

was the capital of Judea, but it was destroyed. Jericho then became the capital, but it too ceased to be the head after it was conquered in the war with Artaxerxes."²⁹

About two or three miles beyond the city there are some springs, but they are few in number and furnish only a small supply of water. About a mile from Jerusalem on the south, however, where the two valleys named above meet, is the famous pool of Siloam, whither the Lord sent the man who was blind from birth that he might bathe and receive his sight.³⁰ This is a small pool which springs up in the lowest part of the valley. Its waters are neither sweet nor constant, for the flow is intermittent and its waters are said to bubble forth only every other day.

As soon as the citizens learned that the Christian army was approaching, they stopped up the outlets of the springs and reservoirs round about the city as far as the fifth or sixth milestone, in the hope that the Christians would be compelled by thirst to abandon the siege of the city. This action caused our army infinite suffering during the siege which followed, as will be related in the following chapters.

Those shut up within the city, on the other hand, had a great abundance of water. In addition to the rain water which had been stored up, water was brought in from springs outside. This was carried by conduits into two immense pools just outside the temple precincts but within the city limits. One of these is still called the sheep pool, because it was used for washing the animals destined for sacrifice. The evangelist John mentions that this pool had five porches and says that from time to time an angel went down into it and troubled the waters; whoever first stepped into the pool after that was healed. Here it was that the Lord healed the paralytic and bade him take up his bed [and walk].³¹

5. *Names the time when the Christian army arrived before the city; gives the number of our forces and that of the foe; and explains the order in which the camp was arranged.*

On June 7, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1099, the legions of the Christian army encamped before Jerusalem.³² The number of

²⁹ Solinus *Polyhistor* xxxv.

³⁰ Jno. 9: 7.

³¹ Jno. 5: 2-12.

³² This account of the siege and capture of Jerusalem is based upon those of the anonymous author of the *Gesta*, Raymond d'Aguilers, Albert of Aix, and Fulcher

pilgrims of both sexes and of every age and condition is said to have been about forty thousand, but in this great throng there could not have been more than twenty thousand foot soldiers and fifteen hundred knights. The rest of the multitude consisted of a helpless throng, sick and feeble.

Report said that within Jerusalem there were forty thousand brave warriors, splendidly equipped. For from the fortresses in the vicinity and also from the country near by great numbers had flocked to Jerusalem. They had fled before the face of the army, not only to seek safety for themselves, but to aid in the defense of the royal city against the danger which threatened. They brought with them reinforcements of armed men and supplies of food.

As the Christians approached the city, they held an earnest conference with people well acquainted with the locality in regard to the direction from which the place might be most easily and conveniently attacked. As the deep gorges referred to above prevented an assault from the east or south, the leaders decided to attack from the north. Accordingly, the camp was so arranged that it extended from the gate known today as the gate of St. Stephen, which faces north, to the gate which lies below the tower of David on the west side of the city and which, like the tower itself, is called by the name of that king.

The camp was laid out as follows: First in order came the camp of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, and next to this the camp of Robert, count of Flanders. The third place was occupied by Robert, count of Normandy; the fourth by the troops of Tancred and some of the other nobles who established themselves about the tower on the corner, which was later named for Tancred. The count of Toulouse and those with him continued the blockade from this tower to the west gate. Later, however, Raymond found that this position offered but little prospect of success for attacking the city on that side. For his camp was dominated by the tower which rose above it and which served as a strong protection for the gate at its base. The close neighborhood of the valley which lay between his camp and the city also hindered his efforts. Accordingly, by the advice of certain shrewd men well acquainted with the vicinity, he transferred a part of his camp to the hill

of Chartres, as well as upon William's own knowledge of the region and of local traditions. The reader may compare his account with that of the strictly contemporary accounts which are translated by Duncalf (F. Duncalf and A. C. Krey, *Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History*, Problem 3).

on which Jerusalem is built. This position was between the city and the church of Sion which lies about a bowshot from Jerusalem to the north. The count left a part of his camp in its original position. This he is said to have done with two objects in view: he wished his men to have an easier approach to the city for the purpose of assault, and he intended also to protect the church of Sion from harm at the hand of the enemy. This is the place where the Saviour is believed to have supped with his disciples and where he washed their feet. Here the Holy Spirit is said to have descended upon the disciples in tongues of fire on the holy day of Pentecost. Furthermore, ancient tradition says that this is where Mary, the Holy Mother of God, died. Here, too, is shown the tomb of Stephen, the first martyr.

6. *On the third day after the establishment of the siege lines, the city is attacked. Guided by a certain faithful Christian, they go into the woods and cut down trees with which to construct engines.*

THIS, then, was the arrangement of the camp, as just described. Scarcely half of the city was, however, inclosed by the siege lines. From the north gate, generally called the gate of St. Stephen, to the corner tower which overlooks the valley of Jehoshaphat, and from that tower to the opposite angle of the city on the south above the slope of the same valley, and from there to the south gate, which is now called the gate of Mt. Sion, the city remained unblockaded.

On the fifth day after our army took up its position before the walls, public proclamation was made by the heralds that all from the least to the greatest, well armed and defended by their shields, should be ready to begin the attack. And so it was done. For all, rising as with one mind to the task, attacked the city vigorously at the various points besieged. With such valiant energy was the work carried on that the outer fortifications were soon demolished and the enemy compelled to retreat in consternation to the protection of the inner walls. In fact, the citizens now began to doubt whether further resistance would be possible. If the Christians had had scaling ladders or machines with which to seize the ramparts, they might without question have taken the city on this day when they attacked it with such enthusiasm. But after they had labored in vain from earliest dawn until about the seventh hour, they realized that without engines they could hope to

accomplish but little. Further operations were, therefore, deferred until engines could be built. With these they hoped, by the aid of God, to renew the attack with more success.

The chiefs now zealously turned their attention to the problem of obtaining material suitable for constructing siege engines. Nothing of the kind seemed to be afforded by the country near by. Fortunately, however, there happened to be in the camp at this time a native Syrian Christian. This man guided some of the leaders to a retired valley six or seven miles from Jerusalem where tall trees grew. Although these were not entirely suitable for the purpose, yet a sufficient number were found which could be used in the emergency. Workmen and carpenters were summoned in adequate numbers; the trees were cut down and transported by camels and wagons to the city. They then called together artisans and others who were skilled in that kind of work, and all applied themselves with unwearied zeal to the ax and other tools used in building operations. Thus, with great enthusiasm and diligence, they constructed, from the material at hand, towers and hurling machine called *mangons* or *petraries* and also battering rams and *scrophae* [sows] for the purpose of overthrowing the walls.³³ Workers who lacked sufficient independent means to give their labor without pay received wages from gifts offered by the devotion of the people. Not one of the chiefs, in fact, with the exception of the count of Toulouse, whose resources were always greater than those of the rest, had money enough to pay the wages of the builders. Without contributions from the people, the count paid from his private treasury the necessary wages to his own workers and, in addition, supplied money to many nobles whose means had become exhausted.

While the greater chiefs were thus engaged in these important matters, other nobles and distinguished men, with banners unfurled, led the people to places where low bushes and shrubs indigenous to the country were to be found. From these, pliant twigs and withes were cut and carried back to the camp on the backs of horses, asses, and all kinds of pack animals, there to be made into wickerwork coverings to supplement the more important work of the builders. There was great activity everywhere. All labored with untiring zeal; nor was there in that great company a single idle man or one who indulged in leisure,

³³ See Book III, note 8; Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, I, 135-37.

but everyone without distinction did the work best suited to his condition. Whatever might be of use, that it was esteemed honorable to do. Rich and poor alike applied themselves to the task together, nor was any difference of rank even thought of where the zeal of all was equal and a like enthusiasm prevailed. The man of higher position because of his services showed himself all the more eager to assist, while the man of lesser degree was also admitted to his share of attention. All felt that whatever had been accomplished on the pilgrimage would be as nothing unless they were permitted to obtain the fruit of their labors and to enter the city—the end for which they had endured so many adversities. They regarded as of little consequence whatever demand was made of them, if only it might contribute to that one thing and they themselves be deemed worthy to see the fulfillment of their vows.

7. *The people faint from lack of water. A gain and again, while seeking that and the other necessities of life at a distance, they fall by the hand of the foe.*

THE army now began to suffer terribly from thirst, for, as has been stated, Jerusalem lies in an arid land entirely without water. There are no streams or springs or even wells of fresh water except at a distance. Moreover, as soon as the infidels heard that the Christians were near, they stopped up these sources also. They caused dirt and all sorts of refuse to be thrown into them, that the place might be rendered unfit for a long-continued siege. The cisterns and reservoirs for rain water were so injured that they would not hold water or were maliciously concealed that they might not furnish refreshment to the thirsting pilgrims in their desperate need. Still the people of Bethlehem and the faithful who dwelt at Tekoah, city of the prophets, frequently visited the army, and, under the guidance of these people, the pilgrims went out to springs four or five miles distant from the place of siege. There, under difficult conditions, they jostled and pushed and tried to prevent one another from drawing water. After long delays caused by their own quarrelsome conduct, they conveyed the muddy water, one draught of which would afford a thirsty man but slight refreshment, back to camp in skins, where they sold it for a large price in small portions.

The fountain of Siloam near the city, already described, did not afford a sufficient supply for the suffering people, for its waters, insipid as they were, did not bubble forth at regular intervals. The oppressive

weather and the intense heat of June redoubled the anguish of the pilgrims by increasing the importunate demands of thirst. The nature of their work, also, and the dust raised thereby brought on a dryness of the mouth and chest. So they used to go out in separate parties and scatter over the land in diligent search for water. When, sometimes, these small bands thought they had found the long-sought waters, suddenly they came upon a great throng bent on the same quest. Consequently, even when the springs were found, quarrels often arose; and, since each party tried to hinder the other, frequently a fight would result. Those who were on foot were able to relieve their sufferings in some measure by making a sparing use of the water when found, but those who had many horses were beset by much difficulty, for they had to lead the thirsty animals four or five miles to water.

Through the fields, with slow step and failing strength, wandered neglected animals for which their masters were unable to provide. Horses, mules, and asses, as well as flocks and herds, wasted away with parching thirst and died by inches. As a result, the very air in the camp was tainted by the pestilential stench which rose from their decaying bodies.

During this siege, merciless thirst afflicted the people not less than had the lack of food before Antioch. Regardless of caution, they recklessly scattered over the surrounding country and roamed about in search of food and the necessary fodder for the horses. The enemy, well aware of this habit of foraging, often stealthily issued forth from the unguarded parts of the city and attacked these bands. Thus many were slain, and their horses carried off. Others were luckier and succeeded in escaping by flight, albeit not without wounds.

Each day our ranks grew less than on the previous day. Almost daily many perished by the various accidents to which mankind is subject. Nor did fresh recruits come from elsewhere to take the places and assume the duties of those who had succumbed.

The enemy's forces, on the other hand, were ever increasing, and their numbers multiplied, for through the unblockaded portions their allies had free access to the city. Thither they hastened and joined the forces of the citizens for our destruction.

8. *The citizens build machines and prepare to resist. They impose many forced services on the faithful who dwell with them in the city.*

DURING this time our forces were exerting themselves to the utmost. They built engines, wove wickerwork frames, and spliced ladders together with the greatest care. The besieged, likewise, were ever on the alert to meet wile with wile and made good use of every device for resistance. There was in the city an adequate supply of beams cut from tall trees, which, before the Christians arrived, had been brought in with wise forethought for the defense of Jerusalem. In emulation of our example, they built from these, inside the walls, machines equal to ours in height, but of better material. This they did with the greatest enthusiasm, that their engines might not be inferior to ours either in construction or in material. Guards were maintained constantly on the walls and towers, who watched intently all that was done in our army, especially in regard to devices which pertained to engines of war. Every detail observed was at once reported to the chief men of Jerusalem, who strove with emulous skill to imitate the work of the Christians, that they might meet all our efforts with equal ingenuity. This was comparatively easy, for the people of Jerusalem had at their command many more skilled workmen and building tools, as well as larger supplies of iron, copper, ropes, and everything else necessary, than had our people. All citizens were compelled by a general edict to assist in the work. But on the faithful who dwelt in the city under the yoke of bondage extra heavy duties were laid. They were forced to render all sorts of unusual services. Heavy payments of money were extorted from them by violence, and they were dragged off to prison in chains, for the infidels feared that their good will toward the Christians might lead them to disclose secret conditions in the city. None of the faithful dared to ascend the walls or even appear in public unless he was laden with some burden which he was dragging along like a pack horse. They were compelled to carry heavy loads, and those who were skilled in any trade were forced to exercise it. At the slightest accusation of any chance informer, they were hurried off to punishment. They were obliged to receive into their homes refugees from the surrounding castles and villages who had fled to Jerusalem and to supply them with the necessaries of life. Although their means were

insufficient to provide even a meager and wretched living for their own households and dependents, yet they had to share their substance with strangers, while they themselves were the first to do without. If anything was needed for the public work, the first act of the infidels was to break into the homes of the faithful. There they took by force from the owner whatever they needed. At any place and at any hour of night or day, the Christians were liable to be summoned. If, for any reason, they did not respond at the first call, without a moment's delay they were ignominiously seized by the hair or beard and dragged off in such a piteous condition that even an enemy might have been moved to tears.

To the crushing burden of their sufferings and hardships there seemed to be neither limit nor end. Wearied beyond endurance, they had reached the point of utter desperation where they desired rather to die in the Lord than to continue their life on earth. In fact, their miserable existence was not far from being a living death, since not even once a day were they granted time to take refreshment or a little respite for necessary sleep.

Any unlucky accident was attributed entirely to them. They could not go in or out of their own houses freely without rousing suspicion. They were subject to insults at the hand of anyone, and every opportunity was given to bring false accusations against them.

9. *A fleet from Genoa arrives at Jaffa. Guides are sent from the army to conduct these people to the place of siege. On the way, the escort falls into an ambush laid by the enemy.*

WHILE these things were happening at the siege before Jerusalem, a messenger arrived with the information that ships from Genoa had arrived at the port of Jaffa.³⁴ The newcomers requested the leaders to send an escort from the army under whose protection and guidance they might safely proceed to Jerusalem.

Jaffa is a city on the seacoast, concerning which Solinus speaks as follows in the thirty-ninth chapter of his work, *De memorabilibus mundi*: "Jaffa is the oldest city in the whole world, for it was founded before the flood. One may see there a rock which still bears traces of the chains which bound Andromeda, who was exposed at that place to the sea monster, according to an authentic story. Marcus Scaurus, in

³⁴ This fleet arrived June 17, 1099.

fact, during his aedileship exhibited the bones of that beast at Rome together with other marvellous things. The fact is noted in the annals, and the actual measurements of the beast given. The ribs were more than forty feet long, and the height of the monster was greater than that of the elephants of India. The vertebrae were more than half a foot in width.”³⁵

In his epitaph on St. Paula, Jerome also testifies to the same thing in these words: “She saw Jaffa also, the port to which Jonas fled; the same city, to borrow from the tales of the poets, which witnessed Andromeda bound to the rock.”³⁶

In response to this request, the count of Toulouse, who had more abundant resources than the rest, with the consent of all sent thither one of the nobles of his suite, Geldemar, surnamed Carpinel, in command of a company of thirty knights and fifty foot soldiers. After the party had started, however, the leaders began to realize that this force was not sufficient for so difficult a task. They therefore begged the count to send additional troops. He acquiesced and dispatched fifty additional knights to reinforce the first party, under the command of two able and distinguished men, Raymond Pilet and William de Sabran.

Geldemar, who had already started ahead of this party, marched down into the plain around Lydda and Ramlah and there encountered a company of the enemy, six hundred strong. They at once attacked him and killed four of his knights and many more foot soldiers. Although few in number, the Christians resisted as well as they could. They were cheering one another on to the fight, when, fortunately, the two leaders who were following them arrived before the engagement was over and threw themselves into the fray. With united forces they fell upon the foe, and, by the help of divine mercy, killed two hundred and compelled the rest to flee. In this skirmish, however, the Christians lost two nobles, Gilbert de Trèves and Aicard de Montmerle. The news of their fate caused no little sorrow to the army.

After this victory had been vouchsafed from on high, the detachments proceeded on their way to Jaffa according to their intention and reached there in safety. The sailors greeted them with rejoicing, and all shared in the refreshment which comes from mutual affection and pleasant converse.

³⁵ Solinus *Polyhistor* xxxiv.

³⁶ Jerome *Ep.* xxvii.

At Jaffa they remained for a while until those who had come by ship could arrange their baggage and prepare for the march. Suddenly, the Egyptian fleet appeared one night before the city. It had been lying near Ascalon, waiting for an opportunity to injure the Christians. At these tidings the people hurried down to the shore. At first they tried to protect the ships from the schemes of the foe. They soon perceived, however, that their force was too small to resist so many. They therefore dismantled the vessels and carried away the sails, ropes, and all the rest of the equipment, and, laden with these things, they then withdrew to the citadel.

One ship, however, was absent on a predatory expedition. When it returned, laden with spoils, the enemy's fleet was in possession of the port of Jaffa. It therefore continued on its course and, borne by favoring breezes, arrived in safety at Laodicea.

Jaffa was at this time an utter wilderness entirely without inhabitants. The citizens had but little confidence in the city's fortifications, and shortly before the Christians arrived they had abandoned the place. Our troops occupied the citadel only. When all was ready for departure, the newcomers set out for Jerusalem with all their possessions, under the military escort which had been sent to guide them. They were received with much joy by the legions encamped before Jerusalem, to whom their presence brought promise of much assistance. For they were experienced men, skilled in the art of building, as sailors usually are. They were expert at felling trees, smoothing and fitting beams, and erecting machines in the least possible time. Moreover, they brought with them a great variety of things which proved of much help to the expeditionary forces. By the aid of these people the pilgrims easily accomplished works which before their arrival had seemed difficult and well-nigh impossible.

10. *Those who had come by sea proceed to the army. They lend able assistance in constructing the engines. The count of Toulouse and Tancred are reconciled to each other.*

THOSE who had remained behind at the place of siege continued faithfully to press on the work of building machines and had already completed the greater part of that task. The duke and the counts of Flanders and Normandy had entrusted the general oversight of the work to Gaston de Béarn, an able and magnificent man, and had begged

him to exercise a careful watch over the workmen that they might not neglect their tasks. The chiefs themselves often led the people out in large companies to cut timber, which was then brought back to camp for the various building operations. Some cut and piled up shrubs and bushes and branches of saplings to be used in making wickerwork coverings for the outside of engines. Others stripped off the hides of animals, clean and unclean alike, which had either died of thirst or had been killed. These skins were to be hung over the wickerwork to protect it from harm in case the enemy should throw fire from above to destroy the machines.

The zealous interest of the duke and the two counts just mentioned inspired great activity in the troops along the section on the north side of the wall. The same enthusiasm also prevailed along that part of the fortifications which extended from the tower on the corner to the west gate beneath the tower of David. Here the forces of Lord Tancred and the other nobles whose camps were in that section carried on the same work with no less diligence.

On the south the army of the count of Toulouse and his entire following were working with indefatigable zeal and diligence. Even greater enthusiasm prevailed at this point, for Raymond possessed more ample means than the other leaders and had also recently obtained fresh reinforcements of men and supplies. All who had come from the ships had joined his camp. They had brought with them many supplies, such as ropes, hammers, and other iron tools most necessary for the work of building machines. Among their number were excellent workmen, accustomed to building and setting up machines, as we have said—experienced men who were able to suggest many devices for bringing the work to a speedy conclusion. The noble William Embriacus, who commanded the Genoese, also gave much time and effort to the task of constructing the machines.

For four weeks the entire army toiled with all its strength, and at last after great effort the task was completed. The leaders then conferred together and fixed a day for making the attack on the city.

During this time, however, a serious disagreement had arisen between the count of Toulouse and Lord Tancred, and there was discord also among some of the other nobles for various reasons. It seemed necessary, therefore, to the chiefs, as well as to the bishops, the clergy, and, in fact, to the entire people, that full and loving harmony should

first of all be restored to their ranks. Then, with sincere hearts, they would be able to implore divine aid.

II. *A fast is proclaimed. The entire company of pilgrims goes up to the Mount of Olives.*

A FAST was accordingly proclaimed to the people by public decree for a certain day. Clad in their sacerdotal robes and with bare feet, the bishops and clergy led their people with the utmost reverence to the Mount of Olives. In their hands they bore crosses and relics of the saints. There the venerable Peter the Hermit and Arnulf, a learned man, a friend of the count of Normandy, preached to the people. With eloquent words they besought all to show a spirit of forbearance toward one another.

The Mount of Olives lies about a mile distant over against the city on the east, beyond the valley of Jehoshaphat. Hence St. Luke speaks of it as a sabbath day's journey from Jerusalem.³⁷ It was from this mount that, forty days after His resurrection, our Saviour ascended into heaven before the eyes of His disciples and a cloud received Him from their sight.

When the faithful reached this place, they implored aid from on high with deep humility and contrition, amid heartfelt sobs and sighs. The leaders became reconciled to one another, and all the people again entered into a state of mutual love. Then they went down from the mount and once more ascended to the church of Mt. Sion which, as has been said, was situated near the city on the south, at the top of the mount.

Meanwhile the citizens were filled with wonder as to the meaning of this procession round the city. From the walls and towers, with bows and ballistae, they kept hurling missiles on the crowded ranks of the Christians, whence some of our people who did not exercise due caution received wounds. To show their scorn and contempt for the Christians, the infidels had set up crosses on the walls, and on these they vented all kinds of shameful insults. They even spit upon them and in other ways indulged their feelings with filthy abuse. With brazen insolence they kept pouring forth blasphemous words and taunts against our Lord Jesus Christ and His doctrine of salvation. Although filled with wrath such as sacrilege alone can awaken, the Chris-

³⁷ Ac. 1: 12.

tians proceeded to carry out their vows in entire devotion and at length arrived at the church, their destination.

After prayers had once more been completed there, the day was appointed on which, as with one accord, they were to attack the city. Then, after the procession around the city had been completed, the army returned to camp.³⁸ Commands were given that if anything was lacking for the successful completion of the task, it should be supplied immediately, that there might be no delay from lack of attention to detail, when the moment for the attack arrived.

12. *During the night, the duke and the two illustrious counts move their camp. The engines are set up in position round the city.*

THE day set for attacking the city approached. On the night before, the duke and the two illustrious counts moved their camp. For they perceived that the section of the wall which they had been blockading was particularly well defended by machines, weapons, and valiant warriors. Well aware that there was more to be feared from that side, the infidels had fortified it all the more strongly. In view of these defenses, the leaders saw that they could not hope to accomplish much on the following day. It appeared to them, and rightly, that the other side of Jerusalem, which had not been invested, was being guarded with less care. Accordingly, that night, with remarkable foresight and great labor, they transferred their machines and the siege tower, piece by piece, before the parts were put together, to that part of the city which lies between the gate of St. Stephen and the tower at the corner on the north, overlooking the valley of Jehoshaphat. The camp also was moved thither. Strenuous work throughout the entire night enabled them to transport and assemble the engines and to locate them in their proper places before the sun rose. The movable tower was applied to the fortifications at a place where the wall was somewhat lower and the approach more level and more easily accessible. It was so placed that the defenders in their towers and the fighters in this siege engine might almost seem to be contending in a hand-to-hand struggle. The task thus accomplished was not slight, for ere sunrise the engines had been moved half a mile from the former location of the

³⁸ This procession occurred July 8, 1099.

camp, the parts assembled, and the machines set up in their new positions.

At dawn the citizens hurried to the walls to see what the Christians were doing outside. To their amazement they found that a part of the camp which for the last two days had stood there had disappeared with all its martial equipment. They scanned the vicinity and the circuit of the wall carefully and discovered that the duke's camp had been moved and the engines set up in the place just described.

Throughout that same night, in other parts of the city, in the same way that they had placed their camps in the order related, the other chiefs also had continued their work. They too had kept vigilant watch and had set up their engines. Practically simultaneously, the count of Toulouse attached the tower which he had had made with such care to the ramparts between the church of Mt. Sion and the city, and the other chiefs who occupied the position around the tower at the corner, now known as the tower of Tancred, also moved up to the wall, with equal care and effort, a wooden tower, which in height and solid construction almost matched the others.

The appearance and workmanship of the three machines was very similar. They were square structures, and the side facing the city was protected by a double covering. By a skilful device the outer one of the two could be let down in such a manner as to form a bridge between the tower and the wall. This furnished the soldiers a means of access to the city. This maneuver did not leave the side of the machine exposed, however, for when the outer covering was let down, the second layer beneath it afforded quite as much protection as that of the other sides.

13. *The city is stormed. The battle is fought with intense fury on both sides, but the appearance of night puts an end to the engagement.*

At daybreak, according to arrangement, the entire Christian army stood before the city, fully armed and ready for the attack. One single purpose fired the hearts of all—either to restore Jerusalem to the enjoyment of Christian liberty or to give up their lives for Christ's sake. There was not one person in that great throng, whether aged or sick or even very young, who did not fervently and zealously long for

battle. Even women, regardless of sex and natural weakness, dared to assume arms and fought manfully far beyond their strength. Thus the Christians advanced with one accord to battle. All tried to push the newly constructed engines closer to the wall so that they might more easily attack those who were putting up a strenuous resistance on the ramparts and the towers.

The citizens, determined for their part to withstand their enemies to the utmost, sent forth showers of arrows and missiles. Stones, hurled both by hand and from the machines, fell with fearful force, as the infidels tried by every device to keep our people from approaching the wall. But the Christians, protected by their shields and the wicker-work screens which they held out before them, showed no less activity. Showers of darts rained from their bows and ballistae, and volleys of stone missiles poured forth from the engines as the pilgrims, undismayed, strove to approach closer to the fortifications. They were seeking to weaken the courage of their foes and granted them not a moment's respite. Some, stationed inside the movable tower, kept trying to push it forward by means of poles; others at the engines sent huge rocks crashing against the walls, in the hope that the constant collision and continual blows might weaken them so that they would fall. Still others, armed with smaller weapons called *mangons*, threw stones of lesser size and toiled zealously to prevent the defenders on the ramparts from harming our fighters.

Yet those who were trying to push forward the engine were not as successful as they desired, for a wide and deep ditch before the bulwarks greatly hindered the progress of the machine; nor did those who were attempting to make a breach in the walls meet with satisfactory results. For from the outer walls the citizens had hung sacks filled with straw and chaff, together with ropes and tapestries, huge beams, and mattresses stuffed with silk. The soft and yielding character of these buffers rendered the blows of the missiles ineffective and defeated all the efforts of the assailants. Moreover, the enemy had likewise set up engines within the city which much exceeded ours in number. From these, arrows and stones were continually hurled to hinder the work of the Christians. Thus, as both sides were exerting themselves to the utmost and fighting with bitter hatred, the conflict continued from morning to night. It was persistent and terrible beyond belief; spears and arrows fell like hail upon both armies, and

stone missiles, hurled from the opposing hosts, collided in the very air and brought death in many a varied form to the fighters.

Equal labor and equal danger fell to the lot of all, whether they were fighting under the banner of the duke or under those of the count of Toulouse and the other leaders, for, as has been mentioned, the attack was being made simultaneously in three places with equal fervor and enthusiasm. The work of the Christians was much increased, however, by the fact that it was necessary to fill up the moat with rubbish, stones, and earth before a road could be made along which to move the machines.

Equally arduous and more trying, however, was the task of the defenders as they endeavored to hinder the besieging forces. They continued to put up a valiant resistance against the equally strenuous efforts of the besiegers. In their desperate efforts to burn the engines of the Christians they hurled down burning brands, darts laden with burning sulphur, pitch, *pasta*, oil, or anything that would furnish fuel to the flames. Moreover, so skilfully were the blows of the huge engines which had been built within the city directed against those of the Christians outside that the supports of the latter soon began to weaken and the sides became perforated. The fighters who had ascended to the upper stories of the tower to attack the city from that height were greatly alarmed and barely escaped being thrown to the ground. At length, however, by pouring on quantities of water from above, the Christians succeeded in thwarting the efforts of the fire throwers, and the fury of the flames was checked.

14. *Both besiegers and defenders pass the night in a state of extreme anxiety.*

THE approach of night put an end to this conflict so courageously waged in the midst of extreme danger, yet even then the result was indecisive. During the watches of the night, the fighters obtained some measure of bodily rest, yet the never-ceasing turmoil of spirit prevented sleep and caused them to labor no less. Their hearts, harassed by biting cares, surged within them as, ever mindful of their purpose, they eagerly waited for the dawn, when they might again return to the combat. Ardently they longed to try once more the fortune of battle, for they had faith in the Lord that they were about to draw a better lot and win the palm of victory.

Nevertheless, their anxiety was great lest the enemy, by some means, might furtively set fire to the engines. Hence they maintained a continual watch over them and passed a sleepless night.

The besieged were tortured by no less biting fear. Their especial dread was that the foe, whose intrepid attack they had witnessed on the day just passed, might seize the opportunity afforded by the silence of midnight to gain entrance to the city, either by making a breach in the wall or by scaling the fortifications. Throughout the entire night, therefore, they too with zealous care patrolled the circuit of the fortifications with the watchful diligence of those to whom it was a matter of life and death. In each tower were stationed officers of the night watch.

Meanwhile, the elders and those upon whom rested the chief responsibility for the city kept making the rounds of the streets. They admonished others also to keep a diligent watch for the sake of their wives and children, their own property, and the public weal. Carefully they scrutinized the gates and ways, that no opportunity might be given for the wiles of the enemy.

Thus both armies were afflicted with similar anxieties, nor did their watchful solicitude grant them any time for repose. The incessant mental turmoil, which kept their hearts and minds in agitation, was far more trying for both sides than the actual conflict on the field of battle which they had endured the day before.

15. *On the following day the conflict is resumed. The city is assailed more furiously than before. Sorceresses perish, who had been brought for the purpose of bewitching our machines.*

THE night was drawing to a close, and the first rays of light were already beginning to announce the approach of the longed-for day. The people, animated with the most intense zeal, were again summoned to the conflict. Each man returned at once to the post of duty which had been assigned him on the previous day. Some, at the hurling machines, kept throwing immense stones of great weight against the walls. Others, from lower positions in the siege engine, exerted all their skill and strength in pushing it forward. Still others, stationed on the top story of the same machine, harried the foe in the opposite towers with showers of missiles from their bows and ballistae or with any other weapons at hand. So persistent and effective was this bom-

bardment that the defenders dared not raise a hand and were forced to remain within the ramparts. When the moat had been filled and the forewalls breached, some of the besiegers worked with all their might to push the tower nearer. Meanwhile a still larger force kept up a constant hail of stones and arrows to drive back the defenders from the ramparts, so that they might not hinder those who were pushing the engine forward.

But as the citizens saw the efforts of the Christians increase, they too endeavored the more diligently to meet every stratagem with a like stratagem and to repel force by force. They too kept hurling back darts and stone missiles in retaliation against the besiegers and against those who were trying to advance the tower, and displayed an admirable energy which successfully hindered their progress. And in the hope of putting an end to our effort once for all, they hurled down fire upon the machines in fragile jars and in every other possible way. They also threw down sulphur and pitch, grease and fat, wax, dry wood and stubble—anything, in fact, that might help to feed the flame by acting as fuel. As a result, in both armies frightful havoc was wrought, and many, both knights and foot soldiers, perished by various mishaps and unforeseen accidents. Some were crushed to atoms by missiles hurled from the engines; others collapsed suddenly, pierced through both breastplate and shield by the showers of arrows and spears. Some died immediately, struck by sharp rocks hurled either by hand or from the machines. Others lived on with shattered limbs disabled for many days or, perchance, forever. Nevertheless, these many perils could not deter the contestants from their undertaking nor lessen their fervent determination to fight. Nor was it easy to judge which people contended with the greater enthusiasm.

It does not seem right, however, to pass over in silence a notable event which is said to have happened that day. Among their other machines outside the walls, the Christians had one which caused dreadful slaughter among the defenders by the violent impetus with which it hurled forth rocks of immense weight. When the infidels perceived that no skill of theirs could prevail against this, they brought two sorceresses to bewitch it and by their magic incantations render it powerless. These women were engaged in their magic rites and divinations on the wall when suddenly a huge millstone from that very engine struck them. They, together with three girls who attended them, were

crushed to death and their lifeless bodies dashed from the wall. At this sight great applause rose from the ranks of the Christian army and exultation filled the hearts of all in our camp. On the other hand, deep sorrow fell upon the people of Jerusalem because of that disaster.

16. *A sign from heaven appears on the Mount of Olives. Those who but a short time before had retired exhausted return eagerly to the fight.*

ALTHOUGH the conflict had endured unto the seventh hour of the day, the result was still doubtful without definite victory for either side. The Christians, wearied beyond their strength, were now beginning in despair to relax their strenuous efforts. The tower was almost completely wrecked by the continual battering to which it had been subjected, and the other machines were smoking from contact with the firebrands which had been hurled upon them. It seemed best under the circumstances to draw them back a little and defer continuing the combat until the morrow. The people were now beginning to feel doubtful of success, their courage was giving way, and gradually they were falling out of the ranks. The enemy, on the contrary, waxed ever more insulting and flung out the challenge to battle with more boldness than usual. At this crisis, divine aid came to the relief of the faithful and, in their desperate need, brought them aid according to their wish. For on the Mount of Olives appeared a warrior who never was seen thereafter. Waving a splendid gleaming shield, he gave the legions the signal to return and renew the combat.

Duke Godfrey and his brother Eustace had stationed themselves in the upper story of the movable tower, that they might take part in the attack and also see that the siege engine was properly protected. When the duke caught sight of this wondrous vision he was filled with joy and at once began with loud shouts to call back the people and the more important leaders. Thereupon, led by the mercy of God, the entire people returned in exaltation of spirit to the fray. So enthusiastic were they that it seemed as if they were beginning the battle anew with fresh strength. Even those who had lately withdrawn, suffering under the burden of wounds or fainting from exhaustion, now returned voluntarily and advanced to the attack with redoubled strength and increased ardor. The leaders and those distinguished men who formed the support of the army led the way and, by their example, inspired

the rest with courage. The women also, that they might have their share in the work, cheered the fighters to renewed courage by their words and brought them water in small vessels that they might not faint upon the field of battle.

Joy reigned in the camp as if victory were already assured. Within an hour the moat had been filled, the outer wall broken down, and the siege engine applied by force to the walls.

It has been already stated that the citizens had hung from the ram-parts immensely heavy beams of great length to deaden the blows of the machines. Our fighters in the siege tower succeeded in cutting the ropes which held two of these buffers. They fell to the ground, where they were caught by men below although not without great risk. They were immediately carried inside the machine and used to reinforce the bridge which, as will be explained later, was thrown across from the movable tower to the wall. For the timbers which formed the bridge were weak and would not have supported the weight of the people who were to cross it, had it not been strengthened by these solid beams which were placed beneath it.

17. *The count of Toulouse and his forces attack the city with equal vigor on the south.*

WHILE the assault on the northern side of the city was being carried on with such vigor, the count of Toulouse and those who were with him were attacking from the south with equal fervor. For three successive days they had worked without respite to fill up the moat. When this was finished, they applied a siege engine to the wall by force, in such a position that the defenders in the towers and the Christians in the siege engines could almost have wounded one another with their lances. The enthusiasm of the fighters everywhere was equal and their perseverance the same. They pressed on the work with more than usual energy because a certain servant of Christ, who dwelt on the Mount of Olives, had promised them confidently that on this day Jerusalem would be taken. The sign of the waving shield from the Mount of Olives, which they too had seen, had likewise kindled their ardor greatly and made them still more sure that victory would be theirs. The work of both these Christian hosts seemed to progress with equal pace. It seemed, indeed, as if it were directed with equal care by the same great Leader, who had determined to repay the devotion of

His servants with a fitting reward. It was indeed time that the fruit of such mighty efforts and the recompense for military service so faithfully rendered should be received.

18. *The duke and his comrades lower the bridge from the wooden tower to the wall and introduce their troops. The city is taken, the gate is opened, and our troops enter Jerusalem.*

THE legions of the duke and the two counts, who, as we have stated, were attacking the city on the north, had, by the aid of God, succeeded in shattering the outworks and filling up the moat. The enemy, now utterly exhausted, could resist no longer. Accordingly, the Christian troops were able to approach the wall without danger, for only here and there were found adversaries bold enough to try to attack them through the loopholes.

At the duke's command, the fighters in the siege engines had set on fire sacks of straw and cushions stuffed with cotton. Fanned into a blaze by the north wind, these poured forth such dense smoke into the city that those who were trying to defend the wall could scarcely open their mouths or eyes. Bewildered and dazed by the torrent of black smoke, they abandoned the defense of the ramparts. As soon as this situation became apparent, the duke ordered the beams which had been rescued from the enemy to be brought aloft at once and so placed that one end rested on the machine and the other on the wall. He then caused the movable side of the siege tower to be lowered. This, supported by the heavy beams which had been placed beneath it, formed a bridge of sufficient strength. Thus material which the enemy had brought in for their own benefit was turned to their injury.

When the bridge had been adjusted in this manner, the noble and illustrious Duke Godfrey, accompanied by his brother Eustace, led the way into the city and encouraged the rest to follow.³⁹ They were fol-

³⁹ Later writers in the West attached much more importance to the distinction of being first to enter Jerusalem than did those who were actually present. The crusaders doubtless crowded into the city so rapidly, once started, that it must have been exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to determine who was first. The chroniclers actually present agree that Godfrey's army was the first to gain entrance, that of Raymond last. The anonymous author of the *Gesta* mentions a "Letholdus" as the first in Godfrey's army. This is doubtless the same person as the "Litholf" of Albert and the "Ludolf" of William, and Albert may be right in giving Tournai as his birthplace and saying that he was accompanied by a brother, "Engelbert," whom William calls

lowed immediately by the two noble brothers Ludolf and Gislebert, natives of the city of Tournai, who well deserve to be remembered forever. Then a host of cavalry and infantry crossed, so many in number that neither the engine nor the bridge could support more. When the enemy perceived that the Christians were in possession of the wall and that the duke had already raised his standard, they abandoned the ramparts and towers and betook themselves to the narrow streets.

As soon as our people observed that the duke and a majority of the leaders had seized the towers, they did not wait to ascend the machine, but vied with one another in raising to the walls the scaling ladders with which they were well supplied. For, in obedience to a public proclamation, each pair of knights had prepared a ladder to be used in common. By means of these, without waiting for the duke's command, they now joined the others on the wall.

Immediately following Godfrey came the count of Flanders, the duke of Normandy, and the gallant Tancred, a warrior praiseworthy in every respect. With these also mounted Hugh the Elder, count of St. Pol; Baldwin du Bourg; Gaston de Béarn; Gaston de Béziers; Gerard de Roussillon; Thomas de La Fère; Conan the Breton; Count Rainbald from the city of Orange; Ludovic de Moncons; Conon de Montague, and Lambert his son; as well as many others whose names and number I do not recall.

As soon as the duke saw that all these knights had entered safely, he sent some of their number with an honorable escort to open the north gate, now the gate of St. Stephen, that the people who were waiting outside might enter. This was unbarred without delay, and the entire army rushed in pell-mell without order or discipline.

It was a Friday at the ninth hour. Verily, it seemed divinely ordained that the faithful who were fighting for the glory of the Saviour should have obtained the consummation of their desires at the same hour and on the very day on which the Lord had suffered in that city for the salvation of the world. It was on that day, as we read, that the

"Giselbert." Later Western writers naturally sought a local hero for the honor and usually joined him to Lethold as sharer in the honor. Thus Ralph of Caen, whom Archer and Kingsford cite, had the Norman, Bernard de St. Valéry, join Lethold. Hagenmeyer, after examining the various claims, concluded that the probable basis for selection in most cases was the fact that they were the first of their respective armies to enter the city (see H. Hagenmeyer, *Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, p. 466, note 18).

first man was created and the second was delivered over to death for the salvation of the first. It was fitting, therefore, that, at that very hour, those who were members of His body and imitators of Him should triumph in His name over His enemies.

19. *The duke rides hither and thither through the city with his followers and works havoc beyond description. The count of Toulouse forces an entrance on the south side and introduces his men. Some of the citizens retreat to the citadel.*

THE duke and those who were with him then united their forces and, protected by their shields and helmets, swept hither and thither through the streets and squares of the city with drawn swords. Regardless of age and condition, they laid low, without distinction, every enemy encountered. Everywhere was frightful carnage, everywhere lay heaps of severed heads, so that soon it was impossible to pass or to go from one place to another except over the bodies of the slain. Already the leaders had forced their way by various routes almost to the center of the city and wrought unspeakable slaughter as they advanced. A host of people followed in their train, athirst for the blood of the enemy and wholly intent upon destruction.

Meanwhile, the count of Toulouse and the leaders who were fighting with him in the vicinity of Mt. Sion were entirely ignorant that the city had been taken and that the victory was ours. But the loud shouts of the Christians as they entered Jerusalem and the fearful cries which arose as the massacre of the infidels proceeded brought consternation to the defenders in that section of the city. They were at a loss to account for the unusual clamor and the ominous uproar. All too soon they discovered that the city had been entered by force and the legions of the Christians introduced. Without delay they abandoned the towers and fortifications and fled in different directions, intent on safety alone. The majority took refuge in the citadel, because that was close at hand.

The army let down the bridge unopposed, raised their ladders to the walls, and entered the city without the slightest hindrance on the part of the enemy. As soon as they themselves were admitted, they threw open the south gate which was the nearest to them and let in the rest of the people. It was here that the illustrious and valiant count of Toulouse entered, accompanied by Isoard, count of Die, Raymond Pilet, William de Sabran, the bishop of Albara, and many other nobles

whose names and number no history has preserved for us.⁴⁰ In one united body these forces, armed to the teeth, swarmed everywhere through the midst of the city, and, with a common purpose, wrought fearful havoc. For when those who had escaped the ravages of the duke and his people fled to other parts of the city and believed that in some way they had avoided death, they encountered this company. Thus, while they were trying to avoid Scylla, they fell into the more serious peril of Charybdis. So frightful was the massacre throughout the city, so terrible the shedding of blood, that even the victors experienced sensations of horror and loathing.

20. *The citizens take refuge in the court of the Temple. Tancred pursues them thither. A frightful massacre results, and a vast amount of blood is shed there.*

THE greater part of the people had taken refuge in the court of the Temple because it lay in a retired part of the city and was very strongly defended by a wall, towers, and gates. But their flight thither did not save them, for Tancred immediately followed with the largest portion of the whole army. He forced his way into the Temple and, after terrible carnage, carried off with him, according to report, a vast amount of gold, silver, and jewels. It is believed, however, that later, after the tumult had quieted down, he restored these treasures untouched.

After the other leaders had slain all whom they encountered in the various parts of the city, they learned that many had fled for refuge to the sacred precincts of the Temple. Thereupon as with one accord they hurried thither. A crowd of knights and foot soldiers was introduced, who massacred all those who had taken refuge there. No mercy was shown to anyone, and the whole place was flooded with the blood of the victims.

It was indeed the righteous judgment of God which ordained that those who had profaned the sanctuary of the Lord by their superstitious rites and had caused it to be an alien place to His faithful people

⁴⁰ William, who was much more conscious of the honor than were the contemporary chroniclers, included all who were mentioned by any of them as among the first to enter and added a number of others who doubtless were or might have been in the group. His mention of Godfrey and Eustace as first is pardonable, since nearly all the writers mentioned them, and Albert, who made a special point of the two brothers from Tournai, said that Godfrey and Eustace were in the same tower.

should expiate their sin by death and, by pouring out their own blood, purify the sacred precincts.

It was impossible to look upon the vast numbers of the slain without horror; everywhere lay fragments of human bodies, and the very ground was covered with the blood of the slain. It was not alone the spectacle of headless bodies and mutilated limbs strewn in all directions that roused horror in all who looked upon them. Still more dreadful was it to gaze upon the victors themselves, dripping with blood from head to foot, an ominous sight which brought terror to all who met them. It is reported that within the Temple enclosure alone about ten thousand infidels perished, in addition to those who lay slain everywhere throughout the city in the streets and squares, the number of whom was estimated as no less.

The rest of the soldiers roved through the city in search of wretched survivors who might be hiding in the narrow portals and byways to escape death. These were dragged out into public view and slain like sheep. Some formed into bands and broke into houses where they laid violent hands on the heads of families, on their wives, children, and their entire households. These victims were either put to the sword or dashed headlong to the ground from some elevated place so that they perished miserably. Each marauder claimed as his own in perpetuity the particular house which he had entered, together with all it contained. For before the capture of the city the pilgrims had agreed that, after it had been taken by force, whatever each man might win for himself should be his forever by right of possession, without molestation. Consequently the pilgrims searched the city most carefully and boldly killed the citizens. They penetrated into the most retired and out-of-the-way places and broke open the most private apartments of the foe. At the entrance of each house, as it was taken, the victor hung up his shield and his arms, as a sign to all who approached not to pause there but to pass by that place as already in possession of another.⁴¹

⁴¹ This is an early instance of the use of coats of arms as a means of identification and the establishment of claims. Doubtless the shields already bore markings of individual ownership, which were later to be elaborated in the heraldic markings still treasured by genealogists.