

THE ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY OF
ORDERIC VITALIS

VOLUME V
BOOKS IX AND X

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

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BOOK IX

I

iii. 457 VICISSITUDINES temporum et rerum æternus conditor sapienter salubriterque ordinat, nec ad libitus infruntorum res humanas disponit ac uariat, sed in manu potenti et brachio excelso pie seruat, congrue prouehit ac dispensat. Hoc in hieme et estate palam uidemus: hoc nichilominus in frigore et caumate sentimus, hoc in omnium rerum ortu et casu perpendimus, et in multiplici uarietate operum Dei rite rimari possumus. Inde multiplices propagantur hystoriæ, de multimodis euentibus qui fiunt in mundo cotidie: et dicacibus hystoriographis augmentantur copiose fandi materiæ. Hæc ideo medullitus considero, meditatusque meos litteris assigno, quia temporibus nostris insperata fit permutatio, et insigne thema referendi mira prestruitur dictatorum studio. En Ierosolimitanum iter¹ diuinitus initur: a multis occidentalium populis unus grex miro modo congeritur, et contra ethnicos in Eoas partes unus exercitus conducitur.² Sancta Syon a filiis suis qui de longinquis regionibus ultro exierunt eripitur, allophilis deuictis a quibus olim sancta ciuitas conculcabatur, et sanctuarium Dei nefarie contaminabatur. Detestabiles enim agareni diuino iudicio permittente Christianorum limites iam dudum transierunt, sancta loca inuaserunt: Christicolæ habitatores interemerunt, spurciciisque suis abominabiliter sacra polluerunt, sed post multa tempora meritam ultionem mucronibus cisalpinorum digne luerunt. Nulla ut reor unquam sophistis in bellicis rebus gloriosior materia prodiit, quam nostris nunc Dominus poetis atque librariis tradidit: dum per paucos Christicolæ de paganis in oriente triumphauit, quos de propriis domibus dulci desiderio peregrinandi exciuit. Antiqua nempe miracula Deus Abraham nuper iterauit, dum solo ardore uisendi sepulchrum Messiae occiduos fideles illexit, et sine rege secularique exactione per Urbanum

¹ There was no general term for a crusade at this date; see above, p. xiii.

BOOK IX

I

THE eternal Creator wisely and providently ordains seasonal and historical changes; he does not dispose and alter human affairs according to the pleasure of foolish men, but rightly preserves and aptly promotes and controls them in his mighty hand and with his glorious arm. This we see with our eyes in the alternation of winter and summer; this likewise we feel in cold and heat, this we perceive in the rise and decline of all things, and can rightly comprehend in the manifold diversity of the works of God. These give rise to many stories of the diverse events which take place in the world every day, and provide an abundance of materials for learned historians to use at length. So I ponder deeply on these things, and commit my meditations to writing, for a tremendous movement is taking place in our own day, and a noble and marvellous theme for exposition is unfolded for writers to study. By divine inspiration the crusade to Jerusalem¹ begins; a single multitude is marvellously assembled from many western peoples and one army is led against the infidels in the eastern regions.² Holy Sion is delivered by her sons, who have come freely from distant parts conquering the pagans who once oppressed the holy city and iniquitously defiled the sanctuary of God. For the vile Saracens by divine sufferance had poured across the Christian frontiers, overrun the holy places, slaughtered the Christian inhabitants, and sacrilegiously defiled the holy things with their blasphemies, but after many years they rightly suffered the retribution they deserved from the swords of the northern peoples. Never, I believe, has a more glorious subject been given to historians of warfare than the Lord offered in our own time to poets and writers when he triumphed over the pagans in the East through the efforts of a few Christians, whom he had stirred up to leave their own homes through an ardent longing to be pilgrims. Indeed the God of Abraham recently repeated former miracles when he inspired the faithful in the west with a pure desire to see

² Cf. the substance of the Preface in BD (*RHC Occ.* iv. 9).

papam commonuit, de finibus terræ et insulis maris uelut Hæbreos de Ægipto per Moisen extraxit, et per exterar gentes usque in Palestinam perduxit, ibique reges et principes cum multis nationibus aggregatos superauit, munitissimisque urbibus oppidisque subactis gloriose perdomuit.

- iii. 459 Fulcherius Carnotensis Godefredi Lotharingiæ ducis capellanus¹ qui laboribus et periculis predicabilis expeditionis interfuit: certum et uerax uolumen de laudabili militia exercitus Christi edidit. Baldricus quoque Dolensis archiepiscopus iiii libros luculenter conscripsit, in quibus integram narrationem ab inicio peregrinationis usque ad primum bellum post captam Ierusalem ueraciter et eloquenter deprompsit.² Multi etiam alii Latinorum et Grecorum de tam memoranda re tractauerunt, et posteritati claros euentus heroum uiuacibus scriptis intimauerunt. Ego quoque minimus omnium, qui religionis in habitu uita sequuntur Dominum: quia strenuos Christi agonithetas diligo, et eorum probos actus attollere gestio, in hoc quod cepi de æcclesiasticis actibus opusculo, Christianorum expeditionem in Domino Ihesu ordiri appeto. Integrum opus peregrinationis almæ aggredi timeo, arduam rem polliceri non audeo: sed qualiter intactum tam nobile
- iii. 460 thema preteream nescio. Prepedior senio utpote sexagenarius,³ et in claustro regulari educatus a puericia monachus. Magnum uero scribendi laborem amodo perpeti nequeo, notarios autem qui mea nunc excerpant dicta non habeo, ideoque presens opusculum finire festino. Nonum^a itaque libellum nunc incipiam: in quo de Ierosolimitanis quædam seriatim et ueraciter prosequi satagam, Deo michi conferente opem necessariam.

In desertis Idumeæ ad te clamo Ihesu bone,
Rex potenter Nazarene michi queso suffragare.
Presta uires quibus digne tuum promam ius insigne:
Per quod tuos exultasti, ac rebelles conculcasti.
Tu tuorum dux et rector, et in artis es protector,
Tu tuorum es adiutor et uictorum retributor.

^a nonum *replaces* sextum, *erased*

¹ Fulcher of Chartres was a chaplain not of Godfrey, but of his brother Baldwin. See *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 3; *RHC Occ.* iii. 339. He was himself an eye witness of many of the events he described, and his work was an important source for other historians. Although Orderic names him there is no evidence that he actually used his *Historia*.

² For Orderic's use of Baudry see above, introduction, pp. xiii-xv.

³ Orderic became sixty in 1135. Cf. BD preface (*RHC Occ.* iv. 10): 'ad scribendum pene sexagenariam appuli manum'.

the Messiah's tomb and called them through the mouth of Pope Urban, without any royal or secular pressure, from the ends of the earth and the islands of the sea as the Hebrews were brought from Egypt by Moses; when he led them through alien peoples as far as Palestine, and there overcame kings and princes together with their mighty hosts from many races, and set them in triumph over the fortified cities and strongholds they had conquered.

Fulcher of Chartres, a chaplain of Godfrey duke of Lotharingia,¹ who himself shared in the toils and labours of this noble enterprise, has written a well-informed and trustworthy book about the splendid chivalry of the army of Christ. And Baudry, archbishop of Dol, has composed four books in which, writing in a fine style, he truly and eloquently relates the whole story from the beginning of the pilgrimage up to the first battle after the capture of Jerusalem.² Many other Latin and Greek writers have treated this memorable subject, and have preserved the great deeds of the heroes for posterity in their vivid writings. I too, the least of all who as professed monks follow the Lord in their lives, aspire to include this Christian enterprise for the Lord Jesus in the little book I have begun on ecclesiastical matters, because I love the brave champions of Christ and delight in praising their valiant deeds. I shrink from embarking on a full account of this redeeming pilgrimage, and dare not promise to accomplish such an arduous undertaking; yet I do not know how to pass over such a noble theme in silence. I am handicapped by age, being now a sexagenarian;³ moreover I am a monk, brought up from boyhood in a monastic cloister. In the future I shall scarcely be able to bear the great toil of writing, and I have no scribes who can make excerpts of my material for me, so I hasten to bring the present work to an end. I will now begin the ninth book, in which, God granting me the necessary strength, I will do my best to set out some of the deeds of the pilgrims to Jerusalem truthfully and in order.

In the deserts of Idumea I cry to you, blessed Jesus;
Mighty king, Nazarean, grant me succour I beseech you.
Give me strength to proclaim worthily the wondrous power
Whereby you exalted your servants, and struck down the contumacious.
You are the leader and ruler of your people, their shield in all dangers;
You are the prop of your people, and the giver of victories.

Summe Deus te adoro,
Opem tuam nunc imploro,
Regi regum laus æterna
Sit per secula sempiterna. Amen.

2

Incipit liber nonus ecclesiasticæ hystoriæ

iii. 461 ANNO ab incarnatione Domini M^oXC^oIV^o indictione ii^a seditiones et tumultus bellorum pene per uniuersum orbem perstrepebant, et immites terrigenæ ingentia sibi cedibus et rapinis damna mutuo inferebant. Nequitia multiplex nimis abundabat¹ et innumeras calamitates clientibus suis suppeditabat. Tunc magna siccitas gramina terræ perussit, segetes et legumina lesit, quibus pereuntibus maxima fames successit.

Henricus imperator Romanam æcclesiam impugnabat² multisque merito in eundem insurgentibus, Dei nutu succumbebat. Urbanus papa Placentiæ concilium tenuit, et de pace aliisque utilitatibus sanctæ æcclesiæ diligenter tractauit.¹

iii. 462 ²Anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oXC^oV^o indictione iii^a pridie nonas Aprilis, feria iii^a, luna xxv^a in Galliis ab innumeris inspectoribus uisus est tantus stellarum discursus³ ut grando nisi lucret pro densitate putarentur. Multi etiam stellas cecidisse opinati sunt⁴ ut scriptura impleretur quæ dicit, quia quandoque stellæ cadent de cælo.^{a3}

Gislebertus Luxouiensis episcopus,⁴ senex medicus, multarum artium peritissimus, singulis noctibus sidera diu contemplari solebat, et cursus eorum utpote sagax horoscopus callide denotabat. Is itaque prodigium astrorum phisicus sollicitè prospexit, uigilemque qui curiam suam aliis dormientibus custodiebat aduocauit. 'Videsne' inquit 'Gualteri^b hoc spectabile signum?' At ille, 'Domine uideo, sed quid portendat nescio.' Senex ait, "Transmigratio populorum de regno in regnum ut opinor prefiguratur. Multi autem abibunt, qui nunquam redibunt⁵ donec ad proprias absides astra redeant, unde nunc ut nobis uidetur liquido labant. Alii uero permanebunt in loco sullimi et sancto⁶ uelut stellæ

^a 'ut . . . cælo' inserted later in Orderic's hand, running into the margin

^b Sic in MS.

¹ The council of Piacenza, held in the first week of March, 1095, was concerned both with condemning the 'schismatics' who supported the antipope and with promulgating reforming measures. Urban also received there an embassy from Alexius Comnenus in search of recruits for his army, and may have discussed healing the schism with the eastern Church. See Bernold of St. Blaise, *Chronicon*, in *MGH SS* v. 461-2; Baldwin, *Crusades*, i. 228-30.

God Almighty, I adore you,
For your succour I implore you,
King of kings, may praises be
Yours through all eternity. Amen.

2

Here begins the ninth book of the Ecclesiastical History

IN the year of our Lord 1094, the second indiction, rebellions and wars troubled almost every part of the world, and brutal men injured each other terribly by slaughtering and brigandage. Every kind of evil raged unchecked and brought down countless troubles on the servants of evil. At that time a terrible drought burnt up the grass and ruined the corn and leguminous plants, which withered away, causing a terrible famine.

The Emperor Henry attacked the Roman church, but many rightly rose against him and by God's will he was defeated. Pope Urban held a council at Piacenza and carefully made provision for the restoration of peace and the other needs of the holy Church.¹

²In the year of our Lord 1095, the third indiction, on Wednesday, 4 April, the twenty-fifth day of the moon, countless witnesses in France saw a great shower of stars thick enough to have passed for hail but for its brightness. Many held the view that the stars had fallen so that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which says that some day the stars will fall from Heaven.³

Gilbert, bishop of Lisieux,⁴ a doctor advanced in years, who was very skilled in many subjects, had long made a habit of watching the stars each night, and as a learned astrologer carefully plotted their courses. When this physician noted the phenomenon of the stars he called out to the watchman who was guarding his court while the others slept, 'Walter, do you see this marvel?' to which the man replied, 'I see, my lord, but what it means I cannot tell.' The old man said, 'In my opinion this means the migration of peoples from one kingdom to another. For many will set out and never return until the stars return to their own orbits, from which now, as we see plainly, they are falling. Others indeed will remain in the high, holy place, like stars shining in the firmament.'

² 'Anno . . . cælo' is based on BD I. vii (*RHC Occ.* iv. 16).

³ Cf. Matthew xxiv. 29.

⁴ Gilbert Maminot. See above, iii. 18-22.

fulgentes in firmamento.' Gualterius itaque Cormeliensis post multum tempus michi retulit: hoc quod ab ore prudentis archiatri de discursu stellarum audiuit, in eodem momento quo res monstruosa contigit.

Philippus rex Francorum Bertradam Andegauensium comitissam rapuit, suaque nobili coniuge relicta mœcham turpiter desponsauit.¹ A pontificibus Galliae castigatus quod ille uxorem et ipsa maritum ultro deseruerit, a fedo reatu respiscere noluit, sed senio et ægritudine tabidus in adulterii stercore flebiliter computruit.

iii. 463 Urbanus papa regnante Philippo in Gallias uenit, et altare Sancti Petri apud Cluniacum cenobium et multas sanctorum basilicas dedicauit, et priuilegiis apostolicæ auctoritatis ad laudem Christi sullimauit.² Tunc in Normannia et Francia mortalitas hominum seuebat, domosque plurimas habitatoribus euacuabat, et maxima fames miseris macerabat.

Eodem anno indictione iv^a mense Nouembri, prefatus papa omnes episcopos Galliae et Hispaniae congregauit et apud Clarum montem Aluerniae urbem quæ antiquitus Aruernis dicta est concilium ingens tenuit.³ Multa uero quæ cisalpes agebantur correxit et multa ad emendationem morum utilia constituit. In sinodo Aruernensi xiii fuerunt archiepiscopi et ccxxv episcopi,⁴ cum multitudine abbatum aliarumque personarum, quibus a Deo sanctarum curæ delegatæ sunt æcclesiarum.

iii. 464 ⁵Decreta uero concilii apud Clarum montem habiti sunt huiusmodi:

Æcclesia sit catholica, casta et libera, catholica in fide et

¹ See above, iv. 260-4.

² Urban's journey and the consecrations he performed are described by R. Crozet in *Revue historique*, clxxx (1937), 272-8, and *Annales du Midi*, xlix (1937), 42-69; see also A. Fliche, 'Urban II et la croisade', in *Revue historique de l'Église de France*, xiii (1927), 295-6, and A. Becker, *Papst Urban II* (Stuttgart, 1964), pp. 214-25. He stayed at Chaise-Dieu on 18 August and after a leisurely progress up the Rhône valley reached Cluny on 18 October 1095, and remained there until the end of the month. The high altar was dedicated by him on 25 October (*Chronicon Cluniacense* in *MGH SS* xiv. 100). Orderic does not imply that the preaching of a crusade was his purpose in coming to France, and his motives were certainly complex. See Somerville, pp. 4-6.

³ Urban II reached Clermont on 14 November and the council opened on 18 November.

⁴ The numbers of churchmen present vary in different sources from 190 to 403 (Baldwin, *Crusades*, p. 236). Lambert, bishop of Arras, gives the same numbers of archbishops and bishops as Orderic, and specifies 90 abbots (Mansi, xx. 815).

⁵ The canons of the Council of Clermont have not survived in any official form. Complete transcripts of some decrees circulated together with synopses of

Long afterwards Walter of Cormeilles told me what he had heard from the lips of the wise doctor about the disturbance of the stars, at the very moment that the prodigy took place.

Philip, king of France, abducted Bertrade, countess of Anjou, repudiated his highly-born wife, and shamefully wedded the adulteress.¹ Although denounced by the bishops of France because he had chosen to desert his wife and she her husband, he refused to renounce the guilty union, but, burdened with age and sickness, rotted away shamefully in the filth of adultery.

Pope Urban visited France during Philip's reign, dedicated the altar of St. Peter in the abbey of Cluny and many churches of the saints, and honoured them with privileges by his apostolic authority to the glory of Christ.² At that time there was severe mortality in Normandy and France, which left many houses empty of their inhabitants; famine tormented the poor.

In November of the same year, the fourth indiction, Pope Urban summoned all the bishops of France and Spain, and held a great council at Clermont,³ a town in Auvergne, called in ancient times Arvernus. He corrected many customs which were practised north of the Alps, and established many salutary reforms. Those present at the council of Clermont included thirteen archbishops, two hundred and twenty-five bishops,⁴ and a great number of abbots and other persons to whom the cure of churches had been entrusted by God.

⁵The canons of the council held at Clermont are as follows:

The Church shall be catholic, pure, and free; catholic in faith

many others; no manuscript gives a complete list. Mansi's edition, which treats the copy of the decrees kept by Bishop Lambert of Arras as the basic list, is far from complete (Mansi, xx. 815-20); it has recently been superseded by a new critical edition (Robert Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II*, vol. i, *Decreta Claromontensia*, in *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*, Supplementum i, Amsterdam, 1972). Orderic's synopsis is very close to that of William of Malmesbury, and four other manuscripts preserve a similar list (Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 13413, from St. Martin of Séz; Alençon, Bibl. mun. 10, from Saint-Évroul; Cambridge University Library, Kk. 4. 6, from Worcester; Brit. Mus. MS. Harleian 633, from northern England). This Anglo-Norman group of manuscripts is described and edited by Somerville, pp. 83-98. Many of the canons correspond in substance with canons in the northern French collections (Somerville, pp. 46-82), of which the *Liber Lamberti* of Bishop Lambert of Arras (LL) and the *Collection in Nine Books* made by John of Mont-Saint-Eloy, archdeacon of Arras (9L), are the most complete. A small number correspond with canons found in other scattered fragments (Somerville, pp. 107-41); a few are peculiar to the Anglo-Norman group. A complete summary of the sources for all the known canons can be found in Somerville, pp. 142-50.

communione sanctorum, casta ab omni contagione maliciæ, et libera ab omni seculari potestate.¹

Episcopi uel abbates aut aliquis de clero aliquam æcclesiasticam dignitatem de manu principum uel quorumlibet laicorum non accipiant.² Clerici in duabus ciuitatibus uel æcclesiis prelationes seu prebendas non habeant.³ Nemo episcopus et abbas simul sit.⁴ Presbiter, diaconus, subdiaconus uel canonicus cuiuslibet ordinis carnali commercio non utatur. Presbiter, diaconus, subdiaconus post lapsum non ministret.⁵ Æcclesiasticæ dignitates uel canonicæ a nullo uendantur uel emantur. Illis tantum qui ignorantes canonum auctoritatem uel fuisse prohibitum canonicas emerunt indultum sit. Illis uero qui scienter a se uel a parentibus emptas possident' auferantur.⁶

Nemo laicorum post acceptos cineres in capite ieiunii usque ad Pascha carnem comedat.⁷ Clericorum nullus a quinquagesima usque ad Pascha carnem comedat.⁸ Omni tempore primum ieiunium quattuor temporum' prima ebdomada quadragesimæ celebretur.⁹ Ordines omni tempore aut in uespera sabbati aut perseuerante ieiunio dominica celebrentur.¹⁰ In sabbato Paschæ officium non nisi post solis occasum finiatur.¹¹ Ieiunium secundum
iii. 465 semper in ebdomade Pentecosten celebretur.¹² Ab Aduentu Domini usque ad octabas Epiphaniæ, et a Septuagesima usque ad octabas Paschæ, et a prima die Rogationum usque ad octabas Pentecosten, et omni tempore a quarta feria occidente sole usque ad secundam feriam oriente sole treuia Dei custodiatur.¹³

Qui episcopum ceperit' omnino exlex habeatur.¹⁴ Qui monachos uel clericos uel sanctimoniales et eorum comites ceperit uel expolauerit' anathema sit.¹⁵ Qui episcoporum morientium bona uel clericorum diripuerit' anathema sit.¹⁶

Qui usque ad septimam generationem consanguinitati se copulauerit' anathema sit.¹⁷ Nemo in episcopum eligatur nisi aut

¹ Apart from the Anglo-Norman collections, this canon occurs only in two isolated summaries in *Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 14193* (Somerville, p. 36) and *Oxford, Bodleian MS. Selden Supra 90* (Somerville, pp. 116-17).

² Cf. LL 13, 9L 18 (Somerville, p. 77).

³ Cf. LL 10, 9L 15 (Somerville, p. 76).

⁴ This canon occurs in no other early collection.

⁵ Cf. LL 7, 9L 12 (Somerville, pp. 75-6).

⁶ Cf. LL 4, 9L 11 (Somerville, p. 75).

⁷ Cf. LL 21, 9L 24 (Somerville, p. 79).

⁸ Apart from the Anglo-Norman collections, this canon occurs only in a single summary, *Florence MS. Laurentianus xvi 15* (Somerville, pp. 108-9).

⁹ Cf. LL 25, 9L 1 (Somerville, pp. 80, 72).

and in the communion of the saints, pure from every taint of evil, and free from every secular power.¹

Bishops and abbots and any other ecclesiastical persons shall not receive any ecclesiastical dignity from the hands of rulers or any other lay persons.² Clerics shall not hold titles or prebends in two cities or churches.³ No one shall be a bishop and abbot at the same time.⁴ Every priest, deacon, subdeacon, and canon of every order shall abstain from carnal intercourse. Any priest, deacon, or subdeacon guilty of a lapse shall not say Mass afterwards.⁵ Ecclesiastical dignities and canonries shall not be sold or bought by anyone. Pardon shall be granted only to those who, not knowing the authority of the canons or the prohibition pronounced, have bought canonries. Let those be deprived who hold dignities purchased in full knowledge by them or their kinsmen.⁶

No layman who has received ashes on Ash Wednesday shall eat meat until Easter.⁷ No clerk shall eat meat from Quinquagesima Sunday until Easter.⁸ The first of the Ember Day fasts shall always be celebrated in the first week of Lent.⁹ Orders shall always be conferred either on Saturday evening or, while the fast continues, on Sunday.¹⁰ On Holy Saturday the office shall be terminated only after sunset.¹¹ The second fast shall always be celebrated in the week of Pentecost.¹² The Truce of God shall be observed from Advent until the octave of Epiphany, and from Septuagesima Sunday until the octave of Easter, and from the first Rogation day until the octave of Pentecost, and at all times from sunset on Wednesday until sunrise on Monday.¹³

Anyone who lays hands on a bishop shall be outlawed.¹⁴ Anyone who lays hands on or plunders monks or clerks or nuns and their companions shall be excommunicate.¹⁵ Anyone who seizes the goods of bishops or clerks on their death shall be excommunicate.¹⁶

If anyone marries within the seventh degree of kinship, let him be excommunicate.¹⁷ Let no one be elected a bishop unless he

¹⁰ Cf. LL 22, 9L 25 (Somerville, p. 79).

¹¹ i.e. the fast is to be continued until night. Cf. LL 24, 9L 26 (Somerville, p. 80).

¹² Cf. the general regulations for ember days in LL 25, 9L 1 (Somerville, pp. 80, 72).

¹³ Cf. LL 1, 9L 7 (Somerville, p. 73).

¹⁴ Cf. LL 30, 9L 30 (Somerville, p. 81).

¹⁵ Cf. LL 1, 9L 5, 6 (Somerville, pp. 73-4).

¹⁶ Cf. LL 29, 9L 29 (Somerville, p. 81).

¹⁷ This canon occurs only in the Anglo-Norman collections.

presbiter aut diaconus aut subdiaconus, et cui dignitas natalium suffragetur, nisi maxima necessitate et licentia summi pontificis.¹

Filii presbiterorum uel concubinarum ad presbiteratum non prouehantur: nisi prius ad religiosam uitam transierint.² Qui ad æcclesiam uel ad crucem confugerit, si reus est data impunitate uitæ uel membrorum iusticiæ reddatur. Si innocens: liberetur.³ Corpus dominicum et sanguis dominicus singulatim accipiatur.⁴ Unaquæque æcclesia decimas suas habeat: et non in alterius æcclesiæ ius quolibet dante transeat.⁵ Laicus decimas nec uendat nec retineat.⁶ Pro sepultura mortuorum pactum precium non exigatur aut detur.⁷ Nullus principum laicorum capellanum habeat: nisi ab episcopo datum. Quod si in aliquo offenderit: ab episcopo corrigatur et alter subrogetur.⁸

iii. 466 Hæc Vrbanus papa in Aruernensi sinodo decreta generaliter sanxit, omniumque ordinum homines ad tenendam Dei legem summopere incitauit. Deinde lacrimabilem querimoniam de desolatione Christianitatis in oriente ubertim deprompsit: calamitates et oppressiones truculentas a Sarracenis factas Christianis intimauit. Pro conculcatione quoque Ierusalem sanctorumque locorum ubi filius Dei cum suis sanctissimis collegis corporaliter habitauit, lacrimosus relator manifeste in sancta concione plorauit: unde multos auditorum ex affectu nimio pique fratrum compassione secum flere coegit. Prolixum utillimumque sermonem consistentibus eloquens seminiuerbius fecit, occiduæque partis proceres et subiectos atque commilitones eorum commonuit, ut pacem inter se firmiter tenerent, et signum salutiferæ crucis in dextero humero sumerent,⁹ militiæque suæ prohibitates super paganos famosi optiones satis exercerent.

iii. 467 ¹⁰Turci enim et Persæ, Arabes et Agareni Antiochiam et Nicheam ipsamque Ierusalem sepulchro Christi nobilem et alias plures Christianorum urbes inuaserant, iamque immensas uires in regno Grecorum extenderant, Palestinam et Siriam secure

¹ Cf. LL 3, 9L 4, 10 (Somerville, pp. 73, 74). The restriction on legitimate birth is peculiar to the Anglo-Norman collections.

² Cf. LL 9, 23, 9L 13, 14 (Somerville, pp. 76, 79-80).

³ Cf. LL 27, 28, 9L 28 (Somerville, p. 81).

⁴ Cf. LL 26, 9L 27 (Somerville, p. 80); omitted by William of Malmesbury.

⁵ Apart from the Anglo-Norman collections, this canon occurs in no early text.

⁶ Cf. LL 17, 9L 22 (Somerville, p. 78).

⁷ Cf. LL 6, 9L 12 (Somerville, p. 75).

⁸ Cf. LL 16, 9L 21 (Somerville, p. 78); omitted by William of Malmesbury.

⁹ Cf. BD I. v, p. 16; also the *Historia peregrinorum* written as a continuation of Tudebod, *RHC Occ.* iii. 170: 'disposuit ut cuncti illuc euntes signum Crucis in scapulis re aliqua vestimentis impressum seu in fronte gestarent'.

¹⁰ Reports on Urban II's sermon at Clermont differ greatly even amongst

is either a priest or a deacon or a sub-deacon and of legitimate birth, except in cases of great need and by papal licence.¹

The sons of priests and concubines shall not be raised to the priesthood unless they have first made a monastic profession.² If anyone seeks sanctuary in a church or at a roadside crucifix, let him be handed over to justice saving life and limb if he is guilty; let him go free if he is innocent.³ The body and blood of the Lord shall be received separately.⁴ Each church shall receive its own tithes, and the right to them shall not be granted by anyone to another church.⁵ No layman shall sell or hold tithes.⁶ No fixed price shall be demanded or given for the burial of the dead.⁷ No lay ruler shall have a chaplain, except by the bishop's concession. If the chaplain offend in any way, he shall be punished by the bishop and another substituted in his place.⁸

Pope Urban promulgated these canons for general observance in the council of Clermont, and impressed on men of all orders their obligation to observe the law of God. Then he eloquently put forward a pitiable complaint about the destruction of Christianity in the east, and described the defeats and cruel oppressions inflicted on Christians by the Saracens. He wept as he made known in the holy council the humiliation of Jerusalem and the holy places where the Son of God once lived in the flesh with his blessed disciples, and caused many of his hearers to weep with him out of pity and brotherly compassion for their fellow Christians. An eloquent preacher, he gave a long and inspiring sermon to the assembly, urging the nobles of the west and their men and companions to make a lasting peace among themselves, take the sign of the redeeming cross on their right shoulders⁹ and, as renowned lords, prove the valour of their knighthood against the pagans.

¹⁰The Turks and Persians, Arabs and Saracens, have overcome Antioch and Nicaea and Jerusalem itself, which is glorified by Christ's sepulchre, and many other cities peopled by Christians; now they send out their mighty armies into the empire of the Greeks and already dominate Palestine and Syria, which they

eyewitnesses, for different points were selected by each for elaboration; though the ideas were Urban's, each historian provided the rhetoric. See Baldwin, *Crusades*, p. 240; D. C. Munro, 'The speech of Urban II at Clermont, 1095', in *American Historical Review*, xi (1906), 231-42. Orderic was less dependent on Baudry of Dol than Munro implies, and he may have heard a report from one of the Norman bishops at the council.

possidentes quas sibi iam subiugauerant. Basilicas destruebant' et Christianos ut bidentes perimebant.¹ In ²æcclesiis in quibus diuina olim a fidelibus sacrificia celebrata sunt' ethnici animalibus suis stabula egerunt, suas etiam supersitiones et ydolatriam collocauerunt, et Christianam religionem ab aula Deo dicata turpiter eliminauerunt. Predia sanctorum stipendiis dedita, et nobilium patrimonia sustentandis pauperibus contradita, paganæ tyrannidi subiciuntur, eisque in propriis usibus redactis domini crudeles abutuntur. Multos iam in longinquam barbariem captiuos abduxerunt, et loris innexos iugis ruralibus exercitiis submitunt, ipsisque ueluti bobus aratra laboriose pertrahentibus arua proscindunt, aliisque beluinis operibus inhumane subdunt, quæ feris non hominibus competunt. Inter hæc assidue desudantes flagris uerberant, aculeis stimulant, et innumeris infestationibus fratres nostros abominabiliter mancipant. In sola uero Africa xcvi episcopatus destructi sunt' sicut nobis inde uenientes referunt.'³

iii. 468

Igitur mox ut Vrbanus papa huiusmodi planctum auribus Christianorum eloquenter retulit' adiuuante gratia Dei nimius amor peregrinandi innumeros inuasit, et predia sua uendere et quæque habebant pro Christo relinquere persuasit. Diuitibus itaque et pauperibus, uiris et mulieribus' monachis et clericis, urbanis et rusticis, in Ierusalem eundi aut euntes adiuuandi inerat uoluntas mirabilis. Mariti dilectas coniuges domi relinquere disponebant, illæ uero gementes relicta prole cum omnibus diuitiis suis in peregrinatione uiros suos sequi ualde cupiebant. Prædia uero hactenus kara uili precio nunc uendebantur, et arma emebantur' quibus ultio diuina super allophilos exerceretur. Fures et piratæ aliique scelerosi tactu spiritus Dei de profundo iniquitatis exurgebant, reatus suos confitentes relinquebant, et pro culpis suis Deo satisfacientes peregre peregrabant.

Prouidus uero papa omnes qui congrua arma ferre poterant ad bellum contra inimicos Dei exciuit, et pœnitentes cunctos ex illa hora qua crucem Domini sumerent ex auctoritate Dei ab omnibus peccatis suis absoluit,⁴ et ab omni grauedine quæ fit in ieiuniis

¹ There are accounts of the general advance of the Saracens in Fulcher of Chartres, I. iii (*RHC Occ.* iii. 323-4) and William of Malmesbury, *GR* ii. 394, in somewhat different terms.

² 'æcclesiis in quibus . . . abutuntur' is closely based (the last sentence verbatim) on *BD* I. iv (*RHC Occ.* iv. 13).

³ This account of the enslavement of the Christians is peculiar to Orderic, and more convincing than the atrocity stories of Robert the Monk. But the final sentence suggests that Orderic misinterpreted some source, possibly William of Malmesbury's authority for the statement, 'Illi Affricam, alteram

have conquered. They have destroyed churches and slaughtered Christians like sheep.¹ The infidels have made stables for their beasts in the churches² where Masses used to be celebrated by the faithful, and have established their superstitious and heathen practices, to our shame driving Christian worship from the house dedicated to God. The properties given for the livelihood of holy men, and the estates of magnates assigned for the support of the poor, have fallen under pagan tyranny, and the lords who have annexed them cruelly misuse them. They have carried off many prisoners into exile in distant lands and, binding them with thongs, have forced them to submit to the yoke and to cultivate the fields laboriously, dragging the ploughs like oxen, and to undergo other cruel labours more fitting for beasts than for men. As our brothers sweat at such tasks they lash them with whips, prick them with goads, and subject them to terrible sufferings in countless ways. In Africa alone ninety-six bishoprics have been destroyed, as we have been informed by men coming from there.'³

No sooner had Pope Urban ceased to pour this lament into the ears of Christians than, by the grace of God, such a deep longing for a pilgrimage overwhelmed countless of his hearers that they determined to sell their lands and abandon all that they had for Christ's sake. Miraculously, the determination either to go to Jerusalem or to help others who were going there seized rich and poor, men and women, monks and clerks, townsmen and peasants alike. Husbands made arrangements to leave their beloved wives at home, while the wives, lamenting, longed passionately to leave their children and all their riches behind and follow their husbands on the pilgrimage. Once-cherished possessions were sold at a low price, and arms were bought to be the instruments of divine vengeance on the Saracens. Thieves and pirates and other evil-doers, touched by the Holy Spirit, rose above their crimes, confessed and put away their sins, and set out on the pilgrimage in order to make expiation acceptable to God.

The provident Pope urged all capable of bearing adequate arms to march to war against the enemies of God; and by the will of God he absolved all penitents from their sins from the moment that they took the cross of Christ,⁴ and with fatherly consideration

orbis partem, ducentis jam annis et eo amplius armis possessam tenent' (*GR* ii. 395). Africa had been in Muslim hands since the seventh century.

⁴ This refers to the crusading indulgence, embodied in one of the canons of

aliisque macerationibus carnis pie relaxavit. Consideravit enim perspicaciter, ut prudens et benignus archiater: quod hi qui peregre proficiscerentur, in uia multis diutinisque discriminibus sepiissime uexarentur, et multimodis casibus letis seu tristibus cotidie angerentur, pro quibus beniuoli uernulæ Christi a cunctis culparum sordibus expiarentur.

iii. 469 In concilio papa magnifice predicante, et filios Ierusalem ad ereptionem sanctæ matris suæ uiriliter exhortante: ¹uir magni nominis Naimarus Podiensis episcopus surrexit, coram cunctis ad apostolicum uultu iocundo accessit, et genu flexo licentiam eundi et benedictionem poposcit, et gaudentibus cunctis impetrauit. Insuper papa mandatum ut ei omnes obœdient peruulgauit, ipsumque uicarium apostolici in expeditione Dei constituit.² Erat enim summæ ingenuitatis, et magnæ strenuitatis, industriæque singularis.

Legati quoque Raimundi Berengarii comitis Tolosani protinus affuerunt, qui ipsum cum multis milibus de suo ducatu iturum papæ retulerunt, iamque crucem sibi coaptasse in concilio testati sunt. Ecce Deo gratias Christianis ituris duo ultronei duces alacriter processerunt. Ecce sacerdotium et regnum, clericalis ordo et laicalis: ad conducendum phalanges Dei concordant. Episcopus et comes Moisen et Aaron nobis reimaginantur: quibus diuina pariter adminicula comitantur.

iii. 470 Decima die mensis Februarii eclipsis lunæ a media nocte usque ad auroram facta est: et obscuritas in luna a parte boreali exorta est.

3

Odo episcopus Baiocensis, Gislebertus Ebroicensis, et Serlo Sagiensis,³ legati quoque aliorum de Normannia presulum cum excusatoriis apicibus Aruernensi concilio interfuerunt, et inde cum benedictione apostolica regressi sinodales epistolas coepiscopis suis detulerunt. Guillelmus igitur archiepiscopus concilium Rotomagi aggregauit, et cum suffraganeis episcopis de utilitatibus

the council (LL 2, 9L 8, Somerville, p. 74) and cited in various forms by many contemporaries (D. C. Munro, in *American Historical Review*, xi (1906), 238; Somerville, p. 124 n. 14). Orderic alone specifically mentions the relaxation of regulations for fasting which follows.

¹ 'uir magni nominis . . . reimaginantur' is based, in places verbatim, on BD I. v, *RHC Occ.* iv. 15, omitting some details. Orderic consistently follows Baudry in the spelling 'Naimarus', a contraction of 'dominus Aymar' characteristic of the south of France.

² Adhemar was appointed on 28 November (A. Fliche, in *Revue de l'histoire*

excused them from any obligation to fast or mortify the flesh in other ways. Like a wise and kind physician, he fully realized that those who set out on the pilgrimage would suffer from every kind of danger at almost all times, and would daily be tormented by changes of fortune, both good and ill, through which the ardent servants of Christ would be cleansed from all the guilt of their sins.

When the Pope preached so eloquently in the council, and urged the children of Jerusalem to set out boldly to the rescue of their holy mother, ¹a man of great repute, Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, stood up, approached the Pope with a joyful face in the sight of all and, kneeling before him, asked for leave to go, and for his blessing, which he received amid general applause. In addition the Pope published an order that all should obey him, and appointed him papal legate in the army of God.² He was indeed a man of high birth, great courage, and remarkable energy.

Ambassadors of Raymond Berengar, count of Toulouse, arrived immediately; they informed the Pope that he and thousands from his duchy would join the expedition, and testified in the council that he himself had already taken the cross. So, God be thanked, two leaders of the Christians on their journey offered themselves spontaneously and gladly: thus spiritual and temporal power, the clergy and the laity, join hands to lead the armies of God. The bishop and the count represent for us Moses and Aaron, who were sustained equally by divine aid.

On 10 February there was an eclipse of the moon from midnight until dawn, and the darkness spread over the moon from the north side.

3

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, Gilbert of Évreux, and Serlo of Séez³ were present at the council of Clermont, together with envoys of the other Norman bishops who brought letters of excuse; when they returned with the papal blessing they carried synodal letters to their fellow bishops. Consequently Archbishop William summoned a council to Rouen and discussed the needs of the *de l'Église de France*, xiii (1927), 302). For his part in the crusade see James A. Brundage, 'Adhemar of Puy; the bishop and his critics', in *Speculum*, xxxiv (1959), 201-12.

³ Serlo of Orgères, previously abbot of Saint-Évroul, may have been Orderic's source of information.

æcclesiasticis tractauit.¹ Tunc omnes mense Februario Rotomum conuenerunt, capitula sinodi quæ apud Clarum montem facta est unanimiter contemplati sunt² scita quoque apostolica confirmauerunt, et huiusmodi scriptum posteris dimiserunt:²

Statuit sinodus sancta ut treuia Dei firmiter custodiatur³ a dominica die ante caput ieiunii usque ad secundam feriam oriente sole post octabas Pentecostes, et a quarta feria ante Aduentum Domini occidente sole usque ad octabas Epiphaniæ, et per omnes ebdomas anni a quarta feria occidente sole usque ad secundam feriam oriente sole, et in omnibus festis Sanctæ Mariæ et uigiliis eorum, et in omnibus festis apostolorum et uigiliis eorum, ut nullus homo alium assalliat, aut uulneret aut occidat, nullus namnum uel predam capiat.

Statuit etiam ut omnes æcclesiæ et atria earum et monachi et clerici et sanctimoniales et feminæ et peregrini et mercatores et famuli eorum, et boues et equi arantes, et homines carrucas ducentes, et herceatores et equi de quibus herceant, et homines ad carrucas fugientes,⁵ et omnes terræ sanctorum, et pecuniæ clericorum perpetua sint in pace, ut in nulla die aliquis audeat eos assallire uel capere, uel predari uel aliquo modo impedire.

Statuit etiam ut omnes homines a xii annis et supra iurent hanc constitutionem treuiæ Dei sicut hic determinata est ex integro se seruatueros tali iuramento: 'Hoc audiatis uos N. quod ego amodo in antea hanc constitutionem treuiæ Dei sicut hic determinata est fideliter custodiam, et contra omnes qui hanc iurare contempserint, uel hanc constitutionem seruare noluerint, episcopo uel archidiacono meo auxilium feram, ita ut si me monuerint ad eundem super eos, nec diffugiam nec dissimulabo, sed cum armis meis cum ipso proficiscar, et omnibus quibus potero iuuabo aduersus illos per fidem sine malo ingenio secundum meam conscientiam, sic Deus me adiuuet et isti sancti.'⁶

¹ Since Archbishop William summoned the synod, there is no reason to suppose that he did not preside over it, as G. H. Williams asserts (Williams, *Norman Anonymous*, pp. 100, 114). The suspension with which he was threatened for refusing to accept the primacy of Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, would not have become effective until March (Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat*, p. 189). But see below, p. 24 n. 1.

² Orderic's account contains valuable hints of conciliar procedure. See Somerville, pp. 20-41, especially 38-9. The Rouen decrees were also copied in the twelfth century into a manuscript at Saint-Évroul, of which one folio is now bound into Bibl. nat. MS. nouv. ac. fr. 17071, f. 197.

³ Cf. above, iii. 26 and n. 2.

Church with his suffragan bishops.¹ All assembled at Rouen in February, studied together the canons of the council which had been held at Clermont, confirmed the papal decrees, and issued this document as a permanent record:²

The holy synod decreed that the Truce of God shall be strictly observed³ from Septuagesima Sunday until dawn on the Monday after the octave of Pentecost, and from sunset on the Wednesday before Advent until the octave of Epiphany, and in every week throughout the year from sunset on Wednesday until dawn on Monday, and on all the feasts of St. Mary with their vigils, and on all the feasts of the apostles with their vigils, so that no man shall attack, or wound, or kill another, and no one shall take a distraint, or plunder.

It also decreed that all churches and their churchyards,⁴ all monks, clerks, nuns, women, pilgrims, and merchants, and their households, and oxen and horses at the plough, and men leading the plough, and men harrowing and the horses with which they harrow, and men who fly to the ploughs,⁵ and all lands of religious houses and money of the clergy shall be in peace at all times, so that no one shall ever presume to attack or seize them, or rob or molest them in any way.

It also decreed that all men of twelve years and over should swear to observe the establishment of the Truce of God in its entirety, as here ordained, with the following oath: 'You, N., hear this, that I will faithfully observe the establishment of the Truce of God as here ordained from this time forward, and will lend my aid to any bishop or archdeacon against all who refuse to take this oath or to observe this establishment, in such a way that if I am summoned against them I will neither evade nor neglect the summons, but will take arms and follow and give help to all I may against them, by my faith, without subterfuge, according to my conscience. So help me God, and these saints.'⁶

⁴ See above, iii. 29 n. 5.

⁵ The protection of men at the plough was a piece of old Scandinavian custom mentioned by Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniæ ducum*, ed. J. Lair (Caen, 1865), pp. 171-2, and later embodied in the *Très ancien coutumier de Normandie* (ed. E. J. Tardif, Rouen, 1881, i. 17): 'carruca . . . in pace Ducis est et protectione: seruat eos qui eam ducunt. Arator in aratione sua non disturbabitur, licet aliquis in alterius terra injuste laboret.' The Rouen canon, if correctly copied by Orderic, also indicates an extension of this protection to men seeking a kind of sanctuary at the plough.

⁶ The oath was to be taken on relics.

Statuit preterea sancta synodus ut omnes feriuntur anathemate
 iii. 472 qui hoc iuramentum facere noluerint, uel hanc constitutionem
 uiolauerint, et omnes qui eis communicauerint, uel sua uendide-
 rint, siue fabri, siue alii officiales siue presbiteri qui eos ad com-
 munionem susceperint, uel diuinum eis officium fecerint. Hoc etiam
 anathemate feriuntur falsarii et raptores, et emptores predarum
 et qui in castris congregantur propter exercendas rapinas, et
 domini qui amodo eos retinuerint in castris suis, et auctoritate
 apostolica et nostra prohibemus, ut nulla Christianitas fiat in
 terris dominorum illorum.

Statuit etiam sancta synodus ut omnes æcclesiæ ita sint saisiatæ
 de rebus suis, sicut fuerunt tempore Guillelmi regis, et cum eisdem
 consuetudinibus, et quod nullus laicus participationem habeat in
 tercia parte decimæ, uel in sepultura, uel in oblatione altaris,¹
 nec seruitium nec aliquam exactionem inde exigat, preter eam
 quæ tempore Guillelmi regis constituta fuit.

Statuit etiam ut nullus laicus det uel adimat presbiterum
 æcclesiæ sine consensu presulis, nec uendat nec pecuniam inde
 accipiat. Ac ut nullus homo comam nutriat,² sed sit tonsus sicut
 iii. 473 decet Christianum, alioquin a liminibus sanctæ matris æcclesiæ
 sequestrabitur, nec sacerdos aliquis diuinum ei officium faciet,
 uel eius sepulturæ intererit. Nullus laicus habeat consuetudines
 episcopales,³ uel iusticiam quæ pertinet ad curam animarum.

Nullus presbiter⁴ efficiatur homo laici, quia indignum est ut
 manus Deo consecratæ, et per sacram unctionem sanctificatæ,
 mittantur inter manus non consecratas, quia est homicida aut
 adulter aut cuiuslibet criminalis peccati obnoxius.⁵ Sed si feudum
 a laico sacerdos tenuerit quod ad æcclesiam non pertineat, talem
 faciat ei fidelitatem quod securus sit.

Hæc itaque Gislebertus Ebroicensis episcopus, qui pro sua
 proceritate cognominabatur Grus, et Fulbertus Rotomagensis

¹ There is no specific mention of burial dues or oblations in surviving summaries of the canons of Clermont; they may have been mentioned, but this clause seems rather to reaffirm the canon of Lillebonne (1080), 'Nullus laicus in redditibus altaris uel in sepultura uel in tercia parte decimæ aliquid habeat' (above, iii. 28 and n. 1).

² For the attack of churchmen on long hair see above, iv. 188-90.

³ This canon goes beyond the provisions made in 1080 at Lillebonne (above, iii. 34, 35 n. 3), which allowed the laity to keep long-established customs.

⁴ This has sometimes been regarded as a tacit acceptance of homage for

Further the holy synod decreed that all who decline to take
 this oath, or who violate this establishment, be declared excom-
 municate, and likewise all who have any communication with
 them or sell their goods, whether they be craftsmen, or other
 officials, or priests who receive them for holy communion or
 perform the divine office for them. The same anathema shall fall
 on counterfeiters and brigands and purchasers of booty, and all
 who congregate in castles for the purpose of plundering, and lords
 who retain such men in their castles in the future; by papal
 authority as well as by our own we forbid any Christian office to
 be performed in the lands of these lords.

The holy synod also decreed that all churches shall enjoy
 possession of their goods in the same way as in the time of King
 William, and with the same customs; and that no layman shall
 have any share in the third part of the tithe, or in burial dues, or
 in the oblations of the altar,¹ or shall demand any service or due
 for them beyond what was established in the time of King William.

It also decreed that no layman shall place a priest in a church
 or deprive him of it without the bishop's consent, or sell it or
 receive any money for the transaction. Also that no man shall
 grow his hair long;² instead let him be shorn as befits a Christian,
 otherwise he shall be excluded from the threshold of the holy
 mother Church, so that no priest shall perform any divine office
 for him, or officiate at his burial. No layman shall hold episcopal
 customs,³ or the jurisdiction which pertains to the cure of souls.

No priest⁴ shall perform homage to a layman, because it is
 unseemly that hands consecrated for God and hallowed by holy
 anointing should be placed between unconsecrated hands, which
 may belong to a murderer or an adulterer or one guilty of some
 other heinous sin.⁵ But if a priest holds of a layman a fief which
 does not pertain to a church, he may perform fealty in such a way
 that his lord may be safe.

Gilbert, bishop of Évreux (nicknamed 'the Crane' because of
 bishops (cf. Williams, *Norman Anonymus*, p. 114), but a strict interpretation
 should include bishops, since they were ordained priests.

⁵ Cf. the canon of Clermont forbidding clerics to do homage in the *Vetus membrana* version (Somerville, p. 81 n. 39): 'Ut nullus clericus laicali se patrocinio commendet quia abhominabile est ut manus que corpus Domini tractant et quod maius est consecrant inter manus homicidas sanguine plenas sic polluantur.' There is no explicit prohibition of homage in the surviving Anglo-Norman summaries of the canons: evidently the bishops at Rouen possessed a more complete record.

archidiaconus¹ scita patrum palam promulgauerunt, et Guillelmus archiepiscopus aliique presules auctoritate sua corroborauerunt. Odo quippe Baiocensis et Gislebertus Luxouiensis, Turgisus Abrincatensis et Serlo Sagiensis atque Radulfus Constanciensis prefatam sinodum sanxerunt, abbates quoque totius prouinciæ cum clero et parte procerum pacem optantium affuerunt. Præsules nimirum ex bona uoluntate commodissima statuerunt, sed principali iusticia deficiente ad emolumentum æcclesiasticæ tranquillitatis parum profecerunt. Nam quæque tunc ut pre-taxatum est deffinierunt, pene irrita fuerunt. Erat enim eo tempore mira seditio inter optimates Normanniæ² et discolis per totam regionem grandis conatus et uiolentum fas furari seu rapere. Incendia et rapinæ totam patriam deuastauerunt, indigenarum quam plurimos in exilium extruserunt, et parrochiis destructis æcclesias presbiteri fugiendo desolatas deseruerunt.

Indomita gens Normannorum est³ et nisi rigido rectore coherceatur ad facinus promptissima est. In omnibus collegiis ubicumque fuerint dominari appetunt, et ueritatis fideique tenorem preuaricantes ambitionis estu multoties effecti sunt. Hoc Franci et Britones atque Flandrenses aliique collimitanei crebro senserunt⁴ hoc Itali et Guinili Saxonesque Angli usque ad inter-necionem experti sunt.

De feroci gente Scitarum origo Troianorum uti refertur processit, quibus in excidium redactis Frigius Antenor Illiricos fines penetrauit, et cum uicinis exulantibus diu longæque locum habitationis quesiuit.² Denique super littus oceani maris in bore-ali plaga consedit, et sibi sociisque et heredibus suis maritimam regionem incoluit, et a Dano filio eius gens illa e Troianis orta Danorum nomen accepit. Hæc gens crudelis semper et bellicosa fuit, et fortissimos reges habuit, sed fidem Christi uix sero recipere uoluit. Rollo dux acerrimus cum Normannis inde genus duxit³ qui primus Neustriam sibi subiugauit, quæ nunc a Normannis Normanniæ nomen optinuit. North enim anglice aquilo⁴ man uero dicitur homo. Normannus igitur aquilonalis homo inter-pretatur⁵ cuius audax austeritas delicatis affinis ut gelidus

¹ For Fulbert see above, iv. 310, and Williams, *Norman Anonymous*, pp. 95-101. It was normal for the decrees of a council or synod to be read out formally by persons other than the president (cf. Eadmer, *HN*, pp. 112-13, and Le Prévost, iv. 391, for accounts of the promulgation of the canons of councils presided over by the Pope at Bari in 1098 and Rheims in 1119).

his height), and Fulbert, archdeacon of Rouen,¹ publicly promulgated the decrees of the council; and Archbishop William and the other prelates confirmed them by their authority. Moreover Odo of Bayeux, Gilbert of Lisieux, Turgis of Avranches, Serlo of Séez, and Ralph of Coutances lent their support to this synod, whilst the abbots of the whole province with the clergy and the section of the nobility anxious for peace were present. The bishops indeed made sound laws with the best intentions, but because the duke failed to enforce justice they brought little increase in peace to the Church. What they then decreed, as recorded here, remained almost without effect. For at that time there was exceptional unrest among the magnates of Normandy and a great stirring of evil throughout the land; the law of the strong was to rob and ravage. The whole country was devastated by fire and plunder, which drove many of the inhabitants into exile and left whole parishes destroyed and churches abandoned as the priests fled.

The Normans are an untamed race, and unless they are held in check by a firm ruler they are all too ready to do wrong. In all communities, wherever they may be, they strive to rule and often become enemies to truth and loyalty through the ardour of their ambition. This the French and Bretons and Flemings and their other neighbours have frequently experienced; this the Italians and Lombards and Anglo-Saxons have suffered to the point of destruction.

The origin of the Trojans is said to have been in the fierce race of Scythians; after the sack of Troy the Phrygian Antenor journeyed to the region of Illyria, where for a long time he and his fellow exiles sought far and wide for a place to live.² Finally he settled on the shore of the ocean in the north, and took possession of the coastal lands for himself and his companions and descendants. From his son Danus this people of Trojan origin took the name of Danes. They were from the first a cruel and warlike people and were governed by powerful kings; but they rejected the faith of Christ for a very long time. The mighty leader Rollo, with the Normans, was of this race; and they first conquered Neustria which is now called Normandy after the Normans. For in the English language 'aquilo' means 'north' and 'homo', 'man'; Norman therefore means 'man of the north', and his bold roughness has proved as deadly to his softer neighbours as the

² For the legend of the Trojan origins of the Normans see above, ii. 274, 275 n. 5.

iii. 475 aquilo teneris floribus nimis infesta comprobatur. Nam in eadem adhuc gente naturalis feritas coalescit, et genuinus ardor preliandi seuit, qui ruricolos et pacatos officiales suis in edibus quiete commorari non permittit.

¹A Rollone ualidi duces prefuere Normannis pugnacibus, Guillelmus scilicet Longa Spata et Ricardus uetulus, Ricardus secundus Gunnoridis filius, et duo filii eius Ricardus iuuenis et Rodbertus Ierosolimitanus, atque Guillelmus nothus. Iste uero qui tempore ultimus extitit, omnes antecessores suos fortitudine et sullimitate transcendit, moriensque Rodberto ducatum Normanniæ et Guillelmo regnum Angliæ dimisit. Rodbertus autem mollis dux a uigore priorum decidit, et pigricia mollicieque torpuit: plus prouinciales subditos timens quam ab illis timebatur, et inde damnosa peruersitas in terra eius passim grassabatur. Henricus frater ducis Damfrontem fortissimum castrum possidebat, et magnam partem Neustriæ sibi fauore uel armis subegerat fratrique suo ad libitum suum nec aliter obsecundabat. Porro alius frater qui Angliæ diadema gerebat, in Normannia ut reor plus quam xx castra tenebat: et proceres oppidanosque potentes muneribus sibi uel terroribus illexerat. Rodbertus enim comes Aucensis et Stephanus Albæmarlæ, Girardus de Gornaco et Radulfus de Conchis, Rodbertus quoque comes de Mellento et Gualterius Gifardus, Philippus de Braiosa² et Ricardus de Curceio, aliique perplures cum omnibus sibi subditis munitionibus et oppidanis regi parebant, eique quia metuendus erat totis nisibus adherebant. Sic Normannia suis in se filiis furentibus miserabiliter turbata est: et plebs inermis sine patrono desolata est.

iii. 476

Denique talibus infortuniis Rodbertus dux perspectis anxius, et adhuc peiora formidans utpote ab omnibus pene destitutus: consilio quorundam religiosorum decreuit terram suam fratri suo regi dimittere, et cruce Domini sumpta pro peccatis suis Deo satisfactorius in Ierusalem pergere. Quod rex Anglorum ut comperit, ualde gauisus consilium laudauit: Normanniam usque ad quinque annos seruaturus recepit, fratrique suo ad uiam Domini peragendam decem milia marcos argenti erogauit.

¹ This paragraph summarizes very briefly some events described in Books VII and VIII.

² This is Orderic's first mention of Philip of Briouze as a partisan of William Rufus. He succeeded his father William after 11 December 1093 (*CDF* no. 1118), and, if Orderic's reference is here correct, before Robert Curthose took the cross in 1096. For his later career see H. E. Salter, *Facsimiles of Early Charters in Oxford Muniment Rooms* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 3, 5.

bitter north wind to young flowers. For up to now natural ferocity and love of fighting for its own sake have existed together in the same race, and the Normans do not suffer the country people and peaceful officials to live quietly in their own homes.

¹From the time of Rollo powerful dukes governed the warlike Normans: William Longsword and the older Richard, Richard II the son of Gunnor, and his two sons, young Richard and Robert of Jerusalem, and William the Bastard. The latter, who lived most recently, surpassed all his ancestors in courage and greatness and on his deathbed left the duchy of Normandy to Robert and the kingdom of England to William. But Robert, a weak duke, fell far below the might of his ancestors: sunk in sloth and voluptuousness he feared the vassals in his own duchy more than they feared him, with the result that terrible disorders appeared and spread throughout his duchy. Henry, the duke's brother, held the powerful fortress of Domfront and had gained control of a large part of Normandy either by influence or by arms, so that he assisted his brother only as far as it pleased him to do so. Besides this the other brother, who wore the crown of England, held according to my estimation more than twenty castles in Normandy, keeping the support of powerful nobles and châtelains by gifts or threats. Robert, count of Eu, Stephen of Aumâle, Gerard of Gournay, Ralph of Conches, as well as Robert, count of Meulan, Walter Giffard, Philip of Briouze,² Richard of Courcy, and many others, together with all the garrisons and castellans in their service gave their allegiance to the king and supported him with all their strength, out of fear of him. So Normandy was wretchedly tormented by the feuds of her sons and the helpless populace was deprived of any protector.

Finally Duke Robert, distressed by the sight of such misery and fearing still worse to come since almost everyone had abandoned him, resolved on the advice of certain men of religion to hand over the administration of his duchy to his brother and, himself taking the cross, to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem to make amends to God for his sins. When the king of England heard of this he was overjoyed and gave his whole-hearted approval; he received Normandy to hold for five years and provided his brother with ten thousand marks in silver to enable him to set out on crusade.

Urbanus papa in sequenti quadragesima Turonis aliud consilium tenuit' et ea unde apud Clarum montem tractauerat confirmauit. In medio quadragesimæ basilicam sancti Nicholai Andegauis dedicauit, et priuilegiis apostolicis honorauit.¹ Goifredum Martellum Andegauorum comitem hortatu et potestate de uinculis liberat, quem Fulco Richinus iunior frater eius proditione ceperat, dominum quoque suum honore priuatum apud Chinonem castrum fere xxx annis carceri mancipauerat.²

Igitur anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oXC^oVI^o indictione iu^a mense Martio, Petrus de Acheris³ monachus doctrina et largitate insignis de Francia peregre perrexit, et Gualterium de Pexeo⁴ cum nepotibus suis Gualterio cognomento Sine habere et Guillelmo, Simone⁵ et Matheo aliisque preclaris Gallorum militibus et pedibus fere xv milibus secum adduxit. Deinde sabbato Paschæ⁶ Coloniam uenit, ibique septimana Paschæ requieuit, sed a bono opere non cessauit. Alemannis enim sermonem fecit, et ex eis xv milia ad opus Domini traxit. Duo quippe preclari comites Bertaldus et Hildebertus et unus episcopus adiuncti sunt: et cum eo per Alemanniam et Hungariam peregre profecti sunt. Porro superbi Francigenæ dum Petrus Coloniam remaneret, et uerbum Dei predicando phalanges suas augere et corroborare uellet, illum expectare noluerunt, sed iter ceptum per Hungariam aggressi sunt. Columbanus autem Hunorum rex tunc eis fauebat: necessariumque subsidium in terra sua prebebat. Deinde transito Danubio per Bulgariam usque in Cappadociam uenerunt, ibique prestolantes sequentibus Alemannis cum Petro sociati sunt.⁸

¹ Urban II went first to Angers, where he dedicated the abbey-church of St. Nicholas on 10 February, and then by way of Le Mans, Solesmes, and Vendôme to Marmoutier, where he dedicated the church on 10 March (see R. Crozet, in *Revue historique*, clxxix (1937), 295-7; Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 116-17, ii. 240-1). The council of Tours was held from 16 to 22 March (*ibid.* ii. 242-3; Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, p. 15).

² Fulk's tenure of the county of Anjou had received papal recognition before this date, and Geoffrey (Le Barbu, not Martel) was no longer a danger to him (Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 108-9).

³ Peter the Hermit. An Angevin chronicle also calls him *Acheriensis*; it is not certain which Achères was his place of origin, but he came almost certainly from the diocese of Amiens and was a native of Picardy (Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 35-40).

⁴ Probably the same man as Walter of Poissy, son-in-law of Peter of Maule (see above, iii. 176). This identification would account for Orderic's information

Pope Urban held another council at Tours in the following Lent and confirmed the business transacted at Clermont. In the middle of Lent he dedicated the abbey-church of St. Nicholas, Angers, and honoured it with papal privileges.¹ He lent his voice and authority to secure the liberation from prison of Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, whom Fulk the Rechin, his younger brother and liegeman, had treacherously captured, deprived of his county, and kept imprisoned in the dungeon of Chinon castle for about thirty years.²

In the year of our Lord 1096, the fourth indiction, in the month of March, Peter of Achères,³ a monk well known for his teaching and liberality, set out on pilgrimage, taking with him Walter of Poissy⁴ with his kinsmen, Walter Sans-Avoir, William, Simon,⁵ and Matthew, and other eminent French knights and unmounted men to the number of about fifteen thousand. He reached Cologne on Easter Saturday⁶ and remained there for Holy Week, without pausing in his good work. He preached to the Germans and won fifteen thousand of them for the Lord's cause. Two eminent counts called Bertold and Hildebert and one bishop joined him,⁷ and travelled with him on pilgrimage through Germany and Hungary. But while Peter remained at Cologne, preaching the word of God so as to attract support and recruit new followers, the proud French refused to wait for him and took the road into Hungary. Coloman, king of the Magyars, was friendly towards them and made available the provisions they needed in his country. From there they crossed the Danube and travelled through Bulgaria into Cappadocia. Arriving there first, they were later joined by the Germans, following with Peter.⁸

about the fortunes of this party, some of which is not to be found in other sources.

⁵ William and Simon are later described as Walter's brothers (below, p. 346). Their place of origin may have been Boissy-sans-Avoir, near Montfort l'Amaury.

⁶ 12 April 1096.

⁷ There is supporting evidence for the details given by Orderic in the *Chronicle of Zimmern*, which names the bishops Otto of Strasbourg and Conrad of Chur among those taking the cross. Bertold may be Count Bertold of Neifen, mentioned in this chronicle (H. Hagenmeyer, 'Étude sur la *Chronique de Zimmern*', in *AOL* ii (1884), 22-3, 63-4, 79).

⁸ Albert of Aix gives a fuller account of the difficulties of Walter Sans-Avoir's followers in Bulgaria, but he wrongly places their arrival there in March instead of May (*RHC Occ.* iv. 274-5).

Apostolicæ iussionis fama per totum orbem perniciousè uolauit, et de cunctis gentibus predestinatos ad summi Messiae militiam commonuit. Ingens nempe 'illud tonitruum Angliam quoque aliasque maritimas insulas nequirit latere.' licet undisoni maris abissus illas remoueat ab orbe. Immo Britannos et Guascones, et extremos hominum Gallicos fama perniciousè succrescens animauit et armauit. Venetii quoque et Pisani et Ienuenses, et qui littus Oceani uel Mediterranei maris incolabant' nauibus honustis armis et hominibus, machinis et uictualibus mare sulcantes operuerunt. Qui uero terra ibant' uniuersæ terræ superficiem tanquam locustæ occuluerunt.

Mense Iulio Gualterius de Pexeo Finipoli in Bulgaria obiit' et signum sanctæ crucis post mortem in carne eius apparuit. iii. 480 Dux autem et episcopus urbis hoc signo audito foras egressi sunt' et Gualterii corpus cum ciuibus cunctis reuerenter in urbem transferentes sepelierunt, aliisque peregrinis aditum urbis quem antea interdixerant et mercatum concesserunt.²

Eodem anno Hugo magnus Crispeii comes Radulfo et Henrico filiis suis terram suam commisit, et Isabel filiam suam Rodberto de Mellento comiti dedit, et peregre proficiscens secum nobile agmen Francorum adduxit. Tunc Stephanus Blesensium comes filius Tedbaldi comitis Carnotensis, qui gener erat Guillelmi Anglorum regis' crucem Domini sumpsit, et peregre perrexit. Alii quoque comites uirique consulares³ Guido Trussellus⁴ nepos Guidonis comitis Castelli-fortis,⁵ ac Milo de Braia,⁶ et Centorius de Bieria,⁷ Radulfus de Balgenciaco,⁸ et Ebrardus de Pusacio,⁹ iii. 481 Guillelmus Carpentarius¹⁰ ac Drogo de Monceio,¹¹ aliique multi

¹ 'illud tonitruum . . . locustæ occuluerunt' follows Baudry of Dol very closely (BD I. viii, p. 18). Raymond of Agiles also speaks of ships manned by Englishmen sailing round Spain and assisting the crusaders along with the Genoese (*RHC Occ.* iii. 290).

² The information in this paragraph occurs only in Orderic.

³ The 'uiri consulares' common to both Orderic's list and Baudry's (BD I. viii, p. 17) were Centule of Béarn, Ralph of Beaugency, and Evrard of Le Puiset. Except for the vicomte of Béarn, who was with the contingent from Toulouse, they were important châtelains and vicomtes of northern France.

⁴ Guy Troussel, son of Miles I of Bray, lord of Montlhéry. See Fliche, *Philippe I*, p. 321.

⁵ Guy the Red, steward of the king of France, more commonly called count of Rochefort (Rochefort-en-Yveline). See Fliche, *Philippe I*, pp. 321-2; Lemarignier, *Le Gouvernement royal*, p. 154; Suger, *Vita Ludouici*, viii, p. 38.

⁶ Miles I of Bray-sur-Seine, vicomte of Troyes, was Guy Troussel's father, and a brother of Guy the Red. See Fliche, *Philippe I*, p. 321 n. 2. He later took part in the crusade of 1101; see below, p. 324.

⁷ Centule V, vicomte of Béarn, was the son of Gaston IV of Béarn. Gaston

News of the papal command spread rapidly all over the world, and aroused the men of all nations who were predestined to join the army of the almighty Messiah. 'Its great thunder did not fail to reach England and the other islands of the ocean, though the depths of the sounding sea separated them from the remainder of the world. Elsewhere the news, spreading rapidly, roused to arms and action Bretons and Gascons and men from distant Galicia. The Venetians too, the Pisans, and the Genoese and others who inhabited the coasts of the ocean or the Mediterranean Sea darkened the waters with ships, which ploughed the waves laden with arms and men, siege-weapons, and provisions. Those who went by land covered the whole surface of the earth like locusts.

In July Walter of Poissy died at Philippopolis in Bulgaria, and after his death the sign of the holy cross appeared on his body. When the duke and the bishop of the city heard of this marvel they came out of the gates and, accompanied by all the citizens, had Walter's body reverently carried into the city and buried; subsequently they allowed the other crusaders to enter the city and purchase supplies, which up to then had been forbidden.²

In that year Count Hugh the Great of Crépy left his lands to his sons Ralph and Henry, gave his daughter Isabel to Robert, count of Meulan, and set out on crusade at the head of a noble army of Frenchmen. Then Stephen count of Blois, son of Theobald count of Chartres and son-in-law of William king of England, took the cross and set out on crusade. Other counts and leading comital vassals,³ Guy Troussel,⁴ nephew of Guy count of Châteaufort,⁵ Miles of Bray,⁶ Centule of Béarn,⁷ Ralph of Beaugency⁸ and Evrard of Le Puiset,⁹ William the Carpenter¹⁰ and Drogo of Mouchy,¹¹ and many other magnates and famous knights, together

played a prominent part in the crusade; possibly Centule accompanied his father, but he is not named in other sources and Baudry, followed by Orderic, may have confused the two. For the companions of Raymond of Saint-Gilles on the crusade see J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles* (Toulouse, 1959), pp. 29-30.

⁸ Son of Lancelin of Beaugency, an important châtelain and vassal of the count of Anjou. See Lemarignier, *Le Gouvernement royal*, p. 57 n. 69, and J. Boussard in *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, xlvii (1961), 78.

⁹ Evrard III, son of Hugh I (Blavons) of Le Puiset; see J. La Monte, 'The lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades', in *Speculum*, xvii (1942), 100-1.

¹⁰ William the Carpenter, vicomte of Melun, who later played a discreditable part in the crusade.

¹¹ Drogo of Mouchy-le-Châtel was Hugh II of Gournay's stepfather (Le Prévost, iv. 317).

proceres et famosi milites cum multis cuneis Francorum pro Christi amore peregrinati sunt.

iii. 482 ¹Petrus Heremita cum multis Alemannis et Francis subsequens agmen precesserat¹ et regiam ad urbem² applicuerat. Multos ibi Lumbardos inuenit et Langobardos³ et Alemannos qui eum precesserant¹ et ex imperatoris responso uenientem exercitum sustinebant. Imperator interim eis mercatum dari iusserat, sicut in ciuitate rectum erat. Mandauerat quoque ne quendam sinum maris quem Brachium Sancti Georgii uocant transfretarent¹ quousque maximus qui subsequebatur exercitus aduenisset. 'Si enim' inquit 'aliter egeritis' efferi gentiles in uos irruent, et hanc imbellem cateruam periment.' Quod sic postea contigit. Gens nanque illa sine rege, sine duce uariis aggregata locis, indisciplinate uiuebant, in res alienas rapaciter inuolabant, plumbum de quo æcclesiæ coopertæ fuerant, absportabant et uendebant, palacia destruebant, et in omnibus se nequiter agebant. His cognitis imperator ualde iratus est¹ quippe qui iam eos beneficiis suis ingratos expertus est. Coegit itaque eos expelli ab urbe, et transfretare. Transfretati multa iterum illicita in Christianos patrauerunt. Nam terram eorum hostiliter depredati sunt¹ et domos eorum æcclesiasque cremauerunt. Tandem Nichomediam uenerunt.⁴ Ligures aliæque gentes illic separantur a Francis. Franci siquidem ferociores erant et intractabiliores¹ et ob id ad iii. 483 omne malum procliuiiores. Alii ergo quendam Rainaldum sibi prefecerunt¹ et sub eius ducatu Romaniam ingressi sunt.

Ultra Niceam itinere iv dierum progressi sunt¹ et castellum Exerogorgan⁵ intrauerunt, et ibidem causa hospitandi demorati sunt. Illud omnium uictualium erat plenum¹ sed incertum est an timore uel industria uacuum incolis sit dimissum. Ibi Alemanni a Turcis circumuallati sunt¹ et usque ad interneccionem ut in sequentibus elucidabitur pene deleti sunt.

Mense Septembri Rodbertus dux Normannorum Guillelmo regi Neustriam commisit, et acceptis ab eo decem milibus marcis argenti peregre perrexit, terribilemque hostibus militum et peditum multitudinem secum adduxit. Nam cum eo profecti

¹ 'Petrus Heremita . . . circumuallati sunt' is based very closely on BD I. ix, p. 18; cf. *GF* I. ii, pp. 2-3.

² Constantinople.

³ The author of the *Gesta Francorum*, whose words were incorporated in Baudry's text, distinguished between Lombards settled in the north and south of Italy by the terms 'Lumbardi' and 'Langobardi'.

⁴ Nicomedia was reached about 10 August 1096 (Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, p. 33).

⁵ The Italians and Germans left Nicaea about 20 September 1096 (Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, p. 39) and reached Xerigordon about 24 September. There

with great troops of Frenchmen, set out on pilgrimage for the love of Christ.

¹Peter the Hermit had gone ahead of the army with many Germans and Frenchmen and reached the imperial city.² He found there many Lombards from north and south Italy³ and Germans who had preceded him and, with the Emperor's permission, were making provision for the approaching army. The Emperor had commanded that they should have the right to purchase supplies, according to the custom of the city. He had also ordered that no one should cross the strait called the Bosphorus until the greater part of the army which was following had arrived. 'If', he said, 'you do otherwise the fierce pagans will attack you and annihilate this unwarlike rabble.' This indeed happened later. For the ungoverned, leaderless people, assembled from different places, lived without discipline, greedily plundered other men's property, carried off and sold the lead with which the churches were covered, destroyed the palaces, and behaved in all they did with no respect for the law. When the Emperor heard of this his anger knew no bounds, because he found that they had abused his generosity. He therefore forced them to leave the city and cross the strait. Reaching the other side they committed many crimes against Christians. Like foes they plundered their lands and burnt their homes and churches. Finally they reached Nicomedia.⁴ There the Italians and other races separated from the French, who were fiercer and more obstinate and therefore more prone to crime. The others chose a certain Reginald as their leader, and under his command they entered the province of Rum.

They advanced four days' journey beyond Nicaea and entered the castle of Xerigordon,⁵ where they stopped to recuperate. It was full of provisions of all kinds, but whether it had been abandoned by the inhabitants in panic or as a deliberate plan is not certain. The Germans were surrounded by the Turks there and were almost wholly exterminated, as will appear in the following pages.

In September Robert, duke of the Normans, committed Normandy to King William and, after receiving ten thousand marks in silver from him, set out on crusade at the head of a formidable army of knights and foot-soldiers. With him went his

is some doubt about the identification of the place; Eski-kaleh has been suggested (*RHC Occ.* 733 note a); but cf. Baldwin, *Crusades*, p. 283 n. 2.

sunt Odo patruus suus Baiocensis episcopus, et Philippus clericus Rogerii comitis filius,¹ Retro Goisfredi comitis Moritonæ filius, iii. 484 Gualterius comes de Sancto Gualerico Ricardi iunioris ducis Normannorum ex filia nomine Papia nepos,² et Girardus de Gornaco, Radulfus Brito de Guader³ et Hugo comes de Sancto Paulo,⁴ Iuo et Albericus filii Hugonis de Grentemaisnilio,⁵ aliique multi eximie strenuitatis milites.

Godefridus quoque Lotharingæ dux et Balduinus ac Eustachius comes Boloniæ fratres eius, et Balduinus comes de Monte,⁶ iii. 485 Rodbertus quoque marchio Flandriæ nepos Mathildis Anglorum reginæ, et Rainardus Teutonicus⁷ cum multis milibus armatorum pro amore Christi sua reliquerunt, et exilium ad confutandos paganos et releuandos Christianos libenter petierunt, et per Hungariam cum turmis suis commeauerunt. Naimarus autem Podiensis episcopus cum Tolosano Raimundo prospere per iii. 486 Sclauariam transiit,⁸ eisque Bodinus Sclauorum rex amicabiliter fauit.

Rodbertus uero Normannus et Stephanus Blesensis sororius eius, Hugo quoque Magnus⁹ et Flandrensis Rodbertus et plures alii Alpibus transcensam Italiam intrauerunt, et per urbem Romam pacifice transeuntes in Apulia et Calabria hiemauerunt. Rogerius autem dux cognomento Bursa duce[m] Normanniæ cum sociis suis utpote naturalem dominum suum honorifice suscepit, et quæ necessaria erant copiose administravit.¹⁰

iii. 487 Dum Marcus¹¹ Buamundus cum Rogerio patruo suo comite Siciliæ quoddam castrum¹² obsideret et motiones ducum multarumque gentium audiret, mox singulorum probitates et signa diligenter inuestigauit quibus subtiliter inspectis sibi tandem optimum afferri pallium precepit. Quod per particulas concidit et crucem unicuique suorum distribuit, suamque sibi retinuit. Nimius igitur militum concursus ad eum subito factus est et Rogerius senex pene solus in obsidione relictus est, dolensque se suam amisisse gentem Siciliam cum paucis reuersus est.

¹ Philip, fifth son of Roger of Montgomery (see above, iv. 284 n. 4, 302).

² Walter, lord (not count) of Saint-Valéry, uncle of Gilbert of Auffy (see above, iii. 252, 367).

³ Previously earl of Norfolk, exiled for treason by William I (see above, ii. 310-18). ⁴ Saint-Pol in Artois.

⁵ For the sons of Hugh of Grandmesnil see above, iv. 230, 338-40.

⁶ Baldwin, count of Hainault.

⁷ Probably Rainald, count of Toul.

⁸ 'per Hungariam . . . transiit' echoes BD I. xii, p. 20. Orderic supplies the name of Bodin.

⁹ Hugh, count of Vermandois, younger brother of King Philip I of France. His surname 'magnus' was originally an inappropriate latinization of 'le maisné'

uncle, Odo bishop of Bayeux, and Philip the clerk, Count Roger's son,¹ Rotrou, son of Geoffrey count of Mortagne, Walter count of Saint-Valéry, a great-grandson of Richard III duke of Normandy by his daughter Papia,² also Gerard of Gournay, Ralph the Breton of Gael,³ and Hugh of Saint-Pol,⁴ Ivo and Aubrey, the sons of Hugh of Grandmesnil,⁵ and many other very brave knights.

Besides these, Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, and his brothers Baldwin and Eustace, count of Boulogne, and Baldwin, count of Mons,⁶ Robert, marquis of Flanders, who was the nephew of Matilda queen of England, and Rainald the German,⁷ with many thousand armed men, abandoned their possessions for the love of Christ and gladly went into exile to drive back the pagans and rescue the Christians. They travelled through Hungary with their troops. Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, and Raymond of Toulouse together passed in good order through Dalmatia⁸ and were well received by the Serbian prince, Bodin.

Robert the Norman and his brother-in-law, Stephen of Blois, with Hugh the Great⁹ and Robert of Flanders and many others crossed the Alps and entered Italy; travelling through Rome in peace, they wintered in Apulia and Calabria. Duke Roger Borsa welcomed the duke of Normandy with his companions as his natural lord, and provided liberally for all his needs.¹⁰

Mark¹¹ Bohemond was besieging a fortress¹² with his uncle Roger, count of Sicily, when he heard of the movements of leaders and many peoples. He inquired immediately about the character of the different men and their emblems, and after examining them closely commanded a very precious cloak to be brought to him. Cutting it into strips, he handed a cross to each of his men, keeping one for himself. At once a great crowd of knights flocked round him and old Roger, left almost alone to carry on the siege, returned to Sicily with a handful of men, lamenting that he had

(the younger, or cadet), but his part in the battle of Antioch was held by some historians to justify it literally.

¹⁰ This paragraph expands and supplements information in BD I. xii, p. 20.

¹¹ 'Boamundus . . . inseparabiliter inuaserunt' closely follows BD I. xii; cf. GF I. iv, pp. 7-8.

¹² Bohemond and Roger were probably besieging the tower at Ponte di Scafati as part of a general investment of the duchy of Amalfi. The date at which they took the cross was almost certainly June or July 1096, and when the French and Norman contingents reached Italy in the autumn Bohemond was already making his preparations. See E. M. Jamison, 'Some notes . . .', pp. 188-92.

Prouidus autem et sollers Buamundus modeste uiam suam et euectiones preparauit, cum optimatibus suis et affluentibus armatorum copiis transfretauit, et tandem tranquillo remige in Bulgariae partibus applicuit. Porro precipui sodales eius hi fuerunt.

iii. 488 ¹Tancredus Odonis boni marchisi filius, et comes de Rosinolo cum suis fratribus, Ricardus de Principatu et Rannulfus frater eius, Rodbertus de Anxa, et Rodbertus de Surdaualle, Rodbertus filius Turstani, Hermannus de Canni et Vnfridus filius Radulfi, Ricardus filius Rannulfi comitis, et Bartolomeus Boellus Carnotensis, Alberedus de Cagnano et Vnfredus de Monte Scabioso. Hi omnes cum clientibus suis Buamundo unanimiter adhaerunt.¹ eique se in uia Dei deuotissime obedituros inseparabiliter iurauerunt.

iii. 489 ²Hugo Magnus et Guillelmus marchisi filius³ ad portum Bari pelagus prepropere ingressi sunt.¹ et nauigantes Durachium applicuerunt. Dux autem urbis magnos barones ratus iussit eos apprehendi, et sub excubanti custodia Constantinopolim ad imperatorem sollerter deduci. Adulatorius itaque dux perfido se uolebat obsequio Cesari commendare, et deuotionem suam erga ipsum indiciis huiusmodi approbare.

5

Solimannus⁴ Turcorum dux ut Christianos super ethnicos uenisse cognouit.¹ ingentem exercitum aggregauit, et castellum

¹ The names of Bohemond's companions are taken directly from Baudry, with the addition of two Christian names from Orderic's own knowledge, and only indirectly from *GF* I. iv, pp. 7-8. The barons have been identified with great learning by E. M. Jamison, 'Some notes . . .', pp. 195-208. Tancred, often called Bohemond's nephew, may have been his cousin, since his mother Emma is called in some sources the sister, not the daughter, of Robert Guiscard; Orderic adds the name Odobonus (cf. above, iv. 338-40). The count of Roscignolo, elsewhere called Geoffrey, probably had his seat at Roscignolo in the Principality of Salerno and bore the old Lombard title of count, although the place was not later a count's seat. Richard of the Principality (of Salerno) was a son of Robert Guiscard's brother William and a cousin of Bohemond. His brother Ranulf is carefully distinguished by E. M. Jamison from Count Ranulf of Caiazzo, whose son Richard joined the crusade. Robert of Sourdeval must originally have come from Sourdeval (Manche) in the Cotentin, but was well established in Sicily as a baron of Count Roger of Sicily. Robert son of Thurstan and Humphrey son of Ralph were vassals or subvassals of Duke Roger Borsa of Apulia. Herman of Canne, Bohemond's cousin, was a younger son of Robert Guiscard's brother Humphrey; his castle of Canne was in Bohemond's own territory of Bari. Richard son of Count Ranulf was a son of Count Ranulf of Caiazzo and Alife, who was the brother of Richard I of Capua. Bartholomew Boel of Chartres came from a family of benefactors of Saint-Évroul; his

lost his army. Bohemond, provident and experienced as he was, soberly planned his route and prepared transport, crossed the sea with his magnates and large forces of armed men, and finally, after a calm crossing, landed on the shores of Bulgaria. His chief companions were the following men:

¹Tancred, son of Odobonus the marquis, and the count of Roscignolo with his brothers; Richard of the Principality and Ranulf his brother; Robert of Anzi and Robert of Sourdeval, Robert son of Thurstan, Herman of Canne and Humphrey son of Ralph; Richard son of Count Ranulf and Bartholomew Boel of Chartres; Aubrey of Cagnano and Humphrey of Montescaglioso. All these with their dependants followed Bohemond as one man, and swore that they would obey him faithfully and never leave him in the crusade.

²Hugh the Great and William, son of the Marquis,³ embarked immediately at the port of Bari and sailed to Durazzo. The governor of the city however, hearing of the arrival of such great lords, had them arrested and sent under close surveillance to the Emperor at Constantinople. The obsequious governor hoped by his treacherous obedience to gain the Emperor's favour and demonstrate his devotion towards him by proofs of this kind.

5

When Kilij Arslan,⁴ ruler of the Turks, learnt of the Christian attack on the infidels, he mustered a great army and laid siege to

Christian name is provided by Orderic. He may have been the same man as Bartholomew Boel, who was the successor and probably the son of Foucher son of Gerard, canon of Chartres (cf. above, iii. 152-4). Aubrey of Cagnano has as yet not been positively identified; he may have belonged to the family of Cagnano whose members had fiefs in Noia and Bitonto (cf. *Catalogus baronum*, ed. E. M. Jamison (Fonti per la storia d'Italia (Rome, 1972)), no. 7), or alternatively have held a fief at a place called Gagnano in the county of Montescaglioso. Humphrey of Montescaglioso, son of Count Robert of Montescaglioso, was a grandson of Geoffrey of Conversano (cf. above, iv. 32); but as he died before 1096 this seems to be an error in the list copied from *GF*; it was his elder brother Geoffrey who took the cross.

² 'Hugo Magnus . . . approbare' is fairly close to *BD* I. xiii, p. 21; cf. *GF* I. iii, pp. 5-6.

³ William was Tancred's brother; see E. M. Jamison, 'Some notes . . .', pp. 192-3.

⁴ Neither *BD* nor *GF* names Kilij Arslan; but the name also occurs at this point in Albert of Aix (*RHC Occ.* iv. 285). Although generally known to western historians as 'Solimannus', he was actually the son of Suleiman.

iii. 490 Exerogorgan ubi Alemanni erant obsedit. Turci oppidum circumuallare festinauerunt, et Rainaldum cum suis egressum ut uenientibus illis insidias pretenderet preliando fugauerunt. Tunc multi Christianorum gladio ceciderunt. Si qui uero potuerunt, fuga elapsi castro recepti sunt: quo undique obsesso statim hostes inclusis aquam abstulerunt. Fons et puteus quo castellum sustentabatur extra erat: quem utrunque uiriliter circumseptum legio Turcorum indesinenter obseruabat. Sitis itaque nimiam incommoditatem obsessi per dies octo sustinuerunt, sed ob nimietatem scelerum et duriciam cordium nimis anxii sunt: nec a Deo adiuuari meruerunt. Tandem dux eorum cum Turcis consiliatus est: eisque suorum si posset prodicionem fratrum pactus est. Rainaldus igitur fingens se ad bellum procedere cum multis exiuit, ac ad Turcos transfuga fugit. Residui uero inhonestam deditionem coacti fecerunt: et desperantes abominabilem apostasiam in Deum commiserunt. Porro illi qui fidei suæ testimonium perhibuerunt, capitalem sententiam subierunt, uel in signum positi sagittati sunt: uel ab inuicem diuisi uili precio uenundati, uel in captiuitate cum Bertaldo comite² abducti. Hanc iii^o kalendas Octobris primam persecutionem Christiani perpassi sunt: et sic Alemanni aliæque gentes in Corosanum uel Aleph captiuati sunt, sed qui in fide Christi permanserunt, glorioso fine quieuerunt.

iii. 491 Franci quippe iam longe precesserant, et Cheuetotem urbem intrauerant: quam Alexius imperator nuper construere ceperat, et Anglis qui a facie Guillelmi nothi fugerant tradere uoluerat: sed prohibentibus Turcis eam imperfectam reliquerat.³ Solimannus uero uictis Allobrogibus et Alemannis elatus Cheuetotem Niceæ uicinam de triumpho securus, cum suis iam nil nisi sanguinem sitientibus adiit, et cum magno impetu super Gallos irruit. ⁴Petrus enim iam Constantinopolim redierat: quoniam illum auscultare sua cohors non adquiescebat. Effrenes autem Turci subito accurrerunt, egregio militi Gualterio⁵ principi militiæ suisque commilitonibus obuiauuerunt, ipsumque cum multis quia imparati erant facile detruncauerunt. Guillelmum uero fratrem eius⁶ cum quibusdam aliis uulnerauerunt. Ibi etiam

¹ The passage 'obsedit . . . adiuuari meruerunt' abbreviates BD 1. ix-x, pp. 18-19. 'Tandem dux eorum cum Turcis . . . glorioso fine quieuerunt' closely follows BD 1. x, pp. 19-20; cf. *GF* 1. ii, pp. 3-4.

² Orderic adds the name of Count Bertold.

³ Cf. above, ii. 202-3, iv. 16; Jonathan Shepard, 'The English and Byzantium . . .', in *Traditio*, xxix (1973), 53-92.

⁴ 'Petrus enim . . . Octobri' is based on BD 1. x, p. 20; cf. *GF* 1. ii, pp. 4-5.

the castle of Xerigordon, where the Germans were.¹ The Turks swiftly surrounded the town, fell on Reginald, who had led out his men intending to prepare an ambush before they arrived, and put the Christians to flight. Many were put to the sword that day. Those who could made their escape and took refuge in the castle, where the enemy immediately besieged them and cut off the water supply. Both the spring and the well by which the castle was supplied were outside; and a contingent of Turks surrounded these at once and guarded them day and night. The besieged endured terrible suffering from thirst for eight days, but they were punished for the multitude of their transgressions and the hardness of their hearts and did not merit any help from God. Finally their leader parleyed with the Turks and agreed to betray his comrades to them if he could. So Reginald, feigning to be setting off to battle, rode out with many followers and deserted to the Turks. The others were constrained to a shameful surrender, and in despair were guilty of blasphemous apostasy against God. As for those who gave steadfast witness to their faith, they were beheaded, or set up as targets and shot with arrows, or divided up and sold at a low price, or led away into captivity with Count Bertold.² The Christians suffered this first persecution on 29 September. In this way the Germans and other peoples were taken as captives to Khurasan or Aleppo, but those who stood firm in the faith of Christ died a glorious death.

Meanwhile the Franks had advanced a considerable distance and entered the city of Civetot, which the Emperor Alexius had recently begun to build, intending to entrust it to the English who had fled from the presence of William the Bastard; but he had been prevented by the Turks from completing it.³ After the Germans and Italians had been defeated, Kilij Arslan, elated and secure in his victory, approached Civetot, which is near to Nicaea, and with his army thirsting insatiably for blood made a violent assault on the French. ⁴By this time Peter had returned to Constantinople because his forces refused to obey him. The savage Turks arrived without warning, attacked the noble knight Walter,⁵ commander of the knights, and his comrades-in-arms and, finding them unprepared, easily slaughtered him and many others. They wounded his brother William⁶ and a number of others. In this

⁵ Walter Sans-Avoir.

⁶ Orderic provides the name of Walter's brother, William.

decollauerunt quendam Domini sacerdotem¹ missarum solennia suppliciter celebrantem. Si qui euadere uiui potuerunt, in urbem fugerunt² uel in carectis aut siluis seu montanis delituerunt. Pauci uero qui castellum³ ut se defenderent tenuerunt⁴ multos obsidentium peremerunt. Turci ligna quamplurima undecumque attulerunt⁵ incendium castello et hominibus preparauerunt. Christiani autem extrema iam in desperatione positi⁶ animosiores audacter ignem in ligna sunt iaculati. Sic igitur euaserunt incendium. Ex utrisque perierunt plurimi⁷ et hoc contigit mense Octobri.²

iii. 492 ³Plures ex peregrinis profugi redierunt⁸ et sequacibus qui adhuc citra Bizantum castra metati fuerant casus suos retulerunt. Imperator omnium emit arma⁹ ut inermes incolis minus nocere possent in regione aliena. Alii alios expectabant ut consilio communicato¹⁰ auxiliaribus freti ducibus, et copiis stipati militaribus¹¹ Deum precibus et confessionibus sibi complacarent, et sic terram inimicorum intrarent.

Solimannus postquam Francos superauit, et quosdam in bello trucidauit, quamplures etiam in captiuitatem transmisit¹² paucos in urbe acerrime resistentes obsedit. Porro in crastinum ut a certis indicibus audiuit¹³ quod Buamundus dux Macedoniam super imperatorem inuaserit, et ingentem exercitum Normannorum et Apulorum ad ulciscendum cruorem Christianorum contra Turcos armauerit, nimis inde territus Chevetotem reliquit, et agmina sua ad muniendum terram suam cito reduxit.⁴ Precipites itaque Galli auxilium Buamundi aliorumque fidelium expectare spreuerunt, sed in uirtute sua nimis fisi ad fines Turcorum appropiauuerunt, ibique permittente Deo ut prediximus graui bello attriti sunt.

6

⁵Godefridus dux primus omnium ducum Constantinopolim uenit, et prope illam x^o kal¹⁴ Ianuarii castra metatus est. Buamundus uero suos qui eum subsequi satagebant prestolabatur, pedetentim

¹ Albert of Aix describes this as an old deserted fortress near the sea-shore; the crusaders were rescued by ships sent from Constantinople (*RHC Occ.* iv. 288-9).

² 21-4 October, 1096 (Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 43-5).

³ 'Plures . . . inimicorum intrarent' closely follows BD I. xi, p. 20.

⁴ Bohemond landed between Durazzo and Avlona in late October 1096 (Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 45-6). His movements cannot have been known by Kilij Arslan when he withdrew from Civetot.

engagement they beheaded a priest of God while he was humbly celebrating Mass. Those who managed to escape alive fled to the city or hid in reed-beds or woods or mountains. A few who occupied a castle¹ to defend themselves killed many of the besiegers. The Turks collected a great pile of wood from all around and prepared to burn down the castle with the men inside. But the Christians, driven to the point of desperation, grew bolder and set fire to the wood by shooting arrows into it. In this way they escaped from the flames. Many perished on both sides. This happened in October.²

³Many of the pilgrims who had fled turned towards home and told their adventures to the late arrivals, who were still encamped near Constantinople. The Emperor purchased all their weapons so that, being unarmed, they would be less capable of molesting the inhabitants of a country where they were strangers. Other pilgrims waited for the new arrivals so that, by sharing their counsels, relying on the leaders allied with them and supported by troops of fighting-men, they might placate God by prayers and confessions and so enter the enemy's territory.

After Kilij Arslan had defeated the Franks and killed some of them in battle he sent many away into captivity and besieged the few who were still fiercely resisting in the city. Next day, learning from reliable sources that Duke Bohemond had entered the Emperor's territory in Macedonia, and had armed a huge force of Normans and Apulians to wreak vengeance on the Turks for shedding Christian blood, he withdrew from Civetot in great alarm and rapidly retreated with his army to defend his own lands.⁴ So it was that the hasty French, who scorned to wait for the help of Bohemond and other Christian armies and trusted too much in their own strength, advanced to the Turkish frontiers and there, as we have related, were by God's sufferance cut to pieces in a disastrous battle.

6

⁵Duke Godfrey was the first of all the leaders to reach Constantinople and pitched camp near by on 23 December. Bohemond was then holding back; he advanced cautiously, marching a little

⁵ 'Godefridus dux . . . identidem promissorum fidelitate' very closely follows BD I. xiv-xv, pp. 21-2; cf. *GF* I. iii, pp. 6-7; II. vi, pp. 11-12.

gradiebatur, eosque paulatim eundo callide in dies opperiebatur. Alexius autem imperator in suburbio ciuitatis duci paulo post mandauit hospitium dari. Armigeri uero ducalis exercitus comoda sibi more procurabant, ad subuehendas paleas uel cetera sibi necessaria extra urbem secure cursitabant, sed Turcopolis¹ et Pincinatis² iussu Augusti insidiantibus cotidie peribant. Non dum aliquid de imperatore suspicabantur sinistrum, quippe qui uoluntarius eis prebuisset hospicium. Nimis dux contristatus est pro defectu suorum³ et inopinatis insidiis Turcopolorum. Balduinus igitur ad suorum protectionem exiuit, et hostes qui suos insequabantur inuenit, ex improviso incautos inuasit, superauit, partim occidit, lx ex eis captos fratri suo presentauit. Augustus hoc ut audiuit⁴ ualde iratus malum peregrinis machinari cepit. Sapiens dux dolos precauens urbem exiit, et ubi prius sua fixerat tentoria rursus collocauit. Nocte superueniente iussu Cesaris inuasa sunt castra ducis⁵ et exercitus eius multis laccessitus iniuriis. Sagacissimus dux et acerrimus bellator uersutias metuebat, et excubitores qui tentoriis excubarent prudenter disposuerat, et unumquemque sibi uigilare mandauerat. Repulsi sunt quantocius inuasores⁶ et ex illis vii peremptis usque ad portam ciuitatis audacter insecutus est dux fugientes. Deinde ad tentoria sua reuersus⁷ fuit ibi quinque diebus. Imperator interim cogitabat malum in ducem moliri⁸ dux sollicitius sibi suisque consiliari. Imperator ei transitum per ciuitatem regiam prohibere⁹ dux subsequentium optimatum aduentum expectare. Denique perspicax et industrius imperator ut nichil intemptatum relinqueret, cum duce pacem fecit quod si Brachium transfretaret¹⁰ semper ei copiosum mercatum mitteret, et cunctis indigentibus stipem necessariam impertiret¹¹ tantum ut iuramento de eo securus esset. Hoc ideo machinatus est uersipellis¹² ut a regione ducem amoueret Bizantea cum suis copiis, ne posset couti superuenturorum principum consiliis et auxiliis. Dux itaque transiuit facta Cesaris et ab eodem accepta identidem promissorum fidelitate.

iii. 493

iii. 494

way each day and waiting for his men, who were pressing on after him. The Emperor Alexius ordered quarters to be provided for the duke in a suburb of the city soon after his arrival. The squires of the duke's army used to forage in the usual way, going about outside the city confidently to fetch straw and other things they needed, but every day some were killed by the Turcoples¹ and Patzinaks,² who lay in ambush at the Emperor's command. As yet they did not suspect any harm of the Emperor, since he had provided quarters for them of his own free will. The duke was greatly distressed by the loss of his men and the unexpected ambushes of the Turcoples. So Baldwin set out to protect his men. When he found enemies pursuing his followers he attacked them unexpectedly and off their guard, defeated them, killed some, and presented sixty of them whom he had captured to his brother. On hearing of this the Emperor was very angry and began to plot how to harm the pilgrims. The prudent duke, anticipating some treachery, left the city and pitched his tents again on their former site. When night fell the duke's camp was attacked by the Emperor's orders and his army seriously harassed. The prudent duke, being a seasoned warrior and fearing a trap, had placed the guards who were watching the camp very carefully, instructing each one to be on the alert. The attackers were repulsed immediately with the loss of seven men and the duke boldly pursued the fugitives right up to the city-gate. Afterwards he went back to his camp and remained there for five days. The Emperor meanwhile was considering how to harm the duke, while the duke gave careful thought to preserving himself and his men. The Emperor denied him passage through the imperial city; the duke awaited the arrival of the magnates who were coming after him. Finally the far-sighted and politic Emperor, in order to leave no course untried, made an agreement with the duke that if he would cross the Bosphorus he would continue to send him abundant provisions and would supply the necessary alms to all the poor, so long as loyalty was guaranteed by an oath. The cunning Emperor schemed in this way to move the duke and his armies away from the neighbourhood of Byzantium, to prevent his being influenced by the counsel and aid of the lords who would shortly arrive there. So the duke crossed over, after many promises of good faith had been given to the Emperor and received from him.

¹ The Turcoples were mercenaries of Turkish race in the imperial army; Albert of Aix asserts that they were the children of Turkish fathers and Greek mothers (*RHC Occ.* iv. 434).

² The Pechenegs or Patzinaks were a Turkish people settled north of the Black Sea, from whom mercenaries were recruited for the imperial army. See Baldwin, *Crusades*, pp. 181-7.

¹Buamundus in uallem de Andronopoli² uenit' ibique suos concionando sollerter admonuit, ut caute se haberent, ut peregrinationis pro Deo susceptæ memores essent, ut a Christianorum penatibus diripiendis rapaces manus cohiberent, ut Deum ante oculos semper presentem haberent, ac ut ditiores pauperibus et fortiores debilibus subuenirent, eosque pro amore Dei uiribus et opibus sustentarent.

³De ualle tandem Castoriam peruenerunt' ubi natalem Domini solenniter peregerunt. Ibi per aliquot dies remorati sunt' questumque mercatum habere non potuerunt, quia ciues non peregrinos sed gladiatores et tyrannos illos estimauerunt. Inedia ergo
iii. 495 cogente compulsi sunt boues, equos et asinos rapere, et si quid quod mandi posset conuenientius inueniebatur. Egressi uero de Castoria' castra metati sunt in Palagonia.⁴ Ibi munitissimum castellum hereticorum,⁵ bonis omnibus abunde refertum, undique aggressi sunt' et habitatoribus eiusdem cum eo combustis omnino pessunderunt. Omnes siquidem illi uiatores, Iudeos, hereticos, Sarracenos, æqualiter habebant exosos, quos omnes Dei appellant inimicos. Inde peruenerunt ad flumen Bardarum, quod Buamundus cum parte sui exercitus pertransiit, comes autem de Rosinolo cum fratribus suis remansit. Protinus satellites imperatoris qui uias obsidentes explorabant, ut exercitum diuisum uiderunt, impetu facto in comitem et suos irruerunt. Tancredus uero qui necdum longe aberat, ut cognouit tumultum rapidum calcaribus urguens cornipedem fulmineus aduolat, et fluuio qui intererat euadato seu potius enatato, festinum comiti contulit auxilium. Mox duo milia militum per amnem Tancredum subsecuti sunt' et Turcopolis confestim preualuerunt, eos de prelio fugauerunt, et de fugatis gloriose triumpharunt. Quosdam uero peremerunt, plures autem apprehensos uinxerunt, et Buamundo presentauerunt. Interrogati cur tam nequiter agerent
iii. 496 cum suo non inimicaretur imperatori' responderunt, 'Nos in roga imperatoris locati' nichil aliud agere possumus, quam quod ipse imperat.' Hoc ab inuitis bellum peregrinis factum est iua^a feria in capite ieiuniorum.⁶

¹ The substance of the following paragraph is taken from BD I. xvi, pp. 22-3, abbreviating the speech there attributed to Bohemond; cf. *GF* I. iv, p. 8.

² Bohemond's followers landed at different points between Durazzo and Avlona, and assembled at a village called Dropoli, in the valley of the river Viyosa. It is not to be confused with Adrianople.

³ 'De ualle . . . quod ipse imperat' very closely follows BD I. xvii, p. 23; cf. *GF* iv, pp. 8-9.

⁴ The region round Bitolj and Prilep, north of Castoria.

¹Bohemond reached the valley of Andrinopolis² and, assembling his men, warned them strictly to behave with moderation, never to forget the pilgrimage they had undertaken in God's name, to restrain their rapacious hands from plundering the homes of Christians, and to have God always present before their eyes. He added that the rich should help the poor and the strong the weak, supporting them for the love of God with their strength and riches.

³Leaving the valley, they reached Castoria and there celebrated the feast of Christmas. There they remained for some days, but they tried in vain to buy provisions, because the citizens took them for fighters and oppressors, not pilgrims. They were therefore compelled by want to seize oxen, horses, and asses, and anything else they could find that was edible. Leaving Castoria they pitched camp in Monastir.⁴ There they attacked from all sides a strong fortress of heretics,⁵ full of provisions, and utterly destroyed it, burning it and its inhabitants together. Indeed these pilgrims held all Jews, heretics, and Saracens, all of whom they called enemies of God, to be equally detestable. From there they reached the river Vardar, which Bohemond crossed with part of his army, while the count of Roscignolo and his brothers stayed behind. Suddenly soldiers of the Emperor, who were reconnoitring and watching the roads, seeing the army divided, made a violent attack on the count and his men. But Tancred, who was not yet far away, hearing the din flew like lightning, spurring on his swift steed and, fording or rather swimming across the river between them, quickly brought help to the count. Immediately two thousand knights followed Tancred through the river, soon got the better of the Turcoples, drove them from the field of battle and triumphed gloriously over them. They slew some, but took most captive and presented them, bound, to Bohemond. When they were asked why they were so hostile to men who had no quarrel with their emperor, they answered, 'We are in the Emperor's pay and cannot do otherwise than as he commands.' This battle was forced upon the pilgrims on Ash Wednesday.⁶

⁵ The warlike behaviour of these heretics proves them to have been Paulicians, not Bogomils. See D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 163 n. 2. They had fought for Alexius against the Normans in 1081 (*ibid.*, p. 190 n. 4) and, although they had deserted the Emperor early in the hostilities, motives of revenge may have been at work in the guise of religious fanaticism.

⁶ The date is taken from BD I. xviii, p. 24.

¹Buamundus nequitia² Cesaris indignatus se tamen repressit, captos quidem impunitos dimisit, sed ne suis de cetero nocerent interminando compescuit. 'Nos' inquit suis familiaribus, 'transituri per imperatorem tumorem animi compescamus.' et ne illum iniuste exacerbemus, prout possumus eitemus. Extremæ imperitiæ genus est hominem ibi totum efflare spiritum.' ubi commotus animus nullum habebit effectum. Porro prudentiæ modus est potestatiuum hominem se ipsum dissimulare.' ubi potentia sua nequit appetitui satisfacere. Prudentiæ est in tempus differre.' quod continuo non possis explere. Rursus socordiæ et ignauiæ redarguendus est, qui cum ultra non possit intonat minis, cum uero possit illatæ obliuiscitur improbitatis. Si possumus Augustum beneficiis superemus.' sin autem mala nobis illata equanimiter dissimulemus.' Hæc ait.' et iram animi tacitus continuit, et legatos ad imperatorem pro impetranda peregrinis Ihesu Christi securitate direxit.

iii. 497 Anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oXC^oVII^o indictione v^a.¹ Rodbertus dux Normannorum et Hugo Magnus, Stephanus Blesensis et Rodbertus Flandrensis aliique proceres qui de multis prouinciis processerant, et in Italia cum cateruis suis hiemauerant.' alacriter parati placido uere pelagus sulcantes Adriaticum transfretauerunt, et Marco Buamundo in Macedonia sociati sunt. Dum tanta nobilitas in unum conuenit, et incomparabilis probitas sine fictione ad opus Dei se optulit.' ingens cunctis timentibus Deum qui aderant tripudium fuit. Alexius autem imperator qui iam dudum Cisalpinorum arma grauiter expertus est ² audito aduentu tantorum baronum nimis territus est.' et perspecta arte per quam periculum euaderet sub specie pacis eos dolo decipere conatus est. Erat enim callidus et facundus.' largus et fallendi artifex ingeniosus. Legatos igitur ad nobiles peregrinos misit, et pacem ab eis humiliter requisiiuit.' liberumque transitum per terram suam et necessarium negocium atque subsidium se illis daturum cum iuramento promisit. Dux uero Buamundus qui fraudes eius benedudum expertus erat, eumque bello bis deuicerat.' simulatis sponsonibus non adqueiuit, sed socios suos ad obsidendam Constantinopolim uiriliter incitauit, et multis ac probabilibus hoc sibi commodissimum esse allegationibus manifeste ostendit.

¹ 'Buamundus . . . tacitus continuit' follows Baudry very closely; Bohemond's speech is given almost verbatim (BD I. xviii, pp. 23-4).

² See above, iv. 16-22, 26-8, for the Balkan campaigns of Robert Guiscard and Bohemond in 1081-5. The whole of this paragraph with its discussion of motives is provided by Orderic.

¹Bohemond, though angered at the Emperor's double-dealing, kept his self-control; he let the captives go free, but commanded them with threats to refrain from harassing his men any further. 'Our safe transit', he said to his intimates, 'depends on the Emperor's grace, so let us curb our passions and do everything in our power to avoid giving him just cause for complaint. It is the quality of an inexperienced man to exhaust himself in enterprises where strong passion produces no effect. But the way of prudence for a strong man is to hide his feelings where his strength alone cannot achieve his purpose. It is prudent to put off to a future time what you cannot accomplish immediately. Again, a man who thunders threats when he can do nothing more and who, when he can, overlooks past injuries, deserves to be called a fool and a coward. If it is possible let us win over the Emperor by goodwill; if not, let us calmly dissemble the wrongs he has done us.' So he spoke; and silently curbing his anger he sent ambassadors to the Emperor to ask for a safe-conduct for the pilgrims of Jesus Christ.

In the year of our Lord 1097, the fifth indiction, Robert, duke of Normandy, and Hugh the Great, Stephen of Blois and Robert of Flanders, and other great nobles, who had come from many regions and had wintered in Italy with their forces, thankfully made preparations when the weather improved in spring and, putting out to sea, sailed across the Adriatic to join Mark Bohemond in Macedonia. When so many great lords were gathered together and, with incomparable courage, devoted themselves whole-heartedly to the cause of God there was great rejoicing among all God-fearing people there. The Emperor Alexius, however, who had already had bitter experience of the northerners in battle,² was greatly alarmed at the news of the coming of such mighty lords and, choosing a course of action that might turn aside the danger, he attempted to deceive them with a pretence of peace. He was wily and smooth-spoken, a prolific and ingenious master of the art of deception. He therefore sent ambassadors to the noble pilgrims and humbly asked them to keep the peace, promising on oath to give them a free passage through his territory and any goods and help they needed. Duke Bohemond, who had already had thorough experience of his wiles and had twice defeated him in battle, was not satisfied with his feigned guarantees and instead urged his companions to besiege Constantinople with determination, offering many convincing reasons why this was the

iii. 498 Franci autem dixerunt, 'Nos diuitias nostras dereliquimus, et peregrinationem sponte aggressi sumus.' ut pro amore Christi paganos confundamus, et Christianos liberemus. Greci autem Christiani sunt. Pacem ergo cum illis faciamus' et quæ Turci abstulerint eis reddamus.' Coactus est itaque sagax Buamundus consiliis Francorum, ut pacem faceret cum imperatore Grecorum' ad magnum ut postea claruit detrimentum Christianorum.

iii. 499 ¹Requisitus imperator fucatis gestibus fauere nostratibus sategit, et corpalatium² sibi ualde familiarem cum aliis legatis Buamundo direxit' qui eum per terram illam secure deducerent, et eis ubique mercatum impenderent. Denique prout tempus poscebat de loco ad locum castra metati sunt' et per ciuitatem Serram usque Rusam³ ciuitatem uenerunt. Ibi uero quæcumque necessaria erant a Grecis sufficienter comparatis' suos tetenderunt papiliones feria quarta ante cenam Domini. Porro Buamundus ibi sua gente dimissa cum paucis ad Augustum loqui profectus est. Tancredus autem Christianos in expeditione pauperatos per aliam uiam in uallem uberem et nutrimentis corporalibus refertam conduxit' ubi Pascha Domini celebrauerunt. Alexius audiens quem nimium uerebatur aduenisse Buamundum a quo bis in pugna superatus fuerat' honorifice suscepit, et extra ciuitatem prout utrumque decebat copiose procurauit.

⁴Interea dux Godefredus ultra Brachium relictis sociis Constantinopolim redierat' quoniam imperator ut ei pepigerat, mercatum nullum transmittebat. Episcopus uero Podiensis et Tolosanus comes sua iterum post se intermissa multitudine aderant. Imperator autem consilio Grecorum qui ualde precauebant ne forte Franci congregati in eos insurgerent, bonisque suis eos priuarent, eroas singulos per internuncios allocutus est' hominumque ab eis et fidelitatem exegit. Quod si facerent' mercatum et conductum seque ipsum post eos iturum, eisque cum omnibus copiis suis subuenturum promisit. Angustiabantur Franci et iurare nolebant, nec aliter eis pelasgi transitum permittebant. Franci contra Christianos pugnare nolebant, transitum

¹ 'Requisitus . . . copiose procurauit' abbreviates BD 1. xix-xx, p. 24; cf. *GF* v, pp. 10-11.

² A household official.

³ The identification of this place is uncertain. See *GF*, p. 10 n. 3.

⁴ 'Interea dux . . . regredi abominabantur' fairly closely follows BD 1. xx, p. 25; cf. *GF* vi, pp. 11-12.

best course to pursue. The Franks, however, said, 'We have abandoned our worldly wealth and set out on a pilgrimage by our own choice, in order to throw back the pagans and free the Christians for the love of Christ. The Greeks are Christians too. Let us therefore make peace with them, and give back to them what the Turks have taken away.' So the wily Bohemond was obliged by the counsels of the Franks to make peace with the Greek Emperor, to the great loss of the Christians, as later appeared.

¹The Emperor on receiving the reply showed favour to our men with counterfeit acts and sent a *curopalate*² who was very dear to him, with other envoys, to Bohemond to guide him safely through the country and procure supplies for his men along the route. So they moved from place to place, pitching their tents whenever necessary, and came by way of the city of Serres to the city of Rusa.³ There, after purchasing from the Greeks a good supply of necessary provisions, they pitched their tents on the Wednesday in Holy Week. Bohemond left his men there and went ahead with a few companions to confer with the Emperor. Tancred, however, led the Christians, who were growing poor in the enterprise, by another route into a fertile valley, well furnished with supplies of food, where they kept the feast of Easter. Alexius, hearing of the arrival of Bohemond, whom he greatly feared and who had twice defeated him in battle, received him ceremoniously and provided lavishly for his needs outside the city, to their mutual convenience.

⁴Meanwhile Duke Godfrey, leaving his allies on the other side of the Bosphorus, returned to Constantinople because the Emperor had failed to send the supplies he had promised them. The bishop of Le Puy and count of Toulouse, having left behind their huge following, were there as well. The Emperor, on the advice of the Greeks who wished to take every precaution to prevent the Franks from combining to attack them and rob them of their possessions, negotiated with the lords individually through intermediaries and demanded homage and fealty from them. He promised that if they did homage he would give them provisions and escort, and that he himself would follow behind them and back them up with all his forces. The Franks were perturbed and did not wish to take an oath, but he would not allow them to cross the sea on any other terms. The Franks were unwilling to fight against Christians, they were unable to have a peaceful passage, and they

habere pacifici non poterant, imperfecto ad quod ierant negocio ad propria regredi abominabantur. ¹Tandem multis coacti necessitatibus iurauerunt Alexio imperatori uitam et honorem quod neutrum ei auferrent.² quo ad ipse quod iurabat bona fide teneret. iii. 500 Tolosanus autem comes plus aliis renitebatur' immo irrequietus cogitabat quomodo de imperatore ulcisceretur. Præualuit tamen communis heroum sententia, et ab hac intentione animosum comitem uix reuocauerunt. Iurauit itaque' sed ad hominum nunquam deductus est. Ilico igitur preceptum est de nauigio. Tancredus interim cum exercitu sibi commisso aduenerat. Audiens itaque quod Alexius a maioribus natu iuramentum exegerat' cum Ricardo de Principatu inter plebeios delituit, et puppibus acceleratis properus pertransiit. Boamundus et Tolosanus comes remanserunt' donec eis de mercato satisfaceret. ³Godefredus uero dux cum aliis Nichomediam uenit' ibique cum Tancredo tribus diebus mansit. Deinde dux cognito quod nulla qua tot et tantæ gentes possent procedere pateret uia' misit qui rupium et montium complanarent precipitia hominum tria milia. Qui acceptis securibus, asciis et uidulis, aliisque multimodis ferramentis ad carecta et fructecta stirpanda, ad prurupta montium coæquanda, uiam exercitui preparauerunt' positisque in altum signis⁴ quæ subsequentes cognoscerent, ne forte deuiarent, Niceam Bithiniæ uenerunt.

7

iii. 501 ⁵Castris itaque pridie nonas Maii metatis, tentoriisque occidentalium locatis' obsessa est Nicea totius Romanicæ caput, urbs munitissima' utpote quam ostentabant inexpugnabilem in cælum porrecta mœnia, lacusque adiacens ciuitatem a latere cingens. In primis ibi tam calamitosa fuit inopia panis, antequam mercatus ab imperatore dirigeretur' ut si quando unus panis inueniebatur,

¹ 'Tandem multis . . . de mercato satisfaceret' abbreviates BD I. xxi, pp. 25-6; cf. *GF* vi, pp. 12-13.

² In the oaths taken by the crusaders 'honor' may have been used in its feudal sense: this is particularly likely in the case of Raymond of Toulouse, since the terms used correspond to those used in charters of the Midi protecting property rights without homage. See J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, 'The convention of Alexius Comnenus and Raymond of Saint-Gilles', in *American Historical Review*, lviii (1953), 322-7.

³ 'Godefredus . . . Bithiniæ uenerunt' follows very closely BD I. xxii, p. 26; cf. *GF* vii, p. 14.

recoiled from returning home with their purpose unfulfilled. ¹In the end they were forced by hard necessity to swear to the Emperor Alexius an oath securing his life and dignity;² as for him, he swore that he would keep his undertaking in good faith. The count of Toulouse was more reluctant than the others and, far from being appeased, meditated on how to settle his score with the Emperor. However the general opinion of the lords prevailed, and with some difficulty they induced the quick-tempered count to renounce this purpose. He took an oath therefore, but was never persuaded to do homage. Immediately afterwards orders were given for the crossing. In the meantime Tancred had arrived with the army under his leadership. Hearing that Alexius had exacted an oath from the highest in rank, he concealed himself with Richard of the Principality among the humbler persons and, putting to sea at once, crossed as quickly as possible. Bohemond and the count of Toulouse remained behind until they were satisfied about the supply of provisions. ³Duke Godfrey and the others arrived at Nicomedia and remained there with Tancred for three days. The duke discovered that there was no road by which so large a number of such men as his could advance further, and sent ahead three thousand men to level the rocky and precipitous mountain paths. Equipped with axes, mattocks, pruning hooks, and many other kinds of implements for clearing away the bushes and rough growth and levelling the rough places in the mountains, they prepared a road for the army and, leaving signs set up high⁴ which those following would recognize and so find their way, they reached Nicaea in Bithynia.

7

⁵After the camp had been marked out on 6 May and the tents of the western armies pitched, the siege of Nicaea began. It is the capital of Rum and the strongest of cities, with walls rising almost to the sky and a lake protecting one side of the city, so that it seemed impregnable. At first there was such a severe shortage of bread there, before supplies were sent by the Emperor, that if

⁴ The author of the *Gesta Francorum* explains more clearly that they made crosses of metal and wood, and put them on stakes.

⁵ 'Castris itaque . . . ab omni uacat obsidione' (p. 52) closely follows BD I. xxii, p. 26; cf. *GF* vii-viii, p. 14.

uiginti uel triginta denariis emeretur. Sed Deo de suis procurante confestim Buamundus uenit¹ et copiosum terra marique exercitum¹ deduxit. Inopina itaque uictualium ubertas repente facta est in tota Christi militia.

In die autem dominicæ Ascensionis aggressi sunt urbem expugnare, et ligneas contra muralem altitudinem machinas erigere. Per duos igitur dies acriter infestantes ciuitatem¹ conati sunt effodere murum. Gentiles qui intus erant e contra uiriliter instare, muros penatesque suos magna ui defensare¹ lapides et spicula dirigere, clipeis se protegere¹ et superuenienti telorum nimbo audacter se opponere. E regione Galli nichil intemptatum relinquere, consertorum testudine scutorum se occultare, et sic iaculorum ingruentia deuitare¹ et persepe fatiscentes obsessos lacessere. Ciues interim missis nunciis a contribulibus suis et affinibus adiutorium conuocarunt dicentes, 'Accelerate per meridianam portam nichil formidantes intrate, quæ adhuc ab omni uacat obsidione.' Porro auxiliante Deo multum aliter uenit hæc sperantibus. ²Ipsa enim die Sabbato scilicet post

iii. 502

Ascensionem Domini Podiensis episcopus et Tolosanus comes illuc aduenerant¹ eisque ab aliis principibus australis porta commissa fuit. Comes itaque Sarracenis secure accurrentibus ex improviso armatus obuiauit¹ et exercitus eius totus in armis speciosus barbaram stoliditatem uiriliter reppulit. Sarraceni multis suorum amissis turpiter fugerunt¹ et facile a Francis superati sunt.

Niceni ciues iterum uicinos accersierunt¹ quibus certitudinem uictoriæ iurando confirmauerunt. Igitur illi audacter uenerunt cum funiculis¹ quibus uinctos ad sua captiuare Christianos autumabant. Verum Franci conglobatim ethnicis uenientibus occurrerunt, rursus eos inuaserunt, superauerunt, fugauerunt, multisque peremptis uictoriosi redierunt. Deinde Raimundus comes et Naimarus episcopus cum exercitibus suis ualde laborauerunt¹ multisque modis urbem aggressi sunt¹ contra quos obsessi ciues totis nisibus obstiterunt.

³Tandem Christiani duces in unum conuenerunt¹ et hoc ordine Niceam Bithiniæ urbem obsederunt. Ex una parte obsederunt eam Buamundus et Tancredus¹ iuxta quos cum fratribus suis dux Godefredus. Deinde Rodbertus Flandriæ comes strenuus

¹ Most manuscripts of Baudry have the reading 'mercatum', which makes better sense, unless a convoy rather than merely an army is understood.

² 'Ipsa enim die . . . nisibus obstiterunt' abbreviates BD I. xxiii, pp. 26-7; cf. *GF* viii, p. 15.

³ 'Tandem Christiani . . . de medio castrorum abominabatur' (p. 54) is abbreviated and adapted from BD I. xxiv, pp. 28-9; cf. *GF* viii, pp. 15-16.

a loaf could be found it sold for twenty or thirty pence. But by God's care for his people Bohemond soon arrived, bringing a great convoy¹ by land and sea. So, unexpectedly, there was an abundance of food for the whole chivalry of Christ.

On Ascension Day they prepared to launch an attack on the city and built wooden siege-engines against the high wall. For two days they pressed the attack on the city, trying to undermine the wall. The infidels who were inside, however, put up a brave resistance, defending their walls and their homes in great strength, hurling stones and darts, protecting themselves with shields, and standing up boldly to the shower of arrows directed at them. The Franks on the other hand tried everything, and, hiding under the shelter of a roof of shields so that they were protected from the blows of the missiles, they inflicted injuries over and over again on the weary defenders. Meanwhile the citizens sent messengers to appeal for help from their compatriots and neighbours, saying, 'Hurry and enter confidently by the south gate, which is not yet blocked.' But by God's help the outcome was very different from what they hoped. ²That very day, which was the Saturday after Ascension Day, the bishop of Le Puy and count of Toulouse arrived there and the south gate was assigned to them by the other leaders. As the Saracens rode up, thinking themselves safe, the count attacked them in force unexpectedly and his whole company, splendid in arms, bravely repulsed the ignorant horde. The Saracens fled in confusion, leaving many dead, and were easily routed by the Franks.

Once again the citizens of Nicaea summoned their neighbouring allies, assuring them with oaths that victory was certain. They came therefore in high spirits, with ropes with which they hoped to lead away the conquered Christians into captivity. But the massed Franks met the infidels as they approached, once again attacked, defeated, and routed them, and returned victorious after slaughtering many. Then Count Raymond, Bishop Adhemar, and their forces exerted themselves to the utmost and attacked the city in many ways, while the beleaguered citizens resisted them with all their strength.

³At length the Christian leaders assembled together and surrounded the town, with their forces disposed as follows. On one side Bohemond and Tancred besieged it; next to them was Duke Godfrey with his brothers; next Robert, count of Flanders,

uir et miles audacissimus. Iuxta hunc Rodbertus Normannorum
 iii. 503 dux¹ et Stephanus Carnotensis comes, et Hugo comes de Sancto
 Paulo, Conanus quoque Brito filius Gaufredi comitis,¹ et Radulfus
 de Guader, et Rogerius de Barnæuilla² cum suis agminibus. Ad
 portam uero meridianam Tolosanus et Podiensis excubabant.
 Isti itaque sic urbem circumdederant, ut nemo ingredi uel egredi
 posset nisi lacu qua ciuitas cingebatur. Per lacum quippe Christi-
 anis uidentibus securi gentiles nauigabant³ sibiue necessaria
 nauigio deuectabant. Verum Christi militia laudabiliter Niceam
 obsederat, et castra speciosa tentoriaque imperiosa in Christi
 nomine prudenter disposuerat. Fulgebant in armis Christiani⁴
 maximeque in morum ornatu erant decentissimi. Mundi moribus,
 uegeti corporibus, animosi pectoribus militabant. Animabus suis
 precauebant⁵ carnis uoluntatibus et uoluptatibus omnia illicita
 abdicabant. Ipsi duces militabant, omniaque disponentes aliosque
 cohortantes ipsi excubabant. Ibi erat omnium rerum magna com-
 munitas. Episcopi cotidie de continentia sermocinabantur⁶ omne
 iii. 504 scortum et abusum de medio castrorum abominabantur.

³Turci interim pro defensanda urbe desudabant⁷ et per lacum
 Christianis uidentibus tute ibant et redibant. Franci igitur mesti
 qualiter eis lacum auferrent machinati sunt. Legatos Constan-
 tinopolim direxerunt⁸ et quid contra hostes preuidissent agendum
 Augusto sollerter intimarunt. Mox imperator auditis eorum peti-
 tionibus adqueiuit⁹ et omnia secundum dispensationem eorum
 fieri precepit. Ex precepto igitur Augusti boues festinanter adducti
 sunt¹⁰ et ueliuolæ naues portum Cheuetot appulerunt. Turcopoli
 etiam affuerunt. Scaphæ carrucis superpositæ sunt¹¹ et bobus huic
 operi ministrantibus usque ad crepidinem lacus laboriose deductæ
 sunt. Nocte terris incumbente naues in lacum impegerunt¹² easque
 Turcopolis mandauerunt. ⁴Crepusculo diei albescente lacum
 sulcantes, ordinate tendebant puppes ad urbem. Ciues lacum
 nauibus opertum eminus aspicientes mirabantur¹³ et si forte sibi
 auxilium ueniret suspicabantur. At postquam certitudinem de eis
 perceperunt¹⁴ diriguere metu et exsanguis facti desperauerunt.

¹ Conan of Lamballe, son of Geoffrey I (Boterel), count of Lamballe (see David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 222).

² Roger came from Barneville in the Cotentin, but had been a baron of Count Roger of Sicily since at least 1086. He had previously joined the forces of Robert Curthose when they were wintering in Calabria or Sicily. See E. M. Jamison, 'Some notes . . .', pp. 207-8.

³ 'Turci interim . . . Turcopolis mandauerunt' abbreviates BD I. xxv, p. 29; cf. *GF* viii, p. 16.

an active man and a very daring knight. Next to him were Robert, duke of Normandy, and Stephen, count of Chartres, and Hugh, count of Saint-Pol, also Conan the Breton, the son of Count Geoffrey,¹ and Ralph of Gael, and Roger of Barneville² with their troops. At the south gate the count of Toulouse and bishop of Le Puy kept guard. In this way they had surrounded the city so that no one could enter or leave except by the lake which girded the city. Indeed the infidels sailed safely across the lake in full view of the Christians and brought all they needed by boat. The chivalry of Christ carried on the siege of Nicaea in admirable order and disposed their fair camps and mighty tents wisely in Christ's name. Glorious in arms, the Christians were even more seemly in the comeliness of their morals. As they fought they were pure in character, active in body, and stout-hearted. Mindful of their souls' salvation, they renounced all the illicit desires and delights of the flesh. The leaders themselves fought with their men and kept sleepless watch, planning everything and encouraging the others. Many things of all kinds were shared. The bishops preached daily on the need for continence; they scourged out of the camp all whoremongering and debauchery.

³Meanwhile the Turks sweated to defend the city, coming and going safely across the lake under the eyes of the Christians. The disappointed Franks therefore planned to deny them the use of the lake. They sent envoys to Constantinople and suggested plausibly to the Emperor what measures they thought should be taken against the enemy. After hearing their proposals the Emperor agreed immediately and ordered everything to be carried out according to their plan. At the Emperor's command oxen were quickly rounded up and swift ships sailed to the port of Civetot. Turcoples were sent there also. The boats were lifted on to carts and, drawn by oxen, were laboriously dragged to the lake shore. Under cover of night they were launched on the lake, and entrusted to the Turcoples. ⁴Cleaving the waters of the lake as dawn broke, the boats approached the city in very good order. The citizens, seeing from the towers that the lake was covered with ships, were amazed and wondered if by chance help was on its way to them. But when they realized what was really happening they became pale and paralysed with fear, abandoning all hope.

⁴ 'Crepusculo diei . . . indemnus deducta est' is adapted from BD I. xxvi-xxvii, pp. 29-30; cf. *GF* viii, p. 16-17.

Reentino casu perturbatis¹ præter spem omnia contigerunt. Vrbi terra lacuque obsessæ nulla spes salutis erat. Ad imperatorem igitur legatos destinant, et obnixe supplicant² ut iam uictis parcat, urbem deditam recipiat³ eamque sicuti suam ab hostibus protegat, ne res eorum alienigenis preda fiat. His imperator auditis, Christianorum profectui ut euentus rei postea probauit, iii. 505 occulte inuidens, obsessorumque legationi satisfaciens, Tatano¹ principi militiæ quem nostratibus preuium cum xl milibus² antea constituerat aliisque satellitibus suis imperauit³ ut se et sua dedentes Bizantium impunitos deducerent, et de ciuitate seruanda curiosi procurarent. Iuxta preceptum Augusti omnia facta sunt⁴ et ciuitas reddita est, gensque gentilium ad urbem imperatoriam indemnis deducta est.

³Victos itaque imperator cum honorificentia libertatis suscepit magnisque dapsilitatibus educauit, et pauperibus Christianis multa donaria donauit. Ciuitate reddita Christiani ab obsidione secedunt. Ibi nimirum multi fame uel gladio uel alio quolibet exterminio mortui sunt⁴ qui ut credimus felici martirio laureati sunt, quoniam pro fratrum compassione corpora sua tradiderunt. Multi etiam gentilium uariis euentibus trucidati sunt⁵ quorum cadauera passim inhumata iacuerunt. Per septem ebdomas tresque dies illic Christiani demorati sunt⁶ et reddita urbe pedem iii. 506 alias tristes direxerunt. Penitebat enim eos longe obsidionis⁷ dum non dominati sunt urbi more subiugatæ ciuitatis. Nam si saltem facultates inimicorum publicarentur⁸ paupertas egenorum temperaretur, et absumptæ impensæ aliquantulum resarcirentur. Mandatum Alexii de non publicandis Niceæ penatibus Christiani æquanimitè non pertulerunt⁹ ubi diu rebus suis incassum expensis sanguinem suum fuderunt, et facultates quas attulerant in immensum attenuarunt. Fraudulentos itaque mores Augusti cum

¹ Tatikios, the Emperor's representative, who came to be regarded with distrust and hatred by the crusaders, is not named either by Baudry or by the author of the *Gesta Francorum* at this point. Anna Comnena gives a full account of the part taken by the imperial forces in the capture of Nicaea (*Alexiad.* xi. ii, 1-6). Of the western Latin historians only Orderic and Albert of Aix (*RHC Occ.* iv. 315, 327) mention him here, but he occurs also in the *chanson d'Antioche* (Sumberg, *Chanson d'Antioche*, p. 189).

² Probably 'militibus' is intended; cf. below, p. 72 n. a.

³ 'Victos itaque . . . æquanimitè non pertulerunt' is abbreviated from Baudry; 'tamen quia tunc nichil proficerent . . . de ultione cogitabant' is copied verbatim (BD I. xxvii, pp. 30-1; cf. *GF* viii-ix, pp. 17-18).

Dazed by the sudden turn of fortune, they regarded every course as hopeless. There was no hope of saving the city, beleaguered by land and water. Consequently they sent envoys to the Emperor and begged him to have mercy on the defeated and receive the surrender of the city; also, to protect what was his own from their enemies and prevent their possessions from falling to the foreigners as booty. On hearing these proposals the Emperor, who secretly envied the success of the Christians as the outcome later proved, agreed to the terms of the besieged and ordered Tatikios,¹ the commander of his knights whom he had already appointed with forty [knights]² as escort to our men, and his other officers to escort safely to Byzantium those citizens who surrendered themselves and their property, and take careful precautions for the protection of the city. The Emperor's precept was fully carried out; the city surrendered and the people of the Gentiles was escorted safe and sound to the imperial city.

³In this way the Emperor received the vanquished, honouring them with their freedom and escorting them with great generosity. He gave many gifts to the poor among the Christians. After the surrender of the city the Christians retired from the siege. Many died there of starvation or by the sword or through some other cause and won, we believe, the crown of blessed martyrdom, since they offered their lives for the sake of their brethren. Many of the infidels too were slaughtered in the many skirmishes, and their unburied bodies lay scattered far and wide. The Christians were delayed there for seven weeks and three days;⁴ after the surrender they ruefully made their way elsewhere. They regretted the long siege, since they had not been able to have their will in the town as is customary in a captured city. For if at least the possessions of their enemies had been declared public property the poverty of the needy would have been alleviated and something recovered towards the expenses they had incurred. The Christians did not readily accept Alexius' order that the property in Nicaea was not to be made public, when for so long they had used their resources and shed their blood in vain, seriously diminishing the supplies they had brought with them. They experienced the

⁴ Nicaea capitulated on 19 June, and the formal investment of the city had begun on 14 May. The author of the *Gesta Francorum*, from whom these figures are taken, must have calculated from 6 May, when the main forces began to arrive outside the city to 26 June, when the crusaders broke camp and continued their march (see Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 70-82).

damno experti sunt' sed tamen quia tunc nichil proficerent in tempus siluerunt. Hic primum patuit odiorum seminarium' hic compertum est inimicitiarum fomentum. Hic discordiarum
 iii. 507 ceperunt incentiua pullulare' hic simultatum simulachra uisa sunt succrescere. Nam quoniam Alexius non recte contra eos egerat' ipsi contra eum de ultione cogitabant.

8

'Die qua Nicena obsidio soluta est' ad quendum pontem peruentum est, ubi sua Christianus populus tentoria collocauit. Duos ibi dies fecerunt, et tercia die ante lucem iter preproperi arripuerunt. Et quoniam nox tenebrosa erat' incertam incertam uiam tenuerunt. Diuisi ergo ab inuicem duorum iter dierum consummauerunt. Boamundus et Rodbertus Normannus, Blesensisque comes Stephanus et Tancredus, Hugo de Sancto Paulo et Girardus de Gornaco, Gualterius de Sancto Gualerico et Bernardus filius eius' Guillelmus filius Rannulfi uiccomitis,² et Guillelmus de Ferrariis,³ Herueus filius Dodemanni,⁴ et Conanus filius comitis Gaufredi, Radulfus de Guader et Alannus filius
 iii. 508 eius, Riou de Lohoc⁵ et Alannus dapifer Dolensis,⁶ et alii plures erant in uno agmine. In altero Tolosanus comes et Podiensis episcopus, Godefredus dux et Balduinus et Hugo Magnus, et Flandrensis Rodbertus cum copiosis commeantium examinibus.

⁷In ipsa septimana Turci uelut arena maris innumeri contra Boamundum confluerunt' et magna multitudine confisi Christianos unanimiter inuaserunt. Dux eorum Dalimannus⁸ erat, eosque furor in alienigenas animabat' qui Niceam presumpsissent expugnare, et possessiones eorum depopulari. Ibi erant Turci, Sarraceni, Persæ et Agulani,⁹ quorum numerum computauerunt

¹ 'Die qua Nicena . . . commeantium examinibus' closely follows BD II. i, p. 33; cf. *GF* xi, p. 18.

² William was a son of Ralph II of Briquessart, vicomte of Bayeux, and great-nephew of Earl Hugh of Chester. His sister Agnes married Robert III of Grandmesnil (cf. above, iv. 230; David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 229).

³ Cf. above, iv. 233 n. 5.

⁴ His identity is uncertain (cf. David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 224).

⁵ Riou was a brother of Walter son of Judicael, lord of Lohéac. See David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 226-7.

⁶ Alan the steward of Dol was a brother of Flaald, whose son, Alan fitz Flaald, founded the fortunes of his family in England under Henry I. See J. H. Round, *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (London, 1901), p. 129.

⁷ 'In ipsa septimana . . . depopulari' and 'Egregius . . . indefessi sustineant' abbreviates and adapts BD II. i, pp. 33-4; cf. *GF* ix, p. 18. The sentence 'Ibi

deceitful ways of the Emperor to their cost, but because they were then powerless they kept silent for the time being. Here was the first seeding-ground of hatred, here appeared a hotbed of enmity. Here incentives for quarrels began to sprout, here the shapes of animosity grew. For since Alexius had not treated them justly they began to think of vengeance on him.

8

¹On the day the investment of Nicaea was completed the crusaders reached a bridge where they pitched their tents. They camped there for two days and on the third day hurried on their journey before daybreak. Since the night was dark they had difficulty in keeping to the unfamiliar road. They became separated into two groups and travelled in this way for two days. Bohemond and Robert of Normandy, Stephen count of Blois and Tancred, Hugh of Saint-Pol and Gerard of Gournay, Walter of Saint-Valéry and his son Bernard, William son of Ralph the vicomte² and William of Ferrières,³ Hervey son of Dodeman⁴ and Conan son of Count Geoffrey, Ralph of Gael and his son Alan, Riou of Lohéac⁵ and Alan the steward of Dol,⁶ and many others were in one column. In the other were the count of Toulouse and the bishop of Le Puy, Duke Godfrey and Baldwin and Hugh the Great and Robert of Flanders, with great swarms of followers.

⁷That same week Turkish forces, numberless as the sands of the sea, converged against Bohemond and, trusting in their numbers, attacked the Christians all together. Their leader was the Danishmend⁸ and their wrath was kindled against the foreigners, who had dared to take Nicaea and lay waste their possessions. Their forces included Turks, Saracens, Persians, and Agulani,⁹

erant Turci . . . indeterminatus fuit' is abbreviated from BD II. ii, p. 35 (*GF* ix, p. 20).

⁸ The leader of the Turks, not named in BD or *GF*, was Kilij Arslan, whom Orderic normally called 'Solimannus'. Normally by 'Dalimannus' he meant the Danishmend emir, who brought a considerable contingent but was not the chief Turkish commander. For the battle of Dorylaeum, fought on 1 July 1097, see Runciman, *Crusades*, i. 184-7; Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 85-7.

⁹ The term 'Agulani' was possibly applied either to the Arabs of North Africa or to a corps of picked troops rather than a people; but none of the many interpretations of the term in the *Gesta Francorum* and works derived from it has won general acceptance. See E. M. Jamison, 'Some notes . . .', pp. 185-6; Bréhier, *Histoire anonyme*, p. 48 n. 2.

ccclx milia, præter Arabes quorum concursus indeterminatus fuit. Egregius uero Buamundus ut innumerabilem multitudinem inimicorum suis ore rabido et effero gladio minitantem et insultantem uidit' imperterritus stetit, suosque breui sed sapientissimo admonuit' et laudabiliter ad honorificum certamen corroborauit. Celeriter mandat sociis qui ab eo longiuscule recesserant' ut ad eos iuandos in grandi necessitate properent. Peditibus iubet ut impigre et prudenter tentoria figant' et militibus ut secum obuiam paganis ad bellum procedant, et laborem certaminis indefessi sustineant.

iii. 509 ¹Interim Turci occlamantes aduenerant' et sagittando uel iaculando seu comminus feriendo Christianos acerrime infestabant. Nulla fatigatis dabatur requies' sed omnia Christianorum corpora cruore uel sudore liquentia conspiceres. E contra Franci pondus belli indesinenter sufferre incursus in hostes aliquando prudenter differre, gladiis interdum resistere, socios uocatos expectare, nec in aliquo titubare. Hanc conflictuum uiolentiam ab hora diei tertia usque in horam nonam pertulerunt. Illa die mulieres fuerunt bellantibus pernecessariæ. Nam sitiensibus aquam perneciter porrigebant' et pugnantes exhortando confortabant. Martis campus incanduerat. Totis enim uiribus utrinque certabatur. Christiani angebantur' nam plerumque in ipsis castris impugnabantur.

iii. 510 Alius exercitus legatis Boamundi discredebat' et de belli certitudine ambigebat. Nullam gentem sperabat esse' quæ contra sui exercitus partem saltem decimam de bello auderet anhelare. Postquam tamen rumor iste per totum exercitum precrebuit' et legatis legati superadditi sunt' Godefredus dux ut erat miles acerrimus, comes quoque Stephanus uir prudens et modestus, Hugo Magnus, Balduinus quoque et Eustachius intrepidi cum suis aduolant commilitonibus. Podiensis episcopus pone sequebatur' comesque Tolosanus Raimundus. Mirabantur iam fatiscientium corda Christianorum' unde tanta gens tamque repentina preter spem in eos immersisset. Montes enim et ualles cooperuerant' et si qua plana erant densis turmarum cuneis omnia frequentabantur.² Auxiliante Deo Christiani fortiter preliabantur' et gladiis exertis et in mortem uibratis res dumtaxat gerebatur.

¹ 'Interim Turci . . . turmarum cuneis omnia frequentabantur' follows Baudry very closely indeed (BD II, ii, pp. 34-5; cf. *GF* ix, p. 19).

² At this point Baudry inserts the sentence about the many races of the opposing forces, given by Orderic in the previous paragraph. From 'Auxiliante Deo . . . gerebatur' Orderic abbreviates BD II, ii, p. 35.

who numbered three hundred and sixty thousand, besides the Arabs whose swarms could not be counted. The noble Bohemond stood his ground unafraid when he saw the countless multitude of enemies threatening and insulting his men with shrieks and drawn swords, gave brief but pertinent instructions to his men, and urged them on to a glorious battle. He quickly sent word to his allies, who were rather far behind, so that they could hurry to help his men in their great need. He ordered the foot-soldiers to pitch the tents quickly and carefully, and the knights to ride with him to meet the pagans in battle and bear the burden of the conflict without flagging.

¹Meanwhile the Turks charged with loud war-cries, and pressed the Christians most fiercely, shooting arrows, hurling spears, and fighting hand to hand. There was no respite for the weary; you could see the bodies of all the Christians streaming with blood and sweat. The Franks, resisting, bore the weight of the attacks unflinchingly, prudently holding back a little while before counter-attacking; they defended themselves with their swords and never wavered as they waited for the allies who had been summoned. They endured this fierce battle from the third to the ninth hour. The women were a great comfort to the troops that day. They ran to bring water for the thirsty and heartened the combatants with their encouragement. The battlefield was like a furnace. Both sides fought to the last gasp. The Christians were hard pressed, for on several occasions the fighting spread to the camp itself.

The other army questioned Bohemond's messengers and could scarcely credit that a battle was really taking place. They hoped that no race in existence would dare to seek an engagement with even a tenth part of his army. But later, as the news spread through the whole army and other messengers followed the first, the valiant knight Duke Godfrey, the prudent and moderate Count Stephen, Hugh the Great, Baldwin, and Eustace fearlessly rushed to the spot with their fellow knights. Next the bishop of Le Puy and Raymond, count of Toulouse, followed. Meanwhile the weary Christians were wondering whence such a great multitude of people, appearing so suddenly, had swept down upon them to their great amazement. They covered mountains and valleys, and every inch of the plain was seething with dense masses of troops.² The Christians fought valiantly with God's help and, threatening death with their drawn swords, somehow endured

¹Adsunt repentini¹ quos aduocauerant socii. Podiensis episcopus cum suo magno exercitu a tergo preoccupauit inimicos. Parte altera comes Sancti Egidii et Balduinus ac Eustachius festinanter equitabant. A dextera dux Godefredus irruit, et Hugo² Magnus et Flandrensis Rodbertus per omnia miles expeditissimus. Rodbertus namque Normannus et Blesensis Stephanus, Tancredus et Buamundus pugnabant, diuque belli pondus sustinuerant. Gentiles obstupefacti, quoniam hostiliter a facie et a tergo inopine premebantur, fugæ se crediderunt³ et terga cedentibus consenserunt. Cecidit autem eos usque ad interneccionem Christianorum gladius⁴ et multi multimodis oppetierunt mortibus.

iii. 511

Si qui uero potuerunt, delituerunt. Ibi barbarorum milia cesa sunt⁵ quoniam in eos uehementer crassati sunt, quos tota die crudeliter insectati fuerant.

²Guillelmus Marchisus frater Tancredi et Gaufredus³ de Monte Scabioso, uiri multum militares, bonæ indolis et illustres, et multi alii milites et pedites ceciderunt. Turci enim astu nimio pollentes ^aaudaci uigent animo, et inreuerberato confligunt gladio. Mortes eminus inimicis creberrime infigunt⁴ quia utuntur arcubus et multis instrumentis nituntur bellicis. Iactitant se de Francorum stirpe genealogiam duxisse, eorumque proauos a Christianitate descisse. Dicunt etiam nullos naturaliter militare nisi se et Francos. Hoc itaque prælium kalendas Iulii factum est⁵ diesque solennis omnipotenti Deo qui omnia bene disponit cum deuotis laudibus celebrata est.

⁴Ethnicis ita pessumdatis, et procul effugatis, ad eorum tentoria diripienda conuersi sunt Christiani⁶ et inuenerunt ibi auri argentique plurimum. Subiugalia mulas et equos, boues et camelos, uerueces at asinos, et copiosam suppellectilem in eorum papilionibus repererunt, et diuersis onusti gazis cum triumpho et inenarrabili gaudio ad suos redierunt. Fama tantæ uictoriæ longinquas et exteras nationes cepit deterrere, et titulum Christianitatis remotorum auribus populorum infundere. Preclara Christianorum facinora, sibi que superuenturam eorum militiam omnes et singuli formidabant.

^a From audaci to auribus populorum where the page ends the writing is in a different hand

¹ 'Adsunt repentini . . . insectati fuerant' follows Baudry very closely indeed (BD II. iii, p. 35; cf. GF ix, p. 20).

the onslaught. ¹Suddenly the allies they had summoned were at hand. The bishop of Le Puy with a great army attacked the enemy from behind. From another quarter the count of Saint-Gilles and Baldwin and Eustace came galloping up. Duke Godfrey charged from the right with Hugh the Great and Robert of Flanders, a knight always in the forefront of battle. Robert the Norman and Stephen of Blois, Tancred and Bohemond also fought on, bearing the brunt of the long battle. The infidels, taken unawares by the unexpected attacks on both fronts, all together turned their backs on their assailants and fled in confusion. The swords of the Christians smote them mercilessly and many died in all manner of different ways. Those who could made their escape. Thousands of the barbarians were slaughtered there, for the Christians fell upon them and pursued them mercilessly the whole day.

²William the Marquis, Tancred's brother, and Geoffrey³ of Montescaglioso, illustrious and noble men of great chivalry, and many other knights and foot-soldiers fell. The Turks are remarkable ably and courageous and fight sword to sword; also they strike their enemies down from a distance, because they use bows and fight with many different weapons of war. They boast that they are descended from Frankish stock, and that their ancestors renounced Christianity. They say too that no peoples are naturally warriors except themselves and the Franks. This battle was fought on 1 July and a feast day was celebrated with devout praise to almighty God, who governs all things well.

⁴When the infidels had been utterly defeated and scattered far and wide the Christians turned to pillage their tents and discovered a great quantity of gold and silver there. They also found pack mules and horses, oxen and camels, wethers and asses, and copious furnishings in their pavilions, and returned to their own quarters overjoyed and in triumph, laden with riches of all kinds. The news of the great victory began to alarm distant and unknown peoples, and the name of Christian reached the ears of men in far-off places. Each and all feared the notable achievements of the Christians, dreading an attack by their chivalry.

² 'Guillelmus Marchisus . . . omnipotenti Deo' slightly abbreviates BD II. iii, pp. 35-6; cf. GF ix, p. 21.

³ Geoffrey of Montescaglioso is here correctly named (cf. above, p. 36 n. 1); it is not a mistake for Humphrey as suggested in GF, p. 21 n. 1.

⁴ 'Ethnicis ita . . . fugere compulsi' abbreviates BD II. iii, p. 36. Orderic adds the next sentence.

iii. 512 Solimannus de Nicea fugiens Arabum decem milia inuenit¹ eisque nimiam probitatem et audaciam et inuictam fortitudinem et multitudinem ditissimumque apparatus luculenter retulit, qua relatione secum omnes fugere compulit. Ceterum sicut humanum ingenium plurima commentatur, et friuola meditatatur, Turci stropham simplicibus Christicolis nociuam machinati sunt. ¹Solimannus enim aliique gentiles ad ciuitates uel castella in quibus Christicolæ Suriani degebant² uenientes subdole ad eos dicebant, 'Deuicimus Francos. Omnino defecerunt, et si qui supersunt, in cuniculis absconditi sunt.' Sic incautos alloquebantur³ et intra portas eorum recipiebantur. Ingressique insciorum municipia, domos et æcclesias depredabantur. Quicquid erat preciosum et concupiscibile, filios et filias auferebant, et sic eis passim illudentes Francorum aduentum preoccupabant.

His auditis Christiani eos insequiebantur. Intrauerunt autem terram inaquosam et inhabitabilem⁴ in qua fame et siti defecerunt pene usque ad mortem. Si forte tamen immaturas segetes inueniebant⁵ spicas uellebant, et fricantes masticabant et glutiebant. Multi homines ibi defecerunt et subiugales⁶ multique gloriosi milites coacti sunt ire pedites. Et qui potuerunt⁷ pro uehiculis ad se uel sua subuehenda sibi boues adhibuerunt. Nec multo post uberrimam ingressi sunt terram, uictualibus et bonis omnibus refertam⁸ excepto quod equinas sibi nequiuerunt reparare uecturas.

Venientes Ichonium² persuasione indigenarum utres suos aquis repleuerunt, confectoque itinere diei ad quendam fluuium uenerunt⁹ ubi duos hospitati dies recreati sunt. Cursitores qui semper exercitum precurrebant, ut exercitui preuiderent, et paleas et alia necessaria diriperent¹⁰ precurrerunt ad Erachiam³ ciuitatem, in qua multus erat Turcorum conuentus, si qua possent obesse Christianis expectans. Cursitantibus insidias collocauerant, quos audacter Franci aggressi sunt¹¹ et fugatos indifficulter disperserunt. Igitur Erachia Turcis abiectis in Christianorum dominationem cito redacta est¹² ibique iv dies confecerunt. ⁴Ibi Tancredus et Balduinus ab aliis se disgregauerunt¹³

¹ 'Solimannus enim . . . ibique iv dies confecerunt' slightly abbreviates BD II. iv, pp. 36-7; cf. *GF* x, pp. 23-4.

² Konieh.

³ Eregli.

⁴ 'Ibi Tancredus . . . castella quamplurima' abbreviates and adapts BD II. v-vi; cf. *GF* x, pp. 24-5. Some imaginary speeches are omitted, but the plea of

As Kilij Arslan fled from Nicaea he met ten thousand Arabs. He gave them a graphic account of the great valour and audacity and unconquerable resolution, of the huge numbers and abundant equipment of the crusaders, and induced them all by his report to fly with him. But since the wit of man turns over many plots and thinks up many tricks, the Turks devised a cruel medicine for the simple followers of Christ. ¹When Kilij Arslan and the other infidels came to towns or fortresses where Syrian Christians lived, they cunningly said to them, 'We have defeated the Franks. They have all disappeared or, if any are left, they are hiding in holes.' Their hearers were taken by surprise and received the Turks within their gates. Once inside the towns of these simple people they looted their homes and churches. They carried off everything valuable and desirable and their sons and daughters too. In this way they anticipated the coming of the Franks, tricking the people as they went along.

Hearing of this the Christians pursued them. But they entered a land which was waterless and uninhabitable, in which they almost died from hunger and thirst. If by chance they found any unripe crops they plucked the ears and, rubbing them between their hands, chewed and gulped them down. Many men and beasts of burden died there, and many glorious knights were forced to go on as foot-soldiers. Those who could, procured oxen as a means of carrying themselves and their goods. Not long afterwards they entered a fertile land, overflowing with food and produce of all kinds, except that they could not procure fresh horse transport.

On reaching Iconium² they filled their bottles with water on the advice of the local inhabitants, and after one day's journey came to a river, where they encamped and rested for two days. The scouts who always went before the army to make provision for it and requisition straw and other necessities went ahead to the city of Heraclea,³ where there was a great concourse of Turks on the look-out for some way of hindering the Christians. They laid an ambush for the scouts; but the Franks attacked them boldly and, putting them to flight, easily dispersed them. So, with the Turks driven out, Heraclea was quickly brought under the rule of the Christians and they remained there for four days. ⁴There Tancred and Baldwin separated from the rest and entered

the men of Tarsus is copied verbatim. Orderic omits to mention that one reason for Tancred's withdrawal was that Baldwin had the larger army.

et uallem de Botentrot¹ cum suis expeditionibus intrauerunt. Tancredus autem iterum a Balduino separatus: Tarsum uenit cum suis militibus. Turci uero de urbe progressi: obuiauuerunt eis ad resistendum parati. Tancredus uir equidem singularis strenuitatis hostiliter aggressos uiriliter cecidit, eosque fugientes in urbem refugauit, et urbem obsedit. Nocte insecuta Turci fugerunt, et ciues sub ipso noctis articulo alte clamauerunt; 'Franci triumphatores orbis et dominatores: Turci recesserunt, urbs patet, accedite! Currite Franci inuictissimi recepturi ciuitatem. Currite ne moremini. Cur tardatis?' Hæc nempe castrorum excubitores bene audierunt: sed quoniam nox erat consilium et negocium illud in diem dilatum est. Aurora illucescente uenerunt ciuitatis maiores, seque suaque Christianis dedentes, et Tancredum sibi principem eligentes. Ibi principum magna lis exorta est. Balduinus enim cuius exercitus maiores erant copiæ, totus erat in penatum depopulatione: uel urbem dimidiam uendicare. Porro Tancredus ut erat moderatus maluit urbis dominatu carere, quam ciuium qui se benigniter eidem commiserant facultates diripere. Vnde suis signum dedit, lituisque clangentibus aliquantum amaricatus abscessit, et Balduinus totam Tarsum solus optinuit. Nec mora Tancredo duæ ciuitates optimæ Azera et Mamistra² redditæ sunt: et castella quamplurima. Porro optimates alii Armeniorum terram cum exercitibus suis intrauerant. Venientibus illis Alfia⁴ ciuitas reddita est: indigenæque illius terræ militari uiro⁵ nomine Simeoni ad defensandam terram commissa est.

Maior exercitus Cesaream Cappadociæ uenit: quæ ad solum usque diruta erat. Ruinæ tamen utcunque subsistentes: quanti fuerit testabantur.

Plastencia⁶ ciuitas pulchra et uberis glebæ opima, quam Turci paulo ante tribus obsederant ebdomadibus, sed inexpugnabilis nullatenus expugnari potuit: Christianis ilico gratanter patuit. Hanc quidem Petrus de Alfia⁷ petiuit, et ab optimatibus in-
 iii. 516 difficulter optinuit, ad tuendam et expugnandam terram in

¹ A valley in the Taurus which has been identified with the pass of Pozanti (Sumberg, *Chanson d'Antioche*, pp. 202-3).

² Missis.

³ 'Porro optimates . . . inuenire non potuit' follows BD II. vii, pp. 38-9. closely; cf. *GF* xi, pp. 25-6.

the valley of Botrentrot¹ with their forces. Tancred then left Baldwin and went on to Tarsus with his knights. The Turks advanced out of the city and barred their way, ready to resist. Tancred however, who was a man of remarkable intrepidity, attacked boldly, cutting them off and driving them back into the city, which he then besieged. The following night the Turks fled and the citizens came out in the dead of night and shouted loudly, 'Franks, conquerors and rulers of the world! The Turks have gone, the city is open, enter! Hurry, unconquered Franks, to receive the city. Hurry, do not delay. Why are you waiting?' The guards of the camp heard all this but, because of the darkness, discussion and negotiation were put off until day. At daybreak the chief men of the city came and surrendered themselves and their property to the Christians and chose Tancred as their ruler. Then a serious quarrel broke out between the leaders. Baldwin, who had a much larger army, was in favour of looting the houses or claiming half the city. But Tancred, being more moderate, preferred to forgo the lordship of the city rather than seize the property of citizens who had submitted to him in good faith. So he gave the signal to his men and, with trumpets sounding, departed somewhat embittered, while Baldwin kept the whole of Tarsus for himself. Soon afterwards two fine cities, Adana and Mamistra,² and many strongholds surrendered to Tancred. The other lords and their armies entered the territory of the Armenians. On their arrival the town of Alfia⁴ surrendered and was entrusted to a local inhabitant, a man of knightly status⁵ called Symeon, so that he could defend the territory.

The main army came to Caesarea in Cappadocia, which had been levelled to the ground. The ruins still standing, however, were evidence of its former greatness.

Plastencia,⁶ a fair and very wealthy city, which the Turks had besieged shortly before for three weeks, but failed to take because it was impregnable, willingly opened its gates to the Christians. Peter of Alfia⁷ asked for it and obtained it from the leaders without difficulty, to protect and conquer the territory in fealty to the

⁴ Baudry, copied by Orderic, alone gives this name, which may be a scribal error (cf. Petrus de Alfia below).

⁵ Baudry calls him 'uir ex militari cingulo'.

⁶ Comana.

⁷ Usually identified as a Provençal knight, Peter of Aulps, but more probably Peter of Alfia, one of Guiscard's former captains who took service with Alexius (see above, iv. 34 n. 5).

fidelitate sancti Sepulchri et Christianitatis.¹ Boamundus militarium negociorum uir industrius accitis militibus de suis quos uoluit, Turcos qui Plastenciam obsederant, et exercitum haud longe preibant ut nocerent, curiose insecutus est: sed frustra quoniam eos inuenire non potuit.

²Ventum est ad Coxon³ nobilem et copiosam ciuitatem: quam alumni illius Christianis fratribus suis libenter reddiderunt. Ibi tribus diebus fatigatus pausauit exercitus. Relatum est comiti Tolosano, quod Turci qui fuerant in Antiochiæ custodia: discedentes aufugissent. Igitur cum suis consiliatus elegit quos premitteret, qui iter diligenter inuestigarent, et cetera curiose explorarent. Ad hoc directi sunt uiri consulares, et disciplinae militaris gnari, uiccomes de Castellione,⁴ Guillelmus de Monte Peslerio, Petrus de Roasa, et Petrus Raimundus⁵ cum militibus multis. In uallem Antiochiæ uenerunt: et ibi rem aliter audierunt. Turci enim copiose preparabant se ad defensandam urbem.

Petrus de Roasa declinans ab aliis uallem de Rugia introiuit, inuentisque Turcis quam plurimis grauius eos cecidit, superauit, atque fugauit. Armenii auditis secundis successibus Christianorum, frequentibus quoque infortuniis paganorum: reddiderunt Petro Rusam ciuitatem et castella quædam. Maior exercitus difficile iter aggressus est. Ibi gradiebantur rependo per montana nimis aspera et scopulosa: ubi tristes mira perpassi sunt detrimenta. Collidebantur et conquassabantur laborantes et deficientes per uiam inuiam. Labebantur equi in immane precipitium. Multi equis uel clitellariis cum rebus superpositis illic amissis pauperati sunt. Postquam calamitosas angustias uix euaserunt: ad quendam ciuitatem quæ uocatur Marafim diuerterunt. Conuenæ uero nostratibus copiosum mercatum detulerunt. Ibi aliquantis per demorati sunt: donec quantumlibet recrearentur. ⁶Post hæc ingressi sunt uallem inclitam, spaciosam et uberem: in qua regia et famosa ciuitas Antiochia sita est: quæ totius Sirix metropolis et princeps est, in qua primicerius apostolorum Petrus kathedram habuit pontificalem. Nunc occulto Dei iudicio sed iusto, plurimæ

¹ Orderic copies Baudry, who misrepresents in this way the phrase 'in fidelitate Dei et Sancti Sepulchri et seniorum atque imperatoris' of *GF*.

² 'Ventum est . . . donec quantumlibet recrearentur' follows Baudry very closely: the account of the passage over the mountains is somewhat abbreviated (BD II. vii, pp. 39-40; cf. *GF* xi, pp. 26-7).

³ Göksum.

Holy Sepulchre and Christianity.¹ Bohemond, who was always active in military enterprises, with a hand-picked body of his men, followed carefully in pursuit of the Turks, who had been besieging Plastencia and had withdrawn just ahead of the army to molest it; but it was to no purpose, because he could not find them.

²They reached Coxon,³ a fine and wealthy city whose inhabitants surrendered it readily to their brothers in Christ. The weary army rested there for three days. News was brought to the count of Toulouse that the Turks who were guarding Antioch had left the place and fled. He took counsel with his men and chose some to go ahead, explore the route carefully, and spy out the land. The men chosen for this mission were comital vassals of great knightly prowess, namely the vicomte of Castellion,⁴ William of Montpellier, Peter of Roaix, and Peter Raymond,⁵ with many knights. They reached the valley of Antioch and there heard a different story. The Turks were in fact making extensive preparations for the defence of the city.

Peter of Roaix left the others and entered the valley of Riha. There he found many Turks whom he attacked with much slaughter, defeated, and put to flight. The Armenians, hearing of further Christian successes and repeated pagan disasters, handed over the city of Rusa and some castles to Peter. The main body of the army followed a difficult route. They struggled slowly up a steep and craggy mountain, where they painfully endured exceptional losses. They collided with each other and were badly bruised as they struggled and collapsed along the almost impassable track. Horses fell down a huge precipice. Many knights were reduced to penury by the loss of their horses and the pack-beasts carrying their baggage. After they had barely survived the fearful passage they arrived at a city called Marash. Crowds came out bringing abundant supplies for our men; there they remained for a while until they were somewhat recovered. ⁶Going on, they entered the famous valley, wide and fertile, in which the illustrious royal city of Antioch stands. It is the capital and metropolis of Syria, and there Peter, the chief of the apostles, had his seat as bishop. Now by the mysterious but just judgement of God many

⁴ His name was Peter (*GF* p. 26).

⁵ Peter Raymond of Hautpol (*ibid.*).

⁶ 'Post hæc ingressi . . . laudes et gratias' closely follows BD II. viii, p. 40; *GF* xi, p. 28.

iii. 519 in ea æcclesiæ dirutæ sunt¹ et quibusdam humanis usibus irreuer-
 renter applicatæ sunt. Cursitores dum ad Pontem Ferreum¹
 propinquarent² Turcos inuenerunt innumeros munitum Anti-
 ochiam festinantes. Itaque repentino in eos impetu facto, semper
 enim Christiani proficiscebantur armati³ subito conflictu eos
 consternauerunt. Multis deletis ad propria castra quæ super
 fluminis ripas metati fuerant, reduxerunt eorum burdones, quos
 multimodis onustos uictualibus et diuersis gazis ad propriam
 ciuitatem deducebant. Factum est igitur immensum in castris
 gaudium, tum pro uictoria, tum propter opima quæ ad eos
 reportarant cursitores spolia. Cotidianas ergo et continuas Deo
 referebant laudes et gratias⁴ qui pro suo amore a natali solo procul
 exulantes tam excellenter protegebat inter phalanges ethnicas.

9

iii. 520 ²Buamundus pigriciæ uel somnolentiæ nunquam adquiescens,
 irrequietus enim homo erat² cum quattuor milibus militum prope
 Antiochiæ portam caute clandestinus uenit, si qui forte latenter
 ingrederentur uel egrederentur expectans. Summo diluculo exer-
 citus de loco in quo erant tentoria collegit, Antiochiam accessit,
 quarta feria xii kal. Nouembris tentoria sua coaptauit, et a tribus
 portis ciuitatem usque iii nonas Iunii³ uiriliter obsedit. Nam altera
 parte obsessa non fuit, quoniam tam porrectis et inaccessis
 coangustabatur scopulis et montanis, ut nullus illac se accomodaret
 ad obsidendum locus. Nimius timor inuasit Antiochenos et omnes
 circumpositos⁴ ut nullus eorum expectare cursitorum auderet
 occursum. Diebus itaque ferme quindecim siluerunt. Terra uero
 quæ circa Antiochiam adiacebat prout uallis est fertilis, erat
 uberrima, uinetis referta, fructibus et frugibus iocunda, arboribus
 nemorosa, ortis opima, et pascuis opulenta. ⁴De ciuitate Armenii
 multi et Suriani Christiani, sed Turcis obnoxii⁴ fugam simulantes
 audacter in castra exibant, mendicantes castrensium esse explora-
 bant, et remeantes Turcis intimabant, et sic eis multum oberant.
 Antiocheni ergo patefactis castrensium consiliis ceperunt paula-
 tim intrepidi prodire, et peregrinos aggressibus coangustare, et

¹ Pons Farreus, the bridge over the Far (Orontes), which became commonly known as Pons Ferreus, or Iron Bridge.

² 'Buamundus pigriciæ . . . et pascuis opulenta' very closely follows BD II. vii-viii, pp. 40-1; cf. *GF* xii, p. 28.

³ Orderic adds by anticipation the date, 3 June 1098, when Antioch fell to the crusaders.

⁴ 'De ciuitate Armenii . . . in spectaculum decollauit' abbreviates and adapts BD II. ix, p. 41; cf. *GF* xii, p. 29.

of its churches were fallen in ruins and sacrilegiously used for various human purposes. When the scouts reached the Iron Bridge¹ they found great numbers of Turks hurrying to reinforce Antioch. Falling on them without warning, for the Christians always travelled fully armed, they threw them into confusion by the sudden onslaught. After killing many they returned to their own camp, which was pitched on the river bank, leading the Turks' mules, which they had been taking to Antioch laden with provisions and valuables of all kinds. There was great rejoicing in the camp, both over the victory and over the rich spoils that the scouts had brought back. Each day they offered repeated praise and thanksgiving to God, who cared so well, even in the midst of the infidel armies, for those who were enduring exile in distant lands for love of him.

9

²Bohemond, who never indulged in idleness or indolence, for he was a restless man, advanced cautiously towards the gate of Antioch with four thousand knights, to prevent anyone from entering or leaving it unnoticed. The army struck camp when it was light and advanced to Antioch; they pitched their tents on Wednesday 21 October, and actively began the blockade of the three gates of the city which continued until 3 June.³ The other side was not besieged, because it was built so closely against a great wall of inaccessible crags and hills that there was no room for a besieging force. Such terror struck the defenders of Antioch and the surrounding country that not one of them dared to intercept our purveyors. They lay low for almost a fortnight. The region all around Antioch was very productive, for the valley is fertile, full of vineyards, smiling with corn and fruits, shady with trees, and rich in orchards and pastures. ⁴Many Armenians and Syrians, who were Christians although under the rule of the Turks, came boldly into the camp from the city, pretending to be fugitives, and as they begged they spied out the condition of the soldiers in the camp, which they reported to the Turks when they returned, to the great harm of the Christians. As the defenders of Antioch discovered the plans of the besiegers they gradually began to venture out boldly, molest the pilgrims with their attacks, kill those who were off their guard, and add to their

incautos trucidare, et latrocinii aliisque circumventionibus aggrauare. Sic in circumitu omnes uias obsidebant, et a mari et a montanis omnia Christianis claudebant. Peius itaque obsidebantur qui foris erant¹ quam qui intus latitabant.

iii. 521 De proximo castello satis munito nomine Arech¹ Turci in Christianos irruebant, insidiisque indigenarum multi occubuerant. Optimates ergo Christiani condolentes Turcis obuiauuerunt, ad conflictum eos prouocauerunt² et ad locum ubi Boamundus cum suis in insidiis delituit fugam fingentes scienter declinauerunt. Ibi Christianorum duo milia^a occisi sunt. Porro Boamundus preliator fortissimus de insidiis concitus surrexit, et Turcos aggressus multos peremit, et quosdam uiuos retinuit, quos ante portam ciuitatis solenniter in spectaculum decollauit. ²Deinde castrenses super uerticem montis qui dicitur Maregard castellum³ edificauerunt, quod per dierum successiones heroum unusquisque in ordine uicis suæ custodiebant. Interim attenuata sunt uictualia, quia neque cursitare audebant, neque mercatum habebant. Quod uero in ualle reppererant¹ affluenter consumpserant. Cibaria igitur omnia percara erant. Fames inhorrescebat, quoniam pabula omnia de die in diem deficiebant, et intus aduersarii cauillantes gaudebant.

iii. 522 Anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oXC^oVII^o indictione v^a ⁴celebrata natiuitate Christi Buamundus dux et Flandrensis Rodbertus non sine remanentium lacrimis processerunt, et cum eis militum et peditum plus quam xx milia per Sarracenorum colonias dispersi sunt. Arabes autem et Turci ab Ierusalem et Damasco et ab aliis multarum regionum municipiis conuenerant, ut Antiochiæ subuenirent. Qui ut Christianos per regionem suam dispersos audierunt, admodum gauisi sunt¹ sperantes se illis pro certo preualituros, utpote quos opinabantur paucos et aduenticios. Intempesta igitur nocte duas acies in insidiis ordinauerunt unam a facie, alteram a tergo. Armipotens comes Flandriæ et Buamundus diluculo in eos unanimiter irruerunt, et inuocato nomine

^a *Certainly an error for milites, as in BD and GF*

¹ Aregh or Harenc, across the Iron Bridge on the road to Aleppo.

² 'Deinde castrenses . . . cauillantes gaudebant' is much abbreviated from BD II. x, pp. 41-2; cf. *GF* xiii, p. 30.

³ East of the city, near the Gate of St. Paul; see the plan of Antioch in E. G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés* (Paris, 1871), pl. XVII, reprinted in Sumberg, *Chanson d'Antioche*, at end.

injuries by robbery and other aggressions. So they blockaded all the roads round about and closed them to the Christians from the sea and from the mountains. In this way those outside the city were more rigorously blockaded than those who were sheltered inside it.

Near by was a well-fortified castle called Aregh,¹ from which the Turks made forays against the Christians, and many of them were ambushed and killed by the people of the region. So the Christian magnates, much grieved, went out against the Turks, provoked them to battle, and, by feigning flight, deliberately led them into an ambush where Bohemond was lying hidden with his men. Two thousand Christians were killed there. Then the valiant champion Bohemond, incensed, sprang from his ambush; attacking the Turks he slew many and captured some alive, whom he beheaded ceremoniously before the city gate for all to see. ²Then the besiegers built a castle on the top of a mountain called Malregard,³ which the lords guarded, each one taking his turn on a daily rota. During this time food grew very scarce, because they dared not forage and there were no provisions to be purchased. They had already eaten the abundant supplies they had found in the valley. Consequently everything edible was very dear. The spectre of famine walked abroad, since sustenance grew scarcer every day and the enemies inside the city gloated over them.

In the year of our Lord 1097, the fifth indiction, ⁴after celebrating the feast of Christmas, Duke Bohemond and Robert of Flanders left the camp amid the tears of those who remained behind, taking with them a force of over twenty thousand knights and foot-soldiers, which dispersed among the settlements of the Saracens. But Arabs and Turks from Jerusalem and Damascus and other towns in many regions were flocking together to relieve Antioch. When they heard that the Christians were dispersed through their country they were delighted, for they believed that they would certainly defeat them, since they thought them to be few and in a strange land. At dead of night, therefore, they prepared an ambush with two squadrons drawn up, one in front and one behind. At dawn the warlike count of Flanders and Bohemond suddenly fell on them as one man and fought them resolutely,

⁴ 'celebrata natiuitate . . . sauciabat inedia' slightly abbreviates BD II. xi, pp. 42-3; cf. *GF* xiii-xiv, pp. 30-3.

Jhesu cum signo crucis constantissime preliati sunt' et multi paganorum mortui sunt. Verum de spoliis eorum parum ditati sunt Christiani' quia ocium non habuerunt eos persequendi uel spoliandi.

iii. 523 Interea Turci qui in presidio urbis stabant, audientes Buamundum abscessisse audacter exhibant' et in ipsis iam castris discurrebant. Explorauerunt enim quæ tentoria languidiora reperirentur. Quadam die unanimiter in castris irruerunt, et comminus in Christianos impegerunt' nondum scientes quod sui deuicti essent. Die illa uehementer Ismahelitæ in castris deseuerunt, et multi ex Christianis perempti sunt' inter quos Podiensis tunc signifer¹ occidit, et nisi luteæ interessent salebræ quæ ciuitatem a castris dirimebant, et transitum nullum uel difficilem sinebant, laxis habenis ipsa protererent tentoria, et debacharentur in Christianorum gentem quæ iam aliquantulum marcerat.

Buamundus de Sarracenorum [regionibus]^a regrediens bello peracto, sed modico quod depredaretur inuento' alia conscendit montana, sed in tantam terra iam redacta fuerat uastitatem, ut multi uacui remeauerint. Incassum ergo laborauerant' nisi quod de Turcis solenniter triumphauerant. Sed nulla uictoria famem extinguit' ubi totum quod mandi debeat deficit. Parum letitia durat' quam egestas panis contristat. Reuersi sunt autem ad castra' quæ perhorrescens sauciabat inedia.

iii. 524 ²Armenii et Suriani lucris inexplebiliter inhiantes, Christianos rediisse uacuos uidentes' ad opportuna et remotiora loca decurrebant, et coementes cibaria quæ reperiabant' in castra deferebant, et multo precio quod uili coemptum erat uenditabant. Morbi lues castra contaminabat. Ditiores multa indigentibus et hostiatim postulantiibus donaria conferebant, sed tamen multis diebus sustinere tot milia non poterant. Cogitauerunt igitur aliqui castra subterfugere. Guillelmus Carpentarius et Petrus Heremita latenter fugerunt, quos inuentos Tancredus apprehendit' et inhoneste conuiciatos ad exercitum redire compulit. Dein Buamundus ad se deductos probrosis cohercuit uerbis' et dignis castigauit angariis. Tunc homines et equi incommodo pari laborabant, et euadendi desperatione nutabant. Adeo Christianorum

^a regionibus supplied from BD

¹ The author of the *Gesta Francorum* states more precisely that the bishop of Le Puy lost his seneschal, who was carrying his standard (*GF* p. 32).

² 'Armenii . . . qui caballis uterentur' abbreviates BD II. xii, p. 44, omitting the speeches; cf. *GF* xv, pp. 33-4.

calling on the name of Jesus and with the sign of the cross. Many of the pagans lost their lives. However the Christians did not gain much loot, because they could not wait to pursue and plunder the enemy.

Meanwhile the Turks who were defending the city, hearing that Bohemond had gone away, came out boldly and rode about the camp trying to find out which encampment was weakest. One day they attacked the camp all together and fought hand to hand with the Christians, not yet knowing of the defeat of their men. On that day the Ishmaelites stormed into the camp and many Christians were killed, among whom was the standard-bearer¹ of the bishop of Le Puy. If the city had not been separated from the camp by rough, marshy ground, which was almost impassable, they would have destroyed the tents unchecked and made havoc among the Christian people, who were already considerably weakened.

Bohemond, returning from the Saracens' country after winning a battle but finding little booty, climbed another mountain; but the country had already been so plundered that many of his men returned empty-handed. So their labours had been in vain, except that they had won a noble victory over the Turks. But no victory satisfies hunger where there is nothing whatever to eat. Joy does not last long when it is tempered by lack of bread. They returned to the camp, which was suffering unspeakably from famine.

²When the Armenians and Syrians, who were insatiably greedy for gain, saw the Christians returning empty-handed they went off to likely places further away, purchased all the food they could find, brought it to the camp and sold at an exorbitant price what they had bought cheap. Pestilence spread through the camp. The wealthy gave generous alms to the needy and the beggars going from door to door, but even so they could not support so many thousands for many days. Some therefore decided to flee the camp. William the Carpenter and Peter the Hermit fled secretly; Tancred found and apprehended them and made them return in disgrace to the army. Bohemond too, when they were brought before him, lashed them with scornful words and punished them with the contempt they deserved. At that time men and horses suffered the same distress and were too weak to have any hope of ever escaping. So many of the Christians' horses died that

equi defecerunt, ut in tanto et toto exercitu uix mille milites inuenirentur, qui caballis uterentur.

iii. 525 ¹Tatanus natione Grecus, satellitum imperatoris princeps metu mortis inter tot detrimenta expalluit, et multa sociis promittens profutura legationem ad Augustum suscepit, et abscedens nunquam postmodum ad eos rediit. Probitates et fidelitatem multimodosque angores obsidentium urbem Alexio Cesari luculenter retulit, et Guidonem Guiscardi ducis filium² preclarosque Francorum proceres qui cum multis sodalibus sequebantur sed ab Augusto Constantinopoli honorifice detinebantur ut socios adire festinarent exciuit. Auditis itaque certis rumoribus imperator ingentem exercitum aggregauit, et cum multis copiis ut Christicolis subueniret iter iniit, sed prauis ut in posteris dicemus consiliis bonum inceptum non peregit.

iii. 526 ³Gens interim pauperata furtim discedebat, uadens quo se uiuere putabat. Ad mare nullus audebat accedere: quoniam uiæ et auia seruabantur. Ecce iterum fama recens percerebruit Turcos innumeros aduentare, et ingruentiam necis omnibus confestim imminere. Tot enim erant, quod uix multorum stadiorum sufficeret eis quaquauersum porrecta capacitas. Exanguës Christiani pallebant, et multi eorum marcida colla circulaabant. ⁴Nobilitas tamen de bello disputare ausa est. Cuncti optimates confluerant, omnesque se inuicem cohortabantur. Quod uidens sagax Buamundus eis ualde congratulatus est: prolatoque sapienti consilio cum admonitione facunda ad bellum cohortatus est. Pedites⁵ in castris iussit remanere, et portas ciuitatis diligenter obseruare, ne reseratis illis ciues possent libere discurrere. Omnes milites cum inuocatione nominis Domini Ihesu armati, et sancta communione premuniti: processerunt e castris, cum multis utriusque cateruæ lamentis. Neuter confidebat de se: nec sacerdos nec mulier nec popularis nec miles. Nec isti nec illi sperabant se de cetero posse frui aspectu mutuo. Hi et illi proruebant in karorum oscula: et omnes in lacrimas ciebantur. Milites hospitati sunt inter

¹ 'Tatanus . . . ad eos rediit' greatly abbreviates BD II. xiii, pp. 44-5; cf. *GF* xvi, pp. 34-5. The remainder of the paragraph anticipates information given later by Baudry (BD III. xiii, pp. 72-3).

² Guy was Bohemond's half-brother; he had entered the service of Alexius as a mercenary after Guiscard's campaign of 1081-2. See Marquis de la Force, 'Les conseillers latins d'Alexis Comnène', in *Byzantion*, xi (1936), 157; Mathieu, p. 359.

³ 'Gens interim . . . colla circulaabant' is slightly abbreviated from BD II. xiii, p. 45; cf. *GF* xvi, p. 35.

⁴ 'Nobilitas tamen . . . commiserunt Buamundo' abbreviates BD II. xiv, pp. 45-6; cf. *GF* xvii, p. 36.

⁵ The 'foot-soldiers' at this point included knights whose horses had died.

in that whole great army there were scarcely a thousand knights who still had mounts they could ride.

¹Tatikios the Greek, the chief of the Emperor's subordinates, fearing for his life lost heart among all these hardships and undertook to carry a message to the Emperor, promising that the outcome would be very profitable to his allies. So he took his departure and never came back to them. He described eloquently to the Emperor Alexius the valiant deeds and steadfastness and various sufferings of the men besieging the city, and incited Guy, the son of Duke Robert Guiscard,² and other great Frankish nobles, who were following with many companions and were being honourably entertained by the Emperor at Constantinople, to hurry to join their friends. When the Emperor heard this news he mustered a huge army and set out with many troops to help the Christians; but as a result of evil counsel, as I shall relate in due course, he did not carry out his good intention.

³Meanwhile many people, being destitute, slipped away secretly, going wherever they thought they could survive. None dared make for the sea because the roads and paths were watched. Then a fresh report spread abroad that an immense force of Turks was approaching and that all were in imminent danger of violent death. So many, it was said, were there that they covered the ground for many miles in all directions. The Christians trembled and grew pale, and many of them hung their faint heads. ⁴But the nobility ventured to contemplate battle. All the magnates met together and encouraged each other. Seeing this, the prudent Bohemond praised them warmly and urged them on to battle with wise counsel and persuasive eloquence. He commanded the foot-soldiers⁵ to remain in the camp and keep close watch over the gates of the city, for fear that they might be opened and the citizens come pouring out. All the knights, invoking the name of the Lord Jesus, armed and fortified with holy communion, rode out of the camp amid the lamentations of both forces. No one felt any confidence in himself, neither priest, nor woman, nor common soldier, nor knight. Neither those who left nor those who stayed expected ever to see one another again. Both bands rushed to kiss their dear ones and all were bathed in tears. The knights took up their stand between the river whose ancient name was

For an account of the battle see R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 118, 171.

fluuium qui antiquo nomine Daphnes¹ uocatus est² qui preterluit Antiochiam et lacum. Audierant siquidem Turcos in castello Arech conuenisse, ultra Pontem Ferreum. Impigri Christianorum optimates ante lucanum conuenerunt, et aurora prima illucescente gnaros exploratores premiserunt³ qui celeriter reuertentes Turcos adesse et duas copiosas acies prestruxisse acclamauerunt. Viderant enim eos ex altera fluminis ripa accelerantes. Tunc Christianorum proceres locuti sunt de bello ordinando, et negocium illud commiserunt Buamundo. ²Ordinatæ sunt itaque sex acies. Quinque ex illis processerunt quæ belli pondus sustinerent⁴ et inimicum agmen efficaciter feriendo repellerent. Boamundus cum acie sua postremus paulatim gradiebatur⁵ omnibus prouisurus et subuenturus, et si Turci preualerent prioribus totam belli ingruentiam excepturus. Litui clangebant⁶ bucinæ reboabant. Vtriusque multitudinis clamor audiebatur⁷ et acerrimum certamen utrinque agebatur. Comminus utræque instabant legiones. Iam clipeo clipeus, iam umbone umbo repellebatur⁸ et confractis hastis enses mutilabantur. Superuenere Turcorum succenturiæ⁹ quæ grauiter ceperunt Christianos impellere. Nequibant Franci tantum impetum tot examinatorum nationum sustinere, sed titubantes cogebantur cedere. Tantus enim erat clamor et strepitus et telorum imber¹⁰ ut ipsum etiam obnubilarent aerem. Ingemuit Boamundus qui undique prospiciebat eis tanquam totus oculatus et ait, 'Christe tuos sustenta Christianos.' Et adiecit, 'Rodberte,' Rodbertus siquidem Girardi filius³ suum detulerat uexillum Δ 'rapidum calcaribus urge cornipedem, et Christianis titubantibus imperterritus esto iuuamen. Memor esto precor parentum nostrorum¹¹ et ne liuidaueris rutilantem titulum Francorum. Scito nobis ilico de celis auxilium futurum¹² sed uult Deus ut nos uelut fortes athletæ promereamur et adipiscamur brauium.'

iii. 527

Rodbertus sanctæ crucis signo munitus, et auxiliaribus manipulis constipatus, festinus affuit, et cruentissimis Turcis audacissimus miles obstitit. Adeo perfidos aggressus est¹³ ut uexilli Boamundi lingulas in ora Turcorum uolitare faceret, altoque clamore suo aliquantulum Turcos deterreret. Ad illius primipilaris

¹ Now the Doueir, a tributary of the Orontes (*RHC Occ.* iv. p. 46 n. a). Baudry gives the name, which is not in *GF*.

² 'Ordinatæ sunt . . . qua caput ieiunii quadragesimalis precedebat' (p. 80) closely follows *BD II.* xv, pp. 46-8; cf. *GF xvii*, pp. 36-7.

³ Robert was the second son of Gerard, count of Buonalbergo, and was

Daphne,¹ which flowed past Antioch, and the lake. They had heard that the Turks had gathered in the castle of Aregh, beyond the Iron Bridge. The valiant Christian nobles assembled before day-break and at dawn sent out experienced scouts, who were soon back calling out that the Turks were upon them and had formed two strong squadrons. Indeed they could see them rapidly advancing from the other bank of the river. Then the leaders of the Christians discussed the ordering of battle, and entrusted the dispositions to Bohemond. ²Six squadrons were formed. Five of them were to advance to bear the brunt of the battle and drive the enemy column back with the force of their onslaught. Bohemond with his squadron would move forward a little later to control the operation and give support where it was needed and, if the Turks were gaining the upper hand over the first troops, to take the full force of the battle. The clarions sounded, the war-trumpets took up the call. Both armies heard the clamour and clashed in fierce combat. Battalions on both sides fought hand to hand. Shield clashed on shield; shield-boss on shield-boss; spears splintered, swords broke. The Turkish reinforcements pressed on resolutely and began to break the Christian lines. The Franks could not hold so heavy an onslaught from such swarms of peoples and began to waver and give way. The din and turmoil were appalling; showers of weapons darkened the sky. As Bohemond looked around at them, darting his eyes to and fro, he groaned and cried out, 'O Christ, sustain your Christian soldiers.' And he added, 'Robert,' for Robert son of Gerard³ was carrying his standard, 'spur on your swift charger and put heart into the wavering Christians by your courage. Remember, I pray, our kinsfolk and do not tarnish the bright honour of the Franks. Be assured that help will come to us from heaven, but God wills that we should deserve and win the prize as brave champions.'

Robert, protected by the sign of the holy cross and backed by the auxiliary forces, galloped into the fray and checked the blood-thirsty Turks like the bold knight he was. He charged right up to the infidels so that he made the streamers of Bohemond's standard float in the faces of the Turks and with a tremendous shout momentarily checked them. Seeing the charge of this commander and hearing the loud shout the Franks took heart

Bohemond's cousin on his mother's side. See E. M. Jamison, 'Some notes . . .', pp. 201-2.

impetum et altum clamorem Franci animos resumpserunt, et in Turcos unanimiter irruerunt. Fragor armorum multus erat: et ab ereis cassidibus elucubratus ignis scintillabat. Vulnera uulneribus illidebant: et campi nimio sanguine purpurabantur. Intestina uideres dependentia, cesa capita, et trunca corpora, passim op-
 iii. 528 pentia. Turci itaque timore nimio exterriti sunt: et repente cuneis eorum labantibus fugerunt quos nostri repente ultra Pontem Ferreum persecuti sunt. Cesi sunt ibi Turcorum multi milites: quoniam prelium illud non habuerat pedites. Christiani autem magno potiti tropheo leti reuersi sunt ad suos, secum adducentes multos equos quibus singulariter indigebant: et spolia multa quæ in prelio adquisierant. Turci ad castellum suum Arech satis inglorii reuersi sunt: quod omnino despoliantes succenderunt et fugerunt. Armenii autem et Suriani hoc uidentes arta loca preoccupauerunt, et multos ex eis peremerunt, quosdam autem uiuos reduxerunt. Castellum uero predictum Christianis subiugatum reddiderunt. Franci quoque in castra centum capita peremptorum retulerunt ad consolationem suorum: et ad defectionem obsessorum. Hæc omnia uiderunt legati admirabilis Babiloniæ: qui tunc forte a Babilonia¹ ad eos missi, iuxta eos suis morabantur in tentoriis. Illi autem qui in castris remanserant, tota die in Antiochenos pugnauerant: et tres portas urbis ne foras erumperent indesinenter seruauerant. Prælium hoc factum est idus Februarii,² feria tertia: quæ caput ieiunii quadragesimalis precedebat.

³Multitudo ciuium licet in præliis semper uicti fuerint, et morte uel uulneribus seu captionibus defecerint: tanta erat in urbe, ut magis in iram efferati Christianos ardentius impeterent, et incessanter ipsa castra perturbarent, frequenter insilirent, atque
 iii. 529 quibuslibet mortibus funestarent. Christiani præter hæc magnis affligebantur incommodis: quia nec obsidionem deserere: nec procul a castris audebant procedere. Regiones circumsitæ iam in tantam redactæ erant solitudinem: ut nullam eis suppeditarent pabulorum subministrationem. Turci nimirum quibus locorum opportunitates cognitæ erant, frumentatum cursitabant: et Christianis attentius insidiabantur. Porro quæcumque ciuitates, quæcumque castella, quæcumque municipia, quilibet homo, quælibet mulier, omnes qui uel prope uel procul erant, Christianis

¹ Babylon was the earlier name of Old Cairo, very frequently used in western sources throughout the Middle Ages.

² In 1098 Shrove Tuesday fell on 9 February. Orderic copied Baudry's error; *GF* correctly gives the date as 'quinto idus Februarii'.

again and charged the Turks as one man. Weapons were shattered everywhere and bright sparks flew from brazen helmets. Wound after wound was inflicted and the fields were red with blood. You could see torn entrails, severed heads, headless bodies, corpses everywhere. The Turks were utterly terrified; their lines suddenly gave way and they fled. Our men pursued them hotly beyond the Iron Bridge. Many Turkish knights were killed there, for there were no foot-soldiers in the battle. The Christians returned to their own men rejoicing after winning a great victory; they brought many horses with them, of which they were particularly in need, and many spoils won in the battle. The Turks returned ingloriously to their castle of Aregh, which they dismantled and burnt before retreating further. When the Armenians and Syrians saw this they laid ambushes in the passes and slaughtered many of them, though they captured some alive. They handed over the castle of Aregh, which they had taken, to the Christians. The Franks carried a hundred severed heads back to their camp to encourage their men and alarm the besieged. All this was seen by envoys of the emir of Egypt,¹ who happened to have been sent to them from Egypt at that time and was lodged beside them in his tents. Those who remained in the camp also fought all day against the men of Antioch and watched the three gates of the city unremittingly to prevent any large force breaking out. This battle was fought on Shrove Tuesday, 13 February,² just before the beginning of Lent.

³Although the defenders had been repeatedly defeated in battle and had lost many killed and wounded or captured there was still such a multitude in the city that, as their anger mounted, they attacked the Christians more resolutely and constantly harried their camp, ambushed them, and cut them down in any way they could. Apart from this the Christians suffered great hardships, for they could neither abandon the siege nor venture to go far from the camp. The countryside all around was already so wasted that it could not supply them with any kind of provisions. The Turks, however, who knew where to look, sent out to procure corn and blockaded the Christians very closely. On top of this, every city, every stronghold, every town whatsoever, every man, every woman, and all persons far and near were hostile to the Christians.

³ 'Multitudo ciuium . . . optanda in aduersis prosperitas' abbreviates and adapts *BD* II. xvi, pp. 48-9, omitting the speeches. Cf. *GF* xviii, pp. 39-40.

inimicabantur. Omnis locus obstructus erat.¹ ne forte negotiatores ad eos accessissent. Itaque perhorrenda periclitabantur eduliorum inopia. Nobilitas igitur ut plebi consulerent.² misericorditer anxiantur. Consilium inierunt ut machomariam¹ munirent.² et Turcis transitum per pontem auferrent. Decreuerunt etiam ut Buamundus dux et Raimundus Tolosanus comes ad portum Sancti Simeonis irent, et populum qui ibi expectabat ad obsidionem adducerent.²

iii. 530 Itaque qui in castris remanserunt.² accincti gladiis ad castellum inchoandum unanimiter se preparauerunt. Turci autem nec numero nec armis impares audacter Francis occurrerunt.² et in tantum aggressi sunt, ut eos in fugam compulerint, multosque peremerint. Denique comperto quod duo maximi proceres ad portum abscessissent.² clandestinas insidias competenter collocauerunt, et a portu Sancti Simeonis remeantes immaniter aggressi sunt. Impetebant enim Sarraceni Christianos sagittis, ensibus, lanceis, missilibus, et omnimoda telorum ingruentia. Christianos immisericorditer obtruncabant, et dentibus in eos stridentes clamitabant. Redierat quippe cum prefatis principibus gens nec satis armata.² nec multum pugnax. Pauci Christiani debachantium crudelitatem diutius perpeti nequiverunt.² sed peremptis in illo conflictu plus quam mille alii fugerunt.

iii. 531 Tales sunt bellorum euentus.² tales sunt uicissitudines et hominum et temporum. Nulli unquam successit semper feliciter.² nemo unquam de continua prosperitate lætabitur uel lætatus est. Hac de re et timenda est et cauenda in prosperis aduersitas, speranda uero et optanda in aduersis prosperitas. ³Rumor de Christianis superatis eos qui remanserant ualde contristauit, eo maxime quod certum numerum uiuorum seu peremptorum non retulit. Plurimi per montana repentes euaserunt, et ad tentoria quantocius redierunt. Boamundus per breuiorem uiam reuersus Tolosanum preuenit.² et de defectu suorum uerus interpres nunciauit. Christiani uero magis irati quam exterriti Turcos unanimiter aggressi sunt.² et occisione commilitonum suorum incitati gentiles uiriliter inuaserunt. Vtrinque acerrime dimicatum est. Turci pontem transierant.² et Christianis audacter

¹ The mosque was just north of the Orontes, by the fortified bridge into the city.

² A fleet manned by Englishmen put in at St. Symeon on 4 March 1098. The expedition of Bohemond and Raymond took place the following day (Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 130-4; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, no. xvii, p. 165).

Every place was barricaded to prevent traders coming to them. So the famine reached terrifying proportions. The nobles were concerned for the masses and tried to find a way of relieving them. They decided on a plan to fortify a mosque¹ and cut off the Turks' route across the bridge. They also decided that Duke Bohemond and Raymond, count of Toulouse, should go to the port of St. Symeon and bring back to the siege the men who were waiting there.²

The men who remained in the camp armed themselves and prepared to build the castle. But a body of Turks equal to the Franks in numbers and arms attacked them boldly and pressed them so hard that they were forced to retreat in haste, losing many men. Then, discovering that two of the greatest leaders had gone off to the port, they carefully prepared well concealed ambushes and attacked them violently on their way back from the port of St. Symeon. The Saracens rushed on the Christians with arrows, swords, lances, javelins, and showers of every kind of weapon. They cut down the Christians without mercy, howling and gnashing their teeth at them. The men returning with their leaders were neither well armed nor anxious for battle. A small force of Christians could not resist the fury of such an onslaught for long; after more than a thousand had been killed in that battle the remainder fled.

Such are the fortunes of war, such are the vicissitudes of men and seasons. No one has ever risen with unchanging fortune, no one ever has enjoyed or will enjoy continual prosperity. Therefore in prosperity we must fear and guard against adversity and in adversity we must hope for prosperity. ³The news of the Christian defeat was a heavy blow to those who were left behind, all the more because there was no certain report of the numbers dead or surviving. Many escaped by crawling through the mountains and quickly returned to the camp. Bohemond, returning by a shorter route, arrived before the count of Toulouse and gave a true account in person of the disaster to his men. More angry than afraid, the Christians united to attack the Turks and, roused by the slaughter of their comrades, hurled themselves courageously against the infidels. The fighting was bitter on both sides. The Turks had crossed the bridge and boldly opposed the Christians, by whom

³ 'Rumor de Christianis . . . ad mortem usque contristati sunt' (p. 86) abbreviates and adapts BD II. xvii, pp. 50-1; cf. *GF* xviii, pp. 40-2.

obuiarant. A quibus præter spem horribiliter excepti sunt¹ et percussi fugiendo elabi uoluerunt, sed inita fuga mortem inuenerunt. Oberat fugientibus pons angustus, fluuiusque rapidus et profundus. Alter eis non erat transitus. Fluuium circa pontem nemo euadare, uix aliquis poterat enatare. Grandis multitudo equitantium pontem pariter ascenderunt, Francique fraternæ ultionis et uictoriæ cupidi perimere crudeles beluas sategerunt. Insatiati peremptores instabant, lanceis et ensibus in eos comminus utebantur. Quosdam in fluuium precipitabant, alios lætalibus gladiis confodiebant. Fluuius sanguine cruentabatur² et cadaueribus supertegebatur. ¹Insignis dux Godefredus quendam maximum bellatorem aurea lorica indutum in tergo ense percussit, ualidoque ictu per medium quasi tenerum porrum obruncauit. Caput cum humeris et superiori parte corporis a cingulo in flumen cecidit³ inferiorque pars super uelocissimum cornipedem remansit. Equus autem rectore carens aspere calcaribus urgebatur⁴ et laxatis habenis fugientes preueniens urbem ingressus est. Hoc totus populus qui in muris et propugnaculis stabat ut prospexit, ualde mestus contremuit⁵ et de tanto strenui baronis ictu plurima cum lamentis uerba euomuit. Dies multimodæ mortis dies illa gentilibus illuxerat⁶ in qua uix aliquis ibi congregatorum mortem euitare poterat. Mulieres a murorum et propugnaculorum spectaculis suorum miserias prospectabant, et successiuis Francorum prosperitatibus inuidebant. In prælio illo duodecim principes quos admiralios uocant et mille quingenti milites precipui mortui sunt⁷ aliique timore nimio ne in Christianos aliquid arroganter inirent perterriti sunt. Intempesta nox² prælium diremit. Christiani in Domino Ihesu letantes ad suos uictoriosi redierunt, et equos multos cum spoliis copiosis secum adduxerunt. In crastino mane Turci suorum cadauera collegerunt⁸ et ultra pontem ad machomariam ante portam ciuitatis sepelierunt. Pallia quoque et preciosas exuias subtumulauerunt, et arcus et pharetras et plurimos bizanteos mortuorum procurationi adiecerunt. Quo Christiani comperto sepultos desepelierunt, concupiscibilemque substantiam rapuerunt, et corpora congregata in

iii. 532

¹ Godfrey's exploit is not in *GF*, and Orderic adds a number of possibly imaginary details, including the golden armour, to the story in *BD*. Robert the Monk gives a slightly different version (*RHC Occ.* iii. 786-7), as does the *chanson d'Antioche* (see above, Introduction, p. xvi n. 1).

they were given a rougher reception than they had bargained for. Hurling back, they attempted to escape by flight, but had barely turned tail when death overtook them. Their escape was barred by the narrow bridge and the swift, deep river, both of which proved impassable to them. No one could ford the river around the bridge, scarcely any could swim across. A great crowd of horsemen surged on to the bridge together and the Franks, thirsting to avenge their comrades and win a victory, were determined to annihilate these cruel predators. They pressed forward thirsting for blood, and struck at the enemy with lances and swords in hand-to-hand combat. Many were hurled into the river, others cut down by deadly swords. The river ran red with blood and was covered with corpses. ¹The valiant Duke Godfrey struck one huge warrior wearing a golden hauberk from behind with his sword, and sliced him in two with the force of the blow like a young leek. The head and shoulders with all the body above the belt fell into the river, the lower part remained seated on the galloping horse. The riderless horse was pricked onwards by the sharp spurs and galloped into the city ahead of the fugitives, with the reins hanging slack. All the crowd standing along the walls and battlements felt anguish and terror at the sight and cried out volubly, with lamentations, about the valiant baron's amazing blow. That day dawned as a day of death in many shapes for the infidels, a day in which hardly anyone in the throng succeeded in escaping death. From the windows in the walls and battlements the women watched the misfortunes of their men and envied the repeated successes of the Franks. In that battle twelve princes who are called emirs and fifteen hundred distinguished knights fell, and the others were so cowed that they dared not defy the Christians. The dismal night² put an end to the battle. The Christians returned victorious to their camp, rejoicing in the Lord Jesus and bringing with them many horses and much booty. Next morning the Turks collected the bodies of their dead and buried them at the mosque beyond the bridge outside the gate of the city. They buried with them their mantles and precious garments and added for the needs of the dead their bows and quivers and many gold coins. When the Christians heard of this they dug up the bodies, seized the valuable objects and, collecting the

² Cf. Ennius, *Annalium fragmenta*, iv. 15 (ed. E. Spangenberg, Leipzig, 1825), p. 66.

foueam unam contumeliose proiecerunt. Burdones uero quattuor cesorum capitibus onustos ad portam miserunt, quæ ciues et Babilonici legati uidentes uehementer doluerunt, et ad mortem usque contristati sunt.

iii. 533 ¹Tercia die Christiani castellum de quo supra memoratum est ædificare ceperunt, et de lapidibus de sepulturis dehumatorum munierunt' quo satis munito iam hostes suos artius coangustauerunt. Franci autem securiores ad montana cursitabant, et paleis aliisque quibuslibet uictualibus deuehendis iam liberius uacabant. Ex altera uero parte fluminis nondum sua Christiani tentoria locauerant' ibique Turci securius discurrebant.

iii. 534 Communi ergo consilio castellum ultra flumen² ædificatum est' magnanimusque Tancredus de castello illo seruando cum primoribus Francorum pactus est. Omnes enim alii tutelam huiusmodi refutauerunt. Excitis itaque commilitonibus fautoribusque suis castellum muniit, obsessæ urbi acriter obstitit, uias et inuia irrequietus obseruauit. Quadam die Surianos et Armenios necessaria ut solebant in urbem abundanter deferentes inuenit, celeriter aggressus omnia quæ deferebant abstulit, spoliisque opimis et uictualibus gloriose ditatus sociis subuenit. Antiocheni ergo et omnes fautores eorum ualde perterriti sunt' et frequentibus infortuniis et calamitatibus oppressi sunt. Franci moribus ferociore, natura animosiores, usu in bello expeditiores erant, et ad hoc in longinquas regiones et exterarum nationum iter arripuerant. Longanimes ad Deum in angustiis suspirabant, ipsumque in necessitatibus suis adiutorem inuocabant, eique frequenter pro humanis excessibus deuoti satisfaciebant.

iii. 535 ³Pirrus Datianus⁴ quidam admiratus Turcorum prosapia oriundus in obsessa ciuitate tres turres habebat' qui fœdus amicitiae per fideles internuncios cum Buamundo inierat, de quo fama uolans ad eum multa bona detulerat. Frequenter igitur per fidos interpretes et nota intersigna loquebantur adinuicem. Hunc aliquando Buamundus ad Christianitatem incitabat, aliquando ad reddendam ciuitatem multimodis pollicitationibus

¹ 'Tercia die . . . deuoti satisfaciebant' slightly abbreviated BD II. xviii, pp. 51-2; cf. *GF* xviii-xix, pp. 42-4.

² The tower was built on a hill just south of the Gate of St. George.

³ 'Pirrus Datianus . . . Christianitati alliciebat' follows Baudry closely; 'Tandem Pirrus . . . exitus expectauit' briefly summarizes his account (BD II. xix, pp. 52-4; cf. *GF* xx, pp. 44-5).

⁴ The name 'Pirrus' (Firuz) is taken from *GF* through BD. 'Datianus' does

bodies together, threw them unceremoniously into one ditch. They sent four pack-horses laden with the heads of the slain to the gate, at the sight of which the citizens and envoys from Cairo lamented bitterly and almost died of grief.

¹On the third day the Christians began to build the castle of which I spoke above, using the stones from the tombs of the men they had dug up. When it was strong enough they blockaded the enemy more closely. The Franks also foraged more safely in the mountains and went about more freely to collect straw and all kinds of food supplies. However, the Christians had not yet established their tents across the river and there the Turks went about in relative safety.

So by common counsel a castle was built on the other side of the river,² and the brave Tancred made an agreement with the Frankish leaders to guard it. All the others, indeed, had refused the charge. With his chosen companions and helpers he manned the castle and kept a close guard on the besieged city, tirelessly watching the exits and entrances. One day he spied Syrians and Armenians convoying loads of necessities to the city, as they were accustomed to do, and rushing out on them he took away all their baggage. Triumphantly acquiring rich spoils and food supplies, he was able to provide for his companions. The defenders of Antioch and all their supporters were much alarmed, being worn out with constant hardships and disasters. The Franks were fiercer in character, more daring by nature, more experienced in the art of war, and in addition had undertaken an expedition to distant lands among strange peoples. Patient in suffering, they cried to God and besought his help in their needs, constantly and devoutly doing penance for their human sins.

³Firuz Datianus,⁴ an emir of Turkish origin who held three towers in the besieged city, entered into a pact of friendship, through faithful intermediaries, with Bohemond, of whom he had heard many good reports. They frequently communicated with each other through trustworthy messengers and by recognized signals. Bohemond sometimes urged him to be converted to Christianity, sometimes tempted him with all kinds of promises

not occur in other Latin histories, but the name 'Dacien' is found in the *chanson d'Antioche*. See Sumberg, *Chanson d'Antioche*, p. 266; D. Duparc-Quoioc, 'La composition de la *Chanson d'Antioche*', in *Romania*, lxxxiii (1962), p. 236. Firuz was an Armenian, possibly a Christian renegade, described by some sources as an armourer. See Runciman, *Crusades*, i. 231 n. 3.

suadebat.' et ut uir callens nichil intemptatum relinquebat. Nunc eum pro infortuniis ciuitati imminentibus deterrebat, nunc eum pro præmiis copiosis quæ a Deo gloriose destinantur Christianitati alliciebat. Tandem Pirrus famoso amico assensum prebuit, et tres ei turres suas optulit, filiumque suum obsidem daturum se spondit, et ut inceptum maturarent negotium summopere admonuit. Prudens Buamundus intestinam lætitiā caute celauit uultum et os ad tempus compescuit. Optimates deinde allocutus de difficultate capiendæ urbis, de ingenti tedio longæ obsidionis, de laudabili constantia uictoriosæ expeditionis' suasit ut cuilibet suorum ab omnibus concederetur principatus Antiochiæ, qui precio seu ui uel amicitia seu quolibet ingenio posset eam optinere. Tunc seniores ei non adqueuerunt, sed communem omnibus eam esse debere dixerunt, quia generali conatu omnes ibi laborauerunt. Sapiens heros pluribus auditis conticuit, et opportunitatem optati exitus expectauit. ¹Paulo post fama presaga mali² percrebruit in castris Turcos, Publicanos, Agulanos, Azimitas, et plurimas gentiliū nationes aduentare, et de bello in Christianos condixisse. Iam certi eruperant nuncii' qui de certitudine testabantur imminentis periculi. Christiani ergo duces adinuicem locuti sunt' et sponte sua Buamundo subintulerunt: 'Vides quod in articulo res nostra posita sit. Si ciuitatem ergo istam prece uel precio nobis etiam iuuantibus poteris optinere' nos eam tibi unanimiter concedimus, saluo in omnibus quod imperatori te collaudante fecimus sacramento. Si nobis imperator ut promisit adiutor aduenerit, iuratasque pactiones custodierit' periuri uiuere nolumus, sed quod pace tua dictum sit' nos eam illi concedimus. Sin autem' tuæ semper subdita sit potestati.'

iii. 537 Mox Buamundus iteratis sermonibus Pirrum interpellauit, et ille nichil percunctatus filium suum obsidem misit. 'Preco' inquit 'uester in castris uestris intonet alta uoce' ut gens Francorum hodie preparata, cras ingrediatur Sarracenorum terram depre-dandi causa, et sic nostris et uestris dissimulabitur causa nostra. Postquam hostium multitudinem longius abiisse nostri putauerint' minusque solliciti sub noctis silentio quieuerint, uos interim

¹ 'Paulo post . . . donec conualuisset discesserat' slightly abbreviates BD II. xix, pp. 54-5; cf. *GF* xx, xxvii, pp. 45-6, 63.

² Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* x. 843.

to surrender the city and, being a practical man, left nothing untried. At one moment he played on his fears of the disasters threatening the city, at another he wooed him by telling of the abundant rewards which are so gloriously ordained by God for Christians. Finally Firuz yielded to his renowned friend and offered him his three towers, promising to give his son as a hostage, and urging him to bring the enterprise to a conclusion at the earliest opportunity. The wily Bohemond carefully concealed the delight he felt, and until the time was ripe allowed neither his face nor his words to betray anything. Next he harangued the magnates about the difficulty of capturing the city, the great hardship of the long siege, and the splendid perseverance of the victorious army, and he urged that they should all grant the right to rule Antioch to whichever one of them could win it by bribery or force or friendship or any kind of stratagem. At first the leaders would not give way to him, but insisted that it ought to belong to all in common, because all together had shared the struggle there. After hearing many objections the wise lord held his peace and waited for a favourable moment to achieve his ends. ¹A little later 'rumour the forerunner of evil'² flew through the camp, to the effect that the Turks, Paulicians, Agulani, Azymites, and many other peoples were approaching and had allied to make war on the Christians. Already reliable messengers had burst in and testified to the imminence of the danger. The Christian leaders therefore conferred together and on their own initiative said to Bohemond, 'You see that our fortune hangs in the balance. If therefore you can win this city by diplomacy or bribery with our help, we all agree to grant it to you, saving in all things the oath which, with your approval, we have taken to the Emperor. If the Emperor should come to help us as he has promised and keeps his sworn pact we will not be guilty of perjury, but will grant him what was decided with your consent. If not, then let the city be subject to your rule for ever.'

Bohemond at once communicated another message to Firuz, who without delay sent his son as a hostage. 'Let the herald', he said, 'announce loudly in your camp that the Franks are to make preparations today for going out foraging in the Saracen country tomorrow; in this way our intention will be concealed from our men and yours. When our men, thinking that the great majority of their enemies have gone right away, are resting off their guard

clandestini scala muris admota accelerate, omnem tumultum compescite, murumque cito et confidenter ascendite, turresque meas ut promisi recipite. Postmodum de rebus agendis procurate, gladiisque rerum euentus perficite, nec aliquid quod agendum sit ceu segnes negligite.^a Ego uero insomnis et sollicitus uestrum prestolabor aduentum.' Buamundus itaque preconii suo quem Malam-coronam cognominabant per castra preconari.² ut omnes irent hostium terras depredari. Omne uero secretum credidit duci Godefredo et Flandrensi et Normanno atque Tolosano ac Podiensi episcopo aliisque quibusdam optimatibus. Tancredus autem sui-que consilarii rem totam ab origine nouerant. Stephanus uero Blesensis aberat qui magna detentus ægritudine ut asserebat, ad Alexandretam recreationis gratia donec conualuisset discesserat.¹

iii. 538 ²Exercitus itaque Christianus huiusce rei ignarus uesperascente die castra exiuit, et per quædam deuia deductus ante auroram prope urbem per compendiosa diuerticula repedauit. Buamundus interim suis mandauit familiaribus ut scalam quam preparauerat caute muro apponerent, et taciturni confidenter ascenderent, et reliqua quæ agenda essent armis animisque uegeti prudenter agerent. ³Langobardus quidem nomine Paganus non sine grandi metu primus ascendit, quem Fulcherius Carnotensis et Rogerius de Barnæuilla ac Goisfredus Parented de Castro Segred alii-que fere lx subsecuti sunt.⁴ quos Pirrus diligenter suscepit, et in turribus suis collocauit. Deinde Pirrus postquam uidit quod plures non sequerentur⁵ ualde tristis materna dixisse lingua fertur, 'Heu heu michro Francos echome',⁴ hoc est, 'paucos Francos habemus'. Langobardus ergo per scalam properus descendit, et expectanti Buamundo eminus dixit, 'Quid agis? an dormis? Mitte uelociter quos missurus es, quia indemnes iam optinuimus tres turres. Alioquin⁶ et nos et ciuitatem et amicuum tuum qui totam spem et animam suam in sinum tuum expandit amisisti.'

^a Sic in MS.; negligite in all MSS of BD

¹ It is possible that Stephen of Blois was already disillusioned with the crusade, and was planning to return home. See James A. Brundage, 'An errant crusader: Stephen of Blois', in *Traditio*, xvi (1960), 388-9.

² 'Exercitus itaque . . . Pirri frater mactatus est' abbreviates and adapts BD II. xix, pp. 55-6; cf. *GF* xx, pp. 46-7; a few details are added independently.

³ No names are given in *GF*; BD names the Lombard, Pain, and the other three are provided by Orderic. Raymond of Agiles states that Foucher of

in the silent night, see to it that you hurry secretly carrying ladders to the walls, make no sound, climb the wall swiftly and confidently and take over my towers as I have promised. Then do what must be done, finish the enterprise with your swords and be careful not to overlook anything that ought to be done. I myself, alert and sleepless, will wait for your coming.' Bohemond therefore ordered his herald, who was called 'Ill-tonsure', to proclaim through the camp that all should go out and raid the lands of their foes. He entrusted his secret to Duke Godfrey and the counts of Flanders and Normandy and Toulouse and the bishop of Le Puy and certain other magnates. Tancred and his counsellors also had known the whole business from the start. Stephen of Blois was not there at the time, since he professed himself to be very sick and had gone to Alexandretta to rest and recover his health.¹

²So the Christian army, knowing nothing of the business, left the camp in the shades of evening and, after being led through some remote places, returned before dawn by convenient by-ways to a place near the city. Meanwhile Bohemond ordered his own troops to place the ladder they had made cautiously against the wall, mount it confidently without a sound, and then carry out what had to be done prudently, with alert minds and ready weapons. ³A south Italian Lombard called Pain mounted first in fear and trembling, followed by Foucher of Chartres and Roger of Barneville and Geoffrey Parented of Castel-Sagrat and about sixty others. Firuz cautiously admitted them and put them in possession of his towers. But when he saw that no more were following he is reported to have exclaimed very anxiously in his mother tongue, 'Alas, alas, μικροὺς Φράγκους ἔχομεν',⁴ which means, 'We have few Franks.' The Lombard therefore quickly went down the ladder and said to Bohemond, who was waiting some way off, 'What are you up to? are you asleep? Send the men you mean to send at once, for we are already safely in possession of three towers. Otherwise you will lose the city and destroy us and your friend, who has already placed all his hope and his life in your keeping.'

Chartres was the first to enter the city, and that he was a brother of Boel of Chartres (*RHC Occ.* iii. 251); Ralph of Caen, probably confusing the two, calls him Gouel of Chartres (*ibid.*, p. 654). Because of the connection of Foucher's family with Saint-Évroul (cf. above, p. 36 n. 1) Orderic is likely to have had some direct information about him and his companions.

⁴ The Greek exclamation is taken by BD from *GF*.

His auditis Boamundus et qui cum eo erant¹ dicto citius cursum arripiunt, multi ascensum preoccupant, et septem¹ alias Pirro docente turres intrant. Occisis omnibus quos intus inuenerant, iam per muros et plateas personant² passim discurrunt, neminique obuianti parcunt. Ciues laboribus longæ obsidionis fatigati uix expergiscebantur, et adhuc somnolenti domos suas inermes egrediebantur, somno sonoque clamantium stupefacti, cautis incauti occursabant, et rem ignorantes aduersarios utpote suos clientes conuocabant. Vbicumque igitur obuiabantur² tanquam oues procumbebant et obtruncabantur. Tunc etiam couterinus Pirri frater mactatus est.

iii. 540 ²Interea tanti per scalam repere ceperunt² ut ipsa scala dissiliens dissolueretur, nec alii qui iusum propter muros aderant, sociis sursum pugnantibus auxiliari possent. Pro tali ergo euentu contristatis² pietas Dei suffragata est. Nam non procul a scala nutu Dei quandam portam quam retroactis diebus explorantes uiderant, a sinistra parte palpantes inuenerunt, ipsaque fracta quantotius ingressi sunt. Tunc nimius fragor exortus est² et uberior dimicandi occasio Christianis succreuit, Turcisque somno uinoque sepultis³ crudelior necis angustia obuinit. Gentiles dum periculum imminens effugere uellent, in Christianos impegerunt, et impetum euitare satagentes dum nesciunt, in repentinum mortis discrimen ceciderunt. Buamundi uexillum ipso iubente in urbem elatum est² et contra municipium quod erat in urbe in editiori colle collocatum est.

iii. 541 Christiani iii^o nonas Iunii, feria quarta⁴ Antiochiam optinuerunt, et innumeros paganorum ibidem interemerunt. Nec ætati nec sexui nec cuius conditioni nocte illa indultum est. Nox ambigua erat² et ideo promiscui sexus nullum exceperat. Dies illuxit, et qui morabantur in castris, tumultuantibus populis et reboantibus lituis exciti, uexillum Buamundi uiderunt et agnouerunt, et de capta ciuitate gauisi sunt. Ad portas igitur cucurrerunt, introierunt² sociosque toto nisu adiuuerunt. Turcos subterfugere molientes si quos inuenerunt² impigre ceciderunt.

¹ Orderic provides the number seven.

² 'Interea tanti . . . incogniti fuerunt' closely follows BD II. xxi-xxii, pp. 56-7; cf. *GF* xx, p. 47.

³ Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 265.

On hearing this Bohemond and the men with him rushed forward swifter than words; many climbed up to a dominant position and, with the instructions of Firuz, occupied seven¹ other towers. After killing all they found there they rushed shouting along the walls and through the streets, sparing no man who intercepted them. The citizens, exhausted by the sufferings of the long siege, were just astir; emerging from their houses unarmed and only half awake, dazed both with sleep and the din of shouting, they found themselves all unprepared fighting men on their guard. Ignorant of what had happened they mistook their enemies for their friends. Wherever the Christians met them they cut them down and slew them like sheep. Even the uterine brother of Firuz was killed in that slaughter.

²Meanwhile so many began to crowd on to the ladder that it broke up and disintegrated, so that none of the others waiting below close to the walls could give help to their comrades fighting above. But God compassionately helped them in their distress at this mishap. As they felt along the wall to the left they found a door not far from the ladder which, by God's will, they had noticed when reconnoitring the ground some days before, and breaking it down they rushed in. Then a tremendous uproar arose. The Christians had much wider scope for fighting and the Turks, sunk in sleep and wine³, were thrust into the crueller darkness of death. As the infidels attempted to escape from imminent danger they collided with Christians and, struggling to escape from an attack that had caught them unawares, they were suddenly struck down by ruthless death. Bohemond's standard was raised above the city at his command and was placed near the citadel, which stood on the city's highest hill.

The Christians captured Antioch on Wednesday 3 June³ and slaughtered countless pagans there. That night no mercy was shown to age or sex or any kind of condition. The night was dark and so no one could distinguish one sex from another. Day broke; those who had remained in the camp, awakened by the shouts of the people and the braying of the trumpets, saw and recognized Bohemond's standard and knew to their joy that the city had been taken. They rushed to the gates, entered, and gave their help whole-heartedly to their comrades. Any Turks whom they found trying to escape were slain on the spot. However, some Turks

⁴ The date is copied from BD (p. 58); *GF* correctly gives Thursday, 3 June

Quidam etiam Turcorum per portas effugerunt¹ quoniam impetuosis Francis incogniti fuerunt.

¹Cassianus autem Turcorum dominus Antiochiæ admiratus interfugientes delituit² et aufugiens in terram Tancredi peruenit, ibique suis equis sodaliumque suorum ad extremum fessis coactus substitit, et in quoddam tugurium diuertit. Hoc ut Suriani et Armenii regionis illius accolæ quibus multa Cassianus mala fecerat compererunt³ ex eis fere xx² concursum in eum fecerunt, apprehensi caput amputauerunt, et Buamundo presentauerunt, unde et ipsius gratia et optata libertate potiti sunt. Infelici fortuna deceptus sic periit Cassianus. Incertum habetur an totius expers confugii discesserit⁴ an ad disquirendum a contribulibus suis adiutorium discurrerit. Illud certum habetur, quoniam si castellum suum introisset⁵ sibi suisque opportunius consulisset. Plateæ uero et omnes ciuitatis intercapedines ita densis erant occupatæ cadaueribus, ut liber nemini daretur inaccessus. Compita nimirum et uiculi cesis impediabantur corporibus⁶ unde horror et fœtor nimius quibuslibet incumbibat uiatoribus.

10

³Auditis rumoribus de capta ciuitate, multi qui ad eius administraculum confluerant⁷ uel adhuc confluebant⁸ perempti sunt⁹ alii in municipium recepti euaserunt, alii uero uitæ suæ fuga consuluerunt. ⁴Sensadulus autem Cassiani filius Curbaranno magistro militiæ Soldani Persarum regis occurrit, et cum multis fletibus diros patris patriæque casus retulit. Hunc nimirum Cassianus dum obsideretur ab occidentalibus¹⁰ ad liberationem Antiochiæ multis inuitauerat legationibus. Tertia die postquam ciuitas Christianis subiugata est¹¹ Sensadulus Curbaranno municipium imminens urbi et se et omnia sua contradidit, ipsumque multis questibus et lacrimis ac promissis in Christianos commouit. Curbarannus autem erat audax et bellicosus, prudens et diues laudisque cupidus, a Calipha gentis suæ apostolico in Christianos seuiendi licentiam

¹ 'Cassianus autem . . . incumbibat uiatoribus' is adapted and abbreviated from BD II. xxii, pp. 57-8; the last two sentences are copied almost verbatim. Cf. *GF* xx, pp. 47-8.

² Orderic provides the number twenty.

³ 'Auditis rumoribus . . . fuga consuluerunt' is a garbled and almost unintelligible version of BD III. i, p. 59. Only the forces already in the city were killed or forced to take refuge; only those on their way to relieve it learnt the news of its fate.

got away through the gates, since the Franks, rushing in, failed to recognize them.

¹Yaghi-Siyan, leader of the Turks and emir of Antioch, hid among the fugitives and, making his escape, came into Tancred's territory. There he was forced to halt, because his horses and those of his companions were worn out, and he made his way to a hut. When the Syrian and Armenian inhabitants of that region, who had endured much at his hands, learnt that he was there, about twenty² of them rushed the place, seized him, and cut off his head, which they presented to Bohemond. In this way they won both his favour and the freedom for which they hoped. So Yaghi-Siyan perished by a trick of ill fortune. It is uncertain whether he fled without any kind of plan or whether he was going to seek help from his compatriots. One thing seems certain, that if he had taken refuge in his own citadel it would have been better for him and his people. The squares and all the alleys of the city were so deep in corpses that it was almost impossible to force a way through them. The cross-roads and lanes were so blocked with bodies that all who walked there were overwhelmed both with terror and with the appalling stench.

10

³As reports of the capture of the city spread, many who had come to relieve it, or were still on their way there, were slain; others took refuge in the citadel and others tried to save their lives by flight. ⁴Shams-ad-Daulah, son of Yaghi-Siyan, hurried to meet Kerbogha the commander-in-chief of the sultan, the king of the Persians, and related to him with bitter tears the terrible fates of his father and his country. While Yaghi-Siyan was being besieged by the westerners he had sent many messengers urging Kerbogha to come to the relief of Antioch. On the third day after the city fell to the Christians Shams-ad-Daulah gave himself and all his possessions and the citadel dominating the city wholly up to Kerbogha, and by his urgent pleas, tears, and promises roused him to attack the Christians. Now Kerbogha was brave and warlike, statesmanlike and wealthy, and eager for glory, and had been licensed by the Caliph, who is the pope of his people,

⁴ 'Sensadulus autem . . . in bellum ferebant' completely recasts and abbreviates BD III. i, pp. 59-60; cf. *GF* xxi, pp. 49-50.

acceperat, seque non reuersurum donec Siriam et Romaniam Apuliam quoque sibi subdiderit iurauerat.¹ In uiribus suis ualde confidebat² quia secum gentes innumeras habebat. Adiuncti etiam erant illi Damascenorum rex et Ierusalimorum admiratus, Turci et Agareni, Arabes et Publicani, Azimitæ, Curti et Persæ. iii. 544 Agulanorum quoque tria milia illi adhibebant, qui ferro undique loricati erant³ nec sagittas nec lanceas timebant, nec preter gladios arma in bellum ferebant. ²Tales tantique hostes ad Pontem Ferreum castra metati sunt⁴ et firmitatem illam confestim expugnauerunt et omnes extimplo interfecerunt, reseruato castelli domino, ferreisque uinculis alligato, qui uiuus et uinctus inuentus est bello⁵ peracto.

Agareni arma uilissima ensem scilicet rubiginosum et lanceolam et arcum aspernabilem quibusdam pauperculis diripuerunt, et Curbaranno ad improperium Francorum cum magna irrisione optulerunt, quæ ille nichilominus cum cachinnosis exprobrationibus in Corosanum⁴ misit, et uanis iactationibus uesanos ydolatras in Christum exciuit.

⁵Dum hæc aguntur⁶ Curbaranni mater de ciuitate Aleph ad filium accessit, et de his quæ inchoauerat acriter eum redarguere cepit⁷ eique quod uincendus esset a Christianis et eodem anno non in bello morte subita moriturus manifeste predixit. Erat enim senex utpote centenaria et futurorum presaga. Colligebat etiam multa de constellationibus mulier sortilega⁸ et geniculorum iii. 545 multarumque disciplinarum conscia. Iactabundus heros lugubrem matrem superbis promissionibus compescuit, et tertia die armatus in oppidum sibi commissum cum nimis uiribus uenit.

⁶Christiani obuiam Ismahelitis exierunt, sed immensam multitudinem et fortitudinem illorum perferre nequuerunt. Extimplo in ciuitatem refugere coacti sunt⁹ et in angusto portarum ingressu multi repentino impetu suffocati perierunt. Turci enim uehementer eos aggressi sunt¹⁰. Incubuit ergo Christianis magna desperatio. Alii tamen alios consolabantur, et in diem crastinam de prælio concionabantur. Aliqui tamen ultra ius et fas meticulo-

¹ The vow attributed to Kerbogha is taken from BD III. iii, p. 62 (cf. *GF*, xxi p. 52).

² 'Tales tantique hostes . . . ydolatres in Christum exciuit' very briefly summarizes BD III. ii-iii. pp. 62-4; cf. *GF* xxi, pp. 50-1.

³ It is clear from the text of BD that the reference is to the battle of Antioch.

⁴ Khurasan is often loosely used to mean Persia.

⁵ 'Dum hæc aguntur . . . cum nimis uiribus uenit' briefly summarizes BD III. iv-v, pp. 62-4; cf. *GF* xxii-xxiii, pp. 53-6. For the probable sources of these stories see *GF*, pp. xv-xvi.

to destroy the Christians. He had sworn never to return home until he had brought Syria and Rum and even Apulia under his sway.¹ He had great trust in his might, for he had countless peoples with him. The king of Damascus and the emir of Jerusalem were allied to him, as well as Turks and Saracens, Arabs and Paulicians, Azymites, Kurds, and Persians. Three thousand Agulani followed him; being in iron armour they feared neither arrows nor lances and carried no arms but swords into battle. ²Such were the enemy hosts who pitched their tents at the Iron Bridge and immediately captured the fort there, slaying all the defenders except the commander of the fort, who was shackled with iron fetters and was found alive in captivity after the battle³ was won.

The Saracens seized wretched weapons belonging to some poor soldiers: a rusty sword, a small lance, and a despicable bow. These they took to Kerbogha with great derision, as a reproach to the Franks, and he in his turn sent them on to Khurasan⁴ with guffaws of contempt, and with empty boasts stirred up the fierce idolaters against Christ.

⁵While these events were taking place Kerbogha's mother came from the city of Aleppo to her son and began to criticize him severely for the enterprise he had undertaken, prophesying to him distinctly that he would be defeated by the Christians and would die within the year violently but not in battle. She was a very old woman, almost a centenarian, and a prophetess of things to come. As a sorceress she gleaned much information from the constellations, being instructed in horoscopes and many learned arts. The boastful warrior silenced his tearful mother with haughty promises and on the third day made his entry, armed and accompanied by strong forces, into the citadel entrusted to him.

⁶The Christians came out to attack the Saracens, but they were powerless against their vast numbers and great strength. They were quickly forced back into the city and many were crushed to death through the sudden inrush in the narrow entrance of the gates. The Turks pressed them hard and great despair seized the Christians. But they consoled each other and made plans for battle on the following day. Some, however, in whom fear was stronger than right or duty, resolved to their shame on making an escape

⁶ 'Christiani obuiam Ismahelitis . . . delati essent' slightly abbreviates BD III. v, pp. 64-5; cf. *GF* xxiii, pp. 56-7.

iii. 546 siores ad dedecus sui noctu de fuga cogitauerunt. Willelmus enim de Grentemaisnil et Albericus frater eius,¹ Guido Trussellus et Lambertus Pauper² aliique plures hesterni belli timore perterriti sunt: et ut in crastinum aufugerent solliciti funibus per murum demissi sunt: unde ad suam diuturnam³ ignominiam 'furtiui funambuli' uocati sunt. Tota nocte per abruta precipitiorum ambulauerunt, et cum multis comitibus ad portum Sancti Simeonis pedites manibus et pedibus excoriatis deuenerunt. Ibi multas naues repperunt, et nautas in portu uacillantibus crudelibus nunciis terruerunt: dicentes quod a Turcis Antiochia capta esset, et ibidem Christiani a paganis deleti essent. ⁴His auditis nautarum alii anchoris abruptis mare iam sulcabant, et carbasa crepitantes in auras obliquabant, alii pigritantes dissimulabant, omnes tamen in commune turbabantur et pallebant.

Dum hæc aguntur: ecce Turci subito littora explorantes aduolant, imparatos et timoratos nautas trucidant, rates in portu remorantes spoliant, ignibus apposis concremant, et desidiosos homines pro uoto dilacerant. Pugnaces urbis munitiones pondus Turcani belli tota die sustinere, subitoque sapientum consilio murum de lapidibus impolitis et sine cemento inter ciuitatem et oppidum ædificauere. Ipsa enim maceria opportunum ut defenderent se Christianis prestitit auxilium: importunum autem Turcis impugnandi peperit impedimentum. Franci tota sedulitate propter murum armati assistebant: nec somno nec cuiilibet⁴ aliis curandis indulgebant. Interim fames pedetentim conualuit, et obsessos ut equos et asinos et si quid aliud immundum erat deuorarent compulit. In tanta egestate fideles inuocabant Dominum: et ipse exaudiuit eos.

iii. 547 ⁵Dominus Ihesus Christus cuidam sacerdoti dum in basilica sanctæ Mariæ pernoctaret, et pro afflictæ Dei plebe oraret: semisopito cum sanctorum cetu apparuit, et de fornicationibus quibus Christianorum cateruæ cum alienigenis seu Christicolis meretricibus pollutæ erant querelam deprompsit asperasque minas lupananti multitudini adiecit. Interim splendida crux super caput eius resplenduit: qua presbiter Redemptorem mundi

^a *Sic in most MSS. of BD; quibuslibet in MS E*

¹ For the Grandmesnil brothers, whose family had founded Saint-Évroul, see above, iv. 338-40. William was Bohemond's brother-in-law.

² Lambert was count of Clermont near Liège.

³ This softens the 'perpetuam ignominiam' of BD; Orderic knew that some of the cowards later returned to Jerusalem and made amends.

⁴ 'His auditis . . . ipse exaudiuit eos' closely follows BD III. vi-vii, p. 65; cf. *GF* xxiii, p. 57.

by night. William of Grandmesnil, his brother Aubrey,¹ Guy Troussel and Lambert the Poor,² and many others were utterly terrified by the previous day's battle and so fearful of the morrow that they fled, letting themselves down the wall with ropes. Consequently they were called 'clandestine rope-dancers' to their lasting³ disgrace. All night they walked along the steep slopes of precipices and, with many companions, arrived on foot at the port of St. Symeon with their hands and feet cut to the bone. There they found many ships and alarmed the sailors, who were waiting undecided in the port, with terrible news for they said that Antioch had been taken by the Turks and the Christians there annihilated by the pagans. ⁴At this news some of the sailors raised anchor at once and put out to sea, hoisting their sails and turning them to the wind; others, dallying, hid their intentions, but all alike were alarmed and distressed.

While this was going on Turks, who were reconnoitring the coast, suddenly appeared. They butchered the frightened and defenceless sailors, plundered and set on fire the vessels still lying in the harbour, reducing them to ashes, and hacked to pieces without restraint any men who loitered there. The warlike defenders of Antioch bore the force of the Turkish attack all day and, by a sudden inspiration of their leaders, built a dry-stone wall between the town and the citadel. This construction was a valuable help to the Christians in their defence and an awkward obstacle to the Turks in any attack. The Franks kept up a ceaseless armed watch along the wall, allowing themselves neither sleep nor any other indulgences. Meanwhile famine slowly spread and the besieged were obliged to eat horses and asses and any other unclean things available. In such dire need the faithful called on the Lord and he heard them.

⁵While a certain priest was passing the night in the church of St. Mary, praying for God's suffering people, the Lord Jesus Christ with a throng of saints appeared to him as he half dozed, and complained of the fornications committed by the Christian troops with both foreign and Christian harlots, adding stern threats against the rabble who frequented brothels. As he spoke a dazzling cross shone above his head, by which the priest recognized the Redeemer of the world. Falling on his face he worshipped

⁵ 'Dominus Ihesus . . . auxilium Deus prouideret' gives the substance, much abbreviated and recast, of BD III. vii, p. 66; cf. *GF* xxiv, pp. 57-8.

agnouit, et deuote pronus adorauit. Tunc beata Maria misericordiae Mater sanctusque Petrus apostolorum princeps ceciderunt ad pedes Domini Saluatoris, piisque pro afflictione Christianorum supplicationibus mitigabant iram minitantis, conquerentes de paganis, qui sanctam domum Dei suis turpiter maculauerant spurciciis. Finitis supplicantis Matris et apostoli precibus Sanctus Sanctorum adqueiuit, uultuque iocundior presbitero precepit, ut omnem populum palam castigaret, ac ad penitentiam omnimodis inuitaret, et fideliter conuersis ex parte Dei securus promitteret, quod infra quinque dies opportunum illis auxilium Deus prouideret. ¹Hæc presbiter cum iureiurando super sanctum Ewangelium et crucem coram Podiense episcopo et omni multitudine contestatus est. Populus confestim ad lamentum conuertitur, et de reatus sui confessione alius alium cohortatur. Suffusi ora fletibus, cineratis capitibus, et nudis pedibus, omnes in æcclesiis passim orant Deum, petunt auxilium, et rogant consilium.

^{iii. 548} Iurauerunt omnes duces communi decetero, quod nullus quoad uixerit de illo subterfugeret collegio: donec Ierusalem adissent, et sepulchrum Domini deosculati fuissent. Tancredus etiam iurauit: quod quamdiu xl milites haberet, de Ierosolimitano itinere non recederet. Christianos ergo hæc inspiratio multum animauit, corroborauit et exhilarauit.

²Petrus Abraham quidam clericus de Prouincia³ comitibus suis uisionem huiusmodi retulit. 'Cum obsideretur' inquit 'Antiochia, forisque graui premeremur angustia multimodaque penuria, sanctus Andreas apostolus michi apparuit, nomenque suum interroganti intimauit, et in æcclesiam sancti Petri quæ in hac urbe est introduxit, ibique michi quendam locum demonstrans dixit, "Noueris uolo quoniam postquam hanc urbem intraueris: hic lanceam inuenies, quæ latus Domini Saluatoris in cruce perforauit. Hoc munimen sacrosanctum est: et Christianis specialiter amplectendum est." His ita dictis apostolus disparuit: et nemini quæ uideram propalandi fiducia michi fuit. Capta autem urbe iterum eundem apostolum uidi. "Quare" inquit "pusillanimis lanceam non abstulisti?" Et ego, "Domine, si inde loquerer, quis michi crederet?" "Noli desperare" ait apostolus,

¹ 'Hæc presbiter . . . et exhilarauit' abbreviates BD III. viii, p. 67; cf. *GF* xxiv, pp. 58-9.

² 'Petrus Abraham . . . tolerandis pœnis resumpsit' adapts and slightly abbreviates BD III. ix, pp. 67-8; cf. *GF* xxv, pp. 59-60.

³ Peter Bartholomew. Orderic adds the name 'Abraham', for which there is no corroboration, and the fact that he came from Provence, which is true. Whatever

him. Then the blessed Mary, Mother of mercy, and St. Peter, chief of the apostles, fell at the feet of the redeeming Lord as he threatened, and, with their devout intercessions for the sufferings of the Christians, softened his wrath; for they complained of the pagans who were shamefully defiling the house of God with their abominations. When they had made their plea the most holy one gave way to the prayer of his mother and the apostle and, with a more serene countenance, commanded the priest to rebuke all the people publicly and invite them to make full reparation by penance, promising in the name of God that if they were truly converted and believed, God would bring them timely help within five days. ¹The priest testified to this by swearing on the holy Gospels and the cross in the presence of the bishop of Le Puy and a great crowd of people. The people immediately broke into lamentations and urged each other to confess their sins. In churches everywhere all of them prayed to God and begged for his help and guidance, barefooted, with ashes on their heads and tears streaming down their cheeks.

All the leaders swore by common consent that not one of them while he lived would abandon that company until they had reached Jerusalem and kissed the Lord's sepulchre. Tancred even swore that as long as he had forty knights he would not turn aside from the march to Jerusalem. This declaration greatly heartened the Christians, cheering and comforting them.

²Peter Abraham, a clerk from Provence,³ told this vision to his companions. 'During the siege of Antioch', he said, 'while we were enduring much suffering and deprivation outside, St. Andrew the apostle appeared to me, told me his name when I asked it, and led me into the church of St. Peter which is in this city, where he pointed out a particular spot to me and said, "I wish you to know that when you have entered this city you will find here the lance which pierced the side of our Lord and Saviour on the cross. This is a most venerable relic, and should be specially revered by Christians." When he had spoken thus the apostle vanished, and I had not enough confidence to reveal what I had seen to anyone. After the city had been taken I saw the same apostle again. "O you of little faith," he said, "why have you not recovered the lance?" To which I answered, "Master, if I speak

his additional source of information, Orderic followed BD and *GF* in believing in Peter's visions.

iii. 549 "noli desperare.' sed scito pro certo ut dixi tibi que demonstraui omnia uera esse. Hæc nimirum reuelatio multum fatigatis proderit Christianis.' utpote quibus pro lancea profluet confidentia salutaris. Infra quinque dies uisitabit eos Dominus.' et potenter eruet eos a persequentium manibus.'" Petrus autem consilium hoc sibi diuinitus insinuatum comitibus suis patefecit, sed populus discredebatur et testificantem subsannabat. Ille uero perstitit, et iurando affirmauit, populusque tandem iuranti credidit, uiresque pristinas in tolerandis pœnis resumpsit.

¹Interea Turci qui in castello erant.' sedulo Francos incursabant, et illi e contra pro posse suo resistebant. In primo conflictu Rogerius de Barnævilla occisus est.' et a Christianis in æcclesia Sancti Petri cum magno luctu sepultus est. Erat enim nobilis Normannus.' milesque pulcher et probissimus. ¹Quadam die Turci tres Christianos in quadam turre incluserunt.' nec Franci tribulationibus tabescentes inclusis adminiculari ausi fuerunt. Duo ex eis grauiter uulnerati exierunt de turre. Solus Hugo Forsennatus preliator acerrimus de exercitu Godefredi² de Monte Scabioso tota die uiriliter defendit se. Strauit etiam duos Turcos nullis coadiutus auxiliis.' sed sola manu persequentium obstitit turmis. Vere fuit hic uir audax et magnanimus.' et inter omnes bellicosos precipua laude dignus. Nimiis calamitatibus nostrates tunc fracti fuerunt.' qui unum ex suis tota die pugnantem uiderunt, nec succurrerunt, clamantem audierunt, nec responderunt. Cum duces uocarent milites non conueniebant, cum litui clangerent in domibus latitabant, immo inermes et exanimati bellum diu rogatum abhorrebant, iamque uelut exanimes inglorii et inbelles mori preoptabant.

iii. 550 ³Buamundus alii que duces dum exercitum nimis defecisse uiderent, ut eos saltem ad murum usque qui ciuitatem ab oppido utcumque tenui discrimine separabat conducere non possent.' ignem immitti in ciuitatem mandauerunt, et sic euiratos de domibus et latibulis delitescentes extraxerunt. Ignis itaque in

¹ 'Interea Turci . . . Francos incursabant' and 'Quadam die Turci . . . mori preoptabant' slightly adapt BD III. x, p. 68; cf. *GF* xxvi, pp. 60-1. Orderic's information about Roger of Barneville came from another source, probably oral; it is not in BD or *GF*. Albert of Aix gives a fuller account of Roger's death and burial (*RHC Occ.* iv. 407-8).

² One of the best manuscripts of BD has the reading 'Gaufridi', and it is almost certain that the reference is to Geoffrey of Montescaglioso, and not to Humphrey, as suggested in *GF*, p. 61 n. 2; cf. above, p. 36 n. 1.

of this, who will believe me?" "Fear not", said the apostle, "fear not; but know for certain that all the things I have told and shown you are true. This revelation will be a great encouragement to the weary Christians, in whom the lance will arouse the courage that will save them. Within five days the Lord will come to them and will be strong to save them from the hands of their persecutors.'" Peter then revealed the counsel he had received from God to his companions, but the people disbelieved him and mocked his testimony. Nevertheless he persisted and repeated it on oath, and in the end the people believed what he swore and regained their former fortitude to endure their sufferings.

¹Meanwhile the Turks who were in the citadel repeatedly attacked the Franks, who resisted with all their might. In the first engagement Roger of Barneville was killed and he was buried by the Christians in the church of St. Peter, with great mourning. He was a Norman of high birth, a fine knight of great courage. ¹Another day the Turks trapped three Christians in a tower, and the Franks, who were worn out with sufferings, dared not help the men who were shut in. Two of them, who were seriously wounded, came out of the tower. Hugh the Berserk alone, a very courageous soldier from the army of Godfrey² of Montescaglioso, defended himself all through the day. With no help at all he cut down two Turks, resisting all the attacking forces with his arm alone. He was truly a man of great daring and courage, who deserves special praise among all the warriors. It was a sign of the utter exhaustion of our men after their terrible trials that they could look on all day while one of their men fought and give no help at all, turning a deaf ear to his shouts. When the leaders summoned the knights they did not come, when the trumpets sounded they lay in their houses; in their helpless and exhausted state they dreaded the battle they had desired for so long; disheartened and shrinking from glory and war they wished only to die.

³When Bohemond and the other leaders saw that the army was so broken in spirit that they could not even lead them out to man the wall which served as a weak barrier between the town and the citadel, they commanded fires to be started in the city in order to drive the cowards out of the houses and dens where they were lurking. So a fire was lit in the quarter of the city dominated by

³ 'Buamundus alii que duces . . . occulte et cum magno timore' slightly abbreviates and adapts BD III. x, pp. 68-70; cf. *GF* xxvi, pp. 61-2.

urbe qua parte palacium Cassiani prominebat accensus est: et ab hora diei tertia usque ad noctem mediam non defecit, et domus uel æcclesiæ circiter duo milia combustæ sunt. Ignis igitur sopitus est: quoniam omnis uentorum feritas euanuit. Christiani furentibus flammis in hospitibus suis, spoliis suis uix arreptis, coacti ad duces confugerunt, ac ad portas urbis excubandi gratia locum unusquisque acceperunt. Inter Francos et Turcos oppidanos assiduus conflictus erat. Iam enim res brachio manuque dumtaxat gerebatur, iam comminus utrinque certabatur: nec bellum ad momentum interrumpēbatur. Turci plures numero, et impensiore confortati cibo: uicibus sibi succedere, nichil intemptatum pretermittēre, Francos audacter aggredi, ultro se congressibus ingerere, alius alium commonere. Franci e contra immoderanter angustiati uacillare, nec cibum nec somnum capere, quippe quibus nulla dabatur requies. Altum igitur murum silice et cemento cum calce aggressi sunt prouehere: quoniam alium quem incementatum erexerant, Turci facile prostrauerant.

iii. 551 Quadam nocte ab occidente ignis de cælo uisus est imminere, et intra Turcorum castra tanquam cadens deseuire. Et licet ignis gentilibus tunc indēmnis fuerit: multum tamen illis incussit terrorem et mesticiam, Christianis autem solamen et letitiam. Vtrisque populis signum illud de cælo enituit. Oppidani tota die instabant lanceis et missilibus, et illidebant uulnera uulneribus. Castrenses extrinsecus ita ciuitatem circumuallauerunt: ut nemini pateret in die introitus uel exitus. Nocte aliquando aliquis poterat exire, sed occulte et cum magno timore. ¹Fames in dies conualescebat, et Christianos ultra quam credi potest angebat. Multi siquidem expirauerunt fame. Panis paximatus et permodicus si quando inueniebatur: bizanteo comparabatur. Equinæ carnes et asininæ pro imperialibus deliciis computabantur. Gallinæ precium xv erat solidorum, ouum duobus solidis, nux iuglans^a uno appreciabatur denario. Multos stateres quæque uilia ualebant. Tedet me singillatim enumerare multimodos labores, et omnes miserias ac passiones: quas in urbe obsessa xxxvi^b diebus² perpeSSI sunt Christicolæ muniones. Sic Deus suos athletas probauit: et ut a propriis reatibus expiarentur in camino tribulationis examinauit, et purgatos gloriose honorauit.

^a siue glans in some MSS. of BD

^b uiginti sex in all the best MSS. of BD and in GF

¹ 'Fames in dies . . . gloriose honorauit' is considerably abbreviated and adapted from BD III. xi, pp. 70-1; cf. GF xxvi, pp. 62-3.

² This should be twenty-six days; the siege of Antioch lasted from 5 June to 28 June and the crusaders had occupied the city two days previously.

the palace of Yaghi-Siyan; it burned without ceasing from the third hour until midnight and about two thousand houses and churches were destroyed. The fire died down when the wind dropped. As the flames roared through their lodgings the Christians, hastily snatching up their belongings, were obliged to seek refuge with their leaders and were each allotted a place at the city-gates for keeping watch. Clashes between the Franks and the Turks in the citadel were incessant. Already they were fighting only hand to hand, and were locked in close conflict without a moment's pause in the fighting. The Turks were more numerous and better provided with food; they fought turn and turn about, tried everything, pressed the Franks boldly, hurled themselves recklessly into the thick of battle, and encouraged each other. The Franks, on the other hand, being very sorely tried, wavered; they were unable to take food or sleep since they never had a moment's respite. So they began to construct a high wall of stone with mortar and lime, since the Turks had easily demolished the dry-stone wall which they had built.

One night flames appeared in the sky to the west, which seemed to fall into the Turkish camp and rage through it. And though the fire was harmless to the infidels it filled them with gloom and terror, while encouraging and cheering the Christians. It appeared as a portent from heaven to both peoples. The garrison of the citadel kept up a hail of lances and missiles, inflicting wounds on wounds. The besieging army surrounded the city so closely that no one could go in or out by day. By night it was sometimes possible to go out, but only secretly and in great fear. ¹Famine grew daily more severe and caused unimaginable sufferings to the Christians. Many indeed died of starvation. A small loaf like a biscuit sold for a bezant when it could be found. The carcasses of horses and asses were reckoned delicacies fit for a king. A hen cost fifteen shillings, an egg two shillings, and a walnut was valued at a penny, and the most wretched objects were worth many stateres. It would be wearisome for me to relate all the many burdens and all the sufferings and torments which the Christian garrison endured during the thirty-six days² they were besieged in the city. In this way God put his champions to the proof, testing them in the furnace of tribulation so that they might make atonement for their sins and, when they had been purged, rewarded them gloriously.

iii. 552 ¹Stephanus interim comes Carnotensis infirmitate ut dicebat detentus aliquantula, sicut dictum est ad Alexandretam² secesserat conualescendi gratia. Huius reditum omnes expectabant, utpote quem omnes maiores ducem et consiliarium sibi prefece- rant. Erat enim facundus et singularis scientiæ. Hic ubi Turcos ciuitatem circumuallasse audiuit, de Alexandreta quæ non multum ab Antiochia remota est montana latenter conscendit, et innumera Turcorum tentoria ipsosque uelut arenam maris per plurima stadia diffusos uidit, et ciuitatem circumdatam manumque par- uam Christianorum inclusam agnouit. Nimio igitur metu cum suis perterritus cursim fugam iniit, et festinanter clandestinus discessit, castellumque suum reuersus spoliavit. Fugiens itaque Alexio imperatori, qui cum magno exercitu suppetias obsessis ueniebat, ad Philomenam urbem obuiauit, eique seorsum uocato dixit: 'Antiochiam pro certo captam fuisse noueris a Christianis. Sed castellum quod munitissimum prominet urbi sibi retinuerunt Turci, et ecce nostros in urbe obsident et expugnant, seu magis ut reor iam urbem expugnauerunt, et omnes nostri perierunt. Consule ergo tibi et genti quam conducis.'

iii. 553 Guido Buamundi frater aliique multi Francorum et Grecorum festinabant ad obsessorum auxilium, quibus imperator accitis suum patefecit consilium. Deinde iussit ut protinus omnes redirent, et regionem illam penitus deuastarent, et incolæ illius in Bulgariam transmigrarent, ne Turci si persequerentur in depopulata regione pabulum sibi reperirent. Diris rumoribus rumigeruli comitis sparsis, obrepsit in populo Dei mestitudo inestimabilis. Nam episcopi et abbates et presbiteri pene triduo a precibus et laudibus Dei cessauerunt, et profundis gemitibus suspirabant. Imperator nimis credulus uerbis Blesensis Constantinopolim reuersus est, et gloria uictoriæ et triumphus de Turcis diuinitus aliis qui legitime certauerunt reseruata est. Franci nimis inuiti reuertebantur, et amarissime lamentabantur, multi etiam e pauperibus peregrinis passim moriebantur.

Guido filius Rodberti Guiscardi pro morte fratris et amicorum multa lamenta edidit, pluresque notos et extraneos in lacrimas

¹ 'Stephanus interim . . . aliisque auxiliatoribus tristis remeuit' is considerably abbreviated and rearranged from BD III. xii-xiii, pp. 71-3; cf. *GF* xxvii, pp. 63-5.

² Iskenderon.

¹Meanwhile Stephen, count of Chartres, who claimed to be suffering from some slight illness, had gone to Alexandretta² for his convalescence, as was said above. All were anxiously waiting for his return, since he was the man whom all the magnates had chosen as their leader and counsellor. He was a man of great eloquence and remarkable knowledge. When he heard that the Turks were besieging the city, he secretly climbed a mountain by Alexandretta, which is not far distant from Antioch, from where he saw the Turkish tents spread out for several miles, countless as the sands of the sea, and recognized that the city was surrounded and the small force of Christians shut inside. Terrified and trembling, he took to flight with his men and secretly went away as fast as possible, first returning to his fortress and stripping it of all his goods. As he fled he met the Emperor Alexius, who was coming with a great army to relieve the besieged, at the town of Philomelium and, asking for an interview, said, 'You already know for a fact that Antioch has been taken by the Christians. But the Turks still hold the strong citadel which dominates the city, and now, I tell you, blockade our men in the city; indeed I think it would be nearer the truth to say that by this time they have stormed the city and all our men are dead. So think of your own safety and the safety of your army.'

Bohemond's brother Guy and many Franks and Greeks were hurrying to relieve the besieged, but the Emperor called them to his presence and gave them his advice. Then he ordered all to retreat at once and devastated the whole region, while the inhabitants emigrated to Bulgaria so that if the Turks followed they should find no supplies in the depopulated country. As the terrifying stories were spread abroad by the credulous count the people of God were filled with indescribable sorrow. For almost three whole days bishops and abbots and priests ceased to offer prayers and praises to God and gave themselves up to sighs and groans. The Emperor, who had given too much credence to the words of the count of Blois, returned to Constantinople, and the fame of winning a glorious victory over the Turks was reserved by God for others who fought loyally. The Franks returned with reluctance, lamenting bitterly, and many of the poorer pilgrims died all along the way.

Guy, Robert Guiscard's son, lamented loudly for the death of his brother and friends, moving both friends and strangers to tears.

exciuit, et in itinere in Stephanum comitem conuita multa euomuit, coactus tamen cum imperatore aliisque auxiliatoribus tristis remeavit

iii. 554 ¹Bellatores Dei qui in urbe agonizabant, totam spem suam in supernis collocauerunt, et de lancea Domini disquerenda fiducialiter tractauerunt. In æcclesia igitur sancti Petri uentum est' ibique diligenter notato loco diutius inde altercatum est. Tandem preualente plurimorum sententia' tredecim laboriosis et strenuis hominibus curiose fodere iussum est. A mane ergo usque ad uesperam foderunt' et eodem Petro cui reuelatum fuerat presente lanceam reppererunt. Qua reuerenter leuata publicus clamor exoritur, celebris ad eam concursus agitur' et tota deuotione deosculatur. Orta est igitur inter eos tanta letitia, ut remota omni acidia' deinceps nullius meminerint mesticiæ, et extunc ausi fuerunt de bello tractare.

iii. 555 ²Communi Christianorum consilio industrii uiri Petrus Heremita et Herluinus Turcanæ linguæ peritus ad Curbarannum missi sunt' eique et suis ex parte Dei et populi eius commendarunt ut pacifici cum suis omnibus ab urbe quam sanctus Petrus apostolus Christo subiugauit recederent' et si ad baptismi sacramentum suspirarent, tanquam ueri fratres eos susciperent' et perennis amicitiaæ fœdus cum eis innecterent. Sin autem accincti gladio si auderent, de prælio cogitarent. Tunc Curbaranus toruo uultu legatos respexit, Christianitatem omnino respuit, crucifixum regem despexit, Petrum apostolum superstitiosum seductorem nuncupauit, fidemque nostram nugacissimam sectam esse asseruit. Ad cultum Machometis Christianos inuitauit' contempnentes autem de fuga commonuit. Legati retrogradum iter arripientes festini redierunt' et baptizatorum exercitum de bello imminente certiozem reddiderunt. ³Interim fames inualescebat, et timor Turcorum corda pauitantium adhuc aliquatenus euirabat. Tandem sacerdotum edicto triduanum ieiunium expleuerunt, processiones per æcclesias cum letaniis celebrarunt, et Christianorum singuli sacrosancto uiatico muniti pugnam ordinauerunt. Septem⁴ igitur acies in ipsa urbe parauerunt.

¹ 'Bellatores Dei . . . de bello tractare' slightly abbreviates BD III. xiv, pp. 73-4; cf. *GF* xxviii, p. 65.

² 'Communi Christianorum consilio . . . certiozem reddiderunt' greatly abbreviates BD III. xv, pp. 74-5; cf. *GF* xxviii, pp. 65-7.

³ 'Interim fames . . . pugnam ordinauerunt' closely follows BD III. xvi, p. 75. The description of the battle-order that follows, based in outline on Baudry who took his information from *GF* xxix, pp. 67-8, contains some variations and adds a number of details.

He spoke many harsh words against Count Stephen on the journey, but sadly and under compulsion returned with the Emperor and the rest of the relieving force.

¹The soldiers of God who were struggling in the city placed all their hope in him and, full of faith, discussed how to find the Lord's lance. For this purpose they came to the church of St. Peter and after carefully seeking out the spot debated the matter for a long time. Finally the opinion of the majority prevailed and thirteen strong, willing men were ordered to dig carefully. They dug from morning until evening and, in the presence of Peter, the man to whom the place had been revealed, discovered the lance. When it had been reverently lifted up a loud shout was raised; immediately men came crowding in to see it and kiss it with profound reverence. The discovery caused such rejoicing that all languor was laid aside, all sorrows were forgotten, and from that moment the Christians found the courage to talk of battle.

²By common consent of the Christians two active men, Herluin, who had a good knowledge of the Turkish tongue, and Peter the Hermit were sent to Kerbogha to advise him and all his men on behalf of God and his people to retire peacefully from the city which St. Peter the apostle had won for Christ. If they were ready to receive the sacrament of baptism the Christians would welcome them as true brothers and make a treaty of eternal friendship with them. Otherwise let them gird on their swords, if they dared, and prepare for battle. At this Kerbogha turned a grim face on the envoys, utterly rejected Christianity, denigrated the crucified King, called the apostle Peter a superstitious impostor, and asserted that our religion was a trifling sect. He invited the Christians to embrace the religion of Mohammed and advised any who refused to think of flight. The envoys quickly took the road back and let the Christian army know for certain that a battle was imminent. ³Meanwhile famine grew more severe and fear of the Turks still somewhat weakened the less courageous. At length by order of the priests they resolved on a three-day fast and went in procession to the churches, chanting litanies. All the Christians, strengthened by the blessed last sacrament, prepared for battle. Seven⁴ divisions were drawn up inside the city.

⁴ According to *GF*, followed by BD, there were six divisions; Raymond of Agiles, who also took part in the battle, describes only four (*RHC Occ.* iii. 259-61). William of Tyre, reconstructing his narrative from a number of

In prima acie fuit Hugo Magnus cum Rodberto Flandrensi comite et xxx milibus Francorum et Flandrensium. In secunda¹ Godefredus dux cum Eustachio fratre suo et Conone comite et xxx milibus fortissimorum bellatorum de Alemannis et Lotharingis et Boloniensibus. In tercia² Rodbertus dux Normannorum, cum xv milibus Cenomannorum,¹ Andegauorum, Britonum et Anglorum. In quarta Naimarus Podiensis episcopus cum aliis episcopis et ordinatis cum quibus erat Petrus Abraham,² qui portabat Domini lanceam, quam Christiani sibi preferri desiderabant, et presidium et tutamentum ibi magnum credebant. In iii. 556 quinta Rainardus strenuus comes cum iv milibus Teutonicorum et Baioariorum.³ In sexta Tancredus cum iv milibus Apulensium. In septima Buamundus dux Apuliæ cum xxx milibus Langobardorum et Itolorum. Vltimus exiit de urbe ut omnibus prouideret, et singulorum in necessitatibus totus adesset. Raimundus Tolosanus cum xx milibus⁴ ad custodiendam urbem remansit, ne gentiles quorum multa milia castrum sancti Petri⁵ secus muros tenebant urbem inuaderent. Christianis egredientibus episcopi et presbiteri sermocinabantur et orabant, et signo reuerendæ crucis in editoribus stantes locis omnes consignabant.

iii. 557 Dum ordinate per portum quæ est ante machomariam de urbe exirent, et clementis Dei efficax auxilium medullitus implorarent:⁶ pluuiola tanquam roscida stilla diuinitus cecidit, quæ quasi ros matutinus⁷ irroratos equos et equites letificauit. Vnde equi uelut exhilarati hinnire ceperunt, et equitum animi dulcorati uegetiores et alacriores fuerunt⁷ et omnes se ipsos promptiores et expeditiores senserunt. Pluuia tamen illa tam subtilis et modica fuit, ut uix pluuiam eam esse dixerint, sed quasdam guttulas rorantes plus senserint quam uiderint. Hoc nempe a multis probabilibus uiris qui interfuerunt relatum est.

sources, specifies twelve. Orderic's numbering seems to have resulted from counting the small contingent under Rainald of Toul as a separate division in the original battle order. Cf. above, Introduction, p. xvi.

¹ Orderic contributes this statement, the only clear reference to Manceaux on the crusade. There is evidence that some lords from Maine raised loans and took the cross, but it is not certain that any of them left after Count Helias decided to remain at home and defend his county (see below, pp. 228-32; David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 94 n. 24, Appendix D nos. 22-4, 27, 30, 38, 47).

In the first division was Hugh the Great, with Robert, count of Flanders, and thirty thousand Franks and Flemings. In the second was Duke Godfrey with his brother Eustace and Count Conan and thirty thousand courageous warriors, Germans and Lotharingians and men of Boulogne. In the third was Robert, duke of Normandy, with fifteen thousand Manceaux,¹ Angevins, Bretons, and English. In the fourth was Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, with the other bishops and priests, with whom went Peter Abraham,² carrying the Lord's lance, which the Christians desired to have borne before them, since they attached great faith to its patronage and protection. In the fifth was the brave Count Rainald, with four thousand Germans and Bavarians.³ In the sixth was Tancred, with four thousand men from Apulia. In the seventh was Bohemond, duke of Apulia, with thirty thousand Lombards and Italians. He was the last to leave the city so that he could provide reserve forces for everyone and give his whole attention wherever it was needed. Raymond of Toulouse remained behind with twenty thousand⁴ men to guard the city, so that the infidels, who had many thousands of men holding the castle of St. Peter⁵ outside the walls, could not break in. As the Christians went out the bishops and priests preached and prayed and, standing high above the people, made the sign of the holy cross over them all.

As they filed in order out of the city through the gate near the mosque, imploring merciful God's present help from the depths of their hearts, ⁶a little shower like drops of dew fell from heaven and refreshed horses and riders as it sprinkled them like the early dew.⁷ The horses, excited, began to whinny; the spirits of the knights, restored, became more fit and keen and all felt more alert and ready. Yet that shower was so delicate and slight that they scarcely called it rain, but rather felt than saw the tiny, dewy drops. This has been reported by many reliable men who were there.

² Raymond of Agiles, according to his own testimony, carried the Holy Lance (*RHC Occ.* iii. 261).

³ This statement is not in BD or *GF*.

⁴ According to Raymond of Agiles he had two hundred men (*RHC Occ.* iii. 259).

⁵ The citadel of Antioch.

⁶ 'pluuiola tanquam roscida . . . relatum est' closely follows BD III. xvi, p. 76, but is not in *GF*.

⁷ Cf. Hosea xiii. 3.

iii. 558 ¹Curbarannus ad bellum procedentes ut uidit, dixit: 'Plus ad fugam hi properant quam ad pugnam. Sinite eos huc usque accedere: ut libere deglutiamus eos in nostra potestate. Exeant, exeant, nos enim eos statim circumcingemus, et preualebimus et suffocabimus.' Christiani uero gradatim ibant, nec alius alium inordinate preproperabat. Curbarannus autem postquam uidit eos decenter in armis procedere, nec usquam ceu formidolosos deuiare, sed gressu maturato procedere: iterum non erubuit dicere, 'Istæ contemptibiles caniculæ, de bello forsitan audebunt presumere.' Tunc metu dirigit, et uiribus corporis solutis animo frigit. Clam igitur procuratori suo quem admiralium uocant mandauit, ut si in capite exercitus sui ignem accensum fumigare uideret, suos pro certo superatos sciret: et ille confestim dato signo suisque omnibus sublatis recederet, ne forte populus qui cum eo erat uel in papilionibus totus deperiret. Deinde ut acies ordinatas et maiores quam audierat copias uidit, ex industria pedem paulatim ad montana retrahere cepit: ut eos fugere putantes Franci precipites insequerentur, et ob id exordinati facilius lederentur. Tunc etiam cum nichil ita proficerent, disgregati sunt ab inuicem. Pars a mari ueniebat, alii stabant in loco, sperantes includere se posse Christianos. At Franci ex acie Godefredi ducis Rodberti Normanni partem assumpserunt, quam aciem octauam² statuerunt, et illis quendam Rainaldum³ prefecerunt, qui uenientibus a mari gentilibus obuauerunt. Turci uero in eos instanter preliabantur et multos ex illis sagittauerunt, uel quælibet alia mortis genera feraliter intulerunt. Aliæ Christianorum turmæ ordinauerunt se extendendo a mari usque ad montana: quod interstitium quasi duum erat miliariorum. A montanis et a mari sagaciter instabant Turci Christianos circumcingentes: et eos undique infestantes.

iii. 559 ⁴Ecce Deo gratias ab ipsis montanis uisus est exire exercitus innumerabilis albis equis insidentes, et in manibus candida uexilla referentes. Hoc multi uiderunt Christianorum et sicut putant gentilium: et hesitantes mirabantur quidnam esset. Tandem utrique cognouerunt signum de cælo factum, et duces

¹ 'Curbarannus . . . undique infestantes' slightly rearranges BD III. xvi, pp. 76-7; cf. *GF* xxix, pp. 68-9.

² BD and *GF* call it the seventh division.

³ Rainald of Toul. Orderic had already counted his small force as a separate division in the battle order; possibly he believed that this was a different Rainald.

⁴ 'Ecce Deo gratias . . . in celum extulerunt' very slightly abbreviates BD III. xvii, pp. 77-8. Cf. the much briefer account in *GF* xxix, pp. 69-70.

¹When Kerbogha saw the Christians advancing to war he said, 'These men are heading for flight rather than battle. Let them advance as far as this point, so that we may overwhelm them easily when they are in our power. Let them come, let them come; for we will suddenly surround, conquer and crush them.' The Christians advanced in strict order, no one breaking the ranks to push ahead. After Kerbogha had watched them advancing in battle order, never showing a sign of flinching with fear, but quickening their pace, he was not ashamed to add, 'These contemptible curs may after all presume to risk a battle.' Then he was struck with fear, so that his limbs would hardly support him and his heart stood still. So he secretly ordered his adjutant, who is called an emir, that if he saw smoke rising from a fire lit in the vanguard of his army it would be a sign that his men had lost the day, and he must immediately give the signal to his followers to retreat, taking all their belongings, so that the forces with him should not be annihilated in their tents. Then as he saw that the lines of battle were disciplined and the forces greater than he had been informed, he began deliberately to withdraw by degrees towards the mountains, so that the Franks might pursue his men headlong, imagining that they were flying, and might be more easily harassed when they had broken their ranks. Subsequently, since they gained no advantage this way, they split into two divisions, one advancing on the side of the sea, the other remaining where it was, in the hope of catching the Christians between the two armies. But the Franks detached part of the division under Duke Godfrey and Robert of Normandy to improvise an eighth division² under the command of a certain Rainald,³ which was to prevent the enemy advancing from the sea. The Turks at once joined battle with them, shooting down or ferociously slaughtering in some other way many of their men. The other Christian forces extended their lines from the sea to the mountain, a distance of about two miles. The strategy of the Turks was to fling their forces against the Christians from the mountains to the sea, surrounding and attacking them from all sides.

⁴Then, thanks be to God, a great army appeared, advancing from the mountains, seated on white horses and bearing white banners in their hands. Many Christians saw them, and so, it is thought, did many infidels, who were uncertain what this could be. But at last both sides realized that it was a sign from heaven and

illius agminis sanctos martires Georgium, Demetrium et Mercurium¹ sua signa ferentes precedere cognouerunt. Sarracenis ergo multus timor inhesit² et Christianis spes melior creuit. Hoc non omnes uiderunt³ sed multi uidentes contestati sunt. Celitus hoc apparuit aliis ad confusionem⁴ aliis ad instantis triumphii ostensionem.

Gentiles e regione maris pugnantes postquam pondus belli sustinere nequuerunt⁵ sicut Curbarannus condixerat ignem in herbam miserunt. Signo autem quod diximus cognito qui in tentoriis erant pernices et irrequieti aufugiebant, et tremuli suppellestem preciosiorem diripiebant. Porro Christiani qui ex aduerso pugnant, iam ad tentoria Turcorum pugnam diuertebant, ubi maiorem eorum uirtutem remansisse sciebant. Turci adhuc obstabant⁶ tota obstinatione qua poterant. Alii siquidem pugnant, alii tendis spoliandis tendebant. Dux autem Godofredus et Rodbertus Flandrensis et Hugo Magnus iuxta flumen equitabant, ubi rursus maximam pugnantium copiam nouerant. Hi constanter ethnicos aggressi, unanimiter repellebant. Instabant gentiles pertinaciter⁷ et utrinque pugnantur irremediabiliter. Resonabant enæ cassides, tanquam percussæ incudes, minutatim scintillabat ignis, mutilabantur enses, eliso cerebro humi procumbebant homines⁸ lorice rumpebantur, exta fundebantur, equi sudabant fatiscetes, nec equis nec equitibus ulla prestabatur requies. Agmina conserta tenui armorum discrimine uix a se ipsis distabant, alii siquidem alios comminus impingebant, et manus manibus, pedes pedibus, et corpora repellebant corporibus.

iii. 561 Timor tamen super Turcos diuinitus illapsus eos exterruit, et constantia inuincibilis illos admirari et obstupescere fecit, et in fugam coegit. Legio igitur tota cepit labare, nec bucina nec timphanum nec lituus nec preco poterat eos reuocare. Fugitantes autem Turci ad tentoria declinauerunt, ubi multos suorum quos ibi dimiserant⁹ succenturiatos estimabant, qui ut dictum est istis certantibus igne accenso fugerant. Denique Christiani¹⁰ paganos atrociter occidendo usque ad Pontem Ferreum fugauerunt, et passim obtruncando usque ad Tancredi castellum persecuti sunt. Deinde ad tendas eorum redierunt, et quicquid erat

recognized the leaders of that army, who rode in front bearing their banners, as the holy martyrs, St. George, St. Demetrius, and St. Mercurius.¹ So great fear paralysed the Saracens and the hopes of the Christians rose. Not all saw this wonder, but many who did see have borne witness to it. It was a sign sent from heaven to the one side to confound them and to the other to announce their approaching victory.

When the infidels who were fighting in the wing by the sea could no longer endure the onslaught they set fire to the grass as Kerbogha had commanded. The men who were in the tents, recognizing the signal we have described, started up and took flight, snatching up their more valuable equipment in terror. But the Christians who were attacking had already forced the battle into the Turkish camp, where they knew that the main part of the force was stationed. The Turks therefore resisted to the utmost of their powers. Some fought, others devoted themselves to snatching valuables from the camp. However, Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, and Hugh the Great rode along the river bank, where they knew the strongest forces were fighting once more. Resolutely charging the pagans as one man, they forced them back. The infidels resisted with determination and no quarter was shown on either side. Brazen helmets rang like anvils when they are struck, sparks flew, swords were broken, men fell to the ground with their brains dashed out, hauberks were split, entrails gushed forth, exhausted horses sweated, and there was not a moment's respite for horses or knights. The lines were so closely locked together that they were scarcely separated from each other by the length of their weapons; some men fought in close combat, resisting hand to hand, foot to foot and body to body. But the fear that had fallen on the Turks from heaven continued to torment them; the unconquerable resolution of the Christians amazed and confounded them and forced them to turn tail. The whole army began to give way and neither horn nor drum nor trumpet nor herald could call it back. So the Turks, in headlong retreat, made for the tents, where they expected to find many of their men who had been left behind as reserve forces; but as has been said, they had fled while the others fought when the fire was kindled. Finally the Christians pursued the pagans to the Iron Bridge, slaughtering them without mercy, and continued the pursuit, killing any that they found on the way, as far as Tancred's fortress. Then they returned to the

¹ For the cult of these warrior saints see above, iii. 216 n. 3.

concupiscibile diriperunt. Gazas omnimodas, oves lanigeras, iumenta innumera, alimenta copiosa: et quaecumque indigentibus erant necessaria, in ciuitatem detulerunt cum iocunditate magna. Mos enim gentilium est in hostem copiosas opes secum deferre, equos et asinos et camelos ad subuehendum clitellarios ducere, oves et boues ad comedendum habere: annonam et farinam, fabam et oleum uinumque non premittere. Christiani autem his omnibus abundanter cum optato triumpho ditati sunt, et condignis laudibus Deum benedixerunt, eumque sui protectorem presentialiter cognouerunt, ymnosque gratulantur in celum extulerunt.

iii. 562 'Siri et Armenii regionis illius incolæ uidentes Turcos irrecuperabiliter in bello uictos montanearum notos anfractus oppilabant, et calles angustos preoccupabant, eisque immensam deletionem strictis gladiis parturiebant. Mactabant eos uelut oves errantes: præ timore nimio totius defensionis immemores.

Admiralius quoque qui in municipio remanserat, cui Curbarannus illud commiserat: ut suos longe lateque turpiter effusus uidit, timore perterritus sibi consuluit, et antequam Franci redissent Christianorum uexillum rogauit et accepit, et in castello in loco editiori collocauit, ut suis et sibi sic parceretur, nec de municipio reddendo dubitaretur. Deinde dum Christiani uictores redissent, et Langobardi signum comitis Sancti Egidii quoniam dum rogaretur presentior aderat uidissent, ualde indignati sunt: acribusque minis seuire ceperunt. Admiralius autem pro controversia pacificanda signum comiti reddidit, et signum Buamundi pro pace et salute sua suorumque commilitonum in turre sullimauit. Deinde pactum quod Buamundus et admiralius adinuicem fecerunt ab omnibus firmatum est: et municipium Christianis confestim redditum est. Non multo post admiralius ut prius sicut ipse asserebat diu optauerat baptizatus est: et liberali Francorum munificentia donatus est. Christiani itaque ^{iv} kalendas Iulii in prælio iuuante Deo triumpharunt, et Antiochiam liberam et quietam optinuerunt. Municipipes uero Turcos qui castellum reddiderunt, et Christianæ fidei quæ lux animæ

¹ 'Siri et Armenii . . . remigrauerunt' adapts BD III. xviii, pp. 78-9; cf. *GF* xxix, pp. 70-1.

Turks' tents and plundered everything of value that they found. With great jubilation they carried off to the city wealth of all kinds: fleecy sheep, countless beasts of burden, an abundance of provisions, and everything necessary to satisfy their needs. It is the custom of the infidels to carry with them abundant supplies on their campaigns; to take horses and asses and camels as pack beasts to convey their baggage; to have sheep and oxen for food and not to do without corn and flour, beans and oil and wine. The Christians were rewarded with an abundance of all these things as well as their long-desired victory and they blessed God with high praise, recognized him as their ever-present help and protector, and raised hymns of thanksgiving to heaven.

¹When the Syrian and Armenian inhabitants of that region saw that the Turks had been routed in the battle they closed the well-known passes through the mountains and blocked the narrow paths and annihilated them with drawn swords. They butchered them like lost sheep who were too terrified to pay any heed to their own defence.

The emir who had remained in the citadel committed to his charge by Kerbogha saw his men flying shamefully in all directions and, in fear and trembling, took thought for his own safety. Before the Franks returned he asked for and received one of the Christian standards and flew it from the highest tower in the citadel, so that there should be no doubt that the citadel had surrendered and therefore he and his men would be spared. When the victorious Christians returned and the Lombards saw the banner of the count of Saint-Gilles, since he had been on the spot when the request was made, they were very angry indeed and adopted a more threatening attitude. The emir, however, handed over the count's banner to prevent a quarrel and raised Bohemond's banner on the tower to ensure peace and the safety of himself and his comrades. Then the treaty which Bohemond and the emir had made was ratified by all and the citadel was immediately surrendered to the Christians. Soon afterwards the emir was baptized, as he had wished long before to be, according to his assertion, and received generous gifts from the Franks. So with God's help the Christians triumphed in battle on 28 June and secured undisputed and peaceful possession of Antioch. They allowed the Turks of the garrison who had surrendered the citadel and refused to accept the Christian faith, which is the light of the

iii. 563 et initium salutis est recalcitrauerunt.¹ Buamundi conductu ut promissum illis fuerat in terram suam remigrauerunt.

¹Remeantibus Francis qui eos ut pactum fuerat deduxerant, intrepidique iam ad fines suos Turci appropinquabant.² ecce Balduinus de Rages subito illis obuiauit, initaque in nomine Domini pugna barbaros percussit, occidit, et pene omnes deleuit. Deinde Antiochiam spoliis onustus cum familia sua uenit.³ et lætos rumores amicis suis retulit.² Verum quia nunc se offert occasio referendi quid Balduino contigerit.² stilus nostræ narrationis in nomine Domini succincte enucleabit. Non enim sileri debet tanta res.

II

Postquam Balduinus ut supradictum est Tancredo cum amaritudine recedente Tarsum Ciliciæ urbem optinuit.¹ Godefridi fratris sui aliorumque ducum exercitus deseruit, et cum ccc militibus armigerisque suis³ ad Edessam urbem diuertit. Ducem uero Turcorum qui eidem prouinciæ presidebat⁴ adiit, militumque suam ad seruitutem eius alacriter optulit. Ille uero cum ciuibus suis Francos milites gratanter suscepit, opulenta illis in urbe hospitia delegauit, uberem uictum et copiosa stipendia constituit, et tutelam totius regionis suæ commendauit.⁵ Porro
iii. 654 Godefredus dux aliique nostrates ut Balduinum tutorem Edesseni ducatus audierunt, ualde letati sunt.² et pro reuerentia illius predictæ prouinciæ fines contingere precauerunt. Erat enim idem miles statura procerus, pulcher et magnanimus, scientia litterarum preditus, multimodaque probitate et honestate preclarus, eximia quoque nobilitate utpote de prosapia Karoli magni imperatoris preclusus.⁶ Hic nimirum cum Edessenis contra finitimos Turcos frequentes expeditiones agebat, æthnicos armis proterebat,

¹ Neither *GF* nor most manuscripts of *BD* give any information about Baldwin's conquest of Edessa. One late twelfth-century manuscript (*G*) of *BD* that contains a number of interpolations includes a short account of the conquest; but the facts are so different from Orderic's story that they seem to have come from a source unknown to him (cf. *RHC Occ.* iv. pp. xiii, 81). Orderic here broke away from *BD*; and although Fulcher of Chartres accompanied Baldwin and Orderic knew of his work he made no use of it (*RHC Occ.* iii. 337-9) for this episode. His sources were probably entirely oral and already coloured by epic invention.

² The only supporting evidence that Baldwin visited Antioch at about this time is in the extra chapter inserted in *MS. G* of *BD*, which states, after describing Baldwin's victories against the Turks near Edessa (March, 1098), 'Sic uastando Balduinus duos menses post Antiochiæ remeauit' (*RHC Occ.* iv. 81).

³ Of these eighty were knights, according to William of Tyre (*RHC Occ.* i. 155).

soul and the beginning of salvation, to return to their own country with Bohemond's escort, as he had promised them.

¹As the Franks who had escorted them were returning in accordance with the terms of peace and the Turks were confidently approaching their own frontiers, Baldwin of Edessa suddenly fell on them. Joining battle in the Lord's name, he charged them and massacred them almost to the last man. Then, laden with spoils, he went on to Antioch with his own troops, bringing good news to his friends.² And now, since this is a suitable moment to tell what had happened to Baldwin, I will briefly expound it in the course of my narrative, in the name of the Lord. For such notable events should not be passed over in silence.

II

After Baldwin gained possession of the city of Tarsus in Cilicia as has been described, while Tancred retired disappointed, he separated from the army of his brother Godfrey and the other leaders and made for the city of Edessa with three hundred knights and their squires.³ He sent to the leader of the Turks, who was governor of the province,⁴ and eagerly offered to serve him with his contingent of knights. The governor and his citizens welcomed the Frankish knights gladly, assigned them sumptuous quarters in the town, provided abundant food and ample wages, and entrusted the defence of the whole region to them.⁵ When Duke Godfrey and the rest of our men heard that Baldwin was protector of the duchy of Edessa they were delighted and out of respect for him carefully avoided crossing the frontiers of that province. Baldwin was a knight of great stature, handsome and mettlesome and very learned in letters, outstanding for his valour and integrity, of distinguished birth also, since he was an eminent scion of the stock of the Emperor Charlemagne.⁶ In company with the men of Edessa he undertook many expeditions against the Turks in neighbouring provinces, defeated the pagans in combat,

⁴ Thoros, an Armenian who had governed on behalf of the Greeks with the title of *curopalates* until the Turkish invasion. See J. Laurent, 'Des Grecs aux Croisés', in *Byzantion* i (1924), 405-10.

⁵ Thoros in fact adopted Baldwin as his son and made him his heir. Accounts of the ceremony are given by Albert of Aix, Guibert of Nogent, and Fulcher of Chartres (*RHC Occ.* iii. 338; iv. 165, 353).

⁶ Cf. above, ii. 206.

ingentes predae et uinctos hostes reducebat, formidabilemque cunctis affinis suis Edessenum ducem sic faciebat.

Præfata civitas ut in priscis codicibus legitur Rages dicta est: sed insanis bellorum turbinibus sub antiquis Assiriorum tyrannis et Caldeorum destructa est. Succedenti uero tempore Seleucus Nicanor qui de quattuor precipuis ducibus Alexandri Magni unus fuit, post mortem eius predictam urbem restaurauit: et Edessam nuncupauit.¹ Ibi Tigris et Eufrates currunt: et abundantiam deliciarum incolis aduehant. ²Abgarus toparcha Edessæ regnauit, cui Dominus Ihesus sacram epistolam destinauit, et preciosum linteam quo faciei suæ sudorem extersit, et in quo eiusdem Saluatoris imago mirabiliter depicta refulget, quæ dominici corporis speciem et quantitatem intuentibus exhibet.

iii. 565 ³Ad hanc urbem Taddeus Ihesu Christi discipulus uenit, Abgarum regem cum omni populo suo baptizauit, ibique cultum diuinitatis cooperante Deo instituit primum. Hic nimirum Greci et Armenii et Siri pariter commorantur, et a primordio Christianitatis cælorum Regi usque hodie famulantur. Verum peccatis exigentibus nuper disciplinæ suæ uirgam Deus exercuit, et gentilium debachatione Christianorum commissa castigari permisit: unde prefata ciuitas dominationi Turcorum ueluti circumiacens regio subiucuit.⁴ Diuo tamen cultui uoluntarie mancipabantur, nec ulla paganorum districtione legem Dei deserere cogebantur. Ciues itaque huiusmodi Francorum comitati congratulabantur, et illi econtra ut fratres in omnibus amicabiliter eos amplectebantur. Turgidus igitur princeps liore perfidiaque cecatus Christianis insidias pretendit, et stratori suo in expeditionem eunti imperauit, ut dum redirent Balduinum sociosque suos dum exarmati essent inuaderet, et absque misericordia interficeret.

Perfidus doli artifex scelerosæ factionis nefas prestruxit: quod Balduinum quia ualde a multis amabatur non latuit. In remeando de expeditione pagani Christianos ut arma deponerent et liberius irent quasi iocando admonuerunt, sed illi dolum precauentes non adqueuerunt. Tandem dum ad urbem appropinquarent,

¹ Pompeius Trogus, xv. iv. 7, 8, was probably Orderic's source for some information about Seleucus Nicanor. For the early traditions about the foundation of Edessa see R. Janin, 'Edesse', in *DHGE* xiv. 1421-4.

² Cf. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I. xiii. 4-10. One entry in the earliest library catalogue of Saint-Évroul is thought to represent a copy of this work, translated by Rufinus (see G. Nortier in *Revue Mabillon*, xlvii (1957), 222; li (1961), 340). The legend of the Mandylion is not in Eusebius.

brought home great booty and captives in chains, and in this way made the duke of Edessa feared by all his neighbours.

The city of Edessa was once called Rages, as you may read in ancient books, but it was destroyed in the terrible storms of war under the ancient rulers of the Assyrians and Chaldaeans. In the following age Seleucus Nicanor, who was one of the four principal generals of Alexander the Great, rebuilt the city after Alexander's death and named it Edessa.¹ The rivers Tigris and Euphrates flow there and bring an abundance of luxuries to the inhabitants. ²Abgar, toparch of Edessa, reigned there, to whom the Lord Jesus sent a sacred letter and the precious napkin with which he had wiped the sweat from his face and on which the image of our Saviour himself is miraculously preserved, which shows the lineaments and proportions of the divine body to the beholders. ³Thaddeus, a disciple of our Lord Jesus Christ, came to this city, baptized King Abgar and all his people, and was the first to establish the divine worship with God's help. Greeks and Armenians and Syrians live together there and have served the King of Heaven from the dawn of Christianity to this day. But recently God chastised them with the rod of his discipline, as a penalty for their sins, and allowed the offences of the Christians to be punished by the invasion of the heathen, so that the city of Edessa fell under the sway of the Turks as did all the surrounding regions.⁴ They still freely attended divine service and were not forced by any measure of the pagans to abandon the law of God. The citizens therefore delighted in the courteousness of the Franks and they in their turn welcomed the citizens warmly as their brothers in everything. So the proud prince, blinded by envy and malice, prepared a trap for the Christians and ordered his marshal, who was going on a raid, to attack Baldwin and his comrades on the way back, when they were disarmed, and kill them without mercy.

The treacherous schemer plotted a crime for his companions in evil, but knowledge of it came to Baldwin, who was greatly loved by many people. On the way back from the raid the pagans suggested to the Christians, as if in jest, that they might lay aside their arms so as to ride without encumbrance, but the Christians, wary of deceit, did not comply. At length, as they were drawing near

³ Cf. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I. xiii. 11-22.

⁴ The Turks reconquered Edessa in 1085; in 1094 Thoros recovered it and held it as a fief from the Sultan. See J. Laurent in *Byzantion*, I (1924), 405-10.

et Franci caute in armis equitarent' dato signo gentiles in eos subito proruperunt, et machinationem nequitiae suae feriendo sodales turpiter detexerunt. Christiani autem Deum inuocantes restiterunt, uiriliter hostes percusserunt, in fugam compulerunt, et fugientes quosdam occiderunt, aliosque feriendo usque ad iii. 566 portam ciuitatis persecuti sunt. Deinde Balduinus ilico suis iussit ut ibidem tentoria figerent, et urbem obsiderent. In urbe uero multus mox strepitus exortus est' et populus in unum undique congregatus est.

Tunc Tobias de primoribus ciuitatis maximus ait, 'O boni ciues paulisper quiescite queso, et ego cum tribus contribulibus meis modo Francos adibo, et cur ab illis obsidemur indagabo.' Quattuor igitur optimates urbis egressi sunt' et causam tam repentinae obsidionis inquisierunt. Balduinus respondit, 'Fratres meos et amicos et nobilem exercitum Christianorum in Cilicia dimisi, et cum ccc militibus egregiis seruire uobis huc adueni, et uobis ducique uestro in omnibus propugnator fidelis extiti. Christiani pro amore meo limites uestrae regionis contingere ueriti sunt' nulloque modo damnum aliquod uobis intulerunt. Ego cum meis contra finitimos hostes acriter praelatus sum' et de inimicis uestris ad uestram pacem et securitatem frequentibus triumphis potitus sum. Haec procul dubio uos ipsi uidistis' et uos ueridici horum nobis ut opinor astipulatores eritis. Quid igitur ego sociique mei hodie peccauimus, dum ad uestros sicut heri et nudius tertius lares tuti repedaremus, et commilitones nostri ex insperato strictis nos ad necem impetierunt, gladiis et missilibus? Sed nobis in tanta necessitate resistentibus, et Christiano more Deum inuocantibus, Christus Deus noster qui semper suis promptus auditor est' nobis de caelo auxilium prestolantibus celeriter auxiliatus est. Commanipulares nostri qui nos hostiliter aggressi sunt' arma nostra pro animabus nostris exerta persen- iii. 567 serunt, et terga dantes fugerunt, ex quibus nonnulli ut uidere potestis in uia gelidi a consodalibus relictis sunt. His ita peractis in tentoriis commoramur' auxiliumque uestrum et consilium prestolamur, quos adhuc non hostes sed legitimos hospites arbitramur.'

Haec et his similia Tobias ut audiuit' uicinos astantes seorsum asciiuit, et breui usus colloquio Francos cito petiit. 'Non multis'

to the city and the Franks were riding armed and on their guard, at a given signal the infidels fell suddenly upon them and shamefully revealed their wicked plot by attacking their companions. The Christians however resisted, calling on the name of God, and fought back manfully, putting their enemies to flight, killing some as they fled and pursuing the remainder, sword in hand, right up to the gate of the city. Then Baldwin commanded his men to pitch their tents there, and lay siege to the city. Within the walls a great tumult broke out at once, and people rushed together from all sides.

Then Tobias, who was the chief of the civic lords, said, 'Good citizens, be quiet for a moment I beg you, and I will go with three of my fellow citizens to the Franks to find out why we are blockaded by them.' So four magnates of the city went out and asked the reason for this sudden blockade. Baldwin answered, 'I left my brothers and friends and the noble army of Christians behind in Cilicia and came here with three hundred eminent knights to enter your service, and I have been in everything a faithful champion to you and your prince. The Christians have respected the boundaries of your province out of regard for me and I have never injured you in any way. I and my men have fought fierce battles against foes on your frontiers and have won many victories over your enemies to gain peace and security for you. You cannot have failed to see this and I believe that you will be truthful witnesses to it on our behalf. What wrong, then, have my comrades and I done today, to cause our fellow soldiers, as we were returning safely to you all just as we did yesterday and the day before, to brandish swords and spears in an attempt to kill us? However, as we fought back desperately, calling on the name of God as Christians do, Christ our God, who is always swift to help his own, quickly brought us succour from heaven. Our fellow soldiers, who had turned on us as enemies, felt the force of our arms as we fought for our lives and turned tail in flight, leaving some of their comrades dead on the road as you may see for yourselves. After such experiences we are remaining in our tents and we ask for your help and counsel, for up to now we have regarded you as loyal hosts and not as enemies.'

When Tobias had heard these words and more to the same purpose, he called the men who were nearest to him and, after a short debate, returned quickly to the Franks. 'Noble warriors,' he

inquit 'opus est uerbis incliti milites, pacifici nunc expectate nos hic obsecramus, et nos in urbe uestrum negocium salubriter exercebimus.' His ita dictis, et utrinque concessis' legati urbem intrauerunt, et conuicaneis suis quid audierint uel cogitauerint disseruerunt. Audita communiter laudauerunt, quattuor primarios in palacium ducis premiserunt' et ipsi pedetentim cum armis prosecuti sunt. Seuerum ducem in aula priuatim sedentem inuenerunt, eumque quattuor priores more solito salutantes dixerunt, 'Ingenti consilio nunc indigemus, quia nunc hostes ualde timemus.' quos hactenus fidos adiutores habuimus. Franci nos audacter obsident, et impugnare nos atrociter ardent. Proditores nos appellant, atque ad iudicium inuitant. A commilitonibus suis de hostili terra dum remearent dicunt se esse proditos.' et a sociis immanius quam ab hostibus lesos. Vnde nisi rectitudinem eis fecerimus, minis nos terrent terribilibus, quod contra nos adducent omnes copias Christiani exercitus. Prudenter igitur et utiliter tractandum est ne pereamus, nec iniuste in nos intolerabilem Christianorum furorem prouocemus. Proditio ista nobis ignorantibus facta est' celeriterque tantum nefas puniendum est. Vnde communi ciuium sententia censetur, ut infidi proditores

iii. 568 secundum priscas leges atrociter puniantur, et egregii sodales immo tutores honorifice concilientur.'

Interim dum Tobias hæc locutus est' turma ciuium palacium cum silentio caute ingressa est. Prophanus autem scita pacem querentium arroganter despexit, seseque traditorum defensorem et cooperatorem palam ostendit. Vnde irati ciues protinus in eum irruerunt, et irreuerenter caput eius amputauerunt. Tunc Tobias caput abscisum accepit' uicinisque ciuibus dixit, 'Hoc palacium cum omnibus rebus quæ intus habentur illesum custodite, et ego cum sodalibus meis Francos adducam cum gaudio et pace.' His dictis Tobias egressus est' et salutatis Francis ita locutus est: 'Edesseni ciues de iniuria uobis facta ualde merentes rectitudinem a duce postulauerunt, sed quia ille auctorem se prodicionis fuisse detexit caput illius presecuerunt, et ecce caput inimici Dei et uestri per nos uobis miserunt.' Cunctis

said, 'there is no need for many words; wait here peacefully for us, we beg you, and we will make satisfactory arrangements for you in the city.' When this had been proposed and accepted on both sides the envoys entered the city and recounted to their fellow citizens what they had heard and had in their minds. All approved what they heard and sent the four leaders ahead to the duke's palace, while they followed cautiously behind, fully armed. They found the stern duke sitting privately in the hall and the four leaders said, as they greeted him in the customary way, 'We are in urgent need of advice, for we greatly fear that the men whom up to now we have treated as loyal supporters are our enemies. The Franks are presumptuously besieging the town, thirsting for our blood. They say we have betrayed them and demand justice. They allege that they were betrayed by their fellow soldiers on the way back from the enemy's country and were more severely ill-used by their comrades than by their enemies. They are uttering the most terrible threats unless we do justice to them, declaring that they will bring all the forces of Christendom against us. We must act with the utmost caution and foresight if we are not to be destroyed or bring down unjustly on our heads the terrible wrath of all Christians. This treachery was committed without our knowledge and must immediately be punished as a crime. Let sentence be passed by the common will of the citizens that the disloyal traitors be terribly punished according to our ancient laws and that our distinguished comrades, or rather protectors, should be honourably compensated.'

While Tobias was speaking to this purpose a crowd of citizens had silently crept into the palace. The villain, however, arrogantly set aside the resolutions of the peacemakers and openly showed himself to be the protector and collaborator of the traitors. Thereupon the enraged citizens rushed on him and cut off his head without ceremony. Tobias took the severed head and said to the citizens who were gathering round, 'Guard this palace and all it contains scrupulously, and my companions and I will bring in the Franks with peace and rejoicing.' Having said this Tobias went out and, greeting the Franks, spoke as follows, 'The citizens of Edessa in sincere regret for the wrong done to you have demanded justice from the duke, but because he revealed himself as the instigator of the treachery they have cut off his head. See, they have sent the head of God's enemy and yours to you by our hands.'

inde gaudentibus Tobias adiecit, 'Veni miles egregie' et filiam ducis in coniugem accipe. Esto princeps noster, et Edessenum ducatum posside perenniter.¹

iii. 569 Balduinus itaque cum suis tripudians urbem ingressus est' et in palacio principali a cunctis ciuibus ualde gaudentibus susceptus est. Insignis puella scelerosi ducis opportuno tempore baptizata est, et eleganti Balduino quem uiuente patre sed ignorante medullitus optauerat sociata est.² Indigenæ Christiani quod Christiano principi subderentur Deo gratias reddentes admodum letati sunt' et Turci amissa dominatione qua Christicolas hactenus opprresserant deiecti sunt. Ingens basilica sanctæ Sophyæ ibidem constructa fuerat temporibus antiquis, quam in honore sancti Saluatoris qui est uirtus et sapientia Dei patris Balduino principante ueneranter ceperunt colere fideles aduenæ cum indigenis.³ Diuinæ seruitutis series insigniter Edessæ restaurata est' et multo plus incomparabiliter quam stilus noster annotare potest, diuina pietas in populo suo mirabiliter intus et exterius operata est.

iii. 570 Balduinus itaque multiplicibus negociis ad laudem Christi occupatus' non potuit suffragari Christianis Antiochiam obidentibus. Auditis tamen rumoribus de oppressione nimia quam ibidem perpassi sunt' ipse et commilitones eius Christicolis uehementer condoluerunt, et quam citius potuerunt' rebus suis optime dispositis ad subsidium eorum festinauerunt. Interim ipsi auxiliante Domino Ihesu uicto Curbaranno cum suis uictores triumpharunt' et Balduinus sociique eius Turcos de municipio Antiochiæ ut dictum est recedentes confuderunt, ipsisque preemptis spoliisque direptis fratres atque amicos uisitauerunt.⁴ Tunc omnes utrinque relatis euentibus prosperis gauisi sunt' et

¹ On 7 March, 1098, Thoros was deposed by a rising of Armenian nobles; three days later he was murdered by a mob. It is likely that Baldwin knew of the conspiracy. Orderic's legendary account bears little relationship to the truth and it is not found in other historians; even William of Tyre, who wrote later with knowledge of oral traditions, goes no further than to say that Thoros never trusted Baldwin (*RHC Occ.* i. 156-7). For the history of the rising see Grousset, *Croisades*, i. 56-61; J. Laurent in *Byzantion*, i (1924), 433-7.

² Baldwin's second wife was a daughter, not of Thoros who was childless, but of an Armenian lord, called by Latin chroniclers Taphmuz or Tafros; his identity is uncertain (Grousset, *Croisades*, i. 64).

³ The church of St. Sophia, Edessa, had been rebuilt in the time of Justinian and, though damaged in the eleventh-century wars, survived as a centre of worship for Greeks and Syrians (A. M. Schneider, 'Die Kathedrale von Edessa', in *Oriens Christianus*, xxxvi (1941), 161-7). Orderic may be right in saying that

As all applauded Tobias added, 'Come, illustrious knight, and take to wife the duke's daughter. Be our prince and hold the principality of Edessa in perpetuity.'¹

So Baldwin entered the city in triumph with his men and was received in the prince's palace amidst the cheers of all the citizens. The worthy daughter of the wicked duke was baptized at an appropriate time and married the handsome Baldwin, whom she had secretly loved, unknown to her father, during his lifetime.² The Christians of the region gave thanks to God with great rejoicing at being governed by a Christian prince; the Turks, having lost the authority through which they had oppressed the Christians, were overthrown. The huge basilica of St. Sophia had been built there in ancient times; there under Baldwin's rule the Christian settlers began to worship reverently along with the indigenous people to the honour of the holy Saviour who is the strength and wisdom of God the Father.³ The divine cult was magnificently restored in Edessa and divine compassion worked miraculously in the hearts and deeds of God's people far more wonderfully than my pen can relate.

So Baldwin, being fully occupied with many affairs for the glory of Christ, could not send any help to the Christians while they were besieging Antioch. But on hearing stories of the terrible hardships they were enduring there he and his companions were deeply concerned for the Christians and, at the earliest possible moment after putting their affairs in order, hurried to their aid. Meanwhile, with the help of the Lord Jesus, the Christians had defeated Kerbogha and his followers and were celebrating the victory, and Baldwin and his companions cut to pieces the Turks who were retreating from Antioch, as has been related. After slaughtering them and seizing booty, they visited their friends and brothers.⁴ As the stories of success on both sides were related everyone rejoiced and rendered mighty praises with their

Greeks and Latins worshipped together there at first; rival hierarchies were not immediately established even in Antioch (see below, p. 356), and Baldwin was well known for his tolerance of Greeks and Syrians (cf. B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du xi^e siècle* (Paris, 1924), p. 218). Later the Latins had their separate cathedral, as did the Armenians and Jacobites; see R. Rörich, 'Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palestina-Vereins*, x (1887), 295-6.

⁴ Some of the crusaders certainly visited Baldwin in Edessa about this time (Baldwin, *Crusades*, p. 324); for the very slight supporting evidence that Baldwin may have come to Antioch see above, p. 118 n. 2.

triumphatori Deo qui cuncta laudabiliter disponit immensas laudes ore et corde reddiderunt.

Post mutuam collocutionem fratrum et amicorum dux Balduinus Rages expetiit¹ et æcclesiam Dei commissumque sibi populum ut dulcis patricius educauit. Finitimos crebris certaminibus Turcos oppressit² et Christianorum fines profligatis malefactoribus dilatauit. Clerum quoque nobiliter auxit, necessarias opes ei suppeditauit³ ac ut diuinum seruitium ad salutem credentium cotidie persoluerent sollicitè obsecrauit. Fere quinque annis ducatum fortiter tenuit, deinde Godefredo fratri suo in regno Ierusalimorum successit, quod ferme xv annis multa in paganos fortia gerens strenue rexit.¹ De Turcana coniuge quam duxit nullam sobolem habuit² unde Balduinum de Burg consobrinum suum² in ducatu et regno successorem sibi constituit. Deinde Fulco Andegauensis comes in Ierusalem peregre perrexit³ et Milesendam secundi Balduini filiam in coniugem cum regno accepit.³

iii. 571

12

Mense Iulio post optatam uictoriam, et uirtute nactam in gratia Dei Antiochiam⁴ 'Christiani duces in unum conuenerunt, et communi consilio Hugonem Magnum ad Alexium imperatorem Constantinopolim direxerunt⁵ ut ad urbem recipiendam quam calamitosis passionibus ei adquisierant festinaret, eisque similiter iuratas pactiones illibatas conseruaret, scilicet ut ipse comes irremotus in Ierusalem cum illis ueniret. Hugo Magnus huiusce legationis officio functus iuit, sed licet in ipsa expeditione multa manu consilioque gnauiter peregerit⁵ ibi tamen multum deliquit, ubi ad fratres sicut promiserat et debuerat coruini generis legatus⁵ postea non rediuit.

⁶Discedente Hugone duces concilium ordinauerunt, et de conducendo in Ierusalem populo Dei consiliati sunt. Dixerunt igitur: 'Populus iste qui multas passus est calamitates, ut sepulchrum

¹ Both figures appear to be very rough numbers. Baldwin was prince of Edessa from March, 1098, to July, 1100, when he was invited to succeed his brother as king of Jerusalem. His reign in Jerusalem lasted until 1118. Orderic is correct only in giving the total period as twenty years.

² Baldwin of Le Bourg was a son of Hugh of Rethel and Melisende, the daughter of Guy I of Montlhéry. See the genealogical table of J. La Monte in *Speculum*, xvii (1942), facing p. 100.

³ See Le Prévost, iv. 498-9.

⁴ 'Christiani duces . . . non rediuit' abbreviates BD III. xix, p. 79; cf. *GF* xxx, p. 72.

lips and in their hearts to the victorious God, who orders all things well.

After exchanging news with his brothers and friends Duke Baldwin returned to Edessa and guided the Church of God and the people committed to his care as a kind prince. He harried the Turks on his frontiers in continual battles and, after defeating his evil neighbours, enlarged the boundaries of the Christians. He generously increased the numbers and endowments of the clergy, providing them with many necessary resources, urging them on to celebrate divine service daily for the salvation of the faithful. He governed the duchy strongly for about five years and then succeeded his brother Godfrey in the kingdom of Jerusalem, which he ruled valiantly for nearly fifteen years,¹ performing many great deeds against the pagans. He had no children by his Turkish wife, so he appointed his kinsman Baldwin of Le Bourg² as his successor in the principality and kingdom. Afterwards Fulc, count of Anjou, came to Jerusalem as a pilgrim and married Melisende, Baldwin II's daughter, receiving the kingdom with her.³

12

In July, after they had won the coveted victory and conquered Antioch by courage and the grace of God, 'the Christian leaders met together and by common consent dispatched Hugh the Great to the Emperor Alexius at Constantinople, to ask him to come quickly and receive the city which they had won with terrible suffering, and likewise to fulfil the undertaking he had sworn with them, namely to accompany them in person all the way to Jerusalem. Hugh the Great undertook the duties of this embassy and set out, but although he had ably accomplished a great deal in battle and in counsel during the course of the expedition, on that occasion he was found sorely wanting; acting as envoy after the manner of the raven,⁵ he never afterwards returned to his comrades as he should have done and had given his word.

⁶When Hugh departed the leaders held a council and made plans for leading the people of God to Jerusalem. For they said, 'These people have endured many hardships in order to see the

⁵ Cf. Genesis viii. 6-7.

⁶ 'Discedente Hugone . . . conualuerint sustentantur' follows BD III. xx, pp. 79-80, very closely; the last three sentences are copied verbatim.

Domini Dei sui uidere promereatur, iam multis fatigatus infortuniis de accelerando itinere palam conqueritur, et nos itidem multo affecti tedio conquerimur. Prouideamus ergo ipsis quod magis utile sit. Nullas ulterius moras censemus innectendas: preter quas ineuitabilis opposuerit necessitas. Sed tamen singula non impetuose, sed diligenter estimanda sunt et modeste. Terra per quam ituri sumus inaquosa est. Ætas ultra modum torrida est. Aeris inclementiam ad presens ferre non possumus.^a Longa obsidione et sumptibus et uiribus exhausti sumus. Sileamus ergo et quiescamus et uulneratos et infirmos nostros reparemus, et interim pauperum nostrorum misereamur. Humida solstitia expectemus, cancri et leonis¹ nocuos successus declinemus. In Nouembri tempus refrigerabitur, et tunc congregati unanimiter conductum iter aggrediamur. Alioquin totum populum interpestiuis ardoribus affligeremus. Hoc autem consilium turbis flagitantibus enucleatius disseratur. Tempus intractabile necesse est declinemus, et hoc omnibus utilissimum perpendamus.² Id in toto exercitu annunciatum est³ et tandem ab omnibus colaudatum est.

Dispersi sunt ergo duces et familiæ per finitimas regiones estiuandi gratia⁴ et egeni eos subsequerentur uiuendi causa. Dixerant enim duces, 'Si quis egens est et corpore uegetus, iungatur nobis⁵ et nos omnibus datis unicuique stipendiis subsidiabimur. Infirmi publica stipe donec conualuerint sustententur.'

²Tunc Raimundus Piletus de familiaribus comitis Sancti Egidii magnanimus miles, collegit sibi plures milites ac pedites. Collecto igitur exercitu quantum potuit, terram Sarracenorum audacter intrauit⁶ et ultra duas ciuitates ad quoddam castrum Sirorum cui nomen Talamania deuenit. Suriani autem habitatores eius sponte sua Christiani se reddiderunt, ibique Franci fere diebus octo requieuerunt.

Deinde cingulis militaribus accincti, proximum castellum Agarenorum aggressi sunt⁷ coangustauerunt, et preualuerunt, depredati sunt, et colonos pessunderunt. Si qui tamen ad fidem Christi conuerti uoluerunt, illesos seruauerunt. His ita peractis gauisi sunt⁸ ac ad prius castellum reuersi sunt.

^a possemus in *BD* copied by *Orderic*

¹ The fourth and fifth of the signs of the Zodiac.

² 'Tunc Raimundus Piletus . . . mense Iulio facta est' (p. 132) very closely follows *BD* III. xxi, pp. 81-2, which takes the factual outline from *GF* xxx, pp. 73-4, but provides all details about the Saracen tactics. The moral reflection that follows is *Orderic's*.

sepulchre of the Lord God and now they are so worn out by misfortunes that they are openly clamouring to press on, and we too make complaints, exhausted by the long delay. So let us arrange the most advantageous provision for them. Let us consent to no more delays except those that are forced on us by necessity. All the same, each step must be carefully and reasonably thought out, not undertaken rashly. The land through which we must now pass is arid; the summer is excessively hot. Just now it is impossible for us to endure the harsh climate. Our supplies are depleted and our strength has been sapped by the long siege. Let us rest quietly while our sick and wounded recuperate, and meanwhile let us relieve the poor among us. Let us wait for the autumn rains and avoid the harmful influences of the Crab and the Lion.¹ In November the temperature will fall; then let us assemble and set out again together along the chosen road. Otherwise all our people will be prostrated with the untimely heat. Let this decision be published clearly to the impatient crowds. We have no choice but to avoid the intolerable season, and we consider this most advantageous for everyone.² This was proclaimed to the whole army and in the end won general approval.

So the leaders and their troops scattered through the regions round about to pass the summer, and the poor followed them to procure the means of subsistence. The leaders had announced, 'If any poor man is physically fit, let him join our forces and we will pay out wages to every one for his maintenance. The sick shall be supported by a public dole until they have recovered.'

²At that time Raymond Pilet, a brave knight from among the companions of the count of Saint-Gilles, gathered round himself a number of knights and foot-soldiers. Having collected as large an army as he could, he boldly invaded the country of the Saracens and, passing through two cities, came to a fortified town of the Syrians called Tell-Mannas. The Syrian inhabitants surrendered willingly to the Christians, and the Franks rested there for about eight days.

Then, buckling on their knightly armour, they attacked the nearest stronghold of the Saracens, circled it round, captured and pillaged it, and put the inhabitants to the sword. However, they spared any who wished to be converted to the faith of Christ. When they had done this they returned in high spirits to the stronghold of Tell-Mannas.

Iterum tertia die exierunt, et Marram ciuitatem quæ prope illos erat uenerunt¹ unde multi gentiles qui ab Aleph et aliis circumsitis urbibus conuenerant in eos ad bellum prosilierunt. Franci pugnuros eos arbitrati, se ad pugnam more castrensiu preparauerunt militum² sed delusit eos exinanita spes illorum. Turci namque uersum ciuitatem caute reuersi sunt³ non fugientes neque comminus propugnantes, sed quodam hastu pugnæ se subducentes⁴ et iterum Francos celeri gestu impugnantes. Inuadebant eos et giro facillimo reuertebantur, et mox reducti equi rursus indifficulter girabantur. Franci frequentes sustinebant impetus⁵ nec tuto deuitare poterant instantium concursus. Si enim recedere attemptarent⁶ gentiles a tergo quod accidit postea cedentibus insisterent. Sustinuerunt ergo usque ad uesperum

iii. 574 laborem et sitis ardorem. Estus quippe quam maximus erat. Denique postquam laborem nequiuerant amplius sustinere, nec sitis ardorem compescere, quoniam ad refocilandum nulla inueniebatur aqua, conati sunt et condixerunt ad castellum suum conglobatim et gradatim redire. Sed gens inualida et indocta pedites uidelicet ac Suriani ordine spreto, et edicto militum neglecto, nimio correpti pauore, ceperunt disgregatim fugere. Gentiles autem eis indefessi instabant, et terga cedentes insequabantur et cedebant, et lupis atrociores nemini parcebant. Suggestebat illis uires optata uictoria⁷ et presentis temporis opportunitas. Multi itaque sunt de gente plebeia et pusillanimi gladio necati⁸ alii uero nimia siti suffocati. Qui autem uiui euaserunt⁹ cum Raimundo Talamaniam redierunt, ibique dies aliquot fecerunt. Occisio hæc mense Iulio¹⁰ facta est¹¹ et superborum insolentia diuinitus castigata est. Sic nimirum filios Israel in sacris codicibus frequenter afflictos legimus, et in bello uictos a Philastiim et Edom atque Madian aliisque uicinis gentibus¹² ut cogerentur ad Deum semper recurrere, et in obseruatione mandatorum eius perseuerare.

²Antiochiæ tunc Naimarus Podiensis episcopus ægrotauit, et paterno more lugubres filios confortauit, uiamque uniuersæ carnis ingrediens kalendis Augusti ad Dominum migravit. Luctus itaque immoderatus in tota Christi militia factus est¹³ quoniam

¹ According to *GF*, p. 73, on 5 July.

² 'Antiochiæ tunc . . . sepelierunt' slightly abbreviates BD III. xxii, p. 82; cf. *GF* xxx, p. 74.

On the third day they rode out again and came to Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, a city not far distant. Many of the pagans who had gathered there from Aleppo and the towns round about charged out ready to do battle against them. The Franks, supposing that they would fight, prepared themselves for pitched battle like garrison knights, but their hopes were vain. The Turks cautiously withdrew in the direction of the town, neither taking flight nor fighting hand to hand, but, with a deliberate cunning, withdrawing from the fray and then making a swift attack on the Franks. They charged them and then, wheeling round, retired and the horses had no sooner withdrawn than they turned deftly for a new charge. The Franks sustained many onslaughts and were unable to disengage themselves safely from the charges. If they attempted to retire the pagans pressed them from behind, as happened afterwards when they gave ground. Consequently they endured the struggle and the parching thirst until evening. The heat was suffocating. Finally, when they could no longer bear the struggle and the torments of thirst, for no water could be found to refresh them, they agreed to withdraw in a body, step by step, to their fortress and attempted to do so. But the weak and untrained among them—that is, the foot-soldiers and the Syrians—disregarding discipline and ignoring the orders of the knights, got into a blind panic and broke into disorderly flight. The pagans continued to press them relentlessly and as they fled pursued and slaughtered them, sparing no one, for they were worse than wolves. The hope of victory and the favourable opportunity gave them strength. So many of the poorer and weaker pilgrims were put to the sword and others were choked with thirst. Those who escaped alive returned with Raymond to Tell-Mannas and remained there for some days. This massacre took place in July¹ and the insolence of the proud was punished by God. In the same way, as we may read in Holy Writ, the children of Israel were often afflicted and conquered in war by the Philistines, Edomites, Midianites, and other neighbouring peoples, so that they might be compelled to turn again to God and persevere in the keeping of his commandments.

²At that time Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, fell sick in Antioch and, comforting his sorrowing sons with fatherly affection, he went the way of all flesh and passed to the Lord on 1 August. There was then great mourning everywhere in the army of Christ,

ipse fuerat consilium nobilium, spes orphanorum, imbecillium sustentamentum, militibus homo militaris, clericos clericaliter
 iii. 575 educebat et educabat, prudentia singulari precluebat, eloquens et iocundus omnibus omnia erat.¹ Singultuosus ergo exercitus exequias eius celebrauerunt, et aromatibus conditum corpus in æcclesia sancti Petri apostoli sepelierunt.

²Comes Sancti Egidii nullatenus pigriciæ uel socordiae ad-
 quiescens, quin gentilibus zelo inimicaretur continuo, terram Sarracenorum ingressus est: et Albaram nobilem eorum ciuitatem expugnauit, et uiolenter apprehendit. Omnes utriusque sexus ciuitatis incolas pene peremit: urbemque subactam suo dominio
 iii. 576 mancipauit. Idoneum in ea pontificem Christiani constituerunt, et quæ ad cultum ueræ religionis attinebant ibi ordinauerunt. Præsul Albarensis Antiochiam missus est: ibique secundum æcclesiæ ritum digne consecratus est.

Appropinquante conducto tempore iam eundi in Ierusalem conuenerunt omnes optimates in Antiochiam, et ceperunt omnes de imminente negotio disserere, ne ulterius disturbarentur ab itinere. Verum insopibilis altercatio de dominatu ciuitatis inter Buamundum ducem et Raimundum comitem erat: quam maiorum natu peritia multis et profundis commonitionibus compescere nequibat. Vnus dominationem totius urbis sicut ei concessum fuerat, dum nec capta ciuitas obsideretur requirebat: alter uero sacramentum prout ipse Buamundus collaudauerat, imperatori fecerant pretendebat, nec ullatenus pro deuitando ut asserebat periurio emolliri poterat. Buamundus itaque castellum quod ei redditum fuerat muniuit alimentis et hominibus, armis et excubitoribus. Comes similiter palacium Cassiani admiralii quod preoccupauerat, et turrem quæ super pontem est a portu Sancti Simeonis summopere seruabat. Tantæ erant ambitiones et simultates, ut neuter alteri crederet, uter sub palliata ambitione ciuitatem sibi attemptaret. Nec mirum quantum ad honorem et utilitatem.

³Antiochia siquidem ciuitas est pulcherrima et munitissima: et copiosorum reddituum opulentissima. Sunt infra ipsam quattuor montanæ satis altæ: in quarum una sullimiori scilicet castellum

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 22.

² 'Comes Sancti Egidii . . . ad honorem et utilitatem' abbreviates and recasts BD III. xxiii, pp. 82-3; cf. *GF* xxxi, pp. 74-6.

³ 'Antiochia siquidem . . . flumen præterfluit' is taken almost verbatim from BD III. xxiv, p. 84; cf. *GF* xxxii, pp. 76-7.

for he had been the counsellor of the nobles, the hope of the orphans, the prop of the weak; to knights a knightly man, he led and instructed the clergy as a priest should. Distinguished by remarkable foresight, he was persuasive and cheerful and all things to all men.¹ The whole army wept as his last rites were celebrated and buried his body, embalmed with aromatic spices, in the church of St. Peter the apostle.

²The count of Saint-Gilles, who was never idle or slothful for a moment, but was always inspired by zeal to fight the infidel, entered the land of the Saracens and stormed and captured by force a noble city of theirs called al-Barah. He slaughtered almost all the inhabitants of the city, both men and women, and subjected the conquered city to his rule. The Christians established a suitable man as bishop there and provided for the restoration of true worship. The bishop of al-Barah was sent to Antioch and was consecrated there according to the rites of the Church.

As the appointed time for resuming the journey to Jerusalem drew near, all the nobles came to Antioch and began to make plans for the enterprise ahead of them, so that they should suffer no more impediments on the journey. But there was an implacable quarrel over the possession of the city between Duke Bohemond and Count Raymond, which all the experience and all the painstaking efforts of the nobles could not settle. One laid claim to the lordship of the city as it had been conceded to him during the siege before the city was captured, the other invoked the oath which they had all taken to the Emperor with Bohemond's own approbation and which, he maintained, could not be mitigated in any way without perjury. Bohemond therefore fortified the citadel which had been surrendered to him, garrisoned and victualled it, and supplied it with arms and watchmen. The count likewise fully fortified the palace of the emir Yaghi-Siyan, which he had seized, and the tower which is above the bridge from the port of Saint Symeon. So great was their ambition and their rivalry that neither trusted the other and each, though cloaking his ambition, attempted to secure the city for himself. This is not to be wondered at, considering the fame and importance of the city.

³Antioch is a most beautiful and powerful city, made wealthy by its many resources. Within it are four moderately high hills, on the highest of which is the citadel which dominates the city.

- ii. 577 est quod omni ciuitati prominet. Deorsum ciuitas est decenter ædificata¹ et duplici muro circumambita. Murus interior amplus et in aera porrectus est² magnis et quadris lapidibus compactus et compaginatus est. In qua muri compagine turres sunt quadringentæ quinquaginta, formosis uenustate mœniis et defensæ propugnaculis. Murus exterior non tantæ est celsitudinis³ sed tamen admirandæ uenustatis. Continet in se trecentas et quadraginta æcclesias. Pro suo magno primatu patriarcham habet, cui centum quinquaginta tres episcopi subiciuntur. Ab oriente clauditur quattuor montaneis⁴ ab occidente uero ciuitatis muros Farfar flumen præterfluit. Hæc antiquitus ut Ieronimus in explanatione prophetarum scribit Reblatha dicta est⁵ sed a
- iii. 578 Seleuco Nichanore postmodum aucta est, et a nomine patris sui scilicet Antiochi Clari nominata est.² ³Et quoniam tantæ fuit auctoritatis et nobilitatis⁴ utpote quæ totius Sîriæ caput extiterat et metropolis, Franci noluerunt eam deuictam temere dimittere, per quam optabant primatum suum longe lateque proferre, et regiones etiam longinquas Christianitati subiugare. Hanc per octo menses et unum diem obsederant⁵ et in eadem iam capta per tres ebdomadas obsessi sunt. In qua obsidione diuturna tantus confluxit conuentus gentilium⁶ ut nullus meminerit copiosorem se uidisse uel audisse frequentiam populorum. Requieuerunt igitur in ea quinque mensibus et nouem ⁴diebus. Tot rebus occurrentibus noluerunt eam incaute dimittere⁷ sed fideli delegauerunt tutelæ. Comes autem et Buamundus peculiariter super eam sibimet cogitabant. Ciuitatem ergo ut dictum est munierunt⁸ et in mense Nouembri alias profecturi rebus quibuslibet compositis Antiochiam exierunt.

- iii. 579 ⁵Comes Raimundus cum suo exercitu exiuit, et duas ciuitates Rugiam et Albariam pertransiit⁹ quintoque kalendas Decembris applicuit ad Marram ciuitatem munitam et opimam, et multis Agarenorum nationibus refertam. Die uero crastina ciuitatem cum suis expugnare cepit, sed obstantibus mœniis et defensoribus tunc nichil profecit, quem subsequutus die dominica⁶ Buamundus

¹ Cf. Jerome's commentary on Ezekiel, xlvii. 18 (*Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina, lxxv, 723), and S. Krauss, 'Antioche', in *Revue des études juives*, xlv (1902), 30.

² Cf. Pompeius Trogus, xv. iv. 8.

³ 'Et quoniam . . . Antiochiam exierunt' closely follows BD III. xxiv, p. 84; cf. *GF* xxxii, p. 77.

⁴ Eight days in *GF*; nine in most manuscripts of BD.

The city below is well built and surrounded by two walls. The inner wall, wide and very high, is solidly built of large, square blocks. Within the circuit of the wall are four hundred and fifty towers, beautified with stately walls and defended with battlements. The outer wall is not of such great height, but it is a work of wonderful beauty. The city contains three hundred and forty churches. Because of its primacy it has a patriarch, to whom a hundred and fifty-three bishops are subject. To the east it is shut in by four hills; to the west the river Farfar flows past the city walls. In ancient times it was called Riblah, as Jerome writes in his commentary on the prophets;¹ but later it was enlarged by Seleucus Nicanor and named after his father, Antiochus Clarus.² ³Because it was so powerful and distinguished, being the chief city and metropolis of all Syria, the Franks did not wish to abandon it hastily when they conquered it, for they hoped to extend their primacy far and wide through it and subject even distant regions to Christianity. They besieged this city for eight months and one day, and after taking it were besieged inside for three weeks. During the long siege such a multitude of infidels converged on it that no one could recall ever having seen or heard a greater assemblage of peoples. They rested in the city for five months and nine⁴ days. After so many happenings they did not wish to abandon it thoughtlessly, but gave it over to safe keeping. However, the count and Bohemond each had his own particular views about it. So they fortified the city as has been described, and in November set out from Antioch for another destination, leaving affairs there settled after a fashion.

⁵Count Raymond set out with his army and travelled through the two cities of Chastel-Rouge and al-Barah. On 27 November he reached the wealthy and fortified city of Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, which was full of Saracens from many nations. On the following day he began to storm the city with his followers, but they could make no impression against the walls that confronted them and their defenders. Following him, Bohemond arrived on a Sunday⁶

⁵ 'Comes Raimundus . . . ciuitas opulenta capta est' (p. 140) closely follows BD III. xxiv-xxv, pp. 84-5; cf. *GF* xxxiii, pp. 77-9. The unacceptable statement that the crusaders put out the 'Greek fire' by pouring oil on it comes from BD.

⁶ Sunday 28 November. See Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 195-7.

predictam ad urbem uenit. Altera uero die uiriliter urbem aggressi sunt: tutores mœniorum uariis assultibus infestauerunt, sed parum eis nocuerunt. Scalæ ad murum stabant erectæ: sed Turcis occlamantibus et oppugnantibus nemo presumebat scandere. Ciues enim se istis obstare posse credebant, sicut Raimundo Pileto antea obstiterant. Raimundus comes ligneam fecit machinam compaginari: ac ut habilior esset ad conducendum super quattuor rotulas eam collocari. Fuit autem tantæ proceritatis ut mœniorum culmen despiceret: turrium quoque porrecturam adæquaret. Struem igitur illam propter quandam turrem admouerunt, lituorum et tubarum clangebant classica, phalanges armatæ circumuallabant mœnia, balistarii et sagittarii dirigebant spicula, et qui in arce erant lignea: iusum saxa iactitabant ingentia. Sacerdotes et clerici Deum pro populo suo suppliciter exorabant.

iii. 580 Willelmus de Monte Pislario et alii plures in machina pugnabant, lapidibus aliisque telis ciues desursum grauabant, et percussos in ancilibus uel galeis uel in capitibus facile perimebant. Alii alios ferreis uncinis sine intermissione infestabant. Turci de turribus satagebant Christianos sagittis et lapidibus impugnare, ignem quoque quem grecum uocant in machinam iacere, et nichil ociosum admittere. Christiani e contra oleum quod maxime ignem grecum extinguit effundere, ascensum temptare, pedemque retrahere eosque qui muris supererant formidare, in nullo tamen deficere. Sic prælium illud ad uesperum usque protelatum est. Tantum erat infatigata uirtus Agarenorum, ut audacter refellerent uersutias Christianorum. Denique Lemouicensis Gulferius de Turribus¹ uir alti sanguinis, et audaciæ mirabilis, primus scalam ascendit, et usque in murum pedem tetendit. Ascenderunt post eum aliquot sed non multi. Scala siquidem confracta dissiluit. Gulferius tamen uiriliter murum defensabat, et pagani expugnatis socios nutu et uoce conuocabat. Interim aliam scalam festinanter erexerunt, et per eam milites peditesque tot ascenderunt: ut murum magna ex parte preoccuparent: et ciues expugnando reicerent. Pagani tamen totis nisibus insurrexerunt, et Christianos aggressi sunt: et tanta illos uirtute aliquotiens impetierunt, ut

iii. 581

¹ Geoffrey (Gouffier) was lord of Lastours near Nexon in Limousin; he survived until at least 1126. Among the knights of his household was Gregory Bechada, author of a lost provençal *chanson* on the crusade. See Gaston Paris in *Romania*, xxii (1893), 358-9; Sumburg, *Chanson d'Antioche*, pp. 358-9.

at the city of Ma'arrat; on another day they made a vigorous assault on the city and attacked the defenders of the walls in various ways, but failed to do them much harm. Ladders were erected against the wall, but the Turks defended themselves so fiercely with loud cries that no one dared mount them. The citizens indeed believed that they could fight off these men just as they had earlier repelled Raymond Pilet. Count Raymond had a wooden siege-tower built and fixed on four wheels so that it could be manœuvred more easily. It was so high that it overtopped the highest part of the walls and was on a level with the summit of the towers. They moved the structure up against one of the towers, battle-signals were sounded by horns and trumpets, armed troops surrounded the walls, crossbowmen and archers fired missiles, and the men who were in the wooden tower hurled down huge stones. The priests and clerics prayed devoutly to God on behalf of the people.

William of Montpellier and many others were fighting in the siege-engine, raining stones and other missiles down on the citizens below and easily hurling them to their deaths with blows on their shields and helmets and heads. Other men attacked other defenders relentlessly with iron hooks. The Turks endeavoured to beat back the Christians with arrows and stones from the towers, hurling 'Greek fire' (as it is called) at the siege-engine and leaving nothing untried. The Christians on the other hand poured out oil, which is most effective in putting out Greek fire, endeavoured to mount the walls, then drew back through fear of the defenders manning them, but never retired. In this way the battle continued until evening. The tireless courage of the Saracens was so great that they boldly repelled all the stratagems of the Christians. At last Geoffrey of Lastours,¹ a knight from Limousin of noble blood and wonderful courage, led the way up the ladder and leapt on to the wall. Some others followed him, but they were only a few. Then the ladder broke and disintegrated. Nevertheless Geoffrey manfully defended the wall and, forcing back the pagans, shouted and beckoned to his companions to follow. Meanwhile they quickly raised another ladder, up which so many knights and foot-soldiers climbed that they occupied most of the wall, overcoming and pushing down the citizens. The pagans however rallied all their forces and attacked the Christians; on several occasions they assaulted them with such courage that some of the

aliqui Francorum timore subacti e muro se dimiserint. Plures tamen in muro remanserunt, qui tamdiu frequentes impetus tolerauerunt' quousque Christiani murum suffodissent, aditumque patefacerent. Quo Turci cognito ad desperationem usque timuerunt, et in fugam irrevocabiler precipitati sunt. Idus itaque Decembris¹ uespere sabbati Marra ciuitas opulenta capta est. ²Christiani urbem deuictam ingressi sunt' et quicquid gazarum in domibus uel in foueis inuenerunt, rapaciter abstulerunt. Sarracenis perimendis toto conatu institerunt' ut uix aliquem uiuere permiserint. Nullus in tota urbe locus uacabat a cadaueribus, gressus quoque uiantium grauiter offendebantur ab extinctis et condensis corporibus. Capta ciuitate ciuium magna pars cum uxoribus et filiis suisque suppellectilibus in palacium quod supra portam erat conuenit, ibique Christianorum manui subiacuit. Quorum alii preempti sunt' alii Buamundo iubente in Antiochiam seruitum uel uenum deducti sunt, et omnes ita opibus eorum direptis dissipati sunt. Franci autem morati sunt in eadem urbe mensem integrum et dies tres.³

iii. 582

Ibi Oriensis episcopus⁴ infirmatus a superis recessit' et ad superos euolauit. Tunc fames ualida exercitui surrepsit, et quælibet inhonesta uel inconsueta uel austera uel etiam illicita dentibus infastiditis attingere coegit. Tunc etiam turcinas carnes quidam comederunt, quod maiores natu et honestiores ut audierunt, erubescens contristati sunt' sed ultionem præ nimia fame suspenderunt. Non enim eis pro maximo scelere imputabatur, quia pro Deo alacriter tantam famem patiebantur, et inimicis Dei dentibus et manibus inimicabantur. Patrabant equidem illicita, sed legem uiolari compellebat necessitas angustiosa. Fames enim castrensium omnia appetit' nichil respuit. Quidam corpora Turcorum findebant, quoniam in eorum uisceribus bizanteos inueniebant, et aurum quod glutierant, et illud tollebant. Plerique autem fame preualida ibi perierunt. Ibi proceres denuo de concordia inter duces et comitem locuti sunt' sed nichil profecerunt. Vnde Buamundus iratus Antiochiam confestim reuersus est' et iter in Ierusalem ad populorum detrimentum disturbatum est. Privatæ principum simultates subiectos pessundant et affligunt' dum inter se dissentiunt. Dum enim unusquisque

iii. 583

¹ A mistake for 11 December, as in BD and *GF*.

² 'Christiani urbem . . . querelis peculiaribus' (p. 142) abbreviates and adapts BD III. xxv-xxvii, pp. 85-7; cf. *GF* xxxiii-xxxiv, pp. 79-80. The last three sentences are copied verbatim from BD.

³ One month and four days, according to *GF*. Ma'arrat fell on 11 December, and the crusaders left on 13 January; so the version in BD seems to be correct (cf. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 199-200).

Franks gave way to panic and scrambled down the wall. However most remained on the wall and succeeded in resisting the repeated onslaughts until the Christians had undermined the wall and made a breach in it. When the Turks discovered this they were panic-stricken and fled in utter confusion and despair. So on 13 December,¹ on a Saturday evening, the wealthy city of Ma'arrat was taken. ²The Christians entered the conquered city and greedily snatched all the valuables they found in houses or cellars. They fell on the Saracens and slaughtered them relentlessly, sparing almost no one. Hardly a place in the city was not strewn with corpses, so that it was almost impossible for anyone to walk through the piles of dead bodies. When the city fell most of the citizens gathered in the palace, which was above the gate, with their wives and children and possessions, and there surrendered to the Christians. Some of these were slaughtered, others at Bohemond's command were sent into slavery or to be sold in Antioch, and thus all were scattered and robbed of their wealth. The Franks remained in that city for a whole month and three days.³

The bishop of Orange⁴ fell sick there and, departing from earth, passed to heaven. During this time the army suffered terribly from hunger and was forced to devour without scruple things that were filthy, strange, disagreeable, and even forbidden. Some even ate the flesh of Turks and, though the more highly-born and stricter men were ashamed and horrified to hear of it they forbore to punish the offence because of the terrible famine. It was not even regarded as the most heinous of crimes, because they were willingly suffering starvation for God and were attacking his enemies with their teeth as well as their hands. It is true that they acted unlawfully, but overriding necessity forced them to violate the law. Because of the famine in the camp they snatched at everything and rejected nothing. Some men ripped open the bodies of Turks, because they found in their bowels bezants and gold that they had swallowed, and carried it off. Many died of starvation there. The nobles tried once more to reconcile the duke and the count, but could achieve nothing. Consequently Bohemond soon returned to Antioch in anger, and the journey to Jerusalem was impeded to the great harm of the pilgrims. When princes quarrel with each other their personal rivalries ruin and oppress their subjects. For when every man seeks his own ends

⁴ William, bishop of Orange.

quod suum est querit' a communi prouidentia tepescit. Populi quoque ad communem perniciem desolantur, ubi consules seipsum non consolantur. Populus itaque Ierusalimitanus multum erat impeditus' pro ducum suorum querelis peculiaribus.

14

¹Rursus comes per legatos suos principes qui erant Antiochiæ prosecutus est' ac ut ei ad Rugiam confabulandi gratia obuiarent illos allocutus est. Godefredus igitur dux et Rodbertus Normannus et Rodbertus Flandrensis alique conuocati principes Rugiam uenerunt' et Buamundum secum adduxerunt. Tunc etiam de concordandis proceribus multum locuti sunt' sed de uia maturanda nichil profecerunt. Buamundus ire nolebat nisi ciuitas ei tota redderetur' neque comes nisi Buamundus eos comitaretur. Comes Marram est reuersus' ubi christianus fame periclitabatur exercitus. Tandem corde compunctus animo suo liberaliter dominatus est' et ut Dei militibus consulere eundi in
iii. 584 Ierusalem iter aggressus est. Preposuit enim causam Dei suæ uoluntati uel utilitati. Summa quidem uirtus est in principibus' si sibi ipsi dominarentur. In ducibus enim nimia obstinatio, subditorum omnium est periclitatio. Imperauit igitur comes sibi ipsi' ne omni noceret Christianitati. Mandauit autem hominibus suis' ut palacium Cassiani curiose munirent. Exiuit Marra idus Ianuarii nudis pedibus, et peregrinis Dei coagulauit se spontaneus. Hoc signum susceptæ peregrinationis humiliatus comes ostendit. Grandis itaque in populo Dei letitia facta est' et dux Normanniæ proficiscentibus illis ad ciuitatem Caphardam adiunctus est.

Ibi tres quieuerunt dies' et ²rex Cesareæ pacem cum consulibus
iii. 585 fecit. Multotiens enim legatos suos antea Marram direxerat, firmiter spondens quod Christianis pacificus esset, et multa de suis libenter impertiret, et per totum regnum suum copiosum mercatum suppeditaret, nisi ad eum exhæreditandum uel regnum suum depopulandum Francorum genus indomitum anhelaret. Inde fidelitas a rege Christianis facta est. Deinde a Capharda omnes egressi sunt' et secus fluuium Farfar prope Cesaream

¹ 'Rursus comes . . . tres quieuerunt dies' follows BD IV. i. p. 89 fairly closely; cf. *GF* xxxiv, pp. 80-81.

² 'Rex Cesareæ . . . in bonum ei talionem retribuere' (p. 146) very slightly abbreviates BD IV. ii, pp. 90-1; cf. *GF* xxxiv, pp. 81-3.

he neglects the common good. Truly the people suffer, endangering all, when their leaders do not help each other. So the pilgrims to Jerusalem were much hindered by the private quarrels of their princes.

14

¹Count Raymond once again sent his messengers to the princes who were at Antioch, asking them to come to Chastel-Rouge to meet him for a conference. Duke Godfrey and Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders and the other princes he had summoned came to Chastel-Rouge, bringing Bohemond with them. Then once again they talked a great deal on how to reconcile the lords, without making any progress towards starting the expedition on its way again. Bohemond refused to go unless the whole city was handed over to him and the count would not go unless Bohemond accompanied them. The count returned to Ma'arrat, where the Christian army was dying of starvation. At length his heart was touched and he generously conquered himself and took the road again, to help the soldiers of God on their way to Jerusalem. He put God's cause above his own will or advantage. Indeed when princes conquer themselves they have great power for good. But stubborn wilfulness in leaders is the undoing of their men. The count mastered himself to avoid harming the Christian cause. However he commanded his men to fortify Yaghi-Siyan's palace thoroughly. On 13 January he set out barefoot from Ma'arrat, voluntarily identifying himself with the pilgrims of God. The count, humbling himself, gave this token of resuming the pilgrimage. So there was great rejoicing among the people of God and the duke of Normandy joined them as they set out for the city of Kafartab.

There they rested for three days and ²the king of Shaizar made a treaty with the counts. He had sent envoys to Ma'arrat on many earlier occasions, consistently professing that he was well disposed towards the Christians and would make generous provision for them of his own free will, and allow them to purchase abundant supplies all through his kingdom, provided that the unconquered Franks were not bent on expropriating him or devastating his kingdom. The king gave the Christians his word to this effect. Next all moved on from Kafartab and pitched camp on the banks

castra metati sunt. Videns autem rex Francos prope urbem suam hospitatos uehementer indoluit, et celeriter illis hæc mandauit: 'Nisi summo diluculo a ciuitatis nostræ suburbio castra uestra remoueritis' uos fœdus initum uiolabitis, nosque uobis mercatum promissum uetabimus' nosque nobis prouidebimus.' Mane igitur facto duos de suis ad eos direxit, qui illos euadare fluuium edocerent' et exercitum in terram fertilem deducerent. Intrauerunt autem quandam uallem opimam et locupletem, cui super erat castellum quod extimplo consulibus fecit securitatem. Depredati sunt ergo animalium quasi ad quinque milia. Ibi etiam multum diuersorum alimentorum repertum est' et præ ubertate gratuita tota Christi militia refecta est. Castrenses etiam exercitui dederunt equos, aurumque purissimum multamque pecuniam' et iuraerunt se peregrinis nullatenus deinceps nocituros, neque subinde mercatum eis prohibituos. Manserunt autem ibi diebus quinque. Porro inde digressi' ad quoddam Arabum applicuerunt castrum. Mox igitur castelli dominus cum eis locuturus exiuit et pacem fecit' quæ utrique parti placuit.

Demigrauerunt inde ad ciuitatem Cephaliã muris pulcherrimam, et omnibus bonis opulentam in ualle quadam. Ciues autem eius pre timore Francorum urbem pauitantes exierunt' et ortos oleribus refertos domosque alimentorum et opum plenas reliquerunt, et inconsulti aufugerunt. Christiani uero gratulanter omnibus bonis eorum potiti sunt' et Deo bonorum datori gratias ilares reddiderunt.

Die tertia inde processerunt, et montaneam nimis altam precipitando transcenderunt' et iterum in uallem uberem descendunt, ubi xii dies¹ quieuerunt. Deinde proximum ualli castellum Sarracenorum² uiriliter aggressi sunt' et reuera illud deuicissent, nisi gentiles animalium et iumentorum et pecorum greges foras eiecissent. Quæ Christiani diripuerunt' et sic ad tentoria sua onusti præda reuersi sunt. Pagani autem nimium perterriti noctu secesserunt, et Franci crepusculo³ diei castellum hominibus uacuum ingressi sunt. Ibi abundantiam frumenti et uini, farinæ et ordeï, oleique repperunt, et purificationem sanctæ Mariæ deuotissime celebrauerunt.

Ibi rex de Camela ciuitate consulibus per nuncios suos larga donaria misit, pacemque suam Christianis optulit, spondens quod

¹ 'per dies fere quindecim' according to *GF*. They camped in the valley from 27 January to c. 11 February (see Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 209-13).

² The castle of Hisn al-Akrad, later called Krac des Chevaliers.

³ Orderic has reversed two phrases in Baudry; the crusaders returned to the castle at dusk, and entered it next morning after the Turks had withdrawn in the night.

of the river Orontes, near Shaizar. When the king saw the Franks encamped so near to his city he was deeply disturbed and quickly sent to them, saying, 'Unless you remove your camp from the suburbs of our city at the break of day you will be guilty of violating the treaty we have made, and we shall then withhold the supplies we promised and take measures for our own safety.' When day broke, therefore, he sent two of his men to them to show them where to ford the river and to escort the army to a fertile valley, guarded by a castle, which at once gave a guarantee of security to the leaders. There they seized about five thousand animals. There too abundant supplies of all kinds of food were discovered and the whole army of Christ was refreshed by the rich bounty. The garrison gave the army horses and refined gold and great sums of money, and swore never to do the pilgrims any injury in the future, nor to refuse to sell them what they needed. The Christians remained there for five days. Advancing once more, they came to a fortress belonging to Arabs. The lord of the castle came out at once to parley and made peace with them, which pleased both sides.

From there they went on to the city of Rafaniyah, which stands in a valley and is surrounded with stately walls and full of all riches. Its citizens however, fearing the Franks, abandoned the city in terror and left their gardens full of vegetables and their houses full of food and valuables as they fled recklessly. The Christians thankfully appropriated all their goods and rendered joyful thanks to God, the giver of good things.

On the third day they went on from there, scrambled over a very high mountain and came down into another valley, where they rested for twelve days.¹ From there they boldly attacked the Saracen stronghold² nearest to the valley, and would certainly have captured it if the infidels had not driven out herds of cattle and pack animals and sheep. The Christians seized these and so returned to their tents laden with spoils. The pagans however withdrew by night in a panic and the Franks entered the deserted fortress at dusk.³ They found a great store of corn and wine, flour and barley and oil, and they celebrated the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary with great devotion there.

The king of the city of Homs sent messengers with rich gifts to the counts while they were there and offered peace to the Christians, promising that he would never do them any harm, but would

nunquam Christianos offenderet' immo diligeret ac honoraret, tantum Christianus populus in bonum ei talionem retribueret.

iii. 587 ¹Rex quoque Tripolis decem equos et quattuor mulas et auri pondus immensum Christianis misit' et pacem et amicitiam ab eis per legatos poposcit. Comites cum eo nec pacem fecerunt, nec oblata receperunt' immo fiducialiter responderunt, 'Hæc omnia ex te respuimus.' quousque satagas fieri Christianus.'

Postquam de ualle optima egressi sunt' ad quoddam castrum nomine Arche transierunt, iuxta quod pridie idus Februarii² castra locauerunt. Oppidum autem illud innumerabili erat paganorum gente munitum, Arabum frequentiis et Publicanorum' qui uiriliter se defendebant contra assultus Christianorum. Quattuordecim milites Christiani uersus Tripolim quæ non multum differebat ab exercitu iuerunt, et sexaginta Turcos inuenerunt' qui ante se multos conducebant homines, Sarracenos, Arabes, et Curtos mille circiter quingentos,³ et animalia plurima. Hos Christiani pertinaciter inuaserunt, et ex illis sex occiderunt, equos totidem abstulerunt, aliosque fugauerunt, et animalia reduxerunt. Francorum siquidem inuincibilis ferocitas finitimos et procul positos omnes deterrebat. Deus etenim sic operabatur in illis' qui semper suis presto est athleticis. Res in uirtute Dei leta fidelibus contigit, dum xiiii Christiani lx Turcos superauerunt, et residuam multitudinem fugauerunt, et animalia ex ipsorum faucibus abstraxerunt.

iii. 588 ⁴De exercitu Raimundi comitis R. Piletus et Raimundus uicecomes⁵ cum militibus non multis exierunt, et ante Tortosam ciuitatem ubi non modica multitudo paganorum erat discurrebant. Sero iam facto ad secretum locum secesserunt, et opportunis in locis pernoctauerunt, et plurimos ignes quasi totus aduentasset exercitus accenderunt. Orto iam sole Franci ut urbem aggredirentur conuenerunt, quam uacuam hominibus inuenerunt, ibique quandiu castellum obsidebant inhabitauerunt.

Admiralius Maracleæ ciuitatis quæ non procul erat pacem cum Christianis fecit, et eorum uexilla in urbe prefata inuexit. Dux interea Godofredus et Flandrensis comes et Buamundus usque Laodiciam quam uulgo Liciam⁶ uocant uenerunt. Buamundus

¹ 'Rex quoque Tripolis . . . faucibus abstraxerunt' slightly abbreviates BD iv. iii, p. 91; cf. *GF* xxxiv, p. 83.

² 14 February, according to *GF* (Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 213-14).

³ BD (followed by Orderic) here misinterprets *GF*, where the number is applied to the animals.

⁴ 'De exercitu Raimundi . . . ymnizantes Deo reuersi sunt ad suos' (p. 150)

be kind to them and respect them if the Christian host would render him good for good.

¹Also the king of Tripoli sent ten horses and four mules and a great pile of gold to the Christians and through his envoys asked them for a treaty of peace and friendship. But the counts would neither make a peace with him nor accept his gifts, but instead replied fervently, 'We spurn all your offers until you make the effort to become a Christian.'

After they had left the fertile valley they came to a fortress called 'Arqah and pitched their tents beside it on 12 February.² That stronghold was defended by an immense horde of pagans, with crowds of Arabs and Paulicians, who defended themselves vigorously against the attacks of the Christians. Fourteen Christian knights went towards Tripoli, which was not far from the army, and fell in with sixty Turks who were driving a crowd of men before them, altogether fifteen hundred Saracens, Arabs, and Kurds,³ besides a great many animals. The Christians attacked them resolutely, killed six of them, seized the same number of horses, put the rest to flight, and drove home the animals. Indeed the invincibility and fierceness of the Franks terrified all far and near, for God who is always at hand to help his champions worked powerfully through them. It was a joyful event for the faithful, due to the power of God, that fourteen Christians should overcome sixty Turks, put great numbers to flight, and carry off their beasts from before their eyes.

⁴Raymond Pilet and Raymond the vicomte⁵ set out from Count Raymond's army with a small force of knights and reconnoitred the country in front of the city of Tortosa, where a large host of pagans was assembled. At nightfall they withdrew to a hiding place and spent the night in chosen spots, lighting a great number of fires as though the whole army had arrived. At sunrise the Franks gathered to storm the town and found it abandoned and empty, so they stayed there as long as the siege of 'Arqah lasted.

The emir of the city of Maraclea, which was not very far away, made peace with the Christians and carried their banners into his city. Meanwhile Duke Godfrey and the count of Flanders and Bohemond had reached Latakia, which is commonly called Licia.⁶

very closely follows BD iv. iv, pp. 92-3; cf. the much shorter account in *GF* xxxiv-xxxv, pp. 83-5.

⁵ Raymond, vicomte of Turenne.

⁶ Orderic adds the name Licia.

iii. 589 iterum ab illis segregatus rediit Antiochiam' quam multum desiderabat esse suam. Dux autem et comes Gibellum ciuitatem obsederunt. Raimundus comes audiuit gentiles cum magnis militantium cuneis aduentare, bellumque Christianis non anceps properare. Misit igitur ad socios qui Gibellum obsederant dicens, 'Certum nobis imminet bellum' et super nos ueniunt agmina paganorum. Cum ciuitate ergo quam obsedistis agatis uolumus de pace' tutandisque fratribus expeditiores adestote. Melius est conuenire et præliari' quam nos a nobis separari et superari. In bellis mora modica est' sed uincens lucrum quam maximum est. Obsidiones multa consumunt tempora' et obsessa uix subiugantur municipia, bella nobis subdent nationes et regna. Bello subacti tanquam fumus euanescunt inimici, bello peracto et hoste deuicto uastum nobis patebit imperium. Bonum est ergo ut conueniamus, quoniam si Deum promereri ducem et preambulium poterimus' indubitanter statim de inimicis nostris triumphabimus. Accelerate inquam' ne nos emuli nostri dum uenerint imparatos inueniant.'

iii. 590 Dux et comes legationem hanc gratanter audiebant' quoniam bellum inhiante esuriebant. Pacem igitur cum Gibellensi admiralio fecerunt' et munera multa cum pactionibus placitis ab eo acceperunt. Deinde confratrum ad auxilia profecti sunt' sed Turcos quos sperabant tunc non inuenerunt. Ultra fluuium autem hospitati sunt' et ex illa parte castellum illud obsederunt. Nec multo post ex Christianis quidam ad Tripolim equitauerunt' si qua possent obesse gentilibus adtemptantes. Inuenerunt autem Turcos at Arabes, ipsosque Tripolitanos extra urbem effusos' excursus Christianorum similiter expectantes, et uelut in insidiis latitantes. Mox alii pertinaciter alios inuaserunt. Agareni siquidem primos impetus aliquantulum sustinuerunt' et diutius obluctati sunt. Tandem percutientibus terga dederunt' et in illa tergiuersatione multos ex suis amiserunt. Multi etiam ex nobilioribus ciuitatis ibi ceciderunt. Mulieres et matres et uirgines a pinnarum spectaculis mala Christianis imprecabantur, et pro suis anxiantur' ingemiscebant, et tantum earum aliquæ probitati Francorum applaudebant. Paganorum occisione, et cruoris effusione, fluuii qui ciuitatem alluebat rubuisse uisus est' et cisternæ quæ in urbis erant sinu quas fluuius alebat sanguine contaminatæ sunt.

Once more Bohemond left the others and returned to Antioch, which he wished passionately to possess. The duke and count, however, laid siege to the city of Jabala. Count Raymond heard that the pagans were approaching with great armies of knights, hurrying to wage single-minded war on the Christians. He therefore sent to his comrades who were besieging Jabala, saying, 'We are threatened by certain war and armies of pagans are marching against us. We would like you to treat for peace with the city you are besieging and come as quickly as possible to protect your brothers. It is better to join forces and fight than to be separated from each other and defeated. Little time is lost in battles and the gain to the victors is great. Sieges take much time and besieged cities are very hard to conquer, whereas battles bring peoples and kingdoms under our sway. Enemies defeated in battle will vanish like smoke; when a battle has been fought and our foe vanquished a great empire will lie at our feet. It is expedient that we should join forces, for if we deserve to have God as our leader and guide we shall undoubtedly win a swift victory over our enemies. Hurry, I say, so that our adversaries may not find us unprepared when they come.'

The duke and count welcomed this speech, for they were thirsting for battle. They therefore made peace with the emir of Jabala and, when the treaties were concluded, received many gifts from him. Then they hurried to help their brothers, but the Turks they hoped to find were not there. So they camped on the other side of the river and besieged the fortress from that side. Not long afterwards some of the Christians rode to Tripoli to see if they could find any way of attacking the infidels. They found however that the Turks and Arabs and men of Tripoli themselves had emerged from the city as if they were expecting the Christians and laying a trap for them. Both sides charged each other almost at once. The Saracens however stood their ground against the first attacks and struggled for a long time; but at length they turned their backs to the blows of their enemies and in their flight lost many men. Many of the leading men of the city fell there. Their wives and mothers and daughters cursed the Christians from their viewpoint on the battlements and suffered anguish for their men; they wept, yet some of them felt admiration for the valour of the Franks. The slaughter of the pagans and the bloodshed was such that the river flowing past the city appeared to run

iii. 591 Meror igitur quam maximus incubuit Tripolitanis, tum pro maioribus suis trucidatis: tum pro cisternis feda sanguinis incursione pollutis. Duobus itaque damnis una die affecti sunt: duplicesque lacrimas profundere meruerunt. Angustiabat illos quod inopinabiliter Franci potiti sunt tropheo: contristabat eos cisternarum suarum quas magnipendebant sanguinolenta fedatio. Exterriti sunt igitur usque ad defectionem Tripolitani, et sine obsidione obsessi, ulterius non audebant ciuitatis portam egredi. Tripolitanorum finitimi eisdem percellabantur infortuniis. Franci gratulabanda potiti uictoria: ymnizantes Deo reuersi sunt ad suos. ¹ Altera uero die milites de exercitu equitauerunt ultra uallem de Sem² depredatum terram: et inuentis bobus et asinis, ouibus et camelis, quorum fuit numerus fere ad tria milia, tanta honusti preda cum gaudio remearunt ad sua castra. Sederunt igitur ad castellum Arche, nam nimis erat inexpugnabile, tribus mensibus et una die.³ Celebrauerunt etiam ibi Pascha Domini iv^o idus Aprilis. Naues enim Christianorum ad quendam applicuerant portum⁴ satis tutum, et castello uicinum, quæ suppeditauerant castrensibus frumentum et uinum, caseum et oleum, fabam et lardum, et totius ubertatis mercatum. Frequenter etiam regionem opulentam depredatum egrediebantur, quoniam suo nullatenus uoto fraudabantur: ob id letiores reuertebantur, iterumque ad discurrendum uehementius incitabantur. Multi etiam Christianorum ibi precepti sunt: quoniam Sarracenorum gladii non semper obtusi fuerunt, nec eorum militia semper fuit ociosa: neque manus inualida. Occiderunt ergo Anselmum de Ribboth-monte⁵ et Guillelmum Picardum⁶ uiros alti sanguinis, gnarosque rei militaris: quorum preclara facinora, euidenter comperta sunt in illa Christi militia. Et plures alii cecidere: quorum nomina Deus contineat in memoriali uitæ suæ.⁷

iii. 592

Tripolitanus autem rex per internuncios sepe Christianorum duces alloquebatur, et omnimodis eorum animos peremptare nitentur ut datis eis muneribus secum paciscerentur, castrum dimitterent, pactasque pecunias reciperent. Christiani de Christianitate

¹ 'Altera uero die . . . relinquere formidabat' follows BD iv. v, pp. 93-4 very closely; cf. *GF* xxxv, p. 85.

² Probably al-Biqa.

³ One day less than three months, according to *GF* (cf. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 227-8).

⁴ Both English and Genoese ships had moved south from Saint-Symeon to Tortosa to give support to the army; Raymond of Agiles also speaks of Venetian and Greek ships (*RHC Occ.* iii. 276).

⁵ Anselm was lord of Ribemont near Saint-Quentin; his letters to Manasses, archbishop of Rheims, are a valuable source for the siege of Antioch (Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, nos. viii, xv (pp. 144, 156)).

red and the cisterns which were in the heart of the city and were fed by the river became contaminated with blood. The people of Tripoli therefore suffered great distress, both for the slaughter of their leading citizens and for the pollution of their cisterns by the contamination of blood. They suffered two blows in one day and therefore had double cause to weep. They were in despair because, contrary to their expectations, the Franks had won a victory; they were distressed at the pollution by blood of their cisterns, which they prized greatly. So the people of Tripoli were terrified to the point of despair; besieged without investment they dared not venture outside the city gate again. Their neighbours shared in their misfortunes. The Franks had won a welcome victory and returned to their own army singing God's praises. ¹ Another day some knights rode out from the army to raid the land beyond the valley of Sem² and, finding oxen and asses, sheep and camels, to the number of some three thousand, they returned delighted to their camp with all this booty. So they encamped before the castle of 'Arqah, which was very strongly fortified, for three months and one day.³ They celebrated the Easter festival there on 10 April. Meanwhile ships belonging to the Christians anchored in a port⁴ which was reasonably safe and near to the fortress, and supplied the army with corn and wine, cheese and oil, beans and butter, and an abundance of all kinds of provisions. They also made frequent sorties to pillage the fertile region, and, since they were never disappointed in their hopes and returned with reason for satisfaction, they were always eager to go out on fresh raids. But many Christians lost their lives there, for the swords of the Saracens were not blunt, neither was their army idle nor their arm weak. They killed Anselm of Ribemont⁵ and William the Picard,⁶ who were men of ancient lineage and experienced knights, and had distinguished themselves conspicuously in that army of Christ. Many others fell too, whose names may God preserve in the book of life.⁷

The king of Tripoli had often sent envoys with messages to the Christian leaders and had tried by all means to persuade them to receive his gifts and make peace with him, to abandon the siege and accept subsidies by treaty. The Christians proposed that he

⁶ Nothing else is known of William the Picard; cf. Hagenmeyer, *AGF*, p. 436 n. 25.

⁷ Cf. Rev. iii. 5.

illi proponebant' nec aliter a suo diuelli proposito poterant. Ille uero Christianitati nimium recalitrabat' patrumque leges et atuatorum consuetudines relinquere formidabat.

iii. 593 ¹Tempore procedente nouæ fruges exalbuerant. Tractus enim ille terrarum maioribus quam citramontanus feruoribus uaporat, ideoque properantior properantiores estas messes maturat. Martio mediante fabæ colligebantur nouellæ. Idus Aprilis frumenta secabantur' et uindemiarum redibat autumnus.

Dux igitur Godefridus et comes Normannus, Flandrensis et Tolosanus, et Tancredus de uia peragenda locuti sunt' quia iam instabat immo pene transibat temporis opportunitas. Dimisso igitur quod diu obsederant castello Tripolim uentum est' et fedus cum Tripolitanis firmatum est. Rex siquidem Tripolis xv milia bizanteorum et xv magni precii equos illis dedit' et ccc peregrinos quos diu tenuerat captiuos reddidit. Denique sub optentu pacis mercatum eis prestitit, unde uniuersi refecti sunt' et firmiter eis pepigit, quod si bellum quod tunc eis Babilonicus admiralius preparabat, aliquando uincere possent, ipse Christianus efficeretur, et de cetero terram suam in eorum fidelitate retineret.

Itaque Maio mediante ab urbe discesserunt, et tota die per artum et arduum inuiumque iter iuerunt, seroque ad castrum Betheren peruenerunt. Deinde Zebari ciuitati sitæ in littoribus maritimis appropinquauerunt. Ibi propter aquarum penuriam' perpessi sunt immoderatam sitis angustiam, qua nimis defecti ad Braim fluuium cursim properauerunt' ubi homines et iumenta iii. 594 potu recreati sunt. Die uero dominicæ Ascensionis² commeare per angustam uiam illos oportuit. Ibi discursum gentilium toto die metuebant' nec tamen ab eundo uacabant. Signiferi et milites armati precedebant' et toti exercitui ab insidiatoribus precauebant. ³Subsequebantur sarcinarum prouisores' et clitellariorum sulleuatores. Pone properabat ordo militaris' et omnes omnium aderant necessitatibus. Sic cotidie sarcinarii mediastini properabant' et imbellium eis turmarum greges adherebant. Bucinæ audiebantur' et gradatim ne debiliores deficerent in uia pergebatur. Vicissim

¹ 'Tempore procedente . . . ab insidiatoribus precauebant' follows BD iv. vi-vii, pp. 94-5 very closely; cf. *GF* xxxv-xxxvi, pp. 85-6.

² 19 May 1099.

³ 'Subsequebantur sarcinarum prouisores . . . utilius disciplina' is taken very nearly verbatim from BD iv. vii, p. 95; the details are not in *GF*.

should be converted to Christianity and would not be turned from their enterprise on any other terms. He however was utterly opposed to Christianity and was afraid of abandoning the laws of his fathers and the customs of his ancestors.

¹As time passed the new harvests ripened. For that region experiences much greater heat than the land north of the mountains, and earlier summer ripens the harvests sooner. New beans are harvested in the middle of March; the corn is cut on 13 April, and the autumnal season of the vintage is earlier.

Consequently Duke Godfrey, the counts of Normandy, Flanders, and Toulouse, and Tancred discussed with each other the need for resuming the march, since the time was ripe for this and it would soon be too late. So, abandoning the fortress they had besieged so long, they advanced to Tripoli and made a treaty with the citizens. The king of Tripoli gave them fifteen thousand bezants and fifteen horses of great value, and handed over to them three hundred pilgrims whom he had held captive for a long time. Finally by the treaty of peace he allowed them to purchase supplies, so that all were provisioned and he took a solemn oath that, if they could at any time defeat the emir of Cairo in the battle he was preparing to fight against them, he would become a Christian and would hold his land by fealty from them thereafter.

So in the middle of May they set out from the city and travelled all day by a narrow and difficult and almost impassable road, reaching the fortress of al-Batrun in the evening. From there they advanced to Jubail, a city standing on the sea coast. There they suffered such terrible thirst because of the shortage of water that they hurried on, exhausted, to the river an-Nahr al-Auwali, where men and beasts drank and were refreshed. On Ascension Day² they had to travel through a narrow pass, where they feared a pagan ambush all day long and never halted in the march. Standard-bearers and knights in armour went ahead, and protected the whole army by looking out for ambushes. ³Next came the overseers of the baggage-train and the drivers of the beasts of burden. Last the main body of knights rode rapidly and all attended to each other's needs. Thus each day the servants in charge of the pack-beasts hurried along and the crowd of non-combatants was mingled with them. The war-trumpets sounded and they advanced in an orderly way, so that the weak should not be left behind on the road. They took turns to watch at night, and

excubabant noctibus, et ubi maior ingruebat metus: ibi vigilantior preparabatur excubitus. Nichil enim inconsultum: nichil admitterebant inordinatum. Indisciplinati castigabantur, inscii erudiebantur, rebelles obiurgabantur, incontinentes de lecacitate sua redarguebantur, et omnes in commune ad elemosinam incitabantur. Omnes etiam frugalitati et pudiciæ studebant, et ut ita dixerim quædam scola disciplinæ moralis in castris erat. Is erat modus et hæc erat forma in Ierusalem ambulantium. Igitur dum hunc disciplinæ rigorem tenuerunt: et affectu karitatiuo redoundauerunt: euidenter Deus inter eos conuersatus est: et per eos bella sua bellatus est. Hæc iccirco dixerimus quatinus indisciplinatorum illorum qui huic expeditioni gloriosæ superciliosi successerunt: illos extollentes uitam et uiam redarguerimus. Nichil enim est inter homines utilius disciplina.

iii. 595 ¹Denique montaneis in quibus hostes timebantur sine hoste transcensis, secus mare quattuor transierunt ciuitates, Baruch, et Sareptam² quam uulgo vocant Sagittam, et Tirum quæ Sor nuncupatur: et Acharon³ quæ Acra dicitur, et inde castellum quod Caifas appellatur. Exinde hospitandi gratia iuxta Cesaream uenerunt: ubi die Pentecostes iv^o idus Iunii⁴ quieuerunt. Deinde Diospolim⁵ quæ Ramatha uel Arimathia⁶ seu Ramula uocatur uenerunt, ibique uia fatigati substituerunt: et ciues eius præ timore peregrinorum fuga elapsi sunt. Illic olim episcopali honore mater æcclesia gaudebat, sed nunc uiduata dignitate presulis admodum mesta gemebat: quia locus ille ceruicositati Saracenorū inglorius subiacebat. Porro Christiani prefatæ urbi pontificem restituerunt,⁷ eique decimas facultatum suarum optulerunt: quibus potuisset collatis dapsilitatibus uiuere, et æcclesiam diutius desolatam reficere. Ibi felix agonista Georgius insigniter certauerat, martirique sui cursum nobiliter expleuerat, cuius basilica iuxta ciuitatulam emicat, ubi preciosum eiusdem athletæ corpus quieuerat. Hunc quem Christiani uiderant in bello Antiocheno preambulū et precursorem et contra gentem erroneam ualidum propugnatores: uolebant etiam promereri

iii. 596

¹ 'Denique montaneis . . . Ramulæ constituerunt' is recast and adapted from BD iv. viii, pp. 95-6, with the addition of some details; cf. *GF* xxxvi, pp. 86-7.

² The variant names, Sarepta, Tyre, and Acharon are provided by Orderic. Sarepta (cf. Luke iv. 26), which was a city just south of Sidon, is an error for Sidon.

³ Cf. Judges i. 31, where the form of the name is Accho. Orderic's spelling does not occur in the Bible.

⁴ Correctly 29 May: 'idus' is a mistake for 'kalendas', as in BD.

⁵ Diospolis was the ancient name of Lydda, which Orderic here confuses with Ramla. BD gives the name 'Ramula' only.

⁶ Arimathea is a different place, north of Ramla.

wherever the danger seemed greatest the keenest watch was kept. Nothing was neglected; nothing disorderly was allowed. The undisciplined were punished, the ignorant instructed, the insubordinate reprovèd, the lecherous rebuked for their wantonness, and all alike urged to give alms. All practised frugality and chastity and there was, as one might say, a school of moral discipline in the camp. This was the way, this the rule of life of the pilgrims on the way to Jerusalem. So as long as they preserved this strict discipline and were abounding in charity it was manifest that God worked through them and fought his battles with their hands. I have spoken thus so that, by praising them, I might reprove the life and conduct of those undisciplined men who arrogantly followed in the wake of this glorious enterprise. Nothing is more valuable than discipline in holding men together.

¹At length, when they had crossed the mountains where they were in terror of their enemies without meeting an enemy, they travelled through four cities on the sea coast: Beirut and Sarepta,² which is commonly called Saida, and Tyre which is called Sur, and Acharon³ which is called Acre, and from there to the fortress named Haifa. From there they advanced towards Caesarea in order to pitch camp, and there they rested on Whit Sunday, 10 June.⁴ Then to Diospolis,⁵ which is called Ramatha or Arimathea⁶ or Ramla, and there, exhausted by the journey, they halted; its citizens fled away for fear of the pilgrims. There formerly the mother church had enjoyed episcopal status but now, widowed, it mourned its lost episcopal dignity, because the place was wretchedly subjected to the yoke of the Saracens. The Christians therefore restored a bishop in the town⁷ and gave him tithes of their resources, so that he might live of their bounty and restore the church after its long persecution. There the blessed champion George⁸ had shown his prowess and had nobly closed his life by martyrdom; his church, where his precious body lies buried, is honoured near the little city. When, during the battle of Antioch, the Christians had seen this saint as their guide and forerunner and true champion in the battle against a people sunk in error, they had chosen to

⁷ The bishop appointed was a Norman from the diocese of Rouen who, according to William of Tyre, was made bishop of Lydda and Ramla (*RHC Occ.* i. 313).

⁸ Orderic continues the confusion of Ramla with Lydda, where St. George was believed to have been martyred. See H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909), pp. 45-7.

semper socium et defensorem. Basilicam eius reuerenter honorauerunt¹ et episcopum ut diximus Ramulæ constituerunt.

¹Diuinitus accensi diluculo egressi sunt, signoque dato uiam in Ierusalem accelerantes ingressi sunt, et sicut diu desiderauerant ea die ad ciuitatem usque peruenerunt. Ierusalem enim a Ramula quasi xxiv miliaris distat.

Postquam ad locum uentum est unde turritam Ierusalem uidere potuerunt, ex ingenti gaudio plorauerunt, substiterunt, Deum adorauerunt, et flexo poplite sanctam terram deosculati sunt. Omnes nudis pedibus ambularent² nisi metus eos hostilis armatos incedere preciperet. Ibant et flebant,² et qui orandi gratia conuenerant, pugnaturi prius pro peris arma deferebant.

15

iii. 597 ³Obsederunt viii^o idus Iunii Ierusalem Christiani³ non tanquam nouercam priuigni, sed quasi matrem filii. Amici eam et filii circumdederunt, ut aduenas et adulterinos coangustarent³ non ut liberam captiuarent, sed ut captiuam liberarent. Rodbertus dux Normannorum obsedit Ierusalem a septentrionali parte, iuxta æcclesiam beati Stephani protomartiris, ubi lapidatus a Iudeis obdormiuit in Domino.⁴ Hunc iuxta comes Flandrensis sua collocauit tentoria. Ab occidente obsederunt eam Godefredus dux et Tancredus. A meridie Raimundus comes obsedit eam in Montem Syon⁵ circa æcclesiam beatæ Dei genitricis Mariæ, ubi Dominus Ihesus cum suis cenauit discipulis. Ierusalem itaque a filiis suis obsessa obclaudubatur⁶ intus autem a populis manzerinis prophanabatur.

iii. 598 ⁵Tunc Hugo Budnellus filius Rodberti de^a Ialgeio ad ducem Normannorum optime armis instructus accessit⁵ satelliticiumque suum ei utpote naturali domino fideliter optulit, et ab eo benigniter susceptus obsidentes Heliam manu consilioque strenue adiuuit. Hic enim diu ante in Normannia Mabiliam comitissam⁶ frustatim obtruncauerat⁶ quia eadem paternam hæreditatem uiolenter ipsi

^a Budnellus filius Roberti de *replaces de in Orderic's hand*

¹ 'Diuinitus accensi . . . arma deferebant' greatly abbreviates BD iv. ix, pp. 96-7. Only the fact of the arrival of the crusaders at Jerusalem is taken by BD from *GF* (p. 87).

² Cf. Psalm cxxv (cxxvi). 6.

³ 'Obsederunt . . . manzerinis prophanabatur' closely follows BD iv. ix-x, p. 97; cf. *GF* xxxvii, p. 87.

⁴ Cf. Acts vii. 56-9.

⁵ 'Tunc Hugo Budnellus . . . suffragari satagebat' is one of Orderic's independent passages.

⁶ For the murder of Mabel of Bellême by Hugh Bunel see above, iii. 134-6;

honour him always as their companion and defender. So they showed respect and reverence for his church and, as we have said, established a bishop at Ramla.

¹Divinely inspired by zeal, they left the city at dawn and, when the signal had been given, set out at a great pace along the road to Jerusalem, reaching the city as they had so long desired to do that same day. Jerusalem is some twenty-four miles distant from Ramla.

When they reached the place from which they could see Jerusalem with its towers they halted, weeping for joy, and worshipped God, falling on their knees and kissing the holy ground. All would have gone barefoot, had not fear of the enemy forced them to march fully armed. They went forth weeping,² and those who had come together to pray, having first to join battle, carried weapons in place of srips.

15

³The Christians invested Jerusalem on 6 June, not as stepsons would a stepmother, but as sons would a mother. As friends and sons they surrounded her, so that they could coerce the strangers and deceivers; not to deprive her of freedom, but to free her from captivity. Robert, duke of Normandy, besieged Jerusalem on the north side, next to the church of St. Stephen the first martyr, where he was stoned by the Jews and fell asleep in the Lord.⁴ Next to him the count of Flanders pitched his tents. Duke Godfrey and Tancred besieged the city from the west. Count Raymond besieged it from the south, on Mount Zion, near the church of the blessed Mary the Mother of God, where the Lord Jesus shared the Last Supper with his disciples. So Jerusalem was cut off and besieged by her sons, while inside she was violated by bastard peoples.

⁵At that time Hugh Bunel, son of Robert of La Roche Mabile, a most experienced soldier, came to the duke of Normandy and faithfully offered him his service as his natural lord; being well received by the duke he gave great assistance to the men besieging Jerusalem both by his counsel and in battle. Long before in Normandy this man had hacked off the head of the Countess Mabel,⁶ because she had taken away his paternal inheritance by

Mabel was murdered in December 1077, and if Hugh's wanderings occupied two years he could have spent twenty years among the Saracens by 1099.

abstulerat. Vnde prefatus miles cum fratribus suis Radulfo, Ricardo et Goisleno^a pro ingenti facinore peracto in Apuliam deinde in Siciliam confugit¹ ac postmodum in Greciam ad Alexium imperatorem secessit, sed nusquam tutus diu permanere potuit. Guillelmus enim nothus rex Anglorum cum tota progenie predictæ mulieris per totum orbem missis exploratoribus eum inuestigabat, et spiculatoribus honores et munera promittebat² qui exulantem homicidam interimerent, ubicumque terrarum inuenirent. Probus igitur Hugo tanti regis ualidas manus et longa brachia metuens totam latinitatem reliquit³ et baptizatorum gregem formidans inter allophilos diutius exulauit, et per xx annos ritus eorum atque locutionem edidicit. Susceptus ergo a Normannico duce multum suis profuit, et mores ethnicos ac tergiuersationes subdolas et

iii. 599

fraudes quibus contra fideles callent enucleauit. Cosan¹ etiam nobilis heros et potens de Turcorum prosapia Christianos ultro adiit, multisque modis ad capiendam urbem eos adiuuit. In Christum enim fideliter credebatur, et sacro baptisate regenerari peroptabat² ideoque nostratibus ut amicis et fratribus ad optinendum decus Palestinæ et metropolim Dauitici regni summopere suffragari satagebat. ²Die tertia obsidionis milites ex Christianis exierunt castra, Raimundus scilicet Piletus et Raimundus de Taurina cum aliis pluribus circumspiciendi uel depredandi causa³ et inuentos Arabes ducentos inuaserunt, superauerunt, et fugauerunt, multos autem occiderunt, ibique xxx equos apprehenderunt. His ita gestis alacres ad suos reuersi sunt.

Feria secunda³ constanter impetierunt ciuitatem, et tunc ut putabant reuera preualuissent, si scalas sufficienter preparassent. Strauerunt tamen murum exteriorem⁴ et scalam unam erectam admouerunt ad interiorem. Super illam uero uicissim ascendebant Christiani milites⁵ et comminus præliabantur in muro cum Sarracenis, et eos percutiebant ensibus et lanceis. In illa congressione multi ex utroque populo preempti sunt⁶ plures tamen ex gentibus perierunt. Audito retrahendi lituo Christiani ab impetu illo tandem destiterunt⁷ et ad castra remearunt. Victualia uero quæ secum detulerant⁸ interim defecerant. Nec iam inueniebatur panis ad emendum⁹ nec ire poterant frumentatum. Regio illa

iii. 600

^a *The names of Hugh's brothers are added in the margin in Orderic's hand*

¹ Cosan is not mentioned in any other source.

² 'Die tertia . . . sex miliaria' follows BD IV. x, pp. 97-8 very closely; cf. *GF* xxxvii, pp. 87-8.

³ 13 June 1099.

force. Because of the terrible crime he had committed the knight Hugh fled with his brothers Ralph, Richard, and Joscelin to Apulia and from there to Sicily; subsequently he withdrew to the Emperor Alexius in Greece, but he was never able to remain safely for long in any place. For William the Bastard, king of England, and all Mabel's children sent out emissaries all over the world to seek him out, and promised rewards and gifts to any spies who could kill the exiled assassin in whatever land they might find him. So the brave Hugh, fearing the king's strong hand and long arm, left the Latin world, and, distrusting the Christian peoples, lived long in exile among the Saracens. For twenty years he studied their customs and language. Therefore when he was received by the duke of Normandy he was able to do his countrymen great service, by explaining to them the habits of the pagans and their deceitful stratagems and the tricks that they practised against the faithful.

Cosan,¹ a noble and powerful lord of Turkish stock, also voluntarily came over to the Christians and helped them in many ways to take the city. He was a true believer in Christ, with a great desire to be reborn by holy baptism, and so he did his best to help our men, as his friends and brothers, to win the capital city of King David, which is the glory of Palestine. ²On the third day of the siege some knights set out from the Christian camp, namely Raymond Pilet and Raymond of Turenne and many others, to spy out the land and bring back booty. Finding two hundred Arabs, they attacked and conquered them, killing many and putting the rest to flight, and seized thirty horses. After this exploit they returned to their companions in high spirits.

On the Monday³ they pressed hard upon the city and would certainly have won the day, as many believe, if they had had a sufficient number of scaling-ladders ready. They did indeed destroy the outer wall, and placed one ladder which was ready against the inner wall. The Christian knights climbed up this one after the other and fought hand to hand on the wall with the Saracens, dealing them blows with swords and lances. In that assault many were killed on both sides, but the losses of the infidels were heavier. But at length, when the trumpet was heard sounding the retreat, the Christians withdrew from the attack and returned to their camp. Meanwhile the supplies of food, which they had brought with them, became exhausted. No bread could

nullatenus est irrigua, immo torrida et perhorrida, ideoque iumentis et animalibus minus opportuna, utpote pascuis inopima. Terra quoque illa non est nemorosa¹ et iccirco minus fructifera. Palmam tantum alit et oliuam, patitur autem et uineam. Iordanis ab Ierusalem stadiis fere xxx ut putant seiungitur. Lacus habet sed remotos. Ciuitas habet suas cisternas unde alitur. Ad radices montis Syon Siloe fons est² sed uix paucos poterat sustentare homines. Iuuabat tamen et modica magnis expensis aqua comparabatur. Equos potum ducebant non sine pauore nimio per sex miliaria.

¹Interim nunciatum est in castris naues Christianorum onerarias² in portu Iaphi, quam antiquo uocabulo Ioppe dictam putamus applicuisse. Quod ualde omnibus complacuit castrensibus. Consiliati sunt principes quomodo euntes et redeuntes tutos facerent³ qui e nauibus necessaria deueherent. Ioppe siquidem a Ramula quasi octo distat miliaris. Porro Ascalonitæ uel indigenæ qui uagabantur in montaneis uel in excisis pruruptorum cuniculis, uiatores aliquotiens incursitabant et obruncabant. Motus iste uel rumor negotiatorum commeatus disturbabant. Ad hoc exequendum summo diluculo de exercitu Tolosani Raimundus Piletus et Achardus de Montmerlo³ et Guillelmus de Sabra⁴ et c milites exierunt, et quidam pedites ad mare processerunt. Sua uero confisi audacia ad portum militauerunt, sed ab inuicem diuisi sunt. Incertum habemus an industria an uiæ hoc factum sit ignorantia. Triginta nempe milites qui aliam uiam gradientes a sociis seiuncti sunt⁴ centum Arabes, Turcos et Sarracenos de exercitu Admirauisi inuenerunt, et audacter aggressi sunt⁵ et in prælium conuenerunt. Illi uero e regione pertinaciter restiterunt, confisque multitudine sua multi paucos circumcinxerunt. Sarracenis enim is modus est pugnandi. Iam Christianos incluserant, iam de mortibus eorum garrientes confidebant⁶ cum nuncius Raimundum Piletum uociferans sic exiuit, 'Nisi citissimus ad commilitones tuos euolaueris, auxilium prebiturus eis⁷ omnes pro certo amisisti. Iam enim ab inimicis

¹ 'Interim nunciatum est . . . quæcumque Christianis opparabantur' (p. 162) follows BD IV. xi, pp. 98-9 very closely; cf *GF* xxxvii, pp. 88-9.

² Six ships, said by Raymond of Agiles and William of Tyre to be Genoese, arrived in Jaffa on 17 June (Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 241-2; *RHC Occ.* i. 336-8; iii. 294-5).

³ Archard of Montmerle was a Burgundian lord, who pledged his patrimony to Cluny to raise money for his expedition; his exploits became legendary (cf. A. Bernard and A. Bruel, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny* (Paris, 1876-1903), v. 51-3; Gaston Paris in *Romania*, xvii (1888), 527-8).

⁴ William, lord of Sabran (Gard).

be found for sale and they could not go out to forage. The country round about was without water-supplies, being parched and inhospitable, utterly unsuitable for horses and cattle since it was without pastures. Moreover the land is not wooded and it therefore bears little fruit. It produces only palms and olives and a few vines. The river Jordan is thought to be about thirty stades away from Jerusalem. It has lakes, but they are some distance away. The city has its own cisterns to provide a water-supply. The source of the Siloah is at the foot of Mount Zion, but it can support only a small number of men. However it was of some use, and a little water was bought at great cost. They led horses for six miles to water in very great fear.

¹Meanwhile news arrived in the camp that Christian merchant ships² had anchored in the port of Jaffa, whose ancient name we believe to have been Joppa. This news caused great satisfaction to the army. The leaders consulted together to decide how best to provide a safe passage for those going to and from the ships carrying supplies. Joppa is some eight miles distant from Ramla, and the people of Ascalon and the natives who wandered through the mountains or lurked in caves cut out in the rocks sometimes attacked travellers and cut them to pieces. Their movements, or the stories of them, worried the company of merchants. To accomplish this task Raymond Pilet, Achard of Montmerle,³ and William of Sabran,⁴ with a hundred knights and a certain number of foot-soldiers, set out at daybreak from the army of the count of Toulouse towards the sea. Trusting in their courage, they were fighting their way to the port, but one group became separated from the rest. I am not certain whether this was done deliberately or through ignorance of the route. Certainly thirty knights, who had split off from their companions, were taking another road when they fell in with a hundred Arabs, Turks, and Saracens from the army of the emir, whom they boldly challenged and engaged in battle. The men of the region put up a determined resistance, and, relying on their numbers, surrounded the small band. This indeed is the Saracens' method of fighting. They had already surrounded the Christians and were boasting confidently of how they would kill them all, when a messenger reached Raymond Pilet, shouting out these words, 'Unless you come swift as the wind to bring help to your companions it will be all over with them. They are surrounded by enemies at this moment, but up

circumuallati sunt' adhuc tamen utcumque se defendunt.' His auditis habenas laxant, calcaribus cornipedes urgunt, et dicto citius omnes aduolant, et scutis pectoribus oppositis turbas contis depellunt, oppositos dissiciunt. Vnusquisque suum sternit humi. Ex improviso ignari^a supersunt' et rem totam gladiis committunt, Deoque iuuante preualuerunt. Ethnici duo rursus agmina statuere, putantes se posse resistere' nec quippiam profecere. Franci denuo ferociter eos inuaserunt, suosque ab impetu illo sic liberauerunt' excepto quod Achardum militem audacissimum et aliquot ex peditibus ibi amiserunt. Fugientes Turcos fere ad quattuor miliaria insecuti sunt' et plures cuspidibus acutis confoderunt. Centum etiam et tres equos retinuerunt et unum hominem uiuum, qui coactus enarrauit per ordinem' quæcumque Christianis opparabantur.

¹In obsidione interim sitis uehemens grassabatur' et perurgebat Christianos. Ducentibus equos ad aquatum per sex miliaria gentiles insidiabantur, et ex locorum angustiis grauius eos aduersabantur. Cedron et alii torrentes enormi estu aruerant. Panis ordeiceus in castris erat preciosus. Indigetes in cauernis uel speluncis delitescentes commeatus omnes abdicauerant.

Designati principes ad consilium conuenerunt, et quid eis in tantis calamitatibus agitandum foret elocuti sunt. Dixerunt ergo, 'Angustiæ sunt undique. Panis deficit, aqua deest. Nos ipsi grauius obsidemur' dum ciuitatem istam nos obsedis arbitramur. Extra castra uix exire audemus, et tunc uacui redimus. Ex longa mora penuriam hanc contraximus, et nisi precauimus' grauiorem contrahemus. Armis et brachio sine machinis hanc urbem expugnare nequimus. Obstant muri et propugnacula et tures' obstant rebelles qui intrinsecus redundant defensores.

iii. 603 Quid ergo censetis? Aggrediamur aliquid quod nobis omnibus prosit, quod inclusis ciuibus obsit. Ligneas facere machinas satagamus' quibus mœnia uel tures impugnemus. Tigna de domibus quia terra hæc non est arborifera queramus, uel trabes de æcclesiis absportemus, machinasque compactas erigamus, et hanc urbem totis aggrediamur nisibus. Alioquin tempus incassum consumimus.'

^a Possibly an error for ignaris as in *BD*

¹ 'In obsidione . . . operi fortiter inhauerunt' (p. 164) slightly abbreviates *BD* iv. xii, pp. 99-100; cf. *GF* xxxvii-xxxviii, pp. 89-91, where the order of events is different.

to now have managed to defend themselves.' On hearing this they all loosened their reins, spurred on their steeds, and galloped swifter than words; holding their shields to their breasts they charged the dense ranks with their lances and scattered the enemy, each man striking down his opponent. Unsuspected and appearing suddenly, they put their trust in their weapons and with God's help prevailed. The heathen again formed two bands, believing that they could still resist, but gained no advantage. The Franks again charged them fiercely and so released their companions from the fray, except that the valiant knight Achard and a certain number of the foot-soldiers lost their lives. They pursued the Turks in flight for a distance of four miles and struck down many with their sharp spears. They also captured a hundred and three horses and kept one man alive, who was forced to give a detailed account of all the preparations being made against the Christians.

¹Meanwhile as the siege continued the shortage of water grew worse, and the Christians were parched with thirst. The pagans laid ambushes for the men leading the horses for six miles to water and caused them serious losses in the narrow defiles. Cedron and the other streams dried up in the great heat. Barley bread was a luxury in the camp. The native settlers who lay hidden in caves and lairs intercepted all convoys.

The chosen leaders met together in council and discussed what should be done in the midst of so many trials. They said, 'Hardship abounds. Bread is running out, the water-supply is failing. In fact we ourselves are enduring a siege, while we think we are besieging this city. We scarcely dare to venture out of the camp and even when we do return empty-handed. We have brought this scarcity upon ourselves through the long delay, and unless we take care it will become still worse. We cannot possibly capture this city with only our hands and weapons, without siege-engines. We are confronted by walls and battlements and towers, and by inexhaustible numbers of warlike defenders inside them. What do you think? Let us embark on a plan that will relieve us all and threaten the besieged citizens. Let us set about making wooden siege-engines with which to attack the walls and towers. Let us collect timber from the houses, and bring beams from the churches since trees cannot grow in this land, so that we may build strong siege-engines and attack this city with all our might. Otherwise we waste our time to no purpose.'

Tandem fideles athletæ ligna procul a loco distantia inuenerunt: quæ cum grandi labore attulerunt. Artifices lignarii de toto exercitu acciti sunt: quorum alii lignorum inconcinnam superficiem componunt, alii dolant: alii terebrant, alii lignis ligna copulant. Dux Godefredus unam de suis facultatibus constituebat, alteram comes Tolasanus de suis sumptibus statui mandauerat. Nec minus Agareni de urbe munienda sollicitabantur. Nocte turribus inaltandis insistebant, et urbi defensandæ irrequieti uocabant.

Quodam sabbato¹ nocte intempesta ducis Godefredi machinam transtulerunt, et sole exorto ab oriente erexerunt, et per tres dies tota sedulitate preparauerunt et coaptauerunt. Comes autem a meridie suam prope murum conduxit machinam quam ligneum possumus uocitare castrum. Quodam uero profundum precipitium iii. 604 impediēbat: ne muro coniungeretur. Talis enim machina nequit ad decliua conduci, nec contra montuosa dirigi, sed semper æquam expectat planiciem ut possit conduci. Precones itaque per exercitum clamauerunt: ut quicumque in foueam illam tres lapides iaceret, iactis lapidibus unum denarium haberet. Omnes igitur quibus moræ tediousæ fuerunt: incepto operi fortiter inhiauerunt.

²Pontifices et presbiteri populares allocuti sunt: et de morte Christi et de loco Passionis eius quem digito coram demonstrabant sermonem optimum fecerunt, et de celesti Ierusalem cuius figuram terrestris portendit sancte et eloquenter affati sunt. ³Omnes ergo laici armis accincti unanimiter urbem impetebant, et quarta quintaque feria⁴ nocte et die ciuitati insistebant. Deinde premissis orationibus et ieiuniis, singultibus et elemosinis, sacri uiatici communionē muniti sexta feria idus Iulii ciuitatem summo diluculo aggressi sunt: nec tunc preualere potuerunt. Qui enim in turribus uel in mœnibus erant, sibi inuicem opitulabantur: et ignem et lapides continuo iaculabantur. Tolosanus fouea completa, tribus enim diebus et noctibus consummauerant, castrum conduxit

¹ 9 July 1099.

At length the champions of the faith found wood a considerable distance off, which they brought back with great difficulty. Skilled carpenters were assembled from the whole army; some of them shaped the rough surface of the wood, others hewed, others bored holes and others fitted the planks together. Duke Godfrey made one siege-tower with his resources, and the count of Toulouse ordered another to be made at his expense. The Saracens were no less active in fortifying the city. They worked at night to raise the height of the towers, and toiled without pause to improve the defences of the city.

¹One Saturday in the dead of night the Christians transported Duke Godfrey's siege-tower and at sunrise set it up on the east side of the city. For three days they worked hard at preparing it and fitting it out. Count Raymond also brought up his machine towards the wall from the south; it might be called a wooden castle. However a deep pit prevented it from being placed against the wall. For a machine of this kind cannot be conveyed down slopes or up steep inclines, but always needs level ground if it is to be pulled along. So the heralds proclaimed through the army that any man who threw three stones into the pit should receive a penny for his labour, and all who were tired of the delays strenuously lent a hand to the work.

²The bishops and priests addressed the people and preached fine sermons about the death of Christ and the place of his Passion, which they pointed out with their fingers just before them; they spoke piously and eloquently about the heavenly Jerusalem, which is prefigured by the earthly city. ³All the laymen, girding on their armour, attacked the city in a body and pressed relentlessly against it day and night all Wednesday and Thursday.⁴ Then, after offering prayers with fasting and tears and alms-giving and being strengthened by partaking of the holy viaticum, they assaulted the city on Friday, 15 July, at daybreak. Even then they could achieve nothing. The defenders of the towers and walls gave support to one another and kept up a ceaseless hail of Greek fire and stones. The count of Toulouse, who had spent three days and nights in filling up the pit, brought his siege-tower up against

² 'Pontifices . . . eloquenter affati sunt' very briefly summarizes BD iv. xiii; cf. *GF* xxxviii, p. 90.

³ 'Omnes ergo laici . . . suisque moras succensebat' is based on BD iv. xiv pp. 101-2; cf. *GF* xxxviii, p. 90.

⁴ 13-14 July.

ad murum¹ suisque moras succensebat, ¹usque ad secundam feriam, pro nimio labore quem per totam pertulerant ebdomadam.

Post matutinum laborem duce iubente, Franci paululum quieuerunt a congressione² et pagani a defensione. Guinimundus² autem admiralius et Frigolendis Perses nepos eius in arce David erant² et magistratus urbis atque primores illuc ad colloquium conuocauerant. Interea mulieres urbanæ super planiciem domorum iuxta morem Palestinorum ascenderunt, et choreas ibi statuentes cantilenam huiusmodi³ altis uocibus locutione sua cantauerunt,

Machometi Deo nostro dignas laudes pangite²
Victimasque immolate cum iocundo crumate[△]
Vt uincantur pereantque formidandi aduenæ.

Qui grassantur et tumescunt spiritu barbarico,
Nulli parcent sed resistunt orientis populo²
Inhiantesque predis nostra quas nutriuit regio.

Infelicitate pressi ad nostras delicias
Huc uenerunt spoliare uberes prouincias,
Damnant omnes nostras gentes estimantque beluas.

Cruxifixum colunt Deum abluti baptisate,
Ritus nostros, cultus, deos spernunt cum dedecore²
Sed repente inuoluentur penis et pernicie.

Fortes Turci⁴ dimicando Francos hinc repellite,
Gesta patrum antiquorum preclara recolite,
Hostes uestri fugabuntur aut peribunt hodie.

Hæc et multa his similia Turcanæ mulieres in excelso canebant, et Christicolæ stupentes diligenter auscultabant, atque a suis interpretibus quid turce dicerent sollerter ediscebant. Tunc Cono comes Alemannus,⁵ uir probus et sapiens consiliarius² qui sororem Godefredi ducis coniugem habebat, dixit, 'Domine dux audis quid istæ dicunt? Intelligisne cur ista faciunt? Feminarum

iii. 605

¹ 'usque ad secundam feriam . . . sepulchrum hodie adeamus' departs from other sources and is peculiar to Orderic, except for the statement that the emir of Jerusalem had taken refuge in the Tower of David. Orderic seems to have misinterpreted Baudry in saying that Count Raymond let his men rest until Monday; they had spent the *previous* three days in filling in the trench, were ready for the assault on Friday, 15 July, and entered the city a little later than Godfrey of Bouillon's men (Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 250-1).

² Orderic is alone in providing a name for the Fatimid emir of Jerusalem (correctly Iftikhar-ad-Daulah, meaning 'gloria imperii'), and in mentioning his nephew, who may be a fictional character.

³ If the imaginary song succeeds in expressing some of the feelings that Muslim women may have felt for the crusaders, it betrays total ignorance of Muslim beliefs.

the wall, and then allowed his men a rest¹ until the Monday because of the arduous toil they had endured all week.

After the fatigues of the morning, at the duke's command, the Franks rested a little from the assault and the pagans from the defence. Iftikhar-ad-Daulah,² the emir, and his nephew, Frigolendis the Persian, were in the tower of David, and summoned the magistrates and chief men of the city to a conference there. Meanwhile the women of the city climbed on to the roofs of their houses, after the custom of the Palestinians and, placing their choruses there, sang this cantilena³ in their own tongue with shrill voices:

Render worthy praises to Mohammed, our God;
Sacrifice victims, with joyful music,
That our terrible foes may be conquered and die.

For they boast and grow proud in their barbarous spirit,
Sparing no man, and opposing the eastern peoples,
Greedy to plunder the fruits of our kingdom.

Driven by misfortune to our delectable country
They come here to ravage our fertile provinces,
Condemning all our peoples, and rating them wolves.

Washed in baptism they worship a crucified God,
They spurn and dishonour our rites, gods, and worship,
But will swiftly be punished by vengeance and ruin.

Valiant Turks,⁴ drive back the Franks from here in battle,
Remember the great deeds of your fathers and forefathers,
This day your enemies will fly or will perish.

These songs and many like them the Turkish women sang from the roofs, and the astonished Christians listened attentively and studiously learnt through their interpreters what they were saying in Turkish. Then Conan, a German count,⁵ who was a brave man and wise counsellor and had married Duke Godfrey's sister, said, 'My lord duke, do you hear what these women are

⁴ Many of the crusaders seem to have been unaware that Jerusalem was at this date in the hands of the Fatimids of Egypt, who had recaptured it from the Turks in August 1098.

⁵ This is the second place where Orderic adds information about Conan, count of Montacute, to Baudry's narrative (cf. above, p. 110). Albert of Aix corroborates that Conan fought both in the battle of Antioch and at the siege of Jerusalem (*RHC Occ.* iv. 385, 464).

gratulabunda cohortatio, uirorum est formidolosa defectio. En præ labore et metu uiri labascunt, et feminæ insurgunt¹ et quasi ad opprobrium et dedecus bellatorum contra nos garrunt, et nos friuolis allegationibus terrere ac decipere non impune ausæ sunt. Nos e contra uirili immo cœlesti utamur consilio. In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi qui sexta feria hic passus est arma sumamus, et insigniter urbem aggredientes Domini sepulchrum hodie adeamus.¹

iii. 607 ¹Hora ergo tertia qua Dominum ante Pilatum Iudei damnauerunt² Christiani memores illius passionis tanquam recentes uires resumpserunt, et quadam noua eis superueniente audacia quasi nichil antea laborassent præliari ceperunt. Dux enim Godefredus et Eustachius frater eius fortiter præliabantur, et illos reliqui subsequebantur. Tunc Letaldus et Raimboldus Croton³ probi milites murum ascenderunt, et constanter dimicantes exclamauerunt. Ilico illos et alii subsecuti sunt. Qui uero muros illuc usque defenderant, passim diffugiebant¹ nec amplius de ciuitate tutanda procurabant. Christianorum multitudo ciuitatem ingressa fugitios persequatur¹ et nemini parcebat.

iii. 608 ⁴Armenii, Greci et Siri, qui olim in Elia Turcis subiacuerant, et in magnis pressuris Christiano cultui utcumque deseruierant¹ ut Christianos uiolenter in urbem irrupisse uiderunt¹ ad basilicam sancti Sepulchri conglobatim omnes confugerunt¹ et cum summa deuotione 'Kyrie eleison' et alias supplicationes pro temporis opportunitate clamantes exitum rei prestolati sunt. Tancredus autem cum sua cohorte uiarum ignarus Dei nutu illuc aduenit¹ et prefatos homines per orationes et religiosos eorum gestus Christicolæ esse cognouit. 'Isti' inquit 'Christiani sunt. Nemo igitur uestrum aliquomodo illis noceat. Non enim huc uenimus¹ ut cultores Christi ledamus, sed ut a seuis exactoribus eruamus.

¹ 'Hora ergo tertia . . . nemini parcebat' slightly adapts BD iv. xiv, p. 102; cf. *GF* xxxviii, pp. 90-1.

² This distorts the statement in BD, taken from *GF*, that the city was stormed at the same hour that Christ suffered on the cross (cf. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, p. 251).

³ The name of Lethold is taken from BD and *GF*. Orderic adds Raimbold Croton, of whom he had some knowledge (cf. Le Prévost, iii. 599 n. 2, iv. 287). The Blois MS. (G) of BD, which contains some interpolations, mentions Raibaudus Grato, a knight of Chartres, who climbed another ladder a little later in the assault on the city (*RHC Occ.* iv. 102 n. 8). A different version of an attempt to scale a ladder in an earlier assault by a young knight of Chartres

saying? Do you know why they act in this way? The incitement and encouragement of the women proves the terrible exhaustion of the men. See, the men are collapsing with weariness and terror, and the women stand up and cry out against us to the shame and dishonour of the warriors, daring to alarm and mislead us by their foolish allegations, for which they shall suffer. Let us however be guided by manly, or rather heavenly, counsel. Let us take up arms in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered on a Friday in this very place, and by attacking the city with resolution advance this very day to our Lord's sepulchre.¹

¹So at the third hour, the time at which the Jews condemned the Lord before Pilate,² the Christians, remembering his Passion, received, as it were, new strength, and being filled with fresh courage began to fight as though they had endured nothing before. Duke Godfrey and his brother Eustace fought most valiantly and the rest followed them. Then Lethold and Raimbold Croton,³ who were brave knights, climbed up on the wall and, as they fought resolutely, urged on the rest. Others followed in their footsteps. The men who had defended the wall up to that time fled in all directions, with no further thought of protecting the city. The multitude of Christians, entering the city, pursued the fugitives and spared $\bar{n}\bar{o}$ one.

⁴The Armenians, Greeks, and Syrians, who had previously been ruled by the Turks in Jerusalem, had continued to practise the Christian rites as best they could, in great affliction. When they saw that the Christians had broken violently into the city, they all fled together to the church of the Holy Sepulchre; there, devoutly chanting 'Kyrie eleison' and other prayers suitable to the occasion, they awaited the outcome of events. Tancred, who did not know the way, came there with his forces by God's will, and realized that these men were worshippers of Christ from their prayers and devout gestures. 'These men', he said, 'are Christians. None of you therefore should harm them in any way. We did not come here to harm the servants of Christ, but to free them from their cruel persecutors. They are our brothers and friends;

named Raimbold is given in the anonymous continuator of Tudebod (*RHC Occ.* iii. 218-19). There seems no doubt that a knight named Raimbold Croton played a heroic part in the attack on Jerusalem, though the stories differ.

⁴ The account of Ilger Bigod's acquisition of precious relics is not in BD. Orderic probably had it at second hand from Ilger, through the monk Arnold of Tilleul.

Fratres nostri sunt et amici, fideles in multis tribulationibus ut aurum in fornace hactenus probati.' Tunc insignis athleta Ilgerium Bigodum¹ principem militiæ suæ cum cc militibus illic dimisit, eumque custodem loci ne gentiles ulterius illuc intrarent constituit. Ipse uero cum reliquis cuneis ad expugnandas munitiones alias accessit, et socios per urbem discurrentes et allophilos necando laborantes adiuuit.

Interea fideles incolæ qui cum Ilgerio in æcclesia remanserant, secretius eum allocuti sunt.' et patrocinium eius habere captantes fauorabiliter eum et sodales eius ad sancta duxerunt, sepulchrum scilicet Domini aliaque sacra et quædam quæ pro timore paganorum in abditiis ipsi et antecessores eorum diu occultauerant eis ostenderunt. Ibi tunc Ilgerius inter reliqua pignora, in quodam marmoreo capitello instar sacrarii cauato sub ara, glomusculum de capillis sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ inuenit, quod idem postmodum in Gallias detulit, et per sacra episcopatum et cenobiorum loca reuerenter diuisit. Intacta nempe uirgo Mater in passione Christi Filii Dominique sui ualde doluit, et ueteri more gentis et temporis illius uestes scidit, crines traxit, et lugubres trenos pro tanti amici nece ueneranter exoluit. At uicinæ quæ aderant, religiosæ uidelicet mulieres quæ discipulatu diuino dudum adhererant' flentem superni Regis Genitricem pie sustentauerunt, et amplexantes eam pro temporis opportunitate dulciter confortauerunt. Capillos quoque tunc extractos deuote collegerunt, et caute seruauerunt' quos theologus Iohannes² aliique philochristi postmodum in tanto loco recondiderunt, quia hoc multorum saluti profuturum nouerunt. Hæc iccirco huic operi calamus noster inseruit, quia prefatus Ilgerius Ernaldo monacho consobrino suo³ apud Carnotum de sacris capillis duos dedit' quos ille Manliensi æcclesiæ⁴ ubi multæ sanationes ægrotis per illos contigerunt exhibuit. Nunc ad nostræ narrationis continuationem reuertar.

⁵Admiralius qui turri Dauid presidebat, cum primoribus urbis

¹ Ilger Bigod was probably of the family of Robert Bigod, described by Orderic in his interpolations in William of Jumièges as a young knight of the household of William Werlenc, count of Mortain (Marx, pp. 171-2). His exact kinship with Roger Bigod of Norfolk is uncertain (GEC ix. 575, note b). He is probably the same man as Ilger, Bohemond's 'magister militum', who in 1106 gave to Bec some hairs of the Virgin Mary which he claimed to have received from the Patriarch of Antioch; see Eadmer, *HN*, pp. 179-81.

² St. John the Evangelist. Cf. Le Prévost, i. 287.

³ In his interpolations in William of Jumièges (Marx, p. 172) Orderic called Robert Bigod a kinsman of Richard of Avranches, but gave no details of the family connection.

faithful up to now through many tribulations, they have been proved as gold in the furnace.' Then the noble champion left behind Ilger Bigod,¹ the commander of his knights, with two hundred knights, and appointed him guardian of the place so that the infidels could not enter it again. He himself, with the rest of his forces, went on to storm the fortifications and helped his comrades, who were scouring the city and were occupied with killing the Saracens.

Meanwhile the native Christians, who had remained in the church with Ilger, spoke secretly with him and, wishing to secure his protection, obligingly guided him and his companions to the holy places, namely the Lord's sepulchre and other sacred places; they showed them also certain things that they and their ancestors had long kept hidden in secret places out of fear of the pagans. Ilger then found there, among the other relics in a marble capital which was hollowed out under the altar to serve as a tabernacle for the Host, a little ball of the hair of Mary, the holy Mother of God. This he afterwards took to France and shared out piously between the sanctuaries of the bishoprics and monasteries. For the inviolate virgin Mother was grieved beyond expression at the passion of Christ, her son and Lord, and according to the ancient custom of her people and of that time rent her garments, tore her hair, and devoutly uttered sad lamentations at the death of her dearest one. The women who were with her, holy women who had recently become followers of the Lord, tenderly supported the weeping Mother of the heavenly King and, embracing her, comforted her gently as far as was possible. They piously collected the hairs which she had torn out and carefully preserved them; John the Divine² and other friends of Christ afterwards hid them in a safe place, knowing that this would provide for the salvation of many. I have written this account into my book because Ilger Bigod gave two of the holy hairs to his kinsman,³ the monk Arnold, at Chartres, and Arnold displayed them in the church of Maule,⁴ where many sick persons have been cured through them. Now I will continue with my narrative.

⁵The emir who commanded the tower of David surrendered in

⁴ A priory of Saint-Évroul; see above, iii. 170-206.

⁵ 'Admiralius qui turri . . . pauperioribus communicauerunt' (p. 172) is slightly abbreviated and adapted from BD iv. xiv, pp. 102-3; cf. *GF* xxxviii-xxxix, pp. 91-2.

aliisque multis quos illic secum habebat, tremefactus se comiti Raimundo reddidit, eique portam confestim aperuit. Aditum quippe huius portæ olim peregrini pecuniis suis emebant¹ quia uectigalia reddere ibi solebant. Alioquin a porta immisericorditer cohercebantur.

iii. 610 Ciues ad templum Salomonis fugientes conuenerunt, et adhuc in illo se defendere presumpserunt. Magnos iterum impetus Christianis dederunt. Sed postquam uiderant nichil se profecisse, gladiis proiectis neci colla submisere. Numerum eorum qui perempti sunt nemo nouit. Sanguis autem eorum qui per templum defluebat¹ usque ad suras ambulantium attingebat, et cadauerum per totam ciuitatem magni acerui augebantur¹ quoniam uictores nec ætati nec sexui nec nobilitati nec cuiilibet conditioni miserebantur.

Tanto siquidem odio persequebantur eos et perimebant, quia templum Domini et sancti Sepulchri basilicam polluerant, et templum Salomonis aliasque æcclesias suis usibus illicitis peculiauerant, ac indecenter contaminauerant. Super Salomonis templum quidam diffugerant, et signum Tancredi rogauerant¹ ut saltem sic liberarentur, quo accepto fortunam quamlibet opperiebantur. Sed parum uel nichil sic profecerunt, quia nec eis Christiani pepercerunt, excepto quod qui mortuos efferrent, aliquos ad tempus uiuos reseruauerunt, quos denique uendiderunt, uel a superis alienauerunt. Tancredus inde multum contristatus est¹ nec tamen super hoc contra sodales suos efferatus est.

Tolosanus autem comes admiralium qui ei se commiserat et arcem Dauid reddiderat¹ aliosque qui cum illo erant illesos usque ad Ascalonem conduci precepit. Ita enim eis pepigerat¹ pactumque suum illibatum conseruauit.

iii. 611 Victores autem ciuitatem illam non more subiugatæ urbis spoliauerunt uel cremauerunt, sed sicut domos omnibus bonis refertas inuenerunt¹ eas suis necessitatibus peculiatas reseruauerunt, et multi dapiliter inuenta pauperioribus communicauerunt. ¹Unusquisque domum qualemcumque magnam seu paruam quam primitus inuasit, ac ethnicis euacuauit¹ quietam sibi cum omnibus gazis quæ intus erant libere possedit, et usque hodie hereditario iure custodit.

¹ Oderic adds 'unusquisque domum . . . iure custodit' to the account in BD. His source may have been Fulcher of Chartres (*RHC Occ.* iii. 360) who gives the same information in different words. Cf. also *GR* ii. 428.

great fear to Count Raymond, with the leading citizens and numerous others who were with him there, and immediately opened the gate for him. Formerly pilgrims used to purchase entry through this gate with their money, for they were accustomed to pay taxes there; otherwise they were driven from the gate without pity.

The citizens who had fled assembled at the Temple of Solomon and took it upon themselves to attempt a fresh stand there. The Christians attacked strongly again and again. When the defenders saw that resistance was useless, they threw away their swords and bent their necks to the executioners. No one knows the number of those who were massacred. Their blood, which flowed through the Temple, was knee-deep and huge heaps of corpses were piled up all over the city, for the victors spared neither age, nor sex, nor rank, nor any other condition.

They pursued and slaughtered them with such hate because they had polluted the Temple of God and the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and had appropriated the Temple of Solomon and other churches for their own sacrilegious cult, desecrating them blasphemously. Some escaped to the roof of the Temple of Solomon and asked for Tancred's banner, so that at least they might be spared; having received it they hoped for a better fate. But they gained little or nothing this way, for the Christians did not spare even them, except for a few whom they kept alive for a time to carry away the dead bodies and later sold or put to death. Tancred was greatly vexed by this, but he did not quarrel with his companions because of it.

The count of Toulouse, however, ordered that the emir who had submitted to him and surrendered the tower of David, with all the others who were with him, should be conducted in safety to Ascalon. This was the bargain he had made with them and he kept his word unbroken.

The victors neither sacked nor burnt that city as is the custom in conquered cities, but preserved the houses with all their contents just as they found them, appropriating them for their needs; many generously distributed what they found to the poor. ¹Everyone acquired free possession of whatever house, large or small, he first entered after driving out its infidel owners, together with all the valuables inside it, and has kept it up to the present day by hereditary right.

¹Christiani iamdiu desiderato potiti triumpho, manibus a cede ablutis, multi pedibus discalciatis² gaudentes et præ gaudio plorantes, ad sanctum sancti Saluatoris sepulchrum deosculandum cateruatim properauerunt, ibique gratulabunda donaria et hostias pacificas optulerunt. Tunc ingens fidelibus letitia fuit, ubi omnes adepti sunt³ quod diu expectauerant, et cum multis laboribus periculisque expetiuerant. Ibi finem laboris sui alacres uidebant⁴ iamque securiores ex presentibus de futuris bonis sibi retributiones affuturas imaginabantur. De efferendis autem procurauerunt cadaueribus⁵ quoniam horror inualescebat et fœtor immanissimus. A captiuis gentilibus et Christianis pauperibus dato precio occisorum corpora per piras coaceruata sunt⁶ quibus combustis nostri ab immundiciis urbem emundauerunt.

16

Fideles Christi milites in ciuitate Ierusalem securi sederunt, condignas Deo gratias retulerunt, cuius ope gratuita de ethnicis uictoriam adepti sunt. Dignitates etiam suas æcclesiis restituerunt, easque singulas ad opus orationis aptauerunt. Quinta decima die Iulii sexta feria celebritatem instituerunt, qua ciuitatem recuperauerunt. ²De constituendo etiam ibi rege consiliati sunt⁷ et octauo die post captam urbem⁸ communi consilio Godefredum ducem in regem elegerunt. ⁴Erat idem uir regii sanguinis, a proauis Christianæ professionis. Eustachius enim Boloniensis comes qui cum Guillelmo Senlacium in Anglia bellum peregit⁹ Itam sororem Godefredi Lotharingiæ ducis uxorem duxit, ex qua Godefredum et Balduinum et Eustachium genuit, quos gratia Dei diuitiis et uirtutibus in hoc seculo multipliciter honorauit, precipueque in expeditione Ierosolimitana probauit, corroborauit atque sullimauit. Godefredus itaque qui maior natu erat est in solium regni Dauid regis eleuatus, quia gloriose uigebat more Gallico militiæ peritus, pectore et brachio uir in re militari efficacissimus, dapsilis et serenus clementiaque floridus.

¹ 'Christiani iamdiu . . . qua ciuitatem recuperauerunt' is slightly abbreviated and adapted from BD iv. xiv, p. 103, which takes one or two facts from *GF* xxxix, pp. 92-3.

² 'De constituendo . . . uices episcopi supplendas electus est' briefly states the substance of BD iv. xv-xvi, pp. 103-5; cf. *GF* xxxix, pp. 92-3. The details of Godfrey's family are added by Orderic. He never had the title of king; cf. below, p. 340 n. 2.

³ 22 July 1099.

⁴ Eustace II of Boulogne married Ida, sister of Godfrey III, duke of Lower Lotharingia. For Godfrey's family see J. C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1947), pp. 10, 19.

¹The Christians, after winning the victory they had desired for so long, washed the blood from their hands; many went barefoot as they hurried in crowds, rejoicing and weeping from excess of joy, to kiss the holy sepulchre of our blessed Saviour, and there they presented peace-offerings and sacrifices of thanksgiving. Then there was great joy among the faithful, for all had won what they had long hoped for and had borne many sufferings and dangers to procure. Joyfully they knew that the end of their labours was in sight and, feeling themselves more secure, they imagined from present joys what their future rewards would be. However, they took steps to have the corpses removed, for the sight was terrible and the stench unendurable. The bodies of the slain were heaped on pyres by the captured infidels and poor Christians, who were paid for their service; when they had been burnt the city was cleansed by our men from the contamination.

16

The faithful soldiers of Christ established themselves securely in the city of Jerusalem and gave due thanks to God, through whose ready help they had triumphed over the infidels. They restored the former status of the churches and made every one of them ready for the work of prayer. They established a feast on Friday 15 July, the day on which they had recovered the city. ²They also took counsel about establishing a king there, and on the eighth day after the capture of the city³ they chose Duke Godfrey as king by common consent. ⁴He was a man of royal blood, descended from ancestors who had spread the Christian faith. Eustace, count of Boulogne, who had fought with William at the Battle of Hastings in England, married Ida, the sister of Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, and had by her Godfrey and Baldwin and Eustace. By the grace of God these men were greatly blessed with wealth and distinction in the world and specially approved and exalted in the expedition to Jerusalem. Godfrey, who was the eldest, was made king over the kingdom of David, because he was a knight who was signally accomplished in the arts of knighthood as they are practised in France, a soldier both very brave and strong in battle and a man of courtesy and gentleness and abounding mercy.

iii. 613 Tunc etiam Arnulfus de Zocris¹ uir eruditissimus ad uices episcopi supplendas electus est.

²Interea Tancredus et Eustachius comes cum satellitibus et clientibus³ multis Neapolim ab ipsis ciuibus ultro inuitati abierunt, eisque Neapolitani cum pace urbem reddiderunt. Illic per aliquot dies manserunt, et letantes quieuerunt: donec ad eos rex ueloces legatos direxit, per quos eis hæc mandauit, 'Audiuimus et certum est quoniam Babilonicus admirauisus⁴ Ascalonæ est.' et ibi contra nos ingens bellum preparat. Accelerate igitur et uenite, ut et nos eis audacter possimus obuiare: antequam nos possint in urbe concludere. Inclusis enim grauis est introitus et exitus: et frequenter obiurgat eos inconueniens metus. In aperto liberi campo concurremus, Deoque gubernante liberior et facilior nobis succedet effectus. Expeditiores siquidem sumus armis et manu quam illi, et uolumus illis obuiare, ubi nichil adhuc sperabunt se timere.'

iii. 614

His auditis Tancredus et Eustachius iuxta mare Ramulam uenerunt, multosque Arabes exercitum admirauisi precurrentes reppererunt, quos confidenter aggressi sunt: citoque ab inuicem disgregauerunt. Quosdam eorum peremerunt, quosdam uiuos reseruauerunt, a quibus de admirauiso et eius exercitu rumores certos indagauerunt. Ad unguem igitur singula rimati sunt qui essent, quam infinita gens essent, quid prepararent, ubi præliaturos se disponerent.

Tancredus a captiuis diligenter exquisita, regi per nuncios mandauit ista, 'Sciatis' inquit 'indubitanter bellum Ascalonæ contra nos paratum esse, et pene totum orbem conuenisse et coniurasse, qui uiolenter putant nos opprimere et subiugare. Venite igitur et collectis omnibus uestris uiribus, sinagogam Sathanæ inuadamus. Si enim prout mandastis imperterriti ex improuiso eis obuiauerimus, adiuuante Deo facile preualebimus, quia suis armis multisque utensilibus occupati sunt: machinasque ad expugnandam urbem perferunt.' ⁵Rex igitur per preconem

¹ Arnulf of Chocques, who became patriarch of Jerusalem, had been tutor to William the Conqueror's daughter Cecilia and chaplain and chancellor to Robert Curthose. For his early career see David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 217-20; Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 74-5. He was deposed a few months later in favour of Daimbert of Pisa, but recovered his see in 1112. See J. G. Rowe, 'Pascal II and the relation between the spiritual and temporal powers in the kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Speculum*, xxxii (1957), 470-501.

² 'Interea Tancredus . . . ad expugnandam urbem perferunt' slightly abbreviates and adapts BD iv. xvi, pp. 105-6; cf. *GF* xxxix, p. 93.

At the same time Arnulf of Chocques,¹ a very learned man, was elected to fill the office of bishop.

²Meanwhile Tancred and Count Eustace, with their many followers and dependants,³ had gone on to Nablus at the invitation of the citizens themselves, who surrendered the city peacefully to them. They remained there for some days, thankful to rest, until the king sent messengers post-haste to bring them these orders: 'We have had a reliable report that the emir of Cairo⁴ is at Ascalon and is preparing a great battle against us there. Come as fast as you can, so that we may intercept his forces boldly before they have a chance to blockade us in the city. Men who are besieged cannot come and go freely and they live in constant fear. Let us therefore advance into the open field and by God's guidance we may more easily take the initiative and win the day. We are quicker in battle and more manœuvrable than they are, and would like to meet them in a place where, so far, they believe they have nothing to fear.'

On hearing this Tancred and Eustace went along the coast to Ramla, where they found many Arabs who had been sent as the advance guard of the emir's army. Charging them confidently, they soon scattered them; some they slew, others they captured alive so that they might obtain reliable news from them about the emir and his army. They secured precise information about who composed it, how large it was, what their enemies were preparing, and where they were planning to fight.

Tancred sent messengers to give the king the information painstakingly extracted from the prisoners, to this effect: 'Know for certain', he said, 'that preparations are being made for a battle against us at Ascalon, and almost the whole population of the world has met and made a sworn alliance, intending to defeat and subject us by force. Assemble all your forces and come, so that we may attack the synagogue of Satan. If, as you recommend, we attack undaunted without warning, we will easily defeat them with God's help, for they are encumbered with their weapons and much baggage, and are bringing up siege-engines to attack the city.' ⁵The king therefore announced through his herald that

³ These are the words used by BD to represent the 'milites et pedites' of *GF* xxxix, p. 93.

⁴ al-Afdal, vizier of the caliph of Egypt.

⁵ 'Rex igitur . . . ullatenus intenderet diripiendis' (p. 178) slightly abbreviates and adapts BD iv. xviii, pp. 106-7; cf. *GF* xxxix, pp. 93-5.

iii. 615 clamauit ut omnes de bello premunirentur, et uexillum regis impigre omnes subsequerentur. Rex itaque et patriarcha condictus, comes Flandrensis et episcopus Martoronensis¹ feria iii^a ²ciuitatem exierunt. Comes autem Sancti Egidii et Normannus noluerunt exire, donec certiores fierent de admirauisi incursione. Porro uisis omnibus quæ parabantur, rex Martaronensem episcopum direxit in Ierusalem.³ qui principibus testaretur, quæcunque parabantur. Martaronensis postquam Tolosano et Normanno locutus fuerat, festinans ut indicta comitum uerba regi referret ac patriarchæ.⁴ in manus paganorum deuenit, et dubium est an abductus an peremptus sit.⁵ sed postea non comparuit.

iii. 616 Tolosanus autem et Normannus cum multis ad bellum profecti sunt.⁶ et iv^{ta} feria³ Ierusalem exierunt. Clerici missis et orationibus uacabant, Petrus Heremita et rara imbecillis populi frequentia qui remanserant, et imbelles genus mulierum processiones de æcclesia in æcclesiam agitabant, orationibus et elemosinis deuote insistebant, ut propicius populo suo Deus misericorditer subueniret, hostesque suos forti manu irrecuperabiliter prosterneret. Primores itaque cum suis exercitibus ad flumen quod est contra Ascalonem congregati sunt. Illic armenta copiosa inuenerunt, et opima preda ditati sunt. Trecenti Arabes Francos persecuti sunt.⁷ sed illi protinus in eos irruerunt, et duobus ex ipsis apprehensis usque ad exercitum suum fugauerunt. Christiani post illum excursum ad castra reuersi nocte illa quieuerunt.⁸ nisi quod potius omnes excubiis et orationibus incubuerunt. Sero palam omnibus a patriarcha interdictum est.⁹ ne quis in crastinum pugnaturus ante bellum spoliis ullatenus intenderet diripiendis.

17

⁴Sole orto pridie idus Augusti, sacra Christi cohors uallem secus mare formosa planicie uenustam intrauit, et illic sex⁵ acies ordinauit. Rex et comes Normannorum, Tolosanus, Flandrensis et Guaston, Eustachius et Tancredus turmis prefuerunt, et unusquisque sagittarios peditesque suos sollerter instruxit. Ispis

¹ Arnulf, bishop of Martirano, a suffragan see of Cosenza (Calabria). He had been one of the principal advocates of the election of Arnulf of Chocques as Patriarch of Jerusalem. See J. G. Rowe in *Speculum*, xxxii (1957), 472-3, and the sources there cited.

² 9 August 1099 (Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, pp. 260-1).

³ 10 August 1099.

⁴ 'Sole orto . . . animaduersione puniantur' (p. 180) very slightly abbreviates BD iv. xix, p. 108; cf. the much briefer account in *GF* xxxix, p. 95. The description of the Ethiopians given by BD is not in *GF*.

all should prepare for war and boldly follow the king's standard. So the king and the patriarch-elect, the count of Flanders, and the bishop of Martirano¹ set out from the city on Tuesday.² The count of Saint-Gilles and the duke of Normandy were unwilling to start until they had more positive information about the emir's advance. When the king had seen all the preparations he sent the bishop of Martirano back to Jerusalem to inform the princes of the preparations. The bishop gave the message to the counts of Toulouse and Normandy, but as he was hurrying back he fell into the hands of the pagans. It is uncertain whether he was carried into captivity or killed, but he was never seen again.

However, the count of Toulouse and duke of Normandy set out for battle with large forces, and left Jerusalem on Wednesday.³ The clergy said Masses and offered prayers; Peter the Hermit and the small group of non-combatants who remained, as well as the women, who are unwarlike by nature, went in procession from church to church, with devout prayers and distributions of alms, asking God to stand by them and mercifully help his people by striking down their enemies with his mighty hand for ever. The leaders gathered with their armies by the river which flows by Ascalon. There they found large herds of cattle and secured rich booty. Three hundred Arabs pursued the Franks, but they wheeled round suddenly on them and, after capturing two of their number, chased the rest back to their army. After this sortie the Christians returned to their camp and rested for the night, except that all were chiefly concerned with watches and prayers. In the evening the patriarch solemnly prohibited anyone from turning aside to take any plunder on the morrow before the battle.

17

⁴At sunrise on 12 August the blessed army of Christ entered a pleasant valley that was conveniently level, beside the sea, and there formed into six⁵ divisions. The king and the count of Normandy, the count of Toulouse, the count of Flanders, and Gaston, Eustace, and Tancred commanded the troops, and each one carefully disposed his archers and foot-soldiers. Sending them

⁵ Neither BD nor *GF* says explicitly that there were six divisions, but the clearer account in BD indicates that of the seven leaders the count of Flanders and Gaston of Béarn commanded one division.

itaque premissis pedetemptim pergentes edocebant qualiter occlamarent, qualiter obstarent, qualiter impenetrabiles inimicos feriendo penetrarent, ac ut ad sua signa nichil reuerentes frequenter respicerent, et se ipsos ad ictus hostiles sufferendos obdurarent, licet hæc omnia in aliis bellis bene gestis didicissent.

iii. 617 Nec minus e regione gentiles cuneatim stellis innumerabiliores densabantur, et per agmina innumeræ legiones a latere in latus extendebantur. Ethiopes autem premiserunt, quos in loco statuerunt, eosque immotos manere mandauerunt. Hi genibus humi defixis dextro tamen postposito, ancilibus corpora superiora tutantes, sagittis utebantur et gladiis. His imperatum fuerat¹ ne uel ad momentum recederent, uel locum occupatum saltem ad passum excederent. Porro manipuli militares prout instructi erant² conducta loca tenebant. Et quoniam sitis immoderantiam ob estum et puluerulentam nebulam, et propter laborem ac diurnitatem præliandi metuebant, aquarum cantarulos plenos a collo suspenderant³ quibus retentati constantius obsisterent, uel fugientes indeficientius persequerentur. De fuga eorum nulla mentio erat. Confidebant enim in multitudinibus suis innumeris, et in barbararum pectoribus gentium animosis, et in imperialibus ne unquam fugerent edictis, 'Fugientes' inquit imperator, 'captum animaduersione puniantur.'

¹Bello utrinque sat prouide parato, ut ad locum belli propinquatum est. Christiani parumper substiterunt, oculos deuote in cælum erexerunt, genibusque in terram defixis orauerunt. Auxilium enim de cælo sperabant² quod iamdudum in multis necessitatibus sepe sibi adesse persenserant. Vbi uero breuiter oratum est³ et signum salutiferæ crucis reuerenter frontibus admotum est⁴ maiori confidentia equitauerunt, et uiriliter in nomine Domini Ihesu ethnicos aggressi sunt. Gentiles enim iam substiterant, et immoti expectabant.

iii. 618 ²In dextro cornu iuxta mare Tolosanus equitabat. In parte sinistra rex cum legionibus suis properabat. Porro in medio Normannus et Flandrensis atque Tancredus aliique militabant, sed ad decem ex nostris mille allophili insurgabant. Inita pugna Rodbertus dux Normannorum admirauisi stantarum a longe

¹ 'Bello utrinque . . . immoti expectabant' is based on BD IV. xx, p. 108, and is not in *GF*.

² 'In dextro cornu . . . ad patriam remigauerunt' slightly abbreviates and adapts BD IV. xx, pp. 108-9; cf. the much briefer account in *GF* xxxix, pp. 96, 97, where nothing is said about the Ethiopians.

on cautiously in advance, they instructed them how to shout war cries, how to stand firm, how to break through seemingly impenetrable enemy lines, and told them to fear nothing, frequently look bravely at their banners, and steel themselves to withstand the blows of the enemy: all this indeed they had already learnt in other well-fought battles.

On the opposite side the infidels, who outnumbered the stars, were no less occupied in massing their battalions, and the countless legions were spread out from side to side. They sent the Ethiopians forward, placing them in the front and commanding them not to yield an inch. These men plant their knees on the ground, the right knee in front, and, protecting the upper parts of their bodies with shields, fight with arrows and swords. Their orders were not to give way for an instant, or fall back a single step from their fixed stations. Then the companies of knights held the places allotted to them according to the order of battle. To prevent excessive thirst, due to the heat and clouds of dust and the burden and length of the battle, they hung round their necks small drinking-vessels full of water, which were to revive them so that they could resist with greater fortitude, or pursue fugitives without tiring. They never thought of flight for themselves. For they trusted in their great numbers and the fierce courage of barbarian peoples, also in the imperial edicts which forbade flight. 'Fugitives' said the Emperor, 'shall forfeit their heads.'

¹When both sides had completed their preparations for battle and were almost on the battlefield, the Christians paused for a moment, raised their eyes devoutly to heaven, and prayed, kneeling on the ground. They hoped for help from heaven, for on previous occasions in their many needs they had often known it to be at hand. When they had said a short prayer and reverently made the sign of the cross of salvation on their foreheads, they rode on with greater confidence, and valiantly attacked the infidels in the name of the Lord. The infidels stood firm, and waited without flinching.

²The count of Toulouse rode on the right wing near to the sea. On the left wing the king advanced swiftly with his troops. In the middle the counts of Normandy and Flanders with Tancred and others fought on, but for every ten of our men a thousand pagans sprang up. When battle was joined Robert, duke of Normandy, saw from far off the emir's standard, which had a golden apple on

considerans, quod in summitate hastæ aureum pomum habebat, hasta uero argento decenter cooperta albicabat, ubi ipsum esse deprehendit, audacter per medias acies super eum irruit, et grauiter ad mortem uulnerauit.¹ Quod nimium gentilibus timorem incussit. Comes etiam Flandrita hostiliter eos inuasit, et Tancredus per medium tentorium imperterritus eos impetiuit. Milites pagani mox fugam inierunt. Ethiopes stupefacti substiterunt. Rex autem et Francorum quidam ad Ethiopes conuersi, et ibi aliquantulum demorati² eos tanquam segetem in transuerso gladiis secabant, et eorum corpora detruncantes dimidiabant. Campi sanguine inundabantur, et passim morticina gentilium obuoluebantur. Christiani fugientes insecuti sunt. Gentiles Dei uirtute tremefacti³ non habebant locum respirandi. Oculi eorum ut ab his qui euaserunt postea relatum est ita caligauerunt, ut apertis oculis Christianos uix possent uidere⁴: nichil autem omnino eis nocere. Multi contra paucos oblatrare non audebant⁵: multisque modis euadere satagebant, sed preualentes nostri ethnicos in commune puniebant, nullique parcebant. Letalis itaque dies paganis incubuerat⁶: qua nemini dabatur euadendi occasio, quia in arboribus scopulisque et in cauernarum latibulis uicticris manus armis passim interibant.

iii. 619 Raimundus comes a mari militans interfecit innumeros, et fugientes ad ciuitatem quæ aliquatenus ab ipsis distabat, insigniter arcebat. Vnde fatigati remanebant, uel confestim percussi oppetebant, uel in mare se precipitabant, et sic precipites a morte in mortem ruebant.

Naugium admirauisi mare totum occuluerat⁷: et gens illa finem belli expectabat. Videntes autem aliam quam sperauerant suis imminere fortunam, scafis ascensis⁸: uela in uentum obliquauerunt, et sic ad patriam remigauerunt.

²Dicunt autem admirauisum uix palpitantem alte ingemuisse⁹: et sic planxisse, 'O omnium Creator quid est hoc? Quid accidit, quod fatum nobis infestum nocuit? Ei michi quam ineffabile dedecus, quam diuturnum improprium genti nostræ contigit? Gens mendica, gens modica¹⁰: genti nostræ preualuit. Vnde hoc? Conuentione facta huc conduxim militem centena milia et peditum

¹ Orderic here copies BD; but according to *GF* it was the standard-bearer who was killed; this makes better sense in view of the speeches attributed to the emir later.

² 'Dicunt autem . . . ab intimis lamentabatur' follows BD iv. xxi, p. 110 very closely; cf. *GF* xxxix, pp. 96-7.

the top of the pole (the pole itself was covered with silver and shone), and on learning where he was he charged boldly at him through the ranks, and gave him a mortal wound.¹ This feat terrified the infidels. The count of Flanders also made a determined attack, and Tancred charged unafraid through the middle of the camp. The pagan knights soon turned and fled. The Ethiopians, bewildered, stood their ground. But the king and some of the Franks wheeled round on the Ethiopians and, pausing for a moment or two, cut them down from the side with their swords, like ripe corn, slicing off their heads from their bodies. The field was drenched with blood and covered with the dead bodies of the infidels. The Christians pursued the fugitives; the infidels, trembling before God's might, were given no breathing-space. It was afterwards learnt from those who escaped that their eyes were so blinded that, though their eyes were open, they could barely see the Christians and were utterly powerless to harm them. Many as they were they dared not defy the few; they tried to escape in many different ways, but our men triumphed and meted out a common punishment to the heathen, sparing no man. So it proved a fatal day for the pagans, when there was no chance of escape for anyone; for in trees, among rocks, and in the deep recesses of caverns they perished everywhere by the weapons of the victors.

Count Raymond, who was fighting near the sea, killed a great many and skilfully harried the fugitives as they fled towards the city, which was some distance away. So they remained on the field exhausted, or were struck down to die on the spot, or flung themselves into the sea and by so doing escaped from one form of death to another.

The emir's fleet covered the whole sea, and the men in the ships waited for the end of the battle. But when they saw that the fortunes of war were unfavourable to them they put out to sea, turned their sails to the wind, and sailed back to their own country.

²It is reported that the emir, almost at his last gasp, groaned aloud and lamented in these words, 'O creator of all things, what is this? What is happening? What evil fate is destroying us? Woe is me, what utter dishonour, what lasting shame is come upon our people! A beggarly race, an insignificant race, has conquered our people. How has this come about? I brought here, as I had agreed to do, two hundred thousand mounted men and

non est numerus: quos omni mundo credebam preualituros. Nunc autem ut non mentiar a minus quam mille militibus et xxx peditum milibus tam indecenter superati sunt. Aut illorum Deus omnipotens est et pro eis pugnat, aut noster nobis iratus est et nos nimis austero furore castigat et redarguit. Quicquid sit unum erit, in eos denuo non erigar, sed potius ad patriam meam ignominiosus donec uixerō reuertar.' His dictis lacrimabiliter conquirebatur: et ab intimis lamentabatur.

iii. 620 ¹Ascalonitæ ut uiderunt fugientes Agarenos urbem conglobatim intrare, et Raimundum comitem cum suis prouincialibus indeficienter persequi et mactare: ualuas clauserunt, et hostes auxiliariosque pariter excluserunt. Metuebant enim ne cum adminiculariis inuincibiles inimici Ascalonem intrarent, eamque penitus necatis ciuibus sibi subiugarent. Tolosanus autem cum suis imperterritus copiis ante urbem perstitit: et immorantes Philisteos ante asilum suum ut bidentes usque ad interneccionem deleuit. Porro ciues de propugnaculis intuentes pertinaciam Christianorum, et formidantes ne sibi contingeret excidium quale uiderant uel audierant finitimorum: uexillum comitis petierunt, certamque deditionem suam ei fideliter sponderunt. Retractabant siquidem quia ipse prior erat, eisque magis ad exitium incumbebat: et quod Guinimundum admiralium cæterosque qui se illius fidei commiserant saluauerat. Ille uero poscentibus signiferum suum misit, et fugatis seu peremptis omnibus qui extra urbem erant ad compares accessit: quibus a cede quiescentibus et in unum congregatis dixit, 'Ecce Deo gratias prospere nobis uictoria prouenit, et compressis ciuibus Ascalon pene patescit. Iam uexillum meum Ascalonitæ receperunt: et michi si conceditis subiecti faebunt, imperiisque meis pro salute sua parebunt.' Respondit rex, 'Absit ut huius urbis dominatum alicui concedam, sed expugnando ditioni meæ mox subiciam. Ascalon uicina est Ierusalem: et decet ut dominio subdatur eius qui presidet Ierusalem.' Rodbertus Normannus atque Flandrensis aliique optimates regi dixerunt, 'Satis omnes nouimus quod comes Sancti Egidii uberes glebas et

¹ The account of the dispute between Godfrey and Raymond over Ascalon is not in BD, though the substance is given very briefly in an interpolated chapter in MS. G (*RHC Occ.* iv. 110, note 14). See also Hagenmeyer, *AGF*, p. 500 n. 94, and above, Introduction, p. xvi.

countless foot-soldiers, believing that they could conquer the whole world. Now, however, if the truth be told, they have been disgracefully defeated by less than a thousand knights and thirty thousand foot-soldiers. Either their God is omnipotent and fights for them, or ours is angry with us and, in his great wrath, chastises and humbles us. Whatever the reason, the consequence is the same. Henceforth I will not provoke them, but instead will return to my own country to pass the rest of my days in disgrace.' With these words he lamented his misfortunes, groaning from the depths of his heart.

¹When the citizens of Ascalon saw the Saracen fugitives crowding at the entrance to the city and Count Raymond with the men of Toulouse relentlessly pursuing and slaughtering them, they closed the gates, shutting out enemies and allies alike. They were afraid that their invincible enemies would rush into Ascalon with the emir's men and reduce it to servitude after slaughtering the citizens. The count of Toulouse, undaunted, halted with his forces before the city and butchered like sheep all the Philistines who were still left outside their sanctuary. Then the citizens, who looking out from the battlements witnessed the resolution of the Christians and feared that they might suffer such slaughter as they had seen and heard reported of their neighbours, asked for the count's banner and promised on oath that they would surrender to him. They reached this decision because he was the nearest to them and threatened them most, and because he had preserved the life of the emir Iftikhar and the others who had trusted in his word. He sent his standard-bearer in response to their requests, and after slaughtering or putting to flight all the men who were outside the city he went to his comrades, who were resting all together after the battle, and said, 'As you see, thanks to God a great victory has been given us, and the citizens of Ascalon are on the point of surrender and ready to open their gates. They have already received my banner and, if you approve, will put themselves under my rule and obey my commands to preserve their lives.' The king replied, 'Never will I grant the lordship of this city to anyone; instead I will storm it and subdue it to my will. Ascalon is very near Jerusalem, and it is only right that it should be under the sway of the ruler of Jerusalem.' Robert of Normandy, the count of Flanders, and the other magnates said to the king, 'We all know well that the count of Saint-Gilles has left his fertile

iii. 621 munitissima oppida pro Deo sponte reliquit, et in expeditione Dei multa fortia strenuissime peregit, atque ad tolerandum grauiora discrimina nos omnes antecessit. Vnde si peregrinationem quam cepit perseueranter explere decernit, et defendere sanctam ciuitatem quam ut Deo acquireret acriter expugnauit, gratanter ei debes urbem offerre quam nondum possides et ipse requirit. Nobis enim ad loca nostra remeantibus, consilio manuque sine dubio tibi erit ualde necessarius. Ciuitas regiæ maiestati nobiliter et utiliter subiacebit, pro qua tantus heros ei hominum faciet ac militabit.⁷

Rege persuasionibus optimatum non adquiescente comes iratus recessit¹ et Ascalonitis ut sese pertinaciter defenderent mandauit. Rex autem obsidere urbem uoluit, sed proceribus cunctis pre ira et fatigatione recedentibus nil perpetrare solus potuit.² oppidumque illesum mestus dimisit. Proh pudor nec ipse nec alii reges qui post eum per xl annos¹ regnauerunt.² sepredictam Philistinorum metropolim usque in hodiernam diem nancisci potuerunt, immo per eam plus quam centum milia hominum preter alia innumera detrimenta perdidit. Sic insatiabilis lucratur ambitio. Si uera dilectio regem possedisset, et ipse proximum suum iuxta legem Dei sicut se dilexisset:² hostile oppidum ipsa die adipisci potuisset, per quod liber transitus usque in Babilonem Christicolis patuisset. Godefredum regem multum laudo, sed sicut Paulus apostolus Chorotheis scribit in hoc non laudo.³

iii. 622 Fertur in pugna admirauisum habuisse cc^{ta} milia militum, et innumeras cohortes peditum. Christiani autem habuerunt pene mille milites, et xxx milia peditum.⁴ Qui iuuante Deo⁵ cede peracta.² reuersi sunt ad Ismahelitarum tentoria diripienda. Inuenerunt igitur ut breuiter dixerim.² quicquid bonæ suppellectilis excogitari potest. Argentum et aurum, annonam et farinam et oleum, armenta pecorum innumerabilium, omnem pompam ornamentorum, cumulos armorum, et si quid aliud potest esse melius. His omnibus direptis in ciuitatem sanctam Ierusalem reuersi sunt.² condignasque Deo gratias per singulas æcclesias retulerunt.

¹ This figure replaces a longer numeral, (?) xxxvii, scratched out; the passage was therefore probably first written in 1135 or 1136 and brought up to date in 1139 or 1140.

² Cf. Matthew xxii. 39.

³ 1 Cor. xi. 22.

⁴ The figures are taken from BD iv. xxi; cf. above, pp. 182-4.

estates and wealthy cities freely to serve God, and has done many very valiant deeds in the crusade, and has surpassed us all in enduring great toil and hardship. So if he is resolved to persevere to the end in the pilgrimage he has undertaken, and defend the holy city which he stormed so resolutely to win it for God, you should willingly grant him this city, which as yet you do not possess and for which he asks. When we have returned to our own homes you will certainly stand in great need of his prowess and counsel. The city will be subject to your royal power both honourably and effectively, if a lord of such valour does homage and fights for you.⁷

As the king would not yield to the representations of the magnates, the count departed in anger and advised the citizens of Ascalon to defend themselves with firmness. The king wished to besiege the city, but all the other lords retired exhausted and angry, and he could do nothing alone, so, regretfully, he left the city unharmed. It is shameful to relate that neither he nor the other kings who have reigned after him for forty years¹ have ever been able to win this great Philistine city up to the present day, but instead have lost more than a hundred thousand men and suffered countless other losses on its account. Such is the reward of overweening ambition. If the king had been guided by true love, and had loved his neighbour as himself² according to God's law, he would have been able to win the hostile stronghold on that day and so opened up to the Christians a free passage to Egypt. I have much to say in praise of King Godfrey but, as Paul the apostle wrote to the Corinthians, in this I praise him not.³

The report runs that the emir had two hundred thousand mounted knights and countless troops of foot-soldiers in the battle. The Christians had barely a thousand knights and thirty thousand foot-soldiers.⁴ When, with God's help, ⁵the slaughter was over they returned to pillage the tents of the Ishmaelites. There they found, to be brief, every imaginable kind of valuable: silver and gold, corn and flour and oil, countless herds of cattle, every kind of rich ornament, heaps of weapons, and everything else that is desirable. Appropriating all these things, they returned to the holy city of Jerusalem and rendered fitting thanks to God in all the churches.

⁵ 'cede peracta . . . exaltata est' follows BD iv. xxi-xxii, p. 110 very closely; cf. *GF* xxxix, p. 97.

Rodbertus dux Normannorum emit stantarum ab his qui ab admirauiso sauciato retinuerunt uiginti marcis argenti, et intulit illud in sepulchrum Domini ad monimentum memorandi triumphi. Alter emit ensem eiusdem admirauisi lx bizanteis. Factum est igitur gaudium inenarrabile in tota Christianitate. Sic Christiani Ierusalem ab impiorum manibus Turcorum anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oXC^oIX^o liberauerunt¹ et multociens ex ipsis Christo duce triumpharunt. Hoc autem ingens bellum ii^o idus Augusti factum est² et Christianitas ubique terrarum Deo gratias exaltata est.

18

Huc usque uenerabilis Baldrici prosecutus sum uestigia, et ueracem feci narrationem de famosa Christi militia¹ quæ iuuante Deo insigniter debellauit in Eois partibus ethnicorum examina. Multis in locis operi nostro inserui eadem uerba sophistæ, sicut
 iii. 623 depromserat ipse² non ausus aliter eius dicta propalare, quæ non credebam me posse emendare. Quædam tamen ne prolixitas taxationis nostræ fastidio legentes oneraret adbreuiando recidi, nonnulla uero posteritati notificanda quæ tacuerat ueraciter adieci, prout ab his qui laboribus et periculis interfuerunt edidici.¹ Præfatum seniore[m] quem bene cognoui² ueneranter honorare decreui. Hic cuius fuit Aurelianensis, monachus et abbas Burguliensis, liberalibus imbutus studiis, et religiosæ meritis uitæ uenerabilis. Inde pro religione et sapientia² ad gradum Dolensis archiepiscopatus² electione prouectus est æcclesiastica. In episcopatu monachatum seruauit² et cum monachis prout fors dabat plerunque habitauit. Indomitis enim Britonibus præerat² quorum peruersitatem tolerare non poterat. Vnde proteruos et exleges frequenter deserebat, et in Normanniam fugiebat; ubi Dolensis æcclesia super Riselam fluuium a temporibus sancti Samsonis regnante Hildeberto rege Francorum fundos habebat, et quiete

¹ See above, Introduction, pp. xiii-xiv. Cf. also BD Preface (p. 10): 'succincte igitur quæ in codice prædicto perpensi recapitulabo; et partim narrantium qui ibi affuerunt relatione fretus quæ audiui interseram.'

² The primacy of Dol was asserted from the ninth century until the end of the twelfth, but was never securely established; four of its assigned suffragans broke away from it in 1120 and 1130 (H. Wacquet, 'Dol', in *DHGE* xiv. 568-74). Baudry was a determined advocate of the primacy of his see, and in modifying

Robert, duke of Normandy, bought the standard from the men who had taken it from the wounded emir for twenty marks of silver, and took it to the Lord's sepulchre as a memorial of the notable victory. Another man bought the emir's sword for sixty bezants. No tongue can tell all the joy that was felt throughout Christendom because of the victory. In this way the Christians freed Jerusalem from the hands of the blasphemous Turks in the year of our Lord 1099, and with Christ as their leader triumphed over them again and again. This great battle was fought on 12 August, and the Christian faith was everywhere uplifted, thanks be to God.

18

Up to now I have followed in the footsteps of the venerable Baudry, and have given a true account of the glorious army of Christ which, with God's help, nobly defeated the swarms of infidels in the eastern lands. In many parts of my work I have copied the very words of this learned man, just as he wrote them, not daring to promulgate his work in any other way, since I did not believe I could improve on them. But I have abbreviated some passages, for fear that the length of my account might weary my readers, and I have added a few things not mentioned by him, for the benefit of posterity, truthfully, just as I learnt them from men who took part in these toils and dangers.¹ I wish to honour and revere this venerable bishop, whom I knew well. He was a citizen of Orleans, a monk and abbot of Bourgueil, and was very well versed in the liberal arts as well as being revered for the virtues of his life as a monk. He was promoted from Bourgueil to the dignity of the archbishopric of Dol² by canonical election because of his piety and learning. When a prelate he continued the duties of a monk, and frequently lived with monks as occasion allowed. He was set over the unruly Bretons, but was unable to endure their disobedience. So he often escaped from their insolence and lawlessness, and took refuge in Normandy. The church of Dol had received estates there, on the river Risle, in the time of St. Samson, when Childebert was king of the Franks, and possessed

a version of the *Vita sancti Samsonis* he added several references to the 'metropolitan' church (see *Vita antiqua sancti Samsonis Dolensis episcopi*, ed. F. Plaine in *Anal. boll.* vi (1887), 130 n. 1, 149 n. 1).

iii. 624 pacificeque possidebat.¹ Ibi scriptis et dogmatibus suis auditores suos ad Dei cultum incitabat, et uicina cenobia Fiscannum scilicet ac Fontinellam atque Gemmeticum aliaque plura uisitabat, et in timore Dei sacris sermonibus confortabat. Tandem in senectute bona defunctus est: et Pratellis in basilica sancti Petri apostoli ante crucifixum sepultus est.²

Hic quia scribendo et res longinquas utpote in Eois climatibus actas indagando fessus requiescere anhelos: sextum³ *Æcclesiasticæ Hystoriæ* librum finire decerno. In septimo³ autem si sospes et liber uixero, auxiliante michi Salvatore nostro in quo maxime spero: de diuersis euentibus prosperis uel aduersis qui per xxx annos⁴ contigerunt ueraciter tractabo, et pro posse meo notitiæ posterorum simpliciter intimabo. Mei nimirum similes autumo quosdam esse futuros: qui generationis huius ordines a cronographis auide perscrutabuntur et actus transitorios, ut coessentibus sibi ad ædificationem seu delectationem retexere possint labentis seculi casus preteritos.

Explicit liber ix æcclesiasticæ hystoriæ

¹ According to an early tradition the monastery of Pental was founded on the banks of the Seine for St. Samson by Childebert I. It disappeared in the ninth century, but the church of Dol continued to hold the four parishes of Saint-Samson de la Roque, Saint-Samson-sur-Risle, Conteville, and Le Marais-Vernier. See R. Fawtier, *La vie de Saint-Samson* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 190, Paris, 1912), p. 15 n. 3; *Anal. boll.* vi (1887), 130-1.

² Baudry became bishop of Dol in May 1107, and died in January 1130.

them undisturbed and in peace.¹ There he roused his hearers to the worship of God by his writings and teaching, visited the neighbouring monasteries of Fécamp and Saint-Wandrille and Jumièges and many others, and taught the fear of the Lord in his holy sermons. Finally he died in good old age, and was buried before the Rood in the church of St. Peter the apostle at Préaux.²

Now I long for rest, for I am weary with writing and investigating events in distant lands of the east, and have decided to end the sixth³ book of the *Ecclesiastical History* at this point. In the seventh,³ if life and health permit, with the help of our Saviour in whom is all my hope, I will give a true account of the different events, both prosperous and adverse, which have happened in the course of thirty years,⁴ and will record them simply, for the benefit of future generations, to the best of my ability. For I believe there will be some men after me like myself, who will eagerly peruse the events and transitory acts of this generation in the pages of chroniclers, so that they may unfold the past fortunes of the changing world for the edification or delight of their contemporaries.

Here ends the ninth book of the Ecclesiastical History

³ The numbers six and seven were written before Orderic renumbered the books, and in revision, when the rubrics were added, he failed to correct them. See above, Introduction, pp. xi-xii.

⁴ If Orderic hoped when he completed Book IX to compress all the events of thirty years into one book he miscalculated; three books were necessary to bring the history up to 1130.

BOOK X

Incipit liber decimus

I

iv. 1 ANNO ab incarnatione Domini M^oXC^oVIII^o indictione sexta¹ omnipotens Creator omnium signa quædam in mundo palam demonstravit, quibus humana corda diuinitus terruit, et exhibitis ostensionibus inusitatis terribiliora prestolari presignavit. Nam v^o kalendas Octobris pene per totam noctem cælum ardere visum est.¹ Deinde indictione vii^{a2} sabbato die Natalis Domini sol in nigredinem uersus est.³ Post hæc multæ mutationes magistratuum in orbe statim factæ sunt⁴ terribilesque casus et seditiones grauiaque discrimina in mundo seuerunt.

iv. 2 Vrbanus papa postquam x annis apostolicam sedem strenue utiliterque rexit,⁴ eo tempore quo Ierusalem capta est Romæ egrotavit⁵ et mercedem a Deo percepturus pro bonis studiis quibus apprime floruit iv^o kalendas Augusti ex hac uita migravit.⁵ Cuius opera quam laudabilia fuerunt, nitor et fama quæ magnitudinis suæ per orbem late diuulgata sunt⁶ inimicorum etiam lamenta eo defuncto contestata sunt. Petrus Leo⁶ tres elegiacos uersus super ipso edidit⁷ et memoriam eius breuiter sic commendauit.

Canonicum Remis, tulerat^a monachum Cluniacus Odonem,
Roma uocat, facit hunc Hostia pontificem.
Cunq̄ue fit Vrbanus mutato nomine Papa¹
Redditur expulsus integer urbis honor.
Exequias huius celebres hic Roma peregit²
Augustum quarto preueniente die.⁷

^a tulerat *superscript in Orderic's hand*

¹ Cf. *ASC* 1098.

² Orderic's use of the indiction cycle is not completely consistent. Delisle's argument (in *Le Prévost*, v. p. lxii) that he probably made the indiction year begin with the year of grace on 25 December, receives support from the two dates in this paragraph; but his dating of April 1095 in the third and 4 November 1095 in the fourth indiction (cf. above, pp. 8, 10) is more consistent with the Bedan indiction, beginning on 24 September.

³ There was an eclipse of the sun on 25 December 1098.

BOOK X

Here begins the tenth book

I

IN the year of our Lord 1098, the sixth indiction, the omnipotent Creator of all things showed certain portents in the world, whereby he filled the hearts of men with fear and through the marvels that were revealed gave a prognostic of more terrible things to come. On 27 September the sky seemed to be on fire all night long.¹ Then on Christmas day, which fell on a Saturday in the seventh indiction,² the sun was turned into darkness.³ Almost immediately afterwards many changes of rulers occurred all over the world, while terrible disasters and rebellions and serious conflicts disturbed mankind.

After governing the papal see zealously and well for ten years⁴ Pope Urban fell ill at Rome, about the time Jerusalem was taken. He departed this life on 29 July⁵ and went to receive from God the reward for the good works in which he had specially excelled. The lustre and fame of his greatness, which had been spread all over the world, and the laments even of his enemies after his death are evidence of the nobility of his achievements.

Peter Leonis⁶ wrote three elegiac couplets on him, and praised his memory briefly in these words:

Rheims nursed the canon; Cluny raised the monk;
Rome called, and Ostia blessed the bishop, Odo;
When, renamed Urban, he became chief pontiff
The city's exiled fame returned unblemished.
In Rome his honoured rites were celebrated
Here, the fourth day before the August kalends.⁷

⁴ Urban II was pope from 12 March 1088 29 July 1099.

⁵ Urban died in the fortified house of the Pierleoni, near the Church of S. Niccolò in Carcere (*Liber Pontificalis* ed. Duchesne, ii. 294; D. B. Zema, 'The houses of Tuscany and of Pierleone in the crisis of Rome in the eleventh century', in *Traditio*, ii (1944), 173-4).

⁶ The authorship of this epitaph is uncertain; the second epitaph is attributed to Peter Leonis in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, viii. 530-1, where a variant version is printed. Peter Leonis was the father of the later antipope Anacletus II (cf. *Le Prévost*, v. 103).

⁷ Cf. Walther, *Carmina*, i, no. 67.

Alter quoque insignis uersificator prefati papæ uitam, mores et
occasum considerauit: et inde carmen huiusmodi compaginauit,

Canonicus Remensis Odo, quem Cluniacensis
Hugo facit monachum, papa fit eximius.
Hic uiuens lux urbis erat, defunctus eclipsis,
Urbs stetit Urbano stante, ruente ruit.
Lege regens et pace fouens te Roma beaut:²
Seruans a uitiiis intus, ab hoste foris.
Non flexit, non extulit hunc, non terruit unquam
Diues, fama, potens, munere, laude, minis.
Eloquium linguam, sapientia pectus, honestas
Mores ornabant: exteriora decor.
Ecce per hunc urbs sancta patet, lex nostra triumphat:²
Gentes sunt uictæ, crescit in orbe fides.
Sed citius rapitur rosa quæ plus uernat in orto,
Sic et florentem fata tulere uirum.
Mors hominem requies animam, cisterna cadauer
Suscipit, inter nos nil nisi fama manet.¹

Adhuc Urbano papa in domo Domini lucente, et tenebras de
cordibus mortalium predicationibus et exemplis digniter effugante:²
Guitbertus Rauennatensis quem Clementem nominarunt occubuit:²
cui Petrus Leo huiuscemodi elogium uersificando insultans intulit,

Nec tibi Roma locum, nec dat Guitberte Rauenna,
In neutra positus: nunc ab utraque uacas.
Qui Sutriæ uiuens maledictus papa fuisti:²
In Castellana mortuus urbe iaces.
Sed quia nomen eras sine re: pro nomine uano
Cerberus inferni iam tibi claustra parat.³

Defuncto Urbano papa Rainerius Vallis Brutiorum monachus
in Paschalem papam electus est: et xvi^a die a transitu predecessoris
sui canonicè consecratus est.⁴ Apostolicam uero sedem fere xx
annis rexit: æcclesiæque Dei summo sedimine prodesse insuda-
uit. Tempore Philippi regis Francorum in Gallias uenit: Paschale

¹ Cf. Walther, *Carmina*, i. no. 68.

² Wibert (Guibert) of Ravenna (Clement III) died after Urban, on 8 September 1100 at Civita Castellana.

³ Cf. Walther, *Carmina*, i. no. 11702.

⁴ Paschal's early life is obscure: he has often been called a monk of Cluny,

Another famous poet reflected on the life, character, and death
of the pope, and composed this verse on the subject:

Odo, canon of Rheims, whom Hugh of Cluny
Clothed as a monk, stands high among all pontiffs;
The light of Rome in life, in death its darkness;
With Urban stood the City, with him fell.
Ruling by law, preserving peace, he kept you,
Rome, safe from inner vice and outer foes.
No wealth swayed him with bribes, no fame unbalanced
With praise, no might with threats could terrify.
Eloquence, wisdom, virtue, were the rulers
Of tongue, heart, morals; comely was his mien;
The holy city's freed, pagans are shattered,
Our law prevails, our faith abounds, through him.
Alas! the fairest rose is soonest gathered,
So fate bears off a mortal in his prime;
Death takes the man; the tomb the corpse; eternal
Repose the soul; we cherish but his fame.¹

While Pope Urban was still a light shining in the house of the
Lord, magnificently driving the darkness from men's hearts by
his preaching and way of life, Guibert of Ravenna, whom men
called Clement, died,² and Peter Leonis made these mocking
verses as a memorial for him,

No place for you in Rome, nor in Ravenna,
Guibert; from both remote, by each you're spurned,
Who, living, were the devil's pope in Sutri,
Now, being dead, in Castellana lie.
You were an empty name: for that presumption
Cerberus keeps a place for you in hell.³

After the death of Pope Urban, Rainier, a monk of Vallombrosa,
was elected pope with the name of Paschal, and was canonically
consecrated on the sixteenth day after the passing of his pre-
decessor.⁴ He governed the papal see for about twenty years, and
devoted all his strength to the good of the Church. In the time of
King Philip he came to France, celebrated the Easter feast at

but no convincing evidence against Orderic's statement has ever been produced. The young Rainier may have entered an Italian monastery, possibly a dependency of Vallombrosa. At the age of twenty he went to Rome, where Gregory VII made him cardinal priest of San Clemente. See A. Stacpoole, 'Hildebrand, Cluny and the Papacy', in *Downside Review*, lxxxi (1963), 265-7. He died on 21 January 1118.

festum apud Carnotum celebravit,¹ et privilegia eiusdem æcclesiæ venerabilis Iuonis episcopi petitione confirmavit.

Henricus quartus imperator qui sanctam æcclesiam ab adolescentia sua perturbaverat, et inuestituras æcclesiarum diutius uiolenter usurpauerat, et prophanos æcclesiasticæ unitati aduersarios in domo Domini intruserat, potentiaque seculari truculenter armauerat: iam a Karolo filio suo de regni solio abiectus facinorum immanitatem suorum erubuit, et sic in misera senectute ab omnibus amicis destitutus vii^o idus Augusti obiit.² Sed quia pro sceleribus suis apostolico anathemate percussus occidit: extra matris telluris gremium ut beluinum cadauer computruit, nec communi sepultura mortalium contegi uel honorari meruit.³ Hic fere quinquaginta annis regnavit, sed dira flagitiosæ seruitutis stipendia recepit.

Karolus Henricus quintus imperator anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oC^oVI^o indictione xiv^a regnare cepit, et paternam tyrannidem arripuit, et fere xix annis regnavit,⁴ et in uia patris sui sicut in Paralipomenon de perfido hærede scelerosi patris
iv. 5 legitur ambulavit.⁵ Quinto autem anno regni sui cum xxx milibus militum et ingenti multitudine peditum Romam obsedit,⁶ pactisque conditionibus a Romanis susceptus in basilicam sancti Petri apostoli intrauit, et in cathedra imperiali iussu papæ resedit. Mox apostolico ut missam caneret precepit, sed ipse nisi quattuor optimates augusti quos nominatim anathematizauerat egrederentur noluit. Iratus ergo imperator papam ante altare comprehendere imperavit. Protinus de satellitibus cesaris unus pontificem arripuit, sed audacior ceteris imitator Simonis Petri gladium exemit: ualidiusque inuasorem papæ et atrocius quam Petrus Malcum percussit,⁷ et ibidem repente uno ictu exanimavit. Ingens igitur in urbe fit perturbatio, et ab utraque parte seua concertatio, et in sacris ædibus absque reuerentia sanguinis effusio. Duo milia

¹ In 1107; Easter fell on 14 April. He confirmed privileges of the monastery of St. John at Chartres on 19 April (Jaffé-Wattenbach, no. 630; B. Monod, *Essai sur les rapports de Pascal II avec Philippe I^{er}*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Paris 1907, p. 53).

² Henry IV's son, the future Henry V, whose second name was Conrad not Charles (Meyer von Knonau, iii. 427), revolted against his father in December 1104 and defeated him early in 1106. Henry IV died on 7 August 1106 (ibid. v. 203-314).

³ Henry IV died excommunicate; his body was taken to Speier and left unburied in an unconsecrated chapel for five years (Meyer von Knonau, vi. 8-10).

⁴ He reigned from 7 August 1106 to 23 May 1125.

⁵ Cf. 2 Chronicles xxxiii. 22.

Chartres,¹ and at the request of the venerable Bishop Ivo confirmed the privileges of the church of Chartres.

The Emperor Henry IV had disturbed the holy Church from his youth, violently usurped the right of investiture to churches for many years, and thrust godless enemies of the Church's unity into the house of the Lord, aggressively supporting them with the armed forces of the secular power. Now, driven from his kingdom by his son Charles, he had cause to repent the enormity of his crimes; and in a wretched old age, deserted by all his friends, he died on 7 August.² Because he died under papal sentence of anathema for his sins, his body was not received into the bosom of mother earth, but rotted like a beast's, deserving neither the burial common to mankind nor any reverence.³ He reigned for about fifty years, but reaped only the terrible reward of his enslavement to crime.

The Emperor Charles Henry V began to reign in the year of our Lord 1106, the fourteenth indiction. Taking up his father's tyrannical power, he reigned for about nineteen years,⁴ following in his father's footsteps like the faithless heir of a wicked sire, as we read in the book of Chronicles.⁵ In the fifth year of his reign he laid siege to Rome with thirty thousand knights and a great army of foot-soldiers,⁶ made a treaty with the Romans, and was received by them in the basilica of St. Peter the Apostle, where, at the Pope's bidding, he took his seat in the imperial chair. Immediately he ordered the Pope to sing Mass, but the latter refused unless four of the Emperor's nobles whom he had excommunicated by name left the building. At this the Emperor, furious, commanded the Pope to be arrested before the altar. One of the Emperor's soldiers at once laid hands on the Pope, but an imitator of Simon Peter, bolder than the others, drew his sword, struck the Pope's assailant more powerfully and fatally than Peter struck Malchus,⁷ and with one blow laid him dead on the floor. At this a great uproar arose in the city; the two sides clashed bitterly and blood was sacrilegiously shed in sacred buildings. Two thousand Normans arrived from Apulia to help

⁶ Henry V entered Italy in August 1110, and reached Rome in February 1111. He was crowned in St. Peter's by Paschal II on 12 February 1111. For an account of the disturbances after the coronation see Meyer von Knonau, vi. 138 ff.; *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et pontificum*, ed. L. Weiland, in *MGH Leges*, iv. 134-52; *Liber Pontificalis*, ii. 341.

⁷ Cf. John xviii. 10.

Normannorum de Apulia Romanis suppetias aduenerant. Illi cum Latiis et Quiritibus cito egressi sunt.¹ et multitudinem Alemanorum aliarumque gentium trucidauerunt, qui iam in ueteri urbe trans Tiberim securi hospitati fuerunt. Augustum uero cum suis clientibus de urbe ter expulerunt, uinctum tamen papam quia oculis eorum abditus fuerat eripere nequiuerunt. Conatus est imperator per mediam urbem in Campaniam cum exercitu suo uiolenter transire.² sed uirtute bellica cum dedecore compulsus est

iv. 6 alias abire, et pro interfectione multorum quos de cuneis eius in urbe subito peremptos esse diximus multi fleuere.

Tunc papa sollerti custodia detentus, omnique solatio destitutus³ imperatori quicquid petierat concessit, unde ab illo dimissus multis postmodum uilior extitit. Nam Rodbertus Parisiensis, Gualo episcopus Leonensis, et Poncius abbas Cluniacensis, aliique plures de cardinalibus et prelatibus æcclesiarum papam redarguebant,¹ et quicquid imperatori uerbo seu scripto concesserat irritum esse debere indubitanter censebant. Asserebant enim quod pro ueritate et iusticia debuisset optare mori, et usque ad mortem innocenter Christum sequi.² satisque malle uinacula et flagra perpeti, quam aliquid contra ius et statuta patrum potestati annuere seculari. Ille uero reprehensiones sophistarum patienter tolerabat³ et assertiones eorum legitimas ac ueraces esse allegabat.

iv. 7 Non multo post concilium episcoporum Romæ congregauit,² et omnia testamenta quæ coercitus imperatori sanxerat consilio iurisperitorum palam damnauit, ipsumque pro uiolatione domus Dei et captione sacerdotis Christi et effusione sanguinis Christianorum excommunicauit. Imperator itaque sexto regni sui anno Latiale decus tanto facinore maculauit, et multas gentes ad tantum nefas peragendum frustra uexauit. Quam grauis et periculosa hiemps pluuiis et niuibus glacieque tunc fuerit, et quanta discrimina in angustis et inæqualibus uis et in transitu fluminum exercitus pertulerit, et qualiter imperator collectis uiribus urbem obsessam plus minis quam armis expugnauerit.³ Ireusis quidam scolasticus³ decenti relatione litteris tradidit.

¹ Peter the Deacon (*Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, ed. W. Wattenbach in *MGH SS* vii. 782) also names Robert of Paris, and Walo, bishop of Saint-Pol-de-Léon, among Paschal's counsellors (cf. Meyer von Knonau, vi. 226). No other source mentions Pontius, who played the role of mediator (Hefele-Leclercq, v. 531).

² The council was held in the Lateran from 18 to 23 March 1112. See Hefele-Leclercq, v. 532-5; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, ii. 369-71; *FW* ii. 64-6; *GR* ii. 503-4. The documents were widely circulated, and there is no mention in them of the shedding of Christian blood.

³ Probably David the Scot, who became bishop of Bangor in 1120; his

the Romans. These, together with the Roman citizens and other Latins, rushed out and slaughtered a multitude of Germans and men of other races who, thinking themselves secure, were lodging in the ancient city across the Tiber. Three times they drove the Emperor with his supporters from the city, but they were unable to rescue the captive Pope, who was kept hidden from them. The Emperor attempted to fight his way with his army through the heart of the city to Campania, but he was compelled by superior military strength to take another route with dishonour; and many had cause to mourn the heavy casualties among his troops who, as I have described, were suddenly slaughtered in the city.

Meanwhile the Pope, kept in close custody and deprived of all consolation, gave way to all the Emperor's demands; in this way he secured his release only to be scorned by many afterwards. Robert of Paris, Walo, bishop of Léon, Pontius, abbot of Cluny, and many cardinals and bishops besides disowned the Pope¹ and ruled that whatever he had conceded to the Emperor, either in words or in writing, ought to be held null and void. They asserted that he ought to have chosen to die for truth and justice and follow Christ to the end without stain, preferring rather to suffer imprisonment and scourging than to make any concessions to the secular power that were contrary to justice and the canons of the fathers. He for his part bore the rebukes of the learned with patience, acknowledging that their accusations were justifiable and true. Not long afterwards he summoned a council of bishops to Rome² and, on the advice of jurists, openly revoked all the privileges which, under duress, he had granted to the Emperor. Further, he excommunicated him for desecrating the house of God, imprisoning a priest of Christ, and shedding Christian blood. Thus the Emperor in the sixth year of his reign sullied the honour of the Latin peoples by a serious crime, and stirred up many races to do great evil for no purpose. An Irish scholar³ has described in a stylish narrative how bitter and hard that winter was, with storms and snow and ice; what perils the army endured on the steep and narrow roads and at the river crossings, and how the Emperor, after mustering his forces, captured the beleaguered city rather by threats than by arms.

account, now lost, was used also by Ekkehard of Aura (*Chronicon*, in *MGH SS* vi. 243) and William of Malmesbury (*GR* ii. 498-9, 502). William criticized him as a panegyrist of the Emperor.

iv. 8 In illa expeditione imperator Mediolanum impugnavit: sed repulsus inde nil profecit. Tunc etiam Mathaldis potentis eræ spaciosam regionem deustauerat, quæ Ticinum Placentiam et magnam partem Italiæ quæ nunc Lombardia dicitur possidebat, et sibi patrique suo diu multumque restiterat, iustisque apostolicis Gregorio, Urbano et Pascali semper suffragata fuerat.¹

Henricus rex Anglorum Mathildem filiam suam imperatori in uxorem dedit,² quam Rogerius filius Ricardi cognatus regis³ cum nobili comitatu de Anglia in Alemanniam duxit. Argenti quoque decem milia marcos cum filia sua rex opulentus ei donavit, et regali more munera insignia destinavit. Imperator autem tam generosam coniugem admodum dilexit, sed peccatis exigentibus sobole imperio digna caruit: unde imperiale stemma in aliam iubente Deo familiam transiit. Nam eo defuncto Lotharius Saxonum dux a proceribus regni electus est: meritoque frugalitatis ac bonitatis in solium imperii promotus est.⁴ Mathildis autem imperatrix post mortem mariti sui natale solum repetiit: et inter suos licet ab exteris multum diligeretur commorari maluit. Rex Anglorum pater eius Ioffredo Andegavorum comiti iv. 9 eam in coniugem desponsavit: quæ marito suo filium nomine Henricum anno dominicæ incarnationis M^oC^oXXX^oIIII^o peperit, quem multi populi dominum expectant si Deus omnipotens in cuius manu sunt omnia concesserit.⁵

2

Nunc quia iam aliquantulum ab incepta digressus sum materia, et moratus sum in his quæ ultra Alpes in Ausonia gesta sunt et Palestina: reuertar ad res nostras quæ in Neustria contigerunt et Anglia. Guillelmus Rufus militia clarus post mortem patris in Anglia regnavit, rebelles sibi fortiter uirga iusticiæ compressit, et xii annis ac x mensibus ad libitum suum omnes suæ ditioni subiugavit. Militibus et exteris largus erat, sed pauperes incolas

¹ For the wide possessions of Countess Matilda of Tuscany see A. Overmann, *Gräfin Mathilda von Tuscan, ihre Besitzungen* (Innsbruck, 1895); and for her support of the papacy, D. B. Zema in *Traditio*, ii (1944), 155-76.

² The betrothal took place in 1109, when Matilda was a child of seven (*ASC* 1109); she was sent to Germany in 1110 (*ASC* 1110; *Regesta*, ii, nos. 953, 956; Meyer von Knonau, vi. 117-21). The marriage took place at Mainz on 7 January 1114 (Meyer von Knonau, vi. 285-9; O. Rössler, *Kaiserin Mathilde* (Historische Studien VII, Berlin, 1897), pp. 9-12).

³ Roger of Clare, son of Richard fitz Gilbert (cf. above, iv. 212). The family was descended from Duke Richard I and Gunnor.

⁴ Although a considerable party in Germany held the view that the monarchy

In that campaign the Emperor attacked Milan, but was repulsed without taking it. Then too he plundered the extensive lands of Matilda, the powerful countess who held Pavia, Piacenza, and a great part of Italy now called Lombardy, and had opposed him and his father for a very long time, whilst always supporting the legitimate popes, Gregory, Urban, and Paschal.¹

King Henry of England gave his daughter Matilda in marriage to the Emperor,² and the king's kinsman, Roger son of Richard,³ escorted her from England to Germany with a brilliant company. The wealthy king gave the Emperor ten thousand marks in silver with his daughter, and dispatched splendid gifts to him in royal fashion. The Emperor loved his noble wife deeply, but on account of his sins he failed to have an heir to the Empire, so that at God's command the imperial line passed to another family. On his death Lothair, duke of Saxony, was elected by the nobles of the realm and raised to the imperial throne as a reward for his moderation and goodness.⁴ The Empress Matilda returned to her native land after her husband's death, preferring to live among her own people although she was greatly loved abroad. The king of England, her father, gave her in marriage to Geoffrey, count of Anjou, and in the year of our Lord 1133 she bore him a son called Henry, to whom many people look as their future lord, if almighty God, in whose hand all things are, shall so ordain.⁵

2

Because I have digressed somewhat from my original subject and have lingered over happenings beyond the Alps in Italy and Palestine, I will now return to events which took place nearer home in Normandy and England. William Rufus, famous in the field of chivalry, reigned in England after his father's death; he sternly brought rebels to heel with the rod of justice, and for twelve years and ten months forced all men to accept his rule according to his will. He was generous to knights and foreigners,

was hereditary, the electoral principle had been strongly asserted in 1077 and was still alive in 1125, especially among the bishops. For an account of Lothair II's election in August 1125 see *Narratio de electione Lotharii in regem Romanorum*, ed. W. Wattenbach, in *MGH SS* xii. 509-12.

⁵ The marriage of Matilda and Geoffrey took place in 1127; Prince Henry was born on 5 March 1133. Orderic's words imply hopes for a more extensive inheritance than the lands of Anjou. Cf. below, p. 228 n. 2.

regni sui nimis opprimebat' et illis uiolenter auferebat, quæ prodigus aduenis tribuebat. Multi sub ipso patris sui proceres obierunt, qui proauis suis extraneum ius bellicose uendicauerunt' pro quibus nonnullos degeneres in locis magnatorum restituit, et amplis pro adulationis merito datis honoribus sullimauit. Legitimam coniugem nunquam habuit' sed obscenis fornicationibus et frequentibus mœchiis inexplēbiliter inhesit, flagitiisque pollutus exemplum turpis lasciuia subiectis damnabiliter exhibuit. Defunctis presulibus et archimandritis satellites regis æcclesiasticas possessiones et omnes gazas inuadebant, triennioque seu plus dominio regis omnino mancipabant. Sic nimirum pro cupiditate redituum qui regis in ærario recondebantur æcclesie uacabant' necessariisque carentes pastoribus dominicæ oues lupinis morsibus patebant.

iv. 10 Eodem tempore uenerabiles episcopi Osmundus Salesburiensis et Gualchilinus Guentoniensis, Guillelmus Dunelmensis et Remigius Lincoliensis, aliique plures reuerendi pontifices defuncti sunt:¹ quorum fundos et omne peculium Flambardus² et Fulcherius frater eius aliique clientes regis diu nacti sunt. Sic etiam defuncto Balduino abbate sancti regis et martiris Edmundi, et
iv. 11 Simeone Eliensi,³ aliisque patribus de seculo migrantibus mortali, per Angliam regales ministri cenobia cum omnibus ad eadem pertinentibus inuadebant, et monachis uictum et uestitum cum parcitate erogabant, cætera uero regis thesauris ingerebant.⁴ Porro post longum tempus rex curialibus clericis seu monachis æcclesiasticos honores quasi stipendia mercennariis porrigebat, nec in illis tantum religionem quantum fauorem seruitiumque sibi gratum ritu seculari attendebat.

Rodbertus igitur cognomento Bloiet qui senioris Guillelmi capellanus fuerat, eoque defuncto de portu Tolchæ cum iuniore
iv. 12 Guillelmo mare transfretauerat' et epistolam regis de coronanda prole Lanfranco archiepiscopo detulerat,⁵ post mortem Remigii Lincolniensem episcopatum recepit, quem plus quam xx annis tenuit. Girardus autem nepos Gualchelini Guentoniensis, prius

¹ Osmund of Salisbury d. 3/4 December 1099; Walchelin of Winchester d. 3 January 1098 (*Le Neve*: Greenway, ii. 85); William of Saint-Calais d. 2 January 1096 (*ibid.*, p. 29); Remigius d. 6 May 1092.

² For Ranulf Flambard see above, iv. 170-2.

³ Baldwin, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, d. 29 December 1097/8; Simeon, abbot of Ely, d. 1093.

but greatly oppressed the poor inhabitants of his kingdom and took from them by force the wealth that he lavished on strangers. Many of his father's nobles who, by force of arms, had won foreign inheritances fighting for his ancestors, died during his reign; in their place instead of magnates the king raised up certain underlings whom he exalted by the grant of extensive honors as a reward for their flattery. He never had a lawful wife, but gave himself up insatiably to obscene fornications and repeated adulteries. Stained with his sins, he set a culpable example of shameful debauchery to his subjects. When bishops and abbots died the king's officers seized all the property and wealth of the churches, and for three years or more administered them entirely as part of the royal demesne. So churches lay vacant through his insatiable greed for the revenues, which were gathered into the king's coffers, and the Lord's sheep, deprived of their shepherds, were left undefended to be devoured by wolves.

At this time the venerable bishops Osmund of Salisbury, Walchelin of Winchester, William of Durham, Remigius of Lincoln, and many other reverend fathers died;¹ their lands and all their properties were held for long periods by Flambard,² his brother Fulcher, and other officers of the king. Similarly, when Baldwin, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, and Simeon of Ely³ and other bishops departed this life, the king's ministers seized the monasteries all over England with all their possessions, allowed the monks barely enough for food and clothing, and diverted the rest into the king's coffers.⁴ Then after a long time the king bestowed ecclesiastical honors, like hireling's wages, on clerks and monks of the court, looking less for piety in these men than for obsequiousness and willing service in secular affairs.

In this way Robert Bloet, who had been a chaplain of the elder William and who, after his death, had crossed the Channel from the port of Touques with the younger William, carrying the king's letter telling Lanfranc to crown his son,⁵ received the bishopric of Lincoln after the death of Remigius, and held it for more than twenty years. And Gerard, nephew of Walchelin of

⁴ Orderic's statement is too sweeping; the scanty evidence suggests that practice varied in different vacancies. See Margaret Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (London, 1962), pp. 13-16.

⁵ See above, iv. 96. Robert Bloet, royal chaplain and chancellor (*Regesta*, i, xvii-xviii; *HBC*, p. 81), was appointed bishop of Lincoln in March 1093, and died 9 January 1123.

presul Herfordensis: postea uero tempore Henrici regis archiepiscopus factus est Eborachensis,¹ Guillelmus quoque de Guarelquest episcopium habuit Exoniense², Iohannes medicus Badense,³ Radulfus cognomento Luffa Cicestrense,⁴ et Rannulfus Flambardus Dunelmense,⁵ Herbertus uero Losengia Tetfordense.⁶ Sic utique capellani regis et amici presulatus Angliæ adepti sunt: et non nulli ex ipsis preposituras ad opprimendos inopes sibi que augendas opes nichilominus tenuerunt. Alii uero pro suscepto æcclesiastici regiminis onere diuinitus perterriti sunt: sibi que commissis intus et exterius salubriter prodesse studuerunt, uitas que suas secundum beneplacitam uoluntatem Dei laudabiliter correxerunt. Homines enim multa faciunt culpabiliter pro explenda sua uoluntate, nil appetentes nisi libitum suum in perpetrata prauitate: quæ sapiens arbiter omnium ad multorum commoditatem sua bene disponit ineffabili pietate. Plerumque leues et indocti eliguntur ad regimen æcclesiæ tenendum, non pro sanctitate uitæ uel æcclesiasticorum eruditione dogmatum, liberalium uel peritia litterarum: sed nobilium pro gratia parentum, et potentum fauore amicorum. Quibus ita promotis clemens Deus parcat ac miseretur, eis que postmodum supernæ ubertas gratiæ infunditur, et cœlestis sophyæ per eos luce Dei domus illuminatur, et utilibus studiis plures saluantur.

v. 13

3

Venerabilis Anselmus Cantuariæ archipresul assiduas preuaricationes uidens frequenter contristabatur, imitansque Iohannem et Heliam ea crebro calumniabatur, quæ contra diuinam fieri legem merens intuebatur. Superbus autem rex qui spiritualis aurigæ freno salubriter regi dedignabatur, malignis et procacibus consiliariis in malignitate irretiebatur, et contra salubria pii monitoris hortamenta irascebatur. Vnde prudens archiepiscopus temporibus eius bis exulauit:⁷ et prius Vrbanum papam ac postmodum Paschalem expetiit. Causas autem exilii eius et

v. 14

¹ Gerard, first precentor of Rouen and then for a short time chancellor, was bishop of Hereford from 1096 until December 1100, when he was translated to York (Eadmer, *HN*, pp. 68, 74; *HBC*, p. 81; *HCY*, pp. 12-14).

² William Warelwast become bishop of Exeter on 11 August 1107, in the reign of Henry I.

³ John de Villula, king's chaplain and doctor (*Regesta*, i, p. xix), became bishop of Wells in 1088. In 1090 the see was transferred to Bath.

⁴ Consecrated 6 January 1091; for his character and achievement see H. Mayr-Harting, *The Bishops of Chichester 1075-1207* (Chichester Papers, no. 40, Chichester, 1963), pp. 2-4.

⁵ Nominated on 29 May 1099 (Le Neve: Greenway, ii. 29).

Winchester, first became bishop of Hereford and later, in the time of King Henry, archbishop of York;¹ William Warelwast had the bishopric of Exeter,² John the doctor, Bath;³ Ralph Luffa, Chichester,⁴ and Ranulf Flambard, Durham;⁵ while Herbert Losinga had Thetford.⁶ In this way the king's chaplains and favourites obtained the bishoprics of England, and some of them used their offices solely for the purpose of oppressing the poor and acquiring wealth for themselves. Others, it is true, were filled with the fear of God on taking up the burden of ecclesiastical authority, endeavoured to further the well-being and salvation of those committed to their care, and reformed their lives worthily in accordance with God's gracious will. Men indeed, never hesitating to do wrong as they follow their own headstrong wills in pursuit of their own ends, commit many deeds which the wise governor of all things turns to the general good by his own ineffable love. Very often shallow, unlearned men are chosen for high ecclesiastical office, not because of any holiness of life or knowledge of church doctrine or learning in the liberal arts, but by the influence of noble kinsfolk and the help of powerful friends. Yet after their promotion God in his mercy pities and spares them, in time filling them with the riches of divine grace, so that through them the house of God is lit with the brightness of heavenly wisdom and many find a way to salvation through useful activities.

3

The venerable Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, was distressed by the continual injustices he witnessed and, following the example of John and Elijah, he constantly denounced deeds that he knew in his sorrow to be contrary to the divine law. But the proud king, refusing to be restrained for his own good by his spiritual guide, became more and more entangled in the evil snares of perverse and presumptuous counsellors and turned angrily against the wholesome admonitions of his spiritual father. Consequently the archbishop prudently went into exile twice in his time,⁷ and sought out first Pope Urban, then Paschal. The

⁶ Elected bishop of Thetford 1090/1; transferred the see to Norwich 1094/6. See B. Dodwell, 'The foundation of Norwich cathedral', in *TRHS* 5th ser. vii (1957), 1-18; Le Neve: Greenway, ii. 56.

⁷ Anselm's second exile was in Henry I's reign.

qualiter periculosum iter peregerit.' Edmarus capellanus eius et itineris socius diligenter enarrauit, in libro quem de moribus eius et actibus nectareisque dogmatibus luculenter edidit. In illo quippe itinere Balduinus de Tornaco nobilis heros et prefatus Angligena illi comitabantur, quorum uirtuosæ strenuitates ab his qui eorum archana familiariter rimati sunt predicabiles habentur.¹

iv. 15 In Apulia Vrbanum papam Anselmum inuenit, et ab ipso ueneranter susceptus ibi cum illo aliquandiu habitauit. Tunc Rogerius Tancredi filius Siciliæ consul in Campaniam uenerat, Capuam obsidebat, Ricardum Iordani filium nepotem scilicet suum paterno iuri restituere satagebat.' et rebelles Langobardos² qui predictum iuuenem excluderant obsidione coartabat.³ Ibi papa sequester aderat.' et cum uenerabili Anselmo legationes pacis inter dissidentes deferebat. Tandem comes pristinum honorem compressis rebellibus nepoti suo restituit, eique papa domnum Anselmum et ipsi consulem commendauit. Cumque concilium apud Barum iussu papæ congregatum esset, et copia perplexarum de fide aliisque misteriis quæstionum a Grecis prolata fuisset.' iussu papæ pater Anselmus generalem omnibus sermonem fecit, et ad propositas inquisitiones subtili lucidaque Grecis et Latinis responsione satisfacit.⁴

4

⁵Cumque prefatus papa Deo catholicæque plebi apostolicam seruitutem peregrisset, et in Gallicanis regionibus unde prodierat suis spiritualiter proficere decreuisset.' ingentem sinodum apud Clarum montem Aluerniæ urbem tenuit, populum Domini contra ethnicos præliari admonendo precepit, et crucem Domini quæ

¹ See Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*. Baldwin of Tournai, a young man of a noble Flemish family, became a monk at Bec (cf. *ibid.*, p. 65, where he is called 'uir strenuus', pp. 87, 103-4; Southern, *St. Anselm*, pp. 194-6).

² Here as elsewhere Orderic uses the term 'Langobardi' for the Lombards of southern Italy.

³ The siege of Capua was undertaken by Roger Borsa, duke of Apulia, to restore the authority of his kinsman, Richard II prince of Capua, in Capua. He was helped by Roger, count of Sicily, Richard's great-uncle. Urban II was at Capua in early June 1098. The chief authority for the siege is Geoffroy of Malaterra (GM iv. 26-7, pp. 104-6). Orderic made some use of Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi* (cf. pp. 109-12) for his account of the siege of Capua and the council of Bari.

⁴ The council of Bari was held from 3 October to 10 October. Some of the arguments of Anselm's speech refuting the Greeks were later used in his treatise *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, which he sent to Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans (see Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. xxxiv, 112-13, and the authorities there cited).

reasons for his exile and the perils he endured on his journey have been painstakingly set down by Eadmer, his chaplain and the companion of his travels, in an admirable book which he published about Anselm's character and deeds and delectable teaching. In that journey Baldwin of Tournai, a nobly born monk, and Eadmer the Englishman were his companions: men whose excellent capabilities were much valued by those who were in their confidence.¹

Anselm found Pope Urban in Apulia and, being honourably received by him, remained in his company for a while. At that time Roger the son of Tancred, count of Sicily, had entered Campania and was besieging Capua in an effort to restore his great-nephew, Richard son of Jordan, to his paternal inheritance, and was closely investing the rebel Lombards² who had expelled the young man.³ Pope Urban acted as mediator and, with the venerable Anselm, conducted negotiations for peace between the combatants. Finally the count defeated the rebels and restored his great-nephew to his former principality, and the pope commended father Anselm and the count to each other. When a council was held at Bari by the Pope's command, and a copy of a number of obscure propositions touching the faith and other mysteries was produced by the Greeks, Father Anselm at the Pope's bidding preached a public sermon and satisfied both Greeks and Latins with his subtle and lucid reply to the questions under discussion.⁴

4

⁵When Pope Urban had undertaken to perform his duty as pope to God and the catholic people, and had decided to set out for France, which was his native land, for the spiritual welfare of his subjects, he held a huge council at Clermont in Auvergne, exhorted the Lord's people to fight against the heathen, and

⁵ In the editions of Duchesne and Le Prévost, chapter 4 begins a paragraph later, and Le Prévost accuses Orderic of muddled chronology. This seems to go against palaeography. Orderic did not divide his work into chapters, but a new paragraph begins here in the autograph manuscript with a large capital letter, and the sense requires a new section. Orderic makes quite plain later (below, p. 252) that he did not imagine the council of Bari to be earlier than the council of Clermont: he is here merely recapitulating the events that put William Rufus in control of the duchy of Normandy.

diabolo et omni malignitati formidini est, in humeris suis ferre instituit. Tunc nimia motio gentium facta est' sicut in precedenti libello satis dictum est.¹

Tunc Godefridus Lotharingæ dux Bullonem castrum cum omnibus appendiciis suis episcopo Leodicensi domino suo inuadiauit' et ab eo septem milia marcos argenti recepit.² Sic alii plures opulenti et pauperes predia redditusque suos distraxerunt, ac pecuniam ad ineundum iter in Ierusalem procurauerunt.

Rodbertus quoque secundus dux Normannorum qui Curtaocrea iocose cognominatus est' totam terram suam usque ad quinque annos Guillelmo regi fratri suo dimisit, et decem milia marcos argenti ad explendam peregrinationem cupitam ab eo accepit. Guillelmus autem rex ix^o anno ex quo regnavit, exhaustire thesauros suos nolens ornamenta æcclesiarum expoliavit' quæ studiosa priscorum benevolentia regum et optimarum auro et argento gemmisque texerat, ac ad laudem Dei memoriamque sui sanctæ matri æcclesiæ reliquerat.³ Mense Septembri Guillelmus rex mare transfretavit, dataque pecunia Neustriam recepit,⁴ et fere v annis omni scilicet uita sua fortiter conculcauit. Tunc Odo Baiocensis episcopus cum Rodberto duce nepote suo peregrinatus est. Tantus enim erat rancor inter ipsum et regem pro transactis simultatibus' ut nullatenus pacificari possent ab ullis caduceatoribus. Rex siquidem magnanimus et iracundus et tenacis erat memoriæ' nec iniuriam sibimet irrogatam facile obliuisceretur sine ultione. Tumidus nimirum princeps acerbe secum recolebat, quod Odo presul qui patruus suus erat' in primordio regni sui primus illi restiterat, et ingentem magnatorum frequentiam in rebellionem contra ipsum contraxerat. Eius instinctu Rodbertus Moritolii comes Peneuesellum tenuit' sed postmodum cum rege obsidente qui nepos suus erat pacem fecit, et reddita munitione in amicitiam rediit. Gislebertus quoque filius Ricardi cum Rogerio fratre suo Tonnebrugiam muniuit,⁵ sed pascali ebdomada rex oppidum obsedit, quod ei mox in primo assultu cessit. Denique

¹ See above, pp. 10-18.

² Godfrey of Bouillon held the castle of Bouillon as an alod in the right of his mother Ida; she came there in 1096 to help with the arrangements to raise money. Bishop Othbert of Liège, his neighbour, not his lord, was particularly anxious to secure the castle as a protection against brigandage: he paid, according to one source, 1,300 marks in silver and three in gold, and according to another, 1,500 pounds in silver (J. C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey de Bouillon* (Indiana University Publications, Bloomington, 1947), pp. 50-1; *Reineri monachi sancti Laurentii Leodiensis opera historica*, MGH SS xx. 584; *Triumphus sancti Lamberti de castro Bullonio* (ibid. 499); *Chronicon sancti Huberti Andaginensis* (ibid. viii. 615). Godfrey also sold property to Bishop Richer of Verdun (ibid. x. 498).

prescribed that they should carry on their shoulders the cross of the Lord to repel the devil and all evil. Then a great movement of peoples began, which was fully described in the last book.¹

At that time Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, mortgaged the castle of Bouillon with all its appurtenances to his lord, the bishop of Liège, and received seven thousand marks in silver from him.² Similarly many others, rich and poor alike, disposed of their property and revenues and procured money to undertake the journey to Jerusalem.

Amongst them Robert II, duke of Normandy, who was jestingly called Curthose, pledged all his lands to his brother King William for a term of five years, and received from him ten thousand marks in silver to undertake the crusade on which his heart was set. King William, then in the ninth year of his reign, not wishing to exhaust his reserves of treasure, plundered the ornaments of the churches, which thanks to the generous devotion of earlier kings and nobles had been encrusted with gold and silver and precious stones and given to the holy mother Church for the glory of God and their own commemoration.³ In September King William crossed the sea and, handing over the money, received Normandy,⁴ which he ground down relentlessly for almost five years: that is, for the rest of his life. At that time Odo, bishop of Bayeux, left on crusade with Duke Robert his nephew. So great was the enmity between him and the king as a result of past strife that it was impossible for any mediators to bring about a reconciliation. For the proud, quick-tempered King had a tenacious memory, and did not easily forget an injury unless he had avenged it. Haughty prince that he was, he recalled with bitterness that Bishop Odo, who was his uncle, had been the first to oppose him at the beginning of his reign, and had assembled a huge concourse of nobles to rebel against him. At his suggestion Robert, count of Mortain, had held Pevensey, but later, when besieged by the king his nephew, he had made peace with him and been restored to his friendship after surrendering the castle. And Gilbert fitz Richard with his brother Roger had fortified Tonbridge,⁵ but the king besieged the castle in Easter week and it fell to him at the

³ The bishops of Liège and Verdun raised money to pay Godfrey of Bouillon in exactly the same way (MGH SS x. 498; xx. 499).

⁴ Florence of Worcester corroborates this account (FW ii. 40).

⁵ This indicates that their father Richard either was dead or had entered religion by 1088; cf. FW ii. 23, Douglas, *Domesday Monachorum*, p. 40.

pontifex ipse cum Eustachio Boloniensi et Rodberto Belesmensi et insigni phalange armatorum Rofense castrum tenuit, ibique duobus municipiis quæ rex construxerat in giro artatus cum dedecore cessit, et de toto Albionis regno irrecuperabiliter exheredatus recessit.¹ Deinde in Normannia cum sese rex uindicaret, et fratrem suum a quo iniuste et frustra impugnatus fuerat impugnaret, et baronibus cupiditate seu timore ad eum flexis magnam portionem Normanniæ nactus triumpharet.² Baiocensis Odo totis uiribus illi diu restitit, nec consuli donec ipse sibi deficeret auxilium defuit. Vnde presul postquam rex Guillelmus ut dictum est preualuit.³ peregrinari quam inimico subici maluit. Romæ cum Urbano papa presul et dux locuti sunt:⁴ et percepta benedictione ab eo Tiberim transierunt, et in Apulia hiemauerunt.

iv. 18 Inde pontifex in urbem Panormitanam quam uulgo Palernam uocant secessit, ibique Februario mense ex hac uita migravit, et in metropolitana sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ basilica Gislebertus Ebroicensis episcopus eum sepeliuit. Hic ab adolescentia sua promotus æclesiæ gubernaculum suscepit, fere 1 annis tenuit, multis honoribus et ornamentis episcopalem æcclesiam ditauit. Clerum honorauit, et multos suis exspoliavit, aliisque ablata prodigus donauit.⁵ Cuius obitum rex Guillelmus ut audiuit.⁶ Turolde fratri Hugonis de Ebremou episcopatum dedit. Qui post annos vii presulatum pro quibusdam archanis ultro reliquit, et in cœnobio Beccensi sub Guillelmo abbate monachili regulæ se submisit, ibique plurimo tempore usque ad finem uitæ regulariter Deo militauit,⁴ cui Ricardus Samsonis filius per annos xxvi successit.⁵

Guillelmus itaque rex Normanniam possedit, et dominia patris sui quæ frater suus insipienter distraxerat sibi mancipauit, et æcclesias pastoribus uiduatas electis pro modulo suo rectoribus commisit. Nam Gemmeticense cenobium et Diuense uocabant.

iv. 19 Guntardus enim Gemmeticensium strenuus abbas apud Clarum

¹ See above, iv. 120-34.

² Robert Curthose met the pope at Lucca, not Rome (Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 164; *GR* ii. 402).

³ See above, iv. 114-18.

⁴ Turolde was charged by Paschal II with receiving appointment from the lay power without election and being ordained deacon without passing through the minor orders. He was probably deposed in 1106, but the see did not become effectively vacant until his more or less voluntary retirement to Bec in 1107. See G. Morin in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, v (1904), 284, with the correction in dating of J. Ramackers in *PUF*, p. 58, no. 5; S. E. Gleason, *An Ecclesiastical Barony of the Middle Ages* (Harvard Historical Monographs x, 1936), pp. 17-23.

first assault. Finally the bishop himself, with Eustace of Boulogne, Robert of Bellême, and a great host of armed men, had held the fortress of Rochester and there, blockaded by the two siege-towers that the king had built, had surrendered with dishonour and had departed from the realm of England, after being irrevocably disinherited.¹ Finally, when the king avenged himself in Normandy, attacked his brother who had unjustly and ineffectually attacked him, and, after winning over the barons by bribes and force, triumphantly won a great part of Normandy, Odo of Bayeux resisted him with all his might for a long time, never failing to bring help to the duke until he gave up the struggle. So once King William triumphed, as I have described, the bishop chose rather to go abroad than to submit to his enemy. The bishop and duke had an interview with the pope at Rome,² and after receiving his blessing crossed the Tiber and wintered in Apulia.

From there the bishop retired to the Panormitan city now commonly called Palermo, and there in the month of February he departed this life. Gilbert, bishop of Évreux, buried him in the cathedral church of Mary, the blessed Mother of God. Odo had been promoted in adolescence to a position of authority in the Church, and had held it for almost fifty years, enriching his cathedral with many estates and ornaments. He respected the clergy and while depriving many of their property freely gave the booty to others.³ When King William heard of his death he gave the bishopric to Turolde, brother of Hugh of Envermeu. Some seven years later Turolde resigned the bishopric for some hidden reasons and took monastic vows in the abbey of Bec under Abbot William; there he served God under the Rule for many years, until the end of his life.⁴ Richard, son of Samson, was bishop for twenty-six years after him.⁵

So King William ruled in Normandy, kept in his own hand the domains of his father which his brother had foolishly alienated, and entrusted the vacant churches to clergy chosen after his own will. The abbeys of Jumièges and Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives were then vacant: Gontard the able abbot of Jumièges had died on

⁵ Richard, son of Samson bishop of Worcester, became bishop of Bayeux in 1107 and died in Easter week, 1133 (*Antiquus cartularius ecclesie Baiocensis*, ed. V. Bourrienne (Société de l'histoire de Normandie, 1902-3), i, pp. xlii-xliv; Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 15; Gleason, pp. 23-5).

montem dum famosa sinodus ibi celebraretur vi° kalendas Decembris obiit' in cuius loco rex Tancardum Fiscannensem prepositum subrogauit.¹ Qui post aliquot annos orto inter ipsum et monachos probroso tumultu cum infamia recessit, eique Rotomagensis Vrsus ab infantia eiusdem æcclesiæ monachus per annos xx successit.²

Interea Fulco Vticensis monachus et Diuensium abbas Vrbanum papam adierat, et apud Cassinum Montem exulabat.³ cuius successor nomine Benedictus sancti Audoeni Rotomagensis archiepiscopi monachus⁴ obierat. Diuensibus ergo Guillelmus rex Etardum⁵ Gemmeticensem ortolanum ab infantia monachum abbatem dedit, qui per aliquot annos gregem Dei diligenter seruauit. Fulconi uero redeunti cum apicibus papæ cenobialem magistratum gratanter reliquit' ac ad conuersionis suæ locum reuersus in decrepita ætate hominem exiuit. Fulco autem qui ante deiectionem suam Diuense cœnobium xx annis rigide rexit, solertiaque sua numerum fratrum auxit, multisque modis æcclesiam prouexit' inuidente et instigante Sathana iniuste criminatus et depositus vii annis exulauit. Deinde reuersus abbatiam suam iterum vii annis prospere gubernauit, et senex in Anglia iii° nonas Aprilis Guentæ obiit.

5

iv. 20 Anno ab incarnatione Domini M°XC°VII° indictione v^a Guillelmus Rufus ut patris sui casus et bellorum causas comperit' Philippo Francorum regi totum Vilcassinum pagum calumniari cepit, et præclara oppida Pontesiam et Caluimontem atque Medantum poposcit.⁶ Francis autem poscenti non acquiescentibus, immo prælianti atrociter resistere ardentibus' ingens guerra inter feroces populos exoritur, et multis luctuosa mors ingeritur, totum

¹ See above, ii. 294; *Jumièges*, i. 444-5, 458.

² Ursus was abbot from 1101 (?) to 1127 (*Jumièges*, i. 444-5, 458).

³ Fulco had previously been prior of Saint-Évroul. The causes of his deposition are not clear. He went to Rome in 1092, accompanied by Orderic's teacher, John of Rheims, and recovered his administration c. 1099 (see above, ii. 354 n. 3; iii. 168).

⁴ According to Robert of Torigny he had been prior of Saint-Ouen (*Chroniques de Robert de Torigni*, ed. L. Delisle (Rouen, 1872-3), ii. 200).

⁵ Etard is called Walter in a charter of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives (*GC xi, Instrumenta*, 153-6, no. iv), and by Robert of Torigny (ii. 200).

⁶ See above, iv. 74-8. For the chronology of the campaign see Luchaire, *Louis VI*, p. 5. William Rufus made some efforts to ingratiate himself with powerful churches in the French Vexin before opening his campaign: it was probably in 1097 that he gave to St. Germer of Fly a precious chasuble, which

26 November at Clermont, while the momentous council was being held there, and the king appointed Tancard, prior of Fécamp, in his place.¹ He resigned with ignominy some years later, after a scandalous quarrel had broken out between him and his monks, and Ursus of Rouen, who had been a monk in the abbey since childhood, held office for twenty years after him.²

Meanwhile Fulk, monk of Saint-Évroul and abbot of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, went to Pope Urban and remained in exile at Monte Cassino.³ His successor, Benedict by name, who had been a monk⁴ in the abbey of Saint-Ouen archbishop of Rouen, died. King William then appointed as abbot of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives Etard,⁵ an oblate monk who had been an obedientiary in charge of the garden at Jumièges, and he dutifully tended God's flock for a number of years. When Fulk returned with papal letters he willingly relinquished the government of the abbey and, returning to the monastery of his first profession, died in extreme old age. Fulk himself, who before his deposition had ruled the abbey of Dives justly for twenty years, had increased the number of monks by his zeal, and fostered the church in many ways, was unjustly accused and deposed through the envious machinations of Satan, and spent seven years in exile. Returning at last, he governed his abbey well for a further seven years, and died in England as an old man on 3 April, at Winchester.

5

In the year of our Lord 1097, the fifth indiction, William Rufus, conscious of his father's fate and the causes of his wars, laid claim to the whole Vexin from Philip, king of France, and demanded the strong fortresses of Pontoise, Chaumont, and Mantes.⁶ As the French did not agree to his demands, indeed they were eager to throw all their forces relentlessly against him, a major war broke out between the two bellicose peoples. Many came to a sorry end,

he procured by despoiling Battle Abbey (*Chronicon monasterii de Bello*, ed. J. S. Brewer, Anglia Christiana Society, 1846, pp. 44-6; Guibert of Nogent, *Self and Society in Medieval France (Monodia)*, trans. J. F. Benton (New York, 1970), p. 109 and n. 10). In this he may have followed his father's example, for William the Conqueror was said by Guibert of Nogent to have paid for a new tower to be built in the abbey church of Saint-Denis, Paris; and Saint-Denis had interests in the French Vexin (*ibid.*, p. 228); Sumner McK. Crosby, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1953), p. 21).

tamen pondus detrimentorum Gallis incumbit et accumulatur. Philippus enim rex piger et corpulentus belloque incongruus erat: Ludouicus uero filius eius puerili teneritudine detentus adhuc militare nequibat.¹ Anglorum autem sceptrifer totus militiæ deditus erat, et optiones ac probatos athletas precipue diligebat, et electorum phalanges equitum honorifice secum ducebat. Illis nimirum stipatus si Gaius Iulius Cesar cum Ausoniis cohortibus obstitisset, eique iniustum quid inferre conatus fuisset: suorum procul dubio uires et audaciam tironum comminus in illum experiri presumpsisset. Rodbertus Belesmensis princeps militiæ huius erat: cuius fauor erga regem et calliditas præ ceteris uigebat. Insignis consul Henricus frater regis et Guillelmus comes
iv. 21 Ebroicensis, Hugo Cestrensis, et Gualterius Gifardus comes Bucchingehamensis,² aliique plures consules, tribuni et centuriones, Anglici regis cohortes ducebant, et preclara facinora frequenter prout uariabilis fortuna prestabat agebant.

Plerique Francorum qui binis cogeantur dominis obsecundare, pro fiscis quibus abunde locupletati sub utriusque regis turgebant ditione, anxii quia nemo potest duobus dominis seruire:³ animi acriorem opibusque ditioem elegerunt, et cum suis hominibus municipiisque fauorabiliter paruerunt. Rodbertus itaque comes de Mellento⁴ in suis munitionibus Anglos suscepit, et patentem eis in Galliam discursum aperuit, quorum bellica uis plurima Francis damna intulit. Guido quoque de Rupe⁵ Anglorum argenti cupidus eis fauit, et munitiones suas de Rupe et Vetolio dimisit. Sic alii nonnulli fecerunt: qui suis infidi exteris auide obtemperauerunt.

Tunc Guillelmus rex firmissimum castrum Gisortis construi precepit, quod usque hodie contra Caluimontem et Triam atque

¹ Louis was probably born in December 1081, and would have been nearly sixteen at the time (Luchaire, *Louis VI*, pp. 285-9). Suger praised his energetic conduct of the war (Suger, *Vita Ludouici*, pp. 8-9). The two accounts can just be reconciled if Orderic is taken to mean (as the contrast with William Rufus implies) that Louis lacked experience and had not formally been invested as a knight, rather than that he was a mere boy. He was knighted in 1098 (see above, iv. 264 n. 1).

² Walter Giffard II, first earl of Buckingham (d. 1102). There is some doubt

but the main weight of the losses fell more and more heavily on the French. King Philip was indolent, fat, and unfit for war, whilst his son Louis was still too young to have acquired knightly skills.¹ The king of England, on the other hand, was wholly devoted to knightly deeds, had a special affection for captains at arms and experienced champions, and kept around himself companies of chosen knights as a mark of distinction. While he was protected by such men, if Gaius Julius Caesar and his Roman legions had opposed him in an attempt to wrong him in any way, he would undoubtedly have dared to test the strength and courage of his knights by joining battle with Caesar. Robert of Bellême was the commander of his knights, surpassing all others in his devotion to the king and in his ingenuity. The king's distinguished brother, Count Henry, William, count of Évreux, Hugh of Chester, Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham,² and many other earls and military captains led the English king's forces and performed many acts of conspicuous courage, as fickle fortune allowed.

Many of the French, who were compelled to obey two lords for the liberal revenues which they enjoyed abundantly in the dominions of both kings, and were uneasy because no one can serve two masters,³ chose the one who had keener followers and was better provided with riches, and offered themselves with their men and castles for his service. Robert, count of Meulan,⁴ welcomed the English into his castles, and opened the way to France for them; thanks to their military strength he inflicted heavy losses on the French. Guy of La Roche-Guyon⁵ also, greedy for English subsidies, gave support to the English and handed over his castles of La Roche-Guyon and Vétéuil. A number of others did likewise; faithless to their own people they submitted to foreigners out of avarice.

At that time King William ordered the building of an almost impregnable castle at Gisors; to this day it is a bulwark of Nor-

about the date he received the earldom of Buckingham; but he had been among the earliest supporters of William Rufus in 1088-9 (see above, iv. 182) and is more likely to have been made an earl by him than by Henry I at his coronation, as suggested in Southern, *St. Anselm*, p. 168 n. 2.

³ Cf. Matthew vi. 24.

⁴ See above, iv. 302-4; for Robert's succession to the county of Meulan see G. H. White, 'Robert de Beaumont and the comté of Meulan', in *Genealogist*, n.s. xxxvi (1920), 173-6.

⁵ For Guy of La Roche-Guyon see Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, pp. 123, 131, and n. 275.

Burriz oppositum Normanniam concludit, cuius positionem et fabricam ingeniosus artifex Rodbertus Belesmensis disposuit.¹

iv. 22 Quadam die dum Normanni super Francos irruerent² et ipsi
 iv. 23 nichilominus eis insigniter occurrerent, Tedbaldus Paganus de
 Gisortis² et Gualterius de Amfrediuilla Geroldusque de Ebremou
 capti sunt² quorum redemptionibus opimis egentes Franci ad
 dimicandum animati sunt. Rodbertus siquidem de Maldestorn
 et Odmundus de Caluimonte,³ Gualbertus de Burriz et Ricardus
 frater eius,⁴ Godefredus et Petrus filii Herberti de Serranz⁵
 militiae Vilcassinorum præerant, et interdum hostibus acriter
 iv. 24 resistebant. In illa quippe prouincia egiptiorum copia militum
 est² quibus ingenuitas et ingens probitas inest. Illi nimirum
 insignem Francorum laudem deperire noluerunt, seseque pro
 defensione patriæ et gloria gentis suæ ad mortem usque inimicis
 obiecerunt. Vnde passim e tota Gallia electos athletas et audaces
 tirones sibi ascuerunt, et multotiens hostibus obstantes sibi
 utiliter stipendia lucrati sunt.

Quondam dum Anglici regis familia Caluimontis confinia deuastaret, et militum audacia uires suas utrinque ostentaret² Franci Gislebertum de Aquila cum aliis quampluribus magnæ nobilitatis comprehenderunt, et Angli Paganum de Montegaii cum aliis de partibus eiusdem ceperunt.⁶

iv. 25 Anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oXC^oVIII^o indictione vi^a mense
 Septembri Guillelmus rex ingentem exercitum aggregauit, et in
 Galliam tendens Conchis hospicium quinto kalendas Octobris
 suscepit. In ipsa nocte terribile signum mundo manifestatum est.
 Totum nempe cælum quasi arderet fere cunctis occidentalibus
 rubicundum ut sanguis uisum est.⁷ Tunc ut postmodum audi-
 uimus in Eois partibus Christiani contra ethnicos pugnaverunt,
 Deoque iuuante triumpharunt. Guillelmus rex in Galliam usque
 Pontesiam discurrit, incendiis et predis hominumque capturis
 omnium ubertate rerum nobilem prouinciam deuastauit. Multis
 quoque legionibus armatorum Caluimontis menia circumuallauit,

¹ See above, iv, p. xxxiv; for Robert of Bellême's skill as a siege engineer, *ibid.*, p. 288.

² For his family see Depoin, *Cartulaire de Pontoise*, pp. 407-8. He also witnesses charters as 'Pain of Gisors' and 'Pain of Neauflle' (Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 22; Prou, *Actes de Philippe I*, no. cxxvii, pp. 321-3).

³ Cf. above, ii. 154; iv. 50 n. 4.

⁴ See Depoin, *Cartulaire de Pontoise*, pp. 445 ff.

⁵ Cf. above, ii. 132, 152.

⁶ Suger, *Vita Ludouici*, pp. 8-10, lists among the lords captured by the French Simon [of Sentis], Gilbert of Laigle, and Pain of Gisors; and among those captured by the English, Matthew of Beaumont, Simon of Montfort, and Pain of Montjay. For Pain cf. Prou, *Actes de Philippe I*, no. cxx, p. 306.

mandy against Chaumont, Trie, and Boury. The site was chosen and its structure designed by the resourceful engineer, Robert of Bellême.¹

One day when the Normans launched an attack on the French, who, defending themselves, fought back with determination, Theobald Pain of Gisors,² Walter of Amfreville, and Gerold of Envermeu were taken prisoner. The needy French were encouraged to keep on fighting by the rich ransoms. All this time Robert of Maldestor, Otmund of Chaumont,³ Walberg of Boury and Richard his brother,⁴ Godfrey and Peter, the sons of Herbert of Serans,⁵ captained the knights of the Vexin and put up a stout resistance to the enemy. In that region there are a great number of distinguished knights, whose gallantry and great courage is inborn. They did not wish the high honour of the French to be tarnished, and fought the enemy to the death for the defence of their country and the glory of their people. In consequence they attracted distinguished champions and courageous young knights from all parts of France, and by resisting their foes time and time again won valuable rewards for themselves.

On one occasion, when the household troops of the English king were plundering around Chaumont and knightly courage was displayed on both sides, the French captured Gilbert of Laigle and many others of high rank, while the English took Pain of Montjay and others from the same region.⁶

In the month of September 1098, the sixth indiction, King William assembled a huge army and lodged at Conches on the way into France on 27 September. That same night an awe-inspiring portent was shown everywhere. Men in almost every part of the western world saw the whole sky glowing blood-red, as if it were burning.⁷ As we learnt afterwards, it was at that time that the Christians fought against the pagans in the east and, with God's aid, won a great victory. King William advanced rapidly into France as far as Pontoise, burning, plundering, taking captives, and so destroyed all the wealth of that fair province. He surrounded Chaumont with many squadrons of armed men and ordered his

⁷ Cf. *ASC* 1098, 'Before Michaelmas the sky looked as if it were burning nearly all night'; *FW* ii. 42-3, 'Splendor insolitus per totam fere noctem, v kal. Octobris, emicuit.' Orderic may have confused this with the aurora borealis of June 1098, which coincided with the great battle of Antioch (above, p. 104); at Michaelmas the only crusading victories were in foraging raids, fought sometimes in alliance with Muslim forces.

et diros assultus a ferratis cohortibus ingeri precepit. Illustres oppidani propugnacula quidem sua uiuaciter protexerunt' sed timoris Dei et humanæ societatis immemores non fuerunt. Insilentium corporibus prouide benigniterque pepercerunt' sed atrocitatem iræ suæ preciosis inimicorum caballis intulerunt. Nam plus quam septingentos ingentis precii equos sagittis et missilibus occiderunt, ex quorum cadaueribus Gallicani canes et alites usque ad nausiam saturati sunt. Quamplures itaque pedites ad propria cum rege remeant' qui spumantibus equis turgidi equites Eptam pertransierant.

Animosi Francigenæ licet campestris uillas a regiis discursoribus quorum nimia erat multitudo defendere non potuissent, nec contra potentem regem innumerabilibus turmis stipatum sine rege legitimoque ductore comminus dimicare ausi fuissent' munitiones tamen suas fortiter munientes seruauerunt, et bono Creatore dante meliora tempora prestolati sunt. Guillelmus rex cum Guillelmo duce Pictaensium¹ ductu Amalrici iuuenis et
 iv. 26 Niuardi de Septoculo contra Montemfortem et Sparlonem maximam multitudinem duxit, circumiacentem prouinciam deua-stauit' sed Simon iuuenis munitiones suas auxiliante Deo illesas seruauit.² Simon uero senex seruauit Neelfiam,³ Petrus quoque cum filiis suis Ansoldo et Tedbaldo Manliam⁴ aliique municipes quos singillatim nequeo nominare, firmitates suas procaciter tenere.

Interea cum Guillelmus rex pro regni negociis regraderetur in Angliam' treuiis utrobique datis serena pax Gallis dedit securitatis letitiam.

6

Anno ab incarnatione Domini m^oxc^oviii^o Magnus Olauī Noricorum regis filius contra Irenses insurrexit' et classem lx nauium super illos nauigaturus preparauit.⁵ Rex enim Magnus erat corpore fortis et formosus, audax et largus, agilis et probus, et multa honestate conspicuus. Magnam uero potentiam in insulis

¹ William VII count of Poitou, IX duke of Aquitaine. See below, pp. 280, 328, and A. Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou* (Paris, 1903), i. 420.

² Simon of Montfort, who had succeeded his brother Richard c. 1092. Amaury (the younger) of Montfort, his brother and heir, fought with the English.

³ Probably Simon of Neaufle, who witnessed charters of King Philip I in

mailed troops to attack it in force again and again. The garrison of distinguished knights defended their walls vigorously, but never forgot their duty to God or respect for humanity. They took care out of chivalry to spare the bodies of the attackers and turned the full force of their anger against the costly chargers of their enemies. So they killed more than seven hundred horses of great value with arrows and darts; the dogs and birds of France were gorged to repletion on their bodies. In consequence many who had crossed the Epte as proud knights on their foaming horses returned home with the king as foot-soldiers.

Although the brave French could not defend their villages against the king's raiders, who were far too numerous, and dared not engage the powerful king, who was guarded by numerous troops, in close battle without a king as their natural leader, nevertheless they fortified their castles and defended them, waiting for their merciful Creator to send better days. King William with William, count of Poitou,¹ led a great army under the command of young Amaury and Nivard of Septeuil against Montfort and Épernon, laying waste all the country round, but young Simon, with God's help, preserved his castles undamaged.² The older Simon defended Neaufle,³ and Peter, with his sons Ansold and Theobald, Maule;⁴ while other castellans whom I will not name individually held their fortresses with grim determination.

Meanwhile, when King William returned to England to attend to the business of the realm, a truce was made between the two sides, and blessed peace brought comfort and security to the French.

6

In the year of our Lord 1098 Magnus, the son of King Olaf of Norway, planned an attack on the Irish and prepared a fleet of sixty ships to sail against them.⁵ King Magnus was physically strong and handsome, brave and generous, active and honourable, and outstanding for his integrity. He held powerful sway over the

1092 (Prou, *Actes de Philippe I*, no. cxxviii, p. 326) and Prince Louis in 1102 (Luchoire, *Louis VI*, p. 13; GEC vii. 712).

⁴ For Peter of Maule and his sons see above, iii. 170-98.

⁵ There are widely varying accounts of the expedition of Magnus III Bareleg in English, Welsh, Norse, and Manx sources, which have been brought together by Freeman, *William Rufus*, ii. 618-24.

Oceani¹ habebat² multisque diuitiis et opibus multarum specierum satis abundabat. De legali conubio Eustanum et Olauum genuit³ quibus regnum magnamque potentiam dimisit. Tercium uero nomine Segurd Anglica captiua sed nobilis ei peperit, quem Turer Ingherriæ filius regis Magni nutricius nutriuit. Qui defunctis fratribus superstes diu regnauit, et episcopatus ac cenobia monachorum quæ antecessores eius non nouerant in regno Nordico constituit.² Antequam regnaret in Ierusalem nauigauit, Tirum opulentam urbem in corde maris sitam per mare obsedit, ipsamque Ierosolimitis in terra inuadentibus cum suis Segurd in salo expugnauit. Per Russiam uero remeans Malfridam regis filiam uxorem duxit; domumque reuersus paulo post regnum dante Deo suscepit.³

Quinque ciuitates in circumitu Northwagiæ supra littus maris sitæ sunt⁴ Berga, Cuneghella, Copenga, Burgus et Alsa. Turesberga uero sexta ciuitas est⁵ quæ contra Dacos ad orientem sita est.⁴ In meditullio insulæ piscosi lacus et ingentes sunt⁵ et uillæ campestris in marginibus stagnorum circumsitæ sunt. Indigenæ uero piscibus et uolucris, omniumque ferarum abundant carnibus. Religiosis quoque Christianæ legis utuntur ritibus, pax et castitas ab illis seruantur artissimis legibus, seuisque scelera puniuntur animaduersionibus. Orcades insulæ et Finlanda, Islanda quoque et Grenlanda, ultra quam ad septentrionem terra non reperitur, aliæque plures usque in Gollandam regi Noricorum subiciuntur, et de toto orbe diuitiæ nauigio illuc aduehuntur.⁵

Nunc mea mens causam et euentus belli enotare satagit, quod Magnus rex in Hibernos arripuit, et multa multis detrimenta et strages intulit. Hic filiam regis Irlandæ uxorem duxerat, sed quia

¹ The term covers the Orkneys, Faroes, and Hebrides, and possibly also Iceland and Greenland, which were all under Norwegian rule.

² This is an overstatement; but Sigurd the Crusader certainly strengthened the hierarchy by founding several new bishoprics, including Gardar in Greenland, and also introduced tithes and Peter's pence. See P. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des croisades* (Paris, 1865), pp. 215, 420-2; C. H. Meinberg, 'The Norse Church in Medieval America', in *Catholic Historical Review*, v (1925), 179-216.

³ Sigurd's voyage to the Holy Land (1107-11) passed into saga in his lifetime and was well known all over the west. His ships helped to capture Sidon; Tyre, however, was only briefly besieged and not taken (see William of Malmesbury, *GR* 319, 485-6; P. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves*, pp. 174-215). He was joint king with his brother Eysteinn from 1103, though not always explicitly called king by historians (*ibid.*, p. 186 n. 3). He returned probably by

islands of the Ocean,¹ and had a great store of riches and wealth of all kinds. By his lawful wife he had two sons, Eysteinn and Olaf, to whom he bequeathed his realm and widespread powers. An English captive, who was of noble birth, bore him a third son, Sigurd, who was brought up by Thoror, son of Ingrid and foster-son of King Magnus. He survived his two brothers to reign for many years, and established bishoprics and monasteries, which had been unknown to his ancestors, in the kingdom of Norway.² Before he came to the throne he sailed to Jerusalem, besieged from the sea the wealthy city of Tyre which is almost surrounded by sea, and, while the forces of Jerusalem attacked from the land side, Sigurd stormed it from the deep. Afterwards, returning by way of Russia, he married a king's daughter, Malmfrid, and soon after he reached home he ascended the throne by God's will.³

Five cities are situated on the coast round Norway: Bergen, Kongshälle, Kaupangr, Borg, and Oslo. The sixth city is Tunsberg, which is situated to the east⁴ for defence against the Danes. In the middle of the island are many great lakes teeming with fish, and country towns are scattered round on the shores of the lakes. The inhabitants are well supplied with fish and birds and the flesh of wild beasts of all kinds. They practise their religion in accordance with Christian laws, preserve peace and chastity by the strictest laws, and punish crimes with savage penalties. The Orkney Islands and Finland, Iceland also and Greenland, north of which no land can be found, and many other places as far as Gotland are subject to the king of Norway, and wealth is carried there from all over the world.⁵

Now I am most anxious to explain the cause and outcome of the war which King Magnus waged against the Irish with dire consequences and heavy slaughter. He had taken to wife the daughter of a king of Ireland, but because the Irish king did not

way of Bulgaria, Pannonia, and Germany, and met his future bride, Malmfrid of Russia, daughter of Mstislav Harald, prince of Kiev, and Christine, a Swedish princess, in Schleswig (*ibid.*, p. 203; Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, p. 148).

⁴ Gustav Storm (*Historia Norwegiæ*, in *Monumenta Historica Norwegiæ*, Christiania, 1880, p. 76 n. 13) identifies them as Bergen, Kongshälle, Nidaros (Trondhjem), Borg, Oslo, and Tunsberg.

⁵ This passage, like the earlier description of Rouen (above, iii, pp. xxvi n. 7, 36), is probably based on a written Latin description, now lost. Orderic does not appear to have used either Adam of Bremen or the source of the later *Historia Norwegiæ* (ed. Gustav Storm in *Monumenta Historica Norwegiæ*).

rex Irensis pactiones quas fecerant non tenuerat, Magnus rex stomachatus filiam eius ei remiserat.¹ Bellum igitur inter eos ortum est.

Anno quinto Guillelmi Rufi regis Anglorum undique bellicas copias extraxit rex Northwigenarum.² et subsolano flante Oceanum perlustrans Orcades insulas adiit, Scotiam a parte Circii circumiuit, et alias insulas quæ ad suam ditionem pertinent usque in Angleseiam penetrauit. Hiberniam ingredi uoluit, sed Irensis in maritimis littoribus ad bellum paratis alias diuertit. Insulam Man quæ deserta erat inhabitauit, populis repleuit, domibus et aliis necessariis ad usus hominum gnauiter instruxit.² Alias quoque Cycladas in magno mari uelut extra orbem positas perlustrauit, et a pluribus populis inhabitari regio iussu coegit, iv. 30 seseque per plures annos ad augmentum regni et dilatationem plebium tali studio exercuit. Quondam princeps militiæ Magni regis cum sex nauibus in Angliam cursum direxit, sed rubeum scutum quod signum pacis erat super malum nauis erexit. Maritimæ uero plebes quæ in Anglia littus infiniti Amphitritis incolebant in boreali climate.² ut barbaricas gentes et incognitas naues uiderunt ad se festinare, præ timore nimio uociferatæ sunt.² et armati quique de regione Merciorum conuenerunt. Tunc nimirum inter Anglos et Gualos ingens erat belli conturbatio,³ ideoque cunctos ad arma concitabat actutum omnis repentina uociferatio.

Duo consules quibus Merciorum precipue regio subiacet, et ambos uno Hugonis nomine omen edocet.² ueredarios per totam iv. 31 terram suam celeriter miserunt, et armatos quosque Francos et Anglos contra extraneas phalanges ad patriæ tutelam properare mandauerunt. Maxima igitur multitudo de comitatu Cestræ et Scrobesburiaë congregata est.² et in regione Dagantho secus mare ad prælium preparata est. Illuc Hugo de Montegomerici cum suis cœtibus prior accurrit, et auxiliarios contubernales expectans multis diebus ibi consedit, patriamque ne Gualenses seu Nordwigenæ in prouinciales irruerent circumspectus tutauit. Quadam uero die dum supra littus indigenæ turbati discurrerent, seque contra Nordicos quos in nauibus suis seuire contra Anglos uidebant prepararent.² Hugo comes equum calcaribus urgens

¹ There is no support for this story; cf. Freeman, *William Rufus*, ii. 622.

² Man was not a desert island; it is clear from Norwegian and Manx sources that the voyage was aimed at asserting Norwegian supremacy in the island (Freeman, *William Rufus*, ii. 620-1).

³ William II's main campaign against the Welsh in 1097 had failed to put down the Welsh rising, and further hostilities were left to the marcher lords (*ASC* 1097).

keep the bargain they had made, King Magnus in a rage sent his daughter home to him.¹ As a result war broke out between them.

In the fifth year of William Rufus, king of England, the king of Norway gathered his war-bands from all sides, crossed the Ocean with a following east wind, and reached the Orkney Islands. He sailed round the north-west coasts of Scotland and passed through the other islands subject to his rule as far as Anglesey. He intended to invade Ireland, but the Irish were assembled in war array on the shores and turned him away. He lived for a time on the Isle of Man, which was then uninhabited, settled people there, and busied himself to provide for them with houses and the other necessities of human life.² He explored the other isles of the Cyclades, situated in the great sea almost beyond the world, forced many people to settle there at his royal command, and occupied himself for a number of years with such activities, thereby extending his kingdom and increasing the number of his subjects. On one occasion the leader of King Magnus's army sailed with six ships towards England, but hoisted a red shield to the masthead as a sign of peace. The coastal dwellers, however, who inhabited the English shores of Amphitrite's vast realm in the northern clime, on seeing strange people and unknown ships descending on them broke into loud cries of terror; and certain men, all fully armed, from the province of Mercia, rushed to the spot. At that time there were general hostilities between the English and Welsh,³ and so the raising of any sudden outcry quickly summoned all to arms.

Two earls who had the chief power in the province of Mercia, both of whom, we know on good authority, had the name of Hugh, quickly sent messengers through all the land and commanded armed contingents of French and English to come at once to the defence of the country against the invaders. Many assembled from the counties of Chester and Shrewsbury, and prepared for battle in the region of Deganwy beside the sea. Hugh of Montgomery first hurried there with his fellows and encamped for many days, waiting for the support of his allies, prudently guarding the country against possible attacks of Welshmen or Norwegians on the inhabitants. One day, when the inhabitants were running hither and thither in alarm on the shore and preparing to resist the Northmen whom they had seen threatening the English in their ships, Earl Hugh, spurting on his horse, gathered his

cetus suos congregabat, et contra hostes ne sparsim diuisi inuaderentur principali rigore cohercebat. Interea barbarus Nordwigena ut comitem agiliter equitatem prospexit: instigante diabolo stridulum missile subito direxit, egregiumque comitem pro dolor percussit. Qui protinus corruit: et in fluctibus maris iam estuantis expirauit. Vnde dolor ingens exortus est. Cuius mortem Magnus rex ut comperiit, uehementer cum suis planxit: et Hugoni Dirganæ¹ id est grosso pacem et securitatem mandauit. 'Exercitum' inquit 'non propter Anglos sed Hibernos ago, nec alienam regionem inuado, sed insulas ad potestatem meam pertinentes incolo.'

iv. 32

Normanni tandem et Angli cadauer Hugonis diu quæsierunt, pontique fluctu retracto uix inuenerunt. Deinde illud xvii^o die post mortem eius Scrobesburia detulerunt: et in claustro monachorum cum ingenti luctu sepelierunt. Hic solus de filiis Mabilia mansuetus et amabilis fuit, et iv annis post mortem Rogerii patris sui paternum honorem moderatissime rexit, et circa finem Iulii mensis occidit.²

7

Quo defuncto Robertus Belesmensis frater eius Guillelmum Rufum requisiiuit, eique pro comitatu fratris iii milia librarum sterilensium exhibuit, et comes factus per iv annos immania super Gualos exercuit. Oppidum de Quatford transtulit, et Brugiam munitissimum castellum super Sabrinam fluuium condidit.³ Blidam quoque totamque terram Rogerii de Buthleio cognati sui iure repetiit, et a rege grandi pondere argenti

iv. 33

¹ The Norse word 'digri' was known in England and Normandy: cf. William of Malmesbury on Siward son of Waltheof (*GR* ii. 311-12), 'quem "Digera" Danico vocabulo, id est fortem, cognominabant'. It is the epithet given later to Hugh of Chester by Snorri Sturluson (*Heimskringla*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, Oslo 1966, p. 524): 'En er hann kom í Ongulseyjarsund, þa kóm þar mót honum herr af Bretlandi, ok réðu jarlar tveir fyrir, Hugi príúi ok Hugi digri.' Snorri made

forces together and, as a disciplined commander, urged them forward against the enemy for fear that if they remained scattered in groups they would be defeated. Meanwhile one of the foreign Norwegians, who saw the earl galloping up, was prompted by the devil to send a missile whistling through the air which, I grieve to tell, struck the famous earl. He fell like a stone and breathed his last in the waves of the tossing sea. Loud lamentations were raised because of this. When King Magnus learnt of his death he mourned deeply with his men, and offered peace and a truce to Hugh 'Digri',¹ that is 'the Stout'. 'I am leading an army', he said, 'against the Irish, not the English, and am not invading a foreign country, but settling islands that are under my rule.'

The Normans and English sought Hugh's body for a long time and found it with difficulty when the tide had ebbed. From there they bore it to Shrewsbury and, on the seventeenth day after his death, buried it in the cloister of the monks with deep mourning. He alone of all Mabel's sons was courteous and lovable, and he governed his paternal honor very justly for four years after his father Roger's death. He met his death towards the end of July.²

7

After Hugh's death his brother, Robert of Bellême, sought out William Rufus and offered him three thousand pounds sterling for his earldom. When he had been made earl he harried the Welsh brutally for four years. He moved the fortified town of Quatford, and built a strong castle at Bridgnorth on the river Severn.³ He also demanded Blyth and all the land of his kinsman Roger of Bully as his right, and bought it from the king with

use of earlier Skaldic verses, and though his version of Hugh's death differs from Orderic's in many details and is nearer to that of his contemporary, Giraldus Cambrensis (*Itinerarium Kambriae*, in *Opera*, ed. J. F. Dimock, vi (RS 1868), 129), some of these verses may indirectly have reached Orderic too.

² Hugh's father, Roger of Montgomery, was also buried in the abbey he had founded at Shrewsbury (see above, iii. 142-8; iv. 302). The exact date of Hugh's death in late July 1098 is not known (GEC ix. 689).

³ There is evidence of a rudimentary borough and castle at Quatford, originally a hunting-lodge, in Roger of Montgomery's time. Robert of Bellême's new castle at Bridgnorth dominated the crossing of the Severn in south Shropshire. He had already on one occasion provided for the fortification of a strategic site by transplanting the inhabitants of a near-by settlement when he moved the population of Vignats to Fourches (above, iv. 228). See J. F. A. Mason, 'The Norman castle at Quatford', in *TSAF* lvii (1961-4), 37-46.

comparauit.¹ Verum sicut idem uir multis possessionibus in terris est locupletatus: sic maiori fastu superbiæ sequax Belial inflatus, flagitiosos et crudeles ambiebat insatiabiliter actus.

iv. 34 Angli et Guali qui iamdudum ferales eius ludos quasi fabulam ridentes audierunt, nunc ferreis unguis eius excoriati plorantes gemuerunt, et uera esse quæ compererant sentientes experti sunt. Ipse nanque quanto magis opibus et uernulis ampliatus intumuit: tanto magis collimitaneis cuiuscumque ordinis fuerint auferre fundos suos exarsit, et terras quas prisci antecessores sanctis dederant sibi mancipauit.

Is iamdudum in Cenomannico consulatu castra uiolenter in alieno rure construxit:² in possessionibus scilicet sancti Petri de Cultura et sancti Vincentii martiris quibus colonos grauiter oppressit. Quod probus comes comperiens Helias non ut ignauus egre tulit, eique cum suis super Riolci riuum in territorio Soonensi armatus occurrit, et in nomine Domini inuocato sancto Iuliano pontifice pugnavit, uictumque Rodbertum quamuis maiores habuisset ipse copias de campo turpiter fugauit. Ibi Rodbertus de Curceio³ sauciatus fuit: oculumque dextrum amisit. Gulferius
iv. 35 quoque de Vilereio⁴ et Guillelmus de Molinis⁵ atque Godefredus de Guaceio aliique multi capti sunt: pro quibus Cenomannenses maximas redemptiones habuerunt, et sic iniurias sanctorum et damna suorum ulti sunt. Conflictus inter eos diu durauit, et innumeris exitio et in uinculis acerbitati fuit.

¹ Roger of Bully held an extensive honor worth some £330 in the north midlands, with its caput at Blyth/Tickhill in Nottinghamshire, at the time of the Domesday survey. His family came from Bully near Neufchâtel in Normandy and were benefactors of the abbey of Holy Trinity, Rouen (Loyd, p. 21); his wife, Muriel, was sufficiently close to Queen Matilda to receive the manor of Sandford (Devon) from her on her marriage (*DB* i. 113a), but nothing is known of his antecedents or how he was related to Robert of Bellême. He certainly had close kinsmen; his brother, Arnold, may possibly have survived him, and there are good reasons for thinking that his son Roger had seisin of part at least of his honor in the reign of Henry I (*Curia Regis Rolls*, 4/5 Henry III, 1220, pp. 212–13; *Regesta*, ii, no. 1319; Sanders, p. 147; J. C. Holt, 'Politics and property in early medieval England', in *Past and Present*, lvii (1972), 52). Pos-

a great sum of money.¹ And indeed, as this man was enriched with vast estates, like Belial puffed up with overwhelming pride and scorn, he gave himself up without restraint to criminal and cruel deeds.

The English and Welsh who up to that time had listened to accounts of his brutal sports as though to stories, with a smile, now groaned and wailed as they were torn by his iron talons, and discovered by their own sufferings that the stories were true. He grew in arrogance and the more his wealth and slaves increased, the more eager he became to annex the properties of his neighbours, whatever their condition, and claim for himself lands which his forebears had given to the Church.

In the county of Maine he had already built castles by force on the lands of others,² namely on the estates of St. Peter of La Couture and St. Vincent the martyr, whose peasants suffered his oppressions. When this came to the ears of the valiant Count Helias he did not bear it in silence like a coward, but led an armed attack on Robert and his followers on the river Riolt in the Sonnois, fought him in the name of the Lord invoking the holy bishop Julian, defeated him, and drove his forces, although they were superior, ignominiously from the field. Robert of Courcy³ was wounded there and lost his right eye. Gouffier of Villeray,⁴ William of Moulins-la-Marche,⁵ Godfrey of Gacé, and many others were taken prisoner, and the Manceaux received rich ransoms for them, thereby avenging the injuries to the saints and their own losses. The hostilities between them were lengthy and caused many to taste the bitterness of death or captivity.

sibly his son was a minor when he died, and Robert of Bellême received the honor in wardship; possibly the family had been implicated in the 1095 rebellion through a marriage tie with the counts of Eu; possibly Orderic, whose information about the family is sketchy, was mistaken in saying that Robert of Bellême gained possession of all the lands: he may have received only the castles, notably Tickhill (Blyth). Roger died at an uncertain date between c. 1098 and 1100; Orderic does not actually specify 1098, and the theory that he was still alive in 1099 depends upon an entry in the Gloucester cartulary that is not wholly reliable in points of detail (*Regesta*, ii, p. 403; for a full discussion see C. N. L. Brooke, 'St. Peter of Gloucester and St. Cadoc of Llancafán', in *Celt and Saxon*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 263–71).

² At Saosnes (Sarthe, cant. Mamers) and Saint-Rémi-du-Plain (Sarthe, cant. Mamers) (see Latouche, *Maine*, p. 46).

³ Robert was the son of Richard of Courcy and son-in-law of Hugh of Grandmesnil; see above, iv. 230.

⁴ See above, ii. 360.

⁵ See above, iii. 132–4.

¹Nunc ordinem rerum gestarum libet retexere, et genealogiam regios fasces iam sperantis prosapia.² Helias Iohannis et Paulæ filius, Hugonis Cenomannorum consulis consobrinus,³ uir multis erga Dei cultum honestatibus uiguit, populique regimen in timore Dei salubriter seruauit. Hic generosam coniugem Mathildem filiam Geruasii accepit: qui Rodberti cognomento Brochardi fratris Geruasii Remorum archiepiscopi filius fuit.⁴ Huic sex

iv. 36 fratres fuerunt, quorum duo priores Goisbertus⁵ et Enoch post militiam monachi facti sunt: reliqui uero quattuor Ioffredus et Lanscelinus, Milo et Guillelmus immatura morte preuenti sunt. Helias de paterna hereditate Flechiam castrum possedit, quattuor uero castella de patrimonio uxoris suæ optinuit, id est Ligerim et Maiatum, Luceium et Vstilliacum. Vxor eius ei filiam Eremburgem nomine peperit, quæ nubilibus annis Fulconi Andegauorum tunc comiti nunc Ierusalimorum regi nupsit, et generosam sobolem genuit, Iosfredum et Heliam,⁶ Mathildem et Sibillam,⁷ quæ filiis regum solenniter nupserunt, sed Deo irreprehensibiliter omnia disponente cito uiduatæ sunt.

iv. 37 Ea tempestate qua Rodbertus dux fratri suo Normanniam commisit, et ab eo magnam argenti copiam ad explendum iter ad sepulchrum Regis nostri recepit: Helias comes ad curiam regis Rotomagum uenit.⁸ Qui postquam diu cum duce consiliatus fuit: ad regem accessit, eique humiliter dixit, 'Domine mi rex consilio papæ crucem Domini pro seruitio eius accepi, et iter in Ierusalem cum multis nobilibus peregrinis Domino Deo deuoui. Amicicium ut uester fidelis uestram depono: et hoc iter cum pace uestra

¹ From this point the chapter numbering is different from that of Le Prévost, who accidentally numbered two consecutive chapters seven.

² The reference must be to the future Henry II (cf. above, p. 201 n. 5); although the children of Fulk V of Anjou by his second wife, Melisende, were heirs to the kingdom of Jerusalem they were not of the stock of Helias.

³ For John of La Flèche and his family see Latouche, *Maine*, pp. 113-15, and above, ii. 304 n. 2; iv. 154, 194-8. Hugh V, count of Maine, was probably a first cousin of Helias (see above, iv. 196 n. 3).

⁴ Gervase of Château-du-Loir was bishop of Le Mans from c. 1035 to 1055, and subsequently archbishop of Rheims; he was seriously embroiled with

¹Now I would like to unravel past events and trace the ancestry of the stock that now aspires to hold the sceptre.² Helias, the son of John and Paula and kinsman of Hugh, count of Maine,³ was a man distinguished by his great respect for religious observance, who governed his people for their good in the fear of God. He married a nobly-born wife, Matilda, the daughter of Gervase who was a son of Robert called Brochard, the brother of Gervase archbishop of Rheims.⁴ He had six brothers of whom the two eldest, Goisbert⁵ and Enoch, became monks after training as knights, and the remaining four, Geoffrey, Lancelin, Miles, and William, were cut off by death in their youth. Helias inherited the castle of La Flèche from his father, and received from his wife's patrimony the four castles of Château-du-Loir, Mayet, Lucé-le-Grand, and Outillé. His wife bore him a daughter Eremburge who, on reaching marriageable age, wedded Fulk, then count of Anjou and now king of Jerusalem. They had noble offspring: Geoffrey and Helias⁶ and Matilda and Sibyl;⁷ the daughters married the descendants of kings but, by the inscrutable disposition of God, were soon widowed.

At the time when Duke Robert handed over Normandy to his brother and received from him a large sum of money to undertake the crusade to the Holy Sepulchre, Count Helias came to the king's court at Rouen.⁸ After a long discussion with the duke, he approached the king and said to him humbly, 'My lord king, on the Pope's advice I have taken the cross of the Lord in his service, and vowed before God to go on crusade to Jerusalem with many noble pilgrims. As your liegeman I ask for your friendship,

Geoffrey Martel, who confiscated his lands. Geoffrey le Barbu granted the honor of Château-du-Loir to Gervase's brother Robert, and from him it descended to his son (Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 333-5).

⁵ Goisbert, the eldest brother of Helias, occurs as witness to a charter of Marmoutier (Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 120 n. 542).

⁶ Helias became count of Maine and Geoffrey married Henry I's daughter, Matilda.

⁷ Matilda married Henry I's son, William, who was lost in the White Ship; she became a nun at Fontevrault. Sibyl married William Clito, the son of Robert Curthose, but the marriage was annulled in 1124 (cf. Le Prévost, iv. 294-5; David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 184-5). Orderic does not appear to have had in mind her second husband, Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders (1128-68), who was in fact a descendant of Robert, king of France.

⁸ See above, pp. 26, 208.

inire cupio.¹ Respondit ei rex, 'Quo uis uade, sed Cenomannicam urbem cum toto comitatu michi dimitte, quia quicquid pater meus habuit uolo habere.' Helias dixit, 'Hæreditario iure consulatum auorum meorum possideo.' Deoque iuuante liberis meis dimittam liberum sicut nunc teneo. Et si placitare uis.' iudicium gratanter subibo, et patrium ius secundum examen regum comitumque et episcoporum perdam aut tenebo.' Respondit rex, 'Ensibus et lanceis innumerisque missilibus tecum placitabo.' Helias dixit, 'Contra ethnicos in nomine Domini dimicare uolebam, sed ecce nunc uiciniorem contra inimicos Christi reperio pugnam. Omnis enim qui ueritati resistit iusticiæque.' inimicus comprobatur Dei qui uera ueritas est et sol iusticiæ. Ipse michi Cenomannorum preposituram dignatus est commendare, quam aliqua usus leuitate non debeo insipienter relinquere.' ne populus Dei predonibus tradatur sicut oues lupis absque pastore. Consilium uero quod celitus inspirata concepi mente.' uniuersi optimates qui astatibus palam audite. Crucem Saluatoris nostri qua more peregrini signatus sum non relinquam, sed in clipeo meo galeaque et in omnibus armis meis eandem faciam, et in sella frenoque meo sacræ crucis signum infigam. Tali karactere munitus in hostes pacis et rectitudinis procedam.' et Christianorum regiones militando defendam. Equus itaque meus et arma mea notamine sancto signabuntur, et omnes aduersarii qui contra me insurrexerint in militem Christi præliabuntur. Confido in illo qui regit mundum, quod ipse nouit cordis mei secretum, et per eius clementiam opperiar tempus opportunum, quo possim optatum peragere uotum.' Guillelmus rex ait, 'Quo libet uade.' et quod uis age. Ego contra cruciferos præliari nolo.' sed urbem quam pater meus in die transitus sui nactus erat michi uendicabo. Tu igitur dilapsos aggeres munitionum tuarum summopere repara, et cementarios lapidumque cesores lucri cupidos uelociter aggrega,

iv. 3

¹ Helias probably took the cross when Urban II was at Le Mans from 16 to 18 February 1096 (Latouche, *Maine*, p. 45; *Act. pont. cen.*, p. 395). It is not certain that he recognized William's suzerainty in Maine at this date; from 1092 to 1096 he had effectively ruled Maine and issued charters (Latouche, *Maine*, pp. 149-57), and he favoured the claims of Fulk le Rechin of Anjou. But William certainly laid effective claim to his father's rights in Maine (cf. *Regesta*, i, no. 440), and Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, was later forced to give unwilling recognition of his lordship in a letter to the king, and to travel to England to be judged for not pulling down the towers of his cathedral (*EHR* xii (1897), pp. 290-3; Migne, *PL* clxxi. 215-16); one of his poems refers to a successful usurpation by William of comital rights in Maine in the words, 'accessit damnis novus ille gravisque tyrannus, Quo Cenomannorum consule

hoping to begin my journey with your guarantee of peace.'¹ The king replied to him, 'Go where you choose, but surrender the city of Le Mans and the whole county of Maine to me, for I intend to hold all that my father held.' Helias said, 'I enjoy the county of my ancestors by hereditary right and, God willing, will transmit it to my children as freely as I now hold it. If you wish to go to law, I will gladly undergo judgement and will lose or hold my ancestral right according to the decision of kings, counts, and bishops.' The king answered, 'I will plead my suit against you with swords and lances and showers of missiles.' Helias said, 'My desire was to fight against the infidel in the name of the Lord, but now it appears I have a battle nearer home against the enemies of Christ. Every man who opposes truth and justice proves himself an enemy of God, who is truth itself and the sun of justice. He has seen fit to entrust to me the stewardship of Maine, which I should not weakly relinquish for any light cause, for fear of leaving God's people at the mercy of predators, like shepherdless sheep among wolves. Hear, all you nobles who are present, the plan that I have been inspired by God to make. I will not abandon the cross of our Saviour which I have taken up as a pilgrim, but will have it engraved on my shield and helmet and all my arms; on my saddle and bridle also I will stamp the sign of the holy cross. Fortified by this symbol I will move against the enemies of peace and right, and defend Christian lands in battle. So my horse and my arms will be clearly marked with the sign of the cross, and all the foes who attack me will fight against a soldier of Christ. I put my trust in him who rules the world, believing that he knows the secrets of my heart, and wait for a better time when through his mercy I may fulfil my vow.' King William said, 'Go where you like and do as you please. I have no wish to fight against crusaders, but I will claim for myself the city which my father held on the day of his death. See to it that you thoroughly repair the crumbling ramparts of your castles; send at once for masons ius perii' (*Carmina minora*, ed. A. B. Scott, Leipzig, 1969, no. 22, ll. 39-40). Orderic's imaginary speeches are not to be regarded as merely rhetorical exercises; they reflect current viewpoints. He seems not to have regarded William's claims as necessarily excluding Fulk's, whereas Helias probably held the views of Hildebert on his comital rights. On the question of the crusade Bishop Hildebert wrote a letter to Geoffrey of Anjou in 1131 dissuading him from leaving his lands exposed to attack to go on crusade (Migne, *PL* clxxi. 181-3; P. von Moos, *Hildebert*, pp. 144-6), and it is not inconceivable that in 1096 he may have persuaded Helias to fight his crusade at home.

uetustasque neglectorum ruinas murorum utcumque resarciendo restaura. Cinomannicos enim ciues quantotius uisitabo, et centum milia lanceas cum uexillis ante portas eis demonstrabo, nec tibi sine calumnia hereditatem meam indulgebo. Currus etiam pilis atque sagittis onustos illuc a bobus pertrahi faciam: sed ego ipse cum multis legionibus armatorum bubulcos alacriter boantes ad portas tuas precedam. Hæc uerissime credito: et complicibus tuis edicito.

iv. 39 His ita utrinque prolatis comes recessit: et consulatum suum uiriliter muniuit. Ardui proceres qui tantorum simultates heroum audiebant, ex sua parte nichil interserere audebant: quia turgidum regem dominumque suum timebant, egregioque consuli qui constanter allegationes suas disserebat condolebant. Erat enim probus et honorabilis: et multis pro uirtutibus amabilis. Corpore præcallebat fortis et magnus, statura gracilis et procerus, niger et hirsutus et instar presbiteri bene tonsus. Eloquio etiam erat suauis et facundus, lenis quietis et asper rebellibus, iusticiæ cultor rigidus, et in timore Dei ad opus bonum feruidus. Quantæ pietatis esset in orationibus ac deuotionis: indicabant eius genæ crebro madentes lacrimis. Defensionibus æcclesiarum elemosinisque pauperum et ieiuniis admodum uacauit, et singulis ebdomadibus feria vi^a in ueneratione passionis Christi ab omni cibo et potu ex integro abstinuit.

Præterea Guillelmus rex multis in Gallos et Britones atque Flandrenses¹ curis occupatus est: minasque suas complere differens per biennium Cenomannos oblitus est. Helias interea castrum apud Dangeolum contra Rodbertum Taluacium firmauit, ibique satellites suos ad defensandos incolas terræ suæ collocauit. Inde prefatus tyrannus quod uicina passim depopulari arua non posset contristatus est. Intempestius igitur mense Ianuario regem inquietauit, acerbis uerborum stimulationibus accendit, et in initio Februarii² cum Normannico exercitu ad predictum castrum adduxit. Dixit enim regi, 'Custodes hostilis oppidi securitate torpentes passim dispersi sunt. Hiemales quippe pluuias et tempestates considerant, et uos aliis cum exercitu uestro infestationibus irretiri estimant. Nunc ergo si repente illuc accurrimus,

iv. 40

^a MS Februi

¹ The terms seem to be loosely used: William's wars in 1097 were against the Welsh, Scots, and French (*ASC* 1097); he had no serious troubles with the Bretons or Flemings.

² Probably February 1098 (*Latouche, Maine*, p. 46). William Rufus had then recently completed his second campaign in the Vexin.

and stone-cutters seeking to be hired, and make a thorough job of repairing the old breaches in the neglected walls. For at the earliest opportunity I will visit the citizens of Le Mans; I will show them a hundred thousand lances with banners before their gates, and will not leave you unchallenged in the enjoyment of my inheritance. I will have carts laden with bolts and arrows drawn there by oxen, but I myself with many troops of soldiers will be at your gates ahead of them, even as the shouting oxherds hurry them along. Know this for a fact; and tell it to your fellows.'

After this exchange the count withdrew and resolutely prepared the defences of his province. The great nobles who had listened to the heated exchange between these mighty princes had not dared to interpose any comment themselves, for they feared the arrogant king who was their lord and were in sympathy with the distinguished count who argued his cause so resolutely. He was indeed upright and honourable, and loved for his many good qualities. He was distinguished in appearance, being physically strong and big, tall and slender in build, dark and swarthy, and closely cropped like a priest. He was also ready-tongued and persuasive, gentle to the peace-loving and stern to rebels, strict in maintaining justice and eager to undertake a good work in the fear of God. His cheeks, often wet with tears, revealed the deep compassion of his prayers and devotions. He was zealous in protecting churches, distributing alms to the poor, and fasting; every week he abstained altogether from food and drink on Friday, out of reverence for Christ's passion.

For some time afterwards King William was occupied with many troubles among the Welsh and Bretons and Flemings¹ and delayed carrying out his threats, forgetting the Manceaux for two years. During this time Helias fortified the castle at Dangeul against Robert Talvas, and established his own retainers there to defend the inhabitants of his lands. The tyrant, Robert, was irked because he could not ravage the neighbouring fields indiscriminately. So, out of season, in January, he roused the king to action, goaded him with bitter words, and brought him with the Norman army to attack the castle in the beginning of February.² For this purpose he said to the king, 'The garrison of the enemy town, lulled into a false sense of security, are widely scattered. They adapt their plans to the winter rains and storms, and believe that you and your army are occupied with other campaigns. If therefore

accolas et municipes imparatos inuenimus, et municipium facile optinebimus.' Inuitus itaque rex pluribus ex causis expeditionem inchoauit, sed Rodberto instigante et prospera pollicente differre ne ignauus putaretur erubuit. Porro perstrepens rumor aduentum regis preuenit' et principalis ordinatio prouinciales competentibus armaturis munitos asciuit, ac ad transitus aquarum sepiumque difficilesque aditus siluarum in hostes coaptauit. Tunc rex inimicis nichil nocere potuit, sed rancore stomachatus ferocior in illos exarsit, et Rodberto ingentem familiam bellatorum suis in municipiis adunare precepit, et copiosos pecuniæ sumptus erogauit, unde municipia eius uallis et muris ac multiplicibus zetis undique clauderentur, et bellicosis larga stipendiariis donatiua largirentur. Belesmensis itaque munio ad hæc promptus oppidana noua condidit' et antiqua precipitibus fossis cingens admodum firmavit. Hic nimirum nouem in illo comitatu habuit castra, id est Bleuam et Peretum, Montem de Nube et Soonam, Sanctum Remigium de Planis et Orticosam, Allerias et motam Gualterii de Clinampo, Mamerz et alias domos firmas quamplurimas.¹ Hæc

iv. 41 siquidem regio censu argutus artifex sibi callide preparauit, et in his bestialis seuciæ colonos uicinisque suis maleficos collocauit, per quos arrogantia suæ satisfecit, et atrocem guerram in Cenomannos exercuit. In quadragesima dum peccatores celitus compuncti praua relinquunt, ac ad medicamentum penitentia pro transactis sceleribus trepidi confugiunt' in carcere Rodberti plus quam ccc uinculati perierunt. Qui multam ei pecuniam pro salute sua optulerunt, sed crudeliter ab eo contempti fame et algore aliisque miseriis interierunt.

His temporibus uenerabilis uitæ Hoellus genere Brito Cenomannorum episcopus defunctus est.² Helias autem comes Gois-

¹ For the castles of Robert of Bellême in Maine see Latouche, *Maine*, pp. 61-2. Some account of the castles of the Sonnois is given by Gabriel Fleury, *Les fortifications du Sonnois du X^me au XII^me siècle* (Mamers, 1887). The fortifications of Peray are described by P. Siguret in *Château Gaillard: Études de castellologie européenne*, i (1964), 137-40.

we hurry there without warning, we shall find both garrison and townspeople unprepared and will easily capture the fortress.' Although for many reasons the king was unwilling he undertook the expedition, ashamed to postpone it for fear of seeming a coward when Robert was so insistent and assured him of success. However, rumours of his approach preceded him; the count issued a summons mustering the men of the province with appropriate weapons, and deployed them against the enemy at crossings of rivers and barriers and at dangerous tracks through woods. So the king could do nothing to weaken his enemies but, fuming with vexation, grew all the more bitterly hostile to them. He ordered Robert to assemble a great force of household soldiers in his castles, and provided lavish supplies of money to enable him to strengthen their defences with walls and ramparts and many towers, and to pay out generous wages to his mercenary soldiers. The châtelain of Bellême, eager to obey, built new fortresses and strengthened the old ones by digging deep ditches round them. He had nine castles in the county of Maine, namely Blèves and Peray, Mont-de-la-Nue, Saosnes, Saint-Rémi-du-Plain and Ortieuse, Allières and La Motte-Gautier-de-Clinchamp, Mamers, and a number of fortified houses as well.¹ All these the ingenious engineer cunningly prepared for himself at the king's expense; in them he placed garrisons of bestial cruelty, accused to their neighbours, and these he used to satisfy his pride and wage a brutal war against the Manceaux. During Lent, a season when sinners are moved by God to abandon their sins and fearfully seek the remedy of penitence for past crimes, more than three hundred fettered prisoners perished in Robert's prison. They offered him large ransoms for their release, but were cruelly spurned by him and died of starvation and cold and other sufferings.

At about this time Hoel, bishop of Le Mans, a Breton by birth and a man of holy life, died.² Count Helias chose Geoffrey the

² For Hoel see above, ii. 300-2. Orderic in fact goes back nearly two years; Hoel died on 29 July 1096 (Latouche, *Maine*, p. 80 n. 3). The date 1097, which is sometimes given, is impossible, since Hildebert attended the synod of Saintes in March 1097 as bishop of Le Mans (T. Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich*, Berlin, 1935, p. 150 n. 71; Mansi, xx. 931). William Rufus probably did not secure full possession of Robert Curthose's rights in Normandy and Maine until he handed over the agreed loan to him in August or September (ASC 1096), and the first steps in the Le Mans election must have been taken before he was in a position to intervene.

fredum Britonem decanum eiusdem æcclesiæ ad episcopatum elegit,¹ sed preueniens clerus Hildebertum de Lauarceio² archidiaconem in cathedra pontificali residere compulit, et altæ uocis cum iubilatione tripudians cantauit, "Te Deum laudamus;" et cetera quæ usus in electione præsulis exposcit æcclesiasticus. Quod Helias ut comperiit, ualde iratus resistere uoluit. Sed clericis dicentibus illi, "Electionem tuam æcclesiasticæ preferre non debes electioni;" reueritus quia Deum timebat siluit, et ne letale in membris æcclesiæ scisma fieret canonicis consensit.

iv. 42 Goisfredus quippe de presulatu iam securus erat: iamque copiosas agapes pro sullimatione sui preparauerat. Paratæ quidem dapes ab audis comessoribus absumptæ sunt: sed ipsum Cenomanni episcopum habere penitus recusauerunt. Is Iudicail pontificis Aletæ frater fuit, et post obitum Guillelmi Rotomagensis archiepiscopi Rotomagensibus xvii annis prefuit.³

Hildebertus autem post mortem Gisleberti Turonensis archiepiscopi a clero et populo electus est: nutuque Dei de Cenomannico culmine metropolitanam sedem adeptus est.⁴ Hic mansuetus fuit ac religiosus, et tam diuinarum quam secularium eruditioni litterarum studiosus. Temporibus nostris incomparabilis uersificator floruit, et multa carmina priscis poematibus æqualia uel eminentia condidit: quæ feruidus calor philosophorum subtiliter rimari appetit, ac super aurum et topazion sibi consciscere diligenter satagit. Eleganter enim et sapienter loquitur de Christo et æcclesia, de corpore et anima, de gestis sanctorum et uirtutibus eorum, de laude uirtutum et uituperatione uitiorum.⁵ A Romanis cardinalibus qui frequenter Galliarum plagas ad-eunt, quia mansuetos illic et obædientes sibi repperiunt: plurima

¹ Orderic's statement that Helias at first supported Geoffrey the Breton is uncorroborated and has been challenged, on the grounds that Helias's understanding with Fulk of Anjou precluded him from supporting William Rufus's candidate (Guillot, *Anjou*, i. 122 n. 558). But undoubtedly the election did not go smoothly; a letter of gentle remonstrance from Ivo of Chartres to Hildebert implies that it had been questioned by a party in the chapter on the grounds of his morals as archdeacon (Migne, *PL* clxii, ep. 277). Helias may have pressed Geoffrey as his candidate in the first stages, before William Rufus became involved. The see was vacant for four months before Hildebert was elected; his consecration was further delayed and probably did not take place before 25 December 1097, or even 1098 (Latouche, *Maine*, pp. 80 n. 3, 151 n. 1, 176). A consecration in December 1097 is most likely; it would explain William's campaign against Maine in February 1098, since the writer of the *Actus (Act. pont. cen.*, p. 400) states that William attacked Maine when he heard that Hilde-

Breton, dean of Le Mans, as bishop,¹ but the clergy anticipated him, forced the archdeacon Hildebert of Lavardin² to take his place in the bishop's seat, and loudly and jubilantly chanted a festive *Te Deum Laudamus* and the rest of the liturgy which ecclesiastical custom requires in episcopal elections. When Helias heard of this he was very angry and had a mind to resist. But when the clergy said to him, 'You have no right to override a canonical election in favour of your candidate' he held his peace out of reverence for God, and fell in with the wishes of the canons rather than allow a fatal schism to divide the members of the church.

Meanwhile Geoffrey, confident of securing the bishopric, had arranged a sumptuous banquet to celebrate his elevation. The feast was laid out and devoured by the eager guests, but the Manceaux refused absolutely to have him as their bishop. He was a brother of Judicail, bishop of Saint-Malo, and after the death of William, archbishop of Rouen, held the archbishopric for seventeen years.³

After the death of Gilbert, archbishop of Tours, Hildebert was elected his successor by the clergy and people, and by God's will was raised from the bishopric of Le Mans to the metropolitan see.⁴ He was a courteous and pious man, who had read deeply both in theology and in secular letters. He was a poet without peer in our time, and composed many songs that equalled or surpassed the poems of the ancients, which learned men eagerly aspire to explain with subtlety, and are more anxious to acquire for themselves than gold or topaz. He speaks with grace and learning of Christ and the Church, of body and soul, of the lives and virtues of the saints, of the merits of virtues and hatefulness of vices.⁵ Many of Hildebert's songs were taken to Rome by Roman cardinals, who often visit France because they find the people there

bert had been consecrated. The remainder of Orderic's story of the election, however, is improbable and out of tune with the other evidence.

² For Hildebert see above, ii. 302; P. von Moos, *Hildebert*; A. B. Scott, *Carmina Minora* (Leipzig, 1969).

³ Geoffrey Brito (the Breton), dean of Le Mans, became archbishop of Rouen in 1111 and died on 28 November 1128 (*Le Prévost*, iv. 495 n. 3). He came of a noble Breton family and his brother Judicail was bishop of Alet (Saint-Malo) (*GC* xiv. 420-1, 999-1000; *DHGE* ii. 153-5; Lucien Merlet, 'Lettres d'Ives de Chartres et d'autres personnages de son temps 1087-1130', in *BEC* xvi (1855), 458-9, 462, 466).

⁴ Hildebert became archbishop of Tours in 1125.

⁵ His works include the 'Liber de querimonia et conflictu carnis et animæ' and *Lives* of St. Hugh of Cluny and St. Rade Gund (P. von Moos, pp. 376-7).

iv. 43 Hildeberti carmina Romam transferuntur, quæ dicacium scolis ac didascalis Quiritum admiranda censentur. Hic sacer heros fere xxxv annis presulatus officium exercuit, studiisque bonis in docendo et faciendo specialiter institit. Æcclesiam sancti Geruasii ubi corpus eximii confessoris Christi Iuliani requiescit, multis modis laudabiliter decoravit, quam postmodum tempore Guiumari Britonis¹ successoris sui qui alio nomine Guido de Stampis appellatur dedicavit.² Verum peccatis exigentibus quam bonorum exercitatio affatim decoravit, uariisque ad honorem Dei ornamentis ditavit: post viii annos dedicationis incendium quo magna pars urbis consumpta est, deturpauit, horribilique modo deuastavit.³

iv. 44 Anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oXC^oVIII^o indictione vi^a: Helias comes ebdmada precedente Rogationes expeditionem super Rodbertum fecit, et facto discursu post nonam suos remeare precepit. Illis autem redeuntibus, comes cum vii militibus a turma sua segregatus prope Dangeolum diuertit: ibique in condensis arboribus et fructectis latitantes quosdam aduertit, in quos statim cum paucis sodalibus irruit. Rodbertus autem in insidiis ibi latitabat. Qui ut paucos incaute discurrentes uidit: uaffer militiæque gnarus ex improuiso cum plurimis prosiliuit, comitemque mox et Herueum de Monteforti signiferum eius et pene omnes alios comprehendit.⁴ Præui uero et exercitus postquam Balaonem alacres peruenerunt, per eos qui euaserant captum esse audierunt: subitque post inanem letitiam ingenti merore pariter inebriati sunt. Rodbertus deinde regi Heliam Rotomagum presentavit, quem rex honorifice custodiri precepit. Non enim militibus erat crudelis, sed blandus et dapsilis, iocundus et affabilis.

Felici fortuna rex Guillelmus sibi arridente tripudiauit, et conuocatis in unum Normanniæ baronibus ait, 'Hactenus de nanciscenda hereditate paterna negligenter egi, quia pro cupiditate ruris augendi populos, uexare uel homines perimere nolui. Nunc autem ut uidetis me nesciente hostis meus captus est: Deoque uolente qui rectitudinem meam nouit michi traditus est. Quid laudatis, quid michi modo persuadetis? De rebus agendis consilium indagare et michi quod salubrius censueritis intimate.'

¹ Guy of Étampes, bishop of Le Mans, 1126–36, was also known as Guy of Ploërmel; for his pontificate see *Act. pont. cen.*, pp. 422–42.

² The cathedral of Le Mans was dedicated in honour of St. Mary, St. Gervase, St. Protasius, and St. Julian on 25 April 1120, when Hildebert himself was bishop (*Act. pont. cen.*, p. 415; P. von Moos, *Hildebert*, p. 13).

³ The fire occurred in September 1134; details are given by Orderic in Book XIII (Le Prévost, v. 41).

⁴ Helias was captured on 28 April 1098 (Latouche, *Maine*, p. 47; cf. *Act. pont. cen.*, p. 400).

tractable and obedient, and they are highly praised among the schools and masters of the sophisticated Romans. This noble bishop discharged his episcopal duties for about thirty-five years, specially devoting himself to worthwhile undertakings in all that he taught and did. He found many ways of beautifying the church of St. Gervase, where the body of the renowned confessor of Christ, Julian, rests, and afterwards dedicated² it in the time of his successor, Guy the Breton,¹ who is also known by the name of Guy of Étampes. But, as a punishment for sin, a fire which ravaged a great part of the city eight years after the dedication disfigured and caused terrible damage to the church, which had been beautifully decorated by the devotion of good men, and enriched with ornaments for the glory of God.³

In the year of our Lord 1098, the sixth indiction, Count Helias led an attack on Robert in the week before Rogations; when the raid was over he ordered his men to retire after noon. As they were making their way back the count and seven knights became separated from the main contingent near Dangeul. Catching sight of some men lying low among thick trees and shrubs, he charged them at once with his handful of companions. But Robert of Bellême was lying in ambush there, and when this crafty veteran of the art of war saw only a few men rashly galloping up, he fell on them suddenly with a large force and immediately captured the count, his standard-bearer Hervey of Montfort, and almost all the others.⁴ The advance guard and army, who had reached Ballon in high spirits, heard of the count's capture from those who had escaped, and immediately their mood changed from mad joy to profound gloom. Robert handed over Helias to the king at Rouen, and the king ordered him to be kept in honourable captivity. He at least was not cruel in his treatment of knights, but was gracious and courteous, jovial and at ease.

As good fortune smiled on him, King William called together all his barons of Normandy in high spirits and said, 'Up to now I have been tardy in winning back my paternal inheritance, because I did not wish to disturb settlers or slaughter men out of lust for enlarging my lands. But now as you see, without my connivance, my enemy has been captured and handed over to me by the will of God, who knows the justice of my cause. What do you recommend? what do you advise me to do now? Take counsel about what should be done, and tell me what course you advise as the

Optimates autem consultu perscrutato responderunt, 'Communi consilio domine rex decernimus, ut iussione uestra uniuersus Normannorum aggregetur exercitus, cum quo nos omnes ad optinendam Cenomannorum regionem audacter et alacriter ibimus.' His auditis rex gauisus est. Porro ueloces ueredarii longe lateque per prouincias missi sunt' et uelle regis ut subiecti et affines et amici sine fictione suffragarentur ei diuulgauerunt. Franci ergo et Burgundiones, Morini et Britones, aliæque uicinæ gentes ad liberalem patricium cucurrerunt, et phalanges eius multipliciter auxerunt.

iv. 45 Mense Iunio¹ Guillelmus rex per Alencionem exercitum duxit, multisque milibus stipatus hostium regionem formidabilis intrauit. Militum uero turmæ regio iussu Fredernaium repente adierunt, et cum oppidanis equitibus militari exercicio ante portas castris aliquantulum certauerunt. Verum Radulfus uiccomes de Bellomonte² regi supplex occurrit' et fœdus pacis usque ad terminum quem denominauerat obnixè poposcit. 'A sullimitate' inquit 'uestra requiro domine rex inducias, donec saluus de Cenomannis redeas. Illic enim presul et senatorum concio consistit, ibique communis cotidie de statu rei publicæ tractatus et prouidentia fit. Quicquid ibi pactum fuerit uobiscum nos gratanter subsequemur, et iussionibus uestris in omnibus obsequemur. Hæc iccirco domine rex loquor maiorum natu consilio, quia si sine bello primus defecero, pariumque meorum desertor primus pacem iniero, omni sine dubio generi meo dedecus et improprium generabo. Membra caput subsequi debent non precedere, et faceti legitimique uernulæ magis optant obsequi domino quam iubere.' Hæc et plura his similia dicentem rex laudauit, et quæ postulata fuerant annuit.

iv. 46 Goisfredus quoque de Meduana³ et Rotro de Monteforti⁴ aliique plures per quorum terras transiturus erat similiter egerunt, et securitatem ab eo usque ad reditum eius supplicibus uerbis impetrauerunt.

Gilo de Solleio⁵ de nobilissimis Gallorum, antiquus heros de familia Henrici regis Francorum, qui multas uiderat et magnas congregationes populorum, in arduo monte stans turmas armatorum undique prospexit, et quingenta milia uirorum inibi esse

¹ In June 1098 (Latouche, *Maine*, p. 47).

² Ralph V of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe, vicomte of Maine. He was a son of Hubert the vicomte (cf. above, iv. 52; Latouche, *Maine*, pp. 47, 130-1).

³ For Geoffrey of Mayenne see above, iv. 154, 194, 292-4; Latouche, *Maine*, pp. 36-8; Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 257.

⁴ For Rotrou of Montfort see above, iv. 292; Latouche, *Maine*, p. 64 n. 5.

⁵ Cf. above, iii. 116 n. 3.

best.' The magnates, after conferring together, replied, 'By common counsel, lord king, we propose that you should issue a summons to the whole Norman army and we will all accompany it boldly and willingly to conquer the province of Maine.' The king was delighted at this advice. So swift messengers were sent out all over the province, and spread the news that the king's will was that his subjects and neighbours and friends should give him loyal aid. Frenchmen and Burgundians, Flemings and Bretons, and other neighbouring peoples flocked to the open-handed prince, and multiplied the number of his squadrons.

In the month of June¹ King William led his army through Alençon and entered the enemy's country with numerous supporters as an invader to be reckoned with. Squadrons of knights advanced rapidly to Fresnay at the king's command, and engaged in prolonged combat with the mounted knights of the garrison outside the gates of the fortress. The vicomte, Ralph of Beaumont,² hurried to the king to seek for terms and insisted on a treaty of peace to last for any period he cared to name. 'I seek a truce, my lord king,' he said, 'from your highness until you return safe and sound from Le Mans. There the bishop has his seat and the council of magnates is established; there every day the welfare of the province is publicly discussed and measures are taken for its safety. We will gladly acquiesce in whatever treaty is made with you there, and will obey your commands in all things. This I propose, my lord king, by the advice of my oldest counsellors, because if I should be the first to give in without a blow and the first to desert my peers and enter into a peace I would certainly leave a legacy of shame and dishonour to all my descendants. The members ought to be guided by the head, not to lead it; in like fashion courteous and loyal servants would rather obey their lord than command him.' The king complimented him on these and similar expressions of opinion and agreed to his requests.

Geoffrey of Mayenne,³ Rotrou of Montfort,⁴ and many others through whose lands he was to pass took the same course of action and successfully pleaded with him for a truce until his return.

Gilo of Sully⁵ was an old lord from one of the oldest families in Gaul, who had been brought up in the household of King Henry of France and had seen many great gatherings of peoples. Standing on a high hill he saw on every side troops of soldiers

autumauit, nec se unquam citra Alpes tantum insimul exercitum uidisse asseruit.

iv. 47 Prima regis mansio in terra hostili apud Ruceium fuit, et sequenti die rex ad Montem Busoti castra metatus pernoctauit. Tercia uero die Colunchis uenit,¹ et in pratis Sartæ figi multitudinis tentoria imperauit. In uineis balistarii et sagittarii secus uiam erant: qui tramitem ne hostes impune transirent summopere explorabant, crebrisque missilibus pretereuntes inquietabant.

Fulco cognomento Richinus Andegauorum comes ut Heliam captum audiuit, Cenomannis quia capitalis dominus erat² actutum aduenit, et a ciuibus libenter susceptus munitiones militibus et fundibulariis muniuit.³ Adueniente uero rege milites de urbe obuam ei egressi sunt: et tota die uiriliter in Normannos certaerunt. et militaria ex utraque parte facinora commiserunt. Famosi nempe pugiles nitebantur utrinque suas ostentare uires, et promereri a principibus suis atque commilitonibus sanguinolentas laudes.

iv. 48 Paganus de Montedublelli⁴ Normannis olim familiaris amicitiam cum rege firmauit, et fortissimam quam apud Balaonem possidebat motam regi tradidit, per quam totum oppidum aduersariis subactum paruit. Rex autem illic Robertum de Bellismo principem militiæ constituit, eique plus quam ccc milites animis et armis instructos associauit. ⁵Contra resistentes indigenas uehementer intumuit, et incomparabilibus detrimentis acriter eos afflixit. Vineas enim eorum ingenti multitudine armatorum exstirpauit, segetes conculcauit, et circumiacentem prouinciam deuastauit, sed diurnam obsidionem tenere nequiuit. Nam egestas uictus grauis hominibus et equis instabat, quia tempus inter ueteres et nouas fruges tunc iter agebat. Sextarius auenæ decem solidis cenomannensium uendebatur: sine qua cornipedum uigor in occidentis climatibus uix sustentatur. Quapropter rex legiones suas relaxauit, et messes suas in horreis recondi precepit, atque

¹ Coulaines was one of the manors of the bishop of Le Mans.

² Orderic never questioned that Fulk was the chief lord of Maine; whatever rights the Norman dukes claimed both for themselves and over the family of La Flèche they appear to have held under the count of Anjou. Cf. Latouche, *Maine*, pp. 54-6.

³ According to the chronicler of the bishopric (*Act. pont. cen.*, p. 400) Fulk placed garrisons in Le Mans and left his son in charge. The 'fundibularii' operated the hurling-machines.

⁴ Cf. above, iv. 154, 292. A charter of Saint-Vincent-du-Mans refers to a loan to Guy son of Gerard 'cum pergeret ad Ierusalem cum Pagano de Monte Dublelli' (David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 223, 225); if Orderic is correct in saying that Pain handed over Ballon he probably took the cross with Helias and prepared to go on crusade, but abandoned his plans when Helias did.

numbering, as he asserted, fifty thousand men and declared that never before had he seen such an army north of the Alps.

The king's first halt in enemy country was at Rouessé-Fontaine and the next day he pitched camp and spent the night at Montbizot. The third day he came to Coulaines¹ and had the tents of his great army pitched in the meadows by the Sarthe. There were crossbowmen and archers in the vineyards by the wayside, who carefully reconnoitred the paths to prevent the enemy passing through in safety and harassed all comers with showers of missiles.

When Fulk le Rechin, count of Anjou, heard that Helias had been captured he hurried to Le Mans because he was the chief lord of the place;² the citizens opened their gates to him and he reinforced the garrisons with knights and slingers.³ As the king approached the knights issued forth from the city to meet him and courageously fought against the Normans for a whole day. Chivalrous feats were accomplished on both sides; for renowned champions from both armies strove to prove their valour and to earn the laurels of war from their leaders and comrades.

Pain of Mondoubleau,⁴ an old friend of the Normans, renewed his alliance with the king and handed over to him the strong castle he had at Ballon, which dominated the whole town controlled by his adversaries. The king appointed Robert of Bellême commander of the knights there and provided him with more than three hundred well-trained and courageous knights. ⁵He vented his wrath on the people of the province who resisted him and punished them by cruelly ravaging their lands. With a great force of soldiers he tore up their vines, trampled down their corn, and laid waste the province all around, but he was unable to carry on a long siege. Both men and horses suffered from an acute shortage of food, since it was the season when the old harvest was exhausted and the new not yet gathered. A sester of oats, without which it is almost impossible to keep up the strength of horses in western climates, sold at ten shillings Manceaux. Consequently the king withdrew his troops, ordering them to gather their

⁵ Orderic's narrative is not clear at this point; apparently he turns from the surrender of Ballon back to the fortunes of the main royal army encamped on the bishop's estates at Coulaines just outside Le Mans. The devastations of the campaign included savage destruction on the bishop's estates, which both Hildebert himself (Migne, *PL* clxxi. 215-16) and the chronicler of the see (*Act. pont. cen.*, pp. 400-1) attributed to William's calculated hatred of the bishop.

ut post collectionem frugum obsidere hostium castra parati essent commonuit.

Rufo rege cum ualido exercitu Normanniam repetente Fulco comes Balaonem obsedit, et aggregatis Andegauensibus cum Cenomannis per aliquot dies opprimere hostes satagit. Castrenses autem hoc statim regi mandauerunt: et rumore huiusmodi diffuso animosi optimates contribulibus suis adminiculari summopere festinauerunt.

Interea dum comes et exercitus in tentoriis suis pranderent et mendici de oppido accepta stipe obsessis renunciarent, quod obsidentes tunc uidelicet circa terciam comederent in armis ordinatae acies militum subito prosilierunt, et inermes ad mensam residentes ex insperato proturbauerunt, et pluribus captis omnes alios fugauerunt. Ibi Gualterius de Montesorelli¹ et Goisfredus de Brioleto,² Iohannes de Blazone³ et Berlais de Mosterolo,⁴ et alii fere cxi milites cum innumeris peditibus capti sunt: et exuuias hostium arma et uestes multimodamque suppellectilem uictores diripuerunt. Inter illos qui capti sunt multi nobiles oppidani erant, qui magnorum possessores fundorum in precipuis baronibus natiuae regionis pollebant, et multis magnae strenuitatis militibus hereditario iure praeminebant.

Tercia Iulii mensis ebdomada⁵ Guillelmus rex suis suppetias uenit, et terribiles inimicis armatorum globos secum adduxit. Adueniente autem rege oppidani cum tripudio ipsum introduxerunt, quod audientes uinculati cum uociferatione magna pariter clamauerunt, 'Guillelme rex nobilis libera nos.' Quod audiens ille iussit omnes protinus absolui, eisque cum suis in curia foris ad manducandum copiose dari, et per fidem suam usque post prandium liberos dimitti. Cumque satellites eius obicerent, quod in tanta populi frequentia facile aufugerent: rex illorum duriciae obstitit, et pro uinctis eos redarguens dixit, 'Absit a me ut credam: quod probus miles uiolet fidem suam. Quod si fecerit: omni tempore uelut exlex despicabilis erit.'

¹ Walter II, son of William of Montsoreau, vassal of Fulk le Rechin (see Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 456; ii. 32 (C 20), 218-19 (C 350)).

² For the châtelains of Briollay see Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 311, 319, 458; ii. 75 (C 90).

³ John of Blaison-sur-Loire, son of Éon. For his family see Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 220, 466; ii. 227 (C 364).

⁴ Bellay II of Montreuil-Bellay, nephew of Reginald, archbishop of Rheims (Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 441 n. 25, 460; ii. 12 n. 32). Like the other captives named he belonged to a family of powerful Angevin châtelains.

harvests into the barns and be ready after the crops were garnered to besiege the enemies' strongholds.

When King Rufus had led his great army back to Normandy, Count Fulk besieged Ballon and with a combined force of Angevins and Manceaux attempted for several days to reduce his foes. The garrison however immediately informed the king, and when the news was spread abroad brave lords hurried to the aid of their comrades.

Meanwhile as the count and his army were dining in their tents beggars from the town, who had received alms there, reported to the besieged that the besiegers were still at meat, it being then about terce. Disciplined ranks of armed knights suddenly made a foray, fell without warning on the defenceless men as they sat at table, and captured many, putting the rest to flight. Walter of Montsoreau,¹ Geoffrey of Briollay,² John of Blaison-sur-Loire,³ Bellay of Montreuil-Bellay,⁴ and about a hundred and forty other knights were captured there, together with countless foot-soldiers, and the victors seized the equipment of their enemies, consisting of arms and clothing and furnishings of many kinds. Among those who were captured were many noble châtelains who, possessing great estates, ranked as leading barons of their own province and had many distinguished knights as vassals by hereditary right.

In the third week of July⁵ King William arrived to relieve his men, bringing with him troops of soldiers who struck terror into their enemies. When the king arrived the garrison opened the gates to him with jubilation, and hearing his entry the prisoners all shouted together at the tops of their voices, 'William, noble king, free us.' Hearing the shouts he ordered them to be released at once and given a good meal in the courtyard outside with his own men, releasing them on parole until after dinner. When his followers objected that they might easily make their escape in such a throng of people the king charged them with severity, and said on behalf of the prisoners, 'Far be it from me to believe that a true knight would break his sworn word. If he did so he would be despised for ever as an outlaw.'

⁵ The date agrees approximately with a statement in the annals of Saint-Aubin that Fulk le Rechin's rule, which began in Le Mans on 1 May, lasted for three months (Latouche, *Maine*, p. 48 n. 2; *Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. L. Halphen (Paris, 1906), p. 42).

iv. 50 Fulco comes de obsidione ad urbem confugerat.¹ et in cenobiis sanctorum exitus rerum expectabat. Andegauenses autem cum Cenomannis consiliati sunt.² et sese Normannis in omnibus inferiores compererunt, unde colloquium inter regem et consulem procurauerunt. Ibi tunc auxiliante Deo necessaria pax inter eos facta est.³ et inde multis pro pluribus causis utriusque populi gaudium ingens exortum est. Requisitum est et concessum ut Helias comes et omnes qui capti fuerant ex utraque parte redderentur, et Cenomannis et omnia castra quæ Guillelmus rex habuerat Rufo filio eius subiugarentur.¹

Conventionibus itaque pacis decenter confirmatis, rex magistrum militum Rodbertum Hugonis de Monteforti² filium accersit, et in turrim Cenomannicam aliasque munitiones ascendere precepit, eique dcc milites electos lorice et galeis et omni armatura fulgentes associauit. Protinus illi custodibus egressis cunctas urbis munitiones nacti sunt.³ et in principali turre uexillum regis cum ingenti tropheo leuauerunt. In crastinum rex post illos mille preclaros milites direxit.⁴ et pro libitu suo datis legibus totam ciuitatem possedit. Regia turris et Mons Barbatus atque Mons Barbatulus regi subiciuntur.⁵ et merito quia a patre eius condita noscuntur.³ Omnes quoque ciues in pace nouo principi congratulantur plausibus, cantibus uariisque gestibus.

iv. 51 Tunc Hildebertus presul et clerus et omnis plebs obuiam regi cum ingenti gaudio processerunt,⁴ et psallentes in basilicam sancti Geruasii martiris perduxerunt, ubi sanctorum pontificum et confessorum Iuliani et Turibii ac Victoris⁵ aliorumque plurimorum corpora requiescunt.

Absolutus Helias Baiocis de carcere prodiit, ad regem niger et hispidus⁶ Rotomagum uenit, eique humiliter dixit, 'Qui pluribus suffragariis rex inclite, michi queso subueni pro tua insigni strenuitate. Iam diu comes nuncupatus sum.'⁷ quia hereditario iure possedi nobilem consulatum, sed omine mutato nominis et

¹ There are fuller details of the negotiations in *Act. pont. cen.*, p. 401; these are complementary to Orderic's account and nowhere contradict it.

² Robert of Montfort, who held the honor later known as *honor constabularie* in England is generally regarded as hereditary constable; but although the constable had military duties in virtue of his office they were rather those of a quartermaster-general than of a commander in the field. The authority here implied by Orderic's ambiguous use of *magister militum* was more likely to have been derived from a special appointment than from any hereditary office. See G. H. White in *Genealogist*, n.s. xxxviii (1922), 114-15, and in *TRHS* 4th ser. xxx (1948), 149-50; *Regesta*, ii, p. xv.

³ For the fortifications of Le Mans see above, iv. 150 n. 1; Latouche, *Maine*, pp. 34, 38, 90.

⁴ In spite of the bitter hostility between William and Hildebert, the bishop's

Count Fulk hurriedly retired from the siege to Le Mans and awaited the outcome of events in the monasteries of the saints. The Angevins meanwhile had consulted with the Manceaux and, finding themselves weaker than the Normans in every way, arranged a parley between the king and the count. There with God's help practical terms of peace were agreed between them, which were warmly welcomed on both sides for a variety of reasons. The terms sought and granted were that Count Helias and all the prisoners on both sides should be exchanged, and Le Mans and all the castles which William the Conqueror had held should be surrendered to his son Rufus.¹

When the terms of peace had been fully ratified, the king summoned the captain of his knights, Robert son of Hugh of Montfort,² and ordered him to occupy the tower of Le Mans and other fortifications, supplying him with seven hundred picked knights equipped with hauberks and helmets and full armour. As soon as the guardians had withdrawn they took over all the defences of the city and raised the king's standard with great ceremony from the main tower. Next day the king followed up himself with a thousand eminent knights and, after issuing ordinances, took possession of the city at his will. The royal tower and Mont-Barbet and Petit-Mont-Barbet were put under the king's authority, which was only right since they had been founded by his father.³ All the citizens peacefully welcomed the new prince with cheers and songs and other demonstrations of joy.

Then Bishop Hildebert with the clergy and people came out in joyful procession to meet the king,⁴ and, chanting psalms, escorted him into the church of St. Gervase the martyr, where the bodies of the holy bishops and confessors, Julian, Thuribius, and Victor,⁵ and many others are at rest.

On his release Helias left the prison at Bayeux and, dark and unshaven,⁶ came to see the king at Rouen and said to him humbly, 'Great king, ruler over many, help me I beg you out of your abundant generosity. For long I have enjoyed the title of count, because I held a fair county by hereditary right, but by a change of

letters show that he bowed to necessity and outwardly accepted William's rule (cf. *EHR* xii (1897), 290-3).

⁵ St. Julian was the first bishop of Le Mans; St. Victor (fl. 453-61) the fourth, and St. Thuribius (d. 496) the fifth (Duchesne, *Fastes*, ii. 331-2).

⁶ It was customary for captives to allow their beards to grow; cf. above, iv. 188.

honoris titulo priuatus sum. Obsecro igitur ut cum pristinæ dignitatis uocabulo in tua me suscipias familia' et ego tibi condigna exhibebo seruitia. Cenomannorum non requiro urbem uel oppida' donec idonea seruitute illa promeruerō a tua magnificentia. Inter tuos dumtaxat anhelō familiares haberi' et regali amicitia perfrui.'

iv. 52 Liberalis rex hoc facile annuere decreuit, sed Rodbertus Mellenticus comes pro felle liuoris dissuasit. Callidus enim senex regalibus consiliis et iudiciis præerat, quapropter in pretorio principali parem seu potioem perpeti metuebat. Dixit ergo regi, 'Cenomanni uersipelles et infidi sunt' et quod fortitudine nequeunt dolis et tergiuersatione faciunt. Ecce deuictus supplicat hostis, et fraudulenter inhiat tuus esse familiaris. Cur hoc appetit? Vt quanto tuis uicinior interfuerit archanis, tanto dum sibi arriiserit opportunitas temporis, contra te ferocius insurgens tuis infestior copuletur inimicis.'

His ita dictis uoluntas regis immutata est' et strenuus heros ne in familia regis computaretur repudiatus est, unde labor ingens cum periculis et detrimentis postmodum multis exortus est. Rursus Helias regem blandis affatibus lenire studuit, sed frustra unde constanter adiecit, 'Libenter domine rex tibi seruirem' si tibi placeret gratiamque apud te inuenirem. Amodo michi queso noli derogare, si aliud conabor perpetrare. Patienter ferre nequeo, quod meam michi ablatam hereditatem perspicio, et uiolentia preuulente omnis michi denegatur rectitudo. Quamobrem nemo miretur si calumniam fecero' si auitum honorem totis nisibus repetiero.' Cui turgidus rex ait, 'Vade et age' quicquid michi potes agere.'

iv. 53 Helias itaque conductum per terram regis ab illo requisiiuit, quo accepto liber ad sua gaudentibus amicis remeauit. Quinque oppida sua² cum adiacentibus uicis instruxit, sollicita procuratione damna suppleuit, propriisque negociis sedulus institit. Ab Augusto usque ad Pascha³ in pace siluit. Interim tamen quali specimine

¹ Cf. *GR* ii. 373, 'concedo tibi ut facias quicquid poteris'. William of Malmesbury wrongly puts the capture of Helias and his meeting with William later, after the 1099 revolt of Le Mans; but similarities in the spirit and language suggest that his story and Orderic's may both have been derived from a common oral source.

² Helias held the castle of La Flèche by inheritance from his father, and

fortune I have been deprived of the right to title and county Therefore I beg you to receive me in your household with the title of my former rank, and I will repay you with worthy service. I do not ask to have the city of Le Mans or the castles of Maine until by some appropriate service I may deserve to receive them back from your royal hand. Until that day my desire is to be counted among the members of your household and to enjoy your kindly favour.'

The generous king was ready to grant this, but Robert count of Meulan dissuaded him out of jealous rancour. This wily old man was the chief among the king's counsellors and justices, and therefore feared to admit an equal or superior in the royal council chamber. So he said to the king, 'The men of Maine are cunning and treacherous and achieve by deceit and double-dealing what they cannot do by strength. Here is a conquered enemy making suit and fraudulently professing a wish to be your counsellor. Why does he ask for this? In order to be closer to your secret counsels, so that when opportunity favours him he may rebel all the more savagely and form a deadlier alliance with your enemies.'

On hearing this the king changed his mind and the brave lord was refused a place in the king's household, with the result that many subsequently endured great trials and hardships and danger and loss. Helias tried again to mollify the king with fair words, but in vain. Consequently he said firmly, 'I would gladly have served you, my lord and king, if it had been your pleasure and I had found favour with you. Now I ask you not to blame me if I try another course. I cannot look on patiently while my inheritance is taken from me and I am denied all justice, force alone prevailing. Let no one be surprised if I put forward a claim and strive to recover my ancestral honor by every means in my power.' To which the proud king replied, 'Go, and do your worst against me.'

Helias therefore asked the king for a safe conduct through his lands, received it, and returned home a free man to his jubilant friends. He prepared his five castles² and the surrounding villages for defence, carefully repaired the damage done there, and busied himself about his own affairs. From August until Easter³ he kept the peace. During that time, however, he gave careful thought to

four other castles, Château-du-Loir, Mayet, Outillé, and Lucé-le-Grand in his wife's right (*Latouche, Maine*, p. 49).

³ From August 1098 to Easter 1099.

nisus suos hostibus ostenderet callide cogitavit² et multoties cum fidis affinibus tractavit.

Guillelmus autem rex postquam Cenomannis ut dictum est sine multi cruoris effusione optinuit² Guillelmo Ebroicensium comiti et Gisleberto de Aquila¹ aliisque probis optionibus urbem seruandam commisit, et regiam turrem armis et cibis et omnibus necessariis opime instructam Gualterio Rotomagensi filio Ansgerii² commendavit. Radulfus uicecomes et Goisfredus de Meduana³ Rodbertus Burgundio⁴ aliique totius prouinciæ proceres regi
iv. 54 confederati sunt² redditisque munitionibus datis ab eo legibus sollerter obsecundarunt.

9

Dum hæc citra mare in Neustria perpetrarentur, immodicique sumptus in superfluis apparatus prodige distraherentur² Ranulfus Flambardus iam Dunelmi episcopus aliique regis satellites et gastaldi Angliam spoliabant,⁵ et latronibus peiores agricolarum aceros ac negociatorum congeries immisericorditer diripiebant, nec etiam sanguinolentas manus a sacris cohibebant. Defunctis enim æcclesiæ prelati regia ui protinus succedebant, et quæque in erario eorum repperiebantur irreuerenter inuadebant.⁶ Cenobiorum fundos et episcopatum redditus dominio regis mancipabant² et a superstitionibus archimandritis seu pontificibus enormis pecuniæ uectigal exigebant. Sic immensi census onera per fas perque nefas coaceruabant² et regi transfretum ut in nefariis seu commodis usibus expenderentur destinabant. Huiusmodi utique collectionibus grandia regi xenia presentabantur, quibus extranei pro uana laude ditabantur² filii autem regni propriis rebus iniuste nudati contristabantur,⁷ et ad Deum qui per Aoth ambidextrum
iv. 55 perempto Eglon rege pinguissimo de manu Moab liberauit Israel⁸ clamantes lamentabantur.

¹ Gilbert, son of Richer of Laigle and Judith; cf. above, iv. 200.

² Walter's position of authority in Le Mans is proved by a writ of William II addressed to him, together with Clarembald of Lisores and Aymer of *Moirra*, which relates to episcopal customs in Le Mans (*Regesta*, i, no. 440; there dated 31 December 1096-9, but presumably 1098-9). He was probably a brother of William son of Ansgar (cf. above, iv. 226).

³ See above, p. 240.

⁴ Robert the Burgundian, lord of Craon and Sablé, who had fought in earlier campaigns in Maine (cf. above, iv. 48, 154), left on crusade before Easter 1098 (Latouche, *Maine*, p. 48 n. 5; Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, ii. 251); this must therefore be his son Robert, also called the Burgundian, who occurs with that title in a charter of 12 April 1099 (Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, ii. 253 (C 405)).

the most appropriate way of showing his hand to his enemies and frequently discussed the matter with his loyal neighbours.

King William, after taking Le Mans with very little bloodshed as I have shown, gave the city into the keeping of William, count of Évreux, Gilbert of Laigle,¹ and other brave captains, and entrusted the royal castle, well furnished with arms and food and every kind of supply, to Walter of Rouen, the son of Ansgar.² Ralph the vicomte, Geoffrey of Mayenne,³ Robert the Burgundian,⁴ and other magnates from all over the province bound themselves to the king, and after receiving subsidies and castles from him dutifully obeyed his ordinances.

9

While these events were taking place across the sea in Normandy and great expenses were recklessly incurred in superfluous preparations, Ranulf Flambard, who had become bishop of Durham, and other royal servants and officials plundered England;⁵ worse than bandits, they mercilessly raided the stores of peasants and the goods of merchants, not even refraining from laying their bloody hands on sacred things. Whenever prelates of the Church died they forced themselves into their place in the king's name and sacrilegiously seized whatever was found in their treasures.⁶ They took into the king's hand monastic estates and bishops' revenues; and exacted heavy taxes from living abbots and bishops. In this way they amassed immense revenues by fair means and foul and sent them to the king overseas to further his designs, whether good or evil. They offered the king great gifts collected by such methods and so enriched foreigners for empty show, while the sorrowing people of the realm were stripped of their own property⁷ and cried out in their distress to God, who delivered Israel from the hand of Moab through Ehud, the ambidextrous slayer of Eglon, the very fat king.⁸

⁵ For Ranulf Flambard's activities see F. J. West, *The Justiciarship in England 1066-1232* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 11-13.

⁶ Cf. above, iv. 174 and n. 1; Southern, *Medieval Humanism*, pp. 191-2.

⁷ This is not merely rhetorical exaggeration; William is known to have given a chasuble to St. Germer of Fly at the expense of Battle Abbey (cf. above, p. 212 n. 6) and to have offered gold and silver to Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans for the shrine of St. Julian, which Hildebert is said to have refused (*Act. pont. cen.*, p. 403; *EHR* xii (1897), 290-3).

⁸ Cf. Judges iii. 12-22.

Hæc uidens sacer Anselmus archiepiscopus ualde contristatus est: et oppressis succurrere conatus est. Murus pro domo Israel¹ contra colentes Baalim stare fortiter nisus est: unde pro multimodis æcclesiarum afflictionibus per fideles legatos cum supplicibus epistolis regem interpellans conquestus est.² Sed obdurato corde rex male sanus humili didascolo non paruit: quapropter ille licentiam eundi Romam ab eo petiuit. Porro tumidus princeps Romam quidem eum abire permisit: sed Normanniam ne intraret prohibuit. Heu quam prophano tumore cecatus cito ruiturus desipuit, qui Dei seruum a facie tyrannidis suæ fugientem uidere noluit, quem postmodum quia paulo post ipse seua morte collapsus est nunquam uidere potuit. Venerandus uero uir iussui principis obtemperans per Boloniam transiuit,³ et reuerendus secum itineris comites habuit, Balduinum de Tornaco Beccensem monachum, et Cantuariensem Edmarum natione Anglicum, qui uitam eiusdem patris postea diligenter conscripsit ad edificationem animarum. Prefatus presul usque in Capuam uberis Campaniæ caput laboriosum iter expleuit, ibique Vrbanum papam inuenit, a quo benigniter et honorifice susceptus ei causam aduentus sui declarauit. Papa nimirum ibi tunc admodum occupatus erat, quia Capuanos qui contra Ricardum principem suum Iordani filium rebellauerant eidem pacificare satagebat, quos idem iuuenis auxilio et animositate Rogerii senis auunculi sui Siculorum comitis ad deditionem pertinaciter compulerat. Reuerendus itaque senex inter Italos de quorum origine propagatus fuerat aliasque gentes fere biennio⁴ exulauit, et externis auditoribus dicax seminiuerbius spiritualiter profuit. Si quis eius facta seu dicta plenius perscrutari uoluerit: in prefati libro Edmari apud Beccum Herluini predecessoris sui reperire poterit.⁵

10

In autumpno Guillelmus rex postquam Cenomannenses ut dictum est subegit, et Normannicas ad libitum suum res compo-

¹ Cf. Ezekiel xiii. 5.

² In a letter to Urban II, written early in 1198 shortly after he went into exile, Anselm describes his difficulties and the refusal of the king to grant any of his requests. See Anselm, *Opera*, iv. 99-101, ep. 206.

³ Anselm left the royal court on 15 October 1097. Orderic implies that William Rufus was in Normandy at the time of Anselm's departure; in fact he saw Anselm and even received his blessing just before he left (Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 91-3). For his route via Boulogne and Wissant see *ibid.*, pp. 100-1.

⁴ Anselm spent altogether almost three years in exile.

When he saw these things the holy archbishop Anselm was deeply grieved and tried to help the oppressed. He did his best to stand firmly as a wall to protect the house of Israel¹ against the worshippers of Baal, and complained of many kinds of injury inflicted on churches, appealing to the king in supplicatory letters sent by faithful messengers.² But the foolish king hardened his heart and did not heed his humble mentor; and consequently Anselm asked him for leave to go to Rome. The proud prince allowed him to leave for Rome, but forbade him to enter Normandy. Alas, how blinded he was by sinful arrogance, how recklessly he acted when, himself on the brink of destruction, he refused to see the servant of God who fled before his tyranny and whom, because soon afterwards he was struck down by cruel death, he was never able to see again. The venerable man, obeying the royal mandate, crossed by way of Boulogne,³ having as the worthy companions of his journey Baldwin of Tournai, a monk of Bec, and the Englishman Eadmer of Canterbury, who afterwards diligently wrote down the life of archbishop Anselm for spiritual instruction. The archbishop continued his difficult journey as far as Capua, the chief city of fertile Campania, where he found Pope Urban. To the Pope, who received him kindly and with honour, he revealed the cause of his coming. At that time the Pope was fully occupied there, attempting to persuade the Capuans to submit to their prince Richard, son of Jordan, against whom they had rebelled, while young Richard himself, with the energetic help of his great-uncle the elder Roger, count of Sicily, was resolutely pressing them to surrender. So the reverend old man spent about two years⁴ in exile among the Italians from whose stock he had sprung and other peoples, and by his subtle discourse brought spiritual profit to his foreign hearers. If anyone wishes to read more about his deeds and words, he can find them described in his companion Eadmer's book at Bec, the abbey of his predecessor, Herluin.⁵

10

In the autumn, after King William had conquered Maine as we have described and had settled Norman affairs as he pleased,

⁵ Orderic here repeats his earlier account of Anselm's meeting with Urban II at the siege of Capua (see above, pp. 204-6).

suit' flante austro ditissimum Albionis regnum reuisit.¹ Sequenti anno Helias post Pascha iterare guerram cepit, et clam consentientibus indigenis depopulari confinia et militiam regis lacessere satagit. Denique mense Iunio cum insigni multitudine militum uenit, ad Planchias Godefredi uadum Egueniz fluminis² pertransiuit, regiosque pugiles qui urbem custodiebant ad conflictum lacessiit. Audaces uero Normanni foras proruperunt, diuque dimicauerunt, sed numerosa hostium uirtute preualente in urbem repulsi sunt. Tunc etiam hostes cum eisdem ingressi sunt: quia eorum uiolentia coerciti municipes portas claudere nequie-runt, sed per urbem fugientes uix in arcem aliasque munitiones introire potuerunt. Ciues enim Heliam multum diligebant, ideoque dominatum eius magis quam Normannorum affectabant.

iv. 57 Municipes autem qui munimenta regis seruabant' omnibus necessariis pleniter abundabant, et iccirco usque ad mortem pro domini sui fidelitate præliari satagebant. Porro Helias a gaudentibus urbanis in ciuitate susceptus est: sed omnibus illis graue detrimentum inde protinus exortum est. Gualterius enim Ansgerii filius custos arcis iussit fabris quos secum habebat operari: scorium quoque candentem super tecta domorum a balistariis impetuose iactari. Tunc rutilus Titan sullimes Geminos peragrabat,³ et ingenti siccitate mundus arebat, flammeusque turbo imbricibus aularum insidebat. Sic nimius ignis accensus est: quo nimum preualente tota ciuitas combusta est.

Clarembaldus de Lusoriis⁴ et Gualterius aliique satellites munimenta diligenter seruauerunt. Helias uero et sui frustra machinis et assultibus ualde laborauerunt, sed contra inexpugnabiles munitiones nichil preualuerunt. Rodbertus autem Belesmensis Balaonem muniuit, cursoremque suum Amalgisum
iv. 58 confestim ad regem in Angliam direxit. Porro ille mari transfretato Clarendonam uenit, regi cum familiaribus suis in Nouam Forestam equitanti obuiauit, et alacriter inquirenti rumores respondit, 'Cenomannis per proditorem surrepta est. Verum dominus

¹ There is no indication in the English chronicles that William Rufus returned to England before Easter 1099; in fact he launched his second campaign against the Vexin at the end of September 1098 (cf. above, pp. 216-18) and spent Christmas in Normandy (*ASC* 1098, 1099; *FW* ii. 44).

² Prairie-des-Planches, Saint-Georges-du-Plain (*Latouche, Maine*, p. 49). Orderic's account tallies with that of the *Actus*, which places the fight at Pontlièvre (now a suburb of Le Mans) at a crossing of the Huisne (*Act. pont. cen.*, p. 402).

he returned to the wealthy realm of England with a favourable south wind.¹ Next year Helias began hostilities again after Easter, and with the consent of the inhabitants quietly set about scorching the earth in the frontier regions and harassing the king's forces. Finally in June he advanced with a great army of knights to the ford over the river Huisne at a place called Planches-Geoffroi,² crossed over, and provoked the king's men who were guarding the city into conflict. The bold Normans made a sortie and fought for a long time, but finally the superior numbers of the enemy prevailed and they were thrown back into the city. The enemy forced an entry along with them, because the violence of their assault prevented the defenders from closing the gates, and they were only just able to escape through the city and take refuge in the citadel and other defences. The citizens were greatly devoted to Helias and so wished to be ruled by him rather than by the Normans. However the garrisons defending the king's fortifications had abundant supplies of all kinds, and resolved to fight to the death out of loyalty to their lord. Helias was received in the city by cheering townspeople, but their action immediately brought a terrible disaster on all their heads. Walter son of Ansgar, the castellan of the citadel, set the smiths who were with him to work, and with the aid of siege-catapults hurled molten dross violently on to the roofs of the houses. At that time the blazing sun was passing through the sign of the heavenly Twins,³ the countryside was parched with drought, and showers of flame seized hold of the roof-tiles of the houses. So a terrible conflagration broke out and, taking hold of the buildings, reduced the whole city to ashes.

Clarembald of Lisores⁴ and Walter and the other king's men resolutely defended the fortifications. Helias and his men struggled hard to storm or batter down the walls, but they were helpless against the impregnable strongholds. Meanwhile Robert of Bellême fortified Ballon and sent his messenger Amalchis hurrying to the king in England. Crossing the sea he made for Clarendon, met the king on the way riding with his companions into the New Forest, and replied to his demand for news without more ado, 'Le Mans has been taken by treachery. My master is holding

³ The sun was in the sign of Gemini from 18 May to 16 June.

⁴ Probably the king's officer addressed as 'G. de Lusors' in a writ of William II to Walter son of Ansgar and others (*Regesta*, i, no. 440). The writ is printed from a copy in the *Liber Albus* of Le Mans, where 'G' may be a mistake for 'C'. Lusors may represent Lisores (Calvados), near to Livarot (*Le Prévost*, iv. 57 n. 3).

meus Balaonem custodit, et regalis familia omnes munitiones sibi assignatas sollerter obseruauit, auxiliumque regalis potentiae uehementer desiderat, in hostile robur quod eos undique includit et impugnat.'

His auditis rex dixit, 'Eamus trans mare nostros adiuuare.' Eodem momento inconsultis omnibus equum habenis regirauit, ipsumque calcaribus urguens ad pontum festinauit, et in quandam uetustam nauim quam forte inuenit, sine regio apparatu uelut plebeius intrauit, et remigare protinus imperauit. Sic nimirum nec congruentem flatum nec socios nec alia quae regiam dignitatem decebant expectauit, sed omnis metus expers fortunae et pelago sese commisit,¹ et sequenti luce ad portum Tolchae Deo duce saluus applicuit. Ibi ut moris est in estate plures utriusque ordinis² adstabant, et uisa rate de Anglia uelificante ut aliquid noui edicerent alacres expectabant. In primis de rege sciscitantibus³ ipse certus de se affuit nuncius. Et quia ex insperato respondit ridens percunctantibus³ admiratio exorta est mox et laetitia omnibus. Deinde cuiusdam presbiteri equa uectus cum magno caetu clericorum et rusticorum qui pedites eum cum ingenti plausu conducebant Bonamuillam expetiit³ suique presentia inimicos in circumitu Neustriae seuiantes ualde terruit. Tandem directis legationibus ingentem exercitum in breui aggregauit, et hostilem prouinciam depopulatum festinauit. Agmen quoque hostium cum Helia duce suo statim ut regem citra fretum uenisse comperit³ absque procrastinatione fugiens inuasam urbem multo peiorem quam inuenerat deseruit.

Hildebertus pontifex in Normannia regem humiliter aggressus est³ et ab eo ut familiaris amicus benigniter susceptus est. Non enim consilio neque presentia sui predictis perturbationibus interfuerat.³

⁴Animosus autem rex hostium audito recessu pedetentim eos sectatus est³ et Cenomannis nec una nocte tunc hospitari dignatus est. Verum concrematam urbem pertransiens uidit, et ultra

¹ Orderic does not mention the remark attributed to Rufus by William of Malmesbury (*GR* ii. 373), the Chronicle of St. Martin of Tours (*RHF* xii. 64) and Robert of Torigny in his interpolations in William of Jumièges (*Marx*, p. 276), that he had never heard of a king perishing by shipwreck. His account of the landing at Touques is the fullest in any chronicle, and seems to come from an eye witness.

² 'Orders' can have different meanings (cf. above, iv. 330 n. 2); the context here suggests that clergy and laity are meant.

³ There is no reason to doubt that Hildebert, once the king's enemy, bowed

Ballon and the royal household troops are resolutely defending all the fortifications in their charge; they urgently look for relief by the royal army against the enemy force surrounding and assaulting them.'

Hearing this the king said, 'Let us cross the sea to help our men.' Instantly, without consulting anyone, he wheeled his horse round and, spurring it on, raced to the coast. Here he embarked in an old ship which he happened to find, with no royal pomp, like any simple commoner, and demanded to be rowed out immediately. He did not wait for a favourable wind, or for his friends, or for any of the trappings of royalty, but, not knowing the meaning of fear, committed himself to fortune and the waves.¹ At dawn next day, guided by God, he landed safely in the port of Touques. There, as usual in summer, many men, both clergy and laity,² were waiting on the quay, and on sighting the ship sailing from England they waited eagerly to hear the news. To those who first asked for news of the king he was able to be his own messenger. Amazement that he was there so unexpectedly, smiling as he answered all inquiries, soon gave way to general joy. Mounting a mare belonging to one of the priests, he set out from there for Bonneville-sur-Touques, with a great throng of clergy and country people who ran beside him cheering, and by his presence brought consternation to his enemies who were causing havoc on the frontiers of Normandy. Sending out messengers he mustered a great army without delay, and hurried to the war-ravaged province of his enemy. When the hostile forces and their leader Helias heard that the king had crossed the Channel they lost no time in retiring, leaving the city they had occupied far worse off than they had found it.

Bishop Hildebert humbly went to meet the king and was graciously received by him as a friend. He had neither advised nor had any part in the recent disturbances.³

⁴The king, undaunted, set out in cautious pursuit of the enemy when he heard of their withdrawal and did not see fit to stay even a night in Le Mans. Indeed as he passed through he saw the city

to necessity. His own words in a letter of 1099-1100 to the papal legates in France were, 'Plebs coacta in favorem, tyrannum suscepit ex necessitate, non ducem ex lege' (Migne, *PL* clxxi. 215-16). The king however certainly suspected him of connivance in the revolt (*Act. pont. cen.*, pp. 402-3).

⁴ The *Actus pontificum* gives no details of the campaign after William recaptured Le Mans, and Orderic is the only source for it.

iv. 60 pontem Egueniæ in epitimio¹ spaciōso tentoria figi precepit. In crastinum iniurias suas ferro et flamma grauius ultus est. Porro antequam rex ad inimici castra uenisset, eademque igni tradere potuisset, ipsa hostilis manus omnia incendebat, omnemque regionem suam ultro denudabat, ne maliuoli predones ad diripiendum aliquid inuenirent, nec domata ubi ad capessendam quietem strata sibi coaptarent. Sic profecto Valles et Ostiliacum consumpta sunt, aliaque quam plurima oppida et rura penitus pessundata sunt.

Rodbertus de Monteforti princeps militiæ cum quingentis militibus agmina precessit, incendium castrorum de Vallibus extinxit, munitionemque ad opus regis confirmauit.

Tunc Helias cum ingenti militia castrum Ligeri morabatur, seseque ad meliora tempora reseruans exitum rei prestolabatur.

Denique feria vi^a rex Maiatum obsedit, et in crastinum expugnare castrum exercitui iussit. Ceterum sabbato dum bellatores certatim armarentur, et acrem assultum castrensibus dare molirentur, rex consultu sapientum Deo gloriam dedit, et pro reuerentia dominicæ sepulturæ ac resurrectionis hostibus pepercit, eisque treuias usque in lunæ diem annuit. Interea ipsi castrum interius
iv. 61 toto annisu munierunt, et in assultum uirgeas crates ictibus missilium lapidumque opposuerunt. Erant enim uiri constantes, dominoque suo fideles, ideoque pertinaciter pro illo usque ad mortem pugnaces, et exemplo probabilis probitatis predicabiles. Cumque forinseci pugnatōres admodum insudarent, ut ingenti strue lignorum cingentem fossam implerent, uiamque sibi usque ad palum pluribus sustentamentis magnopere substratis publice prepararent, oppidani fascas prunis ardentibus plenas desuper demittebant, et congestiones rerum quæ ad sui damnum accumulatae fuerant, adminiculante sibi estiuo caumate prorsus concremabant. Huiusmodi conflictu feria secunda mutuo uexabantur, et hæc uidens rex nimis anxiabatur. Porro dum ira et dolore torqueretur, quod omnes ibidem conatus illius cassarentur, quidam ad illum de sullimi zeta lapidem proiecit, nutu Dei non illum sed astantis athletæ caput immaniter percussit, et ossa cerebro non parcente ictu commiscuit. Illo itaque coram rege miserabiliter

¹ Cf. above, iv. 93 n. 4.

in ashes, and ordered his tents to be pitched on a wide heath¹ beyond the bridge over the Huisne. Next day he avenged his wrongs severely with fire and sword. But before the king could reach his enemy's castles and set fire to them, the hostile forces themselves burnt everything, voluntarily scorching the earth of their province so that the cruel raiders could find nothing to plunder and no dwelling where they could lay their heads to sleep. Certainly Vaux and Outillé were burnt, and many other strongholds and country settlements totally destroyed.

Robert of Montfort, the commander of the forces who was in the advance guard with five hundred knights, put out the fires at Vaux and took over the castle for the king's use.

All this time Helias remained with a strong force of knights at Château-du-Loir, watching the outcome of events and saving himself for better days.

At length the king laid siege to Mayet on a Friday, and ordered an attack on the castle for the following day. But on the Saturday, while the fighting-men were arming themselves for the fray and preparing to launch a fierce attack on the garrison, the king on the advice of wise counsellors gave glory to God and out of reverence for the Lord's burial and resurrection spared the enemy, allowing them a truce until Monday. In the interval the latter devoted their time to strengthening the castle from within, and when the attack came set up wattled hurdles to break the force of the bolts and stones. They were determined men, loyal to their lord and firmly resolved to fight to the death for him, clearly proving their valour by their praiseworthy example. While the attackers without toiled and sweated to fill the surrounding ditch with piles of wood and, placing many props as foundations, were openly building a road for themselves up to the palisade, the garrison hurled down vessels full of burning coals and thanks to the summer heat quickly burnt up the piles of materials that had been collected with intent to injure them. All through Monday the peace was broken by both sides, and the king as he watched grew very anxious. While he was tormented by anger and regret, in case all his efforts there should be brought to nothing, someone flung a stone at him from a high tower, which by God's will missed him and struck the head of the knight standing beside him so violently that the merciless blow smashed bone into brain. As the man fell at the king's feet, miserably slain, long roars of

iv. 62 occumbente, subsannatio castrensi continuo facta est cum alto et horribili clamore, 'Ecce rex modo recentes habet carnes. Deferantur ad coquinam' ut ei exhibeantur ad cenam.' Contristatus igitur rex optimates suos seorsum conuocauit, acceptoque ab eis consilio suos Luceium diluculo abire precepit. Prudentes enim consiliarii prouide considerabant, quod in munitione ualidissima magnanimi pugiles resistebant, munitique firmis conclauibus contra detectos multiplicibus modis facile preualebant. Sollertes ergo auricularii utile decretum palam dederunt, et hoc esse subiectis inermibus ad instans negocium salubre censuerunt, ut saluus princeps cum insignibus cateruis inde recederet, alioque ulciscendi genere inimicos puniret, et sic suæ genti sospitatem et hostium deiectionem callide procuraret.

Mane itaque celeres surrexerunt, ac diuersis ad desolationem hostilis patriæ ferramentis usi sunt. Vineas enim extirpauerunt, fructiferas arbores succiderunt, macerias et parietes deicerunt, totamque regionem quæ uberrima erat igne et ferro desolauerunt. Deinde rex Cenomannis triumphans accessit, et multarum tribubus prouinciarum licentiam remeandi ad sua donauit.

Hæc anno dominicæ incarnationis M^oXC^oIX^o indictione vii^a mense Iulio facta sunt.¹ Tunc Ierusalem gentilibus uictis qui eam diu tenuerant,² a sanctis peregrinis ut in precedenti libro dilucidauit viii^o idus Iulii capta est. Vrbanus etiam papa reddito Christicolis Christi sepulchro sancte tripudians v^o kalendas Augusti² obiit² cui Paschalis papa xvi^a die intronizatus a transitu prioris successit.

II

iv. 63 Gislebertus Luxouiensis episcopus a monachis Vticensibus multoties requisitus fuit, ut abbatem suum benediceret. Quod ille renuit agere: nisi abbas sibi cirographum canonicæ professionis exhiberet. Inter eos inde mutua per x annos altercatio perdurauit, et neuter uinci patiens tropheum quisque sperauit. Nam Serlo³ qui post Mainerium ad abbatia regimem electus fuit, cenobitis

¹ The conclusion of the campaign in Maine at this date is consistent with the statement in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (1099) that the king returned to England at Michaelmas.

² A mistake. Orderic correctly stated (above, p. 192) that Urban II died on 29 July. The news of the fall of Jerusalem barely three weeks earlier could not possibly have reached him before his death. Paschal II was elected on 13 August and consecrated the following day.

³ A marginal note in a fourteenth-century hand at the bottom of the page runs: 'In secunda parte Vitalis ad unum tirtum inuenietis' quomodo Serlo predecessor Rogerii abbatibus non potuit habere benedictionem ab episcopo

laughter and strident shouts came from the tower, 'See, now the king has fresh meat! Take it to the kitchen, to be served for him at dinner!' The king, much distressed, called his magnates to his presence and, on their advice, commanded his men to withdraw to Lucé-le-Grand at daybreak. His wise counsellors had prudently decided that courageous champions defending an almost impregnable castle, protected in strong guardrooms, could easily find ways of defeating attackers who had no cover. So these practical advisers voiced a sensible decision, which they considered in the interests of their defenceless followers in the present adventure: that the prince should retire with his valorous troops while he was safe and sound, and should find some other way of punishing his enemies. In this way he would wisely provide for the welfare of his own men and the ultimate destruction of the enemy.

So in the morning they were early astir, and used all kinds of implements to devastate the hostile country. They tore up the vines, cut down the fruit trees, smashed fences and walls, and laid waste the whole of that most fertile region with fire and sword. Then the king returned in triumph to Le Mans, and gave permission to the races from many regions to return home.

These events took place in July 1099, the seventh indiction.¹ At about the same time, on 8 July, Jerusalem, which had long been in the power of the infidel, was captured by the crusaders as I have told in the preceding book. Pope Urban, rejoicing at the recovery of Christ's sepulchre by the Christians, died on 28 July,² and was succeeded by Pope Paschal, who was enthroned on the sixteenth day after the death of his predecessor.

II

Gilbert, bishop of Lisieux, was asked many times by the monks of Saint-Évroul to bless their abbot. This he was unwilling to do, unless the abbot would give him a charter professing canonical obedience. For ten years the dispute continued between them; each hoped for victory and neither would concede defeat. Serlo,³ who had been elected abbot after Mainer, governed the monks for

Lexouiensi.' This seems to be a reference to the original, lost version of Book VIII; but the earliest surviving copy contains nothing on the subject. Cf. above, iv, p. xiv. A roundel (*tirtum*) drawn in the side margin probably corresponded to another in the lost volume.

duobus annis sine benedictione prefuit, quia insolitam Vticensi æcclesiæ professionem facere recusavit.¹ Similiter Rogerius Sappensis plusquam vii annis fratribus prefuit, sed episcopo pertinaciter persistente in suo sensu pastorem cambutam non portavit.² Qua de re regalis potestas a monachis requisita iure preualuit, et pertinaci episcopo imperavit, ut mores quos antecessores eius in Normannia sub patre suo tenuerunt obseruaret, et abbatem sine alicuius nouitatis exactione consecraret. Iussio regis ab inuito presule concessa est' et pristinus mos cenobio confirmatus est. Radulfus abbas Sagiensis electum fratrem Luxouium duxit, et electionem uice monachilis conuentus dictauit. Rodbertus autem Sagiensis monachus scriptor eximius cartam conscripsit, et Herluinus episcopi capellanus cunctorum in audientia clero silente sic recitauit,

³'Christus assistens pontifex et pastor æcclesiastici gregis et pastorum, sicut suum ex mortalibus continua successione perpetuum efficit gregem' ita cum sit uirtus et sapientia Dei, etiam pastorem ipsa perpetuitate continuat ordinem' plures constituens sacerdotes, eo quod morte prohibeantur permanere. Quorum
 iv. 64 consecrationem per ministerium episcoporum spirituali benedictione a Deo fieri non dubitamus' nichilominus et electionem per ora subditorum eodem Spiritu Sancto dispensari certum

¹ Written professions of obedience by suffragan bishops of the province of Canterbury had existed in the Anglo-Saxon church and were continued after the Conquest (see C. E. Woodruff, 'Some early professions of canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury', in *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vii (1911-15), 161-76; a new edition by M. Richter is forthcoming); professions by the abbots of St. Augustine's also occur from the time of Lanfranc (Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton Cleopatra E 1, ff. 26^v, 29^v, 31). In Normandy the introduction of this innovation was resisted. An attempt by William Bonne-Âme to exact a profession of obedience from William of Beaumont, abbot of Bec, in 1093 led to his blessing being delayed for a year; finally it took place through the intervention of Robert Curthose on the abbot's behalf (Porée, i. 242-6).

² The elections of the abbots of Saint-Évroul are fully discussed in an important article by J. Yver, 'Autour de l'absence de l'avouerie en Normandie', in *BSAN* lvii (1963-4), 271-9. He points out that although Roger had been invested with his temporal authority by Robert Curthose by means of the pastoral staff, he lacked spiritual authority and so never carried it until his blessing by the bishop seven years later. In spite of the confusion latent in the use of the same symbol to transfer both temporal and spiritual authority, the conceptual distinction that was to be enunciated by Ivo of Chartres in 1097 was already clearly grasped.

³ The views here expressed deserve attention. In stressing that the authority

two years without being blessed, because he refused to make a profession for which there was no precedent at Saint-Évroul.¹ In the same way Roger of Le Sap ruled the brethren for more than seven years, but as the bishop obstinately insisted on his interpretation he never carried a pastoral staff.² So the royal power was invoked by the monks and prevailed at law; the king ordered the obstinate bishop to be content with the customs which his predecessors had enjoyed in Normandy in his father's day, and consecrate the abbot without demanding anything unprecedented. The bishop unwillingly gave in to the royal command, and the earlier custom was confirmed for the abbey. Ralph, abbot of Sééz, conducted the abbot-elect to Lisieux and, acting for the community of monks, announced the election. Also Robert, a monk of Sééz and a distinguished scribe, composed a charter and the bishop's chaplain Herluin read it aloud for all to hear, while the clergy kept silent. It ran thus:

³'Christ the ever-present bishop and pastor of the Church's flock and their shepherds both preserves his flock perpetually as generation succeeds generation and, being himself the power and wisdom of God, maintains the pastoral succession in the same perpetuity; since priests are prevented by death from remaining for ever, he adds to their number. We do not doubt that they receive spiritual blessing from God when they are consecrated by the hands of bishops, likewise firmly believing that their election is made by the Holy Spirit speaking through the mouth of their

of the abbot is derived from Christ the author of the declaration uses, with a different twist, an argument similar to that used by the 'Anonymous of York' to defend the equal jurisdiction of all bishops—that Christ had granted equal authority to all the apostles, not pre-eminent jurisdiction to Peter alone ('Omnis itaque apostolus Petrus, immo omnis ecclesia Petrus, quia Christum confitetur filium dei vivi et inheret ipsi Christo qui est petra . . .', Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat*, p. 443; K. Pellens, *Die Texte des normannischen Anonymus*, Wiesbaden, 1966, p. 12). Compressed and blurred as the argument is here, it represents a point of view of interest in the development of contemporary theories of spiritual jurisdiction. It also suggests that, had more of the literature of local controversies over jurisdiction survived, the theories of the 'Anonymous of York' might have seemed less unusual than they do when contrasted with the main stream of 'Gregorian' tracts. For discussions of the tracts attributed to the 'Anonymous of York', who remains anonymous in spite of attempts to identify him with Gerard of Hereford and York, William Bonne-Âme, or Archdeacon Fulbert of Rouen, see Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat*, pp. 177-266; Williams, *Norman Anonymus*; C. N. L. Brooke in *EHR* lxxv (1960), 116-20; Wolfram Baer, 'Kritische Anmerkungen zum sogenannten Anonymus von York', in *Festiva Lanx*, ed. Karl Schnith (Munich, 1966), pp. 16-28.

tenentes. Quocirca beati Ebrulfi congregatio unanimis exempla sequens traditionesque apostolicas, post discessum patris nostri Mainerii, patre quoque nostro domno Sarlone in episcopium assumpto, diuina præeunte misericordia in abbatem elegimus domnum Rogerium fratrem nostrum, conuersatione cognitum, professione coniunctum, presentia et suffragiis egregiorum suffulti, prefati uidelicet episcopi Sarlonis, abbatis Beccensis Anselmi,¹ Sagiensis Radulfi, Troarnensis Arnulfi, et ceterorum. Cum quibus quantum uidere sufficimus ex instructione apostoli² honestatem personæ contemplantes uirum assumimus catholicum, diuina lege eruditum, castum, sobrium, humilem, mansuetum, misericordem, beneficum, et cæteris pastoralibus conuenientiis preeditum. Hunc itaque electum diuinæ Maiestati consecrandum offerentes, presuli nostro Luxouiensi Gisleberto presentamus, pontificalem æcclesiastico more postulantes consecrationem et canonicam benedictionem.³

Hac itaque monachorum electione diligenter perlecta, et tam a presule quam a clero gratanter suscepta, Rogerius in decollatione sancti Iohannis Baptistæ abbas consecratus est.⁴ et in crastinum a fratribus Vtici honorifice susceptus est.

iv. 65 Ipso die dum fratres ad colloquium in claustro sederent,⁵ et plurima subtiliter indagantes uicissim conferrent, inspirante Deo ut estimo, de Vticensis æcclesiæ dedicatione orta est confabulatio, et ingens ardor id agendi omnibus creuit multiloquio.

Tandem gaudentibus amicis et confortantibus consilium definitum est.⁶ Deoque iuuante Vticensis basilica idus Nouembris dedicata est. Hoc officium tres episcopi celebrauerunt. Gislebertus enim Luxouiensis consecrauit principalem aram in honore sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ, et sancti Petri apostolorum principis, ac sancti Ebrulfi confessoris, et Gislebertus Ebroicensis altare ad austrum in honore omnium apostolorum, Serlo autem aram in honore omnium martirum. Sequenti uero die Serlo crucifixum benedixit, et altare illius in honore sancti Saluatoris sanctique Egidii confessoris, et Gislebertus Ebroicensis aram matutinalis missæ in honore omnium sanctorum. Denique xvii^o

¹ The letter refers to the election of Roger in 1091, when Anselm was still abbot of Bec.

² The reference is probably to the qualities held to be desirable in a bishop in 1 Timothy iii. 1-4. Cf. also the formulas for blessing an abbot: e.g. Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Âge*, i (Studi e testi, 86, Vatican City, 1938), p. 172; and the indirect citation in one tract of the Anonymous of York (Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat*, p. 450; K. Pellens, *Die Texte des normannischen Anonymus*, Wiesbaden, 1966, p. 46), 'Si episcopus tuus in nomine Domini, in uerbo Christi, in Spiritus Sancti doctrina preceperit tibi, ut sis catholicus, sis castus, sis humilis, sis hospitalis, sis imitator Christi et cætera . . .'

subjects. Wherefore we the whole convent of Saint-Évroul, following the example and customs of the apostles, after the death of our father Mainer and the elevation to the episcopate of our father Dom Serlo, by the inspiration of divine mercy, elect as our abbot our fellow monk, Dom Roger, well known for his monastic observance, united with us in the same profession. In this we are supported by the presence and approval of distinguished men, namely of Bishop Serlo himself, Anselm, abbot of Bec,¹ Ralph of Sééz, Arnulf of Troarn, and others. Together with these, considering the personal qualities of this man as far as we can judge according to apostolic precept,² we believe him to be orthodox, learned in scripture, chaste, sober, humble, gentle, merciful, full of good works and endowed with other qualities appropriate to pastors. So, offering this elect to God himself for blessing, we present him to our bishop, Gilbert of Lisieux, asking for episcopal consecration and canonical blessing according to the custom of the Church.³

When this notice of election had been duly read and freely accepted by both bishop and clergy, Roger was consecrated as abbot on 29 August, and the next day he was received with celebrations by the monks of Saint-Évroul.

That same day, as the brethren were sitting at conversation in the cloister⁴ and were thoughtfully considering and discussing various things in turn, by God's inspiration, as I believe, the question of the dedication of the church of Saint-Évroul came up, and all became eloquent in their eagerness to bring it about.

At length, to the joy of friends who gave their encouragement, the decision was taken, and with God's help the abbey church of Saint-Évroul was dedicated on 13 November. Three bishops performed the dedication. Gilbert of Lisieux consecrated the high altar in honour of Mary, the holy Mother of God, St. Peter, the chief apostle, and St. Évroul, the confessor; Gilbert of Évreux consecrated the altar on the south side in honour of all the apostles, and Serlo the altar in honour of all martyrs. Next day Serlo blessed the Rood and its altar in honour of the Blessed Saviour and St. Giles the confessor, and Gilbert of Évreux the altar of the Morrow Mass in honour of all saints. Finally on 15 November

³ Time was allowed for talking in the cloister after the chapter and after terce (cf. *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. David Knowles, Edinburgh, 1951, pp. 5, 29, 53).

kalendas Nouembris^a Ebroicensis heros ad meridiem altare in honore omnium confessorum sanctificauit, et completa missæ celebratione in capitulum uenit, et sanctis exhortationibus piisque precibus et benedictionibus fratres in Dei cultu corroborauit. In fine uero eiusdem anni Serlo Sagiensis aram in æde septentrionali ii^o kalendas Ianuarii dedicauit in honore omnium uirginum.¹

iv. 66 Sic vii altaria certis diebus reuerenter a tribus episcopis dedicata sunt, et gloriosis ordinibus sanctorum æclesiastico more ad laudem Dei distributa sunt: qui eidem sancto sanctorum in cœlesti regno perpetualiter gaudentes assistunt.

Ad hanc dedicationem multi Normannorum proceres adfuerunt, et ex utroque ordine Deo fideles orationum suarum libamina optulerunt. Guillelmus enim abbas Beccensis et Radulfus Sagiensis, Arnulfus Troarnensis, et Goisfredus Constantiniensis,² et Ricardus de Anseriuilla et Guillelmus de Glanuilla,³ Etardus et Guillelmus Ebroicensis,⁴ Hugo Safredi filius et Guillelmus de Arenis,⁵ archidiacones et decani aliique honorabiles clerici affuerunt, et cum episcopis suis diuinæ seruitutis ministerium solenniter compleuerunt.

Tunc Guillelmus de Britolio eidem æclesiæ de redditibus de Glöz x libras singulis annis dedit.⁶ Rodbertus etiam de Grentemaisnil æclesiam sancti Samsonis apud Montem Caluetti maiorem terramque unius carrucæ dedit, decimamque nundinarum eiusdem uillæ et molendini ac nemoris Deo concessit.⁷ Gislebertus uero de Aquila medietatem Aquilæ uillæ ita sancto Ebrulfo concessit, ut Ricardus miles eam exinde sicut de prefato milite tenuerat de monachis teneret. Alteram quippe partem dono

^a An error for Decembris

¹ The abbey church was rebuilt in the thirteenth century and nothing remains of Orderic's church. But if the original plan was preserved in the rebuilding, as René Gobillot conjectures ('Notes d'histoire et d'archéologie sur l'abbaye de Saint-Évroul', in *Orderic Vital et l'abbaye de Saint-Évroul*, Alençon, 1912, p. 104 and plates XI, XII), these altars can be roughly sited: the altar of the apostles in the apse of the south aisle, the altar of the martyrs in the apse of the north aisle, the altar of the Blessed Saviour and St. Giles at the entrance to the choir, the altar of the confessors in the south transept, and the altar of the Virgin in the north transept. The position of the altar of the Morrow Mass is uncertain.

² Certainly an abbot, since Orderic records (above, iii. 130) that five were present; the fifth was the abbot of Saint-Évroul. The abbots of Grestain and

the lord bishop of Évreux consecrated an altar in the south [transept] in honour of all confessors; and after the celebration of the Mass was completed he came into the chapter house and encouraged the brethren in the service of God by his pious exhortations and holy prayers and blessings. At the end of the same year [1099], on 31 December, Serlo of Séez dedicated the altar in the north transept in honour of all virgins.¹

In this way seven altars were reverently dedicated by three bishops on the appointed days, and were assigned for the praise of God according to the custom of the Church to the glorious orders of saints who, eternally rejoicing, sit before that most holy One in the kingdom of heaven.

Many Norman magnates were present at this dedication and the faithful, both clerk and lay, offered their sacrifice of praise to God. William, abbot of Bec, and Ralph of Séez, Arnulf of Troarn, and Geoffrey of [Coutances],² Richard of Angerville and William of Glanville,³ Étard and William of Évreux,⁴ Hugh son of Safred and William of Éraines,⁵ archdeacons and deans, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries were there, and with the bishops carried out their duties in the performance of the holy office ceremoniously.

On that occasion William of Breteuil gave the church of Saint-Évroul ten pounds annually from his rents at Glos;⁶ Robert of Grandmesnil gave the church of St. Samson at Montchauvet the greater and the land of one plough, and granted to God the tithe of the fairs and mill and wood of Montchauvet.⁷ Gilbert of Laigle too granted to St. Évroul half the vill of Laigle, in such a way that the knight Richard should hold it thenceforth of the monks as he then held it of Gilbert himself. They had already held the other

Préaux and possibly Lessay had the name Geoffrey at this date, and one of them might be intended; 'Constantiniensis' could be a slip, unless it indicates place of origin.

³ See above, iii. 20.

⁴ Archdeacons of Évreux. William was later elected bishop of Lisieux, but failed to obtain consecration (see below, p. 322 n. 4).

⁵ Both probably were archdeacons.

⁶ Cf. above, iii. 128-30, where Orderic more precisely stated that William added 100s. to the other 100s. he had previously given.

⁷ The tithe of tolls and grain had already been granted to Saint-Évroul by Hugh of Grandmesnil at the foundation (see above, ii. 32) and Robert III merely confirmed the grant. Neither there nor in the 1128 confirmation of Henry I (*Le Prévost*, v. 202-4, *Regesta*, ii. no. 1553) is Montchauvet qualified as 'maior'.

Richerii patris eiusdem in dominio iam dudum possidebant.¹ Radulfus quoque de Conchis Caldecotam et Alwintonam quæ in Anglia sunt, et tres agripennas uinearum de Toenia, et quicquid apud Guarlenuillam habebat et sex hospites in tribus uillis suis sancto Ebrulfo concessit² et ea quæ homines sui dederant gratanter annuens confirmauit.²

12

iv. 68 ³Eodem tempore multis in occidente magna erat turbatio, et feda desertoribus in oculis omnium confusio. Vrbanus enim papa generali sanxerat auctoritate, et apostolico iussu inuiolabiliter teneri coegerat in omni latinitate, ut uniuersi qui crucem Christi acceperant, nec iter in Ierusalem pro defectione uoluntatis peregerant, in nomine Domini reciprocam callem inirent, aut anathemate percussi extra æcclesiam penas luerent.⁴ Multimodis itaque constrictus angariis Stephanus Blesensis comes ingemuit, seseque denuo ad peregrinandum preparauit, innumerisque milibus simile desiderium feruenter inoleuit. Bonos enim rumores de gloriosis optionibus^a Christi audierunt, qui contra ethnicas^b acies sanctæ Trinitatis fide armati dimicauerunt,^c et felicem uirtute pii Saluatoris uictoriam adepti sunt² æternasque laudes per omnia secula promeruerunt.

Nunc libet auxiliante Spiritu Sancto ad peregrinos nostros redire, breuiter relaturus de casibus eorum uel fine, qui post triumphum in Iudea uel Siria remansere, uel de illis qui suos ad penates^d per iter arduum remeauerunt.

iv. 69 Anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oXC^oIX^o mense Augusto, Godfredus Eustachii Bononiæ consulis et Itæ filius regnum Dauid in Ierusalem suscepit, et tribus annis regnauit.⁵ In ipso

^a militibus electis *superscript* ^b gentiles *superscript* ^c expugnaue-
runt *superscript* ^d domos priuatas *superscript*

¹ Orderic's account of this gift is important, for it proves that the cartulary copy is a conflation rather than a forgery (printed, Le Prévost, v. 195-6). Probably Gilbert of Laigle placed his father's charter on the altar, adding some concessions of his own; the scribe of the cartulary produced a garbled version in which Richer of Laigle, who was killed c. 1085 at Sainte-Suzanne (see above, iv. 48-50), is said to make gifts in 1099.

² For the gifts of Ralph of Conches see above, iii. 126 and n. 3. His grant in 1099 was in the main a confirmation of earlier gifts, but the *hôtes* in Conches, Tosny, and Acquigny were increased from three to six, and the vineyard from two to three arpents.

³ With this section begins a series of notes in the manuscript of Saint-Évroul (Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 10913), called by Le Prévost *glossa interlinearis*. A

half for some time in demesne by gift of his father Richer.¹ And Ralph of Conches granted to St. Évroul Caldecote and Alton in England and three arpents of vines in Tosny and all that he had at Guernanville and six *hôtes* in three of his vills. He also willingly approved and confirmed all that his men had given.²

12

³At that time there were great movements in the west and the shame and disgrace of the deserters from the crusade was publicly exposed. For Pope Urban ordained by his supreme authority and by his apostolic power demanded the rigid application throughout the Latin Church of the rule that all who had taken the cross of Christ and had failed in their resolution to complete the crusade to Jerusalem should either set out once again or be struck with anathema and suffer the penalty of exclusion from the Church.⁴ So Stephen, count of Blois, sick at heart and tormented by many tribulations, at last made preparations to renew his pilgrimage and inspired thousands with an ardent longing for the same enterprise. They had heard good accounts of the glorious champions of Christ, who had fought against the pagans armed with faith in the Holy Trinity, and through the strength of their blessed Saviour had won a noble victory, and earned praises that would endure eternally.

Now with the help of the Holy Spirit I propose to return to our pilgrims, and briefly relate the fortunes or deaths of those who remained in Judæa or Syria after the victory and of the others who took the laborious road back to their own homes.

In the year of our Lord 1099, in the month of August, Godfrey, the son of Count Eustace of Boulogne and Ida, received the kingdom of David in Jerusalem and reigned for three years.⁵ In slightly later hand wrote synonyms above some of the more unusual words; these insertions are given in the textual notes.

⁴ As early as October 1097 the legate Adhemar and Simeon, the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, had called for the excommunication of those who had taken the cross and failed to fulfil their vows. If Urban II ever made a formal pronouncement on the subject no record of it has survived, though we know that crusading matters were discussed at the council of Bari in early October 1098 (Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, nos. vi and n. 22, ix, xv and n. 128, xvii and n. 61; Jaffé-Wattenbach, no. 5709). However Orderic may have written Urban in mistake for Paschal; cf. below, p. 322, where he partly repeats the same preliminary remarks before returning to crusading matters.

⁵ Godfrey's rule lasted under a year, from August 1099 to July 1100.

mense omnium simul adhuc commilitonum suorum auxilio fretus in admirauisum pugnavit, Deoque presidiane feliciter prope Ascalonem triumphauit. In autumno postquam gentiles summo Rege sabaoth^a præliante prostrati sunt¹ egregii proceres cum suis commilitonibus redire decreuerunt, et amicis atque consortibus ualedicentes reciprocam callem inierunt. Rodbertus enim dux Normannorum, et Rodbertus marchio Flandrensiū, atque Raimundus Tolosanus comes regressi sunt² quorum strenuitates Turci admodum experti sunt. Cumque redirent multis cœtibus peregrinorum obiter^b obuiauerunt, qui eis in prima profectioe comitari nequiuērunt, sed oportunitate data quando potuerunt, uotum eundi ad sepulchrum Domini compleuerunt. Isti siquidem nimiam egestatem in itinere pertulerunt, et pene usque ad mortem aporiati^c sunt. Nam præuii qui precedentibus annis regiones inter Antiochiam et Ierusalem depopulati^d sunt³ subsequentibus peregrinis per inedia^e perniciem^f in tramite seminauerunt, quia occisis siue fugatis prouinciarum colonis^g arua^h inculta nichil quod mandiⁱ posset pepererunt. Porro^k illi qui redibant ab obuiantibus audierunt, quod Buamundus dux Laodiciam obsideret, et intus ei totis nisibus satellicium^l imperatoris resisteret.

iv. 70

Illuc enim fere xx milia peregrinorum applicuerunt¹ qui de Anglia et aliis insulis Oceani^m ad sepulchrum Domini properauerunt, ea tempestate qua gentiles Antiochiam obsidebant, et in urbe Christianos coartabant. Laodicieni autem insulanos Christicolos gratanter susceperunt, eorumque tuitioni sese contra Turcos commiserunt. Inter illos Edgarus Adelingus² precipuus erat, quem Angli quondam post mortem Haraldī regem sibi frustra prefeceant. Ipse profecto urbem tuendam suscepit, et Rodberti ducis fidelitati seruauit, eique post tropheum de paganis delegauit. Hic corpore speciosus, lingua disertus, liberalis et

^a exercituum *superscript* ^b in itinere *superscript* ^c pauperes effecti *superscript*
^d deuastati *superscript* ^e inoxiam *superscript*
^f damnum *superscript* ^g habitatoribus *superscript* ^h campos *superscript*
ⁱ manducari *superscript* ^k forte *superscript* ^l agmina *superscript*
^m maris magni *superscript*

the same month, with the support of all his fellow knights, he fought against the emir and with God's help won a glorious victory near Ascalon. In the autumn after the infidels had been mown down before the forces of the Lord of Hosts, some famous lords decided to return with their fellow knights and, saying good-bye to friends and companions, they took the road home. Robert, duke of Normandy, Robert, marquis of Flanders, and Raymond, count of Toulouse, whose deeds of valour had made their mark on the Turks, all returned. As they journeyed back they met on the way many crowds of pilgrims who had not been able to accompany them in the first expedition but, as opportunity arose, had come when they could to fulfil their vow of going to the Lord's sepulchre. They endured terrible hardships on the way and were brought almost to the point of death. For their precursors, who had depopulated the regions between Antioch and Jerusalem in the previous years, had left behind them a trail of want for later pilgrims; since the inhabitants of the provinces had been killed or driven away the fields lay uncultivated, and produced nothing that could be eaten. Also the men who were returning learnt from those they met that Duke Bohemond was besieging Latakia, and that the Emperor's men within the walls were resisting him with all their might.

¹About twenty thousand pilgrims, journeying from England and the other islands of the Ocean to the Lord's sepulchre, had landed there at the time that the infidels were besieging Antioch and blockading the Christians in the city. The citizens of Latakia had welcomed the Christians from the islands, and had looked to them for protection against the Turks. Amongst them the most distinguished was Edgar Atheling,² whom the English had tried in vain to raise to the throne after Harold's death. He immediately took the city under his protection and, preserving his loyalty to Duke Robert, transferred it to him after the victory over the pagans. He was handsome in appearance, eloquent, generous and nobly

Orderic omits to mention Raymond of Saint-Gilles, said by Anna Comnena to have been ordered, probably early in 1099, to restore the city to the Emperor.

²The date of Edgar Atheling's appearance in the east is uncertain; he was in Scotland towards the end of 1097 (*ASC* 1097) and cannot have arrived in Latakia with the English ships only two or three months later. Possibly William of Malmesbury is correct in dating his visit in 1102, when he took part in the siege of Ramla (*GR* ii. 310); if this is so he would not at any time have met Robert.

¹Varying accounts of the events at Latakia are given by Orderic, Raymond of Agiles, the *Gesta Francorum*, Ralph of Caen, Albert of Aix, Guibert of Nogent, and Anna Comnena, and it is impossible to reconcile them all. For a full discussion see David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 230-44. Robert Curthose certainly occupied Latakia for a time, probably during the siege of Antioch in the winter of 1097-8, while English ships were provisioning it with some help from the Greeks. Although Latakia remained in Christian hands it is unlikely that Robert had any authority there after the army advanced from Antioch to Jerusalem.

generosus, utpote Eduardi regis Hunorum filius,¹ sed dextera segnis erat, ducemque sibi coeum^a et quasi collactaneum^b fratrem diligebat.

Rodbertus itaque dux Laodiciam Siriae adeptus^c est, ibique cum Normannis et Anglis atque Britonibus aliquandiu commoratus est. Custodes etiam suos in munitionibus constituit, quando peregrinationem suam ad monumentum Domini Iesu Christi peregit.

iv. 71 Interea Rauendinos² imperatoris Alexii protospatrius alique stratores nauigio uenerunt, et cum magno exercitu ciuitatem obsederunt. Urbani autem compatriotis suis fauentes cisalpinos^d eiecerunt, et augustales prefecti a Grecis et Siris intromissi sunt. Quod audiens Buamundus confestim illuc cum exercitu conuolauit, et diutius obsessam urbem crebris assultibus impugnavit. Cumque Laodiceni et Traces reditum Ierosolimitanorum compe-

iv. 72 rissent, metuentes ne insuperabilem si connecterentur exercitum facerent, legatis et muneribus callide^e premissis eos illexerunt, eisque ut securi ad urbem suam defensandam properarent mandauerunt. Igitur illi hæc audientes gauisi sunt, et uenientes in urbe a ciuibus pacifice suscepti sunt. Deinde rebus quæ acciderant uentilatis, et omnibus utrobique mitigatis, Rodbertus dux cum consodalibus suis Buamundo mandauit ut cum pace recederet, alioquin ad bellum sese maturius prepararet. Buamundus autem his auditis suos conuocauit, et quid in tantis incursionibus agendum esset inuestigauit. Omnes persuaserunt ut in pace recederet, suisque contentus aliena iniuste non inuaderet, ne contra fratres et strenuos compares dimicaret, et sic Deum ad iracundiam contra se prouocaret, ne scandalum Christianis et cachinnum pagani generaret, nec effusione Christiani cruoris gloriam suæ strenuitatis macularet. Modestus igitur dux profunditatem rationis perspicaciter inspexit, et utillimos sophorum^f monitus astute^g intelligens adqueiuit, et quamuis mestus suorum tamen pro reuerentia sociorum cum suis abscessit.

Tutiores itaque Pelasgi et Siri de commoditatibus suis tractauerunt, et post aliquot dies seorsum nostrates conuocatos sic affati sunt, 'Incliti seniores quorum fidem ac strenuitatem iam totus cognouit orbis, audite uerba quæ bono animo nunc dicemus

^a eiusdem etatis *superscript* ^b connutritum *superscript* ^c acquisitus *superscript*
^d illos qui sunt citra Alpes *superscript* ^e sapienter
superscript ^f sapientium *superscript* ^g sapienter
superscript

¹ Orderic repeats his previous mistake; cf. above, ii. 180 n. 2.

² His identity is uncertain; for a discussion of possibilities see *RHC Grecs*, ii. 139-40.

born, being the son of Edward king of the Magyars,¹ but indolent too; he loved the duke for they were men of the same age and virtually foster-brothers.

So Robert became duke of Latakia in Syria and stayed there for some time with the Normans and English and Bretons. He left his garrisons to man the fortifications while he accomplished his pilgrimage to the tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Meanwhile Ravendinos,² commander-in-chief of the Emperor Alexius, and other officers arrived by sea and besieged the city with a huge army. The citizens, inclining towards their fellow countrymen, expelled the northerners and set up imperial magistrates chosen from the Greeks and Syrians. On learning of this Bohemond immediately rushed to the spot with his army and subjected the city to a long siege, attacking it strongly on many occasions. When the citizens of Latakia and the Greeks heard that the crusaders were on their way back, fearing that if they joined forces with the army they would make it invincible, they cunningly sent out envoys with gifts to win them over, and urged them to hurry under safe conduct to defend the city. They were delighted by these messages, and on arriving at the city were welcomed as friends by the citizens. Afterwards, when these events became known and everything was quiet on both sides, Duke Robert and his comrades advised Bohemond to retire in peace or else to make ready for war at once. When Bohemond received this message he summoned his men, and asked them what should be done in the face of such opposition. All urged him to retire in peace and be satisfied with his own possessions instead of unjustly attacking other men's; this could only lead to his fighting against his brothers and valiant peers thereby provoking the wrath of God against himself, bringing scandal on the Christians and making them a laughing-stock for the pagans, and tarnishing the fame of his great valour by shedding Christian blood. The reasonable duke perceived the justice of the argument and prudently accepted the advice of sensible men, which he saw to be sound. Out of respect for his comrades, though not without regret, he withdrew his army.

With the threat removed the Greeks and Syrians debated their own needs. After a few days they called our men to a private meeting and spoke to them as follows: 'Illustrious lords, whose loyalty and courage are known the world over, listen to what we

iv. 73 uobis. Palam scimus quod causa peregrinationis ditia regna reliquistis, eademque iam uotis uestris nobiliter expletis reuisere^a uultis, maxime cum uos urgeat dulcis amor coniugum et dilectæ sobolis, affectusque parentum stimulet ac amicorum quos pro Christo deseruistis. Nunc ad hanc uoluntatem peragendam benigniter nostrum percipite consilium.^b quod sine dubio uobis dispensante Deo comprobabitur salubre et commodum. Vrbes et oppida quæ in Siria uel Romania possidetis.^c dimittite nobis ad opus imperatoris. Nos autem uobis optimam classem^b preparabimus, uos et omnes quicumque uos sequi uoluerint sine nauo^c Constantinopolim ad Augustum conducemus.^d et illuc usque panem et uinum et quæque uobis necessaria fuerint affatim suppeditabimus.^d Imperatoris enim uoluntatem in hac re scimus, eique tali seruitio placere gliscimus.^e Francos habere secum ualde concupiscit, eorumque constantiam et uiuacem annisum^f admiratur ac diligit. Nostro consultu per ipsum fiducialiter ite.^g et experiemini consilium istud esse uobis utile.^g

iv. 74 Franci pariter consiliati sunt.^h et multa prout unusquisque commentatus^g est callide^h considerauerunt. Principes enim cum comitatu suo segregatiⁱ sunt.^h et sic adinuicem locuti sunt, 'Ecce in extraneam regionem elongati sumus.^h atque ad nostra regredi summopere^k desideramus. Ast gemina difficultate coangustamur. Hic etenim honorifice ut nobilitatem nostram decet remorari nequimus.^h nec in Gallias remeare sine graui discrimine^l ualemus. Buamundus Antiochiam et circumiacentes prouincias possidens passim dominatur, nec in his regionibus parem sibi quemlibet pati dignatur. Nauigium uero ad transfretandum nobis deest, et iter nobis terrestre nisi per terram Augusti nullum est. Porro illud nisi beniuolentiam eius habuerimus periculosum est.^h ideoque inter barbaros incolas per dubios calles^m meticulosumⁿ est. Multimoda egestate premimur, et multarum incommoditatum metu angimur.^o Ingenti labore fatigati sumus, ac ad nostra ut iam satis dictum est redire peroptamus.^h quod per mare seu per terram nisi per manus imperatoris perpetrare non ualemus. Quid ergo faciemus? Hic diutius remorandi uotum non est.^h omniumque penuria^p rerum ægris et fessis exulibus in promptu est. Promissa igitur Grecorum licet uersipelles^q sint recipiamus, et ab eis

^a iterum uidere *superscript*

^b congregationem nauium *superscript*

^c precio nauigii *superscript*

^d abundanter ministrabimus *superscript*

^e cupimus *superscript*

^f effors gallice seu uirtutem *superscript*

^g con-

trouuer gallice *superscript*

^h astute uel sapienter *superscript*

ⁱ separati

superscript

^k uelociter uel ualde *superscript*

^l damno *superscript*

^m itinera *superscript*

ⁿ metu plenum *superscript*

^o angustiamur

superscript

^p paupertas *superscript*

^q latrones *superscript*

tell you now in good faith. We know well that for the sake of the crusade you have left wealthy realms which, now that your vows have been worthily fulfilled, you long to see again, all the more because of the tender love of your wives and dear children and the affection of your kinsfolk and friends, whom you left for Christ's sake. Now, lend a favourable ear to our advice on how to achieve your wish; without doubt you will, by God's grace, find it sound and advantageous. Hand over to us to hold for the Emperor the towns and fortresses that you possess in Syria and Rum. We on our side will make ready a fleet of the best ships for you, will escort you and all who choose to follow you to the Emperor at Constantinople without charging any fare, and will supply you plentifully with bread and wine and everything you need on the way. We know the Emperor's will in these matters and our first concern is to please him by such service. He is most anxious to have Franks about him, for he admires and loves their loyalty and courageous determination. Take our advice and place yourselves confidently in his hands; you will find that this counsel is to your advantage.^g

The Franks in their turn consulted together and prudently debated about many things, each one speaking his mind. The leaders met separately with their following and spoke to each other after this fashion, 'Look, we are far from home in a foreign country; we long above everything to return to our own lands. But we face difficulties on two sides. For we can neither remain here with the honour fitting to our station, nor return to France without great peril. Bohemond, having taken possession of Antioch and the surrounding provinces, holds authority everywhere and will not tolerate an equal in these parts. We have no ships in which to sail home, and the only land route is through the Emperor's territory. In any case it would be dangerous for us unless we had his goodwill; to travel by unknown tracks through the midst of barbarous tribes is indeed perilous. We suffer from great want and are plagued by fear of all kinds of hardships. We are exhausted by a tremendous undertaking and, as we have repeatedly said, wish above all things to return home, which we can never do either by sea or by land without the Emperor's help. What then shall we do? We have no desire to linger here: sick and weary exiles, we are faced by scarcity of all things. Let us accept the promises of the Greeks, deceitful though they are, since they are Christians

iv. 77 sulcasse^a comperit, Normannos et Armenios Allobrogisque et de aliis gentibus copiosum agmen celeriter conegessit, Laodiciam obsedit, uiriliter expugnauit, captam xii annis tenuit, et successoribus suis usque nunc dimisit. Tarsum quoque et Mamistram, Albaram et Marram, aliasque munitiones in quarum medio Reblatha¹ consistit, ad laudem Dei et subsidium Christianorum insigniter sibi subiugauit.² Grecos et Armenios atque Siros in monasteriis monachatum pro ritu suo seruantes honorauit, et possessiones olim habitas fideliter illis concessit. Porro quaedam monasteria quæ crudeles Turci spoliauerant, et inde religiosos habitatores fugauerant³ strenuus heros^b latinis monachis seu clericis assignauit, et amplas possessiones liberaliter delegauit, ut omnibus bonis in Dei cultu abundarent, et secundum latinitatis usum diuinæ maiestati seruitium persoluerent.³

iv. 78 Anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oC^o prefati consules ab augusto ut dictum est pluribus exeniis honorati cum suis recesserunt, et a Normannis in Italia qui magnis ibidem opibus pollebant amicabiliter suscepti sunt. Rogerius enim senex Siciliæ comes, eiusque nepos Rogerius Apuliæ dux⁴ atque Goisfredus de Conuersana nepos Guiscardi ducis, aliique compatriotæ seu cognati eorum saluo reditu gauisi sunt⁵ et fatigatos pro Christo in multis agonibus pugiles letificare conati sunt.

Tunc ibi Rodbertus Normanniæ dux generosam uirginem adamauit, Sibillam Goisfredi de Conuersana filiam desponsauit, et secum in Neustriam adduxit. Hæc nimirum bonis moribus floruit, et multis honestatibus compta^c his qui nouerant illam amabilis extitit. Tercio postmodum anno Rotomi filium peperit, quem Guillelmus eiusdem urbis archiepiscopus baptizauit, eumque nomine suo uocitauit.⁴ Rodbertus dux dum exularet non immemor erat, quod a fratre suo decem milia marcos argenti

^a mare diuidere *superscript* ^b dominus *superscript* ^c ornata *superscript*

¹ See above, p. 136 n. 1.

² Bohemond unsuccessfully besieged Latakia in 1099. Orderic has confused his exploits with those of his kinsman, Tancred, who, as regent in Antioch during Bohemond's captivity (1100-3), won Latakia, Mamistra, Adana, and Tarsus from the Byzantines in 1101. Orderic also misnames two of the cities. Bohemond died in Apulia in 1111, twelve years later, but he governed Antioch effectively only up to 1100 and from 1103 to 1104, when he left to attempt to raise forces in the west (Baldwin, *Crusades*, p. 387 and *passim*).

³ From 1098 until the rupture with the Greek patriarch, John, in 1100 Bohemond made some attempt to respect the claims of the Greek Church,

Franks, together with their forces, had taken ship and sailed away, he quickly mustered a large army of Normans, Armenians, Germans, and other peoples, besieged Latakia, and stormed it boldly. After its capture he held it for twelve years, transmitting it to his successors up to the present day. He also triumphantly captured Tarsus and Mamistra, Albara and Ma'arrat, and the other strongholds that encircle Antioch,¹ for the glory of God and protection of the Christians.² He treated with respect Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians who followed a rule in monasteries according to their own rites, and faithfully confirmed to them tenure of their former possessions. In addition, the valiant lord assigned to Latin monks or clerks certain monasteries that the cruel Turks had sacked and emptied of their monks. Bohemond endowed them liberally with extensive properties, so that they might have everything necessary for the worship of God and should offer their service to the heavenly King according to the Latin rite.³

In the year of our Lord 1100, after being rewarded by the Emperor with many rich gifts, as I have related, the counts of Normandy and Flanders set off home with their men, and were warmly welcomed in Italy by the Normans who possessed great riches there. The elder Roger, count of Sicily, and his nephew Roger, duke of Apulia, and Geoffrey of Conversano the nephew of Duke Robert Guiscard, with their other fellow countrymen and kinsfolk, rejoiced in their safe return and did their best to entertain the weary champions who had suffered many toils and hardships for Christ.

While he was there Robert, duke of Normandy, fell in love with a noble maiden, Sibyl, the daughter of Geoffrey of Conversano, married her, and took her back to Normandy with him. She was truly good in character, endowed with many virtues and lovable to all who knew her. In the third year after her marriage she gave birth to a son at Rouen, and William, archbishop of the city, who baptized the child christened him with his own name.⁴ Duke Robert had never forgotten while he was abroad that he had received ten thousand marks in silver from his brother and had while establishing some Latin monasteries in the principality of Antioch. See Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, pp. 266-7.

⁴ William Clito was born at Rouen on 25 October 1102, as shown by C. Warren Hollister, 'The Anglo-Norman civil war: 1101', in *EHR* lxxxviii (1973), 330 and n. 6.

iv. 79 receperat, eique Normanniam usque ad quinque annos inuadi-
uerat. Quapropter a suo socero qui dominus Brundisii erat,
urbis in qua Gaius Cesar magnum Pompeium inclusit ut Lucanus
narrat,¹ et ab aliis amicis copiam auri et argenti rerumque pre-
ciosarum optinuit, ex quorum donis ingentem pecuniam accumu-
lavit, quam reddere creditori ut suum ducatum quiete reciperet
prouide destinavit.

13

Memorandæ res quæ solenniter ad honorem Christi a principi-
bus aliisque fidelibus in oriente agebantur: fama uolante uelo-
citer in occidente denunciabantur, et occidentalis æcclesiæ filii
de insigni ereptione Ierusalem et confusione Babilonis letabantur.
iv. 80 Guillelmus Pictauensium auditis nobilibus triumphis ad amorem
peregrinandi accensus est: cuius uexillum exercitus trecentorum
miliam de Aquitania et Guasconia aliisque regionibus Hesperix
secutus est. Is nimirum decreuit Guillelmo Rufo regi Anglorum
Aquitaniæ ducatum totamque terram suam inuadiare, censumque
copiosum abundanter ab illius erario^a haurire, unde nobiliter
expleret iter quod cupiebat inire.² Eloquentes itaque legatos ad
regem direxit, eique quod mente uolebat per eosdem insinuauit.
Pomposus autem sceptriger^b qui quanto plus habebat: sitientis
ydropici more tanto plus cupiebat, ueredariorum allegationes
auide percepit, et amplas prefati ducis possessiones pristinis
potestatibus paterni ducatus et regni addere anhelauit. Maximam
igitur iussit classem preparari, et ingentem equitatum de Anglia
secum comitari, ut pelago transfretato in armis ceu leo supra
prædam presto consisteret, fratrem ab introitu Neustriæ bello
abigeret, Aquitaniæ ducatum pluribus argenti massis emeret, et
obstantibus sibi bello subactis usque ad Garonnam fluuium
imperii sui fines dilataret.³ Hæc tumidus iuuenis cogitabat, et
arroganter ad hæc inhiabat, sed omnipotens conditor qui cuncta
gubernat, aliter disponebat.

^a thesauro *superscript*

^b sceptrum gerens seu rex *superscript*

¹ See Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ii. 608 ff.

² William VII, count of Poitou, ninth duke of Aquitaine, had already appeared as an ally of William Rufus in the Vexin in 1098. See above, p. 218; Fliche, *Philippe I*, p. 238. William of Malmesbury also says that he planned to pledge Poitou to Rufus, but there is no evidence that he ever proposed to include all his other lands in the arrangement (*GR* ii. 379); he appears at the same time to have been negotiating with Bertrand of Saint-Gilles for a loan and to have pledged Toulouse to him (A. Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou*, i, Paris, 1903, 426).

pledged Normandy to him for five years. Consequently he obtained from his father-in-law (who was lord of Brindisi, the city in which Gaius Caesar blockaded Pompey the Great, as Lucan narrates)¹ and from his other friends a quantity of gold and silver and precious objects. With their gifts he procured a great sum of money, which he providently intended to hand over to his creditor in order to recover his duchy in peace.

13

News flew swiftly through the west of the memorable deeds performed triumphantly in the east by Christian princes and people for the honour of Christ, and the sons of the western Church were overjoyed to hear of the splendid capture of Jerusalem and overthrow of Babylon. William, count of Poitou, was fired with enthusiasm for crusading when he heard of the glorious victories, and three hundred thousand men from Aquitaine and Gascony and other regions of the west followed his standard. He resolved to pledge the duchy of Aquitaine and all his lands to William Rufus, king of England, and receive in return a great sum of money from his treasure store, so that he might bring to a worthy conclusion the enterprise he longed to initiate.² He therefore sent messengers who were ready-tongued to the king, and through them made known to him what he had in mind. The lordly ruler who, insatiably thirsty as a dropsical man is, the more he had the more he desired to have, avidly listened to the proposals of the messengers, and snatched at the opportunity to add the duke's wide possessions to his father's duchy and kingdom, which he already possessed. He therefore ordered a great fleet to be prepared and a great force of knights to accompany him from England so that, crossing the sea in arms, he might, like a lion ready to spring on its prey, offer battle to prevent his brother from entering Normandy, purchase the duchy of Aquitaine with great sums of silver, and, conquering all who resisted him, extend the boundaries of his empire to the river Garonne.³ These were the schemes that the proud young man had in mind and aspired to accomplish in his arrogance, but the omnipotent Creator, who governs all things, disposed otherwise.

³ According to William of Malmesbury (*GR* ii. 379) he said that he proposed to spend Christmas in Poitiers.

iv. 81 Tunc circa Rogationes¹ lugubris euentus in Noua Foresta contigit. Dum regii milites uenatu exercerentur, et damulas uel ceruos catapultis² sauciare molirentur: quidam miles sagittam ut agrestem feram uulneraret emisit, egregiumque iuuenem Ricardum Rodberti ducis filium casu percussit.³ Qui repente mortuus corruit, et ingens luctus multis inde fuit. Eques infortunio graui territus ad Sanctum Pancratium statim confugit, ibique mox monachus factus geminam ultionem ita euasit. Reatum enim homicidii per pœnitentiam contemptor mundi expiauit, et maliuolum rancorem parentum et amicorum preclari tironis^b declinauit. Multi prefato militi precelsam felicitatem auspicati^c sunt: sed homines Rege sabaoth^d aliter dispensante crebre falluntur et fallunt, quoniam ignorantia tenebris obnubilata cogitationes hominum uanæ sunt.

De præfati tironis origine libet parumper dicere.⁴ Dum Rodbertus dux in adolescentia stolide^e contra patrem suum rebellasset, et cum magna predonum^f manu extorris^g Neustriam^h prædis et multis facinoribus infestaret: decorem pelicemⁱ cuiusdam senis presbiteri in confinio Franciæ adamauit, et ex ea duos filios Ricardum et Guillelmum generauit. Illa deinde per longum tempus infantes diligenter enutriuit, iamque adultos in Neustria duci filios suos exhibuit, et notissima ei signa de peculiari familiaritate iuuentutis suæ recoluit. Et quia ille partim recognoscebat, prolem tamen suam cognoscere dubitabat: genitrix candentem calibem manifeste portauit: et ab omni adustione illesa de filio regis se concepisse comprobauit. Isti siquidem duo fratres probi et amabiles fuerunt, sed in momento quasi flos fœni⁵ cito marcuerunt. Vnus enim ut dictum est in uenatione sauciatus occidit: alter uero postquam Henricus Rodbertum apud Tenerchebraicum cepit, Ierusalem expetiit, ibique militia laudabilis cito corruit.⁶

Nunc de silua ubi prefatus tiro periit: uide lector cur 'noua'

^a sagittis *superscript* ^b militis *superscript* ^c diuinati *superscript*
^d exercituum *superscript* ^e stulte *superscript* ^f latronum *superscript*
^g ab extorquere, extorques *superscript* ^h Normanniam *superscript* ⁱ putain gallice *superscript*

¹ In 1100 the Rogation days were from 7 to 9 May.

² *catapulta* can mean either an arrow or a crossbow bolt; the interlinear note suggests that here the meaning is arrow.

³ The death of Robert Curthose's son, Richard, is mentioned by William of Malmesbury (*GR* ii. 333) and Florence of Worcester (*FW* ii. 45) among the disasters that had happened in the New Forest.

⁴ Orderic is the sole source for this information about Richard, and his

Towards Rogation time¹ a tragic event took place in the New Forest. While the king's knights were out hunting, and were aiming their shafts² at does and stags, one of the knights shot an arrow at a wild beast and accidentally struck the noble youth Richard, Duke Robert's son.³ He fell dead on the spot, and the disaster caused widespread distress. The knight, alarmed by the dreadful accident, at once fled to St. Pancras at Lewis, and by becoming a monk there shortly afterwards escaped a double penalty. Renouncing the world he expiated by penance the crime of homicide and also avoided the bitter vengeance of the eminent young knight's kinsmen and friends. Many had prophesied a lofty destiny for him, but men are often misled and mislead others when the Lord of Hosts disposes otherwise, for the thoughts of men, clouded with the darkness of ignorance, are without effect.

I can say a little about the origin of this young knight.⁴ When Duke Robert foolishly rebelled against his father in his youth and, as an exile leading a great band of robbers, disturbed Normandy with raids and many outrages, he fell in love with the beautiful concubine of an old priest near the frontier of France, and had by her two sons, Richard and William. She brought up the children carefully for a long time, and when they were grown she presented the duke in Normandy with his two sons, and reminded him of many familiar proofs of their close intimacy in his youth. Because he saw some truth in this, but hesitated to recognize the boys as his, the mother publicly carried the red-hot iron and, escaping without the least burn, proved that she had conceived by the king's son. These two brothers were brave and likeable, but they soon withered like the flower of grass.⁵ One of them perished in a hunting accident as I have described; the other, after Henry captured Robert at Tinchebray, set out for Jerusalem and there quickly met his end, distinguished for his military prowess.⁶

Now, reader, let me explain why the forest where this knight

story cannot be checked. For an account of Robert's exile in France see above, iii. 100-12.

⁵ Cf. Isaiah xl. 6, 'quasi flos agri'; 1 Peter i. 24, 'tanquam flos fœni'.

⁶ Albert of Aix recounts some exploits of Robert's son, William, in the Holy Land in 1108-10; he became lord of Tortosa (*Historia Hierosolymitana*, in *RHC Occ.* iv. 653, 682). The editor wrongly identifies him with William Clito, who was then a child of six). Nothing is known of him after 1110 and he may have been killed.

vocitata sit. Ab antiquis temporibus ibi populosa regio erat, et uillis humanæ habitationi competentibus abundabat. Copiosa uero plebs Suthhamtonæ pagum sollerti cura obnixè colebat: unde australis prouincia Guentanæ urbi multipliciter campestri ubertate seruebat. Guillelmus autem primus postquam regnum Albionis optinuit, amator nemorum plusquam lx parrochias¹ ultro deuastauit, ruricolos ad alia loca transmigrare compulit, et siluestres feras pro hominibus ut uoluptatem uenandi haberet ibidem constituit. Ibi duos filios Ricardum² et Guillelmum Rufum nepotemque suum ut dictum est Ricardum perdidit, et multiformis uisio quibusdam terribiliter apparuit, quibus consecratas ædes pro educatione ferarum derelictas Dominus sibi displicere palam ostendit.³

15

Mense Iulio dum regia classis regalis pompæ apparatu instrueretur, et ipse peruicaciter immensa preciosi metalli pondera undecumque congerens prope fretum prestolaretur,^a horrendæ uisiones de rege in cœnobiis et episcopiis ab utrisque ordinibus⁴ uisæ sunt: unde in populis publice collocutiones in foris et cimiteriis passim diuulgatæ sunt. Ipsum quoque regem minime latuerunt.

Quidam monachus bonæ famæ sed melioris uitæ in cenobio erat sancti Petri de Gloucestra: qui huiusmodi somnium retulit se uidisse in uisione nocturna, 'Videbam' inquit 'Dominum Ihesum in solio excelso sedentem, et gloriosam cœli militiam sanctorumque chororum ei assistentem. Dum uero in extasi supra me raptus obstupescerem, et nimis admirans ad insolita intenderem: ecce quædam spendidissima uirgo ante pedes Domini Ihesu procidebat, et his precibus suppliciter illum exorabat, "Domine Ihesu Christe Saluator generis humani, pro quo pendens in cruce preciosum sanguinem tuum fudisti, clementer respice populum tuum miserabiliter gementem sub iugo Guillelmi. Scelerum uindex omniumque iudex iustissime, de Guillelmo

^a expectaret *superscript*

¹ This is an exaggeration: William of Malmesbury (*GR* ii. 332) says that thirty and more villas were destroyed; but the evidence of Domesday Book suggests that even this was only the number placed under forest law, not all of which were obliterated. See *The Domesday Geography of South-East England*, ed. H. C. Darby and Elia M. J. Campbell (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 324-38; F. H. Baring, 'The making of the New Forest', in *EHR* xvi (1901), 427-38.

² See above, iii. 114.

perished is called 'new'. That part of the country had been populous in earlier days, and was scattered with hamlets providing support for settlers. Indeed a dense population thoroughly tilled the county of Hampshire, so that the southern district provided the city of Winchester with all kinds of country produce. But after William I conquered the realm of England, so great was his love of woods that he laid waste more than sixty parishes,¹ forced the peasants to move to other places, and replaced the men with beasts of the forest so that he might hunt to his heart's content. There he lost two sons, Richard² and William Rufus, and his grandson Richard as I have described; and visions appeared in many terrible forms to various men, by which the Lord plainly showed his anger that consecrated buildings had been given over to be a habitation for wild beasts.³

15

In the month of July, when the royal fleet was being prepared with all the trappings of royalty, and the king himself, ruthlessly amassing huge quantities of treasure from every source, was waiting near the strait, terrifying visions involving him were seen by men of both orders⁴ in monasteries and bishoprics. These were spread abroad in open conversation in market-places and cemeteries, and were not concealed from the king himself.

There was in the monastery of St. Peter at Gloucester a monk of good reputation and even better life, who related that he had had the following dream in a vision of the night: 'I saw', he said, 'the Lord Jesus sitting on a throne on high, surrounded by the glorious army of heaven and choir of the saints. While I gazed speechless, lifted out of myself in ecstasy, and in great amazement fixed my thoughts on these marvels, a shining virgin threw herself at the feet of the Lord Jesus and implored him humbly with these prayers, "Lord Jesus Christ, Saviour of the human race for whom you hung on the cross and poured out your precious blood, look with pity on your wretched people groaning under William's yoke. Avenger of crimes, most just judge of all men, take vengeance I implore you on William for my sake, rescue me

³ Florence of Worcester (*FW* ii. 45) expressed the same opinion when he claimed that William Rufus was killed on the spot where a church had stood.

⁴ The meaning here may be secular clerks and monks, rather than clergy and laity.

iv. 84 precor uindica me: et de manibus illius eripe, quia turpiter quantum in ipso est me polluit, et immaniter affligit." Dominus autem respondebat, "Patienter tolera, paulisper expecta, quoniam in proximo tibi sufficiens adhibetur de illo uindicta." Hæc itaque audiens contremui, et cælestem iram principi nostro mox imminere non dubitavi, intelligens sanctæ uirginis et Matris Æcclesiæ clamores peruenisse ad aures Domini, pro rapinis et turpibus mechis^a aliorumque facinorum sarcina intolerabili, quibus rex et pedissequi eius non desistunt diuinam legem cotidie transgredi.'

iv. 85 His auditis uenerandus Serlo abbas commonitorios apices^b edidit, et amicabilem de Gloucestra regi direxit, in quibus illa quæ monachus in uisu didicerat luculenter inseruit. In eodem monasterio kalendis Augusti celebritas sancti Petri ad Vincula solenniter peracta est et personarum utriusque ordinis¹ ingens globus ibidem conglomeratus est. Tunc Fulcheredus Sagiensis feruens monachus, Scrobesburiensis archimandrita^c primus,² in diuinis tractatibus explanator profluus, de grege seniorum electus in pulpitem ascendit, sermonem ad populum de salutare^d Dei fecit. Ibi preuaricatores diuinæ legis palam redarguit, et quasi prophético spiritu plenus inter cætera constanter uaticinatus dixit,

iv. 86 'Anglia prophanis ad conculcationem datur in hæreditate, quia repleta est terra iniquitate. Totum corpus maculatur multiformis lepra nequitiae, et a capite usque ad pedes occupauit illud languor malicie. Effrenis enim superbia ubique uolitat, et omnia si dici fas est etiam stellas celi conculcat. Discincta libido uasa fictilia sed et aurea coinquinat, et insatiabilis auaricia quæque potest deuorat. En subitanea rerum instabit immutatio. Non diu dominabuntur effeminati. Dominus Deus publicos sponsæ suæ hostes iudicare ueniet, Moab et Edom rumfea^e manifestæ ultionis percutiet, et terribili commotione montes Gelboe subuertet. Ira Dei transgressoribus ultra non parcet, iam celestis ultio super filios infidelitatis deseuiet. Ecce arcus superni furoris contra reprobos intensus est: et sagitta uelox ad uulnerandum de pharetra

^a adulterius *superscript* ^b scedulas *superscript* ^c pastor ac archos;
id est princeps mandræ; id est ouium *superscript* ^d salutare (*not* salutari
as *Le Prévost* said) ^e gladio *superscript*

¹ Since Fulchred is said to have preached to the people it seems certain that laymen were present as one of the 'orders'.

² See above, iii. 148 and *VCH Shropshire*, ii. 30, 37. Because of the close connection of Orderic's family with Shrewsbury Abbey it is likely that he had fairly reliable information both about Fulchred's sermon and about the vision of the monk of Gloucester while Fulchred was staying in the abbey; possibly

from his hands for he does all in his power to defile me and oppresses me brutally." The Lord replied to this, "Suffer in patience, wait a little while, for before long you will be fully avenged of him." Hearing these words I trembled and was certain that at this moment divine wrath threatens our king, for I knew that the laments of the holy virgin and mother, the Church, had reached the ears of the Lord: laments for the plunderings and shameful adulteries and the intolerable burden of evil deeds by which the king and his followers daily and unremittingly transgress the divine law.'

When the venerable Abbot Serlo heard of this, he wrote letters of warning and sent them to the king from Gloucester out of friendship, giving him a lucid account of what the monk had learnt in a vision. On 1 August the feast of St. Peter in Chains was solemnly celebrated in the abbey at Gloucester, and a huge congregation of people both clergy and laity¹ was assembled there. On that occasion Fulchred, a zealous monk of Sééz and the first abbot of Shrewsbury,² who was an eloquent expounder of Holy Writ, was chosen from the assembled senior monks to mount into the pulpit and preached a sermon to the populace on the saving power of God. In it he openly condemned transgressions of the divine law and, as if filled with the spirit of prophecy, boldly declared among other prognostics:

'England is given as an inheritance to reprobates for destruction, because the land is full of iniquity. Her whole body is spotted with the leprosy of villainy in its many forms, and from head to foot it is infected with the sickness of evil. For unbridled pride is everywhere abroad, and tramples everything underfoot even, if one may so put it, the stars in the sky. Unrestrained lust pollutes earthen vessels and even golden ones, and insatiable greed devours all within reach. Behold, a sudden revolution is at hand. Not much longer will effeminate govern. The Lord God will come to judge the public enemies of his spouse; he will strike Moab and Edom with the sword of visible vengeance and will overthrow the mountains of Gilboa with a terrible disturbance. The wrath of God will no longer spare sinners, already the vengeance of heaven rages against the sons of unrighteousness. Behold, the bow of divine anger is bent against the wicked and the arrow swift to

the story of how William Rufus received the letters of Serlo of Gloucester also came through Fulchred.

extracta est. Repente iam feriet, seseque corrigendo sapiens omnis ictum declinet.¹

Hæc et multa his similia populo feria iv^{ta2} in templo Dei dicta sunt, et extemplo flagella prosequi exhibitione operum cepta sunt.

In crastinum Guillelmus rex mane cum suis parasitis comedit, seseque post prandium ut in Nouam Forestam uenatum iret preparauit. Cumque ilaris cum clientibus suis tripudiaret, ocreasque suas calciaret: quidam faber illuc aduenit, et sex catapultas³ ei presentauit. Quas ille protinus alacriter accepit, per opus artificem laudauit, nescius futuri quattuor sibi retinuit, et duas Gualterio Tirello⁴ porrexit. 'Iustum est' inquit rex 'ut illi accutissimæ dentur sagittæ: qui letiferos inde nouerit ictus infigere.' Erat idem de Francia miles generosus, Picis et Pontisariæ diues oppidanus, potens inter optimates et in armis acerrimus, ideo regi familiaris conuiuia et ubique comes assiduus. Denique dum de pluribus inutiliter confabularentur, et domestici clientes circa regem adunarentur: quidam monachus de Gloucestra affuit, et abbatis sui litteras regi porrexit.⁵ Quibus auditis rex in cachinnum resolutus est: et subsannando supradictum militem sic affatus est, 'Gualteri, fac rectum de his quæ audisti.'⁶ At ille, 'Sic faciam domine.' Paruipendens itaque monita seniorum, immemor quod ante ruinam exaltatur cor: de serie litterarum quas audierat dixit, 'Miror unde domino meo Serloni talia narrandi uoluntas exhorta est: qui uere ut opinor bonus abbas et maturus senior est. Ex simplicitate nimia michi tot negociis occupato somnia stertentium retulit: et per plura terrarum spacia scripto etiam inserta destinauit. Num prosequi me ritum autumat Anglorum, qui pro sternutatione et somnio uetularum dimittunt iter suum seu negotium?'

iv. 87

^a sagittas *superscript*

¹ Fulchred's sermon is full of biblical echoes rather than direct quotation: Saul struck down by arrows on Mount Gilboa (2 Samuel xxi-xxii) and the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel against Moab and Edom.

² 1 August fell on a Wednesday in 1100.

³ Orderic himself used the word 'sagittæ' a few lines later, and probably meant 'catapultas' to imply arrows rather than crossbow bolts. This would keep his account in line with William of Malmesbury's, which clearly refers to an arrow with the shaft broken off when the king fell as the weapon that killed him (*GR* ii. 378).

⁴ Walter Tirel of Poix, châtelain of Pontoise in the French Vexin. He had probably defended the castle of Pontoise when William failed to take it in his campaign of 1098 (above, p. 216). But his interests were not exclusively French; he also held the manor of Langham in Essex, and was married to Richard of Clare's daughter Adeliza (Round, *Feudal England*, London, 1909, pp. 468-79;

wound is taken from the quiver. It will strike suddenly; let every wise man avoid the blow by amending his life.¹

These words and many more to the same purpose were preached to the people on Wednesday² in the house of God, and immediately the scourge began to have effect, as events showed.

The next morning King William sat at meat with his intimates, making preparations to go hunting in the New Forest after dinner. As he was laughing and joking with his attendants and pulling on his boots, a smith arrived and offered him six arrows.³ He took them eagerly, praised the maker for his work and, ignorant of what was in store, kept four for himself and handed two to Walter Tirel.⁴ 'It is only right', said the king, 'that the sharpest arrows should be given to the man who knows how to shoot the deadliest shots.' Tirel was a noble knight from France, a wealthy châtelain of Poix and Pontoise, one of the more powerful magnates and a man highly skilled in the use of arms. Consequently he was one of the king's close friends and his constant companion everywhere. Afterwards, while they were discussing various trivial matters and the household attendants were gathered round the king, one of the monks of Gloucester arrived and handed his abbot's letters to the king.⁵ On hearing them the king exploded with mirth and said, laughing, to the knight, 'Walter, do what is right in the business you have heard';⁶ and he replied, 'So I will, my lord.' So scorning the warnings of his elders, forgetting that pride comes before a fall, he commented after this fashion on the contents of the letters he had heard, 'I wonder what has induced my lord Serlo to tell me such things, for I believe that he really is a good abbot and a sensible old man. Yet he is so simple that he tells me, when I have so much real business to attend to, the dreams of snoring monks, and even has them written down and sent across several counties to me. Does he think I act after the fashion of the English, who put off their journeys and business on account of the snores and dreams of little old women?'

Depoin, *Cartulaire de Pontoise*, pp. 452-6; Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 27). No connection has ever been proved between him and Walter Tirel, son of Fulk dean of Évreux (above, iii. 120).

⁵ In William of Malmesbury's account, which has much in common with Orderic's (*GR* ii. 377-8), a foreign monk had an ominous vision and told it to Robert fitz Hamon, who communicated it to the king.

⁶ These words are cryptic, and it is not clear what Orderic believed their significance to be.

¹His dictis celer surrexit et cornipedem^a ascendens in siluam festinauit. Henricus comes frater eius et Guillelmus de Britolio aliique illustres ibi fuerunt, in saltum perrexerunt, et uenatores per diuersa rite loca dispersa sunt. Cumque rex et Gualterius de Pice cum paucis sodalibus in nemore constituti essent, et armati prædam auide expectarent: subito inter eos currente fera rex de statu suo recessit, et Gualterius sagittam emisit.² Quæ super dorsum feræ setam radens rapide uolauit, atque regem e regione stantem letaliter uulnerauit. Qui mox ad terram cecidit, et sine mora proh dolor expirauit. Vno itaque prostrato terrigena, fit multorum commotio maxima: horribilisque de nece principis clamor perstrepat in silua. Henricus concito cursu ad arcem Guentoniæ, ubi regalis thesaurus continebatur festinauit, et clauis eius ut genuinus hæres imperiali iussu ab excubitoribus exegit. Illuc etiam Guillelmus de Britolio anhelus aduenit: callidoque meditato preueniens e contra obstitit. 'Legaliter' inquit 'reminisci fidei debemus: quam Rodberto duci germano tuo promisimus. Ipse nimirum primogenitus est Guillelmi regis filius, et ego et tu domine mi Henrice hominum illi fecimus, quapropter tam absentis quam presentis fidelitas a nobis seruanda est in omnibus. In seruitio Dei iam diu laborauit: et Deus illi ducatum suum quem pro eius amore peregrinus dimisit, nunc sine bellico tumultu cum paterno diademate restituit.' Inter hæc aspera lis oriri cepit, et ex omni parte multitudo uirorum illuc confluit, atque presentis hæredis qui suum ius calumniabatur uirtus creuit. Henricus manum ad capulum uiuaciter misit, et gladium exemit, nec extraneum quemlibet per friuolam procrastinationem patris sceptrum preoccupare permisit.

Tandem conuenientibus amicis et sapientibus consiliariis hinc et inde lis mitigata est: et saniori consultu ne peior scissura fieret arx^b cum regalibus gazis filio regis Henrico reddita est.

^a equum superscript

^b turris superscript

¹ There is a marginal note in the same hand as the 'interlinear gloss': 'De obitu seu interitu Guillelmi rufi regis Anglorum' ('Of the death or killing of William Rufus, king of England'). A critical survey of the evidence for the death of William Rufus will be found in Freeman, *William Rufus*, ii. 657-76, and recent discussions in C. N. L. Brooke, *The Saxon and Norman Kings* (edn. of London, 1972), pp. 169-74; C. Warren Hollister, 'The strange death of William Rufus' (*Speculum*, xlviii (1973), 637-53). In spite of the suspicious circumstances no contemporary writer, English or foreign, suggested the possibility of murder:

¹Saying this he sprang to his feet and, mounting his horse, galloped into the wood. His brother Count Henry, William of Breteuil, and other eminent men were there; they entered the wood and sent the huntsmen off into different places as was customary. The king and Walter of Poix were stationed in the wood with a few companions; as they stood on the alert waiting for their prey with their weapons ready a beast suddenly ran between them. The king drew back from his place, and Walter let fly an arrow.² It sped swiftly over the beast's back, grazing the hair, and mortally wounded the king who was standing directly in its path. He fell to the ground and, dreadful to relate, died at once. When this one mortal perished many were thrown into great confusion, and terrible shouts that the king was dead rang through the wood. Henry galloped at top speed to Winchester castle where the royal treasure was, and imperiously demanded the keys from the keepers as the lawful heir. William of Breteuil also arrived there breathlessly and, foreseeing Henry's deep design, raised objections to it. 'We ought by right', he said, 'to remember the fealty which we have promised to your brother Duke Robert. For he is the eldest son of King William and both you and I, my lord Henry, have done homage to him, which constrains us to be faithful to him in everything whether he is present or not. He has toiled for years in the service of God, and now God restores to him without the strife of battle both his own duchy which he left as a crusader for Christ's sake and his father's crown.' As these words were exchanged a sharp quarrel began, a crowd of men gathered from all sides and the strength of the heir who was on the spot claiming his right increased. Henry impetuously placed his hand on his sword-hilt and drew the blade; he suffered no upstart by causing ill-founded delay to take hold of his father's sceptre before he could.

However, friends and wise counsellors converged from all sides and the disturbance was quelled; more prudent counsel prevailed to prevent a worse division and the castle with the royal treasures was handed over to the king's son Henry. This had been

even John of Salisbury, writing more than half a century later, voiced the popular opinion that whoever fired the fatal arrow was merely the instrument of divine judgement (*Vita S. Anselmi*, in Migne, *PL* cxcix. 1031).

² Walter Tirel himself constantly asserted, even on his death-bed, that he had neither fired the fatal arrow nor even been in the same part of the wood as the king (John of Salisbury, *ibid.*; Suger, *Vita Ludouici*, p. 13).

Hoc antea dudum fuit a Britonibus prophetatum,¹ et hunc Angli optauerunt habere dominum,² quem nobiliter in solio regni
 iv. 89 nouerant genitum.³ Mortuo rege plures optimatum ad lares suos de saltu manicauerunt,⁴ et contra futuras motiones quas timebant res suas ordinauerunt. Clientuli quidam cruentatum regem uilibus utcumque pannis operuerunt, et ueluti ferocem aprum uenabulis confossum de saltu ad urbem Guentanam detulerunt. Clerici autem et monachi atque ciues dumtaxat^a egeni cum uiduis et mendicis obuiam processerunt, et pro reuerentia regiæ dignitatis in ueteri monasterio sancti Petri celeriter tumulauerunt. Porro æcclesiastici doctores et prelati sordidam eius uitam et tetrum finem considerantes tunc iudicare ausi sunt^v et æcclesiastica ueluti biothanatum⁵ absolute indignum censuerunt, quem uita-
 iv. 90 les auras carpentem salubriter a nequitiis castigare nequiuerunt.⁶ Signa etiam pro illo in quibusdam æcclesiis non sonuerunt, quæ pro infimis pauperibus et mulierculis crebro diutissime pulsata sunt. De ingenti erario ubi plures nummorum acerui de laboribus miserorum congesti sunt^v elemosinæ pro anima cupidi quondam possessoris nullæ inopibus erogatæ sunt. Stipendiarii uero milites et nebulones^b ac uulgaria scorta questus suos in occasu mœchi^c principis perdiderunt, eiusque miserabilem obitum non tam pro pietate quam pro detestabili flagitiorum cupiditate planxerunt, Gualteriumque Tirellum ut pro lapsu sui defensoris membratim discerperent summopere^d quesierunt. Porro ille perpetrato facinore ad pontum propere confugit, pelagoque
 iv. 91 transito munitiones quas in Gallia possidebat expetiit, ibique minas et maledictiones maliuolentium tutus irrisit.⁷ Hic Adelidem filiam Ricardi de sullimi prosapia Gifardorum coniugem habuit,⁸

^a tantummodo *superscript* ^b lecatores *superscript* ^c adulteri *superscript*
^d cito uel ueloci *superscript*

¹ Probably a reference to the prophecies of Merlin: cf. Le Prévost, iv. 490, 493.

² This corroborates the statements in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (1100) that 'the councillors who were near at hand chose . . . Henry as their king', and William of Malmesbury (*GR* ii. 470), 'in regem electus est, aliquantis tamen ante controversiis inter proceres agitatis et sopitis'.

³ One of the claims to the throne made on Henry's behalf was his peculiar right as a son born after both his parents had been crowned. See Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv, App. EE, and above, iv. 120.

⁴ Cf. the scene after the death of William the Conqueror, when Orderic uses the same word, 'manicare' (above, iv. 102).

prophesied long before by the Britons,¹ and the English chose to have as their lord² one who, as they knew well, had been nobly born within the kingdom.³ The moment the king was dead many nobles made off from⁴ the wood to their estates, and prepared to resist the disorders they anticipated. Some of the humbler attendants covered the king's bloody body as best they might with wretched cloths and carried him like a wild boar stuck with spears from the wood to the town of Winchester. The clergy and monks and poorer citizens only, with widows and beggars came out to meet him and, out of reverence for the royal dignity, quickly buried him in the old minster of St. Peter. But the doctors and prelates of the Church, considering his squalid life and dreadful death, ventured to pass judgement, declaring that he was virtually past redemption⁵ and unworthy of absolution by the Church, since as long as he lived they had never been able to turn him from his vices to salvation.⁶ In some churches bells that had often sounded long peals for the meanest of the poor and for common women were not rung for him. From the huge treasure-store, where many heaps of coins wrung from the labours of the poor were piled up, no alms were given to the needy for the soul of the miser who had once possessed it. However, mercenary soldiers, lechers, and common harlots lost their wages through the death of the lascivious king, and lamented his wretched end not through respect but out of vile greed that fed on his vices; these sought desperately for Walter Tirel to rend him limb from limb for the death of their protector. But the moment the deed was done he hurried to the coast, crossed the sea, and made for his castles in France, where he laughed in safety at the threats and curses of those who wished to harm him.⁷ He was married to Adeliza, daughter of Richard of the noble lineage of Giffard,⁸

⁵ 'Biothanatus' (*βιοθάνατος*) occurs in the seventh century with the meaning of violent death (*MLWL*, p. 50). Orderic uses the word occasionally, with undertones of damnation as well as violence; the violently slain often died without receiving the viaticum.

⁶ The funeral of William Rufus was hurried and simple, but there is evidence that some of the nobility were present. References have been collected by Freeman, *William Rufus*, ii. 678-80 (Appendix TT).

⁷ He continued to hold both his Essex lands and his castles in France; in 1102 Prince Louis was entertained in his house at Pontoise (Depoin, *Cartulaire de Pontoise*, pp. 38-9).

⁸ J. H. Round has shown conclusively that this means he was married not to a daughter of Walter Giffard the elder, but to his granddaughter, the child of Richard of Clare (J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 468-72; above, iv. 212).

quæ Hugonem de Pice¹ strenuissimum militem marito suo peperit. Denique post multos annos Ierusalem expetiit, et in uia Dei pœnitens Gualterius obiit.

16

Anno itaque ab incarnatione Domini M^oC^o feria quinta iv^o nonas Augusti Guillelmus Rufus in Noua Foresta ictu sagittæ mortuus est.¹ postquam xii annis et pene x mensibus regno Angliæ potitus est. Henricus autem cum Rodberto comite de Mellento Lundoniam properauit, et dominico sequenti apud Guestmonasterium in basilica sancti Petri apostoli regale stemma^a suscepit, eumque uenerabilis Mauricius Lundoniensis episcopus consecrauit. Anselmus enim Doroberniæ archiepiscopus ut supra dictum est exulabat.¹ Thomas uero Eborachensis archiepiscopus nuper defunctus fuerat, et metropolitana sedes adhuc uacabat.² Triginta annorum erat³ Henricus cum regnare cepisset, et triginta quinque annis et quattuor mensibus⁴ regnauit. Hic inter prospera et
 iv. 92 aduersa regnum sibi diuinitus commissum prudenter et commode moderatus est.¹ ac inter precipuos totius Christianitatis principes optentu pacis et iusticiæ fulgens insignis habitus est. In diebus eius æcclesia Dei diuitiis et honoribus alacriter emicuit, et omnis ordo religiosorum ad laudem Creatoris multipliciter creuit. Hoc monachi et clerici attestantur, qui numero et sullimitate eo regnante multiplicantur. Hoc heremitæ merito perhibere possunt, qui siluarum condensa prosternunt, et erectis monasteriorum et palaciorum excelsis culminibus ibi tripudiant, et gloriam Deo

^a coronam uel ornamentum *superscript*

¹ For Hugh's career see Depoin, *Cartulaire de Pontoise*, pp. 454–5. He continued to hold his father's land in Langham (Essex) until he mortgaged it to go on crusade in 1148.

² Most sources agree that Maurice, bishop of London, consecrated Henry (Freeman, *William Rufus*, ii. 681–2). An interpolation in one manuscript of Florence of Worcester, copied in the *Liber Eliensis* (pp. 224–5), says, 'a Mauritio Lundoniensi episcopo in regem est consecratus, sed a Thoma Eboracensi coronatur'. But the very circumstantial account of Hugh the Chantor (*HCY*, p. 10) makes plain that Thomas (who did not die until 18 November 1100)

and she bore her husband Hugh of Poix,¹ a valiant knight. Finally, many years later, Walter set out for Jerusalem and died as a penitent following the way of God.

16

In this way in the year of our Lord 1100, on Thursday 2, August, William Rufus was killed by an arrow in the New Forest after ruling England for twelve years and almost ten months. Henry hurried to London with Robert, count of Meulan, and on the following Sunday he received the royal crown in the church of St. Peter the apostle at Westminster, and Maurice, bishop of London, consecrated him. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, was as I have said in exile; and Thomas, archbishop of York, having recently died, his metropolitan see was still vacant.² Henry was thirty years old³ when he began to reign and he reigned for thirty-five years and four months.⁴ He governed the realm committed to him by God prudently and well through prosperity and adversity; among all the distinguished rulers of Christendom he is considered outstanding for his preservation of peace and justice. In his days the Church of God has enjoyed riches and honours, and every religious order flourished greatly to the glory of the Creator. Monks and clerks bear witness to this, for they increased in number and distinction during his reign. Hermits can add their testimony, for they cut down dense woods and now give praise in the high-roofed monasteries and spiritual palaces built there, chanting glory to God with peace of mind in the places

was at Ripon when Rufus died, reached London too late for the ceremony, and, after protesting, accepted the argument that the coronation could not have been delayed because of the danger of disturbance. He then took part in a council at London; the statement in the *Liber Eliensis* may be a misinterpretation of some formal part he took in the proceedings on that occasion, unless, as has sometimes been argued but never proved, Henry was crowned a second time (see L. Riess, 'The reissue of Henry I's coronation charter', in *EHR* xli (1926), 323–4).

³ William of Malmesbury (*GR* ii. 467) gives the date of Henry's birth as 1068. Orderic himself (above, ii. 214) had earlier said that he was born within a year of his mother's coronation, which took place on 11 May 1068. Possibly by this phrase he means that Henry was turned thirty.

⁴ 'quinque annis et quatuor mensibus regnauit' is written in lighter ink, partly over an erasure. Probably Orderic originally left the end of the line blank because Henry was still alive when he wrote, and corrected and completed the entry after his death.

cum dulcedine mentis cantitant, ubi quondam exleges latrunculi ad omne nefas peragendum latitare solebant.¹

A principio regni sui omnes sibi sapienter conciliauit, ac ad amorem sui regalibus munificentis inuitauit. Optimates^a enim benigniter honorauit,² opes et honores illis auxit, et sic eos leniendo fidos sibi effecit. Subiectas uero plebes iustis legibus datis fouit,³ et ab iniquis exactoribus atque predonibus patrocinando protexit. Sic sullimis patricius inter omnes occiduos consules et regnorum rectores effulsit, omniumque fauorem tam clericorum quam laicorum qui ratione regi gaudebant promeruit.

ividuatas pastoribus æcclesias consolari cepit, et eruditos illis doctores seniorum consultu imposuit.⁴ Nam Guillelmum cognomento Gifardum qui defuncti regis cancellarius fuerat Guentanæ urbis kathedram commisit,⁵ et Girardum Herfordensem episcopum in Eborachensem metropolim promouit.⁶ Veloces quoque nuncios trans pontum direxit, per quos uenerabilem Anselmum archiepiscopum Cantuariæ ad sedem suam accersiit:⁷ quem sicut supradictum est Guillelmus rex incongruis infestationibus expulit. Eliense uero cenobium dedit Ricardo Ricardi de Benefacta filio Beccensi monacho,⁸ et abbatiam sancti Edmundi regis et martiris Rodberto iuueni Vticensi monacho, Hugonis

^a affines et utiles *superscript*

¹ For the expansion of Benedictine monasticism in Henry I's reign see Knowles, *MO*, pp. 172–90. There was a great spread of Augustinian and other regular canons, and the first Cistercians were established. Often communities of hermits preceded monasteries; Orderic's accounts of the new monastic orders (above, iv. 310–34) and of the early history of Saint-Évroul (above, iii. 368–84) describe developments of this kind.

² R. W. Southern suggests (*St. Anselm*, p. 168 n. 2) that Walter Giffard, who attests for the first time as earl at Henry's coronation, may have been created earl of Buckingham on that occasion. This is doubtful; his attestations are very rare, and there are none from the last few years of William's reign; in any case 'comes' was often omitted from an earl's attestations. He had been a very close

where formerly robber outlaws used to hide to perform their evil deeds.¹

From the beginning of his reign he wisely recommended himself to all men, inviting them into his favour with royal gifts. He treated the magnates with honour and generosity,² adding to their wealth and estates, and by placating them in this way won their loyalty. He helped his humbler subjects by giving just laws,³ and protected them by his patronage from unjust extortions and robbers. So the illustrious prince outshone all other western rulers and governors of kingdoms and earned the affection of all, clerk and lay alike, who enjoyed orderly rule.

He began to provide the widowed church with pastors, and on the advice of his senior counsellors placed learned scholars in them.⁴ He made William Giffard, who had been the dead king's chancellor, bishop of Winchester,⁵ and promoted Gerard, bishop of Hereford, to be archbishop of York.⁶ He sent speedy messengers across the Channel to invite back to his see the venerable Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury,⁷ who as I have told had been driven into exile by King William's unseemly persecutions. He gave the abbey of Ely to Richard the son of Richard of Bienfaite, a monk of Bec,⁸ and the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds to Robert,

adherent of Rufus and more probably became an earl in his reign (see above, p. 214 n. 2).

³ Probably a reference to Henry's coronation charter (Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle, 1898–1916, i. 521).

⁴ Not all Henry's appointments were suitable, and some abbots endangered their status by accepting investiture at the king's hand. Nine abbots, including those of Bury and Ely, were removed from office in the council of London at Michaelmas, 1102 (Knowles, *MO*, p. 173; Eadmer, *HN*, p. 142).

⁵ William Giffard had previously been a prebendary of St. Paul's, London, and chaplain and chancellor to William II (Le Neve: Greenway, i. 42; ii. 85; *Regesta*, i, *passim*). He was nominated bishop of Winchester on 3 August 1100 and consecrated in 1107, having refused consecration by the archbishop of York and gone into exile with St. Anselm (Southern, *Saint Anselm*, pp. 168–72).

⁶ Gerard had been precentor of Rouen before becoming bishop of Hereford (1096–1100) and had acted as chancellor to both William I and William II (*HBC*, p. 81). Hugh the Chantor (*HCY*, pp. 12–14) says that his translation took place at Epiphany 1101.

⁷ Anselm received the king's letters at La Chaise-Dieu, probably soon after the middle of August; he reached Dover on 23 September (Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 126–7; *HN*, p. 119).

⁸ Richard, abbot of Ely, was the son of Richard fitz Gilbert of Bienfaite. Although deposed in 1102 he successfully recovered his abbacy, and the Ely chronicler praises his character and achievements as abbot. See above, iv. 212; *HRH*, p. 45; *Liber Eliensis*, pp. 225–35.

iv. 94 Cestrensis comitis filio.¹ Glastoniam quoque commisit Herluino Cadomensis.² et Habundoniam Farisio Malmesburiensi.³

Hugo Cestrensis comes et Rodbertus Belesmensis ac alii optimates qui erant in Normannia audito casu infortunati principis rerumque mutatione subita⁴ compositis in Neustria rebus suis iter in Angliam accelerauerunt, nouoque regi debitam subiectionem optulerunt, eique hominio facto fundos et omnes dignitates suas cum regiis muneribus ab eo receperunt.

Henricus rex imprudentum consilia iuuenum sicut Roboam secutus non est:⁴ sed sapientum argutias monitusque senum sagaciter amplexatus est. Rodbertum scilicet de Mellento et Hugonem de Cestra, Ricardum de Raduariis et Rogerium Bigodum, aliosque strenuos et sagaces uiros⁵ suis adhibuit consiliis. Et quia humiliter sophistis obsecundauit:^a merito multis regionibus et populis imperauit.

Prefatus princeps quarto mense ex quo cepit regnare nolens ut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus turpiter lasciuire, generosam uirginem nomine Mathildem regali more sibi desponsauit,⁶ ex qua geminam prolem Mathildem et Guillelmum generauit. Hæc nimirum Melculfi regis Scottorum et Margaritæ reginæ filia fuit, cuius origo de stirpe Elfridi regis filii Egberti regis processit,⁷ qui primus monarchiam^b totius Angliæ post Danicam cladem et occasum sancti Edmundi regis et martiris optinuit. Nam antea ex quo Angli de Anglo insula ubi Saxoniae metropolis est in Britanniam uenerunt, et deuictis seu deletis quos modo Gualos dicunt, occupatam bello insulam Hengist

^a annuit uel obediuit *superscript*

^b dominium uel principatum *superscript*

¹ Robert, an illegitimate son of Hugh, earl of Chester, was deposed in 1102 'eo quod inuaserat ecclesiam S. Edmundi martyris sine electione monachorum ejusdem loci' (*Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i (RS 1890), 353). Anselm criticized the appointment bitterly, calling him 'insipientissimum iuuenem, professione monachum non uita', intruded by royal force into the abbey (Anselm, *Opera*, iv. 186 (Ep. 271), 162-3, 181 (Epp. 251-2, 266)).

² Herluin, abbot of Glastonbury 1100-18, had previously been a monk of St. Stephen's, Caen (*HRH*, p. 51).

a young monk of Saint-Évroul, the son of Hugh, earl of Chester.¹ Glastonbury he entrusted to Herluin of Caen,² and Abingdon to Faricius of Malmesbury.³

When Hugh, earl of Chester, and Robert of Bellême and other magnates who were in Normandy heard of the death of the unfortunate king and the sudden revolution, they settled their affairs in Normandy and hurried back to England, where they dutifully submitted to the new king and, after doing homage, received their estates and all their dignities from him, together with royal gifts.

King Henry did not follow the advice of rash young men as Rehoboam did,⁴ but prudently took to heart the experience and advice of wise and older men. He summoned to his counsels Robert of Meulan and Hugh of Chester, Richard of Reuiers and Roger Bigod, and other active and able men.⁵ Because he humbly deferred to men of experience he deservedly governed many provinces and peoples.

In the fourth month of his reign this prince, not wishing to wallow in lasciviousness like any horse or mule which is without the use of reason, married with royal state a highly-born maiden named Matilda⁶ and had by her two children, Matilda and William. She was the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scots, and Queen Margaret, who was descended from the stock of King Alfred, son of King Egbert,⁷ the line which first ruled all England after the Danish war and murder of St. Edmund king and martyr. For, as you may read in the writings of Gildas the Briton and the Englishman Bede, five kings reigned there after the Angles came from the island of Angulus, where the mother-city of Saxony is situated, and, conquering or slaying the people now called Welsh, named

³ Faricius, abbot of Abingdon 1100-17, was an Italian and physician from Arezzo, at the time of his election a monk of Malmesbury (*HRH*, p. 25; *GP*, p. 192).

⁴ Cf. 3 (1) Kings xii. 8.

⁵ These included Henry, earl of Warwick, and Robert fitz Hamon, who were frequent witnesses of Henry's early charters; for Henry's early supporters see C. Warren Hollister in *EHR* lxxxviii (1973), 318-19.

⁶ For Henry's marriage see above, iv. 272. It took place on 11 November 1100 (*ASC* 1100). Matilda was the great-granddaughter of Edmund Ironside.

⁷ Alfred was the grandson, not the son, of King Egbert. King Edmund was murdered in 946; after the extinction of the Scandinavian kingdom of York in 954 the house of Wessex ruled all England. William of Malmesbury also emphasizes Matilda's high birth and descent from the English royal house; see *GR* ii. 470-1.

primo duce a natali solo Angliam uocitauerunt' quinque reges ut in scriptis Gildæ Britonis et Bedæ Anglici legitur in ea regnauerunt.¹

iv. 97 Sapiens ergo Henricus generositatem uirginis agnoscens, multimodamque morum eius honestatem iamdudum concupiscens' huiusmodi sociam in Christo sibi elegit, et in regno secum Gerardo Herfordensi episcopo consecrante sullimauit.² De rebus quæ in Anglia contigerunt pauca prelibaui, sed de Normannis nichilominus huic aliqua libet addere operi.

17

iv. 98 Mense Augusto mox ut in Neustria infausti occasus regis compertus est' turgentium furor Normannorum in sua uiscera excitatus est. Nam in eadem septimana Guillelmus consul Ebroicensis et Radulfus de Conchis cum ingenti manu in territorium de Bellomonte irruerunt, et ingentem predam de terra Rodberti comitis Mellentensis rapuerunt, pro quibusdam iniuriis quas ipse suis comparibus ingesserat, per fraudulenta consilia quæ Rufo regi contra illos suggerere iamdudum studuerat. Similiter alii plures iram et maliuolentiam quas olim conceperant, sed propter rigorem principalis iusticiæ manifestis ultionibus prodere non ausi fuerant' nunc habenis relaxatis toto nisu contra sese insurrexerunt, et mutuis cedibus ac damnis rerum miseram regionem rectore carentem desolauerunt.

Mense Septembri Rodbertus dux in Normanniam uenit, et a suis susceptus cum Sibilla coniuge sua Montem sancti Michahelis archangeli de periculo maris adiit. Ibi pro reditu saluo de longinqua peregrinatione Deo gratias egit, ac postea sponsam suam Goisfredi de Conuersana filiam³ cognouit, quæ sequenti anno filium ei peperit, quem Guillelmus archipresul baptizauit, eique nomen suum imposuit. Rodbertus uero dux ducatum suum nemine prohibente recepit, et fere viii annis⁴ nomine tenus tenuit. Socordia nempe mollicieque damnabiliter detentus⁵ est' ideoque

¹ Orderic's account, probably written from memory, depends very roughly on Bede, *HE* i. 15, which in turn is partly derived from Gildas, *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae* (ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH Auct. Ant.* xiii. 1-85), pp. 24, 25. Neither Bede nor Gildas specifies the number of kings in England in the early stages of the invasions; in the later period there were seven or eight kingdoms. Bede calls the homeland of the Angles 'Angulus', and provides the name of Hengist.

² This is a surprising mistake; Anselm, not Gerard, celebrated the marriage and crowned Matilda queen (*FW* ii. 47-8; *ASC* 1100; Eadmer, *HN*, pp. 121-5). Anselm had previously investigated the question of whether Matilda was free to leave the cloister at Romsey or Wilton (see *HRH*, p. 219) where she had taken

the island that they occupied by war under Hengist their first leader England, after their native land.¹

So Henry in his wisdom, appreciating the high birth of the maiden whose perfection of character he had long adored, chose her as his bride in Christ and raised her to the throne beside himself. Gerard, bishop of Hereford, performed the consecration.² Now that I have treated briefly of events in England, I will add a little more about the Normans to this book.

17

In the month of August, as soon as the unhappy death of the king was known in Normandy, the passions of the unruly Normans broke out in civil war. That very same week William, count of Évreux, and Ralph of Conches invaded the Beaumont lands with a strong force, and seized considerable booty from the land of Robert, count of Meulan, in revenge for injuries that he had done to his peers for some time past by turning King Rufus against them through false allegations. Likewise many others, who had been nursing anger and hatred, but had not dared to avenge themselves openly because of the strict justice maintained by the prince, fell upon each other without restraint, now that control was relaxed, and by their mutual slaughter and pillaging devastated the unhappy province which was without a ruler.

In September Duke Robert arrived in Normandy and, after being received by his people, went with his wife Sibyl to Mont-Saint-Michel in peril of the sea. There he gave thanks to God for his safe return from his long pilgrimage, and afterwards consummated his marriage with the daughter of Geoffrey of Conversano.³ Next year she bore him a son, and Archbishop William baptized the child, giving him his own name. Duke Robert recovered his duchy without opposition, and held it for about eight years⁴ in name only. For he was sunk beyond redemption in indolence and voluptuousness, which made him an object of

refuge and had on occasions worn the veil, and had decided that she was free to marry (Southern, *St. Anselm*, pp. 188-90).

³ Both Robert of Torigny in his interpolations in William of Jumièges (Marx, p. 285) and William of Malmesbury (*GR* ii. 461) praise Robert's wife, Sibyl of Conversano.

⁴ Robert's rule ended barely six years later, with his capture at Tinchebray on 28 September 1106.

iv. 99 despicibilis inquietis et exlegibus incolis factus est. Furta et rapinæ indesinenter agebantur, et mala passim ad detrimenta totius patriæ multiplicabantur.

18

Helias filius Iohannis de Flechia ut rumores quos optauerat audiuit, Guillelmum uidelicet regem occubuisse ueraciter agnouit. cum armatorum turma Cenomannis uenit, et ab amicis ciuibus uoluntarie susceptus urbem pacifice optinuit. Fulconem Andegauorum comitem dominum suum accersit. a quo adiutus arcem diu obsedit. Haimericus de Moria et Gualterius Rotomagensis Anserii filius¹ cum necessariis clientibus turrim seruabant, uictum et armamenta et quæque obsessis necessaria erant. ad resistendum sufficienter habebant. Cotidie uero simul loquebantur, et mutuo minitabantur. sed ioca minis plerumque miscebantur. Helix comiti priuilegium dederunt ut quotienscumque uellet, albam tunicam indueret, et sic ad eos qui turrim custodiebant tutus accederet. Ille uero credulus fidei eorum quos probissimos et legales nouerat, candore uestis notabilis sepe ad hostes accedebat, et solus cum illis diu confabulari non dubitabat. Inclusi et forinseci diuersis cauillationibus mutuo exercebantur, animoque non maliuolo multa ludicra utrinque agitabantur, unde in illa regione futuri pro admiratione et delectamine loquentur.

iv. 100

Tandem Gualterius et Haimericus Heliam post aliquot dies sic affati sunt, 'Arcem munitissimam omnibus bonis opulentam sicut erus noster nobis commisit seruamus, nec uos nec omnia machinamenta uestra timebimus, quamdiu resistere uobis uoluerimus. Ledere quidem uos lapidibus et sagittis possumus, quia in eminentiori pretorio constituti uobis preualet. Verum pro Dei timore et naturali amore uobis parcimus, presertim^a cum ignoremus. cui militantes hanc turrim seruemus. Vnde iustum et utile estimamus, ut mutuo treuias demus et accipiamus, donec legatus noster redeat a dominis nostris Angliæ et Normanniæ principibus. Qui postquam reuersus fuerit. faciemus prout ratio nobis intimauerit.' His auditis gaudens Helias Fulconi retulit. Omnes inde admodum gauisi sunt, et placitum Normannorum libenter annuerunt. Legatus autem duci Normanniæ directus ait, 'Gualterius

^a maxime superscript

¹ Both men were among the recipients of a royal writ concerning the cathedral of Le Mans (*Regesta*, i, no. 440; cf. above, p. 255 n. 4) Le Prévost suggests (*Le Prévost*, iv. 99 n. 2) that 'Moiria' was either at Saint-Vincent-des-Prés or north of Colombiers.

contempt to the restless and lawless Normans. Theft and rapine were daily occurrences, and brutalities increased everywhere to the ruin of the whole country.

18

When Helias, son of John of La Flèche, heard the welcome news that King William was indeed dead he came to Le Mans with a troop of armed men. His friends among the citizens opened their gates to him and he took over the city without striking a blow. He sent for his lord Fulk, count of Anjou, and with his help began a long siege of the citadel. Aymer of Moira and Walter, son of Anser of Rouen,¹ were holding it with sufficient troops and had the food and arms to withstand a long siege. Daily the two sides held parleys and threatened each other, but jokes were often mixed with the threats. They gave Count Helias the privilege whenever he wished of putting on a white tunic and in this way having a safe passage to the defenders of the citadel. Since he trusted the good faith of men he knew to be both valiant and honourable, he often visited the enemy wearing the distinctive white garment and never feared to remain alone for long conferences with them. Besieged and besiegers alike passed their time in jocular abuse and played many tricks on each other in a far from malevolent spirit, so that the men of those parts will speak of them in days to come with wonder and delight.

After some days Walter and Aymer spoke to Helias in words to this effect, 'We are defending an impregnable castle provisioned with all that we need in obedience to our lord's commands, and as long as we choose to resist you we shall fear neither you nor all your engines. On the other hand we can shower down stones and arrows to injure you, for we are in a lofty tower looking down on you. Nevertheless we spare you out of reverence for God and human kindness, because we do not know for whom we are fighting to hold this tower. We consider therefore that it would be both right and sensible for us to enter into a truce until our messenger can return from our lords, the princes of England and Normandy. When he returns, let us do whatever seems reasonable to us.' Helias gladly reported what he had heard to Fulk. All welcomed the suggestion and willingly agreed to the Normans' proposal. The messenger sent to the duke of Normandy said to him, 'Walter

et Haimericus cum sociis fidelibus arcem Cenomannicam sicut eis Guillelmus rex precepit obseruant, et a Cenomannensibus atque Andegauinis obsessi a te auxilium postulant, scire optantes quid secundum uoluntatem tuam agere debeant. Si pefatam arcem uis habere: ueni cum ualida bellatorum manu eis succurrere, et a circumuallantibus inimicis liberare. Alioquin edoce: qualiter ualeant de periculo mortis euadere.' Dux autem longæ laboribus peregrinationis fractus, et magis quietem lecti quam bellicum laborem amplecti cupidus: per legatum mandauit obsessis, ut honestam pacem cum obsidentibus facerent inimicis. 'Longo' inquit 'labore fatigatus sum' et ducatus michi sufficit Normanorum. Inuitant etiam me proceres Angliæ, ut festinem pelagus transire, quia parati sunt me in regem suscipere.' Denique legatus his auditis reciprocum iter non repetiit, sed ponto uelociter transfretato regem Albionis adiit, eique consequenter ea quæ illum duci iam dixisse scripsi facunde intimauit. Ille uero transmarinis occupatus negociis regni, callide maluit sibi debita legaliter amplecti, quam peregrinis præ superbia et indebitis laboribus nimis onerari. Custodibus arcis pro sua beniuolentia gratias reddidit, et legatum muneribus dignis honoratum remisit. Nuncius igitur ad suos rediit, illisque responsa filiorum Guillelmi regis per ordinem retulit.

Custodes itaque laudabili iam fide probati, Helix candidam iusserunt tunicam indui, pro qua 'candidus bacularis'¹ solitus est ab illis nuncupari. Protinus ille iussis paruic. Municipes eum uelociter uenientem susceperunt, et iocantes dixerunt, 'Candide bacularis merito nunc uales letari: quia tempus instat quod diu desiderasti. Si copiam nummorum in ærario tuo habes: nobiscum felix mercimonium facere potes.' Cumque interrogasset quem mercatum exercerent: dixerunt, 'Potens Guillelmus rex Anglorum hanc arcem condidit, cuius heres eam nobis commendauit, sed nuper pro dolor occubuit. Hanc nimirum arcem tibi damus, et te amodo Cenomannorum comitem esse concedimus. Non formidine uirtutis uestræ territi uel oppressi sumus, nec nobis usque ad longum tempus resistendi deficeret uirtus, si uobis adhuc resistere uellemus. Arma quidem et animos audaces

¹ 'Bacularis' had the meaning of an apprentice or aspirant to knighthood (*MLWL* p. 41); the nickname probably implied that Helias was an aspirant to the office of count.

and Aymer with their loyal companions are holding the citadel of Le Mans as King William commanded them to do; they are blockaded by the Manceaux and Angevins and apply to you for help, asking to know what is your will concerning them. If you wish to retain this castle, come with a strong relieving force and drive off the enemies who are besieging them. Otherwise let them know how they may escape from deadly peril.' The duke, exhausted by the fatigues of his long pilgrimage and more anxious to enjoy the peace of his couch than the toils of war, told the messenger to instruct the besieged to make an honourable peace with the enemies who beleaguered them. 'I am worn out by years of toil', he said, 'and the duchy of Normandy is sufficient for me. Besides, the magnates of England are inviting me to cross the sea as soon as possible, because they are ready to receive me as king.' When the messenger heard this, instead of returning he hurried across the Channel to the king of England and delivered to him exactly the same message as that already given to the duke. The king, who was fully occupied with the affairs of his kingdom across the sea, prudently decided to concentrate on what was lawfully his rather than burden himself out of pride with heavy and unnecessary undertakings abroad. He thanked the garrison of the citadel for their goodwill and sent back the messenger, rewarding him with suitable gifts. The messenger then returned to his own people and repeated to them word for word the answers of King William's sons.

Then the garrison, who had magnificently vindicated their loyalty, instructed Helias to put on the white tunic which had earned him the sobriquet of 'white bachelor'¹ among them. He obeyed their instructions immediately. As he came hurrying the castellans welcomed him and, half jesting, said to him, 'White bachelor, now you have good reason for celebration, since the moment for which you have waited so long is here. If you have plenty of money in your coffers, you can trade with us to your profit.' When he asked what kind of trade they proposed, they replied, 'William the mighty king of England built this citadel and his heir entrusted it to our keeping, but now, alas, he has just died. Therefore we give this citadel to you and recognize you as count of Maine from this day. We are neither alarmed nor overawed by your might, and we are strong enough to hold out for a very long time, if you wish us to carry on our resistance. We have indeed arms

uictumque sufficientem habemus, sed naturali ero caremus, cui strenuitatis nostræ seruitium impendamus. Vnde strenue uir probitatem tuam agnoscentes te eligimus, et arce reddita te principem Cenomannorum hodie constituimus.⁷

Hæc ad Heliam probi heroes locuti sunt⁷ et pacem cum eo fecerunt, et munitissimam ei turrim cum omnibus copiis a Guillelmo Rufo ibidem aggregatis reddiderunt.¹ Facta itaque pace strenui municipes cum armis et omnibus rebus suis exierunt, nec ut hostes deuicti sed ut fideles amici a consulibus suscepti sunt. Helias uero comes cum ccc^{tiis} militibus eos per urbem incolumes eduxit⁷ et ne a ciuibus quorum domos preterito anno combusserant lederentur alacriter protexit. Sic Helias comes tercio anno consulatum suum recuperauit, et usque ad obitum suum fere decem annis honorifice tenuit.²

iv. 103

Interea post aliquot annos Eremburgem filiam suam Fulconi filio domini sui Andegauorum comiti dedit, ipsumque Cenomannis dominum sibi successorem constituit.³ Fædus amicitiaæ cum Rodberto duce et Henrico rege⁴ postmodum copulauit eorumque bellis uiriliter interfuit, unique multum nocuit, alterique ingens suffragium contulit. Defuncta coniuge sua celibem uitam actitare renuit, sed Agnetem filiam Guillelmi Pictauorum ducis relictam Hildefonsi senioris Galiciæ regis uxorem duxit.⁵ Celebres nuptias cum ingenti tripudio perpetravit, sed sequenti anno multis lugentibus obiit, cuius cadauer Ildebertus presul in basilica sancti Petri apostoli Culturæ reuerenter sepeliuit.

19

Anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oC^oIO indictione ix^a ingens turbatio in Anglia et Normannia orta est. Seditiosi enim proceres

¹ Le Mans surrendered before 1 November 1100 (David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 125–6). Orderic's account is in the main confirmed by *Act. pont. cen.*, p. 404, though this does not mention an envoy to Robert and merely states that the garrison waited in vain for help from the king.

² Helias died on 11 July 1110 (Latouche, *Maine*, p. 53).

³ Eremburge was betrothed first to Fulk's eldest son Geoffrey, and after his death in 1106 to his second son, Fulk, whom she married between 1106 and 1109 (Latouche, *Maine*, p. 153; Halphen, *Anjou*, p. 337 n. 318).

⁴ According to *ASC* 1100, Helias 'held Maine from King Henry and did acknowledgement for it'; this would not have been incompatible with his recognition of the supreme overlordship of Fulk of Anjou.

⁵ The doubts about the identity of this lady have never been satisfactorily resolved. Guy-Geoffrey, count of Poitou, had two daughters, both named Agnes. One, the daughter of his second wife Mathéode, married Alfonso VI, king of Castile and León, in 1069 and was repudiated by him c. 1077; the second,

and brave hearts and food enough, but we have no natural lord to whom we can offer our service as valiant knights. So, gallant lord, recognizing your prowess we choose to serve you and, surrendering the citadel, proclaim you count of Maine this very day.⁷

The brave lords spoke these words to Helias and made peace with him, surrendering into his hands the impregnable tower with all the supplies collected in it by William Rufus.¹ After peace had been made the valiant garrison came out with their arms and all their belongings and were received by the counts, not as vanquished foes but as faithful friends. Count Helias escorted them safely through the city with two hundred knights, and protected them from ill-treatment at the hands of the citizens whose homes they had burnt the year before. So Count Helias recovered his county in the third year, and held it honourably until his death about ten years later.²

A few years later he gave his daughter Eremburge in marriage to Fulk, the son of his lord the count of Anjou, and appointed him his successor in the lordship of Maine.³ He afterwards made a treaty of friendship with Duke Robert and King Henry⁴ and, taking an active part in their wars, did much harm to one and gave invaluable help to the other. After his wife's death he rejected a life of celibacy and married Agnes, the daughter of William, duke of Poitou, and widow of the elder Alfonso, king of Galicia.⁵ The wedding ceremonies were completed in a magnificent style, but the following year he died amid general mourning. Bishop Hildebert reverently buried his body in the church of Saint-Pierre-de-la-Couture.

19

In the year of our Lord 1101, the ninth indiction, a great revolt broke out in England and Normandy. Turbulent magnates,

his daughter by Audéarde of Burgundy, married in 1081 Peter I, king of Aragon, who died in 1104. Helias' wife may have been either the repudiated wife of Alfonso, of whom nothing is otherwise known after 1077, or more probably the recently widowed queen of Peter. Latouche inclines to the first, A. Richard to the second, alternative. See A. Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou 778–1204* (Paris 1093), pp. 308, 351, 380, 388; *Chronicon Sancti Maxentii Pictauiensis in Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, ed. P. Marchegay and E. Mabille (Paris, 1869), pp. 404–5, 422; Latouche, *Maine*, p. 115 n. 7. Orderic makes at least one mistake in her father's name; she was the sister, not the daughter, of William VII of Poitou.

iv. 104 Henrici regis magnanimitatem metuentes, et desidis molliciem Rodberti ducis ut libitus suos nequiter explerent magis amantes: fraudulenta consilia uicissim tractare ceperunt, eique ut parata classe festinus transfretaret mandauerunt. Rodbertus nimirum de Belismo et duo fratres eius Rogerius Pictauinus atque Arnulfus, Guillelmus de Guarenna Suthregiæ comes et Gualterius Gifardus, Iuo de Grentemasnilio et Rodbertus Ilberti filius,¹ aliique plures decretum prodicionis sanxerunt, et partes ducis prius clam postea palam adiuuarunt. Imprudens uero dux sua dominia non seruauit, sed pro cupiditate regni quod calidior frater possidebat insipienter distraxit.

iv. 105 Tunc Rodberto de Belismo Sagiensem episcopatum et Argentomum castrum siluamque Golferni donauit,² et munitionem de Gisortis Tedbaldo Pagano³ quia semel eum hospitatus fuerat tribuit. Aliis quoque proceribus de suo peculio plurima dedit, multisque si rex foret maiora quam dare posset promisit. Et quoniam meretricum atque scurrarum consortia non refutauit, sed eis impudenter applaudens sua dilapidauit: inter diuitias ampli ducatus pane multoties eguit, et pro penuria uestitus usque ad sextam de lecto non surrexit, nec ad æcclesiam quia nudus erat diuinum auditurus officium perrexit. Meretrices enim et nebulones qui lenitatem eius scientes eum indesinenter circumdederunt:
iv. 106 bracas eius et caligas et reliqua ornamenta crebro impune furati sunt. In illo itaque palam completum est: quod per quendam sapientem dictum est,

Qui sua demergunt: hi post extranea pergunt.⁴

At Normannici optimates ducem suum paruipendentes, et Anglico regi magis fauere gestientes: ad illum transferre ducatum

¹ Orderic's list of rebels has sometimes been accepted without question (David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 127), but it is not certain that he was correct in saying that all these men were disloyal to Henry in 1101. The Bellême family were his constant enemies, and William of Warenne's treachery is possible, but Orderic is the only evidence that he was deprived of his earldom in 1101-2; the absence of the comital attestation in some charters proves nothing (*EYC* ii. 7-8, 46-7). Ivo of Grandmesnil incurred the king's displeasure; he was forced to mortgage his English estates to Robert of Meulan as much to pay his fine and mitigate the king's wrath as to procure money for a crusade (GEC vii. 524 note g). Walter Giffard had been with Henry at the time of his accession and witnessed some of his early charters (*Regesta* ii, nos. 488, 492, 510, 524), but his allegiance was doubtful. However Robert, son of Ilbert of Lacy, received many favours from Henry I early in his reign, and his loyalty in 1101 at least seems certain; he was banished c. 1110-11 for reasons that are not clear, and Orderic may have confused the events of 1101 with those of 1110-13 (cf. W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy*, Oxford, 1966, pp. 59-66, 79; C. Warren Hollister, 'Henry I and Robert Malet', forthcoming

alarmed by the energy of King Henry and preferring the mildness of the sluggard duke, Robert, which left them more free to pursue their evil ambitions, began to hold treacherous conferences with one another and advised the duke to prepare a fleet and cross at the earliest opportunity. Robert of Bellême and his two brothers, Roger of Poitou and Arnulf, William of Warenne, earl of Surrey, and Walter Giffard, Ivo of Grandmesnil and Robert, son of Ilbert,¹ and many others approved the plan of revolt and helped the adherents of the duke, secretly at first and later openly. The reckless duke did not give good government to his own dominions, but foolishly neglected them out of greed for the kingdom which his abler brother possessed.

At that time he gave Robert of Bellême the bishopric of Séez, the stronghold of Argentan, and the forest of Gouffern,² and granted the castle of Gisors to Theobald Pain³ because he had once given him shelter. He gave lavishly to other nobles out of his private property, and promised them far more than he could ever give if he became king. And since, far from shunning the company of courtesans and jesters he wasted his substance by shamelessly entertaining them, he often lacked bread in spite of the wealth of his extensive duchy and, being without clothing, lay in bed until sext, not daring to go to church to hear the divine office because he had nothing to wear. The harlots and rascals who always surrounded him because they knew his weakness often pilfered his breeches and boots and other garments with impunity. He was a perfect example of the truth of the saying of a certain sage,

They drift abroad who waste their goods at home.⁴

The Norman magnates, who regarded the duke with contempt and were more ready to follow the English king, resolved to offer

in *Viator*; 'The Anglo-Norman civil war: 1101', in *EHR* lxxxviii (1973), 315-34).

² See above, iv. 296 and n. 3, 297 n. 4.

³ See above, p. 216, and Depoin, *Cartulaire de Pontoise*, pp. 407-8. Theobald Pain's estates were on the Vexin frontier, and he may have given shelter to Robert during one of his quarrels with his father. He had held Gisors, possibly as castellan, under William Rufus; Orderic's language implies that Robert now granted it as a fief.

⁴ This is a familiar tag, of uncertain authorship, sometimes occurring as a couplet, 'Sit tibi sic usus rerum, ne fiat abusus; Qui sua demergunt, hi post extranea pergunt.' See Walther, *Carmina*, ii, nos. 24813, 29877.

Neustriæ decreuerunt, crebrisque legationibus ad huiuscemodi appetitum incitauerunt. Sic utraque gens instante perfidia deprauabatur, dominoque infida sua qualiter obsesset machinabatur. Rebelles aliqui manifestam contra fideles uicinos guerram arripuerunt, et gremium almæ telluris rapacitatibus et incendiis cruentisque cedibus maculauerunt. Venerabilis Anselmus archiepiscopus¹ et omnes episcopi et abbates cum sacro clero et omnes Angli indissolubiliter regi suo adherebant, et pro eius salute regnique statu Regem sabaoth incessanter orabant. Rodbertus quoque de Mellento et multi alii legales prouidique barones domino suo fideliter coneccebantur, uiribus et consiliis ei suffragabantur.

- iv. 107 Precipuus incentor uesaniæ huius fuit Rannulfus Flambardus Dunelmi episcopus. Hic nimirum de plebeia stirpe progressus Guillelmo Rufo admodum adulatus est.² et machinationibus callidis illi fauens super omnes regni optimates ab illo sullimatus est. Summus regiarum procurator opum et iusticiarius² factus est.² et innumeris crudelitibus frequenter exercitatis exosus et pluribus terribilis factus est. Ipse uero contractis undique opibus et ampliatis honoribus nimis locupletatus est.² et usque ad pontificale stemma quamuis pene illiteratus esset non merito religionis sed potentia seculari prouectus est. Sed quia mortalis uitæ potentia nulla longa est.² interempto rege suo ut ueternus patriæ deprædator a nouo rege incarceratus est.³ Pro multis enim iniuriis quibus
- iv. 108 ipsum Henricum aliosque regni filios tam pauperes quam diuites uexauerat, multisque modis crebro afflictos irreuerenter contristauerat, ex diuino consultu mutato flamine de sullimi culmine potestatis deiectus est.² et in arce Lundoniensi Guillelmo de Magnauilla⁴

¹ William of Malmesbury also says that Henry was supported by Anselm, the bishops, and the English (*GR* ii. 471-2); Eadmer goes to the length of saying that Anselm was the only man Henry could trust (Eadmer, *HN*, p. 127).

² All historians had difficulty in finding words to describe Ranulf Flambard's unusual and sweeping powers. There is however no evidence of the existence of any true justiciarship, and it would be misleading to translate Orderic's much-quoted expression as 'justiciar'. See *Regesta*, i, p. xxviii; F. J. West, *The Justiciarship in England 1066-1232* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 11-12. The biographer of Christina of Markyate, who called him 'tocius Anglie iudex', possibly thought of him as a justiciar, but he wrote in the mid twelfth century (*The Life of Christina of Markyate*, ed. C. H. Talbot, Oxford, 1959, p. 40). For Flambard's early life see above, iv. 170-2.

the duchy of Normandy to him and sent messenger after messenger to tempt him to accept it. So both peoples were corrupted by the climate of perfidy and plotted deeds of treachery to harm their lords. Some rebels waged open war against loyal neighbours and stained the fertile soil with ravages, conflagrations, and bloody slaughter. The venerable Archbishop Anselm¹ and all the bishops and abbots with the consecrated clergy, as well as all the English, preserved their unshaken loyalty to their king and offered ceaseless prayers to the Lord of Hosts for his safety and the preservation of the realm. Robert of Meulan and many other loyal and provident barons followed their lord faithfully and supplied him with counsel and military support.

The chief instigator of this mad plot was Ranulf Flambard, bishop of Durham. Rising from low origins, he had been a sycophant of William Rufus and had so pandered to him with his cunning machinations that the king had raised him up above all the magnates of the realm. He became chief manager of the king's wealth and justice,² and through his many acts of cruelty made himself hated and feared by most men. He himself grew wealthy with the riches he raked in from all sides and the enlargement of his estates, and in spite of being almost illiterate was promoted to a bishop's chair not because of any piety, but through secular power. However, since no power is long enduring in this mortal life, after his king's death he was imprisoned by the new king as an incorrigible plunderer of the country.³ For the many injuries he had inflicted on Henry himself and his subjects, poor as well as rich, and the many ways in which he had often impiously oppressed the suffering, by God's will when the wind of fortune changed he was hurled down from the summit of power and given into the charge of William of Mandeville,⁴ to be imprisoned in

³ According to Anselm he was imprisoned for failure to pay the taxes he had collected to the king, 'Hunc quando redii in Angliam, inueni captum a rege pro pecunia, quam de ministeriis suis velut publicanus debebat, male retenta, ut plena testatur regis curia' (Anselm, *Opera*, iv. 113, ep. 214).

⁴ This reference establishes the fact that William I of Mandeville, the son of Geoffrey I of Mandeville (d. c. 1100), who held an immense fief centring on Essex in 1086, was keeper of the Tower of London. He undoubtedly suffered Henry's displeasure as a result of his incompetence or even connivance when Flambard escaped, and was crippled from at least 1103-5 by a huge debt of £2,210 3s. which compelled him to mortgage his richest manors. He died between 1105 and 1116. See the important article, 'The misfortunes of the Mandevilles', by C. Warren Hollister (*History*, lviii (1973), 18-28).

custodiendus in uinculis traditus est. Verum sicut Ouidius¹ dicit de Dedalo canens,

Ingenium mala sepe mouent²

iv. 109 ingeniosus presul de rigore ergastuli exire satagit, et exitum callide per amicos procurauit. Erat enim sollers et facundus, et licet crudelis et iracundus, largus tamen et plerumque iocundus, et ob hoc plerisque gratus et amandus. Cotidie ad uictum suum duos sterilensium solidos iussu regis habebat, unde cum adiumentis amicorum in carcere tripudiabat, cotidieque splendidum sibi suisque custodibus conuiuium exhiberi iubebat. Quadam die in lagenâ uini funis ei delatus est² et copiosus conuiuii apparatus largitione presulis erogatus est. Custodes cum eo comederunt, et Falerno ubertim hausto exhilarati sunt. Quibus admodum inebriatis et secure stertentibus, episcopus funem ad columnam quæ in medio fenestræ arcis erat coaptauit, et baculum pastorem secum sumens per funem descendit.² Verum quia manus suas oblitus fuit cirotecis obuoluere, usque ad os excoriatæ sunt restis scabredine² et fune ad solum usque non pertingente graui lapsu corpulentus flamen ruit, et pene conquassatus flebiliter ingemuit. Fideles amici eius et probati satellites ad pedem turris expectabant, qui non sine timore magno ibidem ei optimos cornipedes preparauerant. Quibus ascensis ille uelociter aufugit, et fidos comites cum thesauro suo obuiam habuit, cum quibus in Normanniam festinanter ad Rodbertum ducem nauigauit. Mater uero Flambardi quæ sortilega erat, et cum demone crebro locuta ex cuius nefaria familiaritate unum oculum amiserat² in alia naue cum filii thesauro sui per pelagus in Neustriam ferebatur, et a sociis ibidem pro scelestis incantationibus cum derisoriiis gestibus passim detrahebatur.

iv. 110 Interea totum piratis occurrentibus in ponto ærarium direptum est et uenefica cum naucleris et epibatis anus nuda merensque in littus Normanniæ exposita est.³ Denique fugax antistes a duce susceptus Normanniæ prefectus est² et ipse dux quantum ignauia permisit eius consiliis usus est. Hic precipue ducem contra fratrem suum ad certamen concitauit, et inimicicias in regem toto

¹ Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, ii. 43.

² He escaped on 2 or 3 February 1101 (*ASC* 1101, 'at Candlemas'). William of Malmesbury confirms the story that he slid clumsily down a rope (*GR* ii. 471).

³ The colourful story of Flambard's mother is uncorroborated. But Flambard's name was associated in some way with pirates: Anselm claimed to have heard on good authority that after his flight he became the lord of a band of sea-pirates, who plundered on his behalf (*Anselm, Opera*, iv. 113, ep. 214).

fetters in the tower of London. Truly, as Ovid¹ says in his poem about Daedalus,

Often misfortunes stir the wit;

the ingenious bishop plotted to escape from close imprisonment and craftily arranged through friends for his flight. He was resourceful and persuasive, and though cruel and quick-tempered was also generous and affable on many occasions, so that numerous people found him acceptable and likeable. He received every day by the king's command two shillings sterling for food, and with this and the help of his friends he made merry in prison, and every day ordered a fine feast to be set before him and his guards. One day a rope was smuggled to him in a flagon of wine, and plentiful provisions for the feast were purchased by the bishop's largesse. The guards feasted with him and grew merry as they drained copious draughts of Falernian wine. When they were thoroughly drunk and safely snoring, the bishop fastened the rope to a mullion in the middle of a window in the tower and, taking his pastoral staff with him, slid down the rope.² However, as he had forgotten to protect his hands with gloves, they were torn to the bone by the roughness of the rope, and as it did not reach quite to the ground the portly ecclesiastic suffered a heavy fall, which almost flattened him and made him groan with pain. His loyal friends and tried followers were waiting at the foot of the tower and, though in great trepidation, had good horses ready for him. Mounting, he fled like the wind, and met on his way trusted companions bringing his treasure. With them he sailed swiftly towards Normandy to find Duke Robert. Flambard's mother, who was a sorceress and had often conversed with the devil, losing an eye through this infamous familiarity, was conveyed across the sea to Normandy in another ship with her son's treasure. Her companions in the boat mocked her with crude gestures for her accursed incantations.

In the course of the voyage pirates attacked the ship and plundered all the treasure, so that the old witch was deposited, naked and sorrowing, with the mariners and guards on the Norman shore.³ Finally the fugitive bishop, given refuge by the duke, was placed in a position of authority in Normandy, and the duke himself profited from his counsels as far as his indolence allowed. Flambard especially urged the duke to a trial of strength with his brother, and stirred up hostility against the king by every means

annisu exercuit. Consilium duci qualiter Angliæ regnum optineret dedit; auxiliumque suum in omnibus promisit.

In autumno tandem Rodbertus dux in Angliam transfretavit, et ab illustribus et opulentis qui confederati eum prestolabantur susceptus in regem bellum paravit. Classis eius Guillelmi patris sui classi multum dispar fuit, quæ non exercitus uirtute sed proditorum procuratione ad portum Portesmude applicuit.¹ Protinus ipse dux a proceribus regni qui iam dudum illi hominum fecerant in prouinciam Guentoniensem perductus constitit et fratrem suum nisi diadema deponeret ad prelium concitatione seditiosorum lacessit. Multi qui pridem regi specie tenus adhererunt aduenientem ducem ultro susceperunt, copiisque suis agmina eius stipauerunt. Rodbertus enim Belesmensis et Guillelmus Suthregiæ comes alique plures regem deseruerunt, et multi ut occasionem separationis extorquerent ab eo iniusta petierunt, et nisi petitionibus suis satisfaceret eum sese derelicturos minitati sunt. Rodbertus de Mellento et Ricardus de Raduariis² alique multi barones strenui regem suum uallauerunt, omnes quoque Angli alterius principis iura nescientes in sui regis fidelitate persistenterunt, pro qua certamen inire satis optauerunt.

iv. 111

Interea Hugo Cestrensis comes in lectum decidit, et post diutinum languorem monachatum in cœnobio quod idem Cestræ construxerat suscepit, atque post triduum sexto kalendas Augusti obiit.³ Ricardus autem pulcherrimus puer quem solum ex Ermentrude filia Hugonis de Claromonte genuit, consulatum eius fere xii annis⁴ amabilis omnibus tenuit, et Mathildem filiam Stephani Blesensium comitis ex Hadala sorore Henrici regis uxorem duxit, cum qua in candida naue ut postmodum satis elucidabitur vii^o kalendas Decembris naufragio pro dolor periit.

iv. 112

Mellenticus consul⁵ uersutias contribulium et defectionem prospiciens, fidemque suam amico regi inter læta et tristia seruare satagens: hinc et inde multa tacito corde subtiliter reuoluit, et ne status regni uacillaret anxius laborauit. Dixit itaque regi, 'Omnis

¹ Cf. FW ii. 48-9; *ASC* (1101). The fleet left Le Tréport and Henry waited for it at Pevensey; but sailors sent out by him to intercept the invaders went over to the duke and guided his ships into Portsmouth, where they landed unopposed.

² Richard of Revers was one of the loyal supporters drawn from the Cotentin, whom Henry gathered round himself during his brother's reign. See above, iv. 220.

³ See above, iv. 142, for Hugh's foundation of St. Werburgh's, Chester.

⁴ An error for nineteen years. He was drowned on 25 November 1120.

⁵ Robert, count of Meulan, was so close to King Henry that Ivo of Chartres

in his power. He advised the duke on how he might best secure the kingdom of England, and promised him his help in all that he did.

At length in the autumn Duke Robert sailed across to England and, after being received as king by the distinguished and wealthy men who had formed a conspiracy and were expecting him, he prepared for war. His fleet was very unlike his father William's fleet, for it reached the harbour of Portsmouth thanks not to the courage of the army but to the connivance of traitors.¹ The duke quickly established himself in the district round Winchester, where he was escorted by the magnates of the realm who had done homage to him long before. Urged on by the rebels, he challenged his brother to meet him in battle unless he was prepared to renounce the crown. Many who had formerly made a show of supporting the king were eager to welcome the duke when he arrived, and filled his army with their forces. Robert of Bellême, William, earl of Surrey, and many more deserted the king, and numerous others made unreasonable demands in order to invent pretexts for breaking away, threatening to leave him unless he granted their petitions. Robert of Meulan and Richard of Revers² and many other able barons protected their king; and all the English, who did not recognize the rights of the other prince, persisted in their loyalty to their king and were ready to go to battle to prove it.

At this time Hugh, earl of Chester, took to his bed and, after a long illness, became a monk in the abbey he had built at Chester, where three days later, on 27 July, he died.³ Richard, a most handsome boy and his only son by Hugh of Clermont's daughter Ermentrude, held the county for about twelve years⁴ afterwards and was universally beloved. He married Matilda, the daughter of Stephen, count of Blois, and King Henry's sister Adela, and sad to relate the two perished together in the shipwreck of the White Ship on 25 November, as will be fully related in time.

When the count of Meulan,⁵ who was resolved to preserve his loyalty to his friend the king through thick and thin, saw the schemes and defections of his fellow countrymen, he quietly turned over many things in his own mind and thoughtfully worked for the safety of the realm. With this aim he said to the

accused him of being more concerned to serve the king of the English than the King of the angels (*Migne, PL* clxii. 157-8, ep. 154).

probus et equitate pollens dum uidet amicum pressuris impeti, si legalitate uult probabilis haberi' indigenti dilecto debet totis nisibus suffragari. In huiusmodi studio non tantum futuræ mercedis emolumentum debet pensari, quantum de indigentis amici subuentione cogitari. Verum plures uidemus multum aliter agentes' fideique quam domino pepigere suo decus turpi preuarcatione polluentes. Hæc profecto manifeste cernimus, et acutis punctionibus in nostris lateribus sentimus. Nos ergo quibus communis utilitatis prouidentia commissa est diuinitus' ad salutem regni æcclesiæque Dei undique speculari debemus. Maxima sit cura ut per gratiam Dei pacifice uincamus, ut sine Christiani sanguinis effusione uictoriam optineamus, et in pacis serenitate fidelis consistat populus. Nunc igitur domine mi rex consilium meum audi, monitisque meis ne dedigneris obsequi. Cunctos milites tuos leniter alloquere, omnibus ut pater filiis blandire, promissis uniuersos demulce, quæque petierint concede, et sic omnes ad fauorem tui sollerter attrahe. Si Lundoniam postulauerint uel Eboracham' ne differas magna polliceri ut regalem decet munificentiam. Melius est enim dare regni particulam' quam multitudine inimicorum cum uita perdere uictoriam. Cumque ad finem huius negotii auxiliante Deo prospere peruenerimus' de repetendis dominiis quæ temerarii desertores tempore belli usurpauerint utile consilium suggeremus. Certum

iv. 113

est quod quisquis dominum suum in mortis periculo sponte deserit, aliumque pro auiditate lucri appetit, seu militare seruitium quod ultro pro defensione regni exhibere debet regi suo uenale facit, eumque propriis spoliare dominiis contendit' iudicio rationis et æquitatis ut proditor iudicabitur, et hæreditariis rebus merito nudatus extorris effugabitur.'

Vniuersi optimates Henrico regi assistentes uerba consulis colaudauerunt, et regem ut monitis eius obsecundaret cohortati sunt. Ille uero sapientia præcellens beniuolis auriculariis gratias egit, eorumque salubribus hortamentis libenter adqueiuit' pluresque quos suspectos habebat promissis et muneribus sibi conciliauit. Tandem cum ingenti exercitu obuiam fratri processit, et legatos direxit' per quos sollicitè inquisiuit, cur Angliæ fines

king, 'Every brave man who has aspired to knighthood and sees his friend hard pressed in the mêlée ought, if he wishes to be thought worthy of his standing, to go to that friend's help in his need as best he may. In such a cause one should think not so much of future reward as of rescuing the friend who needs one. Now indeed we see many acting in a very different way, and smirching by base prevarication the bright faith they have pledged to their lord. Such things are plain for us to see and we feel the sharp stabs in our sides. We, therefore, who have been entrusted by God to provide for the common good ought to keep a sharp look-out to preserve the safety of the realm and of the Church of God. Let our chief care be to triumph peacefully by God's grace and win a victory without shedding Christian blood, so that our loyal people may enjoy the security of peace. Now, therefore, hear my counsel, my lord king, and do not scorn to follow my advice. Speak to all your knights with moderation; coax them as a father would his sons, placate every one with promises, grant whatever they ask, and in this way draw all men assiduously to your cause. If they ask for London or York, do not hesitate to promise great rewards appropriate to royal munificence. It is better to give a small part of the kingdom than to sacrifice victory and life itself to a host of enemies. When with God's help we come safely to the end of this business we will propose practical measures for recovering the demesnes appropriated by rash deserters in a time of war. There is no doubt that anyone who chooses to desert his lord in an hour of deadly danger and seek another lord for greed of gain, or insists on payment for the military service that he ought to offer freely to his king for the defence of the realm, and attempts to deprive him of his own demesnes will be judged a traitor by a just and equitable judgement, and will rightly be deprived of his inheritance and forced to flee the country.'

All the magnates who were with King Henry applauded the count's speech and urged the king to follow his advice. Being a man of remarkable sagacity, he thanked the counsellors who wished him well and readily accepted their practical suggestions, winning with promises and gifts the support of many whom he regarded with suspicion. Then he went to meet his brother with a huge army and sent messengers ahead to inquire searchingly on his behalf why he had presumed to enter English territory with

cum armato exercitu intrare presumpserit. Rodbertus autem dux per suos responsales ita locutus est, 'Regnum patris mei cum proceribus meis ingressus sum.' et illud reposco debitum michi iure primogenitorum.'

iv. 114 In quadam planicie¹ duo germani per aliquot dies perstiterunt, sibi que mutuo nobiles nuncios cotidie miserunt. Seditiosi proditores magis bellum quam pacem optabant. Et quia plus priuatæ quam publicæ commoditati insistebant, uersipelles ueredarii uerba peruertebant, et magis iurgia quam concordiam inter fratres serebant. Porro sagax Henricus istud aduertit, unde fratris colloquium ore ad os petiit, et conuenientes fraterni amoris dulcedo ambos impleuit. Nobilis corona ingentis exercitus circumstitit, ibique terribilis decor Normannorum et Anglorum in armis effulsit. Soli duo germani spectantis in medio populi collocuti sunt' et ore quod corde ruminabant sine dolo protulerunt. Denique post pauca uerba mutuo amplexati sunt' datisque dulcibus basiis sine sequestro concordēs effecti sunt. Verba quidem huius colloquii nequeo hic inserere quia non interfui, sed opus quod de tantorum consilio fratrum processit auditu didici.²

In primis Rodbertus dux calumniam quam in regno Angliæ ingesserat fratri dimisit, ipsumque de homagio quod sibi iam dudum fecerat pro regali dignitate absoluit. Henricus autem rex tria milia librarum sterlensium sese duci redditurum per singulos annos sponndit, totumque Constantinum pagum et quicquid in Neustria possidebat preter Damfrontem reliquit.³ Solum Damfrontem castrum sibi retinuit, quia Damfrontanis quando illum intromiserunt iureiurando pepigerat, quod nunquam eos de manu sua proiceret, nec leges eorum uel consuetudines mutaret. Remotis omnibus arbitris soli fratres scita sua sanxerunt, et cunctis

¹ Orderic left half a line blank, probably intending to insert the name of the place later. The name Alton is given in one version of Simeon of Durham's *Chronicon* (Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton Caligula A viii, printed *EHR* lxxxviii (1973), 334) and in some manuscripts of Wace (*Roman de Rou* (Holden), l. 10323).

² Orderic is alone in saying that Henry and Robert settled their quarrel personally. William of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle all state that the reconciliation was brought about by the leading counsellors: 'the chief men' (*ASC* 1101), 'sapientiores utriusque partis' (*FW* ii. 49), 'satagentibus sanioris consilii hominibus' (*GR* ii. 472). Eadmer attributes the reconciliation to St. Anselm (Eadmer, *HN*, pp. 127-8). Wace,

an armed force. Duke Robert answered to this effect through his envoys, 'I have entered the kingdom of my father with my magnates, and I demand the right due to me as the eldest son.'

The two brothers remained for some days encamped in a certain plain,¹ and sent noble envoys daily to and fro. The treacherous confederates hoped for war rather than peace and, because they were more concerned with their private interests than with the common good, cunning messengers twisted words and sowed seeds of dispute rather than concord between the brothers. However, the wise Henry realized this, and demanded to speak to his brother face to face. When they met feelings of brotherly love surged up in both. The huge army encircled them with men of high rank, and the appearance of Normans and English in arms was both fair and terrible. The two brothers conversed alone in the midst of the circle of onlookers, and openly and honestly voiced what they had in their hearts. Finally after a few words they embraced one another and, exchanging affectionate kisses, were reconciled without a mediator. I cannot record the words of their conference, for I was not present, but I have learnt by hearsay what was the outcome of the counsels of these noble brothers.²

First of all, Duke Robert renounced in favour of his brother the claim he had made to the realm of England, and out of respect for his royal dignity released him from the homage which he had previously done him. King Henry promised to pay the duke a sum of three thousand pounds sterling every year, and relinquished in his favour the whole Cotentin and everything that he possessed in Normandy except Domfront.³ He retained for himself only the stronghold of Domfront because he had given a sworn pledge to the men there when they opened their gates to him that he would never allow them to pass out of his own hand, or change their laws and customs. Since no arbitrators were present the brothers

Roman de Rou (Holden) ll. 10397-404, names Robert of Bellême, William of Mortain, and Robert fitz Hamon as three of the negotiators.

³ The terms agreed by the brothers at Alton were confirmed at Winchester on 2 August 1101, and ratified by the oaths of twelve leading men from each side. For other early accounts of the terms see *ASC* 1101, *FW* ii. 49, *GR* ii. 472; and for modern discussions of them Freeman, *William Rufus*, ii. 413-4; David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 134-7; C. Warren Hollister in *EHR* lxxxviii (1973), 328-31. Both Freeman and Hollister consider the possibility that one or two clauses from the agreement of 1091 between Robert Curthose and William Rufus may have been included in them.

iv. 115 in circumitu eos cum admiratione spectantibus decreuerunt, quod sese ut decet fratres inuicem adiuuarent¹ et omnia patris sui dominia resumerent,¹ scelestosque litium satores pariter utrinque punirent.

Pace itaque facta confusio perfidos operuit, et despicabiles illis etiam quibus inique adulati fuerant effecit, et inglorios metuque pallentes a facie regis latitare compulit. Sinceræ uero plebes et iustis laboribus insistentes exultauerunt, et armatorum cunei licentia regis accepta dissoluti sunt² gaudentesque ad sua tecta remeauerunt. Totius Albionis regnum tranquillitate pacis tripudians siluit, et æcclesia Dei diuturna quiete uigens diuina lege splenduit, Deoque secura sine præliorum tumultu militauit.

Narrationi nostræ perhibent euidens testimonium nouæ basilicæ et multa oratoria nuper condita per uicos Angliæ, et operosa claustra cenobiorum cum aliis officinis monachorum quæ constructa sunt Henrici regis tempore. Omnis enim ordo religiosorum pace fruens et prosperitate, in omnibus quæ ad cultum Deitatis pertinent omnipotentissimæ, intus et exterius suam diligentiam satagit exhibere. Vnde templa domosque feruens fidelium deuotio presumit prosternere, eademque melioranda renouando iterare. Prisca ergo ædificia quæ sub Edgardo uel
iv. 116 Eduardo aliisque Christianis regibus constructa sunt deiciuntur, ut amplitudine seu magnitudine uel operis elegantia ad laudem Creatoris competenter emendentur.

Rodbertus dux postquam duobus mensibus cum germano rege deguit² regalibus xeniis honoratus appropinquante hieme in Neustriam rediit, et Guillelmum de Guarenna pluresque alios pro ipso exheredatos secum adduxit.³

Non multo post Gislebertus senex cognomento Maminotus Luxouiensis episcopus mense Augusto mortuus est, atque Fulcherius frater Flambardi eiusdem sedis presul a Guillelmo

¹ The meaning of 'dominia' is ambiguous; it could apply either to alienated demesnes or to all territories such as Maine and the Vexin to which William had laid claim. Orderic alone explicitly mentions this clause. Cf. David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 135. Wace, *Roman de Rou* (Holden) ll. 10457-62, specifies promises of mutual aid in case of war.

² Cf. *ASC 1101*: 'And the count afterwards stayed in this country until after Michaelmas; and his men always did much damage wherever they went.'

alone confirmed their undertakings and determined, while all around looked on with wonder, that they would help one another as brothers should, would recover all the domains of their father,¹ and would punish on both sides the wicked men who had fomented discord between them.

When peace had been made the traitors were covered with confusion; since they had become despicable even to those on whom they had fawned deceitfully they were forced to hide ingloriously from the king's sight, trembling with fear. The honest folk and all who went about their lawful business were glad, and the armed forces were disbanded by the king's command and returned home rejoicing. The realm of England lay basking in the glow of peace and the Church of God, enjoying a long period of calm, showed forth the divine law gloriously and, being secure, served God untroubled by the din of battle.

Visible evidence of the truth of my statement is provided by the new basilicas and numerous churches recently founded in villages all over England, and the extensive cloisters of monks which, along with other monastic buildings, have been built in King Henry's time. Every religious order, enjoying peace and prosperity, endeavoured to show its zeal in internal life and external organization, in everything pertaining to the worship of omnipotent God. So the faithful in their fervent devotion ventured to pull down churches and domestic buildings and replace them with new and better ones. The ancient churches which had been built under Edgar and Edward and other Christian kings were pulled down, to be replaced by others more worthy through size or loftiness or beauty of workmanship to praise the Creator.

After Duke Robert had remained for two months with his brother the king² he returned to Normandy at the approach of winter, laden with royal gifts, and took with him William of Warenne and many others who had been disinherited in his cause.³

Not long afterwards the aged Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux, died in the month of August, and Flambard's brother Fulcher was consecrated as bishop of the see by Archbishop

MS. Cotton Caligula A viii (*EHR* lxxxviii (1973), 334) places his departure on 1 November.

³ Cf. above, p. 308 n. 1.

archiepiscopo mense Iunio consecratus est. Hic pene illiteratus ad episcopatum procuracione fratris sui de curia raptus est: quo dapsilitate laudabilis vii mensibus potitus mense Ianuario defunctus est.¹ Deinde Rannulfus Flambardus qui in Normannia exulabat, et Dunelmi presulatu carebat, pro inimicia regis cui restiterat:² Luxouiensem pontificatum filio suo Thomæ puero
 iv. 117 suscepit,³ et per triennium non ut presul sed ut preses gubernavit. Interea Guillelmus de Paceio ingenti precio comiti dato presulatum præoccupare satagit: sed pro simoniaca lue prius Rotomagi postea Romæ condemnatus temeritatem suam misere luit.⁴ Sic fere quinque annis Luxouiium rectore caruit, et dominicus grex pastore digno carens lupinis dentibus patuit, donec illi gratia Dei Iohannem ad plebis suæ consolationem episcopum destinavit.⁵

20

Bonis rumoribus auditis de illustribus athletis qui peregre profecti sunt: et in oriente contra ethnicos in nomine Christi dimicantes gloriose triumpharunt, occidui proceres inuictam probitatem et insperatos euentus eorum zelati sunt: consobrini et affines eorum strenuitatis exemplo ad simile opus excitati sunt. Multos nimirum accendit feruor peregrinandi, sepulchrum Saluatoris et sancta loca uisendi, et uirtutem militiamque suam contra Turcos exercendi. Plures etiam terror apostolicæ maledictionis peregrinari coegit. Paschalis enim papa omnes palam anathematizauit, et ab omni Christianitate segregauit: qui crucem
 iv. 118

¹ His obit was celebrated at Lisieux on 29 January (*GC* xi. 771).

² There is evidence that Ranulf Flambard's reconciliation with King Henry began at Alton in 1101, and that the Durham estates were restored to him soon afterwards. There are some obscurities in the situation; in spite of undated letters from Anselm and Gerard of York his ecclesiastical rehabilitation may have been a more lengthy process. See H. H. E. Craster, 'A contemporary record of the pontificate of Ranulf Flambard', in *Archæologia Aeliana*, 4th ser. vii (1930), 33-56, and the discussion by C. Warren Hollister in *EHR* lxxxviii (1973), pp. 329-33.

³ According to a letter sent by Ivo of Chartres to Paschal II in 1105 (*Migne*, *PL* clxii, 162-3, ep. 157) Ranulf had intruded two of his sons aged about twelve, one of whom was named Thomas, on the condition that if the elder died the other should succeed him in the bishopric; and Duke Robert had granted investiture by handing over the pastoral staff. In the same year Ivo also wrote letters denouncing the scandals to William, archbishop of Rouen, and Robert, count of Meulan (*ibid.*, pp. 154-5, 157-8, epp. 149, 153, 154; cf. David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 151-3).

⁴ The attempt to replace Flambard's sons in the see of Lisieux was more complicated than Orderic implies (cf. *Migne*, *PL* clxii, ep. 157). William, arch-

William in the month of June. He was almost illiterate, and had been picked out of the court for the bishopric by his brother's influence. He held the see for several months, being memorable for his hospitality, and died in the month of January.¹ Then Ranulf Flambard, who was in exile in Normandy and was deprived of the bishopric of Durham through the enmity of the king whom he had opposed,² procured the bishopric of Lisieux for his son Thomas, a mere boy,³ and ruled it for three years not as bishop but as guardian. Meanwhile William of Pacy paid a great price to the duke in an attempt to obtain the bishopric, but since he was condemned for the sin of simony, first at Rouen and afterwards at Rome, he paid dearly for his presumption.⁴ So Lisieux was without a bishop for about five years, and the Lord's flock, deprived of a worthy shepherd, was ravaged by wolves until, by the grace of God, John was sent there as bishop to console its people.⁵

20

When good news had been received of the renowned champions who had set out on pilgrimage and had won glorious victories over the infidels of the east in the name of Christ, the nobles of the west were inspired by their unconquered courage and unexpected successes, and their kinsmen and neighbours were moved by their example to undertake a similar enterprise. Many burned with zeal to go on pilgrimage, to see the holy sepulchre and the holy places, and to prove their knightly prowess against the Turks. Many too were compelled to set out on pilgrimage by fear of papal excommunication. For Pope Paschal had publicly pronounced excommunicate and cut off from the Church all who had voluntarily taken the cross of the Lord and turned back without

deacon of Évreux, was canonically elected, but because William, archbishop of Rouen, was suspended from office he was unable to obtain consecration and Ivo of Chartres advised him to consult the Pope. During the delay Ranulf tried to intrude one of his clerks, William of Pacy, into the see with the connivance of Robert Curthose, but he was rejected for simony. After the victory at Tinchebray Henry I proposed to translate to Lisieux Hervey, bishop of Bangor, who had been driven out of his see by the Welsh; but Anselm pointed out the canonical difficulties and he was dissuaded (*Anselm*, *Opera*, v. 348-9, ep. 404).

⁵ John, archdeacon of Séz, became bishop of Lisieux in 1107. See Le Prévost, *iv.* 273-5.

Domini gratis acceperant, et itinere non perfecto remeauerant nisi reciprocum callem iterarent, Deoque satisficientes uota sua pie persoluerent.¹

Anno itaque dominicæ incarnationis M^oC^oI^o Guillelmus Pictuensium dux² ingentem exercitum de Aquitania et Guasconia contraxit, sanctæque peregrinationis iter alacris iniit. Hic audax fuit et probus nimiumque iocundus, facetos etiam histriones facetiis superans multiplicibus. Fertur trecenta armatorum milia uexillum eius secuta fuisse: quando egressus fuerit de finibus Aquitanicæ. Stephanus quoque Blesensis palatinus comes pene ab omnibus derogabatur, et indesinenter uerecundabatur, eo quod de obsidione Antiochena turpiter aufugerit, et gloriosos sodales suos in martirio Christi agonizantes deseruerit. A multis personis multoties corripiebatur, et militiam Christi tam terrore quam confusione repetere cogebatur. Ad hoc etiam Adela uxor eius frequenter eum commonebat, et inter amicabilem coniugii blandimenta dicebat, 'Absit a te domine mi' ut tantorum diu digneris hominum opprobria perpeti. Famosam strenuitatem iuuentutis tuæ recole, et arma laudabilis militiæ ad multorum salutem milium arripe, ut inde Christiculis ingens in toto orbe oriatur exultatio, ethnicisque formido suæque scelerosæ legis publica deiectio.'

iv. 119

Hæc et multa his similia mulier sagax et animosa uiro suo protulit: sed ille periculorum et difficultatum gnarus labores duos iterum subire formidauit. Tandem animos et uires resumpsit: et iter cum multis milibus Francorum arripuit, et usque ad sepulchrum Christi quamuis pessima illi obstitissent impedimenta perrexit. Tunc Harpinus³ Bituricam urbem Philippo regi Francorum uendidit: et cum Goscelino de Cortenaia⁴ et Milone de Braio⁵ iter Ierusalem iniit.

Stephanus autem dux⁶ et Stephanus comes super-Saonensis⁷

¹ In December 1099, Paschal II wrote to the French clergy pronouncing excommunication on all who had taken the cross and failed to fulfil their vows, unless they were impoverished; and in particular stigmatizing those who had run away during the siege of Antioch. See Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, no. XIX, and above, p. 269 n. 4.

² William, count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine; see above, p. 280 n. 2.

³ Odo Arpin, vicomte of Bourges. His wife was a daughter of Gilo of Sully, whose sister married the eldest son of Stephen of Blois (cf. above, iii. 116 n. 3). For the sale of his vicomté to Philip I see Prou, *Actes de Philippe I*, p. 368 n. 1, and Fliche, *Philippe I*, pp. 150-4; for his part in the crusade cf. Guibert of Nogent (*RHC Occ.* iv. 244-5) and Albert of Aix (ibid. iv. 544-5).

⁴ A cousin of Baldwin II (Baldwin of Le Bourg), king of Jerusalem; he later became count of Edessa. See genealogical table in Fliche, *Philippe I*, p. 321 n. 2.

completing their journey, unless they set out again and paid their debt to God by accomplishing their vows.¹

So in the year of our Lord 1101 William, duke of Poitou,² gathered a great army from Aquitaine and Gascony and set out joyfully on a holy pilgrimage. He was a bold and upright man and so gay that he could outdo even the wittiest minstrels with his many jests. It is said that three hundred thousand armed men followed his standard when he left Aquitaine. Also Stephen, count palatine of Blois, was an object of contempt to almost everyone, and was continually reproached because he had fled disgracefully from the siege of Antioch, deserting his glorious comrades who were sharing in the agonies of Christ. He was continually chided by many people, and was driven to embark on another crusade as much by fear as by shame. His wife Adela also frequently urged him to it, and between conjugal caresses used to say, 'Far be it from you, my lord, to lower yourself by enduring the scorn of such men as these for long. Remember the courage for which you were famous in your youth, and take up the arms of the glorious crusade for the sake of saving thousands, so that Christians may raise great thanksgiving all over the world, and the lot of the heathen may be terror and the public overthrow of their unholy law.'

These speeches and many more like them were uttered by the wise and spirited woman to her husband; but he, knowing the perils and difficulties, shrank from undertaking such hardships a second time. At length he recovered his courage and strength, and took the road with many thousands of Frenchmen, persevering until he reached Christ's sepulchre in spite of the terrible difficulties encountered on the way. At that time Arpin³ sold the town of Bourges to Philip, king of France, and took the road to Jerusalem with Joscelin of Courtenay⁴ and Miles of Bray.⁵

So Duke Stephen⁶ and Stephen, count of Burgundy,⁷ and

⁵ Miles I of Montlhéry, vicomte of Troyes; cf. Albert of Aix (*RHC Occ.* iv. 563). He was Joscelin of Courtenay's uncle, and had already taken part in the first crusade; see above, p. 30, and John La Monte in *Speculum*, xvii (1942), genealogical table facing p. 100. He was captured and probably executed after the fall of Ramla in 1102 (*RHC Occ.* v. 205 note e).

⁶ The duke of Burgundy was Odo, not Stephen (Baldwin, *Crusades*, pp. 349-50).

⁷ Stephen, son of Reginald I, count of Burgundy and Mâcon (see Baldwin, *Crusades*, p. 350 and sources there cited; Guibert of Nogent (*RHC Occ.* iv. 244); Albert of Aix (ibid. iv. 563) and Fulcher of Chartres (ibid. iii. 398)).

iv. 120 aliusque Stephanus Richeldis filius cum plurimis cetibus bellatorum de Burgundia militiæ Christi celeres adhererunt. Mediolanensis quoque archiepiscopus¹ et Albertus de Blandraia² potentissimus Italarum cum cateruis Ligurum iter Ierosolimitanum aggressi sunt. Omnes isti pro amore Dei peregre perrexerunt, et in Macedoniam peruenientes suos Alexio imperatori legatos direxerunt, per quos pacificum conductum et mercatum ab eo sibi postulauerunt.

Sollers Augustus nimiam uirtutem occidentalium aduentare audiens perterritus est: eisque quicquid ab eo petierant indubitanter annuens prudenter blanditus est. Audaciam et fortitudinem cisalpinorum sub Guiscardo et Buamundo multoties expertus fuerat: et iccirco illos contristare ac ad bellum prouocare admodum precauebat. Liberum ergo per terram suam illos habere transitum decreuit, ipsorumque petitionibus omnimodis liberaliter adqueiuit. Ingentia dona principibus erogauit, et omnes usque in Cappadociam quæ ultra Constantinopolim est prospere conduci fecit. Illic omnes occidua phalanges recensitæ sunt: et plus quam quingenta milia pugnatorum reperta sunt.³

iv. 121 Sagaces uiri de itinere peragendo consiliati sunt: sed de periculis nichilominus deuitandis precogitauerunt. In conciliabulis itaque suis imminetia perscrutabantur: et sic uicissim loquebantur, 'Huc usque securi fuimus, quia inter fratres commorati sumus, quorum mores et loquelam nouimus. Nam ex quo de laribus nostris egressi sumus: usque nunc a Christianis pro amore summi Patris benigniter suscepti sumus. Amodo nobis alia conditio incumbit. Inter imperatorem et Buamundum qui possidet Antiochiæ immaniter seuiunt bellorum tempestates permaximæ. Regiones per quas ituri sumus incultæ sunt: et per illas usque ad mare Turci frequenter discurrunt, qui sicut lupi naturaliter sanguinem ouium sitiunt: sic omne Christianorum genus interimere gestiunt. Omnipotentem Deum ut nos protegat suppliciter deprecemur, quia uariis discriminibus undique includimur. Ecce infidum imperatorem cum populis suis post tergum dimisimus: quos uehementer suspectos habemus. Ad dextram est mare, in quo Creta et Cyprus et clara Rodus aliæque multæ sunt insulæ,

¹ Anselm of Buis, a staunch supporter of Urban II.

² For Albert, count of Biandrate, cf. Albert of Aix (*RHC Occ.* iv. 559). He was accompanied by his brother Guy and his nephew Otto of Altaspata (Baldwin, *Crusades*, p. 347).

³ Some of the main points in Orderic's narrative are corroborated by Albert of Aix (*RHC Occ.* iv. 559-60) but it is over-condensed and frequently inaccurate. The Italians arrived ahead of the others and were allowed to camp not in Cappadocia, where Alexius would have preferred to send them, but just outside Constantinople on the shores of the Bosphorus. The statement that they were

another Stephen the son of Richelda gladly joined the crusaders with great troops of warriors from Burgundy. The archbishop of Milan¹ and Albert of Biandrate,² a most powerful Italian lord, also set out for Jerusalem with troops of Italians. All these men undertook the pilgrimage for the love of God. When they reached Macedonia they sent their envoys to the Emperor Alexius, and asked him for a safe-conduct and the right to purchase provisions.

The cunning Emperor was greatly alarmed at the news that such a great force of westerners was approaching, and immediately granted all their requests, wisely placating them. He had frequently experienced the boldness and courage of the northerners under Guiscard and Bohemond, and therefore was very chary of crossing them or provoking them to war. So he granted them a safe-conduct through his lands and acceded most generously to all their requests. He lavished huge gifts on the leaders, and had them all convoyed safely as far as Cappadocia, which is beyond Constantinople. There all the armies of the west were counted and were found to contain more than five hundred thousand fighting-men.³

The prudent leaders consulted together about the next stage of the journey, and took precautions to avoid the dangers on the way. In their consultations they studied these hazards, and spoke to each other rather after this fashion: 'So far we have been safe, because we have always been among friends whose customs and language we know. For from the time we left our homes until now we have been kindly received by Christians for the love of the supreme Father. But henceforward our position will be very different. The storms of war are raging fiercely between the Emperor and Bohemond, who holds Antioch. The lands through which we will pass are unfertile; the Turks make frequent expeditions across them as far as the sea, and they yearn to kill every Christian as wolves by their nature thirst for the blood of sheep. Let us humbly pray to God for help, because we are surrounded on all sides by different kinds of danger. Consider: we have left behind us a faithless Emperor and his subjects, whom we regard with the utmost suspicion. To our right is the sea, with Crete and Cyprus and famous Rhodes and many other islands which

counted is uncorroborated; but, since Orderic refers later (below, p. 334) to a counting of the army by Alexius and he needed to know the numbers to be provisioned, it is likely that they were counted at some stage.

quæ omnes imperatori subiacent, et pro malefactis nostratum qui præcesserunt nos odio habent. Ad orientem uel ad aquilonem barbaræ gentes orbem usque ad fines terræ possident. quæ Christianorum sanguinem effundere insatiabiliter ardent. Per inculta loca usque in Antiochiam iter est plus quam xxx dierum, ubi nobis omne deest genus alimentorum, quia regiones almæ desolatæ sunt per guerram quæ iamdiu durauit inter imperatorem et Buamundum. Quid in tot periculis faciemus? Vndique desolati sumus.'

Denique diuersorum sententiis multipliciter inuestigatis. dux
 iv. 122 ait Pictauensis,¹ 'Ad imperatorem legatos mittamus, et ab eo unanimitè poscamus, ut comitem Sancti Egidii cum lancea Saluatoris dirigat, qui per incognitas nobis prouincias usque ad sepulchrum Christi salubriter conducat. Ipse enim sapiens et magnæ auctoritatis est.' et in prima profectioe in omnibus inter precipuos habitus est. Difficultatum quoque et uiarum quas ignoramus longa experientia gnarus est.' et probabili iam olim strenuitate Christianis et paganis notissimus est. Hunc ergo si Maronem² nobis et consiliarium prefecerimus. securitatem ab augusto et cautelam contra ethnicos habebimus.'

Nuncii consensu omnium directi sunt. et legationem suam augusto facunde prompserunt. Ille uero ut Ausoniorum³ mandata percepit. mox eadem Raimundo comiti retulit, quibus auditis ille respondit, 'Gratia Dei ad capiendam Ierusalem multum laboraui, senioque multisque laboribus fractus amodo quiete opto perfrui. Ad asilum maiestatis uestræ domine auguste confugi. Parce queso michi. ne me compellas ulterius peregrinari.' Imperator autem legatis ait, 'Comitem Sancti Egidii, ut uobiscum comitaretur admonui. Sed ille senium et infirmitates suas pretendit, quibus impeditur ne uobiscum exire possit. Ite securi pace mea. Egregium comitem ad maiestatis nostræ tutelam confugientem effugare nolo. quia non debeo.' Legati protinus remeauerunt, et quæ audierant renunciauerunt. Hinc conturbatis omnibus, et diuersa

¹ William, count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine, did not arrive until later.

² In the early middle ages Virgil was regarded as a profound thinker. Macrobius called him 'omnium disciplinarum peritus' (*Saturnalia*, ed. J. Willis, Leipzig, 1963, i. 16. 12); Fulgentius treated his Aeneid as an image of human life, and by the eleventh century he had also acquired a considerable reputation as a prophet (cf. Dominico Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E. F. M. Benecke, edn. of London, 1967, pp. 108-11, 310). It is worth notice that he is

are all under the Emperor's sway and regard us with loathing because of the misdeeds of our countrymen who have gone before us. To the east and south the barbarous nations possess the whole world as far as the ends of the earth and thirst insatiably to shed the blood of Christians. The road to Antioch is more than thirty days' journey through uncultivated land, where we shall be without food of any kind, because the once-fertile lands have been wasted in the long war between the Emperor and Bohemond. What can we do among so many dangers? We are forsaken on all sides.'

At length when the views of various people had been thoroughly aired, the duke of Poitou¹ said, 'Let us send envoys to the Emperor and ask him with one voice to send the count of Saint-Gilles with the Saviour's lance, so that he may lead us safely through strange lands to the sepulchre of Christ. He is a wise and greatly respected man, and was one of the most distinguished leaders in the first expedition. He is familiar through long experience with the hazards and the routes of which we know nothing, and he is renowned among Christians and pagans alike for the courage he has so often shown. If we take this man like Virgil² as our guide and counsellor we shall have surety from the Emperor and protection against the heathen.'

By general agreement envoys were sent, and eloquently voiced their message to the Emperor. After hearing the demands of the westerners,³ he repeated them at once to Count Raymond, who listened and replied, 'By God's grace I endured great toil to capture Jerusalem; worn out by old age and many hardships I wish from now to live in peace. I have taken refuge, my lord Emperor, under your authority. Spare me, I beg you: do not force me to undertake another pilgrimage.' So the Emperor said to the envoys, 'I have asked the count of Saint-Gilles if he would accompany you. But he has pointed out that his age and infirmities prevent him from setting out with you. Go safely by my leave. I do not wish to drive out the distinguished count who has taken refuge in my court; indeed I have no right to do so.' The envoys returned at once and reported what they had heard. As all were perturbed at the news and were making various suggestions to here treated as a guide and counsellor in an almost proverbial sense over a century and a half before Dante.

³ The term often means inhabitants of Italy; but since Orderic specifically mentions William, count of Poitou, he must have intended it in its wider, occasional sense of 'Latins'.

iv. 123 inuicem musitantibus.' Pictauensis dixit Guillelmus, 'Velociter arma sumite, et redeuntes Constantinopolim obsidete. Viriliter expugnantes urbem non recedemus, donec aut perfidum imperatorem perimamus, aut ab inuito quod petatum est uiribus extorqueamus. Innumera suis fidelium milia fraudulentis peremit, ideoque gratum Deo ni fallor sacrificium exhibebit, qui uitam occupantis terram ad perniciem multorum arte quauis exemerit.' Stephanus Blesensis aliique modesti barones edicto huiusmodi non adqueuerunt, sed sinceræ ueritatis allegationibus rationabiliter prolatis pariter contradixerunt. Porro Aquitani et Guascones aliique contumaces qui iuuenili prouidentia regi appetunt' proterui ducis iuuenilem impudentiam confirmauerunt. Procaciter ergo reuersi sunt' triduoque Bizantium obsederunt.¹

Imperator autem ut conatus eorum audiuit, et urbem econtra populosam triplici muro septam considerauit' in primis hostilem aduentum paruipendit. Verum postquam pertinaciam eorum persistentem intellexit' tres ferocissimos leones et septem leopardos inter medium murum et antemurale dimitti precepit. Custodes autem super tertium murum cui procerum palacia intrinsecus inherebant constituit, portas uero reseratas esse iussit. Sic nimirum per feras opinatus est Gallos subsannando detertere, urbemque regiam sine humana manu defendere. Ast hominum nil ualet uersuta cogitatio, nisi quantum diuina decernit dispensatio. Cumque Franci in castris armati constitissent, et neminem sibi obstare uidissent' per primam portam conflictum quærentes intrauerunt, et hinc inde curiosis luminibus spectantes patriæ defensores prestolati sunt. Protinus primo ingressis seui leones
iv. 124 occurrerunt, et dentibus atque unguibus seuiantes quosdam leserunt, et incautos bestialisque conflictus ignaros lacerauerunt.

Verum certamen beluarum humano diu nequiuu ingenio resistere. Armati enim pugiles uenabulis feras stridulisque missilibus confoderunt, et leonibus extinctis leopardos fugauerunt, atque ad medium murum fugientes insecuti sunt. Porro leopardi rependo uelut murilegi murum transilierunt, et Gallorum cunei

¹ The attack was made by irresponsible elements in the Lombard forces in the early spring of 1101, before the arrival of the other crusaders. The imperial palace of Blanchernea was attacked and one of the Emperor's pet lions killed. See Baldwin, *Crusades*, pp. 353-4.

each other, William of Poitou said to them: 'Take up arms immediately, and let us return and lay siege to Constantinople. Let us blockade the city boldly and not retreat until we have either slain the perfidious Emperor or else extorted by force his unwilling consent to our demands. He has destroyed countless thousands of the faithful by his deceits and therefore, unless I am mistaken, anyone who by whatever means takes the life of a man who cumber the earth and is a menace to multitudes will offer a sacrifice acceptable to God.' Stephen of Blois and other moderate lords did not agree with this proposal, but combined to challenge it by putting forward reasonable arguments that were entirely true. However, the Aquitanians and Gascons and other quarrelsome folk who wished to be governed by youthful ambition applauded the youthful recklessness of their foolish leader. So they returned presumptuously and besieged Byzantium for three days.¹

When the Emperor heard of their attack he did not at first consider the hostilities serious, for he knew that the city was very populous and was encircled and defended by a triple wall. But when he realized that they were persisting in their efforts, he commanded that three fierce lions and seven leopards should be driven between the middle and outer walls. He also posted guards on the third wall, against which the palaces of the nobility were built, and commanded that the gates be barred. So, derisively, he proposed to frighten away the westerners with wild beasts, and defend the imperial city without human force. But the cunning plans of men are worthless, except in so far as divine providence permits. When the Franks were standing ready armed in the camp and saw no one opposing them, they entered by the first gate eager for conflict and, looking around on all sides with curious eyes, they expected to find the defenders of their country. Instantly the fierce lions sprang on the first men to enter and injured some whom they savaged with teeth and claws, tearing men who were caught unawares and had no experience of fighting wild animals.

But the attack of beasts could not defeat the wit of man for long. Armed champions sent spears and javelins whistling to strike down the wild animals and after killing the lions drove away the leopards, chasing them as they fled up to the middle wall. Then the leopards, creeping forward like cats, leapt over the wall, and the troops of westerners entered through the gate

per portam secundi muri introierunt, tertiumque fortiter expugnare nisi sunt. Fit ingens in urbe uociferatio ciuium, horribilisque turbatio et concursus omnium: quid in tam repentino euentu agerent ignorantium. Audiens imperator insoliti assultus tumultum pertimuit, et quod falsa spe deceptus fuerat ingemuit. Tandem per legatos suos nobilibus peregrinis supplicauit, multiplicibusque promissis iratos leniuit, ac ab expugnatione regiæ urbis quam pene iam irruerant compescuit.

Francis sua tentoria repentibus cum uictoria lugubris augustus Tolosanum comitem accersiit, eique mestus ac ualde deiectus dixit, 'Confusus O gloriose consul ad te confugio, et quid agendum sit in tam insperato strepitu consilium a te deposco. Ecce insolentia Francorum regiam urbem quæ caput orientis est: procaci manu cum armis impugnare ausa est. Celsitudinem sancti imperii uiolauit, et ne peiora fierent ad sui supplicationem inclinauit, effusoque fidelium sanguine clientum omnipotentis Sophyæ iracundiam prouocauit. Augustalis maiestas quæ leges olim aduenis et incolis dare solita est: heu modo a contumacibus peregrinis impositas conditiones subire coacta est.' Raimundus comes respondit, 'Compatriotæ mei sepe solent ingerere impetus huiuscemodi: eorumque tumultuosas infestationes in talibus erga coessentes suos bene noui. Sapientia magnitudinis uestræ longis non indiget uerborum ambagibus. Opportuna pax fiat cum procacibus. Sic enim exigit publica necessitas: pro qua ni fallor multi eructabunt animas. Improbi Guascones me comitem itineris sui poscunt, me inuitum peregrinari temere cogunt.

Non impune ferent ausis quod talibus herent.¹

Pro illata sancto imperio iniuria ualde contristor magne imperator: sed omnia modo non proferam quæ meditor. Tempus ultionis opperiemur, quo nefaria temeritas improborum expiabitur. Ecce murus Constantinopoleos suorum cruore filiorum madescit ac polluitur, sicut in presentiarum proh pudor tristes contemplanur.'

Hæc et alia huiusmodi augustus et comes inuicem contulerunt, ac de reddendo talione pro sui fatigatione hostibus machinati

¹ Cf. a similar proverb, 'Non impune ferēs, si mundo prorsus adherēs' (Walther, *Carmina*, ii, no. 17891 b).

in the second wall and attempted to take the third by assault. In the city there was dreadful turmoil as all the citizens shouted and rushed about, not knowing what they should do in the unexpected emergency. The Emperor was alarmed when he heard the uproar of the unexpected attack, and regretted that he had been deceived by false hopes. In the end he sent envoys to appeal to the noble pilgrims, appease their anger with all kinds of promises, and persuade them to desist from the attack on the imperial city whose walls they had almost breached.

As the Franks returned to their tents in triumph the Emperor sadly sent for the count of Toulouse, and said to him with deep regret, 'Noble count, I appeal to you in some embarrassment, and ask your advice on the best course of action in such an unexpected affray. As you see, the Franks in their insolence have dared to lay their rash hands on the imperial city which is the capital of the east, attacking it with force. This is a violation of the authority of the holy Empire, which forces it to its knees to avoid worse things and provokes the wrath of God in his omnipotent wisdom by shedding the blood of its loyal subjects. The imperial majesty, which used formerly to give laws to foreigners and natives is now, alas, forced to accept conditions imposed by unruly pilgrims.' Count Raymond replied, 'My compatriots often make attacks of this kind, and I am very well acquainted with their turbulent molestations of their fellows on such occasions. Your majesty in your wisdom does not need long and wordy explanations. Let a timely truce be made with the troublemakers. This is required by the public interest for which, unless I am mistaken, many will lose their lives. The insolent Gascons demand that I accompany them on their journey, and recklessly force me to go on pilgrimage against my will,

Not without cost they rashly press such plans.¹

I am deeply grieved, great Emperor, for the injury done to the holy Empire, but I will not now speak all that is in my mind. We will wait for a time of vengeance, when the shocking presumption of these lawless men will be punished. See how the walls of Constantinople are stained and desecrated with the blood of its sons, as we sorrowfully witness to our shame at this moment.'

The Emperor and count exchanged such words as these and plotted how to pay back their enemies for the damage they had

sunt. Imperator illustres nuncios elegit, per quos cum sacramento Gallis mandauit' humiliter obsecrans ut pacifice abirent et comitem cum xx milibus Turcopolorum¹ apud Cappadociam expectarent. Sponsione augusti cum iureiurando percepta recesserunt, seseque preparantes aliquandiu quieuerunt. Post aliquot dies eos comes secutus est. Imperator autem plurimas naues tartaronibus onustas misit, et de illis distribui omnibus prout congruum esset secundum ordines eorum et dignitates precepit. Tartarones² quippe quadratos ex cupro nummos Traces uocitant, de quibus in Tracia seu Bithinia prouinciales mercimonia sua sicut philippis³ aut bizantiis actitant. Indigentes peregrini auide susceperunt xenia imperatoris' nescientes dolum uersutasque malignitates pessimi traditoris. Vafer enim explorator numerum eorum hoc tenore indagauit' computans quantitatem suscipientium per mensuram pecuniæ quam singulis donauerit. Deinde descriptionem quantitatis eorum Dalimanno et Solimanno aliisque principibus Turcorum direxit, eisque ut coadunatis uiribus totius paganismi bello illos exciperent in Paflagonia mandauit.

v. 126

Nostrates nescii fraudis adueniente comite letati sunt' Turcopolisque qui Geticæ⁴ locutionis et ritus patriæ uiarumque gnari erant præeuntibus iter inierunt, et tribus septimanis per nimias difficultates usque ad magnam barbarorum urbem quæ Gandras⁵ uocatur abeuntes errauerunt. Tramitem namque qui per Romaniam et Siriam in Ierusalem ducit ad dexteram omnino dereliquerunt, et per Pontum Metridatis⁶ quondam xx duorum regnorum regis regnum ad aquilonem usque in Paflagoniam deuia tenuerunt. Incertum habeo utrum comes Sancti Egidii sic deuiauerit per ignorantiam, an causa uindictæ socios suos ita seduxerit per maleuolentiam.⁷ Cumque Christiani per aspera loca et periculosa flumina deuiasque siluas pertransissent, et post tres ebdomadas uix ad urbem Gandras peruenissent, ibique post multos labores

¹ Albert of Aix gives the number of Turcoples, more probably, as 500 (*RHC Occ.* iv. 563).

² The Greek tetarteron nomisma was originally a gold coin lighter than the stamenon nomisma (bezant); but later the name tetarteron or tarteron was applied to a small copper coin of the reformed coinage struck under Alexius Comnenus. See M. F. Hendry, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies xii, 1969), pp. 5, 28, plate 2. Cf. Fulcher of Chartres (ed. Hagenmeyer), p. 189. The coins were round, but when badly struck appeared roughly quadrangular.

³ Macedonian gold coins with the image of Philip of Macedon were called 'philips'; the use of the term as a synonym for bezants seems to be an anti-quarian touch.

done. The Emperor chose distinguished envoys, through whom he bound himself to the westerners with an oath, humbly asking them to go away in peace and wait for the count with twenty thousand Turcoples¹ in Cappadocia. After receiving the Emperor's promise and oath they withdrew, and for a while rested and made their preparations. A few days later the count followed them. The Emperor sent a number of ships laden with tarterons and ordered them to be distributed to everyone as was appropriate according to their rank and status. The Greeks call certain square coins made of copper 'tarterons';² these the provincials of Greece and Bithynia use for trading like philips³ or bezants. The needy pilgrims eagerly accepted the Emperor's gifts, ignorant of the deceit and evil machinations of this worst of traitors. By this means the crafty investigator learnt their numbers, reckoning the number of recipients according to the quantity of money he had given to each. Then he sent an estimate of their numbers to the Danishmend and Kilij-Arslan and other Turkish princes, and advised them to gather the forces of the whole pagan world and compel them to give battle in Paphlagonia.

Our men, ignorant of the deceit, were delighted at the count's arrival and set out on their journey, with the Turcoples who knew the Greek⁴ language and customs of the country leading the way. They wandered for three weeks through very difficult country until they reached the great city of Gangra.⁵ For they turned off from the road which leads to the right through Rum and Syria to Jerusalem, and followed side tracks through Pontus, once a kingdom of Mithridates⁶ who ruled over twenty-two kingdoms, to the north as far as Paphlagonia. I am uncertain whether the count of Saint-Gilles mistook the road through ignorance, or whether he misled his compatriots through malevolence in pursuit of vengeance.⁷ When the Christians had travelled through rough places, dangerous rivers, and thick woods, and, having staggered as far as the town of Gangra in three

⁴ Here 'Geticæ' seems to have its earlier meaning, Thracian, rather than its common later meaning, Gothic.

⁵ Chankiri.

⁶ Cf. Pompeius Trogus, xxxvii. iii. 3 for the conquest of Pontus by Mithridates.

⁷ The narrative of the disastrous defeat of the crusaders that follows telescopes more than one encounter with the enemy forces; better accounts are given by Albert of Aix and Anna Comnena (Baldwin, *Crusades*, pp. 355-6; *RHC Occ.* iv. 563-73; *Alexiad XI*, iii. 36-8, viii. 1-4).

aliquandiu requiescere decreuissent: ecce multitudo paganorum ut arena maris innumerabilis occurrit, et imparatos nimiumque pluribus angustiis fessos prouocauit. Vxores quippe suas et armentorum greges secum ducebant, et uehiculis ingentes diuitiarum copias trahebant: ut opum molem suarum presentia sui summopere seruarent, et tam hostibus quam affinibus thesauros suos ostentarent, ut enormitate gazarum uisa cunctis terrori existerent, ad extremum uero ut ubique tam domi quam militiæ omnigenis delectationibus abundarent. Christiani autem fame et siti aliisque iniuriis fatigati ut bello perurguerit ceperunt, preteritarum immemores penarum armati processerunt, animisque resumptis et uiribus acies suas ordinauerunt, et per quinque dies in nomine Domini uiriliter pugnaverunt. Ibi ut ueraces peregrini ferunt, quingenta milia Christianorum fuerunt, ipsosque ni fallor mille milia paganorum terribiliter impetierunt. Ex utraque parte acerrime pugnatum est: et multorum milium occisio facta est. Cumque Turci quinto die phalanges suas defecisse uidissent, et inuictam uim Christianorum inopinabiliter timuissent: ex publico decreto uxoribus suis quæ in tentoriis erant, et eunuchis aliisque clientibus qui principum opes custodiebant: mandauerunt ut cuncta cum gazis suis utensilia caute coaptarent, et sequenti nocte ad fugiendum a facie hostium parati essent. Ignorantes autem Christiani Turcorum defectionem pro pudor ipsi defecerunt, et incipiente nocte Raimundus comes cum Turcopolis augusti et prouincialibus suis terga uerterunt, et nescientibus aliis principibus furtim fugere ceperunt.¹ Quod uidens armiger comitis Tolosani: Christiano pie compatiens exercitui: sui deiecit papilionem domini, ut subitam eius fugam commilitones cognoscerent decepti.

Albertus de Blandraio strenuissimus heros in bello peremptus est:² cum multis milibus quorum certus numerus michi cognitus non est. Pictauensis dux et Blesensis Stephanus aliique proceres cum suis agminibus postquam perfidorum fugam consodalium cognouerunt: ipsi quoque mentis inopia territi per diuersa fugere moliti sunt. Turci uero qui nimis fatigati fugæ presidium inire

¹ Albert of Aix also says that Raymond began the flight (*RHC Occ.* iv. 570).

² According to Albert of Aix, Albert of Biandrate escaped to Antioch and later to Jerusalem, where he remained with King Baldwin (*RHC Occ.* iv. 569, 582, 591, 603).

weeks, decided to rest awhile there, a multitude of pagans, numberless as the sands of the sea, attacked them and challenged them, all unprepared as they were and exhausted by their many hardships. The enemy had brought with them their wives and herds of cattle and huge piles of riches on carts, so that they could guard in person the mass of their wealth and make a show of their treasures to enemies and neighbours alike, so that the sight of their vast wealth should make them universally feared, and in the last resort indeed so that they should never lack every kind of luxury both at home and in the field. The Christians, though worn out with hunger and thirst and other afflictions when the battle was first forced upon them, nevertheless sprang to arms forgetful of past hardships and, recovering their strength and courage, drew up their battle lines. For five days they fought there valiantly in the name of the Lord. According to the reports of trustworthy pilgrims there were five hundred thousand Christians there, and they were most violently attacked, unless I am misinformed, by a million pagans. The battle was fiercely fought on both sides and many thousands were slaughtered. When on the fifth day the Turks saw that their squadrons were giving way, and desperately began to fear the unconquered strength of the Christians, they sent a general order to their wives, who were in the tents, and the eunuchs and other dependants who were guarding the wealth of the chiefs, and commanded that they should secretly gather together all their wealth and furnishings and be ready to fly before the face of the enemy the following night. But the Christians to their shame, not knowing of the collapse of the Turks, themselves gave way. At nightfall Count Raymond with the Emperor's Turcopoles and his own provincial forces turned tail and, without the knowledge of the other leaders, secretly began to steal away.¹ Seeing this the squire of the count of Toulouse, out of pity for the Christian army, threw down his lord's tent so that the companions he had betrayed should know of his sudden flight.

Albert of Biandrate, a most brave lord, was killed in the battle,² with many thousands more whose exact numbers I do not know. The duke of Poitou, Stephen of Blois, and other magnates, frightened out of their wits, attempted to escape with their armies in different directions when they learnt of the treacherous flight of their companions. The Turks, who had been so worn out that

uolebant, comperientes quod Franci fugiebant, animis exasperati armis hostes insecuti sunt: et ultima quæque cedentes multa milia trucidauerunt, quosdam uero qui flore iuuentutis uernabant in captiuitatem abduxerunt. Pene quadringenta milia Christianorum corporaliter interierunt, spiritualiter autem in æterna requie uiuant cum Christo in quo mortui sunt.

Tolosanus comes cum suis et Turcopoli Constantinopolim fugientes redierunt, et tristi euentu Christianorum relato magnum imperatori gaudium intulerunt. Porro Dalimannus et Solimannus aliique principes aduersæ gentis pompa uictoriæ triumpharunt, et quantitatem tartaronum quam imperator Christianis falso nomine karitatis dolose dederat ex integro illi restituerunt, omniumque medietatem spoliolum quæ uictis hostibus ceperant miserunt. Sic enim perfidus traditor cum Turcis pactum fecerat: talique tenore fideles infidelibus uendiderat, preciumque proditionis immensum uidelicet acruum tartaronum pro cruore baptizatorum nanciscens stolide tripudiat.

iv. 129 ¹Eximii uero duces Aquitaniæ et Burgundiæ aliique strenui optimates fugerunt, et in speluncis seu cauernarum latibulis siue siluarum densitate prout oportunitas contulit latuerunt. In illis enim regionibus Siri et Armenii barbaris mixti habitabant, in casualibus passim degentes Turcis seruebant, annum uestigal pro pacis et securitatis emptione publice reddebant, et Christianam nichilominus legem probati persecutionibus ut aurum in camino² deuote seruabant. Deiectione ergo Christianorum uehementer contristati sunt: et errantibus per deuia fraterno more condoluerunt, ac prout possibilitas fuit pro timore infidelium quibus subiacebant clementer suffragati sunt. In latebris suis fugituios absconderunt, latitantes alimentis pauerunt, et per nocturnas obscuritates in uiam quæ ducit Antiochiam direxerunt, atque ad notos affines et compatriotas ducentes illos tutauerunt. Plerique a barbaris in incognitas regiones captiui ducti sunt: et inter eos quorum loquelam non intelligebant in seruitute seu uinculis aliquandiu commorati sunt. Illic summæ Deitati rite famulantes gratiam eius persenserunt, multisque modis ut Israhelitæ inter Assirios seu Caldeos mirabiliter adiuti sunt: unde quamplures fuga siue

¹ Orderic's account is condensed and confused, like that of William of Malmesbury (*GR* ii. 447-8). William, count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine, arrived later and suffered in a different disaster. Stephen of Blois took ship from Sinope to Constantinople and from there renewed his pilgrimage. There is no reason to suppose that either Alexius or Raymond acted in bad faith (see Baldwin, *Crusades*, pp. 358-63).

² Cf. 1 Peter i. 7.

they had wished to take refuge in flight themselves, on learning that the Franks were running away regained their courage and, taking up arms, pursued the enemy. Falling on the rear they butchered many thousands, and carried away into captivity a certain number who were still in the flower of youth. About four hundred thousand Christians died in the flesh, but in spirit they live in eternal peace with Christ in whom they died.

The count of Toulouse with his men and the Turcoples fled back to Constantinople, where they greatly delighted the emperor with their account of the tragic fate of the Christians. But the Danishmend, Kilij-Arslan, and the other enemy princes exulted in the triumph of victory, and restored in full to the Emperor the great number of tarterons that he had deceitfully given to the Christians under pretence of kindness. They also sent to him half the plunder they had taken from the conquered enemy. So the perjured traitor made a bargain with the Turks and in this way sold the faithful to the infidel. Receiving a great quantity of tarterons as the price of his betrayal in exchange for the blood of the Christians, he gloried in his folly.

¹The distinguished dukes of Aquitaine and Burgundy and other brave nobles made their escape and hid themselves in dens and deep caverns and dense woods as best they might. In these regions Syrians and Armenians live intermingled with the barbarians, living in scattered villages under Turkish domination. They publicly pay an annual tax to purchase peace and security, but devoutly practise Christian worship and have been tried by persecutions like gold in the furnace.² They were therefore much distressed by the defeat of the Christians, offered brotherly sympathy to any they found wandering along devious tracks, and helped them out of pity as far as their fear of their infidel rulers allowed. They concealed the fugitives in their hiding-places, provided them with food there, and directed them in the darkness of night along the way that leads to Antioch, protecting them as they escorted them to the neighbours and fellow countrymen whom they knew. Many were led away captive by the barbarians into unknown lands and lived in chains among men whose speech they did not understand. There, as they piously fulfilled their duty to the supreme Deity they experienced his grace, and were miraculously helped in many ways, as were the Israelites among the Assyrians and Chaldaeans; so that many returned from

permissu principum Persarum aliarumque gentium de captiuitate remeauerunt.

iv. 130 Auxiliante itaque benigno Creatore qui presto est omnibus qui eum diligunt, fere centum milia Christianorum euaserunt, quorum quidam retro per Illiricum conuersi sunt: alii autem iter inceptum per ingentes metus ac difficultates peregerunt. Pictauensis dux qui trecentis milibus armatorum stipatus de Lemouicensium finibus exierat, nimiumque ferox Constantinopoli obsessa imperatorem terruerat: pauper et mendicus uix Antiochiam pertingens cum sex sociis intrat. Alii quoque nichilominus duces egregiique consules et tribuni copias suas amiserunt, perditisque clientibus dilectis opibusque suis in barbarie seua nimis desolati sunt: constantia tamen uere fidei et amore benigni Ihesu recreati ad monumentum eius cucurrerunt. Et quamuis occulto Dei iudicio multimodis difficultatibus essent retardati: spirituali tamen nectare intrinsecus confortati, sancta loca uisere omnimodis sunt conati, ut sanctorum martirum consortes fierent cruentati, qui effuso sanguine pro Christo feliciter in celis gaudent laureati.

21

iv. 131 Godefredus rex Ierusalem duobus annis regnauit,¹ et in pro-cinctu bellico pene assiduus contra Philisteos constitit: ingentique probitate fretus regni fines dilatauit. Indigenæ gentiles in urbibus et uicis dolose quiescebant, nec contra Christianos palam mutire audebant. Mesti tamen malum eis subdole machinabantur: et tempus ad hoc peragendum uersipelles prestolabantur. Denique ciues Ioppe Godefredum regem dum ibi maneret ueneno infecerunt, sicque gloriosum principem cum ingenti Christianorum luctu peremerunt. Hic primus Christianorum ex quo Saluator in Ierusalem pro nobis passus est: ibi ad laudem eius qui spinea gestare sarta pro salute hominum dignatus est, diadema ferre et rex Ierusalem pro terrore gentilium cognominari æcclesiastica electione compulsus est.² Quo defuncto ut dictum est: mox de

¹ Cf. above, p. 269 n. 5.

² Godfrey was never called king: he took the title 'Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre', probably so as not to prejudice the rights of the Church. His difficulties were too great for him to do more than lay the foundations for later expansion, but in this his achievement was substantial. See Baldwin, *Crusades*, pp. 339, 375-80; J. Prawer, 'The settlement of the Latins in Jerusalem', in *Speculum*, xxvii (1952), 491-5.

captivity either by escaping or with the permission of the princes of the Persians and other races.

And so with the assistance of the merciful Creator who is always at hand to help those who love him, about a hundred thousand Christians escaped. Some of them returned by way of Illyria; but others continued on their way through great terrors and difficulties. The duke of Poitou, who had left the Limousin supported by three hundred thousand armed men and had particularly alarmed the Emperor by his ferocity when Constantinople was besieged, struggled into Antioch as a poor beggar with six companions. Many other dukes and distinguished counts and officers were stripped of their wealth and, after losing their loved followers and their riches, were reduced to indigence in the midst of barbarism; but, revived by perseverance in the true faith and by the love of gentle Jesus, they hurried on towards his tomb. And although they were delayed by all kinds of difficulties through the mysterious providence of God, nevertheless they were sustained within by spiritual nectar and strove by every means in their power to see the holy places, so that by shedding their blood they might become partakers with the blessed martyrs who, after pouring out their blood for Christ, now rejoice triumphantly, crowned, in heaven.

21

Godfrey, king of Jerusalem, reigned for two years;¹ he was almost always engaged in war against the Philistines and, thanks to his great courage, enlarged the boundaries of his kingdom. The native infidels in the towns and villages remained peaceful, and did not dare to murmur openly against the Christians. But, being unhappy, they plotted secretly to harm them and cunningly waited for an opportunity to do so. At length the citizens of Jaffa poisoned King Godfrey while he was staying there, and so caused the death of the glorious prince to the great sorrow of the Christians. He was the first Christian since the time when our Saviour suffered for our sakes in Jerusalem who, to the honour of him who deigned to wear a crown of thorns for the salvation of mankind, was compelled by ecclesiastical election to wear a crown and be called king of Jerusalem to the confusion of the infidels.² When he had died, as I have just said, discussion

substituendo rege consilium initum est. Nunciis ergo confestim missis in Rages regis occasus Balduino fratri eius intimatus est: et ipse ad regnum Ierusalimorum regendum uice fratris accitus est. Qui prouinciæ suæ ducatum Balduino de Burg consobrino suo¹ protinus commisit: et ipse hostiles terras et barbaras nationes uelut fulgur penetrauit. Sareptæ² quæ Sidoniorum urbs est fere xl milia paganorum offendit, inter quos cum paucis uiriliter irruit, mirabiliter terruit, et uirtute Dei omnes fugauit, uiamque letus in Iudeam tenuit. Turci quippe aduentum illius prescierant, ideoque in insidiis armati lætitiā sperantes exspectabant, sed friuola spe delusi qui euadere poterant, ad sua trepidi cum dampno et dedecore properant.

Susceptus autem prefatus heros a Ierosolimitis gubernaculum Daudis solii accepit: et fere xii annis fortiter tenuit.³ Erat enim corpore decorus, statura procerus, audacia et fortitudine precipuus, ad labores tolerandos magnanimus, eruditione litterarum instructus, linguæ facundia preditus, et multis decenter ornatus honestatibus. Ipso regnante Stephanus Blesensis et supradicti optimates per multa discrimina Ierusalem uenerunt, et a prefato rege ac
 iv. 132 Ebremaro patriarcha⁴ honorifice suscepti sunt. Pictauensis uero dux peractis in Ierusalem orationibus, cum quibusdam aliis consortibus suis est ad sua reuersus, et miserias captiuitatis suæ⁵ ut erat iocundus et lepidus, postmodum prosperitate fultus coram regibus et magnatis atque Christianis cetibus multotiens retulit rithmicis uersibus cum facietis modulationibus. Stephanus autem Blesensis et plures alii pro Christi amore in Iudea demorati sunt, militiæque suæ audaciam et probitatem offerre Deo decreuerunt, regemque Babiloniæ⁶ quem cum innumeris exercitibus aduentare compererant prestolati sunt.

22

Auditis tandem certis rumoribus quod admirabilis Babiloniæ Ascalonem uenisset, et in crastinum irruere super Christianos

¹ For Baldwin of Le Bourg see above, p. 128 n. 2.

² See above, p. 154 n. 2. Orderic again misplaces Sarepta: Baldwin was ambushed by the Dog river near Beirut. The best account of his journey is given by his chaplain, Fulcher of Chartres (*RHC Occ.* iii. 373-8).

³ He ruled from 1100 to 1118.

⁴ The patriarch at the time of Stephen's arrival in Jerusalem was Daimbert, who was deposed on 8 October 1102, and was succeeded by Ebremar of Chocques.

immediately began to find his successor as king. Messengers were sent post-haste to Edessa to announce the king's death to his brother Baldwin, who was invited to rule the kingdom of Jerusalem in his brother's place. Thereupon he entrusted the duchy of Edessa to his kinsman, Baldwin of Le Bourg,¹ and himself passed through the enemy lands and barbarous races like a thunderbolt. At Sarepta,² a town of the Sidonians, he encountered about forty thousand pagans; charging them bravely with a few men he reduced them to panic, by God's power put all to flight, and jubilantly continued his journey into Judaea. The Turks, who had heard in advance of his coming, had lain in armed ambush for him, anticipating a triumph; but, deceived by false hopes, they fled as best they might and hurried back to their homes in great fear, with loss and dishonour.

After his reception by the settlers in Jerusalem the noble Baldwin took the helm of the kingdom of David, and held it courageously for about twelve years.³ He was a handsome man, tall in stature, remarkable for his daring and courage, indomitable in enduring hardships, well versed in letters, endowed with eloquence, and altogether distinguished for his many virtues. During his reign Stephen of Blois and the magnates named above reached Jerusalem after many trials, and were honourably received by King Baldwin and the patriarch Ebremar.⁴ When the duke of Poitou had completed his devotions in Jerusalem he returned home with some of his companions. Once restored to prosperity, being a gay and light-hearted man, he often recited the trials of his captivity⁵ in the company of kings and magnates and throngs of Christians, using rhythmic verses with skilful modulations. But Stephen of Blois and many others remained in Judaea for the love of Christ, determined to offer the courage and daring of their chivalry to God, and waited for the ruler of Egypt⁶ who, as they had learnt, was on his way with huge armies.

22

When they had received positive news that the emir of Egypt had reached Ascalon and was determined to attack the Christians

⁵ William was not taken prisoner himself; his songs may have included the stories of other captives. See Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, pp. 574-5.

⁶ The army was led not by the vizier, al-Afdal himself, but by his son, Sharaf al-Ma'ali.

iv. 133 cum multis legionibus decreuisset. Balduinus rex et Stephanus aliique fideles se inuicem in Domino Ihesu animauerunt, ac ad triumphum in nomine eius sua uel hostili morte promerendum sese fideliter armauerunt. Partem exercitus Ioppen miserunt, rex et maior pars nobilitatis Ramulam adierunt.¹ Nam in Ierusalem includi nolebant, et rursus quam urbem Turci primitus aggredierentur ignorabant. Tandem repentino impetu admirabilis et inestimabilis exercitus Ramulam circumdederunt. et missilibus machinisque diuersis murum aggredi et lignonibus ac fossoriis suffodere moliti sunt. Egregii milites sed pauci intus erant, nec tantæ moli tam miræ multitudinis resistere sufficiebant. Stephanus igitur et Harpinus atque Guillelmus Sine-habere aliique omnes regi persuasere, ut in Ierusalem abiret cum omni celeritate. 'Festinanter' inquirunt 'O strenue uir in sanctam urbem propera, ne sine protectore tot eam inuoluant agmina, ipsamque matrem cum omnibus filiis suis consumant impugnatione repentina. Ecce pariter hic inclusi sumus, et in confessione Christi finem nostrum certi expectamus, creatorem nostrum toto corde poscentes ut eius ueri martires simus, et per effusionem in eius nomine sanguinis nostri a peccatis emundemur omnibus, eiusque desiderabilem uultum nobis placabilem cum suis contemplari ualeamus. Vale bone rex et exi continuo.' quamuis inter tantas tamque crudeles hostium phalanges difficilis sit egressio, nisi diuina tibi comitetur miseratio.'

iv. 134 Anxii barones hæc et alia his similia regi dixerunt. ipsumque de periculo in maius periculum egredi coegerunt. Ille tantorum hortatibus heroum licet inuitus adqueiuit, et celerem equam fortissimamque quam Farisiam appellant cum uno milite ascendit,² et egressus hostiles cateruas noctu protegente Deo illesus penetravit. Cumque noctu castra paganorum pertransisset, ut Heliam per diuersos anfractus actutum tenderet, uigiles qui excubabant ignotos milites pertransisse comperientes uociferati sunt. et excitatis cohortibus per duo miliaria fugientes cum ingenti strepitu et ululatu insecuti sunt. Rex autem per diuerticula quæ nouerat aufugit, Deoque iuuante cum summa difficultate illesus euasit. Porro per montana uiam quam ceperat tenere in Ierusalem

¹ On 17 May 1102.

² Baldwin's arab steed is also named by Albert of Aix (*RHC Occ.* iv. 593) and belongs as much to history as to legend. Albert names the knight as Hugh de Brulis. William of Malmesbury (*GR* ii. 449) says that Baldwin left with five knights, of whom all but one were captured.

next day with many troops, King Baldwin and Stephen and the rest of the faithful encouraged each other in the Lord Jesus and armed themselves in faith to win a glorious victory in his name, either slaying their enemies or dying themselves. They sent part of the army to Jaffa; the king with the bulk of the nobility went to Ramla.¹ For they did not wish to be blockaded in Jerusalem, and besides this they did not know which city the Turks would attack first. In the end the emir and his vast army made a sudden onslaught, surrounded Ramla, and attempted, by hurling missiles and using various siege-engines, to assault the wall, and to undermine it with mattocks and spades. There were some distinguished knights in the city, but their numbers were few and they were not strong enough to resist the weight of such a vast multitude. So Stephen and Arpin and William Sans-Avoir and all the others urged the king to ride with all haste to Jerusalem. 'Go with all speed,' they said, 'brave lord, to the holy city, for fear that these strong forces should go on to surround it while it has no protector and destroy our mother city and all her sons in a sudden attack. As you see, we are blockaded here in the same way and await our end, confident in the faith of Christ, beseeching our Creator from the depths of our hearts that we may be his true martyrs and, being cleansed from all our sins by shedding our blood in his name, may deserve to see with his saints his blessed face turned propitiously towards us. Farewell, good king; leave at once, even though it may be difficult to find any way out through so many squadrons of fierce foes unless divine mercy attends you.'

The anxious lords spoke these words and others to the same purpose to the king, and urged him to go out from one danger into a greater danger. Unwillingly he gave way to the persuasions of these great lords; accompanied by one knight he mounted on his swift strong mare named Gazelle,² and, slipping out of the city, passed by night with God's help through the enemy troops unharmed. When he had crossed the pagans' camp in the darkness and was attempting to make his way to Jerusalem by winding routes, the guards who were keeping watch realized that unknown knights had passed through and shouted out. They roused the troops and pursued the fugitives, noisily uttering piercing cries for two miles. But the king, who knew the by-ways, kept ahead and escaped unhurt with great difficulty by God's help. Crossing the mountains he abandoned in trepidation the road he had begun

tremulus deseruit, et per abrupta difficulter ad oppidum quod Arsuf dicitur peruenit, ibique trepidos custodes uigilantes inuenit. Protinus cum illis locutus est' et intrare uolens repulsus est. Castellani enim quamuis illis dixisset crebrius, 'Ego sum Baldwinus, nolite timere' uobiscum me recipite', multiformes hostium dolos formidantes non ei crediderunt, donec ignem super mœnia succenderunt, et discoopertum caput eius uidentes agnouerunt. Tunc a gaudentibus intromissus illos confortauit, et relatis rumoribus ad defensionem sui castellanos commonuit.¹

iv. 135 Inde rex cum suo commilitone Gazellam suam ascendit, et Ioppen festinanter uenit, agnitus a ciuibus introiuit, tristemque famam retulit. 'Innumeræ' inquit 'paganorum turmæ Ramulam circumdant, et usque ad interneccionem eorum qui intus sunt oppugnant. Gloriosus heros palatinus comes Stephanus Blesensis, Milo de Braio et Harpinus Bituricensis, Guillelmus Sine-habere et Simon frater eius aliique strenui optiones Ramulæ Christi martires fiunt, et inde me ut uos aliosque fratres nostros ad similia confortarem uiolenter emiserunt. Hostes uero procaciter nos persecuti sunt' et huc ut opinor uenire maturabunt. Nunc si placet in Ierusalem legatum destinemus, et patriarchæ cunctisque fratribus nostris mandemus' ut nobis in anxietate constitutis suffragentur celerius, ordine congruo sicut eis constituerimus.' Cumque omnes hoc laudarent consilium' rex quendam animosum sibi asciiuit armigerum,² 'Kare' inquit 'frater cursim uade in Ierusalem' et adduc nobis fratrum nostrorum armatam multitudinem, teque uita comite cum conuenerimus faciam militem.' Mox ille iniunctam legationem optime consummauit' premissæque armaturam militiæ haut segniter promeruit.

Execrabilis paganorum exercitus Ramulam destruxit, et omnes quos intus repererat occidit, uel in captiuitatem duxit. Inde uictoria turgidus eadem die Ioppen accessit, et multitudine sui superficiem terræ instar locustarum cooperuit, et Stephanum comitem³ aliosque qui nobiliores estimati sunt Ascalonem

¹ The account of Baldwin's escape to Arsuf by Fulcher of Chartres corresponds in essentials with that of Orderic (*RHC Occ.* iii. 401-3).

² Fulcher of Chartres (*RHC Occ.* iii. 403-4) says that the mission was entrusted to a Syrian, who would be less likely to be suspected by the enemy. Cf. above, Introduction, p. xviii.

³ Possibly Stephen is a mistake for Conrad, the constable of Henry IV of Germany, who was imprisoned with Arpin and later released through the intervention of Alexius Comnenus (cf. Albert of Aix, *RHC Occ.* iv. 595, 649). Ful-

to follow to Jerusalem, and made his way painfully by precipitous paths to the town of Arsuf, where he found the sentinels awake and alarmed. He spoke to them immediately, but they were unwilling to admit him. For although he had said to the garrison at once, 'I am Baldwin; do not be afraid, take me in', they feared the enemy's many stratagems and did not believe him until they had lit a fire on the walls and, on seeing his head with the helmet lifted, recognized him. Then he was admitted with joy, and reassured the garrison; telling them the news he ordered them to make ready their defences.¹

From there the king, mounting his Gazelle and accompanied by his fellow knight, hurried to Jaffa; welcomed by the citizens he entered the gates and told the sad tale. 'Innumerable troops of pagans', he said, 'surround Ramla and are fighting to the death against the men holding it. That famous lord, the count palatine Stephen of Blois, Miles of Bray and Arpin of Bourges, William Sans-Avoir and Simon his brother, and other valiant lords are becoming Christ's martyrs at Ramla, and have forced me to leave so that I could nerve you and our other brethren to follow their example. Our enemies have pursued us swiftly, and I believe they will be here at any moment. Now if you agree we will send a messenger to Jerusalem, and command the patriarch and all our brethren to come speedily to our aid in our great danger, in ordered ranks as I shall appoint.' Since all approved this advice, the king called a brave squire² to him and said, 'My friend, go speedily to Jerusalem and bring back the armed forces of our brothers to us; if you survive I will knight you when next we meet.' He quickly discharged the mission entrusted to him with great success, and worthily deserved to receive the insignia of knighthood promised to him.

The abominable army of pagans destroyed Ramla and slew or carried off into captivity everyone they found in the city. Then, elated with the victory, they went on to Jaffa that same day, covering the ground with their swarms like locusts, and sent Count Stephen³ and the others whom they considered the noblest captives

cher of Chartres (*RHC Occ.* iii. 402) says that both Stephen of Blois and Stephen of Burgundy were killed; Guibert of Nogent (*ibid.* iv. 245), that the fate of Stephen of Blois was not known beyond all shadow of doubt, but that he was almost certainly killed. The cartulary of Chartres cathedral dated his death on 19 May; see James A. Bundage, 'An errant crusader: Stephen of Blois', in *Traditio*, xvi (1960), 394 n. 78.

destinauit. Biduo urbem obsidens siluit.¹ dieque tertia cum damno et dedecore recessit. Nam custodes arcis Iaphiæ uexilla Ierosolimitarum super montana uiderunt, et castello Burgundionum¹ proxima gratulantes regi retulerunt. Rex autem fidelium turmam conuocauit, et uirili exhortatione corroborans ait, 'Ecce tempus strenuis tironibus optabile, et illustribus athleticis ad ultionem karorum probabile, timidisque ac inertibus uulpiumque dolis et segnicie similibus satis horribile. Ecce gentem ante ianuas uidetis uestras execrabilem, Dominoque Deo cunctisque fidelibus eius odibilem. Eia uiri fortes arma sumite, et contra inimicos omnium bonorum insigniter insurgite. Ad faciendam ultionem Dei uiriliter armamini, sociis appropinquantibus urbem egredimini, fideque fortes in Dei protectione preliamini. Iniurias uestras et damna medullitus recensete.² manusque uestras haud segnes sentiant alienigenæ. Stephanum comitem et Harpinum aliosque magnos barones peremerunt, egregios milites et ductores nostros nobis abstulerunt. Barones cum lacrimis dico.³ quibus meliores reperiri nequeunt in mundo. Recens dolor de morte amicorum.⁴ inflammet uos et exacerbet ad perniciem inimicorum. Daud fortissimi regis et militum eius Ioab et Abisai, Banaia et Uriæ Ethei, Ionathæ et Iudæ Machabei, multorum etiam de gente uestra predicabilium athletarum reminiscimini. Exeuntes hinc exordiemur pugnare, et Ierosolimitæ qui nobis suppetias ueniunt allofilos ferient ex alia parte. Fortis Emmanuhel assit uobis filius sanctæ Virginis Mariæ.⁵ Rex uester et præuius suæque inuictus defensor æcclesiæ.'

²Interea Ierosolimitæ castello Ernaldi³ appropiauerunt.⁴ et uexilla eorum Turcis apparuerunt. Balduinus autem rex et Iopenses sanctam crucem Domini adorauerunt, ipsamque secum ferentes armati protinus prosilierunt, et terribiliter inermes percutere ceperunt. Porro allophili ut hinc et inde sibi bellum insurgere uiderunt.⁵ imparati et expertes consilii terrente Deo fugam inierunt, et similes exercitus Olofernis æquale infortunium perpassi sunt. Balduinus itaque rex et Christiani ethnicos usque ad Ascolonem persecuti sunt.⁶ et ultima quæque debilitantes magnam stragem fecerunt, et captiuos omnes quos illi uinctos

¹ This name does not occur in other sources; probably it refers to a fortress a little further from Jaffa than Arnold's castle.

² The best account of the defeat of the Egyptian army outside Jaffa is given by Fulcher of Chartres (*RHC Occ.* iii. 404-6).

³ A fortress in the hills some miles east of Jaffa. Albert of Aix calls it 'castellum Arnulfi . . . quod versus Iherusalem in montanis ad regionem tuendam jussu catholici regis muris et mœnibus ædificatum prominebat' (*RHC Occ.* iv. 637). Cf. William of Tyre, xiv. 8, *RHC Occ.* i. 617.

to Ascalon. For two days they remained encamped, blockading the town; on the third day they retired with shame and loss. For the garrison of the citadel of Jaffa saw the standards of the army from Jerusalem on the mountains near to the castle of the Burgundians¹ and joyfully passed on the news to the king. He summoned his troop of vassals and, encouraging them with brave words, said, 'Now the time has come for brave knights, the moment is propitious for noble champions to avenge their friends and disastrous for cowards and idlers who rely on the craft of foxes and similar wiles. Here now you see, at the gates, a detestable enemy, hateful to the Lord God and all the faithful. Come, brave warriors, to arms! rise up magnificently against the enemies of all good men! Let us take arms boldly to do vengeance for God, charge out of the town as our supporters approach, and fight bravely in the faith with God's protection. Review in your hearts all your injuries and wrongs, and let the foreigners feel the force of your arms. They have slaughtered Count Stephen and Arpin and other great lords, and have carried off our distinguished knights and leaders: lords, I declare with weeping, equal to any who can be found anywhere in the world. Let your fresh sorrow at the death of your friends kindle your hearts and goad you to destroy your enemies. Remember David, bravest of kings, and his soldiers Joab and Abishai, remember Banaiah and Uriah the Ethite and Jonathan and Judas Maccabæus and many other memorable champions of your people. Let us go out and engage in battle, and the army of Jerusalem which is coming to our aid will strike the infidels from another direction. May the mighty Emmanuel, son of the blessed Virgin Mary, who is your King and the leader and invincible defender of his Church, be with you.'

²Meanwhile the army of Jerusalem was approaching Arnold's castle,³ and their standards became visible to the Turks. King Baldwin and the men in Jaffa knelt in adoration before the Lord's holy cross and, fully armed, carried it with them out of the gates and began a violent attack on their unarmed enemies. But the Saracens, finding themselves attacked on both sides and being unprepared and without plans, began to fly with the fear of God in their hearts and suffered a like disaster to the army of Holofernes. King Baldwin and the Christians pursued the heathen as far as Ascalon and, harrying the rear, killed a great many and rescued all the prisoners whom they had captured and were

iv. 137 minabant eripuerunt. Sullimiores tamen quos Ascalone præmiserant perditum sunt: nec ullam certitudinem de illis præter Harpinum rumigeruli nobis intimauerunt. Sic nimirum Christiani post multos angores in nomine Christi triumpharunt: et cum multis gentilium manubiis in Ierusalem redierunt, letique triumphatori Deo gratias egerunt. Deinde Ramulam in meliorem quam fuerat statum restaurauerunt, et episcopalem kathedram cum redditibus idoneis in nomine Domini deuote renouarunt. Interfectorum certum numerum cartæ nescio tradere: quia non interfui. Illi uero qui interfuerunt, non numerare sed trucidare curauerunt: et repedantes occisis spolia detraxerunt.

23

iv. 138 ¹Harpinus Bituricensis captiuus in Babiloniam ductus est: ibique multis diebus in carcere admirabilis detentus est. Martirum itaque qui pro Christi nomine innumeros agones usque ad mortem pertulerunt memor ipsum sepe inuocauit, et ab ipso confortatus pristinaeque libertati restitutus deuotas illi grates reddidit. Modus autem liberationis eius fuit huiusmodi. Bizantei negotiatores cum multimodis mercimoniis Babiloniam uenerunt, ibique prout leges gentium exigunt: statuta uectigalia rei publicæ ministris redderunt, et diutius demorati sunt. Ipsi nimirum quia Christicolæ erant, multisque diuitiis affluebant, basilicas Christi frequentabant, pauperumque Christianorum domata perlustrabant, et Christianos in uinculis uisitabant. Cum illis igitur Harpinus colloquium habuit, eisque legationem suam iniunxit, et Alexio augusto talia mandauit, 'Harpinus Bituricensis seruus tuus in carcere Babilonico iam nimis afflictus diu gemuit, et magnificentiam imperatoriae maiestatis suppliciter requirit, ut sibi compatiatur et subueniat, admirabilique directa pro eo preceptione de carceralibus erumpnis eripiat.'

His auditis imperator nobili Francigenæ pie condoluit, et mox admirabili mandauit, ut sibi protinus Harpinum redderet alioquin omnes Babilonicos institores et stipendiarios per totum

¹ The account of the release of Arpin of Bourges is corroborated by other evidence (cf. Guibert of Nogent, *RHC Occ.* iv. 245; Albert of Aix, *ibid.* iv. 595; F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* (Munich/

driving along. But the leaders who had been sent ahead to Ascalon were lost, and we have never received any certain news of any of them except Arpin. So after many trials the Christians won a great victory in the name of Christ, and with many spoils of the infidels returned to Jerusalem, where they joyfully gave thanks to God who triumphed with them. Afterwards they restored Ramla to a better state than before, and piously revived there an episcopal see, with suitable revenues, in the name of the Lord. I cannot here record the number of the slain for certain, since I was not there. Those who were there were too much occupied with killing to count, and went back only to take the spoils of the dead.

23

¹Arpin of Bourges was taken to Cairo as a prisoner, and was guarded in the emir's prison there for many days. Remembering the countless torments which the martyrs had endured even to death in Christ's name, he often called to Christ and, being comforted by him and later restored to his former freedom, he offered him faithful thanks. He gained his freedom in the following way. Byzantine traders visited Cairo with many kinds of merchandise and, as the laws of the people require, they paid the fixed taxes of the state to the officials and remained there for some time. Because they were Christians and possessed great wealth, they visited the churches of Christ, wandered among the dwellings of poor Christians, and visited Christians in captivity. So Arpin had some conversation with them, and charged them to be his envoys to the Emperor Alexius, with this message, 'Your servant, Arpin of Bourges, is in great trouble and for a long time has groaned in the dungeons of Cairo; he humbly requests the splendour of your imperial majesty to pity him and come to his aid, and intercede with the emir to free him from the sufferings of captivity.'

On receiving this message the Emperor felt great compassion for the noble Frenchman, and at once demanded that the emir should send Arpin to him, saying that otherwise he would have all the Egyptian factors and mercenaries in the whole empire of

Berlin, 1924-5), ii. 48), and was no doubt spread from Cluny. He may have been the prior of La Charité-sur-Loire, named Arpin, at whose request Paschal II came to consecrate the church in 1107 (Fliche, *Philippe I*, p. 151).

imperium Constantinopolitanum comprehendere iuberet. Admirabilis autem iussu tantæ indignationis territus mox Harpinum de uinculis absoluit, secumque per aliquot dies retinens inusitata quædam illi monstrauit, atque ad postremum ornamentis ipsum preciosis aliisque muneribus honoratum Augusto destinauit. Liberatus itaque ad imperatorem Constantinopolim uenit, pro illius efficaci subuentu gratias egit, ac postmodum ab eodem remuneratus in Gallias remeauit.

iv. 139 Interea Paschalem papam adiit, laboriosos casus et agones suos ei retulit, et uitæ consilium ab illo sollicitè quesiuit. Porro sollers pater auditis athletæ duris laboribus ait, 'Summopere cauendum est ne quis balneis ablutus, et mundis niueisque uestibus uel sericis indutus, obscuræ noctis tempore per lutosum iter incedat, ne forte in cenam corruat, et turpiter maculatus coram intuentibus erubescat. Per hoc specimen fili mi temet ipsum intueri, et ad correctionem tui hoc exemplum conuerte. Per confessionem et pœnitentiam emundatus es: per laboriosam uero peregrinationem et martirii agones uirtutum insigniis redimitus es. In carceralibus erumpnis pro reatibus Deo satisfacisti, patientiam et castitatem aliasque uirtutes in passione didicisti. Tetra nox est presens uita: quæ tenebris ignorantiae penitus est oblita. Nescit homo utrum amore an odio dignus sit, nec quid ei pariat crastina dies preuidere poterit. Cenosum iter est uita secularis, quam totis nisibus euitare debes ne polluaris, et amittas coronam passionum quibus gloriaris. Caue igitur ne sis sicut canis reuersus ad uomitum suum: et sus lota in uolutabro luti.¹ Nunquam ulterius arma feras in Christianos, sed ut uerus Christi pauper fastus contempne mundanos. Sic imitator uestigiorum Christi per opera iusticiæ, propriam uoluntatem spernens pro spe retributionis æternæ, feliciter optinebis brauium supernæ uocationis cum fidelibus in sinu Abrahamæ.² Harpinus itaque a papa benedictionem accepit, et cum eius licentia Gallias expetiit, ibique a suis honorifice susceptus non diu cum illis permansit. Nam iuxta consilium papæ immo Christi seculum reliquit, et Cluniacum expetens monachus factus in seruitio Dei usque ad mortem perseuerauit.

¹ Cf. 2 Peter ii. 22.

² Cf. Luke xvi. 22.

Constantinople arrested. The emir, greatly alarmed by such a menacing command, immediately freed Arpin from his fetters, entertained him for some days showing him some remarkable objects, and finally, after loading him with precious ornaments and other gifts, sent him to the Emperor. After his release he came to the Emperor in Constantinople, thanked him for his effective aid, and after receiving a reward from him returned to France.

On the way he visited Pope Paschal, told him the story of his toils and sufferings, and earnestly asked him for advice on his way of life. The considerate Pope, after hearing of the champion's hard struggles, said, 'It is most important for a man who has been washed in baths and dressed in clean clothes of snow-white silk to avoid setting out along a muddy road in the darkness of night, for fear of falling into the mire and becoming so shamefully bespattered that he blushes to be seen. Look into your heart, my son, in the light of this example, and apply it to the correction of your life. You have been cleansed by confession and penance, and girded with the raiment of holiness through your difficult pilgrimage and the agonies of martyrdom. In the wretchedness of captivity you have made atonement to God for your sins, you have learnt patience and chastity and other virtues through suffering. The black night is our present life, which is almost blotted out with the darkness of ignorance. Man does not know whether he deserves love or hate, nor can he foresee what the morrow has in store for him. The muddy road is secular life, which you should shun at all costs for fear of becoming spattered and losing the crown of the sufferings by which you are glorified. Take care, therefore, not to be like the dog returning to his own vomit or the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.¹ Never again bear arms against Christians, but shun worldly pomps like one of the true poor of Christ. So as a follower in the footsteps of Christ in works of justice, renouncing your own will through hope of a heavenly reward, you will find bliss in winning the prize of your heavenly calling with the faithful in Abraham's bosom.² Arpin received the Pope's blessing, and with his permission went on to France. There he was welcomed honourably by his people, but did not remain with them for long. Following the Pope's counsel, or rather Christ's, he abandoned the world and, retiring to Cluny, became a monk and persevered in the service of God until his death.

In Siria circa hæc tempora, Christianis alia res contigit grauis-
 iv. 140 sima. Marcus Buamundus insignis dux expeditionem in Turcos
 egit, super quem Dalimannus ex insperato cum ingenti multi-
 tudine irruit, multos occidit, et Buamundum cum Ricardo de
 Principatu aliisque nonnullis nobilibus et probissimis uiris com-
 prehendit,¹ uinctosque catenis in carcere longo tempore tenuit.
 Tancredus autem princeps militiæ² audito domini consanguini-
 que sui infortunio contristatus est: sed non muliebri more
 ad inanes lacrimas seu lamenta conuersus est. Ex omni nanque
 circumiacenti prouincia omnem militiam fidelium conuocauit,
 Antiochiam et omnes uiculos eius ac oppida in circumitu diligenti
 custodia muniuit, et quamdiu dux in uinculis fuit, contra omnes
 hostium impetus irreprehensibiliter defensauit, immo fines eius
 nobiliter dilatauit.³

Alexius imperator ut Buamundum in manus Turcorum inci-
 disse comperiit: gaudens legatos cum pluribus exeniis Dalimanno
 direxit, admodum obsecrans ut maximam pro Buamundo red-
 iv. 141 emptionem reciperet, ipsumque acceptis centum milibus philip-
 peorum⁴ sibi redderet. Hoc nimirum egit non ut uinctum ducem
 liberaret, ac ad tutandam Christianitatem pristinæ libertati
 restauraret: sed ut suis eum uinculis perpetuo illaqueatum
 coartaret. Vehementer enim dolebat, quod Antiochiam sibi
 abstulerat. Certum est quod ipsa metropolis de imperio Con-
 stantinopolitano est: sed uiolentia Turcorum xiiii⁵ annis antequam
 cisalpini capta urbe Cassianum occidissent Augusto subtracta est.
 Idem princeps ius suum semper calumniatus est: sed probitate
 Normannorum acriter obstante libitus suos explere prohibitus
 est. Multifariam multisque modis temptauit, prece precioque
 erga paganos et Christianos frustra laborauit, quia conatibus
 illius cassatis ciuitas uictoribus cessit, illis equidem qui nimia

¹ Bohemond was captured in an ambush in August 1100, by Malik-Ghazi, the Danishmend, and imprisoned at Niksar (Neocaesarea). See Grousset, *Croisades*, i. 378-80.

² Ralph of Caen also calls Tancred 'princeps militiæ' (*RHC Occ.* iii. 706).

³ Tancred was offered the regency of Antioch by a delegation from the city in March 1101. He then began the conquests of the neighbouring cities that Orderic earlier (above, p. 278) attributed to Bohemond. See Runciman, *Crusades*, ii. 32-9.

⁴ Albert of Aix (*RHC Occ.* iv. 610) says that the Emperor offered 260,000

About this time another event with serious consequences for the Christians took place in Syria. The famous duke, Mark Bohemond, led an expedition against the Turks; but the Danishmend emir unexpectedly fell on him with a great army, killed many men, captured Bohemond with Richard of the Principality and several valiant men of rank,¹ and kept them in chains in his dungeon for a long time. When Tancred, the commander of the army,² heard of the misfortune of his lord and kinsman, he was greatly distressed, but he did not give way like a woman to vain tears and laments. He mustered the whole army of the faithful from all the province round about, strengthened Antioch and all the villages and towns around with vigilant garrisons, and defended the principality admirably against all assaults of his enemies as long as the duke was in captivity; indeed he even enlarged its boundaries.³

When the Emperor Alexius learnt that Bohemond had fallen into the hands of the Turks he was jubilant; he sent envoys with many gifts to the Danishmend, urgently requesting him to accept a great ransom for Bohemond and surrender him to the Emperor in return for a hundred thousand philips.⁴ He did this not to release the captive duke and restore him to his former liberty for the defence of Christendom, but in order to keep him closely fettered in his own prison for ever. For he was deeply vexed because Bohemond had taken Antioch from him. Undeniably it is a city of the empire of Constantinople, but it had been taken from the Emperor by the violence of the Turks fourteen years⁵ before the northerners had slain Yaghi-Siyan and captured the city. The Emperor had always claimed it as his right, but he had been prevented from fulfilling his desires by the determined and courageous opposition of the Normans. He tried many times and in many ways, but his pleas and money were unavailing against pagans and Christians alike; his attempts were foiled and the city remained in the hands of the victors, or at least of those who,

bezants for Bohemond; Matthew of Edessa (*RHC Doc. Arm.* i. 70) that Alexius secured the ransom of Richard of the Principality; and one version of a miracle of St. Leonard that Alexius ransomed and imprisoned 'Richard the Norman' (probably Richard of the Principality), but was persuaded by St. Leonard to release him (*AA SS* November iii. 159-60). For 'philips' as a synonym for bezants see above, p. 334 n. 3.

⁵ This is not far wrong. Antioch was captured by the Turks in 1085.

uirtute deuictis agarenis eandem nacti fuerant, et optentam in uirtute Dei mirabiliter defensauerant. Dalimannus uero petitionem augusti repudiauit, et Buamundum quem Turci paruum deum Christianorum nuncupabant omni tempore in uinculis habere decreuit, quod maximum decus legi suæ pro nichilo estimauit.

Quidam Grecus tempore Turcorum patriarchatum Antiochiæ possidebat, qui uictoribus Normannis intractabilis erat. Nam ipsi postquam principatum adepti sunt, secundum ritus latios clerum et populum disponere decreuerunt, quod Pelasgi priscos mores secuti satis incongruum esse temere censuerunt. Capto autem Buamundo, murmur ortum est in populo, quod ipse presul pararet urbem Antiochenam prodere augusto. Cumque idem comperisset de se tale murmur esse, iratus est ualde, et nescio an puritate simplicis conscientiæ indignatus, an nefarii reatus accusatione et metu stimulatus, relicto episcopatu in heremum secessit, nec ultra redire ad eos quorum mores abhorrebat diffiniuit.¹ Normanni autem dominatores urbis discedente Pelasgo gauisi sunt, et Buamundo qui uinctus erat totius seriem rei notificauerunt, et consilium eius de substituendo patriarcha petierunt. Ille uero Bernardum prouincialem² qui Naimari Podiensis episcopi capellanus fuerat, et quem sibi moriens idem presul specialem speciali amicum amico commendauerat, de pontificatu Mascheniæ³ assumi ad patriarchatum Antiochiæ imperat. Ducis igitur iussu clerus et populus Bernardum elegerunt, et pontificem in cathedra sancti Petri apostoli constituerunt. Erat enim peritia litterarum imbutus, qui postquam a subiectis est cognitus, factus est odibilis quia auarus, et ex naturali feritate gentis Gothorum unde processerat nimis austerus. Hic multis diebus æcclesiæ Dei preluit, et usque ad decrepitam ætatem regiminis locum occupauit, cuius tempore ut dictum est et apertius adhuc dicetur multarum procella tribulationum intonuit.⁴

Per totum mundum auditum est, quod Buamundus uinculis paganorum irretitus est. Omnes eum plangunt Christiani, ipsumque in carcere honorant etiam pagani. Tota æcclesia orabat pro illo Deum, ut de manibus inimicorum dignanter saluaret eum.

¹ William of Tyre tells a similar story (*RHC Occ.* i. 274–5); but the Greek patriarch, John of Oxide, who was expelled by Bohemond, resigned only after he reached Constantinople, and then in favour of a Greek successor. Bohemond appointed Bernard of Valence, previously chaplain to Adhemar of Le Puy and bishop of Artah, before his capture. See Runciman, *Crusades*, i. 320–1; J. G. Rowe in *Speculum*, xxxii (1957), 475 n. 30.

² Bernard came from Valence in Dauphiné, not Provence.

³ The name of Artah ('episcopus Artesiensis' in William of Tyre) appears to have reached Orderic in a very garbled form.

⁴ For some of the troubles see Le Prévost, iv. 243–5.

after defeating the Saracens with great courage, had taken possession of it, and after so doing defended it magnificently, with the help of God. The Danishmend in fact refused the Emperor's petition and determined to keep Bohemond, whom the Turks called the little god of the Christians, for ever in captivity, for he considered the greatest glory as nothing in comparison with his own faith.

A Greek had held the patriarchate of Antioch under the Turkish rule, and had refused to adapt himself to the victorious Normans. They, after acquiring the principality, determined to enforce the Latin rites on clergy and people; these the Greeks, who had observed the earlier customs, presumptuously considered very unseemly. After Bohemond's capture a rumour spread among the people, that the bishop was preparing to betray Antioch to the Emperor. When he learnt that such a report was current against him he was furious; whether outraged because of the purity of his clear conscience, or pricked by fear and the accusation of serious guilt I cannot say, but he abandoned his see, retired to a monastery and would never agree to return to those whose customs he detested.¹ But the Norman rulers of the city were delighted when the Greek took his leave and sent to Bohemond in his captivity a full account of the matter, asking for his advice on appointing a new patriarch. He commanded that Bernard of Provence² should be translated from the bishopric of Artah³ to be patriarch of Antioch. Bernard had been a chaplain of Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, and the bishop on his death-bed had commended him to Bohemond as a special friend to a special friend. So by the duke's command the clergy and people elected Bernard and established him as bishop in the seat of St. Peter the apostle. He was a man of considerable education, but when he became known to his subjects he came to be hated because of his avarice and his great severity, arising from the natural ferocity of the Gothic race from which he was sprung. He governed the church of God for many years and occupied the seat of his government up to extreme old age; in his time a storm of many tribulations raged, as has been said and will be said still more explicitly later.⁴

The news that Bohemond was held in captivity by the pagans spread all over the world. All Christians lamented for him, and even the pagans honoured him in his prison. The whole Church prayed for him, beseeching God graciously to deliver him from

Benignus autem Deus qui omnia creavit, sicut seruos suos pro peccatis tribulationibus castigare nouit: sic supplicibus et humiliter inuocantibus eum mirabiliter succurrit, et per ipsos etiam inimicos illis spe melius subuenit. Hoc experti sunt sub Pharaone Abraham et Ioseph inter Ægyptios, hoc Tobias et Raguel sub Salmanassar et Sennacherib et Asor Addon inter Assirios, hoc Danihel et tres pueri aliique transmirationis filii sub Nabuchodonosor et Euil merodach inter Chaldeos, hoc Esdras et Neemias et Mardocheus cum nepte sua Hester sub Ciro, Dario et Artaxerxe inter Persas et Medos. Hoc etiam apostoli aliique sancti predicatorum feliciter senserunt, qui multoties quando in extranea barbarorum loca subito uenerunt, primo despicibiles ut aduenæ et mendici habiti sunt: paulo post clarescentibus signis et tonantibus linguis mirabiles apparuerunt, et incolas antea indomitos ad omne bonum sub iugo sacræ legis edomuerunt. Sic nimirum ille qui dixit, 'Pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor,'¹ athletas suos de quibus futurorum noticiæ pro diuinorum admiratione operum scribendo loquor: nuper in ergastulo uisitauit, et mellifluo nectare benignitatis suæ ubertim lætificauit. Flagellis quippe oppressionum terrigenæ pro sceleribus humanæ fragilitatis uerberantur, et clementiam Conditoris cœlesti uerbere afflictici lacrimabiliter exorare coguntur. Deus autem rex noster qui saluos facit sperantes in se:² potenter suæ sponsæ preces exaudiuit ecclesiæ, et auxiliatus est uincto duci et eius collegis per ingenium et opem inimici sui filiæ, qui quondam in Bethulia desecto superbi Olofernis gutture sitienti populo subuenit per uirtutem Iudith audacis uiduæ.

³Melaz filia Dalimanni principis pulchra erat et multum sapiens, et in omni domo patris sui magnam potestatem habens, multasque diuitias et plures ad sui famulatum seruos possidens. Hæc auditis strenuitatibus Francorum illos ardentem amauit, et

¹ John v. 17.

² Cf. Psalm xvi (xvii). 7.

³ For a full discussion of the legend of Melaz, possibly the earliest version in western Europe of the legend of a Moslem princess who befriends a Christian captive and is baptized, see F. M. Warren, 'The enamoured Moslem princess in Ordericus Vitalis and the French epic', in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xxix (1914), 341-58. The bare facts of Bohemond's release, partly because of the desirability of the Franks as allies in war, partly because he used his wits to play off rival emirs against each other, are historical. Within this framework is a story whose vital elements go back as far as Seneca, and which remained alive in the east in the Arabian Nights collections, to be

the hands of his enemies. Merciful God, who created all things and knows how to chastise his servants for their sins, likewise miraculously helps suppliants and those who humbly call upon him, and, working even through their enemies, encourages them with a hope of better things. This Abraham and Joseph proved under Pharaoh among the Egyptians, this Tobias and Raguel under Shalmaneser and Sennacherib and Esar-Haddon among the Assyrians, this Daniel and the three children and the other sons of the Babylonian captivity under Nebuchadnezzar and Evil-Merodach among the Chaldaeans, this Esdras and Nehemiah and Mordecai with his niece Esther under Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes among the Persians and Medes. This too the apostles and other holy preachers experienced to their joy on many occasions; when they first arrived in alien places among foreigners they were despised as strangers and beggars, but a little later they appeared wonderful because of the miracles they worked and their gift of tongues, and brought the populations who had formerly rejected all good firmly into subjection to the divine law. So indeed he who said, 'My Father worked hitherto, and I work',¹ in recent times has visited in their prison those champions of his of whom, out of wonder at the divine works, I discourse in writing for the information of generations to come, and has brought them great joy with the sweet nectar of his kindness. Mortals are chastised with the whips of oppression because of the sins to which human frailty is prone, and as they suffer under the whip are forced to appeal tearfully to the mercy of the heavenly Creator. But God our King, who saves those who put their trust in him,² is powerful to hear the pleas of his spouse, the Church; he aided the captive duke and his comrades by means of the wit and help of the daughter of his enemy, as formerly he aided his thirsting people in Bethulia by the courage of the brave widow, Judith, when she cut the throat of proud Holofernes.

³Melaz, the daughter of the Danishmend, was beautiful and very wise; she had much authority in her father's house and owned great riches and many slaves to wait on her bidding. This lady loved the Franks passionately when she heard of their great

echoed in twelfth-century French epic. Orderic probably got it directly or indirectly from one of Bohemond's retinue after his pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Leonard and marriage at Chartres in 1106. A variant version, in which Bohemond is befriended by the Christian wife of the Danishmend, occurs in the *Miracula sancti Leonardi* (AA SS November iii. 160-8).

familiaritatem eorum in tantum quesivit, ut largiter erogata custodibus mercede frequenter in carcerem descenderet, et de Christiana fide ueraque religione colloquium cum uinctis subtiliter actitaret, et sollerti confabulatione cum profundis interdum suspiriis inde inuestigaret. Affectuosam dulcedinem eorum omni parentum suorum dilectioni preposuit, et omnia quæ ad uictum seu uestitum competebant illis abunde suppeditauit. Pater uero eius aliis multiplicibus negociis intentus hæc aut ignorabat, aut fortassis pro dilectæ sobolis approbata frugalitate non curabat.

iv. 145 Post duos annos plus quam ciuile bellum¹ inter fratres ortum est.² Solimannus enim nimia feritate tumens in Dalimannum surrexit et aggregata ingenti armatorum multitudine limites fraterni principatus intrauit, et fratrem ad prelium procaciter prouocauit. Dalimannus autem infestatione huiusmodi excitus adminicula sibi undecumque procurauit, et ipse nichilominus multis hactenus tropheis elatus certaminibus cruentis inhaui, ac adueniente conflictus hora paratus cum suis legionibus in campo constitit. Interea Melaz cum Christianis priuatim locuta est³ et sic eos affata est, 'Militiam Francorum laudari a multis iam dudum audiui, quam nunc in genitoris mei instanti necessitate uellem experiri, ut quod probat auditus, probet experientia uisus.' Buamundus respondit, 'Felix era et honorabilis, si placet beatitudini uestræ sullimitatis, ut in belli campum nobis liceat progredi cum militaribus armis, sine dubio Gallicos ictus gladio et lancea palam exeremus, et super inimicos uestros conspectibus uestris ostendemus.' Puella dixit, 'Spondete michi per fidem qua Christiani estis, ut in hoc negocio unde tractamus omnia secundum consilium meum agatis, nec aliquid contra meum preceptum facere presumatis. Hoc itaque michi fide uestra pollicentes confirmate, et ego postmodum non cunctabor cordis mei archanum uobis reserare.'

Primus ergo Buamundus per fidem suam promisit quesita⁴ quem omnes alii secuti sunt spondendo quæ iusserat puella. Tunc illa tripudians ait, 'Nunc securus sum de uobis, quia uos ut reor legitimi estis, fidemque uestram nullo modo contaminabitis.

¹ Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 1.

² Malik-Ghazi and Kilij-Arslan (son of Suleiman) were brothers only in the

feats, and was so eager to enjoy their company that often, after distributing liberal bribes to the guards, she would go down into the dungeon and engage in subtle discourse with the captives about the Christian faith and true religion, learning about it by constant discussion interspersed with deep sighs. Their gentle kindness meant more to her than the love of her parents, and she procured for them an abundance of all the food and clothing they needed. Her father, who was occupied with many other affairs, either knew nothing of this or perhaps, relying implicitly on the virtue of his beloved daughter, was not disturbed by it.

Two years later a worse than civil war¹ broke out between the Danishmend and his brother.² Kilij-Arslan, bursting with aggression, turned against the Danishmend; gathering a huge army, he invaded his brother's territory and rashly provoked him to battle. The Danishmend, roused by this attack, procured support from all sides, while he himself, intoxicated with many past victories, thirsted for the bloody conflict, and as the hour of battle drew near took the field with his battalions. Meanwhile Melaz had spoken privately with the Christians, addressing them with these words, 'I have heard the chivalry of the Franks praised by many for a long time; now in my father's pressing need I would like to test it, so that what my ears have heard may be confirmed by my eyes.' Bohemond replied, 'Most fortunate and honourable lady, if it would please your highness in your kindness that we should be allowed to go out into the field of battle armed for the fray, be assured that we will demonstrate how mightily Franks strike with sword and lance, and make a good showing of our blows on your enemies' bodies before your people's eyes.' The maiden said, 'Promise me on your faith as Christians that, in the matter we are discussing, you will act entirely in accordance with my advice, and will not presume to do anything contrary to my bidding. Assure me of this by pledging your faith, and I will no longer hesitate to reveal the secrets of my heart to you.'

Bohemond was the first to swear on oath what she had asked, and all the others after him pledged their word as the maiden required. Then she said with joy, 'Now I know that I can trust you, for in my opinion you are men of your word and will never

sense of sharing a common faith. Bohemond undoubtedly owed his release in great part to the rivalry between the two Turkish rulers (cf. Albert of Aix, *RHC Occ.* iv. 610-13; *AA SS* November iii. 167-8).

Patri meo qui iam in campo dimicaturus est, subuenite, eique probitatem uestram ad subsidium eius alacriter exhibete. Et si uictoria cesserit uobis quod utinam fiat: fugientes inimicos persequi desistite, sed uelociter huc armati redite, et arma donec iussero deponere nolite. Interea faciam omnes custodes de sullimi turris solio ad inferiores portas descendere, et in atrio quasi uos prestolantes mecum astare. Cum autem remeaueritis, et iussero custodibus ut solitis conectant uos uinculis: uos ualidas manus in illos uiriliter inicite, impigre cunctos comprehendite, et uicarios pro uobis in ergastulo retrudite. Hæc uidens a uobis sicut a feralibus lupis fugiam, uos uero nanciscimini arcem firmissimam et seruate diligenter illam, donec pacem cum patre meo faciatis idoneam. Portæ sullimes sunt in arce, per quas in aulam poteritis per lapideos gradus descendere, et omnes gazas atque mansiones patris mei obtinere. Porro si genitor meus pro reatibus istis iratus me uoluerit punire: oro uos O amici quos sicut cor meum diligo michi citius subuenite.'

Hæc ita locuta milites armavit, et protinus emisit. Arcis enim custodes antea delusos corruerat, et de hac re instructis inter cetera dixerat, 'Ingens timor pro patre meo me sollicitat, cui de multis nationibus multitudo pugnatura obstat. Sed quia ille magnanimus bellator est: auxilium a uinctis postulare dedignatus est. Meæ tamen hanc ab ipso iniunctam curæ potestatem scitote: ut possim Christianos armis instruere, et pro nostrorum astipulatione agminum ad pugnam dirigere. Si uicerint hostium cateruas: noster erit honor et utilitas. Si uero ceciderint et ferro interierint inimicorum: nullus nobis erit dolor pro lapsu alienigenarum, quorum mores et ceremonias execratur omne genus agarenorum.' Audientes hæc gratulanter annuerunt, et perspicacem uirginis prouidentiam admodum laudauerunt. Protinus illa captiuos absoluit, de domo carceris abstraxit, et armatos ad prælium destinauit. Illi uero iam acriter pugnantes inuenerunt, et signum Normannorum 'Deus adiuua' fiducialiter uociferati sunt: quibus clamantibus et terribiliter percutientibus phalanges Solimanni uacillauerunt. In exercitu eius nonnulli erant Christiani.

compromise your honour. Give help to my father, who is just about to engage in battle, and prove your valour nobly by going immediately to his aid. If victory falls to you—as I trust it will—refrain from pursuit of the fleeing enemy, come back here quickly, fully armed, and do not lay aside your arms until I give the word. In the meanwhile I will make all the guards come down from the upper room in the highest tower to the lower gates, and stand with me in the courtyard as if they were waiting for you. But when you return and I command the guards to fasten your fetters as before, you must boldly lay hands upon them, seize all resolutely, and thrust them into the dungeon in your place. At sight of this I will run away from you as if you were ravening wolves, and you must occupy the strongest tower and guard it resolutely until you have made a satisfactory truce with my father. There are doors at the top of the tower through which you may descend by a stone staircase into the hall and take possession of all the treasures and apartments of my father. But if my father is angry and wishes to punish me for these offences then, I beseech you, my friends, whom I love as I do my life, come immediately to my rescue.'

When she had spoken these words she armed the knights and sent them out at once. She had already deceived and corrupted the guards of the tower and, after informing them of the matter, had said amongst other things, 'I am disturbed by great fear on my father's account, for a multitude from many nations is gathered to fight him. But because he is a courageous warrior he will not stoop to ask for help from captives. However, I may tell you that he has authorized me to see to this, namely to provide the Christians with arms and send them into battle to assist our forces. If they defeat the enemy troops, the honour and profit will be ours. If however they fall and are slain by the swords of our enemies, we shall not weep for the loss of foreigners, whose customs and religion are detestable to the whole Saracen people.' They listened and gratefully agreed, warmly praising the maiden's wise foresight. At once she released the captives, led them out of the house of bondage and sent them, fully armed, into battle. They found the armies locked in fierce conflict and confidently uttered the battle cry of the Normans, 'Dieux aide'; at their shouts and ferocious attack the squadrons of Kiliġ-Arslan wavered. There were a certain number of Christians in his army; when they recognized

Qui cum famosum ducem Buamundum cognouissent gauisi sunt: et Solimannum relinquentes catholicis conglutinati sunt.

Marciban¹ turgidus adolescens Solimanni filius ut ibi esse Buamundum audiuit: illum in bello ex nomine uociferando quesiiuit, et cum eodem singulariter dimicare concupiuit. Tandem in Dalimanni conspectu sibi obuiauuerunt, seseque ferociter percusserunt. Sed belliger Normannus Turcum prostrauit: et abstracto ense caput ei amputauit. Vociferante Dalimanno 'Parce parce, nepos meus est': Christianus pugil ut rem agnouit, mesticia uultus letitiam cordis operuit et subsannando ita respondit, 'Ignosce michi domine quod ignorans feci. Non enim nepotem tuum sed hostem putauit, cuius ut tibi placerem uitam extinxi.'

iv. 148 Post multam stragem utriusque partis exercitus Solimanni contritus est: quem fugientem hostilis cuneus tota die persecutus est. Christiani uero ut pactum fuerat protinus redierunt, eramque suam cum archariis prestolantem ante turrin inuenerunt. Mox illa custodibus ait, 'Franci sine dubio legitimi sunt: fidemque promissam optime custodiunt. Obuiam illis ite. Ab illis arma recipite, et eosdem ad pristinum locum reducite, donec pater meus ueniens digna illis suæ reddat præmia militiæ.' Turci uero abeuntes puellæ iussis obsecundare uoluerunt, sed eos inter se Franci concluderunt, et captos in carcere retruserunt, ualuas caute repagulis oppilauerunt, et uniuersa turris penetralia sine publico tumultu consecuti sunt, et sine sanguinis effusione uoti compotes effecti sunt. Ciuitas enim erat uacua pugnacibus uiris quoniam ad proelium exierant, quorum solæ mulieres cum infantibus trepidæ domos seruabant. Carcer erat in arce munitissima, ibique diuitis thesauri uariæque suppellectilis opumque multarum seruabatur copia, et eidem turri coniuncta erat principalis regia.

Sequenti nocte Melaz Christianos de arce in aulam introduxit, et omnes cameras atque secreta penetralia demonstrauiit, et quid agere deberent adueniente Dalimanno insinuauit. In crastinum uictor cum satrapis et tribunis et optimatibus suis remeauit, cui filia eius cum coeuis consortibus tripudians occurrit. 'Aue' inquit 'triumphator gloriose.' Ille uero furibundus respondit, 'Tace pessima meretrix. Fictas salutationes tuas non curo, fraudulentas

¹ The name betrays a literary tradition: marzbân means governor of a frontier region (cf. Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 573).

the famous Duke Bohemond they were jubilant and, deserting Kilij-Arslan, threw in their lot with the catholics.

When Marciban,¹ the proud young son of Kilij-Arslan, heard that Bohemond was there he charged into the battle, calling him by name and eager to fight him in single combat. At last they met under the eyes of the Danishmend, and dealt each other doughty blows. But the warlike Norman struck down the Turk and, drawing his sword, cut off his head. As the Danishmend cried out, 'Spare him, spare him: he is my nephew', the Christian champion realized what he had done and, hiding a joyful heart under a sorrowful countenance, replied ironically, 'Pardon, my lord, what I have done in ignorance. I took him for an enemy, not your nephew, and slew him to please you.'

After much slaughter on both sides the army of Kilij-Arslan was shattered, and the enemy force pursued the remnants all day. The Christians, however, according to their agreement, returned immediately and found their lady waiting with the custodians before the tower. She said at once to the guards, 'The Franks are undoubtedly men of their word, and will keep the promise they have made. Go to meet them. Take back their arms and escort them back to their former prison, until my father returns and gives them worthy rewards for their prowess.' The Turks moved to obey the maid's commands, but the Franks surrounded them and thrust them as prisoners into the dungeon, carefully secured the doors with bolts, and occupied all the inner rooms of the tower without causing a disturbance, successfully achieving their aims without bloodshed. The whole town was emptied of soldiers, who had all gone to the battle, and only their trembling wives and children occupied the houses. The dungeon was in a very strong tower, and great stores of rich treasure and various furnishings and great wealth were kept there; the main royal palace communicated with the tower.

The following night Melaz brought the Christians from the tower into the hall, showed them all the chambers and hidden recesses, and instructed them in what they should do when the Danishmend arrived. Next day the victor returned home with his governors and officers and nobles, and his daughter ran joyfully to greet him with other maidens. 'Welcome', she said, 'glorious conqueror.' He, however, answered in terrible anger, 'Hold your peace, shameless harlot. I do not want your feigned greetings; I

adulationes tuas floccipendo. Per diuinum stemma Machometis qui michi dedit uictoriam' cum amatoribus tuis cras interire te faciam. Tu enim ad confusionem mei meis arma dedisti aduersariis: cum quibus ut nequissima proditrix edacibus flammis concremaberis.' Adhuc nesciebat quod archarii eius in obscuritate carceris artarentur, Franci uero in editiori solio eminentes liberi gloriantur, et in illum rebellare Christo iuuante meditarentur. Puella tremens et exanguis a facie furentis aufugit, sui que conclauis latebras lugubris et pauida petiit.

v. 149 Cumque post aliquot horas furibundus princeps pro tribunali sederet, nec secum nisi precipuos proceres haberet, reliquum enim uulgi et armigeri residuique satellites per hospitia dispersi erant, et equos et arma et cetera illis competentia coaptabant, iussit quibusdam ut in conclauim irent, et temerariam proditricem sibi adducerent. Cumque illa coram fremente tyranno accersita stetit, et terribiles minas cum opprobriis sola sine auxilio consistens audisset, Buamundus de turre per fenestram intus aspexit, et liberatricem suam ad iudicium desolatam astare contemplatus doluit. 'En' inquit 'adiutrix nostra in angustiis posita est. Nunc opus est ut hinc egrediamur, eique totis uiribus suffragemur.' Protinus pedetemptim de arce per gradus in aulam ingressi sunt, Dalimannum et omnes tribunos eius collegas armati circumsteterunt, hostia domus opturauerunt, et omnia in circumitu munimenta possederunt. Pariter omnes facti sunt anxii, et quid agere deberent dubii. Turci enim obseratis foribus nusquam fugere poterant, armatis circumstantibus nusquam diuertere ualebant, inermes et pauci contra ualentiores se numero et telis bellando resistere nequibant. Christiani uero ethnicos omnes obtruncare tunc poterant, sed pro sacramento quod puellæ fecerant, sine precepto illius neminem ferire uel quolibet modo ledere audebant. Omnes igitur ad illam respiciebant, et quid iuberet expectabant, quia fidem suam uiolare precauebant.

Denique Melaz securior facta ridere cepit, et inter Francos quasi domina presidens Dalimanno dixit, 'Kare pater iniuste irasceris contra me, nimiisque minis me terras et probris detestaris pro salubri subuentione, quam tibi consulens callide prouidi

hold your false praises not worth a straw. By the divine stock of Mahomet, who gave me the victory, I will make you die tomorrow with your lovers. You gave arms to my adversaries to my utter confusion, and with them you shall be burnt in fierce flames as an abominable traitress.' As yet he did not know that his guards were imprisoned in the dark dungeon, while the noble Franks were enjoying freedom in the solar above, and were plotting to attack him with Christ's help. Pale and trembling, the girl fled from the sight of her angry father and took refuge in her chamber, wretched and afraid.

When some hours later the angry prince was sitting in judgement, having only his chief nobles with him, since the rest of his people and the squires and other attendants were dispersed in their own quarters, and were attending to their horses and arms and their other duties, he ordered some men to go to his daughter's chamber and bring the rash traitress to him. When, summoned, she stood before the raging tyrant and all alone, without help, heard his terrible threats and abuse, Bohemond looked from the tower through a window into the palace and, seeing his liberator standing deserted before the judgement seat, said in sorrow, 'See, our protectress is in sore distress. Now we must go out from here and help her with all our might.' At once they crept cautiously from the tower, down the steps into the hall. Armed, they surrounded the Danishmend and all his officers and companions, barred the doors of the house, and occupied all the defences round it. All were equally filled with trepidation, and doubtful what they ought to do. The Turks were unable to escape because the doors were barred; they were unable to slip away because they were surrounded by armed men and, being few and unarmed, they could not resist by putting up a fight against men more numerous and better armed than they. The Christians for their part could have cut down all the Turks there and then, but because of the oath they had sworn to the maiden they dared not strike or in any way harm anyone without her sanction. So all looked towards her, waiting for what she might command, because they were resolved not to break faith.

At length Melaz, feeling safer, began to smile and, holding command over the Franks like their lady, said, 'Dear father, you are angry with me without cause; you frighten me with terrible threats and heap reproaches on me because of the timely help

iv. 150 ex magna benignitate. Nam Francis in certamine ferientibus tui confortati sunt.' et hostes ocius titubauerunt. Considera quantæ fidei sunt Christiani. Ipsi fideliter in pugna tibi auxiliati sunt.' ipsisque præliantibus hostes terga uerterunt. Facultatem discedendi ut lippis etiam patet satis habuerunt, sed insalutatos uos relinquere nolentes ultro redierunt, militiæque suæ donatiua fiducialiter a liberalitate tua exigunt. Iam manus ad capulos tenent, iam omnes nos si uolunt iugulare ualent, iam turrim et regiam et cunctas opes tuas quæ in illis sunt possident, et uincti municipes tui contra eos mutire non audent. Inter hæc pater quid agendum sit cogita, et a consiliariis tuis qui presto sunt salubriter inuestiga.'

His dictis era parti Christianæ presidebat, Dalimannus autem seorsum segregatus cum suis consultum indagabat. Deinde residens ait, 'In primis filia tuum uolumus audire consilium.' At illa respondit, 'Quod utile credo.' proferre non tardabo. Pacem fac cum Christianis.' et inuiolabile fœdus sit inter uos quamdiu uixeritis. Relaxa omnes captiuos eorum qui in regionibus tuæ dicionis sunt.' et ipsi nichilominus reddant omnes qui de gente uestra sub eorum potestate sunt. Buamundo autem et eius comilitonibus quorum ope felici potitus es uictoria.' condigna gloriosæ seruitutis exhibe premia. Hoc preterea scias quod ego Christiana sum.' et regenerari uolo secundum Christianæ legis sacramentum, nec ulterius hic commorabor uobiscum. Lex enim Christianorum sancta est et honesta, lex autem uestra uanitatibus est plena, et omnibus spurciciis polluta.'

iv. 151 Hæc audientes Turci ualde stomachati sunt, toruisque luminibus ac seueris gestibus truces innotuerunt, sed impediante Deo prophani cordis maliuolentiam actibus explere nequiverunt. Tractantibus illis de rebus agendis.' Melaz seorsum uocatis ait Christianis, 'Eia probi milites in multis necessitatibus probati et angustiis, qui de longinquis regionibus huc sponte uenistis, et multos labores ac discrimina uiriliter perferentes euasistis, uiriliter agite in nomine Dei uestri quem omnipotentem asseritis. Nunc opus est animis et armis, ut quod fortiter cepistis, laudabiliter

which, out of concern for you, I have carefully provided with great kindness. The Franks helped your men in the conflict by their deeds and broke the enemy ranks more quickly. Note well how honourable the Christians are. They have loyally helped you in battle; as they fought the enemy turned and fled. Even the half-blind could see that they had every opportunity of escaping but, because they did not wish to depart without taking leave of you, they returned voluntarily and confidently ask for rewards for their chivalry from your generosity. At this moment they have their hands on their sword-hilts, they have the power to cut all our throats if they choose; they hold the citadel and the palace with all the wealth that is in them, and your guards, being captives, cannot breathe a word against them. In these circumstances, father, think carefully before you act, and consult wisely with your counsellors who are with you.'

Having said this, the lady placed herself at the head of the Christians, while the Danishmend drew apart with his men to seek their advice. Then he resumed his seat, saying, 'First, my daughter, we wish to hear what you recommend.' To this she replied, 'I will not hesitate to state what I think expedient. Make peace with the Christians and let an inviolable treaty bind you together as long as you live. Free all the captive Christians who are anywhere in your dominions, and let them in return release all those of your race who are in their power. Offer a suitable reward for admirable service to Bohemond and his fellow knights, with whose timely aid you won the victory. Besides this, let me tell you that I am a Christian; I wish to be reborn through the sacrament of the Christian faith and will no longer remain here with you. For the religion of the Christians is holy and honourable, and your religion is full of vanities and polluted with all filth.'

On hearing this the Turks were greatly offended; they showed their ferocity with their burning eyes and stern gestures, but God restrained them so that they could not express in action the hatred in their evil hearts. As they were debating what should be done, Melaz called the Christians apart and said, 'Now, brave knights, who have been proved in many hardships and dangers, who have come here from distant lands of your own free will and have survived after gallantly completing many labours and battles, act boldly in the name of your God whom you declare to be omnipotent. Now you need both courage and skill in arms, so that

perficiatis. Pater meus iratus est admodum, et totis nisibus cum suis machinatur nobis exitium. Huc usque propositam michi conditionem optime seruastis. Amodo a pollicitatione per fidem uestram firmata uos absoluo. Arcem et regiam et murum in giro zetasque minores atque maiores iam munite, solliciteque perscrutamini aditusque seruate: ne quis exeat uel ingrediatur sine uestra consideratione. Si enim pater meus hinc exierit, omnes in circumitu nationes coaceruabit, et uos crudeli obsidione ad turpem deditionem uel perniciem coartabit. Ipsum ergo cum omnibus suis in uno simul cubiculo includite, et cum necessario rigore omnes illic ad pacem coercete, sed quantum potueritis ab effusione sanguinis manus uestras cohibete. Prouidentiam et regimen horum quæ dico: tibi domine Buamunde qui in pluribus expertus es commendo, cuius maturitatis et sensus laus est in orbe uniuerso. Amodo inseparabilis uestra soror ero, et leta seu tristia uobiscum in fide Domini Ihesu Christi sustinebo.'

iv. 152 Gaudens igitur Buamundus Dalimannum cum suis omnibus in quadam camera uiolenter intrusit, ipsumque cubile armatis custodibus assignauit. Deinde alios milites per diuersa locauit, et unicuique quid agere deberet insinuauit, atque sic principale palacium cum omnibus intrinsecus constitutis fere xv diebus gubernauit. Vxores eorum et pedissequas et inermes eunuchos permisit intrare, eisque ciborum sufficientem apparatus et aliorum quæ necessaria erant administrare. Dalimannus ingemit grauitur, quod domus sua sibi facta est carcer, et filia sua censor eum constringens acriter. Vnde Machometem deum suum maledicebat fortiter, et omnes amicos hominesque suos atque collimitaneos condemnabat execrabiler, qui eum in medio regni sui sinebant a paucis captiuis aduenisque tractari miserabiliter. Inclusi barones persuaserunt ei cum Christianis pacem facere, ut sibi saltem liceret parum adhuc uiuere. Tandem duricia eius emollita est pauore. Locutus cum Buamundo pacem petiuit, ipsumque cum omnibus suis liberum abire annuit, et omnes captiuos qui sub ditione illius gemebant a captiuitate absoluit, filiam quoque suam eidem sponndit.

Callida Melaz ut hæc audiuit: referenti Buamundo respondit, 'Omnia uerba facile dicuntur, sed non omnia semper credibilia

you may bring to a glorious conclusion the enterprise so bravely begun. My father is very angry, and is plotting with his men to destroy us by every means in his power. Up to now you have loyally observed the terms I proposed to you. From now on I absolve you from the undertaking you made on oath. Now fortify the citadel and palace and the wall around and the chambers, both large and small; keep a close watch and guard the approaches, so that no one may go in or out without your knowledge. For if my father leaves this place, he will call together all the neighbouring peoples and blockade you cruelly until he has brought you to death or shameful surrender. So keep him a prisoner with all his friends in one room, and compel them to make peace using all the force that is necessary, but as far as possible restrain your hands from bloodshed. I entrust the design and control of this course which I recommend to you, lord Bohemond, because you are a man of wide experience and your sound judgement and good sense are praised all over the world. From now onwards I shall be joined to you as a sister, and will share joys and sorrows with you in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

So Bohemond, greatly pleased, violently thrust the Danishmend with all his men into a chamber and set armed guards over the cell. Then he placed the other knights in different stations, and instructed each one in what he was to do. In this way he governed the royal palace and all who were in it for about fifteen days. He allowed the wives of the men and their female attendants and unarmed eunuchs to enter and bring them adequate supplies of food and whatever else they needed. The Danishmend complained bitterly that his home had become a prison and his daughter the gaoler who confined him strictly. So he cursed his God, Mahomet, loudly and poured abuse on all his friends and subjects and neighbours, because they allowed him to be wretchedly treated in the heart of his own kingdom by a few foreign captives. The lords who were imprisoned persuaded him to make peace with the Christians, so that they might at least escape with their lives. At length his hardness gave way to fear. He spoke with Bohemond and asked to make peace, promised to allow him and his men to depart freely, liberated all the captives who were suffering under his rule, and offered him his daughter in marriage.

When Melaz heard these proposals from Bohemond, she replied in her shrewdness, 'Words are easily spoken, but not all of them

uidentur. Blanda quidem sed ambigua patris mei promissa gratanter suscipe, ea tamen quæ tenes uigilanter retine, donec stabilitus triumphes certæ securitatis soliditate. Notissimi ex utraque parte nunciū Antiochiam mittantur, et armata tuorum cohors militum adducatur: a quibus honorifice stipatus sine dolo perducaris in tuam regionem, et omnium deuities maliuolorum dolosam deceptionem.' Hoc omnibus consilium placuit. Ricardus igitur de Principatu et Sarcis de Mesopotamia¹ Antiochiam missi sunt: et rerum euentus Antiochenis exultantibus enodauerunt. Tunc Tancredus princeps militiæ milites et gentiles captiuos protinus missis exactoribus collegit, et congregatos supradictis baronibus ut eos conducerent deputauit. Tunc Cassiani filia admiraliū Antiochiæ² reddita est: quæ cum multo ploratu de carcere Christianorum extracta est. Quæ cum interrogaretur quare ita fletet, respondit quod ideo sic ploraret, quia optimam porci carnem qua Christiani utuntur manducatura non esset. Turci enim et plures aliæ Saracenorum gentes suillam carnem abhorrent, quamuis canum et luporum³ carnes auide deuorent, et sic probantur quod omni lege Moysi et Christi carent, nec Iudeis nec Christianis adherent.

iv. 153

Interea Buamundus frequenter cum Dalimanno loquebatur, et affabiliter ut erat sapiens et modestus ei famulabatur, et pro refrigerio multorum quos idem tyrannus nimis opprimere poterat conuenienter adulabatur. Obsequiis et dulcibus uerbis tam ipsum quam omnes qui cum ipso erant deliniuit, et modestæ conuersationis sedulitate ad sui amorem illexit. Paulatim prouinciales tribuni et optimates cognitionem noui rectoris ediscebant, et externum principem genuini principis sui dominum speculari summopere queritabant, eiusque permissu cum domino suo confabulantes ipsum satis collaudabant. Quem ueluti naturalem erum suum ad commoditatem rei publicæ prouocabant, et amicitiam tanti ducis omnimodis expetere commonebant, atque sepius illud comici dictum commemorabant,

iv. 154

Quoniam non potest id fieri quod uis: id uelis quod possis.⁴

Hæc etiam addebant, 'In uictoria nuper adepta male delusi

¹ The identity of Sarcis, if indeed he was a historical person, is uncertain, unless this is a very distorted version of the part played by Kogh Vasil (Basil the Robber), the Armenian ruler of Kesoun, in the negotiations for the release of Bohemond (cf. Matthew of Edessa, *RHC Doc. Arm.* i. 69–70).

² Armenian sources confirm that Bohemond agreed to release the daughter of Yaghi-Siyan (cf. *RHC Doc. Arm.* i. 70 n. 1).

³ These, though not specifically mentioned, might be regarded as coming within the general category of unclean beasts (Leuiticus xi. 3–8; Deuteronomy xiv. 3–8).

⁴ Cf. Terence, *Andria*, II. i. 5, 6.

are invariably to be believed. Listen courteously to the smooth but devious promises of my father; at the same time continue to keep close watch on all the places that are in your power until you are assured of safety through certain victory. Have envoys acceptable to both sides sent to Antioch to bring back an armed force of your knights, with whose support you may be honourably escorted without fear of deceit to your own land; in this way you will escape from the treacherous snares of all your ill-wishers.' This advice pleased all. So Richard of the Principality and Sarcis of Mesopotamia¹ were sent to Antioch, and informed the men of Antioch to their great delight of the course of events. Tancred, the commander of the army, immediately sent out officials to fetch the knights and the captive gentiles, and when they were assembled delivered them to the lords Richard and Sarcis to escort back. At that time the daughter of Yaghi-Siyan, the emir of Antioch,² was released, weeping bitterly as she was brought out of the Christian prison. When she was asked why she wept so, she replied that it was because in future she would not be able to eat the excellent pork that Christians eat. The Turks and many other Saracen peoples detest the flesh of pigs, although they eat with enjoyment the flesh of dogs and wolves,³ demonstrating in this way that they hold to the law neither of Moses nor of Christ, and are neither Jews nor Christians.

During this time Bohemond had frequent conversations with the Danishmend and, being a prudent and forbearing man, treated him courteously and flattered him to some extent to obtain better terms for the many whom the tyrant was in a position to oppress. By his complaisant and kind words he soothed both the Danishmend and all who were with him, and won his affection by the attentiveness of his courteous companionship. Little by little the provincial officials and nobles learnt of the new governor, and made every effort to find out about the foreign prince who was the lord of their true prince; when they talked with their lord with Bohemond's permission they praised him greatly. They urged their natural lord to act for the advantage of the state, advised him to try to win the friendship of the great duke by any means, and often recalled the saying of the comedian,

Since you cannot do what you wish, wish for what you can do.⁴

They added further, 'We were badly misled in the victory we have

sumus, quia legis nostræ aduersarios ad occisionem nostratum efficaces auxiliarios habuimus, et de communi detrimento nequiter et stulte letati fuimus. En execrabilis Machomes deus noster nos prorsus deseruit, et ante Deum Christianorum omni uirtute amissa corruit. Ecce miro modo quod stricte compeditos in carcere putabas, et indissolubiliter omni tempore arcere disponebas, crucifixus Christus quem omnipotentem asserunt, et merito ut omnes inimici eorum experiuntur et sibi male sentiunt, per filiam tuam inopinabiliter absoluit, armatos in bello insignibus tropheis glorificauit, cruore uidelicet fratrum et nepotum nostrorum rumpheas eorum cruentauit, insuper et principale municipium ubi omnes gazæ tuæ sunt eis tradidit, et te et precipuos regni tui optimates sub manibus eorum inclusit, et sine bello uelut imbelles ancillas in aula propria carceri gementes mancipauit. Deforis ad te sine consensu alienigenarum non accedimus, nec ullum tibi subsidium inferre ualemus. Contra illos non audemus conglobati consurgere, quia statim furores suos ulciscerentur in te. Si enim magnus rex Persarum soldanus cum omni uirtute sua huc aduentaret, et hanc munitionem expugnare satageret, tanta probitas est in Francis et tam grandis fortitudo munitionis, ut ibidem illi resistere auderent, et antequam caperentur ingentia nostratibus detrimenta ingererent. Melius est igitur amore inimicum pacificare, quam temeritate ad letiferam rabiem incitare.'

Consiliis itaque huiusmodi Dalimannus adqueiuit. Accepta ergo strenui ducis familiaritate in domo sua iam de communi profectu libere imperabat, et de thesauris suis iam larga Christianis ultro dona erogabat, captiuos quoque per totam regionem suam omnes liberari precipiebat. Obnixè uero queruntur, inuenti adducuntur, a Dalimanno bene uestiuntur, et Buamundo traduntur. Ab illo protinus compatriotis associantur, ac per diuersa officia deputantur, ad augmentum et tutelam sociorum ne quolibet maligno deludantur sophismate paganorum.

Ricardus et Sarcis consummata legatione post xv dies reuersi sunt' et copiosam Christianorum militiam adduxerunt. Quos Dalimannus cum ingenti iussit omnes honore recipi, et uberrima

lately won, because we made use of able allies who are enemies of our faith to slaughter our compatriots, and we wickedly and stupidly found cause to rejoice in our common loss. Our own God, the abominable Mahomet, utterly deserted us and fell helpless before the God of the Christians. See how wonderfully the crucified Christ, whom they call omnipotent—and rightly, as all their enemies learn and feel to their cost—unexpectedly, through your daughter, freed the men whom you believed to be closely fettered in prison, where you intended to guard them closely for ever. He armed them and caused them to triumph gloriously in battle, stained their swords with the blood of our brothers and kinsmen, and besides this delivered to them the royal stronghold where all your treasures are, gave into their hands both you and the chief nobles of your kingdom so that you are guarded, groaning, in the prison of your own hall like helpless slavegirls, without a fight. We from outside cannot visit you without the permission of the foreigners, and are powerless to give you any help. We dare not rise up and attack them all together, because they would immediately vent their fury on you. Even if the great king, the sultan of Persia, came here with all his might and attempted to storm this fortress, so great is the valour of the Franks and so great the strength of the fortress that they would dare to resist him there, and would inflict great losses on our men before they were taken. Therefore it is better to placate the enemy with friendship than by rash acts to incite him to a fury that would cause your death.'

The Danishmend acquiesced in such advice. Accepting the friendship of the gallant duke, he freely issued orders in his house for the good of both, and dispensed generous gifts from his treasures to the Christians voluntarily; he also ordered that all the captives throughout his kingdom should be set free. They were carefully sought out and when found were brought to the Danishmend, who clothed them liberally and handed them over to Bohemond. He immediately added them to his company and assigned various duties to them, to swell the ranks and ensure the safety of his companions, so that they should not be tricked by any evil subterfuge of the pagans.

Richard and Sarcis returned after fifteen days, their mission accomplished, and brought a large force of Christian knights. The Danishmend ordered them to be received with great honour; he

illis secundum ritus patrios obsonia preparari, et quæque illis necessaria essent affluenter tribui. Tunc Buamundus et Dalimannus perpetuam inter se pacem firmauerunt,¹ tribusque diebus competentem illis in omnibus apparatus preparauerunt. Deinde Buamundus et Ricardus et concaptiui eorum de captiuitate leti exierunt, et sicut Zorobabel et Neemias Dominum Deum Israel
 iv. 156 benedixerunt, quos Dalimannus et optimates eius exultantes quia et ipsi de claustris relaxantur aliquandiu conduxerunt, fraudulenter tamen quia obiter quolibet modo Christianos ledere machinati sunt: sed Deo suos protegente non potuerunt. Nam fideles hoc idem metuebant, ideoque armati et quasi ad bellum parati procedebant, obsides quoque securitatis donec ad tuta quæ decreuerant loca peruenirent obnixè seruabant. Tandem Dalimannus a confœderatis remeandi licentiam ut amicus requisit, qua accepta mestus quod eis nullo sophismate in uia nocere potuisset rediit.

Prouida Melaz cum pedissequis et eunuchis nobilique familia sua de domo patris sui egressa est, et omni progenie sua sponte^a Christicolis deuote coniuncta est, sicuti Bithia Pharaonis filia² pereuntibus Ægyptiis Moysi et Hebreis salubriter comitata est. Antiocheni gaudentes obuiam diu desideratis processerunt, et clerus omnisque populus regem Adonai qui saluat omnes sperantes in se³ fideliter benedixerunt. Deinde Buamundus Ricardum captiuitatis suæ socium in Gallias destinauit, et argenteas per eum compedes sancto confessori Leonardo direxit, et pro liberatione sua deuote gratias egit.

Postquam generosa Melaz in æcclesia catholica sacro baptisate
 iv. 157 regenerata est: opportuno tempore in conuentu optimatum Buamundus eam sic affatus est, 'Nobilis uirgo quæ nobis adhuc pagana ex insperato mire subuenisti, quæ Dominum Ihesum omni parentelæ tuæ prudenter preposuisti, et ipsum in nobis qui membra et famuli eius sumus benigniter fouisti, et inde patris iram pene usque in periculum mortis incurristi, elige de nobis

^a The sense requires relicta

¹ The statement that an alliance was made between Bohemond and the Danishmend is amply corroborated in the *Miracula sancti Leonardi*, p. 168; Albert of Aix, *RHC Occ.* iv. 612. Orderic omits all reference to the substantial ransom that was paid for Bohemond's release (cf. *RHC Doc. Arm.* i. 69-70; *Miracula sancti Leonardi*, p. 168; Albert of Aix, *RHC Occ.* iv. 613).

² Orderic took this story from a Biblical commentary wrongly attributed to St. Jerome, *Quæstiones hebraicæ in libros Regum et Paralipomenon* (Migne, *PL* xxiii. 1372). Pseudo-Jerome alleged that Bithiah, daughter of the Pharaoh, who was given to Mered as his wife (1 Chronicles iv. 18), was the princess who

had sumptuous viands prepared for them according to the custom of his country, and provided in plenty for all their needs. Then Bohemond and the Danishmend made a treaty of perpetual peace between themselves,¹ and for three days prepared suitable equipment of all kinds for them. At length Bohemond, Richard, and their fellow captives went forth joyfully from captivity and, like Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, blessed the Lord God of Israel. The Danishmend and his nobles, rejoicing because they too had been freed from prison, escorted them for some way. They travelled with deceit in their hearts, for they were plotting to harm the Christians in some way or other on the journey, but failed to do so because God protected his own. For the faithful feared some trick, and so travelled fully armed as if ready for battle; they also carefully retained hostages for their security until they had reached the safe place which had been appointed. At length the Danishmend asked his allies as a friend for licence to depart and, receiving it, returned regretfully because he had not been able to harm them on the way by any trick.

The prudent Melaz departed from her father's house with her servants and eunuchs and noble household, and, voluntarily leaving all her own people, was devoutly associated with the Christians, as Bithiah, Pharaoh's daughter,² accompanied Moses and the Hebrews in safety when the Egyptians perished. The men of Antioch, rejoicing, went out to meet the men they had long wished to see, and the clergy and all the people fervently blessed the Lord King who saves all who put their trust in him.³ Then Bohemond sent Richard, the companion of his captivity, to Gaul, and dispatched silver fetters by his hand to the holy confessor, St. Leonard, giving devout thanks for his delivery.

After the highly born Melaz had been regenerated by holy baptism in the catholic Church, Bohemond, choosing a convenient moment, addressed her thus in an assembly of the magnates, 'Noble maiden, who so unexpectedly came to our rescue when you were yet a pagan, who have wisely preferred the Lord Jesus to all your kindred, and have cherished him in us who are his members and servants, and in so doing have incurred the wrath of your father almost to the point of death, choose from us the

rescued the infant Moses, and that she renounced the worship of idols and became converted to the true God.

³ Cf. Psalm xvi (xvii). 7.

sponsum quem uolueris in nomine Christi. Non enim rectum est ut iustis petitionibus tuis aliquatenus resistamus, cui uehementer meritis tuis precedentibus debitores sumus. In primis meum nunc audi consilium, quod tibi dulcis amica spero proficuum. Michi quidem fateor a tuo data es genitore, sed opto tibi utilius prouidere, et subtiliter audi pro qua ratione. Ab adolescentia mea irrequietus homo sum, et in laboribus uiuens multa grauia perpeusus sum, grauiora quoque adhuc timeo me passurum. Nam michi certamen est cum imperatore, et cum paganis undique. Preterea uotum uoui Domino cum essem in carcere, quod si liberarer ab ethnicorum ligamine, irem ad Sanctum Leonardum qui est in partibus Aquitaniæ.¹ Has excusationes elicio tibi ex sincera dilectione, quia nolo te plus quam filiam uel sororem meam quolibet modo desolatam uidere, nec coniugii copulam inire, unde paulo post pœniteat te. Quæ letitia seu delectatio tibi esset in nostra copulatione, dum statim post nuptias oporteat me per pelagus et arua immensum iter inire, et in longinquam peregre proficisci regionem prope fines terræ? His ita perspectis domina, elige tibi de pluribus meliora. Ecce Rogerius Ricardi principis soboles² consobrinus meus est me iunior ætate, excellens uenustate, par nobilitate, diuitiis et potestate. Hunc laudo ut maritum habeas, et opto ut cum eodem longo tempore uiuas.'

iv. 158

Omnes qui affuerunt' prouidi ducis consultum attestati sunt. Prudens uirgo tantorum consensui facile adqueiuit heroum. Rogerius igitur puellam honorifice cum gaudio desponsauit, et nuptias cum ingenti plausu et tripudio totius Antiochiæ celebravit, quibus dapifer Buamundus cum precipuis patriæ primoribus ministrauit. Iste siquidem Rogerius post sex annos Buamundo et Tancredo defunctis principatu Antiochiæ potitus est, et post duos annos in campo Sarmatan cum vii milibus Christianorum ab Amirgazis Persa occisus est.³

¹ Bohemond fulfilled this vow during his visit to France in 1105-7, when he visited the shrine of Saint-Léonard-le-Noblac near Limoges (Le Prévost, iv. 210-11).

² Roger of Salerno, son of Richard of the Principality, became regent of Antioch in 1112 after Tancred's death. There is no corroboration for Orderic's story that he married a Turkish princess, though he had the reputation of keeping a harem; later, certainly, he married Cecilia, sister of Baldwin II of Edessa (R. Röhrich, *Regesta regni hierosolymitani*, Innsbruck, 1893-1904, *Addimenta*, p. 9; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 266).

³ Roger was killed in 1119 at the battle of Darb Sarmada, so disastrous that it became known as *Ager Sanguinis* ('field of blood'). His adversary was Il-Ghazi,

spouse whom you desire to have in the name of Christ. For it is not right that we should in any way refuse your just requests, since we are all deeply in your debt for the virtues you have already shown. First of all, hear my advice, which I hope, sweet lady, may be profitable to you. I acknowledge certainly that you have been given to me by your father, but I wish to make better provision for you, so listen attentively to the reason for this. From my youth I have been a restless man and, living in strife, have endured many trials, yet I fear still graver lie ahead of me. For I am at war with the Emperor and with the pagans on all sides. Besides this, I made a vow to the Lord when I was in prison, that if I were liberated from the bondage of the infidel I would go to the shrine of St. Leonard, which is in Aquitaine.¹ I offer these excuses to you out of sincere devotion, for I do not wish to see you who are more than daughter or sister to me forsaken in any way, or to enter into the bonds of a marriage that you will soon have cause to regret. What joy or delight could there be for you in our union, if immediately after the marriage I am obliged to set out on a long journey over sea and land, and depart as a pilgrim to a distant country near the ends of the earth? Reflecting on these things, my lady, choose for yourself from many, and choose a better fate. See now, Roger, the son of prince Richard,² is my kinsman and younger than I, more handsome than I am, equal to me in birth, wealth, and power. I advise you to take him as your husband, and hope that you will live with him for many years.'

All who were present approved the advice of the prudent duke. The wise maiden readily fell in with the counsel accepted by so many lords. So Roger married the maiden honourably, with great joy, and the whole of Antioch celebrated the wedding with loud cheers and rejoicing, while Bohemond served as steward at the wedding banquet, with the chief lords of the country. Some six years later, after Bohemond and Tancred were dead, Roger became ruler of the principality of Antioch. Two years later he was killed on the field of Sarmada with seven thousand Christians, by the Persian Il-Ghazi.³

son of Artuk, sultan of Mardin and Aleppo. The term 'Persian' was very loosely used by western writers to describe everyone believed, rightly or wrongly, to be a vassal of the Turkish sultan of Persia. Roger's force, according to William of Tyre, numbered 700 knights and some 3,000 foot soldiers (R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, Cambridge, 1956, p. 179).

De temporalium mutatione rerum et casibus hominum iam dixi plurima, et multa si uita comes fuerit in sequentibus adhuc restant dicenda. Hic liber []¹ æcclesiasticæ historiæ terminatur: et michi iam fesso requies aliquantula detur.

Explicit liber decimus

¹ A blank space is left in the manuscript for the insertion of the number of the book.

I have already said much about the vicissitudes of human affairs and the fortunes of men, and many things still remain to be said in the following books, if my life is spared. I end here the [tenth]¹ book of the *Ecclesiastical History*; may a little rest be granted me, for I am very weary.

Here ends the tenth book