The First Crusade
The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials
SECOND EDITION
Edited by Edward Peters

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Fulcher was born in 1059 and was present at the Council of Clermont in 1095 when Pope Urban preached the Crusade. Fulcher, a cleric, left Europe with the army of Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, and Robert of Flanders, accompanying it probably as far as Edessa, where he joined Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon. In 1099, after the capture of Jerusalem, Fulcher visited the city and returned to Edessa, where he remained until Baldwin became King of Jerusalem in 1100. Fulcher remained Baldwin’s chaplain until the king died in 1118, when Fulcher may have become Prior of the Mount of Olives. Fulcher’s chronicle was probably begun in 1101, and the entire three books were not completed until 1127 or 1128. Fulcher’s presence throughout most of the expedition, his close connection with the princes of northern France and later with Baldwin, and his ability to organize a maze of complex experiences and motives, make his chronicle perhaps the most reliable of all sources for the history of the First Crusade. The translation and notes printed here are those of Martha E. McGinty (originally published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 1941). A valuable translation of Fulcher’s entire chronicle is that of Frances Rita Ryan, S.S.J., Fulcher of Chartres, A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127, ed. with an introduction by Harold S. Fink (Knoxville, Tenn., 1969). The best individual study of Fulcher is Dana C. Munro, “A Crusader,” Speculum 7 (1932), 321–335.

Deeds of the Franks on Their Pilgrimage to Jerusalem

The Prologue of the Following Work of Fulcher the Cleric

It is especially pleasing to the living, and it is even beneficial to the dead, when the deeds of brave men (particularly of those serving as soldiers...
of God) are either read from writings or soberly recounted from memory among the faithful. For, after hearing of the deeds of faithful predecessors who rejected the beauties and pleasures of the world and clung to God, and in accordance with the precept of the Gospel, left their parents and wives and possessions, however great, to follow Him, those here on earth are inspired to serve Him more eagerly in that same spirit. It is beneficial to the dead, especially to those dead in the Lord, when the living, upon hearing of their good and devoted works, bless their faithful souls, and out of love bestow alms with prayers on their behalf whether they were known to them, or not.

2. Therefore, induced by the promptings of certain of my companions on several occasions, I carefully arranged the deeds, most distinguished in the Lord, of the armies of the Franks who, by God's ordination, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. I have recorded in my unpolished style, as truthfully as possible, what is worth remembering and what I saw with my own eyes on that journey.

3. Although I do not dare to compare this labor with that of the Israelites or Maccabees or any other chosen people whom God has blessed with many and brilliant victories, yet I have taken care to record it, since it is not to be judged greatly inferior, because often, in this labor, too, God's miracles are evident. Indeed, these [Franks] are not unequal to those Israelites or Maccabees. In the very lands [of the Israelites and Maccabees], we ourselves actually saw, or heard, how the Franks were dismembered, crucified, excoriated, shot with arrows, cut to pieces, and consumed by diverse means of martyrdom. Neither could they be overcome by any threats or temptations; nay, rather, if the assassin's sword had been present, many of our people would not have refused to be destroyed out of love for Christ.

4. Oh, how many thousands met a martyr's blessed death on this expedition! Is there anyone with heart so stony who hears of these acts of God and is not moved by bowels of compassion to burst forth in praises to Him? Can there be anyone who does not marvel how we, a few people in the realms of so many of our enemies, could not only remain but could even thrive? Who has ever heard of such things? Here Egypt and Ethiopia, here Arabia and Chaldea and Syria, here Assyria and Medea, here Parthia and Mesopotamia, here Persia and Scythia, here even the great sea shut us off from Christianity; and just as God permitted it, enclosed us in the hands of the butchers. How

1. A family of Jewish patriors, the five sons of Mattathias the Hasmonean, who headed a religious revolt in the reign of Antiochus IV, 175–164 B.C., which led to a period of freedom for Judea. The most important of the five sons was Judas Maccabaeus.
2. Historical and biblical names; not accurate for this medieval period.
3. Psalms 33:12.
ever, out of pity, He protected us in His strong arm. "For blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord!" 3

5. The history which follows will reveal how this work was begun, and how all the people of the West, aroused to perform such a great journey, very willingly extended hand and mind to it.

End of the Prologue

1. The Council of Clermont

1. In the year 1095 from the Lord's Incarnation, with Henry reigning in Germany as so-called emperor, 1 and with Philip as king in France, 2 manifold evils were growing in all parts of Europe because of wavering faith. In Rome ruled Pope Urban II, 3 a man distinguished in life and character, who always strove wisely and actively to raise the status of the Holy Church above all things.

2. He saw that the faith of Christianity was being destroyed to excess by everybody, by the clergy as well as by the laity. He saw that peace was altogether discarded by the princes of the world, who were engaged in incessant warlike contention and quarreling among themselves. He saw the wealth of the land being pillaged continuously. He saw many of the vanquished, wrongfully taken prisoner and very cruelly thrown into foulest dungeons, either ransomed for a high price or, tortured by the triple tortures of hunger, thirst, and cold, blotted out by a death hidden from the world. He saw holy places violated; monasteries and villas burned. He saw that no one was spared of any human suffering, and that things divine and human alike were held in derision.

3. He heard, too, that the interior regions of Romania, where the Turks ruled over the Christians, had been perniciously subjected in a savage attack. 4

3. Psalms 33: 12.

1. Henry IV (1056-1106). Fulcher uses the term "so-called emperor," since Henry was not recognized as rightful emperor by adherents of Gregory VII and Urban II.

2. Philip I (1060-1108). One of the reasons Urban called the Council was to excommunicate Philip for his relationship with Bertrade de Montfort. Because he was excommunicated, Philip could not participate in the Crusade.

3. Urban II, Otho of Lagry, Bishop of Ostia, succeeded to the papal throne in 1088. The papacy was contested by Wibert, the anti-Pope, who had been made Clement III by Henry IV and whose adherents disputed the control of the Holy City.

4. This refers to the Seljuk conquest of Anatolia, probably to Marzinkew, 1071.
Moved by long-suffering compassion and by love of God’s will, he descended the mountains to Gaul, and in Auvergne he called for a council to congregate from all sides at a suitable time at a city called Clermont. Three hundred and ten bishops and abbots, who had been advised beforehand by messengers, were present.

4. Then, on the day set aside for it, he called them together to himself and, in an eloquent address, carefully made the cause of the meeting known to them. In the plaintive voice of an aggrieved Church, he expressed great lamentation, and held a long discourse with them about the raging tempests of the world, which have been mentioned, because faith was undermined.

5. One after another, he beseechingly exhorted them all, with renewed faith, to spur themselves in great earnestness to overcome the Devil’s devices and to try to restore the Holy Church, most unmercifully weakened by the wicked, to its former honorable status.

II. The Decree of Pope Urban in the Council

1. “Most beloved brethren,” he said, “by God’s permission placed over the whole world with the papal crown, I, Urban, as the messenger of divine admonition, have been compelled by an unavoidable occasion to come here to you servants of God. I desired those whom I judged to be stewards of God’s ministries to be true stewards and faithful, with all hypocrisy rejected.2

2. “But with temperance in reason and justice being remote, I, with divine aid, shall strive carefully to root out any crookedness or distortion which might obstruct God’s law. For the Lord appointed you temporarily as stewards over His family to serve it nourishment seasoned with a modest savor. Moreover, blessed will you be if at last the Overseer find you faithful.2

3. “You are also called shepherds; see that you are not occupied after the manner of mercenaries. Be true shepherds, always holding your crooks in your hands; and sleeping not, guard on every side the flock entrusted to you.

4. “For if through your carelessness or negligence, some wolf seizes a sheep, you doubtless will lead first most cruelly beaten by an angry cast into the keepin

5. “Likewise, according to earth.4 But if you fail, it is much saltiness, indeed, is in them with the salt of wisdom, desire after the wantonness of the flesh, rotten with sins and stink with infamy.

6. “For if because of them worms, that is, sin, great saltiness cast into the dunghill. And if a great loss, He will banish his familiarity of His love.

7. “It behooves saltiness, learned, peace-making, true will the unlearned be able to correct your subjects. If you, things which you feel will pass.

8. “Especially establish no simonia will take moneychangers, flayed by the Lord, into the narrow streets of death.

9. “Uphold the Church’s power. See that the tithes of the flock fully to God; let them not be

10. “Let him who has seized or robbed merchants, be excommunicated, and their accomplices, banished.

3. Reference to John 10:12–18.
6. Reference to John 2:15.
sheep, you doubtless will lose the reward prepared for you by our Lord. Nay, first most cruelly beaten by the whips of the lictors, you afterwards will be angrily cast into the keeping of a deadly place.

5. "Likewise, according to the evangelical sermon, you are the 'salt of the earth.' But if you fail, it will be disputed wherewith it was salted. O how much saltiness, indeed, is necessary for you to salt the people in correcting them with the salt of wisdom, people who are ignorant and panting with desire after the wantonness of the world; so that, unsalted, they might not be rotten with sins and stink whenever the Lord might wish to exhort them.

6. "For if because of the sloth of your management, He should find in them worms, that is, sin, straightway, He will order that they, despised, be cast into the dungheap. And because you could not make restoration for such a great loss, He will banish you, utterly condemned in judgment, from the familiarity of His love.

7. "It behooves saltiness of this kind to be wise, provident, temperate, learned, peace-making, truth-seeking, pious, just, equitable, pure. For how will the unlearned be able to make men learned, the intemperate make temperate, the impure make them pure? If one despises peace, how will he appease? Or if one has dirty hands, how will he be able to wipe the filth off another one defiled? For it is read, 'If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into a ditch.'

8. "Set yourselves right before you do others, so that you can blamelessly correct your subjects. If you wish to be friends of God, gladly practise those things which you feel will please Him.

9. "Especially establish ecclesiastical affairs firm in their own right, so that no simoniac heresy will take root among you. Take care lest the vendors and moneychangers, flayed by the scourges of the Lord, be miserably driven out into the narrow streets of destruction.

10. "Uphold the Church in its own ranks altogether free from all secular power. See that the tithes of all those who cultivate the earth are given faithfully to God; let them not be sold or held back.

11. "Let him who has seized a bishop be considered an outlaw. Let him who has seized or robbed monks, clergy, nuns and their servants, pilgrims, or merchants, be excommunicated. Let the robbers and burners of homes and their accomplices, banished from the Church, be smitten with excommunication.

3. Reference to John 10:12-16.
6. Reference to John 2:15.
12. "It must be considered very carefully, as Gregory says, by what penalty he must be punished who seizes other men's property, if he who does not bestow his own liberally is condemned to Hell. For so it happened to the rich man in the well-known Gospel, who on that account was not punished because he had taken away the property of others, but because he had misused that which he had received.

13. "And so by these iniquities, most beloved, you have seen the world disturbed too long; so long, as it was told to us by those reporting, that perhaps because of the weakness of your justice in some parts of your provinces, no one dares to walk in the streets with safety, lest he be kidnapped by robbers by day or thieves by night, either by force or trickery, at home or outside.

14. "Wherefore the Truce, as it is commonly called, now for a long time established by the Holy Fathers, must be renewed. In admonition, I entreat you to adhere to it most firmly in your own bishopric. But if anyone affected by avarice or pride breaks it of his own free will, let him be excommunicated by God's authority and by the sanction of the decrees of this Holy Council."

III. The Pope's Exhortation Concerning the Expedition to Jerusalem

1. These and many other things having been suitably disposed of, all those present, both clergy and people, at the words of Lord Urban, the Pope, voluntarily gave thanks to God and confirmed by a faithful promise that his decrees would be well kept. But straightway he added that another thing not less than the tribulation already spoken of, but even greater and more oppressive, was injuring Christianity in another part of the world, saying:

2. "Now that you, O sons of God, have consecrated yourselves to God to maintain peace among yourselves more vigorously and to uphold the laws of the Church faithfully, there is work to do, for you must turn the strength of your sincerity, now that you are aroused by divine correction, to another affair that concerns you and God. Hastening to the way, you must help your brothers living in the Orient, who need your aid for which they have already cried out many times."

3. "For, as most of you have been told, the Turks, a race of Persians, who have penetrated within the near to that point which more and more of the land and the churches, and have laid waste very long, God's faithful or:

4. "Concerning this affair — exhort you, heralds of Christ and footmen, both rich and poor, to that wicked race from our God, and shining in the name of Christ commands it. Remind if they end a shackled life of struggling against the heathens. I speak to those who go.

6. "O what a shame, if the demons would thus overtake God, and shining in the name of Christ commands it. Remind if they end a shackled life of struggling against the heathens. I speak to those who go.

7. "Let those," he said, "who recently existed as plunderers and footmen, both rich and poor, to that wicked race from our God, and shining in the name of Christ commands it. Remind if they end a shackled life of struggling against the heathens. I speak to those who go.

8. "Let no delay postpone them, for they have collected the money, and when winter has come, crossroads courageously within the

3. Fulcher uses the term Roman occupation of theByzantine Empire, but the state which they founded is called the state which they founded here.
4. Brach de Saint George =
5. See D. C. Munro, "The Special Review 17 (1906), 31-32, for a (1906), 31-32, for a
3. Fulcher uses the term Romania to refer to the Anatolian as well as to the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire, but here, of course, he means the Anatolian. The Seljuks called the state which they founded here Rum.

4. Brache de Saint George = Hellespont = Bosporus.

IV. The Bishop of Puy and the Events After the Council

1. After these words were spoken, the hearers were fervently inspired. Thinking nothing more worthy than such an undertaking, many in the audience solemnly promised to go, and to urge diligently those who were absent. There was among them one Bishop of Puy, Ademar by name, who afterwards, acting as vicar-apostolic, ruled the whole army of God wisely and thoughtfully, and spurred them to complete their undertaking vigorously.

2. So, the things that we have told you were well established and confirmed by everybody in the Council. With the blessing of absolution given, they departed; and after returning to their homes, they disclosed to those not knowing, what had taken place. As it was decreed far and wide throughout the provinces, they established the peace, which they call the Truce, to be upheld mutually by oath.

3. Many, one after another, of any and every occupation, after confession of their sins and with purified spirits, consecrated themselves to go where they were bidden.

4. Oh, how worthy and delightful to all of us who saw those beautiful crosses, either silken or woven of gold, or of any material, which the pilgrims sewed on the shoulders of their woolen cloaks or cassocks by the command of the Pope, after taking the vow to go. To be sure, God's soldiers, who were making themselves ready to battle for His honor, ought to have been marked and fortified with a sign of victory. And so by embroidering the symbol [of the cross] on their clothing in recognition of their faith, in the end they won the True Cross itself. They imprinted the ideal so that they might attain the reality of the ideal.

5. It is plain that good meditation leads to doing good work and that good work wins salvation of the soul. But, if it is good to mean well, it is better, after reflection, to carry out the good intention. So, it is best to win salvation through action worthy of the soul to be saved. Let each and everyone, therefore, reflect upon the good, that he makes better in fulfillment, so that, deserving it, he might finally receive the best, which does not diminish in eternity.

6. In such a manner Urban, a wise man and reverenced,

   Meditated a labor, whereby the world florescenced.

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1. Ademar de Monteil, Bishop of Puy, was the first to take the cross after Urban's crusading message. Having made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1086–1087, he was the only person of any repute and experience to take the cross at this time, and thus Urban appointed him as leader of the expedition, November 27, 1095. He appointed him as his representative December, 1095, when he set August 15, 1096, as the day of departure.

For he renewed peace standards; also he tried with the lands of the Christian in every way, almost every official care.

V. The Dissention

1. But the Devil, who goes about like a lion seeking to destroy the souls of the people, a certain man, Urban's adversary. Recently mentioned emperor of the Bav was Hildebrand, was held the papal office after that same Peter's Church.

2. Because he acted to recognize him. When Urban and cardinals after the death of the people favored obedience.

3. But Wibert, spurred the management of most of the Roman from the monastery of Sain thus separated from the Cler with God those people who.

4. Wibert, puffed up declared to favor sinners, and sympathizers, although unjust.

5. However, in that year through Rome, Urban o

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1. Wibert, Archbishop of R of Gregory VII.

2. Henry IV was called emp parts of Germany had revolted aga

3. Urban did not immedi the short pontificate of Victor III.

4. Hildebrand, Gregory VII, in the struggle with Henry IV that Rome by Henry in 1084, he was f died in Salerno in 1085.
For he renewed peace and restored the laws of the Church to their former standards; also he tried with vigorous instigation to expel the heathen from the lands of the Christians. And since he strove to exalt all things of God in every way, almost everyone gladly surrendered in obedience to his paternal care.

V. The Disension Between Pope Urban and Wibert

1. But the Devil, who always persists in the detriment of man and goes about like a lion seeking to devour him, stirred up, to the confusion of the people, a certain man stimulated by pride, by the name of Wibert, Urban's adversary. Recently supported by the impudence of the aforementioned emperor of the Bavarians, while Urban's predecessor, Gregory, who was Hildebrand, was held on the throne rightly, this man began to usurp the papal office after that same Gregory was excluded from the threshold of Saint Peter's Church.

2. Because he acted thus perversely, the better people did not wish to recognize him. When Urban was lawfully elected and consecrated by bishops and cardinals after the death of Hildebrand, the greater and more pious part of the people favored obedience to him.

3. But Wibert, spurred by the support of the emperor and by the encouragement of most of the Roman citizens, forced Urban to become an exile from the monastery of Saint Peter's as long as he could. While Urban was thus separated from the Church, in going through the provinces, he united with God those people who had wandered somewhat astray.

4. Wibert, puffed up because of his preeminence in the Church, was inclined to favor sinners, and exercising the office of the Apostolate among his sympathizers, although unjustly, he disparaged the acts of Urban as vain.

5. However, in that year when the first Franks going to Jerusalem passed through Rome, Urban obtained the entire papal power with the aid of a cer-

1. Wibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, installed as Clement III, in 1084, by Henry IV in place of Gregory VII.
2. Henry IV was called emperor of the Bavarians, probably because the Saxons and many parts of Germany had revolted against him.
3. Urban did not immediately succeed Gregory. There was an eleven months' vacancy; then the short pontificate of Victor III in 1087; another vacancy of six months; then Urban II in 1088.
4. Hildebrand, Gregory VII, had plans to recapture the Holy Places, but was so involved in the struggle with Henry IV that it was left to Urban to launch the movement. Expelled from Rome by Henry in 1084, he was freed from the Castle of St. Angelo by Robert Guiscard. He died in Salerno in 1085.
continued across the
all night in great fear
here and there.

town, had heard this,
they thought we would
in his castle,
ambush. Because of
they suddenly rushed
aloft, ran before the
the cattle which they
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of us. They left one of
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They. When we passed
to see them advancing
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rejoiced us joyfully, and they

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made war on the Turks
killed many of them. It

Baldwin. I wish now to

was a party to the plot against

\textit{XV. The Arrival of the Franks at Antioch and the Siege of that City}

1. In the month of October, after crossing the river which they call the
Fernus or Orontes, the Franks came to Antioch in Syria, the city which Seleuc
sion, son of Antiochus, founded and made the capital of Syria. It was formerly
called Reblata. Tents were ordered to be pitched within the first milestone be
fore the city, where later fierce encounters were often made by both sides. For
when the Turks darted forth from that city, they killed many of our men. But
retaliation having been made, they mourned for the men they had lost also.

2. Antioch is an extensive city, has a strong wall, and is well situated
for defense. It could never be captured by outside enemies if the inhabitants,
supplied with bread, wished to defend it long enough. In the city there is a
church worthy to be revered, dedicated to the Apostle Peter. Elevated to the
episcopate, he sat on the throne here after he had received dominion of the
Church and the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven from the Lord Jesus.

3. Also there is another church, round in form, built in honor of the
Blessed Mary, and several others fittingly constructed. Although these had
long been under the Turks, yet God, knowing all things beforehand, saved
them intact for us, so that at some time or other He would be magnified by
us in them.

4. The sea is about thirteen miles, I judge, from Antioch. Since the Fer­
nus [Orontes] River happens to flow into the sea, boats loaded with all goods
come from far distant parts almost to Antioch through the channel of this
river. Thus the city, fortified by sea as well as by land, abounds in manifold
riches.

5. When our princes had seen the great difficulty of overcoming it, they
swore mutually by oath to work together in siege until, with God favoring,
they would capture it either by force or by ruse.*

6. They found some boats on the aforementioned river, which they
seized, and out of them fashioned a bridge for themselves. They were able to
cross over this to carry on their work, whereas before they had to wade over
with difficulty.

7. When the Turks saw that they were besieged by such a great Christian

\begin{flushleft}
1. October 20, 1097.
2. Antioch was founded on the Orontes c. 330 B.C. by Seleucus Nicator (312-280 B.C.),
the general of Alexander the Great. The new city was named after Antiochus, Seleucus's father,
who had been an officer of Philip of Macedon.
3. Reblata or Ribleth was confused with Antioch by St. Jerome in his \textit{Onomastikon}, and
Fulcher followed Jerome in this error. Reblata is actually a little south of Homs.
4. Siege of Antioch lasted from October 20, 1097, to June 3, 1098.
\end{flushleft}
multitude, they feared that they could in no way shake them off. After a plan was mutually formed, Aoxian, prince and emir of Antioch, sent his son, Sensadulys by name, to the Sultan, that is, the emperor, of Persia, to get his help most quickly, since they held hope for aid from no other except Mohammed, their advocate. Thus directed, he conducted this legation there very hastily.

Meanwhile, those who remained, awaiting the requested aid, guarded the city, and frequently plotted many kinds of harm to the Franks. Nevertheless the Franks resisted their cunning with all their power.

It happened on a certain day that the Franks killed seven hundred Turks; and the Turks, who set ambushes for the Franks, were overcome by the Franks lying in ambush. The strength of God was present there. All of our men retreated uninjured, with the exception of one whom they wounded.

Alas! how many Christians, Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, who lived in the city, were killed by the maddened Turks. With the Franks looking on, they threw outside the walls the heads of those killed, with their petae and slings. This especially grieved our people. Holding these Christians in hatred, the Turks feared lest by some chance they give the Franks information to their own detriment.

When the Franks had besieged the city for some time, and had pillaged the surrounding region for food necessary for themselves and had devastated it on all sides, bread could be bought nowhere, and they endured excessive hunger. As a result, everybody was especially desolate and many secretly considered withdrawal from the siege in flight, either by land or by sea.

They had no supplies on which they could live. It was with great fear that they sought food far away, in going distances of forty or fifty miles from the siege, that is, in the mountains, where they were often killed by the Turks lying in ambush.

We believed that these misfortunes befell the Franks, and that they were not able for so long a time to take the city because of their sins. Not only dissipation, but also avarice or pride or rapaciousness corrupted them.

After holding council, they drove out the women from the army, both married and unmarried, lest they, stained by the defilement of dissipation, displease the Lord. Those women then found places to live in the neighboring camps.

Both the rich and the poor were desolate from hunger as well as from the daily slaughtering. It seemed as though the Lord would bind His sheep together, would flee, even though there was the lack of bread for many days. Nourishment in the neighboring wards, they entirely deserted.

At that time, we felt a great movement at that time also saw a certain advancing toward the East in

XVI. The Wretched Poverty of

1. In the year of the Lord 1098, the weak were more and more

2. At that time, the famished people, the fields and many kinds of food being not well cooked because

3. They endured winter's

4. So like gold thrice purified, they borrowed the grace of God, I believe, and were cleansed of their sins. For every long agonizing, would have

5. Granting that God—whate
er He wishes, I feel that then after the scourging of the damned, sustains everything regular


7. Sultan of Persia, Bark-yarok (1094–1104), son of Malik Shah.

8. December 30, 1097.
the daily slaughtering. It seemed that unless God, like a Good Shepherd, would bind His sheep together in flocks, then without doubt all of them would flee, even though they had sworn to maintain the siege. Because of the lack of bread for many days, many sought those things necessary for their nourishment in the neighboring castles; and not returning to the army afterwards, they entirely deserted the siege.

16. At that time, we saw an astonishing glow in the sky, and, in addition, we felt a great movement of the earth, which made us all quake. Many at that time also saw a certain sign in the shape of a cross, whitish in color, advancing toward the East in a straight path.

XVI. The Wretched Poverty of the Christians and the Flight of the Count of Blois

1. In the year of the Lord 1098, after the region all around Antioch had been wholly devastated by the multitude of our people, the strong as well as the weak were more and more harassed by famine.

2. At that time, the famished ate the shoots of bean seeds growing in the fields and many kinds of herbs unseasoned with salt; also thistles, which, being not well cooked because of the deficiency of firewood, pricked the tongues of those eating them; also horses, asses, and camels, and dogs and rats. The poorer ones are even the skins of the beasts and seeds of grain found in manure.

3. They endured winter's cold, summer's heat, and heavy rains for God. Their tents became old and torn and rotten from the continuation of rains. Because of this, many of them were covered by only the sky.

4. So like gold thrice proved and purified sevenfold by fire, long predestined by God, I believe, and weighed by such a great calamity, they were cleansed of their sins. For even if the assassin's sword had not failed, many, long agonizing, would have voluntarily completed a martyr's course. Perhaps they borrowed the grace of such a great example from Saint Job, who, purifying his soul by the torments of his body, ever held God fast in mind. Those who fight with the heathen, labor because of God.

5. Granting that God—who creates everything, regulates everything created, sustains everything regulated, and rules by virtue—can destroy or renew whomever He wishes, I feel that He assented to the destruction of the heathen after the scourging of the Christians. He permitted it, and the people deserved it, because so many times they cheaply destroyed all things of God.

8. December 30, 1097.
He permitted the Christians to be killed by the Turks, so that the Christians would have the assurance of salvation; the Turks, the perdition of their souls. It pleased God that certain Turks, already predestined for salvation, were baptized by priests. "For those whom He predestined, He also called and glorified."11

6. So what then? There were some of our men, as you heard before, who left the siege because it brought so much anguish; others, because of poverty; others, because of cowardice; others, because of fear of death; first the poor and then the rich.

7. Stephen, Count of Blois, withdrew from the siege and returned home to France by sea.2 Therefore all of us grieved, since he was a very noble man and valiant in arms. On the day following his departure, the city of Antioch was surrendered to the Franks.3 If he had persisted, he would have rejoiced much in the victory with the rest. This act disgraced him. For a good beginning is not beneficial to anyone unless it be well consummated.4 I shall cut short many things in the Lord's affairs lest I wander from the truth, because lying about them must be especially guarded against.

8. The siege lasted continuously from this same month of October, as it was mentioned, through the following winter and spring until June. The Turks and Franks alternately staged many attacks and counter-attacks; they overcame and were overcome. Our men, however, triumphed more often than theirs. Once it happened that many of the fleeing Turks fell into the Ferinus River, and being submerged in it, they drowned. On the near side of the river, and on the far side, both forces often waged war alternately.

9. Our leaders constructed castles before the city, from which they often rushed forth vigorously to keep the Turks from coming out of the city. By this means, the Franks took the pastures from their animals.5 Nor did they get any help from Armenians outside the city, although these Armenians often did injury to our men.

XVII. The Surrender of the City of Antioch

1. When it pleased God that the labor of His people should be consummated, perhaps pleased by the prayers of those who daily poured out supplications and entreaties through a fraud of the Turks' surrender. Hear, therefore, of what our Lord said to the Christians. The astonishment of the Christians," He said, "for not knowing what to do, he went away, saying that disobey the phantom, do you, Stephen."6

2. Our Lord appeared to the Christians, and said to them: "Arise, thou servant of the Christians," He said, "for thy labor has pleased the Lord of all."7 No longer doubt the truth that by his zealous plotting to deceive, he has betrayed what I ordered thee? Thou art a servant of the Lord of all."8 He finished speaking, to whom he first directed this speech. A certain night, he sent twenty men just made of ropes. Without delay, they prepared, entered the city. Forty ropes, killed sixty Turks four and altogether the Franks shouted a signal cry, when we were about to rise.9

3. After hearing this, all the redness of dawn had paled the city. When the Turks had first the biers with the couching and unfurling, and the great cry, when we were about killing people, and had heard they began to flee here and there, we were able fled into the citadel.10

4. Our rabble wildly seized the redness of dawn pale city. But the proved soldiers of the Turks.

1. Romans 8:30.
2. June 2, 1098.
3. June 3, 1098.
4. Fulcher here ignores Stephen's return in 1101 when he met delayed martyrdom.
5. One of these fortresses was constructed on a bridge over which the Turks were accustomed to lead their animals to pasture.
6. This was Pirus or Firouz who prefer to consider him as an Armenian.
7. According to another account the towers of the city, promising him to let the one who took the city first.
1. This was Pirus or Firouz whom the Christian sources call a Turk, although the Muslims prefer to consider him an Armenian.

2. According to other accounts, Bohemond secretly contrived with Firouz to hand over the towers of the city, promising him rewards. Then Bohemond asked the other Christian leaders to let the one who took the city first be given control over it.

3. Our Lord appeared to a certain Turk, chosen beforehand by His grace, and said to him: "Arise, thou who sleepest! I command thee to return the city to the Christians." The astonished man concealed that vision in silence.

4. However, a second time, the Lord appeared to him: "Return the city to the Christians," He said, "for I am Christ who command this of thee." Meditating what to do, he went away to his ruler, the prince of Antioch, and made that vision known to him. To him the ruler responded: "You do not wish to obey the phantom, do you, stupid?" Returning, he was afterwards silent.

5. The Lord again appeared to him, saying: "Why hast thou not fulfilled what I ordered thee? Thou must not hesitate, for I, who command this, am Lord of all." No longer doubting, he discreetly negotiated with our men, so that by his zealous plotting they might receive the city.

6. He finished speaking, and gave his son as hostage to Lord Bohemond, to whom he first directed that discourse, and whom he first persuaded. On a certain night, he sent twenty of our men over the wall by means of ladders made of ropes. Without delay, the gate was opened. The Franks, already prepared, entered the city. Forty of our soldiers, who had previously entered by ropes, killed sixty Turks found there, guards of the tower. In a loud voice, the Franks shouted: "God wills it! God wills it!" For this was our signal cry, when we were about to press forward on any enterprise.

7. After hearing this, all the Turks were extremely terrified. Then, when the redness of dawn had paled, the Franks began to go forward to attack the city. When the Turks had first seen Bohemond's red banner on high, furling and unfurling, and the great tumult aroused on all sides, and the Franks running far and wide through the streets with their naked swords and wildly killing people, and had heard their horns sounding on the top of the wall, they began to flee here and there, bewildered. From this scene, many who were able fled into the citadel situated on a cliff.

8. Our rabble wildly seized everything that they found in the streets and houses. But the proved soldiers kept to warfare, in following and killing the Turks.

1. This was Pirus or Firouz whom the Christian sources call a Turk, although the Muslims prefer to consider him as an Armenian.

2. According to other accounts, Bohemond secretly contrived with Firouz to hand over the towers of the city, promising him rewards. Then Bohemond asked the other Christian leaders to let the one who took the city first be given control over it.
8. The fleeing emir of Antioch, Aoxian, was beheaded by a certain rustic Armenian.

He, thereupon, brought the severed head to the Franks.

**XVIII. The Finding of the Lance**

1. After the city was taken, it happened that a Lance was found by a certain man. When it was discovered in a pit in the ground of Saint Peter's Church, he asserted confidently that, according to the Scriptures, it was the one with which Longinus pierced Christ in the right side. He said that this had been revealed by Saint Andrew the Apostle.

2. When it had been found, and he himself had told this to the Bishop of Puy and to Count Raymond, the Bishop thought it was false, but the Count hoped it was true.

3. Upon hearing this, all the people, rejoicing, glorified God for it, and for almost a hundred days it was held in great veneration by all, and handled gloriously by Count Raymond, who guarded it. Then it happened that many of the clergy and the people hesitated, thinking it was not the Lord's Lance, but another one deceitfully found by that foolish man.

4. A plan was formed, and a three-day fast was fixed and executed with a supplication in prayer to God. After this, they set fire to a heap of wood in the middle of the plain before the town of Archas. This was in the eighth month after the capture of Antioch. After an invocation asking for judgment was made over the fire by priests, the finder of the Lance spontaneously crossed quickly through the middle of the blazing pyre, as he himself had earnestly requested to prove his own truthfulness. After he crossed it, they saw him going forth from the flames as a culprit, burned on the skin, and they knew that he was mortally injured within, just as the end of the affair showed, for on the twelfth day, being burned, he died in anguish.

5. Since everybody had venerated that Lance for the honor and love of God, after judgment was thus accomplished, those who formerly appeared incredulous of this culprit, now especially saddened, remained incredulous. Nevertheless, Count Raymond kept it for a long time after that.

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1. For a detailed study of this question of the Lance, see L. E. Sheffy, "The Use of the Holy Lance in the First Crusade" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1915).
2. Peter Bartholomew.
3. The trial of Peter Bartholomew did not occur until April, 1099. Fulcher anticipates in order to finish the episode of the Lance.

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**XIX. The Siege of the**

1. On the day after Antioch was taken, a multitude of Turks surrounding King of the Persians, had besieged Antioch, and after collecting against the Franks. Corbaga.

2. He had besieged the town at that time, for three weeks; but Antioch to aid Prince Aoxian.

3. Seeing this army, the punishment for their sins were many of them had sought on.

4. Almost sixty thousand a cliff. These exerted pressure. There was not a pause; filled went forth to the siege. The

**XX. The V**

1. Yet the Lord, not unaided they asserted this. Being present. The people would rejoice in victory away in fear of death, saying responded, "lest being unfor in cruel death."

To him the Lord said: that I shall be present with My Mother, I shall propitiate nearly perish. However, let him speak to thee." Soon the clergy.

2. Meanwhile, many wished the night, and to flee, since
XIX. The Siege of the Christians by the Turks in the City of Antioch

1. On the day after Antioch had been taken, as has been told, an innumerable multitude of Turks surrounded the city in siege. The Sultan, that is, the King of the Persians, had been told by a legation that the Franks were besieging Antioch, and after collecting many people, immediately he sent an army against the Franks. Corbagath\(^1\) was the leader and commander of this people.

2. He had besieged the city of Edessa, which Lord Baldwin possessed at that time, for three weeks;\(^2\) but accomplishing nothing there, he hastened to Antioch to aid Prince Aoxian.

3. Seeing this army, the Franks were more desolate than ever, because punishment for their sins was doubled. For when they had entered the city, many of them had sought out unlawful women without delay.

4. Almost sixty thousand Turks entered by way of a fort on the top of a cliff. These exerted pressure on our men most fiercely in repeated attacks. There was not a pause; filled with great trembling, after leaving the city, they went forth to the siege. The Franks, shut in, remained unbelievably anxious.\(^3\)

XX. The Visions Appearing Below the City

1. Yet the Lord, not unmindful of the Franks, appeared to many. Often they asserted this. Being present, in comforting them, He promised that the people would rejoice in victory. The Lord appeared to a certain cleric fleeing away in fear of death, saying: “Whither, brother, dost thou run?” “I flee,” he responded, “lest being unfortunate, I perish. Many flee thus, lest they perish in cruel death.”

To him the Lord said: “Flee not, but hasten back and tell the others that I shall be present with them in battle. For, pleased by the prayers of My Mother, I shall propitiate them; but because they have sinned, they shall nearly perish. However, let their hope be strong in Me, and I shall make them to triumph over the Turks. Let them repent and be saved. I am the Lord, who speak to thee.” Soon the cleric, having returned, told what he had heard.

2. Meanwhile, many wished to descend by ropes from the wall during the night, and to flee, since many who feared to perish either from starvation.

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\(^1\) Kiwarn ed-Daula Kerboga, Atabek of Mosul, was the lieutenant of Bark-yarok-Ibn-Malik-Shah, and seems to have exercised a vague suzerainty over the other lesser Turkish emirs of northwestern Syria.

\(^2\) May 4 to 25, 1098.

\(^3\) The terror of the Turks and Franks was caused by a meteor that Fulcher neglects to mention.
tion or from the sword did this. A certain man, descending, envisioned his dead brother standing near and saying to him: "Whither do you flee, brother? Wait; fear not; for the Lord will be with you in your battle; and your comrades, who have already died on this journey, will fight with you against the Turks." He, astonished at the words of the dead man, stopped and recounted to the others what he had heard.

3. They could no longer bear such anguish. They now had nothing to eat, and they, as well as their horses, were excessively weakened by this. When it pleased the Lord to consummate the labor of His servants, they agreed upon a three-day fast to be carried out with prayers and offerings, so that God might be propitiated by their being penitent and suppliant.

**XXI. The Battle Which the Franks Asked of the Turks**

1. Meanwhile, after holding council, they announced to the Turks through a certain Peter the Hermit, that unless they peacefully evacuated the region which at one time belonged to the Christians, they would surely begin war against them on the following day. But if they wished it to be done otherwise, war could be waged by five or ten or twenty or by one hundred soldiers chosen from each side, so that with not all fighting at the same time, such a great multitude of people would not die, and the party which overcame the other would take the city and kingdom freely without controversy.

2. This was proposed, but not accepted by the Turks, who, confident in the large number of their people and in their courage, thought that they could overcome and destroy ours.

3. In number, they were estimated to be three hundred thousand altogether, both cavalry and infantry. They knew our knights had been forced to become footmen, weak and helpless.

4. After Peter, the ambassador, returned, the answer was given. After they heard it, the Franks prepared to fight, stopping at nothing, but placing their hope wholly in God.

5. There were many Turkish princes whom they called emirs present. These are Corbagath, Maleducat, Amisoliman, and many others whom it takes too long to name.

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1. Kerboga of Mosul.
2. Shams el-Muluk Dukak of Damascus.
3. Emir Sulaiman, governor of Aleppo and son of Ilgazi.
The Frankish princes were: Hugh the Great, Robert, Count of the Normans, Robert, Count of Flanders, Duke Godfrey, Count Raymond, Bohemond, and others of lesser rank. May God bless the soul of Ademar, Bishop of Puy, an apostolic man, who always kindly comforted the people and strengthened them in the Lord.

2. Oh, pious circumstance! On the preceding evening, he ordered by heralds to all the soldiers of the army of God, that each one lay out as much grain as he could, considering the dearness of it, to supply his horse, so that those carrying the riders on the morrow might not become weak from hunger in the hour of battle. It was ordered, and it was done.

3. All having been thus prepared, they went forth to battle from the city in the early morning, which fell four days before the Kalends of July. The banners of the squadrons and lines, conveniently divided into troops and phalanxes, went first. Among these were the priests clothed in white vestments, who, weeping for all the people, sang hymns to God, and poured out many prayers devoutly.

4. When a certain Turk, Amirdal by name, a well-proven soldier had seen our people with standards raised coming forth against them, he was exceedingly astonished. And when he had carefully regarded our nobles' standards, which he saw advancing one by one in order, he supposed that the battle would shortly ensue.

5. He had reconnoitred frequently in Antioch, where he had learned this about the Franks. He immediately hastened to Corbagath, and informed him what he had seen, saying: “Why do you amuse yourself with chess? Behold, the Franks are coming!” Corbagath responded to him: “Are they coming to fight?” Amirdal responded: “Up to the present time, I do not know, but wait a little while.”

6. When Corbagath also saw the banners of our nobles carried before them in order and the divisions of men, properly ordered, following them, turning quickly, he said: “Behold, the Franks! What do you think?” Amirdal responded: “It is war, I believe, but it is still doubtful. I shall soon recognize to whom these standards, which I see, belong.”

7. Looking more closely, he recognized the standard of the Bishop of Puy advancing in the third squadron.

1. June 28, 1098.
2. Probably merely emir and not personally identifiable.
Without waiting any longer, he told Corbagath:

"Behold, the Franks are coming; either flee now, or fight well; for I see
the standard of the great Pope advancing. Today you may fear to be overcome
by those whom you thought could be entirely annihilated."

8. Corbagath said: "I shall send word to the Franks, that what they asked
of me yesterday, today I shall grant." Amirdal said, "You have spoken too late."
Although he demanded it, he did not obtain what he asked. Amirdal presently
Withdrawing from that place, drove his horse with spurs.
He reflected whether or not to flee; yet he told his comrades
That everybody should fight bravely and hurl arrows.

XXIII. The Battle and the Victory of the Christians and the Flight of the Turks

1. Behold, Hugh the Great and Count Robert the Norman, and also
Robert, Count of Flanders, were stationed in the first line of battle for the
attack. In the second, Duke Godfrey followed with the Germans and Lo­
tharingians. After those marched the Bishop of Puy and the people of Count
Raymond, Gascons and Provencal. Count Raymond himself remained in the
city to guard it. Bohemond skilfully led the last division.

2. When the Turks saw that they were being fiercely attacked by the
whole army of the Franks, they began to dart out in a scattered fashion, as
was their custom, and to hurl arrows. But fear having been let loose from
heaven against them, as if the whole world had fallen, all of them took to un­
restrained flight, and the Franks chased them with all their might.

3. But because the Franks had few horses and these weak from hunger,
they did not take as much booty as they should have. Nevertheless, all the
tents remained on the plains, and they found many kinds of things in them,
such as gold, silver, coverlets, clothing, utensils, and many other things, which
the Turks, in great flight, had left or flung away in their flight, namely, horses,
mules, camels, asses, the best helmets, and bows and arrows with quivers.

4. Corbagath, who had slain the Franks many times with such cruel words
and threats, fled more swiftly than a deer. But why did he, who had a people so
great and so well equipped with horses, flee? Because he strove to fight against
God, and the Lord seeing him afar, entirely broke his pomp and strength.

5. Because they had good and swift horses, they escaped, although the
slower ones fell into the hands of the Franks. Many of them and of the Sara­
cen infantry were killed. A few of ours were injured. When their women were
found in the tents, the Franks did nothing evil to them except pierce their
bellies with their lances.
6. Everybody, placed in such great need and distress, blessed and glorified God in a voice of exultation, God, who in the righteousness of His compassion liberated those trusting in Him from such savage enemies. He powerfully scattered them in defeat, after the Christians were almost conquered first. Made wealthy with the substance of those people, they returned pleased to the city.

7. When the venerable city of Antioch was taken,
   Eleven times a hundred, if you subtract therefrom twice one,
   Then so many were the years of our Lord born of the Virgin
   Under the star of Phoebus, twice nine times risen from Gemini.

8. At that time Ademar the Bishop, may his soul enjoy eternal rest, died on the Kalends of August. Amen! Then Hugh the Great, with the good will of the princes, went away to Constantinople; thence to France.

XXIV. The Letter of the Princes Addressed to the Roman Pontiff

1. To the Venerable Urban, Lord and Pope: Bohemond; Raymond, Count of Saint Gilles; Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine; Robert, Count of Normandy; Robert, Count of Flanders; and Eustace, Count of Boulogne, in true submission to Christ send greetings as faithful servants and sons to their spiritual father.

2. We desire that everything be made known to you: how with the great mercy of God and His most evident support, Antioch was captured by us; how the Turks who had brought many insults on our Lord Jesus Christ, were captured and killed; how we pilgrims of Jesus Christ avenged the harm to Highest God; how we, who besieged the Turks first, were afterwards besieged by Turks coming from Khorassan, Jerusalem, Damascus, and from many other places; and how we were liberated through the mercy of Jesus Christ.

3. After the capture of Nicaea, we subjugated that very great multitude of Turks, as you have heard, on the Kalends of July, as they met us in the Valley of Dorylaeum. We put to flight that great Sulaiman and plundered everything of his, both land and possessions, and all of Romania was acquired and pacified. After these things were done, we came to besiege Antioch. We endured many evils in the siege. Because of the battles with the neighboring Turks and

1. August 1, 1098.
2. Beginning of July, 1098.

1. The letter was written September 11, 1098.
2. Pure rhetoric. They never fought the Turks of Khorassan and had little dealings with the Damascenes, and as yet they had had no fighting with the Egyptians of Jerusalem.
heathen rushing in on us so frequently in great numbers, we were more truly said to be besieged by those whom we had besieged in Antioch.

4. At length, after all the battles were over, the Christian faith was exalted at their fortunate outcome in this manner: I, Bohemond, after a compact was made with a certain Turk, who handed over that city to me, placed the ladders on the wall shortly before daybreak three days before the Nones of June. Thus we took the city which had formerly resisted Christ. We killed Aoxian, the tyrant of that city, with many of his soldiers, and kept their wives, sons, and households, along with their gold and silver and all their possessions.

5. However, we were not able to take possession of the citadel of Antioch fortified by the Turks. When, on the morrow, we had wished to attack that citadel, we saw the countless multitude of Turks that we had awaited outside the city for many days to come to wage war with us, running to and fro across the plains. On the third day, they besieged us, and more than a hundred thousand of them entered the aforementioned citadel. From the gate of the citadel, they hoped to get down into the city, part of which was held by them, and part by us.

6. We, however, by standing on another height opposite this citadel, guarded the path descending to the city between both armies, so that they, far more numerous than we, might not break through, and by fighting within and without by night and day, forced them to reenter the citadel gates and return to camp.

7. When they had seen that they were not able to injure us from that side, they so surrounded us on every side that none of our men could leave nor come to us. We were all desolate and discouraged about this. Dying from hunger and many other worries, many of our men killed our famished horses and asses, and ate them.

8. Meanwhile, with the kindest mercy of almighty God coming to our aid and watching over us, we found in the Church of Saint Peter, the first of the Apostles, the Lord's Lance by which our Savior's side was pierced by the hands of Longinus. Saint Andrew, the Apostle, thrice revealed it to a certain servant of God, even showing the place where the Lance lay. We were so comforted and strengthened by his discovery and by so many other divine revelations that some of us who had been discouraged and fearful beforehand, then became courageous and resolute to fight, and encouraged others.

9. Besieged for three weeks and four days, on the eve of the feast day of Apostles Peter and Paul, trusting in God, and confessing all our sins, we went out of the gates of the city with all our men. We encountered a heavy dust of dust and sand, and we were assured that we were saved.

10. All of our men having killed many soldiers and knights have been killed. We boldly sought when the word came that we were about to be attacked, we drove them to flee from their city. They began to scatter on all sides, and they could wish to surprise us. They were surrounded by the multitude of us in this manner. But God, against their trickery and cleverness, gave aid that we, who were few, might not be overcome. Then with God's rigorous aid, we gathered together to flee, and to go.

11. Having totally conquered the city, and having killed many thousands of Turks, the city glad and cheerful. A certain thousand men, surrendered it to Bohemond himself to the Christian faith.

12. Since it is always customary on such occasions, that Bishop of Puy, with the consent of the two bishops of Languedoc, who were present, was finished, and after the city was taken, he went to the Roman religion.

13. Now, we, thy sons, dearest, our spiritual father, who in the name of God made us leave everything, both before and after, take up our crosses to follow the name above every name; in order to come to us, and urge whomsoever that the name Christian was first in his church which we see daily, and originally was called in his church which we see daily, and originally was called, and that the name Christian would seem more appropriate to the father of the Christian religion, and he of the Christian name, and that person?

14. We have overcome the Turks.
Ch. 10. All of our men having been prepared, and certain ranks both of foot-soldiers and knights have been arranged in order for battle, with the Lord's Lance we boldly sought where their greater courage and strength lay, and forced them to flee from their most advanced positions. As was their custom, they began to scatter on all sides, occupying hills and paths, and wherever they could they wished to surround us. For they thought they could kill all of us in this manner. But our men having been trained in many battles against their trickery and cleverness, God's grace and mercy so came to our aid that we, who were very few in comparison to them, drove them all close together. Then with God's right hand fighting with us, we forced them so driven together to flee, and to leave their camps with everything in them.

Ch. 11. Having totally conquered them, having put them to flight for a whole day, and having killed many thousands of their soldiers, we returned to the city glad and cheerful. A certain emir,4 who was in the citadel with a thousand men, surrendered it to Bohemond, and by his own hand cordially yoked himself to the Christian faith. And so our Lord Jesus Christ transferred all Antioch to the Roman religion and faith.

Ch. 12. Since it is always customary for some gloom to intervene on happy occasions, that Bishop of Puy, whom you committed to us as your vicar, died on the Kalends of August, after the battle, in which he nobly participated, was finished, and after the city was restored to peace.

Ch. 13. Now, we, thy sons, deprived of the father committed to us, ask of you, our spiritual father, who initiated this enterprise, and by your sermons made us leave everything, both our lands and whatever was in them, and bade us take up our crosses to follow Christ, and charged us to exalt the Christian name above every name; in order to complete what you urged, we ask you to come to us, and urge whomsoever you can to come with you. For it was here that the name Christian was first employed. After Saint Peter was enthroned in his church which we see daily, those who formerly were called Galileans here first and originally were called Christians. Therefore, what in the world would seem more appropriate than that you, who stand as the head and father of the Christian religion, should come to the principal city and capital of the Christian name, and that you should finish the war, which is yours, in person?

Ch. 14. We have overcome the Turks and heathens; heretics, however, Greeks

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4. Ahmed ibn Meruan ("Chronologie," 292.)
and Armenians, Syrians, and Jacobites, we have not been able to overcome. Therefore we enjoin you again and again, our dearest father, that you, the father and head, come to the place of your fatherhood; that you, who are the vicar of Saint Peter, sit on his throne; that you keep us, thy sons, obedient in doing all things rightly; and that you eradicate and destroy all heresies, of whatever nature they be, with your authority and with our strength. And thus with us may you bring about the way of Jesus Christ begun by us and suggested first by you; may you even open the gates both to Jerusalem and to the liberated Sepulchre of the Lord for us; and may you make the Christian name be exalted above every name. If you come to us and accomplish with us the course begun through you, the whole world will be obedient to you. May God who lives and reigns in ages without end suffer you to do it. Amen.

XXV. The Invasion of the Cities. The Siege Undertaken at Archas and the Journey and Arrival of the Franks at Jerusalem

1. When our men and their horses, who had been wearied by much labor for many days, were refreshed by food and rest for four months at Antioch, they resumed their former strength. Having arranged a plan, one part of the army went into inner Syria, desiring to delay the march to Jerusalem. In this, Bohemond and Count Raymond were the leaders. Other princes remained in the vicinity of Antioch.

2. These two men, with their people, seized Barra and Marra by a courageous attack. After the former city had been captured quickly and completely depopulated by the slaughter of its citizens and everything which they found there had been seized, they hastened to the other city. Here, when the siege had lasted twenty days, our people suffered excessive hunger. I shudder to tell that many of our people, harassed by the madness of excessive hunger, cut pieces from the buttocks of the Saracens already dead there, which they cooked, but when it was not yet roasted enough by the fire, they devoured it with savage mouth. So the besiegers rather than the besieged were tormented.

3. Meanwhile, after they had made what machines they could, and moved them to the wall, in an assault of great boldness, with God favoring, the besiegers, they had to haste immediately, and because the battle for which they stayed to take part in the siege, Anselm of Ribemont.

1. According to the Gesta, chapter 30, this expedition was begun by Raymond Pilet, one of Count Raymond's men, but Count Raymond had to rescue him.
2. Barra (Albara) was taken September 25, 1098.
3. The Franks arrived at Marra (Ma'arrat al-Nu'man) November 27, 1098.
4. The siege ended December 11, 1098, but the Franks remained there until January 13, 1099.
Franks entered over the top of the wall. On that day and the following, they killed all the Saracens from the greatest to the least, and plundered all their substance.

4. This city having been thus destroyed, Bohemond returned to Antioch, from which he drove out the men whom Count Raymond had left there to guard his section of the city. Afterwards he possessed this city with the whole province. For he said that it was through his promises and through his negotiations that it had been acquired.

5. Count Raymond, after Tancred joined him, continued the journey to Jerusalem already begun. Also the Norman Count joined this army on the second day after the departure from captured Marra.

6. In the year 1099 from the Incarnation of the Lord, they set out to the aforementioned town of Archas, situated at the foot of Mount Lebanon, which Aracaeus, the son of Canaan, the nephew of Noah, founded. But because it was most difficult to take, after laboring for almost five weeks in its siege, they accomplished nothing.

7. Duke Godfrey and Robert, Count of Flanders, followed not far after the army. They were besieging Gibellum, when, upon the arrival of messengers, they had to hasten to the others. For this reason, they left Gibellum immediately, and because of the call for aid, they hastened to join the army. But the battle for which they had been summoned did not materialize. They stayed to take part in the siege [of Archas].

8. In that siege, Anselm of Ribemont, a vigorous soldier, died of a blow from a stone.

9. Having held council, they decided that to stay there and not take the town would do great harm to the whole army. It would be advantageous, some said, to abandon the siege and take up the march at a time when the road was not crowded with merchants, and during the harvest season. For as they marched along, they could live on the ripened harvests prepared for their subsistence by God, under Whose leadership they would reach the much desired end of their pilgrimage. This plan was accepted and undertaken.

10. The tents having been packed, they went away and crossed through
the city of Tripoli. After they had passed through this city, they came to the
town of Gibelet. It was April, and already they were living off the harvests.
Then, going forward and passing near the city of Beirut, they came upon
another city which we read as Sidon by its name in the land of Phoenicia;
which Sidon, a son of Canaan, founded, whence came the Sidonians. From
Sidon to Sarepta. From here, they came to Tyre, a very excellent city, from
which Apollo came, about whom we have read. About these two cities, the
Gospel says: "into the provinces of Tyre and Sidon." Now, the inhabitants
of the region called the former Sagitta, and the other Sur. For it was called
Soor in Hebrew.

11. Thence to the fortress named Ziph, in the sixth mile from Ptolemais.
After this, they crossed over to Ptolemais, formerly called Accon, which
certain mistaken ones of our men thought to be Acharon. But the city of
Acharon is in the land of the Philistines near Ascalon, between Jamnia and
Azot. In truth Accon, that is Ptolemais, has Mount Carmel on the south.
Crossing next to it, they left to the right the city called Caypha. After these,
we came close to Dora, then to Caesarea of Palestine, which in ancient times
was called by another name of Turris Stratonis. Here Herod, named Agrippa,
the nephew of that Herod in whose time Christ was born, died unhappily,
consumed by worms.

12. Then they left the maritime region on the right and the town of Ar­
sur, and they proceeded through a city, Rama or Aramathea by name, from
which the Saracen inhabitants had fled on the day before the Franks arrived.
Here they found much grain which they loaded on their beasts of burden and
carried all the way to Jerusalem.

13. After a delay of four days there, when they had appointed the bishop
of the Church of Saint George, and had placed men on guard in the cita­
dels of the city, they went forward on their journey to Jerusalem. On that day
they marched as far as the fortress, which was called Emmaus, near which
was Modin, the city of the Maccabees.

10. They arrived in Gibelet (Djubail), ancient Byblos (whence Bible), March 2, and the
siege lasted until March 11.
11. The Franks arrived in Beirut, ancient Beryrus, May 18 or 19, 1099.
12. They came to Sidon (Saida), ancient Ptolemais, May 20.
15. The Franks stayed May 24-25 in Acre (Accon), St. Jean d'Acre, ancient Ptolemais.
17. Caypha = Haifa.
18. The Franks remained from June 2 to June 6, 1099, in Rama (Ramleh). Fulcher errs in
identifying Rama as Aramathea. (Hagenrner, Historia., Bk. I, Ch. 25, n. 41.)
19. Robert de Rouen. ("Chronologie," 582.)
20. Emmaus = Amwas.

14. On the following day, they hastened all the way to Beirut, one was Baldwin. When
they frequently reconnoitred the camp, especially filled with great multitude of people at one time, those who
were, thinking them to be Franks, frequently reconnoitred the camp, hesitated to come, because they wished joy to their
clansmen, and pious singing: with their crosses and banners, and pious singing: with
a consecrated public prayer, and pious singing: with
Church of the Blessed Mary Magdalen was born, and after they had turned quickly to the holy
17. Behold! there was five and three-quarters miles. Here Joshua had commanded the
City of Jerusalem was born, and after they had turned quickly to the holy
18. When the Franks sur

21. Baldwin de Bourg, cousin of Baldwin I.
22. Gabaon = Gibeon.

1. Concerning the Pool of Siloam.
14. On the following night, one hundred of the truest soldiers mounted their horses. When the dawn grew bright, they came close to Jerusalem, and hastened all the way to Bethlehem. Of these, one was Tancred, and another one was Baldwin. When the Christians, evidently Greeks and Syrians, who frequently reconnoitred there, found that the Franks had come, they were especially filled with great joy. Yet at first they did not know what race they were, thinking them to be either Turks or Arabs.

15. But when they looked at them more closely face to face, they did not doubt that they were Franks. Immediately, when they had gladly taken up their crosses and banners, they proceeded to meet the Franks with weeping and pious singing: with weeping, because they feared lest such a small number of people at one time or other would be very easily slain by such a great multitude of heathen, whom they knew to be in their own land; with singing, because they wished joy to those whom they had desired to come for a long time, those who they knew would raise Christianity again to its proper and former honor, after it had been ruined by the wicked for such a long time.

16. A consecrated public thanksgiving to God was performed there in the Church of the Blessed Mary. When they had visited the place where Christ was born, and after they had given the kiss of peace to the Syrians, they returned quickly to the holy city of Jerusalem.

17. Behold! there was the army following. Gabaon, which was about five and three-quarters miles from Jerusalem, had been passed on the left. Here Joshua had commanded the sun and the moon. They approached the city. When the advance guard bearing the banners aloft had shown them to the citizens, straightway the enemy within came out against them. But those who had so hastily come out, were soon driven hastily back into the city.

June was now warmed by the heat of its seventh sun, When the Franks surrounded Jerusalem in siege.

XXVI. The Situation of Jerusalem

1. The city of Jerusalem is situated in a mountainous region, lacking in streams, woods, and springs, with the exception of the Pool of Siloam, which is a bowshot from the city. Here there is sufficient water sometimes, but occasionally the supply is reduced by drawing off the water. This little pool is in the valley at the foot of Mount Zion, in the course of the brook Cedron

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21. Baldwin de Bourg, cousin of Godfrey, later became Baldwin II.
22. Gabaon = Gibeaon.

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Concerning the Pool of Siloam, see Duncalf, Capture of Jerusalem, 19, n. 9.
which, in the winter time, is accustomed to flow through the middle of the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

2. Many cisterns in the city, which are reserved for winter rains, are kept filled with an abundance of water. Many, from which man and beast are refreshed, are found outside the city also.

3. This city was made of modest size in its extent, so that neither because of its smallness nor because of its magnitude does it offend anyone. Within, it is as wide from wall to wall as a bow can shoot an arrow four times. On the west there is the Tower of David, at the angle of two walls of the city; on the south is Mount Zion, a little closer than a bowshot; to the east is the Mount of Olives, a mile from the city.

4. The Tower of David is of solid masonry up to the middle, constructed of large square stones sealed with molten lead. If it were well supplied with rations for soldiers, fifteen or twenty men could defend it from every attack of the enemy.

5. In this city is the Temple of the Lord, a round structure, at the place where Solomon had formerly built one which was more wonderful. Although in no wise can this Temple be compared to that former one, yet it is most beautifully made and of marvelous workmanship.

6. The Church of the Lord's Sepulchre, also round in form, was never covered, but through a wide opening which was skilfully devised by a wise architect, the Sepulchre can always be seen from above.

7. I am not able, nor do I dare to assert, nor am I wise enough to tell many things that are kept therein, some of which are there now, and others already gone, lest I mislead those who hear of or read about these things. In the middle of the Temple, when we first entered it, and for almost fifteen years afterward, we saw kept a certain native rock. They claimed to know by divination that the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord with the urn and with the tablets of Moses were inclosed and sealed in it. Josiah, King of Judah, ordered it to be placed there, saying: "You will in no wise carry it from that place." For he saw its future captivity.

8. But that is contrary to what we read in the writings of Jeremiah in the second book of the Maccabees, because Jeremiah himself hid it in Arabia, saying that it was in no wise to be found, until many nations were gathered together. He was a contemporary of the King Josiah; although the king's life came to an end before Jeremiah died.

9. They also said that an Angel of the Lord had stood on the aforementioned rock and that people made by David and dispelled the Saracens. The Church of the Lord's Sepulchre was the most important church in all Christendom. For a description of it, see "Felix Fabri," I, part 2, "Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society," ed. Aubrey Stewart (London, 1896).
tioned rock and that people had perished because of an enumeration foolishly made by David and displeasing to the Lord. Since that rock disfigured the Temple of the Lord, afterwards it was entirely covered and encased in marble. Its present position is under the altar where the priest performs the rituals. All the Saracens had greatly revered this Temple of the Lord. Here they made their prayers more gladly than elsewhere, although they wasted them, since in idolatry they made them in the name of Mohammed. They permitted no Christian to enter there.

10. Another temple, which is said to be Solomon's, is large and marvelous. However, it is not that same one which Solomon built. Because of our poverty, it could not be maintained in the state in which we found it; and because of this, it is now destroyed in great part.

11. They had gutters in the streets of the city, in which all dirt was washed away in the rainy season.

12. The Emperor Aelius Hadrian decorated this city wonderfully, and adorned the streets beautifully with pavements. Jerusalem was called Aelia in his honor. Because of these and other such things, it is a venerated and glorious city.

XXVII. The Siege of the City of Jerusalem

1. When the Franks viewed the city, and saw that it would be difficult to take, our princes ordered wooden ladders to be made. By erecting them against the wall they hoped to scale it, and by a fierce attack enter the city with God helping.

2. After they had done this, when the leaders gave the signal and the trumpets sounded, in morning's bright light of the seventh day following they rushed upon the city from all sides in an astonishing attack. But when they had rushed upon it until the sixth hour of the day, and were unable to enter by means of the scaling ladders because there were few of them, they sadly abandoned the assault.

3. After consultation, craftsmen were ordered to make machines, so that by moving them to the walls they might, with God's aid, obtain the desired end. So this was done.

4. Meanwhile they suffered lack of neither bread nor meat; but, because that place was dry, unirrigated, and without rivers, both the men and the beasts of burden were very much in need of water to drink. This necessity
forced them to seek water at a distance, and daily they laboriously carried it in skins from four or five miles to the siege.

5. After the machines were prepared, namely, the battering-rams and the sows, they again prepared to assail the city. In addition to other kinds of siege craft, they constructed a tower from small pieces of wood, because large pieces could not be secured in those regions. When the order was given, they carried the tower piecemeal to a corner of the city. Early in the same morning, when they had gathered the machines and other auxiliary weapons, they very quickly erected the tower in compact shape not far from the wall. After it was set up and well covered by hides on the outside, by pushing it they slowly moved it nearer to the wall.

6. Then a few but brave soldiers, at a signal from the horn, climbed on the tower. Nevertheless the Saracens defended themselves from these soldiers and, with slings, hurled firebrands dipped in oil and grease at the tower and at the soldiers, who were in it. Thereafter death was present and sudden for many on both sides.

7. From their position on Mount Zion, Count Raymond and his men likewise made a great assault with their machines. From another position, where Duke Godfrey, Robert, Count of the Normans, and Robert of Flanders, were situated, an even greater assault was made on the wall. This was what was done on that day.

8. On the following day, at the blast of the trumpets, they undertook the same work more vigorously, so that by hammering in one place with the battering-rams, they breached the wall. The Saracens had suspended two beams before the battlement and secured them by ropes as a protection against the stones hurled at them by their assailants. But what they did for their advantage later turned to their detriment, with God’s providence. For when the tower was moved to the wall, the ropes, by which the aforesaid beams were suspended, were cut by falchions, and the Franks constructed a bridge for themselves out of the same timber, which they cleverly extended from the tower to the wall.

9. Already one stone tower on the wall, at which those working our machines had thrown flaming firebrands, was afire. The fire, little by little replenished by the wooden material in the tower, produced so much smoke and flame that not one of the citizens on guard could remain near it.

10. Then the Franks entered the city magnificently at the noonday hour on Friday, the day of the week when Christ redeemed the whole world on the cross. With trumpets sounding “Help, God!” they vigorously proceeded forward. An ensign with the banner on the top of the wall, the sign of the cross, led them. Their boldness to swift flight was so great that more quickly they fled, the Saracens. When they reached the sea, they could not stop, and they were pushed into the water. Then some, both Arabians and others shut themselves in the halls a very great attack was made on where the Saracens could escape.

11. Count Raymond after passing through another section, did not pass with the assault from the top of the wall. Seeing how they could, and helped them quickly.

12. Then some, both Arabians and others shut themselves in the halls a very great attack was made, where the Saracens could escape.

13. On the top of Solomon’s Temple, many were shot to death, and some either leaped from the roof. Within this Temple there had been there, your feet would have been of the slain. What more should I say? I did not spare the women and children.

XXVIII. THE DELIVERANCE OF JERUSALEM

1. After they had discovered an extraordinary thing to see; a stone wall, those dead Saracens, so that by killing them, by killing them, but of several days, they made a great in these ashes they found.

2. Tancred rushed into the city; gold and silver and precious thing or something of equal nothing divine was practise in their form of idolatry in religion that to enter.

3. With drawn swords, Albert of Aix says three hun

4. Albert of Aix says three hun
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r weapons, they om the wall. After y pushing it they

horn, climbed on from these soldiers e at the tower and nt and sudden for

ond and his men a another position, 

d Robert of Flan- the wall. This was

ents, they undertook i in one place with had suspended two pes as a protection t what they did for d’s providence. For which the aforesaid franks constructed a ty cleverly extended

those working our ire, little by little re- ted so much smoke main near it.

at the noonday hour whole world on the
cross. With trumpets sounding and with everything in an uproar, exclaiming: “Help, God!” they vigorously pushed into the city, and straightway raised the banner on the top of the wall. All the heathen, completely terrified, changed their boldness to swift flight through the narrow streets of the quarters. The more quickly they fled, the more quickly were they put to flight.

11. Count Raymond and his men, who were bravely assailing the city in another section, did not perceive this until they saw the Saracens jumping from the top of the wall. Seeing this, they joyfully ran to the city as quickly as they could, and helped the others pursue and kill the wicked enemy.

12. Then some, both Arabs and Ethiopians, fled into the Tower of David; others shut themselves in the Temple of the Lord and of Solomon, where in the halls a very great attack was made on them. Nowhere was there a place where the Saracens could escape the swordsmen.

13. On the top of Solomon’s Temple, to which they had climbed in fleeing, many were shot to death with arrows and cast down headlong from the roof. Within this Temple about ten thousand* were beheaded. If you had been there, your feet would have been stained up to the ankles with the blood of the slain. What more shall I tell? Not one of them was allowed to live. They did not spare the women and children.

XXVIII. The Spoils Which the Christians Took

1. After they had discovered the cleverness of the Saracens, it was an extraordinary thing to see our squires and poorer people split the bellies of those dead Saracens, so that they might pick out besants 1 from their intestines, which they had swallowed down their horrible gullets while alive. After several days, they made a great heap of their bodies and burned them to ashes, and in these ashes they found the gold more easily.

2. Tancred rushed into the Temple of the Lord, and seized much of the gold and silver and precious stones. But he restored it, and returned everything or something of equal value to its holy place. I say “holy,” although nothing divine was practised there at the time when the Saracens exercised their form of idolatry in religious ritual and never allowed a single Christian to enter.

3. With drawn swords, our people ran through the city;

4. Albert of Aix says three hundred, and Hagenmeyer accepts this number, not Fulcher’s.

1. Besants: gold coins, so called because they were originally Byzantine. Saracen besants were dinars of the same value as the Byzantine coins.
Nor did they spare anyone, not even those pleading for mercy. The crowd was struck to the ground, just as rotten fruit falls from shaken branches, and acorns from a wind-blown oak.

XXIX. The Sojourn of the Christians in the City

1. After this great massacre, they entered the homes of the citizens, seizing whatever they found in them. It was done systematically, so that whoever had entered the home first, whether he was rich or poor, was not to be harmed by anyone else in any way. He was to have and to hold the house or palace and whatever he had found in it entirely as his own. Since they mutually agreed to maintain this rule, many poor men became rich.

2. Then, going to the Sepulchre of the Lord and His glorious Temple, the clerics and also the laity, singing a new song to the Lord in a high-sounding voice of exultation, and making offerings and most humble supplications, joyously visited the Holy Place as they had so long desired to do.

3. Oh, time so longed for! Oh, time remembered among all others! Oh, deed to be preferred before all deeds! Truly longed for, since it had always been desired by all worshippers of the Catholic faith with an inward yearning of the soul. This was the place, where the Creator of all creatures, God made man, in His manifold mercy for the human race, brought the gift of spiritual rebirth. Here He was born, died, and rose. Cleansed from the contagion of the heathen inhabiting it at one time or another, so long contaminated by their superstition, it was restored to its former rank by those believing and trusting in Him.

4. And truly memorable and rightly remembered, because those things which the Lord God our Jesus Christ, as a man abiding among men on earth, practised and taught have often been recalled and repeated in doctrines. And, likewise, what the Lord wished to be fulfilled, I believe, by this people so dear, both His disciple and servant and predestined for this task, will resound and continue in a memorial of all the languages of the universe to the end of the ages.

XXX. The Creation of King and Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Finding of the Lord's Cross

1. In the thousand and one hundred year less one From the illustrious Lord's birth of the Virgin,

1. Reference to Psalms 33:3, 96:1.