliopolis, so called in the Greek tongue and now known as Malbec or, in Arabic, Baalbath [Baalbec]; Hims, commonly called Camela; Hama; and Shayzar, usually called Caesarea the Great. He took it for granted that Aleppo and the young lord would pass into his power through the work of certain traitors, but that was prevented by an accident.

This, then, was the situation in that part of the country. Meanwhile the king had taken advice as to the necessary action in so sudden a crisis when other important changes were impending. After a long conference with the nobles, it was finally decided with the approval of all that the count, with an army drawn from the forces of both the kingdom and the county of Tripoli, should march as quickly as possible toward Coele Syria and use every effort to oppose Saladin's advance. This was a wise procedure, for any increase of Saladin's power was cause for suspicion in our eyes and whatever augmented his authority seemed wholly injurious to the good of the kingdom. For he was a man wise in counsel, valiant in war, and generous beyond measure. All the more, for this very reason, he was distrusted by those of our nobles who had keener foresight. Even in our day there is no better means by which princes can win the hearts of their subjects, or, for that matter, of others, than by showing lavish bounty toward them; and nothing more readily attracts the minds of strangers, especially when it proceeds from princes. So our chief men had great reason to fear that when Saladin had doubled his possessions and had increased his empire twofold he would by this strength rise against the kingdom with greater force and harass us more violently than ever. In spite of all our efforts, however, all attempts to restrain him have been in vain, and today,11 with tearful eyes, we see that our apprehensions have been realized. For so powerfully has he risen against us by land and by sea that if the Dayspring from on high had not mercifully visited us, we should have no hope of resisting.

It seemed wiser to lend aid to the boy king who was not yet of age, not that some show of kindness might be displayed toward him for his

11 This was probably not written earlier than 1182, in the latter part of the year.
own sake, but to encourage him as an adversary against our distrusted rival, Saladin, that the latter's plans might be hindered and his attacks against the kingdom rendered less effective.

7. *Why the enemy became more powerful against the Christians.*

At this point I must digress somewhat from the course of my story, not to wander about aimlessly, but to bring out something of value. The question is often asked, and quite justly, why it was that our fathers, though less in number, so often bravely withstood in battle the far larger forces of the enemy and that often by divine grace a small force destroyed the multitudes of the enemy, with the result that the very name of Christian became a terror to nations ignorant of God, and thus the Lord was glorified in the works of our fathers. In contrast to this, the men of our times too often have been conquered by inferior forces; in fact, when with superior numbers they have attempted some exploit against adversaries less strong, their efforts have been fruitless and they have usually been forced to succumb.

The first reason that presents itself, as we carefully and thoughtfully study this condition of our times, looking for aid to God, the author of all things, is that our forefathers were religious men and feared God. Now in their places a wicked generation has grown up, sinful sons, falsifiers of the Christian faith, who run the course of all unlawful things without discrimination. They are such as, or even worse than, those who said to their Lord, "Depart from us; for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways." 12 From such, because of their sins, the Lord justly withdraws His favor, as if provoked to wrath. Such are the men of the present age, especially those dwelling in the East. One who would undertake with careful pen to portray their morals, or rather their monstrous vices, would succumb under the vast amount of material; in short, he would seem to be writing satire rather than compiling history. 13

A second reason occurs to us in passing. In earlier times, those first revered men who came to the lands of the East led by divine zeal and a flame with spiritual enthusiasm for the faith were accustomed

13 This reflects William's familiarity with the classical writers, Juvenal and perhaps other satirists. The general indictment of the morals of his contemporaries may be more accurate than the usual discount of a churchman's views would indicate.
to military discipline; they were trained in battle and familiar with the use of weapons. The people of the East, on the contrary, through long-continued peace, had become enervated; they were unused to the art of war, unfamiliar with the rules of battle, and gloried in their state of inactivity. Therefore it is not strange that men of war, even though few in number, easily held their own even against larger numbers and could boast of their superiority in carrying off the palm of victory. For in such matters (as those who have had more experience in war know better than I), facility in arms due to long and continual practice, when opposed to untrained strength and lack of persistence, generally wins.

A third reason, no less important and effective, forces itself upon my attention. In former times almost every city had its own ruler. To speak after the manner of Aristotle, they were not dependent on one another; they were rarely actuated by the same motives but, in fact, very often by those directly opposite. To contend in battle against adversaries of widely differing and frequently conflicting ideas, adversaries who distrusted each other, involved less peril. Those who feared their own allies not less than the Christians could not or would not readily unite to repulse the common danger or arm themselves for our destruction. But now, since God has so willed it, all the kingdoms adjacent to us have been brought under the power of one man. Within quite recent times, Zangi, a monster who abhorred the name of Christian as he would a pestilence, the father of this Nureddin who has lately died, first conquered many other kingdoms by force and then laid violent hands on Rages, also called Edessa, which even within our memory was the splendid and notable metropolis of the Medes. He took this city with all its territories and put to death all faithful believers found within its borders.

Then his son, Nureddin, drove the king of Damascus from his own land, more through the treachery of the latter’s subjects than by any real valor, seized that realm for himself, and added it to his paternal heritage. Still more recently, the same Nureddin, with the assiduous aid of Shirkuh, seized the ancient and wealthy kingdom of Egypt as his own, in the manner already related more fully when the reign of King Amaury was under discussion.

14 Their training in the use of arms was more pronounced than their discipline in the ordinary military sense.
Thus, as has been said, all the kingdoms round about us obey one ruler, they do the will of one man, and at his command alone, however reluctantly, they are ready, as a unit, to take up arms for our injury. Not one among them is free to indulge any inclination of his own or may with impunity disregard the commands of his overlord. This Saladin, whom we have had occasion to mention so frequently, a man of humble antecedents and lowly station, now holds under his control all these kingdoms, for fortune has smiled too graciously upon him. From Egypt and the countries adjacent to it, he draws an inestimable supply of the purest gold of the first quality known as obryzum.\textsuperscript{15} Other provinces furnish him numberless companies of horsemen and fighters, men thirsty for gold, since it is an easy matter for those possessing a plenteous supply of this commodity to draw men to them. But let us resume our story.\textsuperscript{16}

It seemed desirable in the opinion of all present, as we have said, that every possible effort be made to oppose this magnificent man in his swift progress through successive triumphs to the highest pinnacle of his ambition. It was the general feeling that, as he became more and more powerful, he might prove to be a most formidable adversary to us. Accordingly, the count assembled forces from all about and, accompanied by the barons of the realm, hurried to the land of Tripoli. There he took up a position in that part of the district known as the land of Galifa and established his camp near the city of Arka.

8. The lord of Mosul hastens to the aid of his nephew, Saladin prevails over him and seizes the whole region. The count makes a treaty with him. He receives hostages.

While these things were happening in our midst, the uncle of Nureddin's son, a very great prince named Cotabedi [Qutb al-Din], one of the most powerful among the Orientals of the Parthian race, had learned of his brother's death and all the circumstances following it. Now Saladin, in defiance of the laws of humanity, wholly regardless of his lowly condition, and ungrateful for the benefits that had been showered upon him by the father of that boy king, had risen against his rightful lord. Gathering a great force of cavalry in which

\textsuperscript{15} Obryzum is one of the few late Latin terms used by William.

\textsuperscript{16} Any comparison of this analysis of the causes for the change in the relations of Latin crusaders and their Muslim foe between the First and Third crusades with that of modern historians reveals William's remarkable ability as an historian.
he was said to be very strong, Qutb al-Din crossed the Euphrates and marched against the traitors to bear aid to his nephew.

This great prince was the lord of that very ancient and famous city of Nineveh, which is said long ago to have repented in sackcloth and ashes at the warning of the prophet Jonah. Not far from that more ancient city a new one under the altered name of Mosul has arisen. Built from the remains of ancient Nineveh, it houses the descendants of that former city and retains the honorable distinction of being the metropolis of all Assyria. On his arrival, the prince placed his camp in the plain around Aleppo.

During this time Saladin was by no means idle. He had laid siege to Bostrum, the most important city of Arabia Prima, and also to Heliopolis, now usually called Malbec, both of which the citizens surrendered voluntarily without battle. He then laid siege to Hims, known also as Camela.

Without the slightest delay, the citizens surrendered the lower part of this city, for those who remained faithful to the young king had retired to the citadel. This was situated upon a somewhat elevated hill and had been previously stoutly fortified and well furnished with arms and provisions. Saladin had also received at the hands of their citizens the surrender of some other cities in the vicinity of this province, namely, Hama, Shayzar, and all the country as far as Aleppo itself.

Meanwhile, the refugees in the citadel of Hims had dispatched messengers to the count of Tripoli and to our forces who had encamped in the place named above and were waiting in the hope that in so great a disturbance one side or the other would call them under the desired conditions. These envoys were instructed to beg them to come without delay and to promise that any aid which they might render against such a pestilential enemy should not lack a fitting reward.

Furthermore, it was in this same fortress that the hostages were held whom the count had given to Nureddin, father of the young king, in exchange for his own release from captivity and as guarantee for a sum amounting to at least sixty thousand pieces of gold. Certain hostages given by Renaud of Sidon for the restoration of his brother Eustace were also held there.

Stimulated by the hope of effecting some arrangement whereby
they might obtain the release of these prisoners from the commander of the citadel where they were confined, in return for the prospect of assistance, the Christians hastened thither as speedily as possible with all their forces. They discovered, however, that no reliance could be placed upon the words of the infidels, for the latter had some hope that through the efforts of the above-named prince the siege might be raised. After carefully considering the matter from various angles for a long time, the Christians at length returned to the camp which they had left shortly before.

The fact that the Christians had retired as if in anger increased Saladin’s arrogance, and placing too much importance on their withdrawal, he began to approach Aleppo. There, by a series of repeated attacks, he harassed the chiefs’ forces greatly and tried to provoke them to combat. Finally, after many such challenges the forces met in a fierce and desperately contested battle at close quarters in which the tide of battle finally turned in favor of Saladin, and the Ninevites were forced to give way. It is said that they were betrayed by some of their own people who had been bribed by large sums of money. Saladin now returned to Hims and seized the citadel just as he had previously taken the city.

From Hims he sent a message to the Christians requesting the count not to interfere with his victorious progress but to permit him to contend alone with the son of Nureddin and the others who had come to his aid. Lest this proposition be rejected with scorn as without due recompense, he offered to release without payment the count’s own hostages and those of Renaud. The count agreed to this proposal; the hostages were returned as agreed upon in the pact; and the rest of the nobles who had taken part in this expedition were dismissed with fitting munificence. The camp was then abandoned and all returned home.

Humphrey of Toron, the king’s constable, is said to have been the mediator in these negotiations, and he was accused of having been too closely associated in the bonds of friendship with Saladin. His action was decidedly detrimental to our interests, for thus this prince who should have been resisted to the utmost, lest his insolence toward us increase with his power, won our good will, and he whose ever-increasing strength was to the disadvantage of the Christians dared to count upon us.
Thereupon, the forces which had left the kingdom about the first of January returned home again about the first of May.\textsuperscript{17}

9. Mainard, bishop of Beirut, dies. The author of this history is raised to the dignity of metropolitan of Tyre.

About this time, on April 25, Mainard of happy memory, bishop of Beirut, died at Tyre after a lingering illness of some duration. May his soul rest in peace!

The church at Tyre had now been without a head for seven successive months. In this same month,\textsuperscript{18} however, by the unanimous wish of the clergy and people, the king also, as is customary, confirming it, I was called, through the long-suffering of God rather than by any merit of my own, to undertake the charge of that church. Ten days later, on June 8, by the will of God, I, though all unworthy, received the gift of consecration in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord at the hands of Amalrich, patriarch of Jerusalem.

10. The king invades the land of the Damascenes and ravages the country. Hernesius, archbishop of Caesarea, dies.

About this same time, while Saladin was busily engaged in the vicinity of Aleppo, news reached the king that the land of Damascus, without an army and without a leader, lay exposed to pillage, an easy prey to any damage which by right of war an enemy might inflict upon it. On receiving this information, Baldwin gathered a force of cavalry and crossed the Jordan. He passed through the forest near the city of Banyas, from which it derives its name, and, with the famous range of Lebanon on his left, arrived in the plain of Damascus. It was the time of harvest. Our forces dispersed over the plains and roamed freely in every direction. The growing crops and the stacks standing in the fields as well as the harvests already stored away in barns were consigned to the flames. The farmers themselves, however, forewarned of our coming, had retreated with their wives and little ones to places more strongly fortified. Consequently our forces,

\textsuperscript{17} January to May, 1175.
\textsuperscript{18} Hardly the "same" month, though justified in the Latin reckoning, which counts the last half of the month in terms of the Kalends of the next month. He does not reckon the date of his own election, about May 30, in the same manner, however. William thus became archbishop of Tyre on June 8, 1175.
having the whole region at their command, proceeded as far as Daria. This is a village of the plain in the neighborhood of Damascus, about four miles away from that city. From there they went on to Bedegene, which lies at the foot of Mt. Lebanon; the clear waters flowing from those heights have given the place the name of the house of Pleasure. This place they took by force in spite of the brave resistance of its people. Then they departed, carrying off with them rich booty and plunder before the very eyes of the helpless Dama-
scenes and, after several days, arrived at home safe and sound.

About this same time, Hernesius of good memory, archbishop of Caesarea, died. Heraclius, archdeacon of Jerusalem, was chosen as his successor and duly consecrated.

11. The king again invades the territory of the enemy and lays waste a valley called Baccar. Renaud de Châtillon and Jos-
celin, the king's uncle, are released from the chains of the enemy.

In the second year of the reign of King Baldwin IV, on the first day of the month of August, while Saladin was still engaged before Aleppo, the king summoned the chief men of the kingdom, assembled his cavalry, and again invaded the territory of the enemy. After pass-
ing through the land of Sidon, he went up into the mountains which lie between our land and that of the enemy and came to Messaara, a place blessed with fertile soil and well watered by springs, in fact, seemingly supplied with almost every temporal good. From there he again descended into a valley called Baccar, where he found the land flowing with milk and honey, as we read in the Scriptures. Some think that this is the region which in ancient times was called Ituraea, of which, as we are told in the Gospel of Luke, Philip, son of Herod the Elder, was tetrarch, as he was also of the land of the Traconites. In still more remote time, perhaps during the days of the kings of Israel, it was called the forest of Lebanon because the valley extended to the foot of Mt. Lebanon. This region is highly desirable on account of its fertile soil, its healthful waters, the numerous population of its many hamlets, and its agreeable climate. In the lower part of

19 This is one of William's most precise dates and indicates his normal intention to begin the regnal year from the day of accession. At this day Baldwin's second year is about two weeks old. The events are clearly of 1175 and offer additional correction.
this valley is shown a city even today surrounded by strong walls, the buildings of which, under the modern name of Amegara, give many evidences of its early grandeur.

Some students of antiquity think that this is Palmyra, once a noble colony of Phoenicia, which Ulpian of Tyre mentions in the new Digest under the chapter “De censibus.” 20

As soon as our forces reached this place, they began to overrun the whole region without hindrance and set fire to everything. No one prevented them, for the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, whither no road that was passable for the troops led. Forewarned of our approach, they had driven the greater part of their flocks and herds to the marshy meadows in the middle of the valley where the pasturage was very luxuriant.

Meanwhile, the count of Tripoli, having passed through the plain of Jubail near the castle called Monethera, as had been arranged, suddenly advanced with his men into the vicinity of Heliopolis in the same valley, where he was reported to be burning everything. At this news, our people eagerly hastened in that direction, and as the count was no less desirous of meeting us, the two armies joined forces nearly in the middle of the valley.

Semsedolus [Shams al-Dula], the brother of Saladin, was residing as governor at Damascus. As soon as news of this movement reached him, he at once assembled his forces and with the assistance of the townspeople made an effort to resist. He drew up his lines in battle array and prepared to march against us. Our forces likewise arranged their battalions in good order and came on with valiant spirit to the encounter. Both sides fought manfully. Many were killed, more wounded, and great numbers taken prisoners. At last, however, by the help of God, the enemy was put to flight. Shams al-Dula escaped with a few followers and fled to the steep hilly country. But the Christians went back laden with the spoils of the enemy, with herds of cattle and a vast amount of plunder. The victors suffered the loss of a few men who, though unfamiliar with the roads, had imprudently ventured into the marshes to pillage and did not know of the sudden withdrawal of the Christian forces.

Thus the king and his men by the will of God returned in entire safety to Tyre. With them they brought rich possessions of every

20 Corpus juris civilis, Digest L. xv. 1. 5.
kind, including herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, as notable proofs of their victorious prowess.

The count of Tripoli, also richly laden with immense booty, joyfully led his troops back to his own domains by the same road along which he had come.

During that same year, 21 Renaud de Châtillon, who by espousing Constance, the widow of Raymond, prince of Antioch, had succeeded to that principality, was restored to freedom. After many years of hard captivity at Aleppo, he obtained his release when a large ransom was paid by his friends. With him was Joscelin, son of Count Joscelin of Edessa and uncle of the king, who through the persistent efforts of his sister, the Countess Agnes, wife of Renaud of Sidon and mother of the king, was rescued from prison and restored to liberty.

In that same year, on the second day of the month of May, Odo, bishop-elect of Sidon, who had been precentor of the church at Tyre, and Raymond, bishop-elect of Beirut, received through our ministry the gift of consecration in the church at Tyre.

12. The emperor of Constantinople is defeated ignominiously at Iconium.

About this same time also Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, of illustrious memory and loving remembrance in Christ, whose favors and most liberal munificence nearly everyone had experienced, met with a serious disaster in Iconium. With praiseworthy piety he was endeavoring to extend the Christian name by fighting against the monstrous race of the Turks and their wicked leader, the sultan of Iconium. But, because of our sins, he suffered there a great massacre. This involved not only his own personal following but also the imperial forces which he was leading with him in numbers so vast as almost to exceed human imagination. This engagement was attended by an enormous loss of men, among whom were some illustrious kinsmen of his own, well worthy of special mention. In the number was his nephew, John the protosebastos, his brother’s son, a man of distinguished liberality and noteworthy munificence, whose daughter Maria King Amaury had married. While making a vigorous resistance

21 Presumably the regnal year is meant, July 15, 1175—July 14, 1176, so that the release probably occurred in 1176 as did the consecration of the two bishops which is mentioned next.
against the foe he fell, pierced with many wounds. The emperor himself succeeded in rallying most of his army and reached his own land, safe in body but almost overwhelmed in mind by the unfortunate disaster. This tragedy is said to have been due rather to the imprudence of the imperial officers in charge of the battalions than to the strength of the foe. For, although there were broad and open roads well adapted for the passage of the army and for transporting the mass of baggage and impedimenta of all kinds, which is said to have been beyond estimating, they incautiously entrusted themselves headlong to dangerous narrow places which had been already seized by the enemy. Under such circumstances it was impossible to offer resistance, nor was there any opportunity to turn the tables against the enemy. From that day the emperor is said to have borne, ever deeply impressed upon his heart, the memory of that fatal disaster. Never thereafter did he exhibit the gaiety of spirit which had been so characteristic of him or show himself joyful before his people, no matter how much they entreated him. Never, as long as he lived, did he enjoy the good health which before that time he had possessed in so remarkable a degree. In short, the ever-present memory of that defeat so oppressed him that never again did he enjoy peace of mind or his usual tranquillity of spirit.  

13. William the Younger, marquis of Montferrat, arrives in Syria and marries the king’s sister.

In the third year of King Baldwin IV, about the beginning of October, Marquis  

William, surnamed Long Sword, son of the elder William, marquis of Monferrat, arrived at the port of Sidon by invitation of the king and all the barons of the realm, both ecclesiastical and secular. Within forty days after his arrival, he was given the king’s elder sister as wife. This marriage had been arranged the year before at the time when William was invited to come for this purpose and had been confirmed by the hand of the king and all the barons, under solemn oath. With his wife, William received the maritime cities of Jaffa and Ascalon with their appurtenances and the entire county also, as

22 This was the famous disaster of Myrokephalion, 1176 (see F. Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 507 ff.).  

23 This title never really descended to William Long Sword, for he died before his father. Our historian, however, applies it no doubt as a title of courtesy. The arrival of William Long Sword is here dated October, 1176.
had been agreed upon at that time. Some, however, were opposed to this measure and did not hesitate to express themselves openly. They had been among those who, without giving the matter adequate consideration, had approved of the invitation to William. Now, as is characteristic of changeable and inconstant natures, they changed their views.

The marquis was a rather tall, good-looking young man with blond hair. He was exceedingly irascible but very generous and of an open disposition and manly courage. He never concealed any purpose but showed frankly just what he thought in his own mind. He was fond of eating and altogether too devoted to drinking, although not to such an extent as to injure his mind. He had been trained in arms from his earliest youth and had the reputation of being experienced in the art of war. His worldly position was exalted—in fact, few if any could claim to be his equals. His father was the uncle of King Louis of France, the brother of the king’s mother. His mother had been the sister of Conrad, the illustrious emperor of the Romans, and aunt of Frederick who now, since the death of Lord Conrad of distinguished memory, his paternal uncle, vigorously administers the Roman empire. Thus the marquis was connected with these two illustrious monarchs by the same degree of relationship.

Barely three months after his marriage he was seized with a serious illness. For about two months he suffered without intermission, and in the following June, at the time when the king likewise was very ill at Ascalon, he died, leaving his wife pregnant. His body was borne to Jerusalem and buried with great magnificence in the vestibule of the church of the house of the Hospital to the left of the entrance, the present writer officiating.  

About that time, Humphrey of Toron, the king’s constable, married the Lady Philippa. She was the daughter of Prince Raymond of Antioch and sister of Bohemond III, who now governs this principality, and of Maria, empress of Constantinople. Philippa had first married Andronicus, a kinsman of the emperor, but he put her away

24 The writer’s modesty almost causes the reader to overlook the importance of the statement. The funeral of the king’s brother-in-law and intended successor was an event of major importance at which the head of the church, the patriarch, would normally preside. The choice of William to act for him, presumably because he was old and ill at the time, carried with it some possibility of succession in the event of the patriarch’s death.
and clandestinely carried off Theodora, the widow of King Baldwin and his own niece, an act both shameless and unchaste. This Humphrey, of whom we have just been speaking, had no sooner led Philippa home than he began to be desperately ill; his wife too was seized with a grave malady and died within a few days.

14. The count of Flanders, whose coming had been long awaited, arrives in the kingdom.

In the fourth year and the second month of the reign of King Baldwin IV, about the first of August, Philip, count of Flanders, whose arrival had been expected for a long time, landed at Acre. The king, although still ill, caused himself to be carried in a litter from Ascalon to Jerusalem. Greatly delighted, he sent some of his barons and ecclesiastical nobles to welcome Philip with due ceremony. On the count's arrival at Jerusalem, where the king was still lying seriously ill, by the unanimous advice of the lord patriarch, the archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, the masters of the Hospital and the Temple, and all the chief laity, Philip was offered the power and the general administration of the entire kingdom without restraint. In peace and in war, both without and within, he was to have full jurisdiction over the greater and the less and to exercise his will freely over the treasure and revenues of the kingdom.

After conferring with his followers, the count responded that he had not come for the purpose of receiving any power, but to devote himself to the divine service which was the object of his visit. Nor was it his plan to commit himself to any responsibility; on the contrary, he wished to be free to return to his own land when his personal affairs recalled him. Let the king appoint anyone he chose as governor in his realm, and he himself would obey that one for the good of the kingdom, as he would his own lord, the king of France.

25 See Book XX, note 4. Philippa represents one of the earlier and passing affairs of Andronicus.
26 William's chronology is still precise, his statement being equivalent to August 2, 1177, thus further correcting the error of 1173 as the year of Amaury's death and Baldwin's accession.
27 It may be of some interest to note that the terminology here employed is reminiscent of the forms used by the Roman emperors in conferring powers upon their procurators. The legists of the twelfth century appear to have combined formulae from the Code and the Digest; it is probable that William drew from them (cf. Corpus juris civilis, Code ii. xii. 10; Digest i. xix. 13; iii. iii. 1. 58; xv. i. 7. 1).
Perceiving that he utterly refused the honor which we had offered him, the king, through his barons, again earnestly requested that he at least consent to take command of all the Christian forces on the campaign about to be undertaken. This expedition had been arranged with the emperor of Constantinople long before, and the king now besought him to take care of the battles of the Lord against the Egyptians. To this request the count gave the same answer as before.

Thereupon the king constituted Renaud, formerly the prince of Antioch, regent of the realm and commander in chief of the army, as had been arranged before the count arrived. Renaud was a man of proved loyalty and remarkable steadfastness. On him was to rest the duty, if the king was unable to appear in person, of directing the affairs of the kingdom and ruling over all things, with the assistance, however, of the count.

When this was reported to the count, he answered that such a procurator did not seem to him necessary. On the contrary, someone should be appointed who would personally receive the glory of this war, if so it should please the Lord, or the disgrace of defeat, if God should thus ordain. To such a leader, also, should be given the kingdom of Egypt, if the Lord should bring that under our sway.

To this we who had been sent by the king made answer that the king could not appoint an official with such powers without making the same a king, which was not the idea of the king nor of ourselves. This being the situation, the count at last revealed the secret thought of his mind and did not try to conceal to what end all his plans were directed. He remarked that it was strange that no one had approached him on the subject of the marriage of his kinswoman [Sibylla].

As we listened to these words, we were amazed at the subtlety of the man and his evil designs. For the count who had been so courteously received by the king was now, in defiance of the laws of hospitality and the claims of kindred, attempting to supplant him.

15. The followers of the count influence him falsely and persuade him not to acquiesce in the views of the barons of the realm.

It is necessary to digress a little at this point, that our readers may understand more fully the wicked plan which the count was endeavoring to carry through. Our information on this subject has been ob-
tained not only from many individual accounts but also from his own confession.

A certain man of great influence, the advocate of Bethune, had accompanied the count on his pilgrimage and had brought with him his two sons, who were already grown men. It is said that the advocate, with the help of Count William de Mandeville, who was also on this same pilgrimage, began to influence Philip to believe that he could turn the situation of the kingdom greatly to his own advantage. He claimed to own extensive hereditary estates in the count's own land, all of which he promised to relinquish to the count as a perpetual possession with hereditary rights, if Philip would bring about a marriage between the two daughters of King Amaury and the two sons of the advocate. King Amaury had left two daughters: one of these was the widow of the marquis; the other, now of marriageable age, was living with her mother the queen at Nablus. The count agreed to this proposal and was endeavoring to bring about the marriage. But to return to our story.

We had now learned the goal toward which the count's ambition was directed. Accordingly we answered that the matter must first be submitted to the king; on the following day, we would report the response which the king, after taking counsel, should deem advisable to give.

In the morning, after first holding a conference, we returned to the count and made answer as follows: that it was our custom, approved by long usage, not to consider the remarriage of a widow, especially of one who was pregnant, within one year after the death of her husband, for that would not be honorable mourning. In the case of this lady, scarcely three months had passed since the death of the marquis; therefore he must not take it ill that we could not treat of her remarriage, since that would be contrary to the customs of the times and of our land. Yet it would meet with the favor and approval of us all if the aforesaid proposal could be handled with the advice of him from whom it now came, for assuredly, in this as in all other matters, the king desired to be governed by the count's advice and wished, as far as was consistent with his own honor, to concur with his wishes. Let the count take the initiative and name a suitable person for that alliance, and we were ready, in the present matter, to act according to the general desire.
The count was offended at this reply and answered that he would in no wise consent to do this unless all the barons would first swear to abide by his proposal without dispute, for any noble would consider himself insulted if, after being named, he should suffer rejection.

To this we responded that it would reflect on the honor of the king as well as on our own, if we should give his sister to one unknown to us even by name. The will of the king and of all the barons being at last plain, the count abandoned his design, but not without evincing much angry resentment.

16. Ambassadors arrive from the emperor of Constantinople. They demand that the treaty which the king had concluded with their lord be carried out at once and an expedition against Egypt made ready.

There was in Jerusalem at this time an imperial embassy composed of eminent men of high rank: namely, Lord Andronicus, surnamed Angelus, the son of the emperor's sister; the Megaltriarch [sic] John, a very magnificent man; Count Alexander of Conversana in Apulia, a nobleman of high rank; and Georgius of Sinai [George Sinaiotes], a member of the imperial court. They had come to the king by command of the emperor, who considered the time now ripe for carrying out the treaty which had been made between himself and King Amaury and had subsequently been renewed under similar terms with the present King Baldwin. He hoped much also, with the aid of God, from the coming of the count of Flanders. Accordingly, a general assembly was called at the same Most Holy City to consider this matter, and thither all the barons of the realm repaired. One and all cherished the same hope, that by the counsel and

28 This embassy consisted of Andronicus Angelus, John Dukas, the grand hateriarch, George Sinaiotes, and Count Alexander de Gravina (see Chalandon, Les Comnènes, II, 551). This is the third mission of Count Alexander to Jerusalem reported by William. Few persons of the twelfth century had more diplomatic experience. A Norman of southern Italy, he had been dispossessed of his lands in a revolt of the barons against Roger II. For some years he shuttled back and forth between the courts of Conrad III and of Constantinople seeking to recover his lands with the help of either. Both courts made use of him as an envoy. Finally he settled down at Constantinople, where Manuel entrusted him with the command of the Norman troops and sent him on missions to Germany and Sicily as well as to the Holy Land. His name appears prominently for an extraordinarily long time, 1132 to 1177 at least (see Chalandon, Les Comnènes, II, 551 et passim).
aid of the count and his train the kingdom beloved of God might receive the desired enlargement and that effective measures might be taken for the destruction of the enemies of Christ. Then without warning, as we have said, the count made an about turn and, unmindful of his promises, devoted himself to other projects. Thus the very foundations of our hope were destroyed.

Notwithstanding the defection of the count, the imperial envoys insisted that the treaty should be carried out. They argued that delay was likely to be attended with danger; there was no reason on the part of the Greeks why the proposed campaign should not proceed; they were prepared to fulfil all the terms of the treaty in good faith and that with a broad interpretation.

After listening to the words of the envoys and conferring together, we decided to lay the matter before the count in the fullest detail. He was called; and when he arrived the substance of the agreement between the emperor and ourselves was put before him, accurately transcribed and sealed with the golden seal of the emperor.

After he had carefully perused the document and thoroughly understood its contents, he was asked for his opinion. He answered that he was a stranger, unfamiliar with localities and especially with the land of Egypt, which was said to lie far remote from all other countries and to be subject to different conditions, as when, at certain seasons of the year, the waters overflow their banks and completely submerge the land. We of course knew the nature of the country better and the chances of approaching it, yet he had heard from those who had often visited Egypt that the present was not a favorable season for an invasion. He added that winter was at hand and Egypt was covered with the overflow of the Nile. Again, he had heard that Turks had flocked there in vast numbers. Finally, he feared—and this most of all—that there would be a scarcity of supplies during the march and even after they reached Egypt and that, as a result, the army would suffer from famine.

We perceived from these objections that he was seeking to find subtle excuses to avoid undertaking the campaign. To prevent this, we offered him six hundred camels to transport food, arms, and other baggage by land and promised the necessary number of ships to carry by sea provisions, engines, and all the necessary equipment for war. He rejected these offers entirely, however, and added that he would
not go down into Egypt with us on any terms, lest haply he and his forces might be compelled to suffer from famine. He added that he had been accustomed to lead his armies through rich countries and his troops could not endure privations of this kind. But should we choose another region whither we could conduct the armies more easily and conveniently to strive for the increase of the Christian name and the destruction of the enemies of Christ, then he and his men would gladly make preparations to set forth.

17. The count’s opposition to this honorable project hinders the carrying out of the treaty.

However, it was neither safe nor honorable for us to withdraw from the treaty. The imperial envoys, distinguished men of rank, were now in Jerusalem with large pecuniary resources and declared that they were ready to carry out in good faith, as we have said, the conventions initiated between the emperor and ourselves. They had seventy galleys lying in the port of Acre, besides other ships, sufficient for the voyage and the campaign as agreed upon. To refuse to fulfill the agreement to which we had pledged ourselves seemed most dishonorable and in fact dangerous. Even if the imperial deputies would consent to defer the campaign till another time, we felt that it would be unwise to lose the aid of the emperor now prepared for us; moreover, we feared his displeasure, which might have serious results for the realm. Therefore, with the consent of both parties, we resolved to undertake the campaign, in accordance with the treaty and the arrangements already made, and to proceed with the preparations for the expedition so long ago agreed upon with the emperor.

When the count of Flanders learned of our decision, he was extremely angry and declared that the whole affair had been framed as an insult to him. Finally, after much discussion, that we might comply with his wishes in some measure, the expedition was again deferred until after the end of April with the consent of both the Greeks and our people.

Matters were accordingly settled in this fashion. The count had now been at Jerusalem for about fifteen days and had accomplished

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29 The treaty to which William alludes is probably the one made by Amaury on his visit to Manuel in 1171. Various events had intervened to postpone the execution of the treaty (see Book XX, chaps. 22 and 23).
his devotions. Accordingly he assumed the palm, which is with us the sign of a completed pilgrimage, and departed for Nablus as if intending to withdraw entirely. From there, after several days, he sent to us at Jerusalem the advocate of Bethune with others of his company. They were commissioned to declare, on the part of the count, that he was prepared—and this was the substance of his deliberations—to follow us wherever we wished, be it to Egypt or to other lands. This frequent change of mind seemed to us ridiculous, and we felt that the count might justly be accused of an unstable character, since he never adhered to any definite project. Yet, on the receipt of this message containing the news of his decision, we reluctantly conferred with the Greeks. It proved, however, that he had no intention of making good his words by works. On the contrary, he was trying with all his might to put us in the wrong, that he might be able to write to the princes beyond the mountains that we were responsible for deferring the campaign.\(^\text{30}\) He had sent the above-mentioned envoys hoping that the Greeks would in no wise consent to our request, and that thus his own error would recoil upon us.

18. The emperor's envoys return to their own land. The count proceeds to the land of Antioch. Balian marries the widow of King Amaury.

Thereupon we addressed the Greeks to ascertain whether they were still willing to stand by their original agreement and go down into Egypt, provided the count would come with us. They answered that although the time was very short to make the necessary preparation for their armies, yet if the count would swear by his own hand that he would go with us and, in the event of his own illness either here or on the march, would send his forces; if he would promise to strive for the expansion of Christianity on the entire campaign in good faith, without fraud or evil intent; if, furthermore, he would guarantee that the agreement which had been arranged and committed to writ-

\(^{30}\) These negotiations have been described at such length, no doubt, because William was apparently the king's chief advisor at this time and directly in charge of the negotiations with Philip. Fearful of Philip's intentions to discredit the Latin court in the eyes of Western rulers, William not only reports the negotiations in detail here, but appears also to have sent out letters to the same effect. Thus both Robert of Torigni and William of Newburgh, neither of whom lived long enough to have read William's book, gave a somewhat abbreviated account of these events as William recounts them.
ing should not be infringed in any particular, be it by advice or aid; and if he would cause his people to swear to the same, then, although his many changes of feeling seemed to them strange and inconsistent with a steadfast and virile character, they would go with us, that the glory of the kingdom dear to God and the honor of the emperor might be increased.

The advocate and those who had been sent with him then offered to take oath on the terms as given above. Yet they were not willing to include therein all the stipulations, nor would they promise that the count also would take oath. Thereupon, as we did not care to continue the discussion to no purpose, the conference was broken off and the matter so often under negotiation was deferred to a more opportune season. The imperial legates then took leave and returned to their own land.

After their departure, the count’s envoys began to inquire why the proposed campaign should not take place at once. “What project could the count undertake with the aid of the kingdom, that he might not seem utterly idle?” At last those with whom the final decision lay determined to move into the territories of Tripoli or Antioch, where it seemed possible that something might be accomplished for their own honor and the advancement of Christianity.

There were some who laid it to the charge of the prince of Antioch, who was present at the time, and also to the count of Tripoli that the count was so averse to the expedition into Egypt.\(^{31}\) They were endeavoring, it was said, to draw him into their own lands, that by his aid some project might be undertaken that would lead to the increase of their own domains. But that hope was frustrated, for neither among us nor, forsooth, among them was the count permitted from on high to do anything worthy of record. It was indeed fitting that he from whom the Lord had withdrawn His favor should prosper in nothing, for “God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.”\(^{32}\)

However, the king promised to give Philip his cooperation and aid and, on his departure, granted him a hundred of his own knights and a force of two thousand foot soldiers.

This was the condition of our affairs about the first of October.\(^{33}\) At that time, accompanied by the count of Tripoli, the master of the

\(^{31}\) William is here not sparing his friend Raymond of Tripoli from a possible share in the blame for the failure of the negotiations.

\(^{32}\) I Pe. 5: 5.

\(^{33}\) October 1, 1177.
Hospital, and many brethren of the Knights Templars, the count left with his forces for the land of Tripoli.

About the same time Balian d'Isbelin, the brother of Baldwin of Ramlah, with the king's consent espoused Queen Maria, widow of King Amaury and daughter of John the protosebastos, so often referred to above. With Maria, Balian received the city of Nablus, which had been given her under the name of jointure at the time of her marriage and which he was to hold during the life of his wife.

19. The count of Flanders, with the help of the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli, lays siege to the fortress of Harim, but their efforts are without result.

On arriving at Tripoli, after all necessary preparations for the march had been made and the troops well organized, the count, accompanied by the count of Tripoli, led his forces into the land of the enemy. They remained for a time near the cities of Hims and Hama, a step which resulted in some loss to the enemy. For Saladin, after accomplishing his purpose in that vicinity and making peace with the son of Nureddin on his own terms, had departed for Egypt. The preparations to which I have alluded above seemed to him to indicate that the long-threatened campaign, arrangements for which had been made long ago, was about to take place. Accordingly he led with him all the forces to be obtained from any source and concentrated his immense strength of cavalry at the strategic points where it seemed probable that the most important events would occur. As a result, the count and his forces found the country without defenders and were able to overrun the land without opposition. The fortified towns and the citadels of the cities were, however, well supplied with provisions and had sufficient guards and arms for their defense.

When the prince of Antioch learned that the two counts had entered the enemy's country, he hastened to join them by another route, as had been agreed upon between them. The forces thus united in body were of one mind also; accordingly, as the best plan under the circumstances, it was decided to besiege the fortress of Harim. This place lies in the territory of Chalcis and is now called Artasium. It was once a noble city but is now reduced to the status of a very small stronghold. Both city and fort are about twelve miles distant from Antioch.
On arriving before Harim, the camp was established in a circle about the place. Thus surrounded on all sides, the besieged were entirely prevented from emerging, nor could anyone, however desirous, approach to lend them aid. Machines and all the necessary engines for carrying on a siege were at once constructed. As an intimation that operations would be continued to the end, the Christians also built huts of osiers and, as winter was approaching, they fortified the camp with palisades to prevent their possessions from being swept away by the torrential rains. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of the surrounding country and the Christian people worked zealously to bring in the necessary provisions from Antioch and the places in the vicinity.

The fortress of Harim belonged to the son of Nureddin and was the only one in that part of the country which Saladin had permitted him to retain. After a complete blockade on all sides had been effected, the Christians, in relays according to custom, made assaults on the place at regular intervals and battered the walls with their engines and machines so constantly that the besieged could obtain no rest whatever.

20. Saladin arrives from Egypt with vast forces and invades the kingdom. He takes up a position before Ascalon. The king marches out to meet him with all the strength of the realm. An important engagement takes place before the city.

This, then, was the condition of affairs in Antioch. In the meantime, Saladin had learned that the count and the entire Christian army had advanced into the land of Antioch while he, not without grave apprehension, had been awaiting them in the land of Egypt. It seemed to him with reason that he could safely invade a land thus stripped of its troops, when one of two things might easily be secured: the invasion would either force the enemy to abandon the siege of Harim, or, if they persisted in continuing that, he could obtain a victory over those left in the kingdom.

He accordingly assembled troops in great numbers from all sources and caused them to be equipped even better than usual with arms and all manner of things commonly used in warfare. Then with this army he marched out of Egypt. After traversing by forced marches the vast intervening wilderness, he arrived at the ancient city of
al-Arish, now deserted. There he left part of the heavy baggage and the packs of the soldiers. Then, taking with him the lighter-armed troops and the most experienced fighters, he passed by our fortresses Daron and Gaza, the latter a very famous city, and, sending scouts on in advance, appeared suddenly before Ascalon.

However, the king had received warning of his advance some days before; he had hurriedly mustered the forces still left in the kingdom, and his troops were already occupying the city.

As already stated, the count of Tripoli was gone, taking with him a hundred of our knights, picked men selected from a large number; the master of the Hospital with his brethren and a large number of the Knights Templars had also left. The rest of the brethren had retired to Gaza in the expectation that Saladin would lay siege to that place, since it was the first of our cities which he would reach. Humphrey, the royal constable, was suffering from a serious illness, as has been mentioned. The king therefore had but few with him. When he learned that the enemy were roving freely about in hostile fashion, scattered through the plains adjoining our territory, he left a few men to guard the city and, invoking aid from above, marched out with his forces prepared to fight.

Saladin had concentrated his troops in one body near the city. When the Christian army advanced and saw the vast numbers of their adversaries, those of greater experience in warfare advised that the forces remain in their present position rather than risk the uncertain chances of battle. Accordingly the Christians stood off the enemy's attacks until evening, although during that time single combats took place at intervals, for the two armies were not far apart. As the day drew to a close, the Christians prudently retired to the city again, for in view of the enemy's superior numbers it seemed hazardous to trust their modest forces to a camp for the night. This act roused Saladin and his men to such a pitch of arrogance that they no longer remained in close array but paraded about in admiration of their own prowess. As though already victorious, Saladin began to allot definite parts of his conquered possessions to his fellow soldiers, and his forces, as if they had already secured all they desired, began to conduct themselves with utter disregard of caution. In scattered bands they wandered freely about and scoured the country in every direction.
21. *The Turks devastate the land far and wide; they burn cities and outlying districts.*

We supposed that during the night the enemy were engaged either in establishing their camp before the city, where they had been the day before, or had drawn nearer and were already investing it. But on the contrary, without allowing themselves or their horses to rest, they spread in bands over the whole region hither and yon, as the impulse seized each one. Among their satraps was a certain Jevelino, a valiant fighter, ever ready for any daring exploit. He was an Armenian by birth, an apostate who, abandoning the faith of the Mediator between God and man, had gone over to the Gentiles and was following devious ways. With the troops which he commanded, this man proceeded to Ramlah, a city in the plain, and, finding it deserted, burned it. Since the place was not well fortified, the citizens had abandoned it in despair; some had gone with Baldwin's expedition to Ascalon, and others, with the weaker ones and the women and children, had repaired to Jaffa. Still others had gone up to a fairly well fortified stronghold in the mountains called Mirabel. After burning Ramlah, Jevelino marched on with all his forces to the neighboring city of Lydda; here he divided his troops and quickly surrounded the place. Then, with showers of arrows and weapons of all kinds, he attacked the citizens and harried them without intermission. The entire population fled to the church of the blessed martyr St. George.

At this point such desperate fear laid hold on the Christians that their only hope seemed to lie in flight. Great terror descended not only upon the people in the plains, where the enemy was roving about freely without opposition, but even upon those living in the mountains. The citizens of Jerusalem itself were almost ready to abandon the Holy City; having no confidence in its fortifications, they hastened in all eagerness to the tower of David, as it is commonly called, and abandoned the rest of the city. Some of the marauders had advanced as far as the place called Calcalia and had spread over almost the entire surface of the plain. Now they were about to leave the level country and ascend to the hills.

34 Jawali (see Book XX, note 28). Beha ed-Din (*The Life of Saladin*, p. 89) calls him a mamluk.
Now was the appearance of this region desolate and overwhelmed with bitterness, as in the day when the Lord, provoked to wrath, "covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud." 35 Yet, "even in his anger, he did not withhold his pity, nor did he forget mercy;" 36 "but he inclined toward us; he consoled and aided us 37 and was still favorable toward us" 38 and "according to the multitude of sorrows in our hearts, his comforts delighted our souls." 39

22. The king goes forth from Ascalon and meets the enemy.

Both sides are drawn up in battle array prepared for the encounter.

While these events were happening in that part of the country, news was brought to the king that a host of the enemy, scattered far and wide over his land, had seized upon his domain. Thereupon, he immediately left Ascalon with his men and prepared to march against the foe, for he felt that it was wiser to try the dubious chances of battle with the enemy than to suffer his people to be exposed to rapine, fire, and massacre. So, marching along by the seashore, he was following the coast, that he might come upon the enemy stealthily and suddenly when he reached the place where Saladin was encamped on the plain. He immediately directed all his forces, both cavalry and infantry, in all their martial array against him. He was joined by the brethren of the Knights Templars who had remained at Gaza, and together, with ranks in battle formation, they prepared to meet the foe. As they advanced, intent on the one purpose of avenging their wrongs, the sight of the fires on every side and the reports of the massacre of their people inspired them with divine courage, and they hastened on as one man. Suddenly, opposite to them and not far away, they saw the enemy's lines. It was about the eighth hour of the day.

During this interval, Saladin had learned that the Christians were advancing in the hope of fighting. Dreading the engagement which heretofore he had apparently desired, he sent out messengers to recall his troops, who had scattered in various directions. By the sound of the trumpet and the roll of the drums and by admonitions also, as

35 Lam. 2:1. In this and the following passages William is paraphrasing Scripture to meet his needs.
36 Ps. 76:10. 37 Ps. 70:2. 38 Ps. 76:8. 39 Ps. 93:19.
is usual at such times, he sought to encourage his men for the conflict and to rouse them by his words.  

With the king were Eudes de Saint-Amand, the master of the Knights Templars, and eighty of his brethren, Prince Renaud, Baldwin of Ramleh and his brother Balian, Renaud of Sidon, and Count Joscelin, the king's uncle and seneschal. Their numbers, including all ranks and conditions, were barely three hundred and seventy-five. Led by the wondrous Life-giving Cross which was borne by Albert, bishop of Bethlehem, and after first invoking aid from on high, they all advanced in battle formation, eager for the encounter.

In the meantime, the enemy's forces who had ventured some distance away to seek booty and spread conflagration began to arrive from different directions, a circumstance which greatly increased Saladin's strength. In fact, had not the Lord, who never fails those who put their trust in Him, graciously inspired our men with inward courage, the Christians would have been driven to despair, not only of victory, but of liberty and safety as well. However, they nonetheless drew up their forces in battle array and arranged their lines according to military rules, disposing in proper order those who were to make the first attack and the reserves who were to come to their aid.

23. *A battle ensues. Saladin is defeated and put to flight with extreme danger and ignominy.*

The ranks of fighters on both sides now gradually approached each other, and a battle ensued which was at first indecisive, but the forces were very unequal. The Christians, however, strengthened by the grace shed upon them from on high, soon began to press on with ever-increasing boldness; Saladin's lines were broken and, after a terrible slaughter, were forced to flee.

Wishing to ascertain the actual facts, I made a careful investigation of the enemy's numbers and, from the narratives of many trustworthy people, found that twenty-six thousand light-armed cavalry, in addition to others mounted on camels and beasts of burden, had entered our territory. Of these, eight thousand belonged to those

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40 Reminiscent of Virgil *Aen.* ix. 717.  
41 Ps. 33:23.  
42 It is probable that William accompanied the king on this campaign. The use of the first person here, the definiteness of detail, and the fullness of his description seem to indicate that fact.
splendid soldiers called in their own language toassin; the other eighteen thousand were the common knights known as carnagoles. A thousand of the most valiant knights acted as a bodyguard to Saladin. All these wore yellow silk over their breastplates, the color that Saladin himself bore. It is the custom of Turkish satraps and of the great chiefs, who in the Arabic tongue are called amirs, to rear with great care certain young men, some of whom are slaves captured in war, others are bought or perhaps born of slave mothers. These youths are instructed in military science, and when they have reached manhood are given wages or even large possessions, according to the merit of each. These men are called in their own language mamluks. To them is entrusted the duty of protecting the person of their lord in the vicissitudes of battle, and upon them in no slight degree depends the hope of obtaining the victory. Always surrounding their lord, they endeavor with one accord to protect him from harm, and they cling to him even unto death. As one man, they continue to fight until he has fled. Consequently it often happens that while the rest make good their escape by flight, nearly all the mamluks fall.

The Christians pursued the defeated foe from the place called Mons Gisard to the swamp known as Cannaie des Etourneaux, until day declined and night fell upon them. For twelve miles and more, during this entire flight, the foe was mercilessly slaughtered, nor would any of their number have survived, had not the swift descent of night rescued them from their pursuers. To assist them in their flight, the stronger men and those who had swift horses threw away their arms and apparel, abandoned their packs, and, leaving the weaker people behind, fled with all their might. Thanks to the approach of night, these escaped death. The remainder met with a worse fate, for all were either captured or put to the sword.

At the very beginning of the engagement, we lost four or five knights and some foot soldiers, but the exact number of these is not known.

When those who had escaped by flight reached the marsh just mentioned, they cast into the sedges and into the water itself whatever

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43 Röhrich quotes Nöldeke in identifying toassin, or tanwasin, as a designation of troops having religious significance, and carnagoles, or Caragholam, as literally "black servants" or mamluks (see R. Röhrich, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291, P. 377, note 1).

44 This is the usual description of mamluks.
they still carried, namely, their breastplates and ironshod boots, that they themselves might proceed unimpeded. Even weapons were thrown into the water, that the Christians might not use them even as tokens of victory.

All these things, however, were soon recovered by our people, for, following hard on the footsteps of the flying foe, that very night and the next day they carefully searched the reedy swamp just mentioned and, by combing the swamp itself with poles and hooks, speedily found whatever the foe had hidden there.

We have heard from persons worthy of credence that in one day they saw a hundred breastplates recovered from that place, besides helmets, iron greaves, and other articles of less worth which still were valuable and useful.

This notable mercy, worthy of remembrance forever, was conferred upon us by divine grace in the third year of King Baldwin IV, on November 25, the feast day of the holy martyrs, Peter of Alexandria and the virgin Catherine.⁴⁵

The king went back to Ascalon, where he awaited the return of his forces who had pursued the fugitives by different roads. Within four days they had all arrived, loaded with plunder. Carrying tents and driving before them slaves, troops of camels, and horses, they came, according to the words of the prophet, “as men rejoice when they divide the spoil.” ⁴⁶

Still another circumstance plainly showed that divine clemency was with us. On the following day and for ten successive days thereafter, violent rains accompanied by unusual cold occurred so that it almost seemed that the very elements had conspired against the foe. They had lost all their horses, which, during the three days’ occupation of our territories, had received neither food nor drink, nor even rest. They had also voluntarily thrown away their baggage and all kinds

⁴⁵ It should be “fourth year.” Either William is here using the calendar year or is guilty of a slip of the pen, probably the latter. The date is November 25, 1177.
⁴⁶ Is. 9: 3.
of clothing, as we have said. To add to the sum of their miseries, they were entirely without food and were perishing from cold and hunger, from fatigue of the march and the burden of unaccustomed hardships. Everywhere were to be found, now a few of these fugitives, and again larger numbers, against whom even the weak and powerless could vent their fury as they would. Many, in their ignorance of the localities and thinking that they were on the way home, presented themselves in our villages either to travellers or to those who were hunting them.

Meanwhile the Arabs, that race of unbelievers, perceiving the catastrophe that had befallen the Turks, hastened to those who, as we said above, had been left to guard the baggage at the city of al-Arish. By reporting the disaster that had overtaken their people, they so terrified them that they fled in dismay. These Arabs also persistently pursued any who by chance had managed to evade our clutches. Thus those who thought they had escaped from us fell into their hands as prey, so that the prophecy seemed to be fulfilled which says, "that which the locust hath left, hath the canker-worm eaten." 47 The following is said to be a custom of that wicked race. Under whatever chief they advance to battle, they always avoid the dangers of combat, and, as long as the result of the battle is uncertain, they look on at a distance; when it is decided, they attach themselves to the victor, pursue the conquered enemies, and enrich themselves by the spoils.

For many days captives were brought in from the forests and mountains, even from the desert. Sometimes they came to us of their own accord, preferring to be held in chains and prisons rather than to waste away under the torture of cold and hunger.

Meanwhile, the king, after distributing the spoils and treasures according to the rules of war, hastened to Jerusalem to give thanks and make offerings for the blessings bestowed upon him by the Lord. But Saladin, who had gone up in a spirit of great arrogance with a numerous array of knights, returned stricken by the divine hand, attended by barely a hundred followers. He himself is said to have been mounted on a camel.

Let us regard more closely and carefully the bounty of this divine gift and consider how in the liberality shown toward us, the Holy Comforter desired all the glory to be His own. For if the count of

47 Joel 1: 4.
Flanders, the prince of Antioch, the count of Tripoli, and the great company of knights who were not present had participated in this victory brought about by divine grace, they would not have hesitated to think, even though they did not say, "Our hand is high, and the Lord hath not done all this." 48 For heedless and inconsiderate persons are wont to creep in thus when all is prosperous.

But now, according to His word as it is written, "my glory will I not give to another." 49 He has retained all the glory and authority for Himself, while employing the aid not of the many but of the few. In His loving kindness he renewed the miracle of Gideon, he scattered a great multitude and thus made it plain that it was He alone and not another, by whose aid one could "chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." 50

Therefore to Him from whom comes every good and perfect gift 51 let it be ascribed, for in this present instance there is nothing which man can attribute to his own works. It is the gift of divine grace, and it has been shown to those who do not deserve it. "Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them;" 52 "in the greatness of thine excellency thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee." 53

25. The besieging forces before the fortress of Harim in the land of Antioch abandon the task and return to their own land.

While these events were taking place among us, the count and those with him continued to besiege the castle referred to above, but without result. For they were given over to frivolity and paid more attention to games of chance and other evil pleasures than military discipline or the rules of siege operations permitted. They were continually going back and forth to Antioch, where they spent their time at the baths and at banquets and indulged in drunken debauches and other pleasures of the flesh, thereby forsaking the work of the siege for the delights of idleness.

Even those who seemed to be assiduous in attendance there became lazy and careless and accomplished nothing of importance. They passed their time in idleness and led vicious lives. 54 The count himself daily remarked that he must return home and intimated that he was

48 De. 32:27. 49 Is. 42:8. 50 De. 32:30. 51 Ja. 1:17. 
52 Ex. 15:12. 53 Ex. 15:7. 54 Persius Sat. v. 60.
detained at Harim against his will. This attitude not only hindered those who were honorably endeavoring to carry on the siege outside, but it furnished an incentive to a bolder resistance on the part of the townspeople. The hope that the siege would soon be raised enabled them to endure all things for a short time. To bear the injuries inflicted upon them was hard, yet even that was better than to surrender to the hated race the stronghold which had been committed to their loyalty and thus to incur forever the opprobrium of traitors.

The fortress of Harim occupies an elevated position on a hill which is apparently largely artificial and is accessible to assailants on one side only. The other sides are practically unapproachable to anyone wishing to make an assault, yet it is possible for hurling machines to scourge it from all directions without hindrance.

Repeated attacks had been made, with varying results. These seemed to indicate that if a vigorous assault were made, with divine assistance the place might be taken. Yet the affair had lapsed into a state of indifference, as we have said and, because of our sins, all valor had departed from us and all prudence had vanished. Although those shut up within its walls had now fallen into the last state of despair, the Christians began to consider returning home. We cannot sufficiently marvel at the fact (for it seems beyond human understanding) that the Lord brought such darkness over the minds of these great princes and in His wrath so blinded them. For, although no one constrained them and the castle was now almost in their power, yet, under the spur of jealousy and their own desire for idleness, they abandoned it to the enemy. When the prince perceived that the count of Flanders had determined on his course and was irrevocably set upon this decision, he accepted from the besieged a sum of money, the amount of which is unknown to us, and raised the siege.

The count of Flanders then returned to Jerusalem, where he celebrated the holy days of Easter and then made his preparation to return. As soon as the galleys and necessary transports were ready, he sailed from Laodicea in Syria with the intention of returning to his own land after a visit to the emperor of Constantinople, but he left behind him a memory in no wise blessed. 55

About this same time, Frederick, emperor of the Romans, after twenty years of schism was reconciled to Pope Alexander at Venice. 55

55 He reached his homeland in the fall of 1178.
The walls of the holy city of Jerusalem had partly fallen because of their great age. Accordingly, about this time the princes, both secular and ecclesiastical, joined together and decided that a fixed sum of money should be paid annually until, by the help of the Lord, the work of repairing the walls should be finished. And thus might be fulfilled the saying, "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem."  

26. *A general synod at Rome is proclaimed. The king builds a fortress beyond the river Jordan under unfavorable auspices and commits it, when completed, to the care of the Templars.*

In the year of our Lord 1178, which was the fifth year of the reign of King Baldwin IV, in the month of October, certain men who had been summoned left our East to attend a general synod at Rome which had been proclaimed the previous year throughout the entire Latin world. The delegates invited were: myself, William, archbishop of Tyre; Heraclius, archbishop of Caesarea; Albert, bishop of Bethlehem; Ralph, bishop of Sebaste; Joscius, bishop of Acre; Romanus, bishop of Tripoli; Peter, prior of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre; and Raynald, abbot of Mt. Sion. Joscius not only attended the synod with us, but also went as envoy to Henry, duke of Burgundy, charged with the mission of inviting him to come to the kingdom. For we had unanimously agreed that he should be given the king's sister in marriage under the same conditions which had been made at the time of her previous marriage to the marquis. The duke received this offer at the hand of Bishop Joscius graciously and is said to have sworn by his own hand that he would come. However, for reasons still unknown to us, he later disregarded his oath and refused to fulfil the solemn promise by which he had bound himself.

During the same month in which we started on our journey to at-

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56 Ps. 51: 18.
57 The statement is again precise in terms of the regnal year reckoned from the day of accession.
58 This list is of interest not only in that it places William at the head of the delegation, but also because of the omission of several prelates, notably the patriarch Amalrich and the archbishop of Nazareth, both of whom were too old and feeble to attempt the journey. Peter, prior of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, went as personal representative of the patriarch, though William does not mention the fact (see J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Vol. XXII passim).
tend the synod, the king, with the entire strength of the realm, began to build a fortress beyond the Jordan in the place commonly called Jacob's ford.\textsuperscript{69}

Old traditions say that this is the place where Jacob, as he was returning from Mesopotamia, divided his people into two bands and sent messengers to his brother, saying, “With my staff I crossed this river and now I am returning with two bands.” \textsuperscript{60} It lies in the region of Cades Nephtalim between Nephtalim and Dan, the latter of which is known both as Banyas and as Caesarea Philippi. These form part of Phoenicia and are suffragan cities of Tyre. The place is ten miles from Banyas. There, upon a hill of moderate height, they laid foundations of suitable depth and within six months had erected a fortification of solid masonry in the form of a square, of marvellous thickness and adequate height.

While they were engaged in building operations there, it happened that bandits emerged from the land of Damascus and so beset the highways that none could go to and from the army without peril, neither could travellers pass along any of the ways. These bandits came from a place in the mountains near Acre called Bacades or, in the vulgar tongue, Bucael. This is most delightfully situated in the land of Zebulon, and, although on the top of a mountain, it is well watered and planted with thick groves of fruit trees. Its inhabitants are insolent men, fierce fighters and men very proud of their great numbers, through which they have made all the surrounding fields and villages tributary to them. To evildoers fleeing from due punishment, to brigands and highwaymen, they offer a safe refuge among them, in consideration of which they receive a share of the booty and spoils taken by violence. Because of their intolerable arrogance, these people had become hated and abhorred by all around them, both Christians and Saracens, and frequent attempts had been made to exterminate them utterly, but without success. As a result, they became bolder every day. The king finally found himself unable longer to endure their insufferable arrogance and the thefts and murders perpetrated by them. He suddenly seized the place by force of arms and put to death all whom he could apprehend. The majority escaped, however, for, having learned of the king's intention, they had

\textsuperscript{69} October, 1178. \textsuperscript{60} Ge. 32:10.
fled with their wives and little ones to the land of Damascus. From here they kept up their ancient habits and made frequent, though stealthy, sallies into our territory.

At this time, with associates of the same type, they had invaded our territories, as has been said. The knowledge that men of this stamp were rendering the public highways so dangerous roused the Christians to wrath; accordingly they laid ambushes in strategic places and bent all their energies to outwitting the rascals. It happened one night that these highwaymen, after making a raid, were coming down from the mountains of Zebulon, intending to return to the place whence they had set out. But, falling into the ambushes laid by the Christians, they gathered the fruit of their ways; nine of their number were captured and more than seventy killed. This happened on March 21.\textsuperscript{61}

At this same time, on March 5, a synod of three hundred bishops convened at Rome in the basilica of Constantine called the Lateran. This was in the twentieth year of the pontificate of Alexander,\textsuperscript{62} and the twelfth of the indiction.

If anyone desires to know the statutes enacted and the names of the bishops, their number and titles, he may read the writing which, at the earnest request of the holy fathers who took part in this synod, we have carefully compiled. We have directed that this be placed in the archives of the holy church at Tyre among the other books which we have collected for that same church, over which now for six years we have presided.\textsuperscript{63}

27. \textit{The king invades hostile territory and suffers an enormous loss. Humphrey, the king's constable, meets death there.}

When the fortress had been constructed and was complete in all parts, news reached the king that the enemy in search of pasturage

\textsuperscript{61} March 21, 1179.

\textsuperscript{62} Alexander III had been elected pope late in 1159. The Third Lateran council, which he had called, convened officially March 5, 1179, though the clergy, like the delegation from Jerusalem, had been gathering at Rome for some time before, while a few arrived after the council convened. It was quite the largest and most important church gathering that had been held in the West for centuries.

\textsuperscript{63} The time of this writing is thus after June 8, 1181. His library is evidently a matter of pride. No catalogue of its contents has been preserved, but it is reasonable to assume that it included all the books to which he referred frequently.
had incautiously led their flocks and herds into the forest near Banyas. They were without fighting men on whom they might count to repel any attack made by us. Accordingly our people, thinking they could easily be vanquished if, as had been reported, they were undefended and without military protection, stealthily made their way thither. In order to fall upon the Turks suddenly and without warning before they were aware of the enemy’s vicinity, the Christians made the entire march by night. The morning found them at their destination. While some of the troops were hurrying about in one direction and another, looking for booty, and others were following rather slowly at some distance behind, the company with which the king was riding very carelessly became entangled in a certain narrow place among the rocks where some of the enemy were lurking. For, having learned that we were coming, they had decided to hide, hoping in this way to avoid our attack and provide for their own safety. But when they saw the Christians rush upon them without due caution, necessity forced them, although reluctant and still despairing of their lives, to become brave. Realizing that our men were in a difficult position, they suddenly leaped forth and boldly attacked them. Up to this time their only desire had been to avoid the adversary by hiding; now, however, letting fly a shower of arrows from afar, they killed our horses and then pressed hard upon our forces.

The lord constable, on perceiving that the enemy had so unexpectedly emerged, threw himself impetuously upon them. As usual he fought vigorously and faithfully strove with all his might to protect the king in this dangerous crisis, that the enemy might not rush upon him to his peril. While he was thus engaged, the enemy again and again rained furious blows upon him which inflicted fatal wounds. From this critical situation he was with difficulty rescued by his men and carried off on horseback.

Several distinguished men, well worthy of pious remembrance, fell in that engagement. Among this number were Abraham of Nazareth, a youth of fine appearance, whose noble character, high birth, and great wealth gave good promise for the future, and Godechaux de Turout, who also left a good reputation behind him. Several others of lesser rank also fell at that place.

Such was the situation of affairs when the king, thus rescued from
so great danger by the efforts of his followers, returned to the camp from which he had set out earlier and recalled the disorganized troops who had scattered hither and yon.

The condition of Humphrey, the royal constable, became more critical; accordingly he was borne on April 11 to the new fortress which was still under construction. There he lingered for about ten days, prolonging his life under stress of great pain. He made his last testament wisely and with forethought. On April 22 the exemplary life of this man, who will be forever mourned by his country, came to an end. He was buried with due ceremony at his noble and famous castle Toron, in the church of the Blessed Mother of God, the Immaculate Virgin.

Immediately after Humphrey’s death, on the twenty-seventh of the same month of May, Saladin began to besiege the recently built fortress. Without intermission he sent forth dense showers of arrows and harassed the besieged within its walls with repeated assaults. But suddenly an arrow sent by one of the besieged whose name is said to have been Rainerius of Marum [Renier de Maron à Mareuil] chanced to deal a fatal wound to one of the richest of Saladin’s amirs. The death of this noble threw the infidels into such utter confusion that they abandoned their project, raised the siege, and departed.

28. Saladin invades the land of Sidon. The king assembles the military strength of the realm and goes out against him.

Saladin had already invaded the land of Sidon by force of arms twice or more and without any opposition had freely plundered, burned, and slaughtered. In the following month he decided to make another invasion. Accordingly he located his camp between the city of Banyas and the river Dan and sent out skirmishers in large numbers to drive off booty and set fires. He himself, ready to aid in emergencies, remained in the camp and there awaited their return and the result of their aggressions. Meanwhile the news that Saladin was laying waste our lands in this fashion reached the king. Taking with him the Cross of the Lord, he hastened to the city of Tiberias with all the forces he

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64 This misstatement of “same” month is more excusable, since he dated the previous event in terms of the Kalends of May. Humphrey of Toron, who had been made constable by Baldwin III in 1151, had been a source of strength to three successive kings. He was not only a courageous fighter, but also a wise military leader. His death occurred May 27, 1179.
could muster from every source. From there he went on through the
town of Sephet and the ancient city of Naason and arrived with his
forces at Toron.

Here he received accurate information from the messengers who
were constantly going and coming that Saladin with his army was still
in the same position. He had sent his light-armed cavalry on ahead,
however, to lay waste the fields of Sidon; and there in hostile fash-
ion they were killing, burning, and plundering. After consultation,
therefore, it was unanimously determined to advance against the foe.
In accordance with this plan, the Christians directed the army from
Toron toward Banyas and came to a village called Mesaphar. This
was located on the top of a mountain, and from it could be seen the
entire region below as far as the base of the Lebanon range. The
enemy's camp was also visible in the distance, and the conflagrations
and ravages committed by them as they scoured the country hither
and yon were evident to all.

The infantry troops, wearied to exhaustion by the long march,
could not keep up with the pace of the knights as they rode swiftly
down the mountainside. Accompanied by only a few of the more ac-
tive foot soldiers, therefore, the cavalry descended to a place com-
monly known as Merguim in the plain directly below the mountain.
There they halted for several hours to deliberate over their further
course.

In the meanwhile, Saladin became somewhat alarmed at the unex-
pected arrival of the king. He was anxious about his advance guard,
who seemed to be shut off from himself and the army, and feared
also that his camp might be attacked. He therefore ordered the bag-
gage, impedimenta, and all the equipment to be placed between the
wall and the forewall of the neighboring city where it could easily
be found whatever the result of the battle might be. Thus prepared,
but very doubtful of the result, he awaited the outcome of events.

Meanwhile the skirmishers, who had gone out on a plundering ex-
pedition, learned with great alarm of our approach and, laying aside
all other considerations, determined to reach their own lines if pos-
sible. But after crossing the river between the land of Sidon and the
plain where, as I have mentioned, our army was located, they encoun-
tered our forces. A skirmish at close quarters immediately ensued,
wherein the Christians, by the help of God, were victorious. After
many had been killed and still more thrown to the ground, the enemy turned in flight and endeavored to gain Saladin’s camp.

29. A battle is fought. The Christians are defeated, and many of them are taken prisoners.

While things were in this state Eudes, the master of the Knights Templars, accompanied by the count of Tripoli and some others who were following them, ascended a hill lying opposite. On their left was the river and on the right the great plain and the camp of the enemy.

When Saladin learned of the desperate plight of his men, exposed as they were to danger and even to death, he prepared to go to their assistance. He had reached this resolution when he caught sight of some of his defeated soldiers in full flight. He rode to meet them and, on learning the situation, cheered them with encouraging words and sent them back to the ranks. Then suddenly he fell upon the Christians who were in reckless pursuit of the fugitives.

In the meantime our infantry, enriched by the spoils of the slain, had encamped along the river bank and, in the belief that a complete victory had been won, were quietly resting. The cavalry, however, realized that the enemy whom they had thought vanquished were rushing upon them with renewed vigor. In confused ranks, without time or opportunity to reconstruct their lines and draw up their forces in battle array according to military rules, they fought bravely and for a time resisted and stoutly sustained the enemy’s attacks. Their strength, however, was unequal to that of the foe, and, scattered and disorganized as they were, they could not aid one another. Consequently, they finally turned and fled in a disgraceful rout. They might easily have avoided the pursuing enemy and saved themselves by turning in another direction, but, because of our sins, they adopted a poorer plan and plunged into a narrow defile beset with steep cliffs. Here it was impossible, except at peril of death, either to advance or to retreat through the enemy’s lines. Some crossed the river; most of these, in the hope of saving their lives, retreated to the nearest stronghold, which was called Belfort, while others, after making the crossing, followed along the farther bank to Sidon and thus avoided the furious tide of battle. On the way they encountered Renaud of Sidon and his men, who were hastening to the army; but on learning
of this disaster, Renaud heeded their warning and returned to Sidon. This act is believed to have been responsible for manifold disasters that day. For if he had continued his march to the fortress, he could probably have saved many from the enemy with the help of the townsfolk and the country people who knew the locality. As it was, these fugitives hid that night in caves among the rocks. The next morning the enemy, scouring every nook and corner, discovered them and threw them into prison. The king, however, by the aid of his royal soldiers escaped without injury. The count of Tripoli also reached Tyre with a few companions.65

Among the Christians who were captured at that time were Eudes de Saint-Amand, the master of the Knights Templars, a wicked man, haughty and arrogant, in whose nostrils dwelt the spirit of fury,66 one who neither feared God nor revered man. Many people laid at his door the loss and never-dying shame of this disaster. It is said that within the year he died a captive in a squalid prison, mourned by no one.

Baldwin of Ramlah, a noble and powerful man, was also captured there, as was likewise Hugh of Tiberias, the stepson of the count of Tripoli, a young man of fine natural promise, greatly beloved by all. Many others whose names I do not know were also taken prisoners there.

30. Saladin besieges the fortress recently built. He takes it by storm and destroys it. Henry, count of Troyes, and Peter, brother of Louis, king of the Franks, arrives in Syria.

Such was the condition of affairs in the kingdom at this time. Our fortunes were at the lowest ebb when Henry, the illustrious count of Troyes and son of Count Theobald the Elder, from whom we had parted at the city of Brindisi in Apulia as we were returning from the synod, landed at Acre with a numerous following of nobles. As has been mentioned, many nobles had come in the same crossing, among them Peter de Courtenay, brother of Louis, king of the Franks, and Philip, [bishop] elect of Beauvais, son of Count Robert and brother of King Louis. The hearts of our people, greatly depressed by the late disasters, were revived by their coming, which emboldened them

65 This battle is dated June 10, 1179 (see Stevenson, Crusaders, p. 221).
66 Job 27: 3.
to hope that under the protection of so many great nobles they might be able to avert misfortunes in the future and perhaps avenge those of the past. But, since the Lord was against them, this hope was vain; they were unable to overcome the results of past evils and fell into even worse troubles. For Saladin, our most redoubtable enemy, had been raised to such a pitch of arrogance by his many successes and good fortune that suddenly, before we had a chance to regain our breath, he laid siege to our stronghold which had been completed the April previous.

On its completion, this oft-mentioned fortress was given into the charge of the brothers of the Knights Templars, who laid claim to all that region for themselves by concession of the kings.

On learning that Saladin had invested the place, the king called out the full strength of the realm and all the military forces. He also summoned Count Henry and the other nobles who had recently arrived and hastened to Tiberias. There he convoked all the leading men of the realm with the intention of going to the aid of the besieged and forcing the enemy to raise the siege.

But while he was waiting there, having deferred preparations for a day, a report arrived which proved to be true that the enemy had taken the place and razed it to the ground. All the men of the garrison which had been left there to guard it had either been slain or captured. Thus an even greater catastrophe was added to their former misfortunes, so that of them it might truly be said, “The Lord their God has departed from them.” Truly “thy judgments are a great deep”; “how terrible art thou in thy works.”

He who, during the year just past, had bestowed such great gifts upon His faithful children now suffered them to be clothed with great fear and confusion. And who knoweth the mind of the Lord? And who is the sharer of His counsels? Wherefore is it then, O Lord? Hast Thou withdrawn Thy favor because of the great multitude and the many nobles present, lest they ascribe to themselves that which is given not by merit but by grace? Or because they did not make sufficiently rich returns to Thee, their benefactor, for the favors erstwhile conferred by grace? Or because “whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.”

67 The castle was taken by storm August 30, 1179.
68 Ps. 56: 6; 66: 3.
69 He. 12: 6.
Thou hast covered our faces with shame that we may seek Thy holy name, which is blessed forever. We know and confess, O Lord, that Thou dost not change. For Thou hast said, "I am the Lord, I change not." 70 Nevertheless whatever the cause may be, we know that Thou art just, O Lord, and Thy judgments are righteous.

At this time the negotiations which had been made the year before with reference to the duke of Burgundy were renewed through Count Henry, his uncle. It was hoped that he would arrive by the next crossing, but, as was afterward quite apparent, for some unknown reasons he still declined to come.

70 Mal. 3:6.

HERE ENDS THE TWENTY-FIRST BOOK
THE TWENTY-SECOND BOOK BEGINS

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

1. The king marries his sister, the widow of the marquis, to a young man named Guy de Lusignan. He concludes a truce with Saladin on equal terms, an unprecedented act.

At this same time also, Bohemond, prince of Antioch, and Raymond, count of Tripoli, arrived in the kingdom with a cavalry escort. This caused the king much alarm; for he feared that they might try to bring about a revolution, in which case, after dethroning him, they might try to seize the realm themselves. The king’s malady was now troubling him more than ever, and from day to day the symptoms of leprosy became more and more apparent.

His sister, who had been the wife of the marquis of Montferrat, was still a widow and was awaiting the coming of the duke, as has been explained. But the king knew these two nobles well and, although both were his kinsmen, he distrusted their motives in coming. When he learned that they had arrived, he hastened the nuptials of his sister. He might have found in the kingdom nobles of far greater importance, wisdom, and even wealth, both foreigners and natives, an alliance with any one of whom would have been of much greater advantage to the kingdom. But without waiting to consider that “too much haste spoils everything,” 1 the king, for reasons of his own, suddenly married his sister to a young man of fairly good rank, Guy de Lusignan, son of Hugh the Brown, of the diocese of Poitiers. Contrary to the usual custom the marriage was celebrated during the week of Easter.

The nobles just mentioned perceived that their coming was regarded with suspicion by the king and his barons; accordingly they returned home as soon as they had completed the customary devotions. They remained for a few days at Tiberias, however, and while they were there, Saladin, unaware of their presence, made an attack on the city. No harm resulted to the citizens, however, and he again withdrew into the country around Banyas. There he remained with

1 Statius Theb. x. 704.
his armies, waiting, as was afterwards learned, for the arrival of a fleet of fifty galleys which he had ordered to be prepared during the course of the winter just past. This delay caused the king some uneasiness, and he therefore sent messengers to Saladin to discuss a truce.

Saladin willingly agreed to the suggestion, although not, it is claimed, because he distrusted his own strength or had any reason to fear our forces, which he had so often defeated during the past year. But for five successive years extreme dryness and a dearth of rain in the region round Damascus had caused a scarcity of food of every description for both man and beast.

A truce on both land and sea, for foreigners and natives alike, was accordingly arranged and confirmed by an exchange of oaths between the two parties. The conditions were somewhat humiliating to us, for the truce was concluded on equal terms, with no reservations of importance on our part, a thing which is said never to have happened before.

2. Saladin invades the land of Tripoli and destroys the crops and other Christian possessions in that locality.

The same year, during the summer immediately following, Saladin, after arranging for the safety of the provinces of Damascus and Bostrum, led all his cavalry forces to the land of Tripoli. There he established a camp and sent out his squadrons over the surrounding country. The count had retired with his forces to the city of Arka and was there awaiting an opportunity to engage the enemy without too much risk. The knights of the Temple, who lived in the same vicinity, also remained shut up in their strongholds; they expected almost hourly to be besieged and did not wish to risk an encounter with the Turks. The brothers of the Hospital had likewise retired in alarm to their fortified castle of Krak. They felt that if, in the midst of such confusion, they could defend the fortress just named from injury by the enemy, their duty had been done. The Turkish army occupied a position between these brethren and the forces of the count; consequently the Christians could not assist one another, nor could they send messengers from one army to the other to ascertain the conditions in each.

During this time Saladin ranged here and there over the plain, especially over the cultivated fields, and without opposition traversed
the entire locality. He burned all the crops, those that had been gathered into the granaries, those still stacked in the fields, and the growing grain as well. He drove off cattle as booty and laid waste the whole country in every direction.

3. An Egyptian fleet arrives at the island of Arados. The count of Tripoli makes a truce with Saladin.

This was the situation in the land of Tripoli when, about the beginning of June, Saladin’s naval force suddenly appeared in the vicinity of Beirut. But when the commanders of that force learned for a fact that Saladin had concluded a treaty with the king, they respected the terms of the peace which he had declared and feared to violate any provisions of that treaty in the territories of Beirut or indeed within the boundaries of the entire realm. Learning that their lord was with his army in the land of Tripoli, they repaired thither and seized Arados, an island opposite the city of Tortosa, some three miles away. There in the harbor they found a convenient anchorage for their galleys.

The first person to dwell on this island and establish thereon a fortified city is said to have been Aradius, son of Canaan and grandson [sic] of Noah, whence is derived the name Arados. Near by on the east, is a once splendid city called Antarados, so named, as we have said, because it lies opposite Arados. This name, however, has now been corrupted to Tortosa. Here the apostle Peter, when travelling through Phoenicia, is said to have founded a small church in honor of the Mother of God. This edifice is still visited by large numbers of people, and here, through the intercession of the Immaculate Virgin, many benefits are reported to have been granted from on high in answer to the prayers of the faithful in time of need. Both these cities are suffragans of the metropolis of Tyre, as is also another place near by known as Maraclea, which is regarded as belonging to Phoenicia.

The landing of these forces at the island of Arados sent a thrill of terror through the whole region. While awaiting the commands of

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2 It should be noted that William here expresses no surprise at the fact that the truce made by the king does not apply to Tripoli even though Raymond of Tripoli had asserted his claims to the regency as the most important vassal of the kingdom (see Book XXI, chap. 3).
their master, the troops set fire to a house above the harbor of Tortosa and sought to injure the citizens as much as possible. Their efforts proved futile, however. Meanwhile, Saladin had devastated the region to his satisfaction, and he now ordered the fleet to return. He then rallied his troops and also retired to his own land. A few days later he concluded a treaty of peace with the count and withdrew to a more remote part of the land of Damascus.


During this time, for seven successive months, we had been sojourn ing with Manuel, the great emperor of Constantinople, of illustrious memory, a stay which had resulted in great advantages both to ourselves and to the church. On the fourth day after the feast of Easter, after many earnest entreaties, we obtained permission to return to our own land.³

As we departed, the emperor commended to our care his envoys, noble and magnificent men. Then we set sail in four galleys most generously furnished with his usual imperial munificence. Our course lay past the islands of Tenedos, Mitylene, Chios, Samos, Delos, Claros, Rhodes, and Cyprus, with the provinces of Phrygia, Asia Minor, Lyca, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, Isauria, and Cilicia on our left. At last, on May 12, by the grace of God, we arrived safe in health and prosperity at the mouth of the river Orontes and the Port of St. Simeon.

A matter which should be of no slight interest to the present history ought not, we believe, to be passed over here. While we were staying in the imperial city, as already mentioned, partly because the winter season was unfavorable for sailing, but also at the express command of the most happy emperor, that monarch, with paternal foresight and per chance with some foreboding of his own early departure from this world, celebrated the nuptials of a son and a daughter. On his son Alexius, who bears the name of his paternal grandfather,⁴ he solemnly bestowed Agnes, the daughter of Louis,

³ William thus obtained leave to depart April 23, 1180. His arrival at Constantinople may therefore be dated in late September or early October, 1179.

⁴ This Alexius, named after the emperor of the period of the First Crusade, was the son of Maria of Antioch, the second wife of Manuel.
the illustrious king of the Franks. Alexius was not yet of age, in fact hardly thirteen years old, while Agnes was scarcely eight years old. The imperial insignia were conferred on the two in that part of the palace of Constantine the Elder called the Trullus. It was here that the sixth holy general council is said to have met, in the time of Constantine, son of Constantine, son of Heraclius.

The emperor's daughter was given in marriage to a young man named Renier, son of William the Elder, marquis of Montferrat and brother of the William to whom we had given the sister of our king. The emperor had caused this young man, then about seventeen years old, to be summoned by the imperial envoys, and he had reached the royal city about fifteen days before our own arrival there. He remained for a while in the city and also visited the army with the lord emperor. On their return thence about the time of Epiphany, in the month of February, the emperor called his court together with imperial magnificence in the new palace called Blachernae. There, by the hand of Theodosius, patriarch of Constantinople, he celebrated the marriage of his daughter Maria and Renier, to whom he gave the name of his own father, John, and the title of Caesar. Maria was the daughter of the emperor by his first wife, the Empress Irene of pious memory, who had come as his consort from the kingdom of the Teutons. By his second marriage with Maria, his only offspring was Alexius, the present emperor of Constantinople.

Because of the immense amount of material, any attempt to describe in detail all the wonders of those days would be utterly futile, even if a special treatise were devoted to it. We may mention the games of the circus which the inhabitants of Constantinople call hippodromes, and the glorious spectacles of varied nature shown to the people with great pomp during the days of the celebration; the imperial magnificence of the vestments and the royal robes adorned with a profusion of precious stones and pearls of great weight; the vast amount of massive gold and silver furniture in the palace, of untold value. Words would fail to speak in fitting terms of the valuable draperies adorning the royal abode; to mention in detail the numerous servants

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6 This was Bertha of Sulzbach, whose name had been changed to Irene. She had borne no sons, a fact which led to some estrangement on the part of Manuel, who feared that the marriage lay under a curse. She devoted most of her time during her last years to pious works (see C. Diehl, *Figures byzantines*, 2d Series, pp. 170–91).
and members of the court, the magnificence of the nuptial splendour, and the generous gifts which the emperor lavished on both his own people and on strangers. But to return to the narrative.

At Antioch we carried out the commands of his imperial majesty with the prince and the lord patriarch of that land, and at Beirut we found the king, who was on his way to Tyre by land. Continuing our voyage, we returned to the church at Tyre by the grace of God on July 6, a year and ten months from the time of our departure for the synod.

On September 18, in the seventh year of King Baldwin IV, Louis, most pious and Christian king of the Franks, a prince of many virtués and immortal memory, laid aside the burden of the flesh, and his spirit fled to the skies to enter upon its eternal reward with the elect princes. He left an only son and heir, Philip, by his queen Alix, daughter of the elder Theobald and sister of Count Henry of Troyes, of Theobald, count of Chartres, of Stephen, count of Sancerre, and of William, archbishop of Rheims. He died in the fiftieth year of his reign and the sixtieth of his life.⁶

On October 6 of the following month, Amalrich of precious memory, patriarch of Jerusalem, an extremely simple man of practically no importance, died after twenty years in that office. Within ten days thereafter, Heraclius, archbishop of Caesarea, was chosen to fill his place.⁷

5. The king gives his younger sister in marriage to Humphrey III. The emperor of Constantinople dies.

That same month the king betrothed his sister, then hardly eight years old, to a young man named Humphrey.⁸ This Humphrey III

⁶ Louis VII had become king upon the death of his father in 1137 and had therefore ruled over forty but not “fifty” years when he died in 1180.

⁷ This is a singularly dispassionate recital of a fact that probably constituted the greatest disappointment of William’s life. The only evidence of feeling is the negative one that he fails to characterize his successful rival in any way. Ernoul describes this election at great length. According to Ernoul, William was the choice of the clergy, but it was customary for the clergy to submit two names to the king for his final choice. Agnes exerted all of her powerful influence in behalf of Heraclius, the other candidate named, and had her way (see L. de Mas Latrie, ed., Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier, pp. 82–86).

⁸ Isabelle was the daughter of Amaury’s second marriage, that with the Greek Princess Maria, and was therefore a half sister of Baldwin IV. Her numerous mar-
was the son of Humphrey II and Stephanie, daughter of Philip of Nablus. The father of Humphrey II was the elder Humphrey of Toron, the king's constable, to whom frequent reference has been made. Philip of Nablus, the maternal grandfather of Humphrey III, had been lord of Arabia Secunda, which is Petra, now commonly called Kerak, and also of Syria Sobal, known now as Montreal, both of which lie beyond the Jordan. He later embraced the religious life and became the master of the Knights Templars.9

The negotiations in respect to this alliance were undertaken with great ardor by Prince Renaud, the third husband of the mother of young Humphrey, who had now reached man's estate; and on the completion of the same, the betrothal of Humphrey and the king's sister was celebrated at Jerusalem.

On the death of his paternal grandfather, Humphrey had received by hereditary right certain domains in the territory of Tyre: namely, Toron, Chastel Neuf, and the city of Banyas with their appurtenances. He made an exchange of this patrimony with the king under definite conditions, the text of which, dictated by us as pertained to our official duty, was deposited in the royal archives.10

On the third day of the same month, Manuel, the illustrious emperor of Constantinople, of immortal memory, the most munificent of all the princes of the land, laid aside the burden of the flesh and rendered his soul to heaven. His memory will ever be held in benediction by all the assembly of the saints because of his alms and liberal benefactions. He is said to have died in the fortieth year of his rule and, as nearly as we have been able to ascertain, in the sixty-first of his life.11

About this same time also, Bohemond, prince of Antioch, left his

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9 Philip of Nablus, master of the Templars, has been frequently mentioned in these pages. For the genealogy of Humphrey of Toron, see La Monte, Feudal Monarchy, p. 35 et passim.

10 This document has not been preserved. Presumably it was drawn up in September, 1180, and affords clear evidence that William was still discharging the formal duties of chancellor even though the court was dominated by a group hostile to him.

11 The death of Manuel occurred September 24, 1180. William's penchant for round numbers has led him to assign an additional three years to Manuel's reign. This mistake may have resulted from his failure to establish the year of John's death, which had occurred in 1143 (Book XV, chap. 23; see F. Chalandon, Les Comnène, II, 606).
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legitimate wife, Theodora, a niece of the emperor, and in defiance of the rules of the church dared to marry a certain Sibyl, who had the reputation of practicing evil arts.\(^\text{12}\)

Joscelin, the king’s uncle and likewise his seneschal, was at this time in Constantinople, whither he had been sent by Baldwin on certain affairs of the realm. Baldwin of Ramlah was also staying there to implore the emperor’s aid in the matter of paying his ransom. During their sojourn in the imperial city, Manuel, emperor of precious memory now being dead, it was discovered on March 1 that certain great and illustrious nobles had conspired to bring about a revolution against Emperor Alexius, the son of Manuel who was, by the wish of his father, still under the guardianship of his mother. These men were arrested on the charge of treason and were by the emperor’s orders bound and thrown into prison, although some of the guilty ones were his blood relations.

Among the leaders of this conspiracy were Manuel, son of the elder Andronicus, who was mentioned above; Alexius, the \textit{protosebastos}, son of Theodora Calusina, the emperor’s niece; the brother of the \textit{logothete}, who held the office of \textit{canaclimus}; and some twelve other distinguished men of high rank. The emperor’s sister, the Lady Maria, was also an accessory to the plot. During the night she fled with her husband, the son of the marquis mentioned above,\(^\text{13}\) to the church of Santa Sophia, where, in suspense as to her fate, she cast herself on the protection of the church. From that refuge, whither weapons and armed men had been assembled, she and her husband, with her partisans and those implicated in the same plot, attempted to take measures against her brother, the emperor. Even the patriarch of the city favored her. The party of the emperor, however, which relied especially on the aid of the Latins, kept increasing in strength, and finally, with shattered forces and in despair of life itself, she humbly begged for mercy through mediators. The emperor granted her request and restored her to favor.\(^\text{14}\)

\(^{12}\) The belief in magic, sorcery, and soothsaying was widespread in the East as well as in the West. Emperor Manuel was required on his deathbed to sign a formal document to dismiss his astrologers and disavow the practice as contrary to the teachings of the church (see Chalandon, \textit{Les Comnène}, II, 606).

\(^{13}\) Chapter 4. The \textit{logothete} and \textit{canaclinus} were somewhat lesser officials in the imperial administration. Their duties were chiefly secretarial, with some concern for imperial expenditures as well.

\(^{14}\) This abortive revolution was but the symptom of the more serious troubles which were soon to appear (see chaps. 10–13).
6. Excommunication is pronounced against the prince of Antioch because of the mistress whom he had taken although his wife was still living.

At this time the situation of the Latin people in the Orient, especially in the principality of Antioch, was greatly disturbed because Bohemond, the prince of Antioch, had put away his legitimate wife and taken his mistress as a second wife. More than once he had been warned to leave the wicked state of adultery in which he was so openly living and to take back his legitimate wife. But, “when the wicked cometh, then cometh also contempt,” 15 so the prince turned a deaf ear to those “charming never so wisely” 16 and refused to listen. Consequently, as he obstinately persevered in his sin, he drew upon himself the just sentence of excommunication. To this, however, he paid but slight attention. On the contrary, he continued on his wicked course with redoubled energy. He treated the patriarch, the bishops, and other prelates of the church in that land as enemies and laid violent hands upon them. He violated the precincts of sacred places, both churches and monasteries, carried off their sacred objects, and, in a wicked spirit of presumptuous daring, disturbed their possessions. It is said that he actually besieged the patriarch together with the clergy who had fled to him for refuge in a fortress belonging to the church. This place was well equipped with arms and soldiers and provisioned with food, and he is reported to have made frequent assaults upon it as if it were a possession of the enemy.

At this, certain great men of this land found themselves unable to endure his mad conduct longer. Aware that their duty was to God rather than to man, they withdrew from him both in body and in spirit, in utter abhorrence of his wicked deeds. Among these was a powerful nobleman, Renaud Masoier. He retired to one of his own fortresses, a strong and impregnable place, and invited those who had the good of the cause at heart and the fear of the Lord before their eyes to join him there. To these nobles who had been driven from their own domains and to others of any condition who had fled for the same reason, he offered a safe asylum there.

As the result of Bohemond’s conduct, the entire land faced an extremely difficult situation. Wise men of long experience saw that unless divine mercy speedily came to our aid, a way would unquestion-

15 Pr. 18: 3. 16 Ps. 57: 5.
ably be opened by which the enemy would accomplish our ruin and
the cause of Christianity be injured forever. The whole province
would again fall into the power of the Turks, from whom, with God’s
help, it had been rescued through the work of faithful leaders and at
the expense of untold hardships endured by the people of Christ.
For unchanging is the word of truth and worthy of all acceptance that
“every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and
every city or house divided against itself shall not stand.” 17

With their usual sense of responsibility, the king of Jerusalem and
the lord patriarch met with the other prelates of the church and the
lay princes to confer earnestly as to what course should be pursued in
such a critical emergency. Although the reprehensible conduct of the
rash and dissolute prince seemed to call for strong measures, yet they
hesitated to use force, lest, in his efforts to resist, he might call the
enemy’s forces to his assistance. Such an action would open to the
Turks the country from which thereafter the most earnest efforts
would not avail to eject them. It was plain also that the present was
no time for entreaties and wholesome admonition; hence they did not
venture to send wise men gifted in the art of persuasion to one who
was rushing madly along evil courses, wholly engrossed in evil doing;
for that would be like “telling a tale to a deaf ass” 18 and “throwing
words to the wind.” 19

They determined to endure this evil, therefore, lest they should
fall upon worse things. Meanwhile they continued to look for aid
from Him who is wont to rescue even those cast down in the depths
of the sea, the Lord who “giveth snow like wool,” who “scattereth
the hoarfrost like ashes.” 20 Their hope was that the prince, warned
by a divine visitation, might be restored to his right mind and, clothed
from on high with all the virtues of the greatest leaders, might be
led to strive for the fruit of a better life.

7. The patriarch of Jerusalem is sent to Antioch to try to find
a remedy for these dangerous conditions. Pope Alexander
dies.

It soon became evident to all that the evil was on the increase and
that there was no hope of any immediate remedy. Not only was the
prince himself held in the bonds of anathema, but, as a result of the

17 Mat. 12: 25.
18 Horace Ep. ii. 1. 199.
19 Ovid Am. i. vi. 42, and Her. ii. 25.
20 Ps. 147: 16.
plundering and burning of the possessions of the venerable places, the entire land had been placed under an interdict. Except for the baptism of children, none of the sacraments of the church were now administered to the people, and the Christians realized with alarm that present conditions could not continue long without peril to all.

By common consent, therefore, it was decided that the lord patriarch should go to Antioch and endeavor, if possible, by the grace of God, to find some remedy, either temporary or permanent, which might relieve these great evils. Renaud de Châtillon, formerly prince of Antioch and the stepfather of the younger Bohemond, Brother Arnold of Toroge, master of the knights of the Temple, and Brother Roger des Moulins, master of the house of the Hospital, accompanied the patriarch. This step was taken because it was feared that if we gave no sign of compassion for the wretched plight of our neighbors and did not seek to remedy the situation, the pope and the princes across seas might accuse us of negligence or even of evil intent.

The patriarch was attended also by some of the prelates of the church, wise and discreet men, among whom were Monachus, archbishop-elect of Caesarea; Albert, bishop of Bethlehem; Raynald, abbot of Mt. Sion; and Peter, prior of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. With the other companions of his journey, he set out for Antioch, taking with him also the count of Tripoli, an intimate and dearly beloved friend of the prince, whose words, it was hoped, when added to our own might bring about the achievement of their purpose.

On arriving at Laodicea, the envoys conferred with the patriarch and the prince individually and set a day when both should come to Antioch. Here, after the matter had been thoroughly discussed from every viewpoint, a temporary truce was concluded under the following terms. It was agreed that when all the lost property should be restored to the patriarch, the bishops, and the holy places, the interdict should then cease and the privilege of the sacraments of the church be restored to the people. As to the prince himself, he in his own person must patiently suffer the sentence laid upon him by the bishops, or, if he should seek complete absolution, he must dismiss his concubine and take back his legitimate wife.

When this arrangement had been made, the legates returned to their own land, in the belief that they had quieted to some extent at least the fires of lawlessness raging in the principality of Antioch.

The prince, however, obstinately persisted in his shameless course
and, in addition, entered upon a policy which was attended with great danger to the realm. He drove out of the city—and, in fact, from his entire domains—the best of his faithful nobles, men of great eminence, apparently for the sole reason that they were said to disapprove of his conduct. Among those whom he exiled were his constable and chamberlain, Giscard de Lille [Guichard de Lisle], Bertrand, son of Count Gislebert,21 and Garinus Gainart. These nobles, since they were forced to leave Antioch, repaired to Rupinus [Rupen], a noble chief of the Armenians.22 He received them all most honorably, gave to each splendid gifts, and made ample provision for their support.

On August 27 of that same year, in the twenty-third year of his pontificate, Pope Alexander III 23 died and was buried in the church of the Lateran. He was succeeded by Lucius III, formerly Hubald, bishop of Ostia. The new pope, an aged man of little learning, was a native of Tuscany from the vicinity of Lucca.

About the same time, also, on the Ides of September, our venerable brother in Christ, Raymond, bishop of the church at Beirut, of blessed memory in the Lord, departed from this life to enjoy, through the grace of God, the reward of eternal life. Later an honorable and well-lettered man, Master Odo, archdeacon of our church, was chosen in his place, and upon him, during the feast days of December, by the will of God, we conferred the rank of priesthood and the pontifical office.

8. *The son of Nureddin dies. His inheritance is left to Thebeth, his kinsman.*

About this time occurred the death of Melechsalam [Malik Salah], the son of Nureddin, a youth still in early manhood. Of all the patrimony received from his father there remained to him only Aleppo and a few strongholds. In his last will, made as he was dying, he is said to have bequeathed Aleppo and his entire patrimony to a certain Thebeth, lord of Mosul, who was the son of his father’s brother Hezedin. After Malik Salah’s death, his nobles sent messengers to Thebeth, who was a great and distinguished Turkish satrap, and bade him not to delay coming to them as speedily as possible.24

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21 Their expulsion afforded an interesting test of feudal strength.
22 Rupen III, 1175–1185.
23 Alexander III died August 30, 1181.
24 There is some confusion in this statement of relationships. Hezedin probably represents Izz al-Din, who was the son of Qutb al-Din, Nureddin’s brother. Perhaps The-
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As soon as he received the message, Thebeth hastened thither and took possession of his ancestral property and of all that was his by hereditary right. For he feared that Saladin, who had already de-spoiled his cousin of most of his possessions, might come again from Egypt and, despite the will of the inhabitants, seize this city by force, especially since some of the more important nobles secretly favored him.

Saladin, however, after concluding with us a temporary peace for the period of two years, had returned to Egypt to attend to his own affairs in that kingdom. He had heard with much uneasiness that the fleet of the king of Sicily with a mighty equipment and innumerable forces, had put to sea with the intention of proceeding against Egypt. His fear in this respect, however, was needless, for the course of the fleet was directed westward to the Balearic Isles. These islands, one of which is commonly called Majorca and the other Minorca, lie near Hither Spain. The voyage thither proved disastrous. Driven by unfavorable winds, practically the entire fleet was wrecked in the vicinity of the coast cities Säone [Savona], Albenga, and Ventimiglia, where the tumultuous waves dashed the ships upon the shore.

At this time, while the kingdom was enjoying a temporary state of peace, as has been related, a race of Syrians in the province of Phoenicia, near the Lebanon range, who occupied territory near the city of Jubail, underwent a wonderful change of heart. For almost fifty years these people had followed the heretical doctrines of a certain Maro, from whom they took the name of Maronites. They had separated from the church of the faithful and had adopted a special liturgy of their own. Now, however, by divine leading, they were restored to their right minds and abandoned their heresy. They repaired to Aimery, the patriarch of Antioch, the third of the Latin patriarchs to preside over that church, renounced the error by which they had been so long enslaved, and returned to the unity of the catholic church. They adopted the orthodox faith and prepared to embrace and observe with all reverence the traditions of the Roman church.

These people were by no means few in numbers; in fact, they were

\[\text{beth is intended for Qutb al-Din, in which case William has reversed the relationship of father and son. It was Izz-al-Din who did take Aleppo as his inheritance at this time and shortly afterward exchanged it with his brother Imad al-Din (see Behaded-Din, The Life of Saladin, pp. 80–81). William doubtless received this information from oral report.}\]
generally estimated at more than forty thousand. They lived, as has been said, in the bishoprics of Jubail, Botron, and Tripoli, on the slopes of the Lebanon mountains. They were a stalwart race, valiant fighters, and of great service to the Christians in the difficult engagements which they so frequently had with the enemy. Their conversion to the true faith was, therefore, a source of great joy to us.

The heresy of Maro and his followers is and was that in our Lord Jesus Christ there exists, and did exist from the beginning, one will and one energy only, as may be learned from the sixth council, which, as is well known, was assembled against them and in which they suffered sentence of condemnation. To this article, condemned by the orthodox church, they added many other pernicious doctrines after they separated from the number of the faithful. Now, however, as has been stated, they repented of all these heresies and returned to the catholic church, under the leadership of their patriarch and several of their bishops. These leaders who had hitherto led their people in the ways of iniquity, now displayed equal zeal in piously guiding them as they returned to the truth.25

9. A dangerous hostility which soon develops into open enmity springs up between the count of Tripoli and the king.

At this time, thanks to the temporary peace which had been concluded between the king and Saladin, the kingdom was enjoying a certain degree of tranquillity, as has already been said. Nevertheless, there were not lacking restless spirits, sons of Belial and foster sons of iniquity, who were ever on the alert to create discord in the kingdom and to bring about civil troubles.

For two successive years a multiplicity of affairs had detained the count of Tripoli in his own county of Tripoli, and for that reason, he had been prevented from visiting the kingdom.26 Now, however, the responsibility which he felt for the city of Tiberias, his wife’s patrimony, led him to go thither, and he made all his preparations for the journey. He had proceeded as far as Jubail when the aforesaid wicked men, by their malicious insinuations, induced the too credulous king to believe that the count was coming to the kingdom with the wicked

25 This union of Maronites with Latins has continued down to the present day. See article by M. Spinka, “Effect of Crusades upon Eastern Christianity,” Environmental Factors in Christian History.
26 His last visit had been at Easter time, 1180 (see chap. 1).
design of secretly working to supplant him. He readily lent an ear to their seductive words and at once sent a peremptory message refusing the count permission to enter the realm.

At this injury, so little deserved, the count, confused and justly indignant, very unwillingly refrained from advancing farther and returned to Tripoli after a useless expenditure of effort and money.

It was the intention of these troublemakers, unrestrained by the presence of the count, an indefatigable and thoroughly upright man, to handle the affairs of the kingdom themselves just as they wished and to turn the infirmity of the king to their own advantage. Among those who shamelessly influenced the king to this course of action were his mother, a most grasping woman, utterly detestable to God; her brother, the king's seneschal; and a few wicked men, their partisans.27

When the principal barons, men of much experience and foresight, learned of this action, they were greatly alarmed, for they feared that, deprived of the protection of the illustrious count, the kingdom would speedily fall from its high estate and, according to the word of the Lord, being "divided against itself shall not stand." 28 This was more especially the case because the king, whose illness was daily increasing, was becoming more and more incapacitated and less and less fit to attend to the business of the realm; in fact, he was scarcely able to hold himself up and was almost totally paralyzed.

The more important barons, seeing the danger which would certainly result to the realm as the consequence of the above act, bent all their efforts toward recalling the count and softening his anger. Finally, after much negotiation and various proposals, the king, in spite of his unwillingness, was forced to permit them to bring the count back into the kingdom. The illustrious man wisely overlooked the insults that had been offered him, and peace between the king and himself was fully re-established.29

27 This is William's first direct outburst against this pair, who were probably also responsible for his own loss of the patriarchy. Such expression of unrestrained emotion is unusual in our author and implies that he wrote it either in 1182, when he was still in the first flush of indignation about the matter, or in 1184 after the death of Agnes, which La Monte dates late in 1183 or early in 1184 (see J. L. La Monte, "The Rise and Decline of a Frankish Seigneurie in Syria in the Time of the Crusades," Revue historique du Sud-Est européen, XV [1938], 313).

28 Mat. 12: 25.

29 Perhaps this reconciliation was accomplished as early as April 27, 1182. There is extant at Jerusalem an intensely interesting document of that date in which Baldwin IV
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10. An uprising occurs at Constantinople in which the wicked Andronicus prevails. As a result the Latin race is greatly disturbed.

While these events were taking place in our part of the Orient, an important change occurred in the empire of Constantinople. This resulted most unfortunately for the entire Latin race and brought upon them unheard of affronts and enormous loss. For the evils long since conceived by false and perfidious Greece travailed and "brought forth falsehood." For on the death of Manuel, that most happy emperor of illustrious memory, his son Alexius, a boy scarcely thirteen years old, succeeded to the throne, both by his father's will and by hereditary right. He was under his mother's guardianship, however, and the affairs of the empire were administered by Alexius, the protosebastos, son of the elder brother of the dead emperor. The principal nobles and the people of that city accordingly felt that an opportunity had come to carry into effect the evil designs which they had formed against our people.

During the reign of Manuel, beloved of God, the Latins had found great favor with him—a reward well deserved because of their loyalty and valor. The emperor, a great-souled man of incomparable energy, relied so implicitly on their fidelity and ability that he passed over the Greeks as soft and effeminate and intrusted important affairs to the Latins alone. Since he held them in such high esteem and showed toward them such lavish generosity, men of the Latin race from all over the world, nobles and men of lesser degree as well, regarded him as their great benefactor and eagerly flocked to his court. As the result of this eager deference, his affection toward the Latins increased more and more, and he was constantly improving their status.

The Greek nobles, especially the near kindred of the emperor, and the rest of the people as well, naturally conceived an insatiable hatred toward us, and this was increased by the difference between our sacra-
ments and those of their church, which furnished an additional incentive to their jealousy. For they, having separated insolently from the church of Rome, in their boundless arrogance looked upon everyone who did not follow their foolish traditions as a heretic. It was they themselves, on the contrary, who deserved the name of heretics, because they had either created or followed new and pernicious beliefs contrary to the Roman church and the faith of the apostles Peter and Paul against which "the gates of hell shall not prevail." 81

For these and other reasons they had for a long time cherished this hatred in their hearts and were ever seeking an opportunity, at least after the death of the emperor, to destroy utterly the hated race of the Latins, both in the city and throughout the entire empire, that in this way they might satisfy their inexorable animosity. 82

11. The causes of the uprising and dissension are given.

When the Emperor Manuel was removed from the affairs of this world and while Alexius, the protosebastos, had the administration of the realm, there seemed to be no favorable opportunity to carry out these evil designs. Alexius himself followed the example of the emperor, availed himself of the advice and assistance of the Latins, and as far as possible made them his friends. In one respect, however, he was hated by Latins and Greeks alike. Although, like all Greeks, he was extremely effeminate and completely given over to the lustful sins of the flesh, yet he was avaricious and sparing of the imperial treasure, as if he had earned it himself by the sweat of his brow. It was rumored also that he carried on a criminal liaison with the empress, although while her husband was lying on his deathbed she had professed the religious life. 83

His attitude, moreover, was one of extreme haughtiness; he regarded no one as superior to himself but managed everything according to his own wishes without consulting the other lords. He seemed

81 Mat. 16: 18.
82 This analysis of the feelings of the Greeks is the result of William's expert knowledge of the conditions. His recognition of the importance of the religious differences as a factor in the revolution is of special interest. This is confirmed from Greek sources (see A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, II, 77).
83 This charge of illicit relations with the empress, who was now nominally regent, was generally accepted by the Greek historians (see Diehl, Figures byzantines, 2d Series, p. 195).
to care nothing for the rest, although they were magnificent men of rank quite equal to his own. Hence, moved by extreme hatred against Alexius for the reasons just given, the princes of the palace took active measures against him. They summoned Andronicus the Elder, a cousin of the late emperor, from Pontus, where he was ruling, that he might assist them in their wicked plot to drive Alexius, the protosebastos, from the control of affairs in the realm.

This Andronicus, a cousin of the late emperor, was a false and wicked man, ever disloyal to the empire and ever active in sowing the seeds of conspiracies. In the time of the emperor he had suffered chains and imprisonment because of his many crimes. Ignominiously treated, as his merits richly deserved, he became an exile and a fugitive and wandered over the entire East. Yet even in his exile he had been guilty of many disgraceful acts, worthy of universal condemnation. Quite recently, however, about three months before Manuel's death, the emperor had restored him to favor once more. In order to prevent him from stirring up trouble in the city, according to his custom, and fomenting revolutions in the hope of gaining the kingdom, he was sent to Pontus under pretext of the office of governor.

This then was the man whom the near kindred of the emperor and of the protosebastos as well, those in whom he had especial confidence, had secretly summoned. Through their envoys they invited him to arm against the man who had shamefully thrown his sons and other illustrious men into chains. For, as has been said, the protosebastos had imprisoned certain distinguished men who had been caught in a conspiracy and thereby had roused still more enmity against himself.

Thus summoned, Andronicus came to the city bringing with him large forces of barbarian troops. He encamped along the Hellespont in full sight of the city and took possession of all Bithynia. Certain powerful nobles who had been sent against him to resist his attempts traitorously deserted to his side. First and most important among these were Andronicus Angelus, commander of the troops which had been dispatched against him, and Alexius Megalducas, commander in chief of the fleet, both kinsmen of the emperor. The desertion of those who had gone over to Andronicus thus openly weakened the cause of our people greatly as did also the fact that many other no-

34 See Book XX, note 4.
table men and a great many citizens as well showed their partisanship for Andronicus no longer secretly but in public. They longed to see him enter the city and in every possible way helped to hasten the time of his crossing.

12. Andronicus kills the nobles and seizes the palace and the city. He oppresses the people by the violence of his rule.

The conspiracy continued to gain strength; the protosebastos was seized, blinded, and horribly mutilated. This change of affairs spread consternation among the Latins, for they feared that the citizens would make a sudden attack upon them; in fact they had already received warning of such intention from certain people who had private knowledge of the conspiracy. Those who were able to do so, therefore, fled from the wiles of the Greeks and the death which threatened them. Some embarked on forty-four galleys which chanced to be in the harbor, and others placed all their effects on some of the many other ships there.

The aged and infirm, however, with those who were unable to flee, were left in their homes, and on them fell the wicked rage which the others had escaped. For Andronicus, who had secretly caused ships to be prepared, led his entire force into the city. As soon as they entered the gates these troops, aided by the citizens, rushed to that quarter of the city occupied by the Latins and put to the sword the little remnant who had been either unwilling or unable to flee with the others. Although but few of these were able to fight, yet they resisted for a long time and made the enemy's victory a bloody one.

Regardless of treaties and the many services which our people had rendered to the empire, the Greeks seized all those who appeared capable of resistance, set fire to their houses, and speedily reduced the entire quarter to ashes. Women and children, the aged and the sick, all alike perished in the flames. To vent their rage upon secular buildings alone, however, was far from satisfying their unholy wickedness; they also set fire to churches and venerated places of every description and burned, together with the sacred edifices, those who had fled thither for refuge. No distinction was made between clergy and laymen, except that greater fury was displayed toward those who wore the honorable habits of high office or religion. Monks and priests were
the especial victims of their madness and were put to death under excruciating torture.

Among these latter was a venerable man named John, a subdeacon of the holy Roman church, whom the pope had sent to Constantinople on business relating to the church. They seized him and, cutting off his head, fastened it to the tail of a filthy dog as an insult to the church. In the midst of such frightful sacrilege, worse than parricide, not even the dead, whom impiety itself generally spares, were suffered to rest undisturbed. Corpses were torn from the tombs and dragged through the streets and squares as if the insensate bodies were capable of feeling the indignities offered them.35

The vandals then repaired to the hospital of St. John, as it is called, where they put to the sword all the sick they found. Those whose pious duty it should have been to relieve the oppressed, namely the monks and priests, called in footpads and brigands to carry on the slaughter under promise of reward. Accompanied by these miscreants, they sought out the most secluded retreats and the inmost apartments of homes, that none who were hiding there might escape death. When such were discovered, they were dragged out with violence and handed over to the executioners, who, that they might not work without pay, were given the price of blood for the murder of these wretched victims.

Even those who seemed to show more consideration sold into perpetual slavery among the Turks and other infidels the fugitives who had resorted to them and to whom they had given hope of safety. It is said that more than four thousand Latins of various age, sex, and condition were delivered thus to barbarous nations for a price.

In such fashion did the perfidious Greek nation, a brood of vipers, like a serpent in the bosom or a mouse in the wardrobe evilly requite their guests—those who had not deserved such treatment and were far from anticipating anything of the kind; those to whom they had given their daughters, nieces, and sisters as wives and who, by long living together, had become their friends.

35 The mutilation of the Roman cardinal underlines the importance of the religious element in the antipathy of Greeks toward Latins. It was not the political or economic importance of the Latins but rather the success of the Latins in gaining Manuel's approval of a possible union of the Greek and Latin churches under Roman headship which gave the uprising this fanatical edge. The remains of the cardinal's body were later gathered up and accorded a decent burial (see E. Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, VI, 373).
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13. *The Latins who had escaped in ships ravage in hostile fashion the islands and other places along the shore.*

This horrible outrage, unprecedented throughout the ages, did not go entirely unpunished, it is said. The Latins who had fled in the galleys, as has been related, and the large numbers who followed them a little later with a good-sized fleet had assembled in the vicinity of Constantinople to await the outcome of events. Here they received definite information that those who had excited the first tumult in the city had burned the entire Latin quarter and that their wives and children with all the members of their households had perished either by fire or by the sword. This news roused righteous wrath and resentment in the hearts of all and inspired them with a fervent desire to avenge the blood of their friends. Accordingly they sailed along the shores of the Hellespont, from the mouth of the Black sea, which is thirty miles from Constantinople, to the entrance of the Mediterranean sea, a distance of two hundred miles, took by force all the cities and fortresses along both shores, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. They made their way also into all the monasteries along both shores and on the small islands scattered throughout that sea. Here, in retaliation for the blood of their brethren, they slew all those pseudo-monks and sacrilegious priests and burned the monasteries together with the refugees who had fled thither. From these places they are said to have carried off an immense amount of gold and silver, with jewels and silken stuffs in large quantities, and therewith repaid themselves many times for the loss of their property and the destruction of their goods. For, in addition to the vast wealth of the monasteries and the countless treasures which had been accumulating there for a long time, the citizens of Constantinople had deposited in these holy places for safekeeping immense quantities of gold and other treasures.

Laden with all these spoils, the Latins then left the straits of that sea and sailed into the Mediterranean between the ancient coastal cities, Sestos and Abydos.

As they sailed along the shores of Thessaly, they searched all the cities and towns of the lands near the sea with the minutest care, gave everything over to pillage and fire, and massacred countless numbers. Near Chrysopolis, a city of Macedonia, they are said to have found ten
other galleys, and in various places a great many more. With these they formed an exceedingly large fleet which proved a most formidable engine of destruction to the Greeks.

Some of the Latins, however, shrank from these deeds of slaughter and rapine; this latter group embarked on some of the many ships in the harbor and, with their wives and children and all that remained of their effects, left the army and came to us in Syria.

Meanwhile, Andronicus was in possession of the city, according to his wishes, and since there was no one to object he had the emperor solemnly crowned on the holy day of Pentecost, together with his destined wife, the daughter of the king of the Franks, and showed him all reverence. The mother of the emperor, together with his sister and her husband, who were still within the palace precincts, he as yet treated with kindness. Andronicus personally directed all the affairs of the empire, however, both in the city and without, and arranged everything according to his own pleasure.

It is to be feared that he made this show of courtesy toward these persons in order to hide his treacherous purpose, until he should have held the throne for a time and gradually subjected everything to his own power, when he could show openly his real intentions in regard to them.

This happened in the month of April, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1182.

14. Saladin revokes the treaty which he had made with the king. The latter marches out beyond the Jordan to encounter him. The Turks assault the village of Buria and carry the people away into captivity.

While these events were transpiring in Greece, a certain ship with fifteen hundred pilgrims on board, driven by adverse winds, was

36 The effect of these massacres upon the commercial city states of Italy, especially Venice, which suffered most heavily, has usually been overlooked. The Fourth Crusade has too often been represented as a purely business enterprise of the Venetians. The sons and daughters and more distant relatives of the Venetians who lost their lives in this massacre of 1182 would not have agreed with that opinion. It is gratifying to know that some of the Latins did not approve of the severity of the revenge, even in retaliation. William doubtless obtained his information from these refugees.

37 He disposed of them before the end of the year 1183, first having Maria of Antioch strangled and in the same year having her son Alexius treated similarly. Also at this time he formally married the young French empress, Agnes, who was about twelve years old at the time (Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, II, 76).
wrecked at Damietta in the kingdom of Egypt. However, the shipwrecked people felt confident that they would be saved, for it was known that Saladin had made a truce and temporary peace with the Christians, on both land and sea.

But the fate that befell them was far different from that required by the law of treaties. For Saladin, overcome by his desire for spoils, was reluctant to allow so many Christians to depart freely from his land, as he was bound to do by the terms of the agreement. He accordingly threw them all into prison and ordered their goods to be confiscated for his own use. He then sent a messenger to the king and, in direct defiance of the terms of the treaty, made demands upon him with which it was practically impossible to comply. He added as an ultimatum that, unless all these demands were met in accordance with his wishes, he would retain the aforesaid ship as compensation for himself and would, moreover, abrogate the pact which had been concluded between them.38

The messenger was unable to obtain the satisfaction of Saladin's demands, since he tried to invent barefaced excuses under pretext of which the ship might be retained rather than to present just causes of complaint. Thereupon the prince at once broke the treaty and, giving way to his long-cherished animosity, began to plan how he might harass the kingdom in his usual manner. He mustered both cavalry and infantry forces and increased the size of his army by large numbers of men who in former years had left Damascus and the neighboring countries and had gone to Egypt to avoid the stress of famine. With this force he determined to return to Damascus, where as from a nearer base he could cause us greater trouble.

While on the march to Damascus, he intended also to injure as much as possible that part of our possessions which lay beyond the Jordan. Here the crops were already white for the harvest, and by burning these or by seizing one or more of our strongholds in that locality he could do the Christians much damage.

His special purpose in acting thus is said to have been the desire to retaliate on Prince Renaud, the lord of that land. For the prince, contrary to agreement, was reported to have seized certain Arabs dur-

38 William is slow to bring in the charge which Muslim writers make that Renaud de Châtillon was first to break the truce. This is stated somewhat later in this chapter. Each side accused the other of the violation of the truce (see W. B. Stevenson, The Crusaders in the East, pp. 224–25).
ing the period of the truce and to have refused to release them on demand.

Through his scouts, the king learned of Saladin’s advance and also of his designs. He at once held a general council at Jerusalem where the terms of the Turkish prince were carefully considered. Then, acting on the advice of certain of his counsellors, he led all his forces across the valley of Sylvester, wherein is the Dead sea, and arrived at the spot where he proposed to meet Saladin on his march and prevent him from devastating that land.

Saladin’s march across the desert had been accomplished under great difficulties in barely twenty days, and he was now established with his forces upon habitable land in our territory, at a distance of about ten miles from the Christian stronghold of Montreal. Here he was waiting to receive definite information about the condition of the locality and of the whereabouts of the king and his army.

Baldwin had placed his camp near an ancient city called Petra of the Desert, in Arabia Secunda, about thirty-six miles from Saladin’s camp. He had with him the entire strength of the army. The count of Tripoli also remained with the forces, although much against his will, for it was contrary to his advice that the king had marched thither and thus left the other parts of his realm unprotected and utterly stripped of soldiers. Certain of the barons, out of regard for Prince Renaud rather than for the general welfare, had influenced the king to this course, without giving due attention to what might happen in the kingdom thus left without defenders.

How far from wise this action was subsequent events soon showed. For the rulers in the vicinity of Damascus, Bostrum, Baalbec, and Hims, perceiving that the flower of the realm was absent and the whole region destitute of troops, secretly and silently mustered their forces. They crossed the Jordan near the sea of Galilee, that is, near Tiberias, and furtively entered our land. After overrunning a part of Galilee, they came to a place at the foot of Mt. Tabor called Buria, near the ancient city of Nain. The people of those parts were as yet unaware that the truce had been broken. Accordingly, in complete reliance upon it, they did not take measures to protect themselves. As a result the enemy fell upon them stealthily by night and completely surrounded the place so that the besieged could not escape to the mountains which rose above them.
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When day dawned, the inhabitants saw that they were surrounded on all sides by the enemy and hastily retreated to a tower above the village. The Turks immediately encircled this tower and put forth mighty efforts to undermine it. Within the space of four hours they were successful, and the building fell to the ground. Before the final catastrophe, however, when cracks began to appear and its downfall seemed imminent, the refugees who had fled to it for protection surrendered.

The infidels thereupon gathered up all the plunder from Buria and other places near by and, without opposition, led away with them as prisoners about five hundred souls. Many dead who had fallen in the fight were left on the field. For since the locality was very productive and the time of harvest was at hand, large numbers of people had come thither from neighboring places to help harvest the crop. All of these, as we have said, were carried off by the enemy without resistance. Then the Turks again crossed the Jordan and returned, safe and sound, to their own land.

15. Saladin likewise seizes by force one of our strongholds, a well-fortified cave, in the land of Sawad.

During this time, while the king and the Christian army were still occupied in Syria Sobal, a very serious disaster occurred which exposed us to new peril and which will ever be regretted by our people. Beyond the Jordan in the land of Sawad, sixteen miles from Tiberias, the Christians possessed a very strongly fortified place. It was thought to be impregnable and was of great service to our people. This district was nearer to the enemy's domains than to our realm, and in consequence they could easily work their will over it and command the inhabitants as they would. Yet, because of the protection afforded by this fortress, the custom had prevailed for many years and was still in practice at this time of dividing the powers equally between the Christians and the infidels; the taxes and tribute were also equally divided between them. 39

The fortress just referred to was situated in a cave on the slope of a certain mountain under an immense overhanging cliff. On the upper side there was no approach whatever, while on the other there was

39 The ability of the Latin crusaders and their Muslim neighbors to live peaceably together is usually lost to sight in the narrative of warfare. Yet here is a clear instance of such cooperation that had been going on for years.
only a narrow footpath by which a man, if free from all encumbrance, might with difficulty find his way. The care of this place had been committed to Fulk of Tiberias, a loyal and vigilant nobleman of great wealth.

The leaders of the Turkish forces had taken Buria and made prisoners of our people there, as has been related above; now they appeared suddenly before this place and within five days had taken it by storm.

There is a difference of opinion about the capture of this fortress. Some say that the garrison in the citadel surrendered it in consideration of a sum of money. Others assert that the enemy forced an entrance into the cave from the side by mining, a feat which could easily be accomplished since the rock was of cretaceous nature. They burrowed into the first story and seized it; then, after taking that, they compelled the surrender of those in the middle and top stories (for the place is said to have had three stories).

It was later ascertained, however, that the foe gained possession of the cave through the treachery of the officers in charge. For, although the rest wished to make resistance, those in authority forbade any defense to be made, and after surrendering they themselves deserted to the enemy.

The commanders in charge were, it is said, Syrians, a race which is regarded by us as weak and effeminate. The greatest blame, therefore, rested upon Fulk of Tiberias, who was responsible for placing men of such caliber in charge of so important a place. Such was the report which spread far and wide through the realm and which finally reached the ears of the Christians beyond the Jordan who were trying to prevent Saladin from crossing into Syria on his way from Egypt to Damascus.

This news overwhelmed the hearts of all with consternation. Especially was this true of the count of Tripoli, on whom rested the responsibility and care of this fortress.

And so it happened that those who had so carelessly left the kingdom and were conducting themselves still more unwisely in this place were unable to accomplish anything acceptable to God or of benefit to the realm. They should have met Saladin at the frontiers of our kingdom and prevented his entering the land; but, rashly enough,

40 This passage is usually cited to prove that William, though born in Palestine, was not a Syrian.
they permitted him to advance as far as the place called Gerba, where he found a great abundance of the water so desperately needed by his thirsty army. From Gerba he sent a part of his forces to the vicinity of our fortress called Montreal, where they cut down vineyards and inflicted other losses upon the people living there. But, if the Christians had hurried to that place he would unquestionably have been forced to retire to Egypt, for he was leading an immense crowd of unwarlike people who had already discovered that the water in their skins and the bread in their chests was beginning to fail. All this multitude must have perished of famine in the desert, for to advance was impossible and to engage our forces would be attended with great danger.\footnote{William has usually not felt himself sufficiently informed or interested in military matters to criticize strategy and tactics.}

On learning that the prince had already reached the place just named, the Christians again decided to attack him, this time at the waters called Ras el Rassit. If this plan had been carried out, Saladin would have been obliged to attempt a march through the farther desert, a feat which could not have been accomplished without great loss of men and pack animals.

Since they neglected to do this, however, he reached the waters without difficulty, and then entered his own land without opposition and arrived in entire safety at Damascus.

On learning of his departure, the Christians also returned to their own land over the same route by which they had come. But it was to be feared that from Damascus, whither he had departed with all his following, Saladin might be devising some trickery which would bring danger upon the realm. All the people of the country were accordingly ordered to concentrate at the fountain of Sephorie, between Sephorie and Nazareth. The king, the patriarch, and all the princes, both secular and ecclesiastical, with the Cross of the Lord, attended them, and there from day to day they awaited the approach of the enemy.

16. \textit{Saladin invades our land with an armed force. At the fortress of Forbelet a battle without decisive results is fought.}
Egypt. Determined to invade our land, he now advanced to the place which is called in their tongue, Raseline, that is, the Head of the Waters. This is said to be only a short distance from our land and quite near the city of Tiberias. After remaining at Raseline for a few days, Saladin suddenly entered our land and encamped between two rivers in a place known as Cavan, which is about four miles distant from Tiberias.

Scouts soon reported this fact to our leaders. An immediate attack was decided upon, and the forces were hastily dispatched to Tiberias to unite with the contingent that had been sent there to protect that city and the fortified places in the vicinity, namely Saphet and Beauvoir.

It happened that the count of Tripoli, an able and valiant man of great experience in war, was at this time lying critically ill with an attack of double [sic] tertiary fever. This added much to the troubles of the Christians, for it deprived them at a critical time of the help of this great lord, on whose counsel and prudence they placed great reliance.

Nevertheless, they called in additional forces from the neighboring places and marched forth against the foe with standards raised. As soon as Saladin heard that they were advancing, however, he crossed the Jordan with his armies and withdrew into the environs of Scythopolis.

Scythopolis, [once] the metropolis of Palestina Tertia, and also known as Bethsan, lies in a plain amid well-watered fields, between the mountains of Galboa and the river Jordan. The privileges which it once enjoyed, however, have now been transferred to the church at Nazareth in the same diocese. For Scythopolis has now very few inhabitants and has become merely a small town.

Thither the enemy's battalions marched and at once made a vigorous assault on a small fort situated on marshy land. But the townspeople offered a stout resistance, and the Turks found that they had no prospect of success. In order to march against the Christians, therefore, they directed their lines toward a new fortress, now called Beauvoir, situated in the hills between Scythopolis and Tiberias.

The Christians followed the course of the Jordan until they arrived at the place just mentioned, when they left the valley and went up into the mountains. They were greatly exhausted by the intense
heat which became almost unendurable as they advanced. The night was passed in a state of constant vigilance, for they suspected that the enemy was in the vicinity. When morning came, they returned to the plain which lies between the fortress just mentioned and a village called Forbelet. Here they beheld Saladin's forces stretching out all around in numbers far greater than they had ever before experienced; in fact, the older princes of the kingdom declared that at no time since the Latins first entered Syria had they beheld such a mighty array of foes. The number of knights equipped for battle was about twenty thousand, while our cavalry was estimated at barely seven hundred. Saladin and his nobles had one common intent and purpose, namely to surround our army completely, so that not a man might escape—for, relying on their great numbers, just given, they despised our small force and were confident that the Christians would be unable to withstand them.

But far otherwise did it seem to Him who easily overcomes a great multitude with a few. Although in comparison with the enemy's host, our numbers seemed as nothing, yet, upheld by the God of mercy, the Christians drew up their lines according to the rules of military science and with their usual courage advanced upon the foe. Firmly they resisted the attacks against them and, although to their own everlasting disgrace many Christians, whose names we refrain from giving, ignominiously fled from the heat of battle, yet in that conflict we proved superior to our foes. Baldwin of Ramlah and Balian his brother showed magnificent prowess that day and fought with vigor and courage. Hugh the Younger, stepson of the count of Tripoli, who was with the contingent from Tripoli, also deserves that his memory be held in benediction. Although younger than the others, he strove with valor far beyond his age and, with the troops under his command, routed and put to flight three companies of Turks; then, by the grace of God, he returned uninjured to his friends.

In that battle only a few of our knights fell, about to be received in the company of the saints above; but of the people many perished. The loss of the enemy was far greater. Some of their principal leaders also fell, a catastrophe which caused the infidels to desert the field of battle in consternation.

The fact ought not to be passed over in silence that the heat dur-
ing those days was so much greater than usual that fully as many in both armies perished from sunstroke as by the sword.

Concerning the number of the enemy slain we could learn nothing positive; for to conceal their losses from us, they carried away the bodies of those who had fallen in battle and stealthily buried them the next night in camp, lest the proof of their death might inspire our people with additional courage. We ascertained, however, that from the two causes named above about a thousand perished.

Since matters had not turned out as he had hoped and the Christians had proved stronger than he anticipated, Saladin now retired discomfited. He recrossed the Jordan and returned to his own land, camping a second time in the place from which he had set out.

The Christians also recalled their troops and returned to the fountain of Sephorie, which had been their starting point. On this march Baldwin, a canon of the Sepulchre of the Lord and treasurer of that church, who was bearing the Revivifying Cross, was overcome by the intense heat. He was placed in a litter and borne to the foot of Mt. Tabor, near the torrent of Cison, where he expired.

Another brother, Godfrey of Villeneuve, a canon of the same church, who had been sent on that expedition as an aide to this Baldwin, also perished. Carried away by his zeal for secular interests, he was struck by an arrow and perished. It is indeed just, according to the word of the Lord, that "all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." 42

17. Saladin summons a fleet from Egypt and lays siege to the city of Beirut.

The king now returned with his forces to the place mentioned above. Saladin, exceedingly wroth that his campaign had proved so ineffective, now for a second time mustered his forces and again reviewed in his mind all manner of plans. Anxiously he deliberated with his counsellors as to the best way to renew aggressive measures against the Christians. He came to the conclusion that the most effective means of injury was to attack our people in several different places simul-

42 Mat. 26: 52. This quotation reflects William's own views on the proper relation of churchmen and warriors. These events occurred in July, 1182 (see Stevenson, Crusaders, pp. 228–29).
taneously. He accordingly sent strict instructions to his brother, whom he had left in charge of his affairs in Egypt, to assemble a fleet from Alexandria and Egypt and dispatch it to Syria as soon as possible. He explained that, immediately on the arrival of this fleet, he intended to blockade Beirut both by land and by sea. To prevent the king and his people from hurrying to its relief, he directed his brother to assemble the cavalry forces which had been left in Egypt. With these troops he was to enter our land on the south and lay waste all the region around Gaza, Ascalon, and Daron, which are the last cities belonging to the kingdom on this side the land of Egypt.

Saladin's purpose in giving these orders was that, while one part of the Christian forces was engaged in opposing the invaders from Egypt whereby the army was reduced in strength and numbers, he himself might be free to assault the besieged city with greater fury.

His plans were carried out according to the orders which he had given. Within a few days, a fleet of thirty beaked ships arrived as he had directed, and his brother conducted to the vicinity of Daron the forces which he had raised from all over Egypt.

That all might be in readiness when the fleet arrived, Saladin himself led a force into the locality commonly known as the valley of Baccar. Scouts were stationed upon the hills which jut out into the sea between the region just mentioned and the plain of Beirut to notify him when the fleet was in sight. During this interval he gathered additional infantry forces from the adjacent country and with great care made all the preparations which he thought would be necessary for the successful operation of the siege.

Punctually, about August 1, the fleet arrived off the coast near Beirut. The scouts specially detailed for the purpose gave immediate notice of this arrival, and Saladin at once crossed the intervening mountains and led his forces down into the plain. Here he completely invested the city of Beirut according to the plan long before arranged.

Conflicting rumors in regard to Saladin's intentions now began to reach our forces which were encamped at Sephorie. Some said that he intended to besiege the city of Beirut, which eventually proved to be true; others thought that his whole idea was to obtain Aleppo; while still others asserted that it was his purpose to engage the lord of Mosul, a magnificent and powerful Turkish satrap, who was reported to be besieging some of Saladin's cities in the vicinity of the Euphrates.
But while these desultory reports were circulating in the camp, all uncertainty was ended by the arrival of a messenger who announced that Beirut was most certainly in a state of siege. At the same time another courier came from the south with trustworthy information that Saladin's brother with an immense force had invaded our land in the vicinity of Daron. Thirty-six of the light-armed knights who are called Turcopoles had been slain and some of the outlying villages burned.

On receipt of this news, the king, after consulting with his barons, decided to attack the point of greatest danger first by relieving the besieged city from the peril which confronted it; for he did not regard his forces as sufficiently strong to repulse both enemies from his land at the same time.

18. The king arrives at Tyre on his way to relieve Beirut. Saladin raises the siege.

Accordingly he summoned his forces and at the head of the entire army proceeded to Tyre, where he ordered the fleet which lay at anchor in the harbors of Acre and Tyre to be made ready. Within seven days, sooner than all expectation, a fleet of thirty-three ships, well-armed and manned with valiant men, was ready for action.

While the Christians were making these preparations with zealous care, Saladin was besieging the city of Beirut, as has been stated. Both his armies were exerting themselves to the utmost to cause the citizens all possible trouble. The legions, drawn up around the city, were employed in successive relays and for three days kept up such a continual pressure that no respite was given the besieged for rest or for taking the necessary nourishment.

Saladin had brought with him neither hurling engines nor any other kind of machine generally employed in besieging a stronghold. Possibly he thought that by a sudden attack he could take the city without the help of such instruments, or, since he was momentarily expecting the arrival of the Christian army, he may have deprecated such a waste of effort without promise of result. But by his zealous and careful efforts he accomplished all that was possible without the aid of machines. For, as has been explained, he had placed his great host in successive ranks about the city; these divisions relieved one another by turns and poured forth such showers of arrows upon the
defenders, who were fighting upon the walls and in the towers, that the city and fortifications were covered as with hail.

But this was not the only method by which Saladin's forces tried to prevent the inhabitants from defending the city. They also introduced by force sappers brought for the special purpose of undermining the wall. It was hoped that by breaking down the barbicans and walls in this way, openings might be made through which bodies of armed men might be introduced in spite of the efforts of the besieged. That the miners might apply themselves to their work without hindrance, the rest of the soldiers kept continually pouring forth showers of missiles from their bows and ballistae. So persistently was this done that the citizens within the walls were in imminent danger of death and scarcely dared to raise a finger.

Although very few in number, the defenders responded nobly to the orders and exhortations of the governor and especially of the bishop. The great valor and firmness shown by the latter in this emergency is worthy of high praise. All the tactics of the enemy were met by the Christians with counteracting measures and no possible method of resistance was left untried. Darts and arrows were hurled against the archers outside with a skill and enthusiasm equal to that of the assailants, with the result that great loss was inflicted upon the Turks and again and again those who were boldest in advancing to the charge were slain.

The miners who were striving to undermine the walls were met with skill equal to their own so that many of those who were zealously engaged in that work were killed or lost their digging tools.

It was not only the forces which had arrived by land who wrought such havoc upon the besieged, but those who had come by sea also showed equal fury and courage in attacking. Saladin himself had taken up a position on a hill not far away and by his presence and cheering words did not cease to encourage his men to the combat. In this he was so successful that one of his chief nobles, named Choelin, proposed that they raise the ladders to the walls and force an entrance, for he felt that it was disgraceful that so small a force should have the courage or the power to resist such a host. He was zealously insisting on this plan and by word and example urging the rest to agree to it, when he was suddenly hit near the eye by an arrow. This
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accident forced him, as well as the others, to abandon the enterprise.

For three successive days the city had been besieged in the manner just described. But at length, since it was evident that there was no chance of success, the naval forces withdrew to the galleys by Saladin's command and at nightfall on the third day silently and furtively sailed away.

Saladin recalled his land forces also and retired a short distance from the city. He then divided the cavalry into bands and ordered them to scour the plains about the city and raze to the ground every tower in the outlying districts. By his orders also all the many orchards and vineyards in the vicinity of the city were destroyed by axes and hatchets.

That the work of the siege might proceed more freely and securely, he caused some of the infantry to occupy certain narrow and difficult roads between Beirut and Sidon over which our army must pass on their way to the relief of the city. He also had barricades of stones without mortar built to the very shore of the sea. By the help of these two devices, he hoped to hinder our legions from advancing. In the meantime, he would be able without restraint to continue the attack on Beirut.

It was reported that he had been firmly resolved not to abandon the siege until he had taken the city by force, yet now he changed his mind and prepared to return home. The reason for this change of purpose is reported to have been as follows: those who were guarding the passage happened to intercept a courier who was the bearer of encouraging letters from some of the faithful to the people of Beirut. This messenger was brought before Saladin and subjected to a most severe questioning. From the confession wrung from him by force and also from the contents of the letter, Saladin learned that both our armies were fully prepared and would without doubt arrive within three days. He therefore changed his plans and raised the siege, as has been related.

Our fleet arrived safely at its destination, but finding the city free, it returned without much loss of time to the ports from which it had sailed. The king, on learning that the enemy had abandoned the siege and departed, remained for a few days at Tyre with his entire army. He then again assembled his forces and returned to Sephorie.
19. Saladin crosses the Euphrates and enters Mesopotamia.

Saladin, always active and vigilant, desired with his whole heart to increase the glory of his name and expand the limits of his kingdom. Eager to achieve still greater victories and scorn the strength of the Christians as nothing, he resolved to advance toward the east. It is not yet entirely plain whether or not he proceeded thither on his own initiative, inspired by the greatness of soul natural to him. It is possible that this difficult task which seemed beyond his strength was undertaken at the request of the princes of that region. However this may be, he again assembled a great force of horsemen, caused to be prepared, as well as time and place permitted, all the necessary equipment and baggage for undertaking so long a march, and led his forces toward the Euphrates.

The prevailing opinion among the Christians was that he was marching toward Aleppo in an attempt to take that city. For, of the entire heritage of Nureddin, Aleppo alone and a few strongholds adjacent to it had not yet fallen into his power. After the death of Nureddin’s son, it was held by the brother of Qutb al-Din, lord of Mosul, by the favor of the latter, on whom it had devolved by hereditary right on the death of the aforesaid youth. It was generally believed, therefore, and this seemed probable, that Saladin was marching thither to take possession of the city. But, as the result proved, he had conceived far loftier ideas. Leaving Aleppo behind him, he crossed the Euphrates and within a few days took by storm Edessa and Haran, those splendid cities of Mesopotamia, together with a great many other cities and their dependent towns. In fact, he took, either by armed force or by bribes, almost the entire region which had formerly been under the power of the prince of Mosul just mentioned. By his great liberality he corrupted the magnates of the land who owed loyal allegiance to their lord; and, after receiving their fortresses, he also succeeded in winning their allegiance to himself. The great and noble prince of Mosul, thus entirely deprived of the support of his nobles, was said to be unable either to meet or to resist Saladin. It was a matter of common talk that Saladin had corrupted the servants and friends of this prince and had caused a deadly potion to be given him which came near proving fatal. Hence it was be-

43 See note 24.
lieved from these reports that Saladin had without mishap reached Mosul with his forces. Stories of varying import were in circulation among us in regard to this, some to the effect that his march had been successful and that everything was turning out according to his wishes, others, on the contrary, indicating that the great Lords of that land had banded together to check his insolent attempts and that his army had accordingly met with harsh treatment.44

20. The king lays waste the territory of the Damascenes in hostile fashion.

Thus the land of the enemy seemed to have been stripped of its defenders. The king and the barons of our realm thought, therefore, and not without apparent reason, that the long-desired opportunity of injuring the enemy had arrived. Their wrath against Saladin was greatly increased by the fact that in his superb arrogance he had scorned the military strength of the kingdom and, without entering into either truce or treaty with the king, had departed to win foreign kingdoms. After taking counsel together, therefore, they mustered their forces and, accompanied by the patriarch and the precious Life-giving Cross, entered the land of the infidel to lay waste the region as far as their strength permitted.

They passed through the country of the Traconites, which forms a large part of the land of Bostrum, and entered Syria Minor, of which Damascus is the capital. Then, directing their march toward the eastern part of this land, they forced their way into the famous and populous city of Zoro, not far from Damascus. From there they overran the land and destroyed a large part of the outlying places which are commonly known as casalia. These they either burned or injured in every possible way. The inhabitants of this district had learned betimes of our approach and, with their wives and children, flocks and herds, had fled to localities which had better defenses. Consequently, the Christians brought back with them little or no spoils or treasure. The crops and other necessaries of life which the enemy had been unable to take with them in their flight, however, they either burned or damaged in some other way.

44 This campaign into the northeast of Syria extended from September, 1182, to August, 1183. William here recalls the attitude of the Latins in 1182 before the outcome of the campaign became known (see Stevenson, Crusaders, pp. 229–30).
After ravaging everything in sight, they had to pass, on their return, near a noble city of those parts called Bostrum, commonly known as Bosseret. Here our people deliberated on the advisability of seizing the suburban districts. However, as this could not be done quickly but would require a longer stay than the dearth of water permitted, they decided to return, lest they and their beasts should suffer from thirst. This region is utterly arid and dry, entirely without springs, brooks, or rivers. During the winter months, the people are in the habit of collecting rain water in reservoirs. This they carefully preserve for necessary uses during the entire year, although through the heat of the sun and the slime which accumulates on top it becomes insipid. To prevent the army as it passed from lingering there, the people, forewarned of our coming, had either broken these cisterns so that the water ran out, or had contaminated it by throwing in filth. The time of year, however, did not permit the Christians to do as much damage as they could have desired. The grain and other crops, which they would ordinarily have burned, had already been gathered into the granaries, which it is the custom in that region to build in caverns underground. Since these were covered with earth and very skilfully hidden, they were difficult to find. Whatever grain still remained on the threshing floors had been stripped of its hulls and cleaned of straw, and therefore, as grain alone does not catch fire, it did not easily burn. Scarcely any damage could be done to the threshing floors except to scatter the grain and to carry off some of it with them as feed for the horses. Many of the soldiers, however, seeking ways of doing damage, mixed hulls and straw here and there with the grain already cleaned so that it might more readily take fire.

The small force of troops which had been left in that district on Saladin's departure was not strong enough to risk an encounter with the Christians or to oppose them at close quarters. They followed in bands, however, at a distance on the rear of the departing foe and tried to do some damage. But even in this way they were unable to offer any impediment to the Christians or to injure the army, either in part or as a whole.

21. The Christians blockade the fortress lately held by Saladin. They take it by siege and restore it to the Christian faith.

After traversing the whole region and doing as much damage as lay in their power, our people halted, on their return, in that part of
the same province which is called Sawad. This is the district where lies that castle which, as has already been related, the enemy had taken from the Christians by trickery shortly before this time, while our army was in Syria Sobal.

Sawad is famous for its products of wine, grain, and olives, and also for its salubrious climate and generally delightful situation. Bildad, the friend of Job, who took the surname of Shuhite from this land, is said to have belonged here.

On arriving here the Christians judged that it would be desirable to besiege the stronghold and thereupon decided to undertake it, that the evils which the infidels had brought upon them in treacherously capturing and keeping the place might, if Heaven permitted, recoil upon themselves.

Accordingly a camp was established before the castle just named, and vigorous efforts were put forth to force those within to surrender. The fortress was extremely well defended. Its situation was such that it was assailable only by the upper part, and not even there unless the rocks were cut through to the dwelling place itself. It was decided, therefore, to put stoncutters at work on the upper portion. All the helpers needed and also guards were to be furnished, that they might work in safety and without danger of attack.

The cave was located on the side of a very high mountain. Approach to it was attended with the greatest difficulty over a path arduous even for a single foot soldier if free from all encumbrance. The path approaching from the side was scarcely a foot wide, and below yawned a deep and dreadful precipice which extended to the bottom of the valley.

This cave had three stories, one above the other. A wooden staircase with narrow openings led from one level to the other.

Since this was the only method by which it could be attacked, the Christians tried to cut into the cave from above, as we have said, in the hope that they might be able to penetrate in this way into the first and upper level of the citadel. This was their whole aim and intention, and every effort was put forth to attain that end. All the workmen needed were placed in position and helpers provided who, as fast as the fragments of rock and stone were cut away, threw the refuse down into the valley below. In order that the work might proceed without interruption, shifts were arranged during both night and day so that when those on the first crew were weary, their places were
taken by fresh workers who had the necessary skill and ability to carry on the work. The labor progressed rapidly because of the number and enthusiasm of the workers and also because the rock itself was easily cut. For it was of cretaceous nature and readily penetrated except where veins of very hard flint protruded which often injured the iron tools and presented a hindrance to the eager workers. The fragments were rolled down into the valley below to clear the place, as has been explained. All these passed in full view of those shut up within the cave and greatly increased their fear; for hourly they anticipated the time when the work would be finished and an entrance achieved by force.

Our army was divided into two sections: one part, as has been said, had located a camp on the top of the hill occupied by the cave, from which position they could more easily protect those engaged in the work from the wiles of the enemy. The other part remained in the plain below, placed there for the special task of preventing any going or coming on the part of the besieged. Occasionally some of the latter force approached the lower level of the cave along the narrow path described above and attempted to attack those inside. These efforts were, however, futile. For within, well supplied with food and weapons, was a force of about seventy strong and valiant men. These experienced men Saladin had chosen as he was about to depart, and to their vigilant care, as to those on whose fidelity and steadfastness he had especial reason to rely, he had entrusted the stronghold.

The work had now reached a point where the almost incessant blows of the hammer permitted the garrison in the cave no rest. As the strokes redoubled, the whole mass seemed to shake and tremble, so that the dread lest a forcible entrance might be effected gave way to apprehension that the whole cave, shattered by the repeated blows, might suddenly collapse and crush all within. It was useless to hope that any aid would arrive, for Saladin, as they knew, had departed with all his troops to far distant parts whence he could not easily return. Finally, after the siege had lasted for three weeks or a little longer, they sent an embassy to the king, and, through the intervention of the count of Tripoli, obtained permission to depart freely to Bostrum. The condition was made that they surrender the citadel and give up the arms which they had borne and all their equipment. Thereupon, they at once resigned the place and departed. Thus,
through the superabounding grace of God, we were freed from the
dangerous situation which heretofore had seemed to menace us.

Now that the surrender had been made, the king and the other
leaders saw to it, as seemed wise, that the fortress was supplied with
arms and provisions. It was then entrusted to the charge of faithful
men whose loyalty and ability was unquestioned, and after everything
had been carefully attended to the forces returned to their own land.

This happened in the year 1182 of the Incarnation of the Lord, in
the month of October, the . . . day of the month.\textsuperscript{45}

22. The king again invades the land of the Damascenes with his forces.

A short time afterward—that is, in the following December—our
leaders observed that Saladin, detained by more important matters
in the country near Mosul, had not yet returned. Loath to lose the
opportunity which his absence afforded, they again assembled and,
after consulting together for the good of the kingdom, unanimously
decided to call a rendezvous at Caesarea on the coast. It was resolved
with one accord to muster the forces of the realm and to provide
everything necessary for the use of both men and beasts during an-
other campaign of fifteen days into the enemy’s land, that the offered
opportunity might not be neglected. A secret raid in which only
knights took part was first made into hostile territory near Bostrum,
as had been arranged in advance. From this they returned in safety
and brought back much plunder in the form of flocks and herds and
also many slaves. Since this raid started from the land of Tiberias
and returned to the same place, it was under the command of the
count of Tripoli.

At length, on the fifteenth day, the king and the barons of the
realm, with as large a force of infantry and cavalry as the kingdom
could afford at the time, and accompanied by the Cross of the Lord,
assembled near Tiberias at a place on the sea of Galilee called Castel-
lum. From there they crossed the river at Jacob’s ford and entered
the enemy’s land. With Lebanon on the left, the army proceeded
through the plain as far as a place called Bettegene. This they utterly
destroyed with all the adjacent hamlets, and, partly by burning and
partly by razing to the ground, they completely ruined everything
found there. Still farther along they came to Daria, a place about

\textsuperscript{45} The day of the month is missing in the text.
four or five miles from Damascus. This also was laid waste in the same manner, together with the outlying villages.

The people in this vicinity had fled, some to the Lebanon mountains and some to Damascus. Consequently, scarcely a prisoner was taken in all that region. We lost some of our men, however, because of their own reckless conduct while foraging. Certain Turkish knights, trusting to the speed of their horses, had issued forth from Damascus and were hovering about our lines. Sometimes they rode a little ahead of our ranks, and again they followed. Always watching for an opportunity to do us harm, these knights fell suddenly upon the incautious foragers just mentioned and in a furious onslaught slew them to a man. The Damascenes also emerged from their city and massed themselves about the orchards which surround the place in large numbers. From this distance they kept a close watch on our troops but did not venture to advance nearer. The Christians did not dare attack them, nor did they attempt anything against us, but when our people departed they too withdrew into the city.

After overrunning that part of the country and causing much damage, as already described, the Christian army returned home without encountering difficulty or hindrance. The king himself hastened to Tyre and there celebrated with us the Nativity of the Lord.  

23. A census of the kingdom is taken as a protection against future mishaps.

During all this time, indefinite rumors in regard to Saladin’s activities had been circulating. Some reports indicated that he was meeting with much success in Mesopotamia in the vicinity of Mosul, where he had subjugated the entire region to his power; others, on the contrary, were to the effect that all the princes of the East had united in an effort to drive him from the land by force of arms and thus recover the territory which he had won from them by intrigue and bribes. His progress caused the Christians much uneasiness; they viewed the increase of his power with great alarm, lest with large reinforcements he should return against them.

Accordingly, in the following February,  a general assembly of

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46 The friendship of Baldwin IV for William continued despite the hostility of the court party. William’s decision to stop writing must have been made before this time, December 25, 1182.

47 February, 1183.
all the barons of the realm was held at Jerusalem to confer about the situation. There was great dread of his return, as has been mentioned, and for that reason it was resolved to use every possible means to resist him.

After much deliberation and expression of varying opinions, it was resolved by common consent that a census of all the lands of the realm be taken. If such a report were available, it would be possible in an emergency to obtain foot and cavalry forces so that the enemy, if he returned, might find us prepared for resistance. The king and the barons were reduced to such a desperate state of need that the revenues were entirely insufficient to provide for the necessary outlay. It was imperative, therefore, that money be collected from the people as a whole. A perusal of the rescript which was made on this matter will afford an accurate understanding of the method by which this levy was made. It was as follows: "This is the method of collecting the tax which, by the common consent of all the nobles, both secular and ecclesiastical, and by the assent of the people of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the face of the present stringent necessities, must be levied for the common good of this realm.

"It is decreed on behalf of the state that in every city of this realm there be chosen four men of discretion and worthy of confidence, who, after taking a solemn oath that they will act in good faith in this present matter, shall first themselves give, and then compel others to do the same, one besant for every hundred besants which they own, or its equivalent either on things in their possession or on credits owing to them. From revenues also they shall give two besants for every hundred besants. They must so act in compelling others that each citizen, whether an inhabitant of a city or of other places over which he rules, shall pay toward this fund according to that which they shall judge in good faith that his substance is worth, and they shall assess this separately upon each according to his ability to pay.

"But if any man, on being told how much he must give, shall declare that he is overcharged and taxed beyond his means, he shall declare, according to his own conscience, the value of his furniture as seems just to him and, having declared under oath that he cannot give more, he shall go away in peace, according to the terms cited.

"The four men shall be held by their oath to keep secret what has been offered to them by each citizen, whether much or little, and they
shall be bound by oath not to disclose the wealth or poverty of any-
one. They must observe these regulations in respect to those who are
worth a hundred besants, of whatever language, people, or faith these
may be, without regard to sex; for, whether male or female, all alike
shall be subject to this ruling.

“If the four men thus chosen and assigned to this duty shall know
for a certainty that the property of anyone is not worth a hundred
besants, they shall receive from him hearth money; that is to say,
one besant for every fireplace. If they cannot obtain a whole besant,
they shall take a half; and if they cannot get a half, they shall take
a raboin, according to what shall seem right to them in good faith.
All whose goods are not worth a hundred besants, of whatever
tongue, people, faith, or sex they may be, shall be subject to this condi-
tion.

“It is likewise decreed that every church and every monastery, and
all the barons, as many as there are, and also the vassals, as also all
others in the kingdom who have revenues, shall give two besants out
of every hundred besants which they have in rents. Wage earners
also shall give one besant for every hundred.

“All who own casalia are bound by oath that for every hearth which
they have in villages or casalia, they shall give in good faith one
besant in addition to that enjoined above; so that, if a casal has a
hundred fires, the peasants must be made to pay a hundred besants.
Afterwards it shall be the duty of the lord of the casal to divide
among the peasants of that place in suitable portions the above named
number of besants, so that each one may be made to pay the above
tax in proportion to his means. Thus the rich may not escape lightly
nor the poor be overburdened. The ratio shall be the same whether
the casal has many or few fires.

“The money thus collected from every city from Haifa to Jeru-
usalem shall be carried to Jerusalem by those who, as we said before,
are over each city and castle. They shall pay it in a fixed sum and
weight to those who are in charge of this work at Jerusalem. The
latter, in the presence of the patriarch or his deputy, and of the prior
of the canons of the Sepulchre of the Lord, and of the castellan of
Jerusalem, shall place this money sealed and separate, just as they
receive it from each city or other place, in separate sealed sacks, which
shall be placed in a chest in the treasury of the Holy Cross. This
chest shall have three locks and three keys, the first of which the patriarch shall keep, the second, the prior of the canons of the Sepulchre of the Lord, and the third shall be in the keeping of the castellan and the four citizens mentioned above, who were appointed to collect the money.

"Those who are in charge of the cities from Haifa to Beirut shall carry the money collected in like manner to the city of Acre. There, under a fixed sum and weight, just as it is brought from each city and stronghold, it shall be handed over to those four in each city who are in charge of collecting the money, and it shall be put into separate sacks inscribed and sealed. These sacks shall be placed in a chest which shall have three locks and three keys, of which the archbishop of Tyre shall have the first, Joscelin, the king’s seneschal, the second, and the citizens named above who are in charge of the matter shall keep the third. Those who have the keys shall receive the above-named money in the presence of the said lords.

"The money thus raised must not be expended on the ordinary affairs of the realm but only for the defense of the land; and, as long as this money shall last, the tax commonly called taille shall cease to be exacted from both churches and citizens.

"This levy shall be made only once and shall not be regarded as a precedent for the future." 48

24. Saladin besieges Aleppo and acquires it under a certain agreement. The prince of Antioch arranges an exchange of Tarsus with Rupen, duke of Armenia.

During this time, Saladin, a man of tireless energy who ever acted the role of a vigorous leader in everything, had seized the land of Syria in Mesopotamia and taken by force cities of great renown. Among others, he invested and captured the famous metropolis of Amida, which, because of its large population, the massive walls which surrounded it, and the very nature of its site, seemed practically

48 This tax, levied to meet a major emergency, did become a model for taxation in the West. It is of interest to note that the assent of the people as well as of the nobles, both secular and ecclesiastical, is specified in the opening of the document. It would have been even more interesting to learn just how the "assent of the people" was voiced. The document represents the most systematic and comprehensive scheme of taxation thus far devised by feudal authorities and as such impressed both Henry II and Philip II as a model for the "Saladin tithe" and later taxation. It is highly probable that William himself drafted this document.
impregnable. After its capture he gave it, according to agreement, to a Turkish noble, Nureddin, son of Carassalem [Kara-Arslan], whose loyal aid had enabled him to prolong his stay in those parts and complete the subjugation of that region.

In the following spring he recalled his forces, placed the entire district under the safekeeping of some of his loyal adherents, and crossing the Euphrates, returned to Coelesyria. Here he stationed his army around Aleppo and used every possible method of harassing the city.

The governor of Aleppo was well aware that his brother, the lord of Mosul, a much stronger and more powerful lord than himself, had not been able to keep this same Saladin out of his domain; in spite of all efforts to the contrary, the great prince had subdued all the provinces beyond the Euphrates river. Fearing that a similar fate might overtake himself, he secretly sent envoys to the prince without the knowledge of the people of Aleppo, to treat for terms of peace. If Saladin would restore Semar to him and certain other fortresses whose names I do not recall, he in return would surrender Aleppo.

Saladin received the embassy with great joy; from the very beginning of his rule his most earnest desire had been, by some means or other, to obtain Aleppo, which he regarded as the bulwark of the whole kingdom. He therefore graciously agreed to accept the terms, handed over the above-named city with its neighboring fortresses, and on the Nones of June received Aleppo.49

Redoubled fear took hold of our people on hearing this news, for the result most dreaded by them had come to pass. From the first it had been apparent to the Christians that if Saladin should succeed in adding Aleppo to his principality our territory would be as completely encompassed by his power and strength as if it were in a state of siege. They accordingly tried to strengthen the fortifications of their cities and towns in every possible way, especially those places that were situated near the enemy’s borders. Above all, they increased the defenses of Beirut, which seemed to be particularly weak.

The prince of Antioch was greatly alarmed at the proximity of so powerful an enemy. Realizing that a most redoubtable foe was now opposed to him, he repaired to the king, who was at that time staying at the city of Acre. He took with him only a small escort, that he

49 Beha ed-Din (Saladin, p. 89) dates the siege of Aleppo by Saladin as May 21 to June 11, 1183, and the surrender on that final day.
might not leave the land stripped of defenders, and had as his companion the count of Tripoli. There, in the presence of the princes of the realm, he asked for aid against Saladin and it was decided that his petition be heard according to his desire. Some three hundred knights of the realm of various ranks were granted him in fulfilment of his request. They followed him to Antioch prepared to fight under his command, but in a short time they returned, having taken leave of the prince. He had concluded a temporary truce with Saladin and seemed to feel somewhat assured of tranquillity. That he might have less anxiety and be able to watch more carefully over the land of Antioch, he had, in exchange for a large sum of money, transferred the city of Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, which he had received from the Greeks, to Rupen, a powerful Armenian satrap who possessed the other cities of that land. He showed much wisdom in doing this. Tarsus was far distant, separated from Antioch by the lands of Rupen; it was therefore very difficult and costly for the prince to care for it—a matter which was quite easy for Rupen.

After Saladin had arranged all matters in that locality to his satisfaction, he left for Damascus with his legions. This movement caused even greater fear to our people, especially because it was impossible to obtain any definite information through scouts as to his actual intention. Some thought that after summoning the naval forces he would endeavor to besiege the city of Beirut, as he had done the year before; others, that he meant to attack Toron and Chastel Neuf, two strongholds in the mountains above Tyre; still others believed that he proposed to devastate the lands beyond the Jordan, namely Syria Sobal, and to destroy the fortified places in that vicinity. There were even some who tried to assert that Saladin, wearied with long-continued campaigns in far distant lands, now that there was an interval of peace planned to go down into Egypt to rehabilitate his weakened army and collect the necessary funds for future campaigns.

These various conjectures, all so ambiguous, kept the king and the barons in a perpetual state of anxiety and suspense. Finally, all the available forces of the realm were concentrated at the fountain of Sephorie, where the armies from early times had been accustomed to assemble, and there the outcome of events was awaited. Messages were sent to the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli, who after urgent entreaty added their strength and counsel to the rest. In this
manner they waited, expecting from day to day that Saladin would suddenly invade some part of the kingdom with unusually strong forces.

25. *The king is stricken with serious illness at Nazareth. Guy de Lusignan, count of Jaffa, is made regent of the realm.*

While the army was waiting in this state of suspense at the fountain of Sephorie, the king was suffering from a severe attack of fever at Nazareth. In addition, the leprosy which had begun to trouble him at the beginning of his reign—in fact, in very early youth—became much worse than usual. His sight failed and his extremities became completely deadened so that his hands and feet refused to perform their office. Yet up to this time he had declined to heed the suggestion offered by some that he lay aside his kingly dignity and give up the administration of the realm, so that, with a suitable provision for his needs from the royal revenues, he could lead a tranquil life in retirement.

Although physically weak and impotent, yet mentally he was vigorous, and, far beyond his strength, he strove to hide his illness and to support the cares of the kingdom. When he was attacked by the fever, however, he lost hope of life. He summoned his nobles before him and, in the presence of his mother and the patriarch, he appointed as regent of the realm Guy de Lusignan, count of Jaffa and Ascalon, his sister’s husband, who has been so often mentioned in the preceding pages. He retained the royal dignity, however, and kept for his own use only the city of Jerusalem, with an annual revenue of ten thousand gold pieces.

To Guy he committed the general administration of all the rest of the kingdom without restrictions and commanded his faithful subjects and all the barons generally that they acknowledge themselves vassals of Guy and swear fealty to him. This was done. First, however, at Baldwin’s command Guy is said to have sworn that, as long as the king lived, he would not aspire to the crown and would not transfer to others or alienate from the treasury any of the cities and castles at that time in the possession of the king. It is believed that this was enjoined upon Guy with the most careful forethought and purpose and that he was obliged to bind himself by an oath in the presence of all the barons that he would faithfully observe that stipulation. For he had promised almost all the most important lords of
the realm individually no slight portions of the kingdom in order to secure their votes and interest in obtaining his end. It was even rumored that he had taken a similar oath to these lords that he would carry out his promises. This can not be stated as a fact, for we have no definite information on the matter, but constant rumors to this effect were in circulation among the people.\textsuperscript{50}

There were those who were displeased at this change; some were inclined to object to it because of their own personal interests and private reasons; others pleaded the public welfare and, apprehensive about the condition of the realm, declared openly that the count was not equal to the burden of so great responsibility and was not competent to administer the affairs of the realm. Others, however, who hoped that Guy's promotion might improve their own condition, maintained that it was well done. Among the people there was much murmuring and diversity of opinion for, as says the proverb, "so many men, so many minds."\textsuperscript{51}

The count did not long rejoice, however, in this eagerly desired charge which was now committed to him according to his wish and in which he at first rather indiscreetly gloried.

We have said that he took this responsibility upon himself unadvisedly, for this reason: he did not sufficiently consider his strength with reference to the task laid upon him. Unequal to the burden both in force and wisdom, he assumed an insupportable weight. He had not learned the truth of that parable of the evangelist, wherein he advises that "one who intends to build a tower first sit down and count the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it lest he fail and it be said, 'This man began to build, and was not able to finish.'"\textsuperscript{52}

\begin{center}
26. Saladin invades our land with mighty forces and encamps in the neighborhood of Scythopolis. The Christians march out against him.
\end{center}

This, then, was the state of affairs in the kingdom, and meanwhile the greater part of the army was assembled at Sephorie. During this

\textsuperscript{50} William is here describing the methods of party politics in the kingdom at this time. The king's mother, Agnes de Courtenay, and the patriarch are here specified as the leaders of the faction. That it was not William's party is indicated by his reliance upon rumor or report.

\textsuperscript{51} This is one of William's favorite quotations, as it was also of the law schools of the West. It harks back to Terence, but it was so much used that few persons probably knew its origin.

\textsuperscript{52} Adapted from Lu. 14: 28–30.
time Saladin, after much deliberation, had summoned his forces from the lands beyond the Euphrates and with all the cavalry which he could gather from every source entered the frontiers of the realm, followed by his great host armed to the teeth. After traversing the land of Hauran, along the sea of Tiberias, he suddenly appeared with his legions in several divisions at a place called Cavan in the plain of the Jordan. From there, following the course of the river, he proceeded toward Scythopolis. As has often been mentioned, this place, now called Bethsan, was once the capital of all Galilee. Many evidences of its former greatness are still to be seen in the ruins of the ancient buildings and in the quantity of marble which exists among them. It is now reduced to almost nothing, with only a few scattered inhabitants, only a sparsely settled hamlet situated in a marshy place.

Although the people dwelling there were well supplied with arms and food in proportion to their number and the size of the place, yet they felt no confidence in the defenses of their citadel. Before the hostile army arrived, therefore, they abandoned the fortress, leaving all their possessions behind, and repaired to Tiberias. So, on arriving at Scythopolis, the enemy found it deserted and were able to work their will upon it. Accordingly they bore off with them all the arms and food and everything that was of use in the place. From Scythopolis they set out in separate detachments. One of these, because of the convenient water supply, encamped by a spring called Tubania, which rises at the foot of Mt. Galboa, in the vicinity of a once famous city, formerly known as Jezrael but now commonly called Little Gerin.

The Christians were still encamped near the fountain of Sephorie, so often mentioned in this history, anxiously waiting to learn from what direction the hostile forces would invade our land. When they found that the Turks were already in possession of the plains of Bethsan and that their legions in many divisions had now invaded that country, they seized arms with one accord. Following the Life-giving Cross and the royal standards, they crossed the mountains where lies Nazareth, the city of Our Lord, and went down into the great plain, the ancient name of which was Esdrelon. Thence, with troops arranged in battle formation, fittingly disposed according to the rules of military science, they directed their course toward the springs of Tubania, where Saladin with a strong force of picked
knights distinguished for their prowess had established himself near
the waters.

The intention of the Christians had been to drive out the foe and
obtain the advantage of the water for their own use. On reaching
there, however, they felt that it would be impossible to seize the
place without great difficulty and hazardous combats with the enemy.
But, suddenly, Saladin broke camp and most unexpectedly abandoned
the springs. Following the course of the stream, he again encamped
lower down opposite Bethsan, about a mile distant from us. Then, be-
fore the Christians could reach the place, the infidels, breaking off
from the main army into small bands, began to scour and ravage the
surrounding country in enemy fashion. One of these bands had at-
tacked Little Gerin, the village named above, and utterly destroyed
everything it contained. Few or none of the inhabitants were found
there, however; forewarned of the enemy’s coming, they had fled to
places more strongly fortified.

Other bands reached a place generally known as Forbelet; this
they took by force and in enemy fashion worked havoc with every-
thing in sight. Others followed the highways, where their presence
was attended with great peril to both knights and foot soldiers, so
that those who were hastening from various directions to join our
army arrived there at the peril of their lives. Some of these same
enemies even climbed Mt. Tabor, a feat hitherto unknown. There
they treated the Greek monastery of St. Elias according to their own
good pleasure and even tried to break by force into the greater cloister
itself. But the monks with all their household and the people from
the villages near by retired within the monastery, which was de-
fended by a wall with towers. Here they made a valiant defense and
routed from all parts of the encircling ramparts the foe who had
scaled the mountain.

Nothing daunted, however, some of these same bands climbed the
height beyond which Nazareth lies, where from the hills towering
above they could look down upon the whole city. Their appearance
caused great terror to the women and children who, together with the
aged men and the sick, had been left there, and it is said that many,
while struggling to flee for refuge to the greater church, were suf-
focated in the crowd. The majority of the citizens able to bear arms
were either following the campaign with the general expedition or
had departed with their households to the cities on the coast, especially to Acre.

27. *A terrible famine breaks out in the army. Both the Christians and the Turks finally depart without having engaged in battle.*

These detached bands from the army of Saladin, ranging far and wide over the whole district, caused serious danger to those who wished to reach our army. Through fear of them, no one dared approach the Christian camp either to trade or to bring assistance. As a result, famine soon broke out in the ranks. For in order to march without encumbrance against the foe, they had proceeded thither without baggage or impedimenta, hoping that the matter would be settled within two, or at the most three, days. The people on foot suffered the greatest distress, especially those from the coast who had been called at a moment's notice—namely the Pisans, Genoese, Venetians, and Longobards. These had left their ships and their preparations for sailing (it was already about the middle of October and the time of crossing was at hand) and, together with the pilgrims whom they had contracted to take back, had joined our forces. They had brought no food whatsoever and were scarcely able to carry their arms, for the camp was about twenty miles from the sea. Messengers were therefore dispatched to the neighboring cities to request those in charge to send provisions speedily. The royal orders were at once zealously and carefully obeyed, and all the food that could be collected was sent to the camp without delay. The greater part of these stores reached their destination safely and afforded a sufficient supply for the temporary emergency. One party, however, carrying a large amount of provisions, through lack of proper precaution, fell into the enemy's hands, for the Turks were also in great need. Some of our knights had been sent out to act as escort to protect the parties who were bringing supplies. Those whom they met they conducted safely to the camp, but those who had no such assistance, falling in with hostile rangers, either fell by the sword or were forced to serve the enemy ever after.

At that time, if our sins had suffered the Lord to be propitious toward us, the power of the Turks might easily have been turned to their own destruction and their intolerable arrogance have been made
a mockery. For nowhere is it recorded that such large forces of both cavalry and infantry were ever assembled from all parts of the East; nor do aged men remember that forces so well equipped were ever united into one body from a single kingdom. The Christians had cavalry to the number of thirteen hundred, and their force of well-equipped foot soldiers was said to exceed fifteen thousand. Moreover, the army was commanded by great and brilliant leaders, men of illustrious race, distinguished for prowess in battle: Raymond, count of Tripoli; Henry, duke of Louvain, a leader of high rank from the kingdom of the Teutons; and Ralph de Mauleon, a warrior of great renown from Aquitaine. In addition, there were the following barons of the realm: Guy, count of Jaffa; Renaud de Châtillon, lord of a domain beyond the Jordan, who had formerly been prince of Antioch; Baldwin of Ramlah and Balian of Nablus, his brother; Renaud of Sidon; Walter of Caesarea; Joscelin, seneschal of the king. In view of these facts, it seemed highly probable that our enemies had been very imprudent in crossing the Jordan and occupying our lands. In punishment for our sins, however, contention arose among the nobles, as the result of which matters of state which required the utmost care are said to have been carelessly and even wickedly handled. Those who, it seemed, would have been best able to handle the critical situation [refused to act], it is said, through hatred of the count of Jaffa, to whom, two days before, the king had entrusted the welfare of the kingdom. For they took it ill that at so critical and dangerous a time matters of the highest importance had been placed in the hands of an obscure man, wholly incapable and indiscreet. As a result they too patiently, or rather, disgracefully, allowed the enemy to remain for eight successive days encamped in the vicinity of our army hardly more than a mile away—a thing which, it is said, had never happened before in the kingdom. During this time the Turks ravaged the entire region with impunity.

Plain people who were with the army and who had no part in the wickedness of the Christian leaders wondered why it was that when such an opportunity offered no engagement with the enemy occurred, nor was anything done about a fight. When the matter was openly

53 There is an omission in the text at this point, the probable tenor of which is suggested within the brackets. It must be noted that William is here criticizing his own friends. Apparently he considers the needs of the nation as transcending the interest of faction, even his own.
discussed, however, the excuse offered for the delay was that Saladin, the commander of the infidel forces, was intrenched in a position surrounded by rocks and that it would be impossible for our troops to approach him without great danger. Moreover, he was said to have placed strong bodies of troops in a circle round about who had orders to fall upon our forces from every direction if we should attempt to engage his army.

Some said that this was, in fact, the truth and maintained that the leaders were justified in their position. Others, on the contrary, asserted that it was only an excuse, a trick deliberately invented to avoid battle, lest, if success should attend our arms, it might be ascribed to the count under whose leadership it would have been fought to a successful outcome.

We have stated these reasons as the varying sentiments of many people, but we assert nothing positively, for we have not fully ascertained the truth of the matter. It is a fact, however, that for seven or eight successive days the enemy remained without opposition in our territory in the vicinity of the Jordan and daily, with impunity, wrought much evil upon our army.

At length, on the eighth, or rather on the ninth, day Saladin recalled his forces and retired unharmed to his own land. The Christians, not as yet wholly convinced that he would not return, went back to the fountain of Sephorie.

A certain event worthy of record happened during the time when our army was waiting at the spring of Tubania. Up to that time it was thought that this spring and the streams flowing from it contained few or no fish, but during the Christians' sojourn there it is said to have furnished a supply sufficient for the whole army.

28. Saladin lays siege to the city of Petra beyond the Jordan and takes it by force.

Matters turned out very much as the Christians had anticipated. Scarcely a month had rolled by when Saladin, having recruited his forces, again prepared for war. Again he summoned his cohorts and mustered his legions, had his engines moved, and made ready with utmost care all the usual apparatus employed in siege operations. After all these preparations had been duly made, he marched through Basan and Gilead, traversed the land of the Ammonites and Moabites
beyond the Jordan, and prepared to lay siege to the city formerly called Petra of the Desert, but now known as Kerak.

As soon as he learned this through scouts, Renaud de Châtillon, who was in charge of these regions as belonging to the heritage of his wife, proceeded rapidly thither with a body of cavalry which seemed large enough to assure the protection of the place.

He had other interests also at Kerak. Humphrey III, son of Humphrey II, grandson through his father of the elder Humphrey of Toron, the king’s constable, and stepson of that Renaud of whom we are speaking, was at this time about to marry the king’s younger sister, to whom he had been betrothed almost four years previously.

Soon after Renaud’s arrival at Kerak, when the nuptial celebration was barely over—in fact, on that very day, it is said—Saladin appeared before the place. He had with him a vast army and all the paraphernalia of machines and hurling engines which are commonly used in harassing a city under siege. The camp was immediately placed in a circle around the fortress, and the siege began.

Here, upon a very high mountain surrounded by deep valleys, the city of Petra had once been located. For a long time, however, it had lain in ruins, utterly desolate. Finally, during the reign of Fulk, the third king of the Latins in the Orient, one Paganus, surnamed the butler, lord of a domain lying beyond the Jordan, built a citadel on this site. It was placed upon the same mountain where the city had once lain, but on a less precipitous slope which ran down to the plain below. The successors of Paganus, namely Maurice, his nephew, and Philip of Nablus, had added a moat and towers to render the place still more unassailable. Clustering on the outskirts of this fortress, on the site of the earlier city, was now a village whose inhabitants had placed their homes there as a comparatively safe location. East of them lay the fortress, the best of protection, while on the other sides rose the mountain itself, encompassed, as has been said, by deep valleys. Thus, if the village had even a moderately low wall, the inhabitants need not fear any hostile attack. At two points only was there any possibility of reaching the top of the mountain, and these could be easily defended by a few men even against large hostile forces. The other sides were supposed to be impregnable.

When Prince Renaud perceived that the enemy had arrived, he proposed rashly enough, as it seemed to those experienced in matters
of this kind, to try to defend the outer place and the village next to the citadel.\textsuperscript{54} He therefore forbade the people who wished to carry their goods into the fortress and to provide for their own safety there to forsake their homes or presume to move any of their least possessions.

Meanwhile the knights and the infantry detachments were vigorously engaged in trying to block the enemy's path up the mountain, but the multitude of the foe proved too much for them. Those who were trying to obstruct the passage were put to flight; Saladin's forces gained possession of the mountain and opened a path by the sword. Thus the enemy nearly succeeded in forcing their way into the citadel at the same time that the Christians were trying to retreat thither. Had it not been for the remarkable firmness of one knight, named Iven, those Turks who were already close to the fortress would without difficulty have forced a free entrance for their comrades over the bridge and through the gate next to it.

So through the rash tactics of their lord, the wretched citizens suffered the loss of their goods. All their household possessions, all their furniture and utensils of every description, were seized by the enemy. As an addition to their troubles, those who had fled to the citadel in dread of Saladin's onslaughts, had rashly and inconsiderately thrown down the bridge. Since this afforded the only passage across the moat, the one way by which those inside the citadel could come or go was destroyed.

Great crowds of helpless people of every description and of both sexes filled the castle within, a burden rather than a help to the besieged. There were many actors and performers on the flute and psaltery and other people who had flocked thither from all over the country for the festivities attending the wedding. The anticipations of all these were sadly thwarted, for where they had expected to find gains and wedding jollity they encountered martial combats and war-like doings, far different from the pursuits to which they were accustomed.

Moreover, many Syrians with their wives and children had come in from the surrounding country. The place was filled with them so

\textsuperscript{54} Here again William criticizes military strategy, this time of Renaud de Châtillon, who had been the real commander in the victory of Baldwin IV over Saladin in 1177. This may reflect partisan opinion, for William's information doubtless came from nobles who were almost as much opposed to Renaud as to Guy.
that those who wished to pass back and forth could not do so freely on account of the dense crowds. Thus these too became a hindrance and an obstruction to the more active men and to those who were trying to defend the place. The fortress was well stocked with provisions, although the supply of weapons was not as large as seemed necessary for the defense of the place.

29. King Baldwin removes the count of Jaffa as general administrator of the realm. He crowns his nephew with the royal diadem.

Meanwhile the king realized that in the conduct of affairs at the springs of Tubania, as described above, the count of Jaffa, to whom, as we have said, he had committed the government of the realm, had shown himself far from wise or valiant. Through his imprudence and general inefficiency, the condition of the kingdom had fallen into an evil state. By the advice of wiser counsellors, therefore, Baldwin took back into his own hands the charge of affairs which he had entrusted to the count of Jaffa. Other causes also are said to have been responsible for this action. The fact has already been mentioned that when the king conferred the responsibility of the realm upon Guy, he had retained for his own expenses the city of Jerusalem with a revenue of ten thousand gold pieces, payable annually. Later, he repented of this action and desired to exchange Jerusalem for Tyre on the same terms, because the latter was the best-fortified city in the entire kingdom and seemed better adapted to his needs. Since the count appeared unwilling to entertain this request, the king is said to have experienced an entire change of sentiment.

It was indeed just that one who was reluctant to show himself generous in a small matter toward the man who had given him everything should be deprived of the supreme control of affairs. Not only was the charge of the realm and the honor of administering it taken from him, but he was entirely cut off from all hope of succession. By the unanimous advice of the barons, especially of Bohemond, prince of Antioch, Raymond, count of Tripoli, Renaud of Sidon, Baldwin of Ramlah and Balian, his brother, and at the suggestion and urgent advice of the king’s mother, Baldwin, a young child scarcely five years old, received the royal unction and was solemnly crowned in the church of the Resurrection of the Lord. This act was ratified by
the entire people and agreed to by the clergy present. The count of Jaffa was also present but did not dare to speak against it.

Immediately, without delay, all the barons swore allegiance to the boy under the customary formula and rendered him in the fullest measure the honor and deference due to royal majesty. The count of Jaffa alone was not asked to do him homage. This fact seemed to those of long experience, as doubtless it was, convincing proof of a deep-seated animosity—or, rather, plain hatred. This will be more clearly shown later.

The opinions of wise men over this great change were many and varied. Some said that the elevation of this boy could be of no benefit to the realm or advantage to public affairs; for, since both kings were hampered, one by disease and the other by youth, it was wholly useless. Far better would it be if, following the general advice of the more important men of the kingdom, the care of the royal business and the charge of affairs of state were committed to someone strong in war and wise in counsel. Others felt that even if the action taken in respect to the boy be judged of little utility, yet it might prove advantageous to the state in one respect, namely that it removed from the count all hope of succession to the crown. Since he was, according to all report, entirely incompetent and yet filled with intense longing to rule, he might become the source of disputes in the future and the incentive toward dangerous sedition which was to be feared after the death of the king. This it was hoped would now be completely eliminated.

Yet in the hearts of all there was but one thought and one desire: it was that a regent might be appointed to administer the business of the state and especially to lead the armies against the enemy who was even now threatening us more violently than ever. The sentiment was practically unanimous that the count of Tripoli, and he alone, would be capable of undertaking this duty successfully. This happened in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1183, of the first Indiction, on November 20.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ William's own hopes and wishes must have inclined him to regard the choice of Raymond of Tripoli as "practically unanimous." Raymond's chief opponents were probably not present at this meeting.
30. The king assembles his forces and hastens across the Jordan to the help of the besieged. Saladin raises the blockade.

While these events were taking place at Jerusalem, Saladin was harassing the besieged city with unremitting diligence and violence. His importunate perseverance denied all chance of rest to those shut up within the place. He had caused eight machines to be erected, six within, where the ancient city had stood, and two outside, in that place which is commonly known as Obelet. The attack was carried on indefatigably by night as well as by day, and stones of such great size were hurled that no one inside the walls dared raise a hand or look out of the openings or try any method of resistance. Terror and desperation had now taken such hold of the wretched citizens that they did not venture to show themselves even when the enemy slid down by ropes and killed with impunity the animals which the refugees had brought inside the moat around the citadel. Without encountering the least opposition or peril, the Turks cut up the carcasses into joints and drew the pieces up to be used as food for themselves.

Those who acted as cooks and bakers in the enemy's army and those who provided the market with all sorts of commodities placed their workshops in the homes of the citizens and there freely carried on their work amid conveniences of all kinds. These homes were well stocked with grain, barley, wine, and oil, all of which the enemy took by force in spite of the owners and used as they would.

At one time those besieged in the fortress tried to set up a machine of their own. The enemy in charge of the engines outside, however, aimed the stone missiles with such skill that the Christians, appalled by the constant blows and the fear of death which every stone seemed to threaten, abandoned the attempt. They judged it wiser to endure with patience whatever fate sent rather than to expose themselves to death by attempting any kind of defense.

These dangers, which caused men to shake with terror, assailed not only those who crept forth from their hiding places to hurl weapons or stone missiles from the ramparts or to gaze down upon the besieging forces. Even those who had fled to the innermost apartments, the most retired seclusion, shrank with terror before the crash and roar of the oncoming missiles. It seemed to them like thunder and,
ever in suspense lest the building be shattered and fall upon them, they momentarily awaited the stroke of the bolt.

During this time the king was earnestly endeavoring to procure help for them in whatever way he could and to send the desired relief as soon as possible. Summoning the strength of the realm from every source, he took the Life-giving Cross and marched thither himself. On reaching the sea of Salt which is now called the lake of Asphalt, after mature deliberation he made the count of Tripoli the leader and commander of the whole army.

But Saladin, on learning through his scouts that the Christian army was close at hand and that the count of Tripoli was in command of the legions, abandoned his engines and ordered his men to retreat. Thus, after molesting the city for an entire month in this way, he raised the siege and returned to his own land.56

The king, nonetheless, continued his march to Kerak where his arrival brought the longed-for relief to the people of that place. Then, sounding the call for departure, he reassembled his troops and returned in safety to Jerusalem.

56 His departure is dated December 12, 1183 (see R. Röhrich, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291, p. 409).

HERE ENDS THE TWENTY-SECOND BOOK
HERE BEGINS THE TWENTY-THIRD BOOK

COULD JERUSALEM BE SAVED BY
RAYMOND OF TRIPOLI?

Preface

Weared by the sad disasters which are occurring in the kingdom so frequently—indeed, almost continually—we had resolved to abandon the pen and commit to the silence of the tomb the chronicle of events which we had undertaken to write for posterity. For there is no one who is not reluctant to recount the failings of his country and to bring forth into the light the faults of his own people. It has come to be almost habitual among men, and indeed is regarded as natural, that each one should strive with all his might to extol his own land and not disparage the good fame of his fellow countrymen.

But now every source of glorious renown is taken from us, and the only subjects that present themselves are the disasters of a sorrowing country and its manifold misfortunes, themes which can serve only to draw forth lamentations and tears.

Up to the present time, in the preceding books, we have described to the best of our ability the remarkable deeds of the brave men who for eighty years and more have held the ruling power in our part of the Orient, and particularly at Jerusalem.\(^1\) Now, in utter detestation of the present, amazed at the material which is presented before our eyes and ears, things unfit to be told even in the songs of a Codrus\(^2\) or the recitals of a Maevius,\(^3\) whatever they may be, we lack courage to continue. In the acts of our princes there is nothing which seems to a wise man worthy of being committed to the treasure house of the memory, nothing which can contribute refreshment to the

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\(^1\) The state of mind revealed by these opening remarks was probably upon him in 1182, when the repeated successes of Saladin, culminating in the crowning insult of his departure to the north without troubling to make a truce, must have been very discouraging. The hostile court party was still in control, and doubtless William blamed its incompetence for Saladin's success. Perhaps the fact that he was recording the beginning of this series of blunders—namely, the marriage of Sibylla to Guy—about this time (late 1182) accentuated his feelings.

\(^2\) The allusion is to Virgil *Eccl. vii. 22.*

\(^3\) Another allusion to Virgil *Eccl. iii. 90.*
reader or confer honor upon the writer. Truly, we can lament with
the prophet that there has perished from our midst “law from the
priest, counsel from the wise, and the word from the prophet.”
Among us it has come to pass that “like people, like priest”; and to
us also can truly be applied that prophecy which says, “The whole
head is sick and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even
unto the head there is no soundness in it.” For we have now reached a
point where, “We can endure neither our evils nor their remedy.”
Wherefore, in punishment for our sins, the enemy has become stronger
than ourselves, and we who used to triumph over our foes and custom-
arily bore away the glorious palm of victory, now, deprived of divine
favor, retire from the field in ignominious defeat after nearly every
conflict.

It is therefore time to hold our peace; for it seems more fitting to
draw the shades of night over our failures than to turn the light of
the sun upon our disgrace. There are some, however, who desire us
to continue the task once undertaken, who earnestly entreat that every
phase of the kingdom of Jerusalem, adverse as well as prosperous, be
recorded in this work for posterity. For our encouragement, they cite
the example of most distinguished historians, namely Titus Livius,
who recorded in his history not only the successes of the Romans,
but also their reverses, and Josephus, who made known in his com-
prehensive works not only the brilliant deeds of the Jews, but also
those shameful things which were done to them.

In their efforts to persuade us to continue this work, they offer
many other examples also. We are the more readily influenced to ac-
quiesce in this request, since it is indeed evident that chroniclers of
past events have recorded without partiality adverse as well as aus-
puspicious happenings. For, by narrating successful achievements, they
hope to inspire posterity with courage, while by furnishing examples
of misfortunes patiently endured they may render later generations
more cautious under similar conditions.

The writer of annals, by virtue of his office, must commit to letters
not such events as he himself might desire, but such as the times
afford. The outcome of worldly affairs, especially of wars, is ever

4 Je. 18:18. 5 Ho. 4:9. This is another favorite quotation.
6 Is. 1:5-6. 7 Livy, Preface.
8 This would seem to indicate his familiarity with the other works of Josephus as
well as the Antiquities, which he so frequently cites.
variable and uncertain; prosperity is never continuous, nor is adversity wholly without brighter intervals.

Accordingly we have given way and, abandoning our previous determination, by the help of God while life remains we shall continue to record with the utmost care, as we have done in the past, whatever events the future brings forth. God grant that these may be happy and prosperous.

1. *The long prevailing enmity between the king and the count of Jaffa breaks out into furious strife. No hope of reconciliation seems possible. The count of Tripoli becomes regent of the kingdom and guardian of the king.*

Meanwhile the hatred between the king and the count of Jaffa, nourished by secret causes, continued to grow stronger day by day. Rancor, up to this time restrained, had now burst forth so violently that the king seemed openly to be seeking reasons for separating his sister from her husband and annulling the marriage. In pursuance of this intention, Baldwin went without disguise to the patriarch and demanded that, as he intended to make complaint against the marriage, a day be set when the annulment might be solemnly pronounced in the presence of the patriarch.

On his return from the campaign the count was informed of the entire proceeding. He immediately left the army and set out for Ascalon by the shortest way to warn his wife, who was in Jerusalem at the time, to leave that city for Ascalon before the king arrived, for he feared that if Baldwin should have her in his power he would not permit her to return to her husband.

The king then sent a messenger to summon the count to appear and to inform him of the reason for the summons. Guy resisted, however, and excused his nonappearance by pleading illness. When, after

9 *Vita comite.* This phrase occurs both here and in the Prologue and suggests that the two were written about the same time.

10 The ray of hope for the future is doubtless the result of the transfer of the regency from Guy de Lusignan to Raymond of Tripoli.

11 These events must have occurred early in 1184. The evidence of the king's wrath was clear enough in the meeting of November 20, 1183. The campaign for the relief of Kerak probably distracted the king's attention for nearly a month. He could scarcely have resumed his antagonism toward Guy before the end of December. Thereafter, the series of events here recounted rolled on in continuous succession to the council of Acre.
repeated summonses, Guy still neglected to obey, the king resolved to
go to him in person and solemnly deliver the call to justice by word
of mouth. On his arrival at Ascalon, attended by some of the nobles
of his court, Baldwin found the gates of the city closed. He beat upon
them with his hand and three times demanded that they be opened to
him. Since no one offered to obey his command, he retired in just
indignation. This took place in full view of all the people of the city,
who, on learning of the king's arrival, had established themselves in
the towers and on the walls to await the result of the matter.

From Ascalon he proceeded directly to Jaffa. He was met on the
way by many citizens of that place, the most important men of both
classes. The city gates were opened to him, and he entered without
difficulty. After placing a governor there to take charge of affairs, he
went on to Acre, where he proclaimed a general council in that same
city. When, on the appointed day, all the barons of the realm had
assembled, the patriarch, with the support and cooperation of the two
masters, namely of the Temple and the Hospital, addressed the lord
king and on bended knees began to intercede for the count. He made
an earnest plea that Baldwin should lay aside his resentment and
restore Guy to favor. When the petition was not immediately heard,
the patriarch and his supporters withdrew in great indignation and
left not only the court but the city as well.

A proposal had been made before the assembled barons that envoys
be sent to the kings and other princes beyond the mountains to invite
them to come to the help of the realm and of Christianity itself. This
matter should have been taken up first, but the patriarch, as has been
said, interrupted the proceedings and, forestalling the principal sub-
ject, entered upon the speech mentioned above. Then, carried away
by passion, he left Acre, as has been described.\footnote{William is obviously not in sympathy with this conduct of Heraclius. This is one of the few instances in which William clearly indicates his attitude toward his successful rival for the patriarchate.}

When the count of Jaffa learned that the king would not con-
descend to make peace with him, he aggravated his previous evil
conduct by still more violent deeds. With the forces at his disposal he
directed his course toward the fortress called Daron, where he threw
himself suddenly upon the camp of certain Arabs who had pitched
their tents in those parts for the convenience of the pasturage. The
king had promised them protection and on this they were relying
implicitly, but the count, finding them unprepared to resist, drove off
their cattle and slaves and with this plunder returned to Ascalon.

When the news of this raid reached the king, he again called his
barons together and committed the care and general administration
of the realm to the count of Tripoli, in whose wisdom and magnanim-
ity he had reason to trust. This act seemed to be satisfactory to the
wishes of the whole people and to the majority of the nobles, for it
was plain to all that the only safety lay in placing the affairs of the
kingdom in the hands of the count of Tripoli. ¹³

¹³ When Jubair visited Acre in September, 1184, he was told that the king, whom
he calls “king of Acre,” was kept confined from all gaze because he was suffering from
leprosy. He adds that the “count,” lord of Tripoli and Tiberias, was the most con-
siderable and powerful person among the Franks. “He is worthy of the throne for
which he seems born and has remarkable intelligence and astuteness” (see R.H.C. Or.,

HERE THE BOOK STOPS
BIBLIOGRAPHY
ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used for all but
the first reference in the footnotes of each Book.

H. Chron. H. Hagenmeyer, “Chronologie de la première croisade,
(1094–1100)” and “Chronologie de l’histoire du royaume de
Jérusalem, règne de Baudoin I,” Revue de l’orient latin, Vols. VI–
XII. Though the title of this work changes, the numbering is con-
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