

Richard of Holy Trinity  
Itinerary of Richard I and others  
to the Holy Land  
(formerly ascribed to Geoffrey de Vinsauf)

translated by

A Classical Scholar  
and  
A Gentleman Well-Read in Mediæval History

In parentheses Publications  
Medieval Latin Series  
Cambridge, Ontario 2001

## Prologue

*To the Itinerary of those who went in pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the time of Saladin, and to the exploits of Richard king of England, and of the king of France, and of the emperor of Germany.*

It sometimes happens, that exploits, however well known and splendidly achieved, come, by length of time, to be less known to fame, or even forgotten among posterity. In this manner the renown of many kings has faded, and their deeds have sunk with them into the grave where their bodies lie buried – deeds that had been performed with great splendour, and were much celebrated in their own times, when their novelty brought them into favour, and unanimous applause set them up as models before the people. The ancient Greeks, aware of this, were wise enough to use the pen as a remedy against oblivion, and zealously stimulated their writers, whom they termed historiographers, to compile histories of noble deeds. Thus the silence of the living voice was supplied by the voice of writing, so that the virtues of men might not die with them. The Romans, emulating the Greeks, with the view of perpetuating merit, not only employed the service of the pen, but also added sculpture: and thus by exhibiting the ancients they excited their descendants, and impressed the love of virtue the more strongly on the minds of its imitators, conveying it in various ways, both through their eyes and through their ears. Who would now know anything about the voyage of Jason, the labours of Hercules, the glory of Alexander, or the victories of Cæsar, if it had not been for the service which writers have rendered? And, to adduce the examples of the Holy Fathers, I may say, that neither the patience of Job, the liberality of

## *Itinerary*

Abraham, nor the gentleness of David, would have remained as an example among the faithful of after-ages, if antiquity, with a due appreciation of truth, had not bequeathed history for our perusal. Indeed, kings formerly, when they became the objects of praise, were most anxious, that, whilst they stood high in the estimation of their contemporaries, they might also descend to the knowledge of posterity. However numerous have been the historians, most of them have recorded what they heard; few what they have seen. If Dares Phrygius<sup>1</sup> is more readily believed about the destruction of Troy, because he was an eyewitness of what others related only on hearsay, we also, who treat of the history of Jerusalem, are justly entitled to credit; for we testify what we have seen, and celebrate these deeds with the pen, whilst our memory of them retains its freshness. If the fastidious reader require a more elegant style, let him consider that we wrote while in the camp, and that the noise of war did not admit of calm and silent meditation. Truth has charms enough in herself, and even though not decked out in pompous array, still possesses sufficient attractions for all who are desirous of learning her secrets.

<sup>1</sup>Dares Phrygius, now universally acknowledged to be a forgery, was nevertheless one of the most popular writers of the middle ages. Historical and literary criticism being then at a very low ebb, few, if any, suspected the truth of a writer who boasted that he had been present at the war of Troy.

## Book I.

Chapter I. — In the year of the Incarnate Word 1187, when Urban III. held the government of the Apostolic See, and Frederic was emperor of Germany; when Isaac was reigning at Constantinople, Philip in France, Henry in England, and William in Sicily, the Lord's hand fell heavy upon his people, if indeed it is right to call those his people, whom uncleanness of life and habits, and the foulness of their vices, had alienated from his favour. Their licentiousness had indeed become so flagrant that they all of them, casting aside the veil of shame, rushed headlong, in the face of day, into crime. It would be a long task and incompatible with our present purpose to disclose the scenes of blood, robbery, and adultery, which disgraced them, for this work of mine is a history of deeds and not a moral treatise: but when the ancient enemy had diffused, far and near, the spirit of corruption, he more especially took possession of the land of Syria, so that other nations now drew an example of uncleanness from the same source which formerly had supplied them with the elements of religion. For this cause, therefore, the Lord seeing that the land of his birth and place of his passion had sunk into an abyss of turpitude, treated with neglect his inheritance, and suffered Saladin, the rod of his wrath, to put forth his fury to the destruction of that stiff-necked people; for he would rather that the Holy Land should, for a short time, be subject to the profane rites of the heathen, than that it should any longer be possessed by those men, whom no regard for what is right could deter from things unlawful. The approach of future destruction was foretold by divers events: famine, earthquakes, and frequent eclipses, both of the sun and of the moon. And that strong wind also, which astronomers prophesied would spring out of the

## *Itinerary*

conjunction of the planets, became changed to the signification of this event. It was a mighty wind indeed; it shook the four cardinal points of the earth, and foreshewed that the whole of the globe was about to be stirred up to troubles and wars.

### Chapter II. — *How Saladin invaded Palestine.*

Saladin, therefore, having assembled his bands of warriors, violently assailed Palestine, and sent forward Manafaradin, admiral of Edessa, with 7,000 Turks, to ravage the Holy Land. This man, when he had marched as far as the parts about Tiberias, was there encountered by Gerard de Riddeford, master of the Templars,<sup>2</sup> and Roger de Moulins, master of the Hospital; one of whom they routed and put to flight, and slew the other in a sudden attack. In this battle a few of our soldiers were cut off and surrounded by an immense multitude, which led to an achievement of distinction which deserves to be recorded. A certain knight of the Temple, by birth a German, named Jakeline de Maillé, by his extraordinary valour provoked the enemy to turn all their attacks on him. His fellow-soldiers, who were estimated about 500 in number, were all either taken or slain, and he alone sustained the weight of the whole battle, — a glorious champion for God's law! At length, hemmed in by the enemy's troops, and destitute of all human aid, seeing so many thousands rushing upon him on every side, he gathered up his whole courage for an effort, and bravely faced the foe alone. His valour attracted the admiration of his enemies; they were filled with compassion for him, and called earnestly to him to surrender. He, however, turning a deaf ear to their exhortations, was not afraid to die for Christ, but overwhelmed with the load of javelins, stones, and lances, rather than vanquished, he at length was with difficulty slain,

<sup>2</sup>There is some doubt whether the grand master of the Templars at this time was named Riddeford or Biddeford. The readings of the MSS. vary between Riddeford, Biddeford, and Tiddeford, but probability seems to be in favour of the first. After the battle, Roger de Moulins was found dead among a heap of Turks and Saracens whom he had slain with his own hand. Jacqueline de Maillé was the marshal of the Temple.

## *Itinerary*

and his soul fled triumphant, bearing the palm of martyrdom, to the heavenly kingdom. His death indeed was rendered glorious, since by his single sword so large a circle of dead bodies had been heaped around him. It was sweet for a man to die thus, himself in the centre, surrounded by the unbelievers whom his brave arm had slaughtered. [And inasmuch as he rode on a white horse and fought that day in white armour, the idolaters who know St. Gregory to have fought in such costume, boasted that they had slain the knight of the white armour, who was the bulwark of the Christians.<sup>3</sup>] There was, in the place of this conflict, some stubble which the reaper had left after the ears had been cut off a short time before, but the Turks had rushed over it in such multitudes, and this single champion had held out so long against them, that the field in which they stood was wholly trampled to dust, and showed no signs of a crop of corn ever having grown there. It is said, there were some who sprinkled the limbs of the dead man with dust, which they afterwards placed on their own heads, believing that they derived force from the contact; and one man, as is said, more ardent than the rest, cut off certain members of the man, and kept them for his own use, that even though dead they might perchance produce a successor to such distinguished valour.

### Chapter III. — *Of the origin of Saladin.*

At this victory Saladin rejoiced greatly; and fired with the ambition of gaining the kingdom turned his thoughts to still greater deeds. But that future ages may know more of this persecutor of the Christian name, I will premise a few particulars of his origin, as far as the brevity at which I aim will allow. He was of the race of the Mirmuræni, the son of parents who were not noble, though not a plebeian of obscure birth. His father was called Job, and his own name was Joseph. For according to the tradition of Mahomet, it is customary among many of the heathens, when they

<sup>3</sup>This passage is omitted in some and is very likely to be spurious. May we not read St. George instead of St. Gregory?

## *Itinerary*

circumcise their children, to give them, Hebrew names also; but their princes, that they may be admonished by their names to be zealous defenders of the Mahometan law, take their own names from the very name of that law. Now, law in their language, is Hadin. Hence Saladin is so called as the upholder of the law; and, as our princes are called either emperors or kings, so theirs are called sultans (*soldani*), as it were sold-dominants.<sup>4</sup> Now Saladin, under Noradin, sultan of Damascus, as a first omen of his power, began by raising an infamous tribute for himself out of the venal courtezans of that city; for he would not allow them to exercise their profession until they had first purchased of him a license. Whatever money he obtained by this base patronage, he lavishly expended on players, and so under the plea of largess, he concealed the design of obtaining the venal favour of the multitude. He was led to aspire at sovereignty by the prediction of a certain Syrian, that he should obtain the government of Damascus and Babylon.<sup>5</sup> Thus he arranged in his own mind the different steps to power, and soon began to aim at more than a kingdom of a small or limited dimensions. In process of time, when his years were matured and he was fit for military service, he came to Enfrid of Tours, the illustrious prince of Palestine, to be mantled, and after the manner of the Franks, received from him the belt of knighthood.

Chapter IV. — *How Saladin seized on the kingdoms of Egypt and Damascus, with India and other countries.*

At that time a certain Mahometan, named Sewar, governed all Egypt, under Molanus, whom they called Lord in the language of their country, and he had been compelled to pay tribute to Amalric, the victorious king of Jerusalem. Now Molanus shewed himself only three times a year to the

<sup>4</sup>This must be considered rather as a monkish pun, than as offered for a derivation of the Saracenic word.

<sup>5</sup>The Babylon referred to is of course Babylon in Egypt, now Fostat the seat of the Fatimite khalifs.

## *Itinerary*

Egyptians, who made adoration to him on those occasions, and all his subjects bought him so powerful, that it was said the Nile overflowed at his command. Moreover, in obedience to the statutes of the heathen law, he had as many concubines as there are days in the year, and so passing his life in his harem, he gave up all the business of his kingdom to Sewar. At this time Saladin, with his uncle, Saracun, was serving in Egypt, and by an act of treachery, he put to death Molanus and Sewar, and thus gained for himself the sovereignty of Egypt. Not long after, Noradin died, and Saladin, marrying the widow, expelled the lawful heirs, and secured for himself through her the possession of their kingdom. Thus the caprice of fortune brought about the establishment of his great power; she is able to make a rich man out of a poor one: a great man out of a little one; and a lord out of a peasant. If things were measured by judgment, and not by opinion, all earthly power, which can be gained by the wicked and the unworthy, would be estimated as dross. That patron of prostitutes, whose power was among stews, his campaigns in a tavern, his studies among dice and garlic, is suddenly lifted up; he sits among princes, and is even greater than princes; he rules on the throne of Egypt; subdues Damascus; occupies the lands of Roasia and Gesyra, and carries his sovereignty to the centre of India Citerior. Wherefore he assails also and subdues the neighbouring kingdoms, at one time by arms, at another time by deceit, and making one monarchy out of several sceptres, arrogates to himself alone the power of so many kings. Neither is the tyrant's cupidity ever gratified; the more he gets the more he covets, and strives with all his power to occupy the land which is the inheritance of our Lord. At length an opportunity arose favourable to his wishes, and he hoped to obtain what he never before presumed to hope for. For Raimund, count of Tripoli, and Guy, the eighth king of the Latins,<sup>6</sup> quarrelled for the sovereignty, and a fatal sedition arose among the people.

<sup>6</sup>This was Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem from 1186 to 1191. If we count from Godfrey de Bouillon, Guy was the ninth, and not the eighth, of the Latin kings of Jerusalem.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter V. — *Of the immense army with which Saladin attacked the army of the Christians, and captured our Lord's cross with the king Guy, and Acre, and reduced to submission the Land of Promise.*

The opportunity above mentioned at once roused his ambitious mind, and promised him a brilliant and sure success. Moreover it was not altogether without cause that the sultan declared war; Reginald, prince of Antioch, having broken the terms of truce, which had been agreed upon between our people and the unbelievers. For once upon a time, when a large and wealthy caravan of Mahometans were passing from Damascus to Egypt, and, trusting to the truce, did not hesitate to pass over the frontiers of the Christian territories, the aforesaid prince suddenly attacked them, and dishonourably carried them off prisoners, together with all their baggage. The sultan, excited on one side by his ambition, and on the other moved with indignation at the outrage, raised all the strength of his kingdom, and assailed with power and impetuosity the territories of Jerusalem. If the number of men, the variety of nations, and the diversity of religions were fully described, as the law of history demands, my plan of brevity would be interrupted by the ample details of such a narrative: Parthians, Bedouins, Arabs, Medes, Cordians, and Egyptians, though differing in country, religion, and name, were all aroused with one accord to the destruction of the Holy Land. As our troops were marching to meet them, and the fatal day approached, a fearful vision was seen by the king's chamberlain, who dreamt that an eagle flew past the Christian army, bearing seven missiles and a balista in its talons, and crying with a loud voice, "Woe to thee, Jerusalem!" To explain the mystery of this vision, we need, I think, only take the words of Scripture; "The Lord hath bent his bow, and in it prepared the vessels of death." What are the seven missiles, but a figure for the seven sins by which that unhappy army was soon to perish? By this number, seven, may also be understood the number of punishments that impended over the Christians, which was some time after fulfilled by the event, that too faithful and terrible interpreter of omens. The battle had not begun, when, the armies having been drawn out at a short distance from Tiberias, at a place called the Marescallia, the Lord

## *Itinerary*

hemmed in his people with the sword, and as a punishment for the sins of men, gave over his inheritance to slaughter and devastation. What need I say more? Neither the plan of my work, nor the immensity of the calamity, allows me to find lamentations for all its details. However, to sum all up in few words, so many were slain there, so many wounded, and so many cast into prison, that the destruction of our people drew pity even from the enemies. That vivifying wood of the cross of our salvation, on which our Lord and Redeemer hung, and down whose shaft the holy blood of Christ flowed, the sign of which is adored by angels, venerated by men, and feared by devils, under whose protection our men have always been victors in war, alas! is now captured by the enemy, and the two bearers of the cross, the bishop of Acre, and the precentor of our Lord's tomb (the bishop of St. George), fell with it, the one slain, the other a prisoner. This was the second indignity, since Chosroes, king of the Persians, which that holy cross endured for our sins; it had redeemed us from the old yoke of captivity, and now it was captured from us, and soiled by the profane hands of the unbelievers.

Let him that hath intelligence consider how fierce must have been God's wrath, how great the iniquity of his servants, when unbelievers were deemed less unworthy than Christians to become its guardians. Nothing ever happened so lamentable in all ancient times; for neither the captivity of God's ark, nor that of the kings of Judah, can compare with the calamity of our own times, by which the king and the glorious cross are taken captive together. Of the other prisoners, whose number was both extraordinary and lamentable, part were reserved unhurt to be placed at the victor's disposal, part were dispatched with the sword, and so found a happy and short byroad to heaven! Among others was Reginald prince of Antioch: he was led into the presence of the sultan, and that tyrant, either following the impulse of his passion, or envious of the great excellence of the man, cut off with his own hand that veteran and aged head. All the Templars also who were taken, except their master, he ordered to be decapitated, wishing utterly to exterminate those whom he knew to be valiant above all others in battle. O what faith, what fervour of mind was theirs! How many assumed the tonsure of the Templars, and flocked

## *Itinerary*

eagerly round their executioners, joyfully presenting their necks to the sword, in the pious fraud of this new costume! Among these soldiers of Christ was a Templar, named Nicholas, who had so induced others to aspire to martyrdom, that, by reason of their emulation to be beforehand with him, he could hardly succeed in first obtaining the mortal stroke which he coveted. Nor did the Divine mercy withhold its miraculous manifestation, for during the three following nights, when the bodies of the holy martyrs were lying still unburied, a ray of celestial light shone over them from above.

When the noise of battle had ceased, Saladin seeing prisoners carried off in all directions, and the ground on all sides covered with the slain, lifting up his eyes to heaven, gave thanks to God for the victory which he had gained. This was his practice in all cases; but at present among other things, he is reported to have said, that it was not his own power but our crimes which had given him the victory; and it was proved to be so by the character of the event. In other engagements, our army, however moderate in size, with Divine aid always conquered; but now, because we were not with God, nor God with us, our people were altogether defeated, even before the conflict, though they were reckoned at more than 1,000 knights and more than 20,000 footmen: so entirely had the whole force of the kingdom flocked together at the king's command to that fatal campaign, that those only remained to guard the cities and castles, whom weakness of sex or age rendered unfit to bear arms. This disastrous battle was fought on the day of the translation of St. Martin, and in one moment all the glory of the kingdom passed from it and was extinguished. The sultan, therefore, trusting that the fortresses of the kingdom would be easily taken, now that their defenders were slain, carried the captive king in triumph through the castles of Syria, reserving him as a mark for his ridicule, to be shewn to the cities which he wished to take and to enforce their surrender. With this view he marched first to Acre, and took it without a blow, granting the citizens leave to remove themselves and their effects to whatever place they pleased.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter VI. — *Of the capture of the Christians, who unwarily put in at the port of Acre.*

Meanwhile our sailors were proceeding on their customary voyage to Acre, coming from Christian countries, and laden some with merchandise, others with pilgrims. Alas! they had not heard what had happened, and they entered the hostile port to be made prisoners. It was indeed a sad destiny: they hailed the sight of land, where chains were prepared for them on landing: they rejoiced to have passed the dangers of the sea, and the sword awaited them: they hoped for repose after their fatigues, and they found persecution: some of them were kept as prisoners, many of them were made objects of derision, a few were allowed to escape, but designedly naked and helpless, that others might be deterred by their example.

Chapter VII. — *How the Marquis Conrad escaped being taken in the same snare, and proceeded to Tyre.*

Among others, the marquis, on his way from Constantinople, dropped his sails outside the port of Acre, and, as it was near sunset, lay to till the morning. For the silence which prevailed in the city created suspicion, since at other times there was a general shout of congratulation when any vessel appeared; the ensigns of the sultan, seen in different parts of the city, gave still more cause for apprehension. Some of the Saracen galleys were now seen approaching, but the rest of the crew becoming alarmed, the marquis commanded them to be silent, and stood forth as their spokesman. When, therefore, those who were sent asked who they were, he said it was a merchantship, and he was the master; that he had heard what had happened, and being a devoted servant of the sultan, would wait on him at break of day and exhibit his wares. That same night, the wind being favourable, he sailed to Tyre, and undertook the task of defending it: his arrival was alike a protection to all other Christians who should come, and would have contributed to his own glory, if he had only persevered to the end in the same line of conduct. This was the marquis

## *Itinerary*

Conrad, an Italian by birth, a man of singular activity, and brave in all he undertook.<sup>7</sup> But however noble the beginning, when it is tarnished by a disgraceful end, it merits shame rather than glory.

The sultan, after the capture of Acre, followed by the surrender of Berytus and Sidon, expected to take Tyre with the same ease, but was shamefully repulsed from its walls, and raised the siege.

Chapter VIII. — *How Saladin, after the capture of Berytus and Sidon, was repulsed from the walls of Tyre, and took Ascalon by a false treaty.*

Saladin, taking the king with him, proceeded thence to Ascalon, and planting his machines for throwing stones, began to assail it. The town is easy to be taken if defended by a weak garrison, though its great strength renders it invincible if sufficiently garrisoned. The insatiable invader, eager above all things to obtain this city, nevertheless distrusted his ability to take it by force, for he did not know how things were within its walls, nor how deficient it was both in arms, men, and victuals. He therefore agreed to a capitulation, by which the citizens were to depart freely with their effects, and the king, with fifteen other distinguished captives, were to be set at liberty as soon as possible. On the same day that this capitulation gave him possession of the city, the sun, as if in sympathy, was eclipsed, and withdrew its light from the city and from the world. The perjured and perfidious tyrant, too, was faithless in the performance of part of his agreement; for the king was carried to Damascus, and was there held in chains until the ensuing month of May; nor was he released from his captivity until he had first consented to abjure his crown.

<sup>7</sup>Conrad was the son of William III., marquis of Montferrat; he had given powerful assistance in quelling a rebellion at Constantinople, and in reward had received the hand of the emperor's sister.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter IX. — *Jerusalem is taken and treated with indignity: the people who ransom themselves are expelled, the rest are made slaves.*

The fall of Jerusalem was now impending: the victor advancing with speed equal to his hatred, laid siege to the city; and erecting his machines, with sacrilegious irreverence profaned all the holy places. There was a certain cross of stone, which our soldiers formerly, when, after the capture of Antioch, they had gloriously taken this city, had erected on the wall in commemoration of the deed. The ferocious invaders destroyed this cross with a blow from one of their machines, and at the same time struck down a great part of the wall. The citizens interposed such defences as they were able, but all the exertions of our men were ineffectual: bows, balistas, and slings were used to no purpose; both arms and machines visibly declared that the Lord was wroth, and foretold the fall of the city. A large number of people had flocked together to the city from the neighbouring fortresses, trusting rather in the sanctity of the place than in the strength of its defences; but in so great a multitude hardly fourteen knights could be found. The priests and clerks, although it was contrary to their profession, discharged the duties of soldiers, according to the emergency, and fought bravely for the Lord's house, bearing in mind the maxim, that to repel force by force is allowed by all laws both human and divine. But the populace, alike ignorant and timorous, flocked in numbers round the patriarch and the queen, who were left in charge of the city, bitterly complaining and earnestly entreating that they might treat with the sultan for peace, as soon as possible. Their capitulation, however, was one to be deplored, rather than praised: for each of them had to pay the ransom of his own life; a man was valued at ten bezants, a woman at five, a child at one; and whoever was unable to pay, was made a slave. It thus happened that when many of them, either out of their own property, or by aids gathered from other sources, had paid the price of their safety, there remained 14,000, who could not redeem themselves, and were made slaves for life. To those who purchased their liberty, the choice was given, either to proceed to Antioch, or to be carried under safe conduct to Alexandria, and thence to cross the sea. That day was indeed a bitter day, on which the exiles separated, each

## *Itinerary*

on his different road, and left that sacred city, that city which had been the queen of cities, but which was now reduced to slavery; that city which was the inheritance of its children, but was now in the hands of strangers, on account of the wickedness of those who dwelt therein.

Glorious was Jerusalem, the city of God, where the Lord suffered, and was buried, and where he displayed the glory of his resurrection; but she is now subject to contamination at the hands of her baseborn foe: nor is there any grief like that grief, that they should possess the sepulchre, who persecuted Him that lies buried in it; and those, who had despised the Crucified, have made themselves masters of his Cross! This most holy city had been, for about ninety-six years, in the hands of our people, ever since the victorious arms of the Christians had taken it, at the same time as Antioch; when it had been forty years before in the possession of the unbelievers. When the city was taken, the crier of the Mahometan law proceeded to the summit of the rock of Calvary, and there published their false law, in the place where Christ had consummated the law of death upon the cross. Another diabolical act was perpetrated by the enemy. They fastened ropes round a certain cross, which stood upon the pinnacle of the church of the Hospitallers, and dragged it to the ground, where they spat upon it, and hacked it, and drew it, in derision of our faith, through all the filth of the city.

### *Chapter X. — How Saladin besieged Tyre by sea and land.*

Now the queen, who was the daughter of King Amalric, and was named Sibilla, together with Heraclius the patriarch, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and an immense multitude of fellow-exiles, directed their course towards Antioch. How she had a sad interview at Neapolis with the captive king her husband, and how the marquis violently carried off to Tyre the ship in which she intended to embark, brevity compels us to pass over. But we must not omit to mention how Saladin, burning with desire to take the city of Tyre, went against it a second time with all his army, and not content with besieging it by land, he blockaded it from the sea with his galleys, and prepared to attack it on every side. That nothing might be left

## *Itinerary*

untried, he brought forward the marquis's father, whom he had taken prisoner in the battle before mentioned, trusting that the son, moved by filial affection, would give up the city in exchange for his parent. At one moment he offers him in exchange, at another he threatens him with death, and tries various means of working upon his feelings. All, however, is in vain, for the marquis, inflexible, derides his offers and despises his threats. Whenever, to move his compassion, they show him his father in chains, he immediately seizes a balista, and aims a shaft obliquely towards him, intending indeed that his hand shall err, but feigning to take good aim. And when the sultan's messengers came to threaten that his father should be slain, he replied that he wished it by all means; that the wicked man, after so many crimes, might at length find a good end, and he might himself have a martyr for his father. Thus the tyrant, failing in his expectation of gaining the city by these means, tried his fortune in another way; and where art failed, determined to see what could be done by arms.

Tyre is situated in the heart of the sea, and is surrounded on all sides by walls. A small part of it, where it is not washed by the waves, is fortified by several lines of walls. It was once famous for its kings, and gave birth to the founders of Thebes and Carthage. When Solomon was king of Judea, Tyre had her own sovereign, and though she was then the head of her own dominions, in process of time she became a part of the kingdom of Jerusalem. This city its eager foe now assailed by land and sea; and, whilst it suffered within from hunger, it was exposed to manifold assaults from without. On the morning after Innocent's day, namely on the feast of the blessed martyr Thomas,<sup>8</sup> the citizens gained an important victory, for at dawn of day they sailed out with a few small vessels, and in a naval engagement obliged the enemy to raise the siege on the side of the sea. They seemed indeed more fitted for flight than fighting; and on the first onset, all the enemy's fleet, by the power of the Almighty, were so panic-struck, that some of them were carried into the city with their crews: the

<sup>8</sup>Dec. 29, 1187. Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered the 29th of December, seventeen years before.

## *Itinerary*

rest in their flight ran aground and there perished. The unbelievers, seeing this engagement by sea, supposed that all the defenders of the city had left it, and thus, confident of victory, they attacked the town with impetuosity. Already their troops had reached the fortifications, and numbers were hasting to mount them, when the marquis ordered the gates to be thrown open, and followed by Hugh of Tiberias, with his brothers and a noble company of men besides, struck down multitudes with his small band. Saladin seeing the fortunes of the day against him, gave orders that his remaining engines and galleys should be burnt, and retreated ingloriously. Afterwards, about the beginning of May, he released the king from captivity, and, having broken his former agreement, imposed, as we have already mentioned, a new and hard condition.

### Chapter XI. — *Of the meeting of the king and queen.*

There is an island called Arados, having a city named Antharados, but commonly called Tortosa. Hither the queen came to meet the king: they kiss and embrace one another, shedding tears of joy, and rejoice at having escaped the calamities which had caused them so much grief. The king remained the following year, partly at Antioch, partly at Tripoli, waiting for the Christians who were preparing to come from beyond the sea to the succour of the Holy Land.

### Chapter XII. — *Of the money which king Henry formerly deposited with the Templars.*

Among other things we think it ought not to be passed over in silence, that Henry, king of England, had formerly deposited a large sum of money with the Templars and Hospitallers, to defend Tyre, and provide for other matters concerning the kingdom. This money that magnificent king, by a provision as pious as necessary, had transmitted to Jerusalem, during a period of many years, to be used in the service of the Holy Land: its total, as is said, amounted to 30,000 marks.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XIII — *How Saladin, retreating from Tyre, took several towns, both in Palestine, and near Antioch.*

Now Saladin leaving Tyre, occupied several castles in Palestine, and thence marched with rapidity into the country round Antioch; and took, by assault rather than by siege, Gebeli, Laodicea, and several other fortresses of that province. The city itself was thrown into no small alarm; but the patriarch and prince, with the common consent of the citizens, promised the tyrant to surrender, if they should not within a given period receive the assistance which they expected. Inconsolable would have been the grief of all Christ's followers, if a city so renowned, and honoured by the first origin of the Christian name, had again become subject to the impure heathen, whom, after a long and dreadful chance of war, our victorious troops had formerly expelled. But whence are the expected reinforcements to come? and when or how shall they come? There is no road open for them by land, and the sea is blockaded by their enemies. The ships of the Christians abstain from approaching, for fear of falling among the galleys of the unbelievers, which they see lying in wait for them. But what the Lord has resolved to save, will not be allowed to perish. Behold, the hoped-for troops arrive! the expected ones are coming! Lo! William, the illustrious king of Sicily, sends the first auxiliaries to the Holy Land, consisting of two earls, five hundred knights, and fifty galleys!

Chapter XIV. — *How William, king of Sicily, sends Margaritus with fifty galleys and five hundred knights to the assistance of the Holy Land.*

To whom else, then, can we give the glory of having saved Antioch, Tripoli, and Tyre, but to Him who preserved from famine and the sword the inhabitants of these cities secure in his strength? At the head of the royal fleet was Margaritus, a very brave man, who, proceeding in advance with the galleys, repressed piratical attempts; and having ascertained that the coast was clear, encouraged the others to follow him. Keeping in check the distant islands, and happily escaping all the dangers of the sea, he had gained such credit by his numerous victories, that he was called the king of

## *Itinerary*

the sea, and by some a second Neptune. Already Tripoli appeared in sight to his sailors: the citizens, on the other hand, beheld in the distance his spreading sails. Though they come the heralds of safety, yet fear, that worst prognosticator at critical moments, raises apprehensions. Without delay they man their walls and mount the bulwarks, uncertain, however, whether to offer a surrender or to try the chance of battle. But when the ships arrive near, and the ensigns of the Cross and other emblems of the Christian religion are beheld on their lofty sterns, a loud shout is raised; the waves echo the sound of their mutual congratulations; the shore is covered with the crowds who flock to meet them, and joy unspeakable fills the breasts of all. Among others, Hervy of Dantzic, especially distinguished by the celebrity of his deeds, contributes his veteran wisdom to the defence of that land; and so in a short time, many a valiant band flocked thither, and the coast was preserved front the power of the enemy.

Chapter XV. — *Saladin takes the town Erathrum, and Mount Royal is surrendered to him after a siege of two years, in exchange for Remfrid de Tours, and Girard, the master of the Temple.*

There is a castle called Erathrum, where once stood the city of Petras. It is still a metropolitan see, and the prelate of it, retaining his ancient title, is still called the archbishop of Petras. This castle, lying in the innermost parts of the kingdom, was long held in siege by the admirals of the sultan. If it were not for famine, which conquers all places however secure, this fortress would be impregnable. There is also a castle called Mount Royal, distant about twenty leagues from the aforesaid city, lying further towards Egypt. Against this also the sultan had sent his admirals at the beginning of the war; trusting to reduce it by famine, though he could not by arms. They did not, therefore, erect machines or try to assault it; for it would be ridiculous to try to scale heaven and to carry by storm a place which could not be approached. The siege was protracted two years, when our people began to feel want, and they endured all the horrors which the Spaniards are said in ancient times to have suffered at Saguntum or the Romans at Perusium; but they still kept up their courage, nor did they decline to eat

## *Itinerary*

food at which man's usual habits and nature revolt. Fatherly affection renounces its rights; love, too, heeds no longer what it had once delighted in; the father rejects his son, the son his decrepit parents, and the husband his newly-married bride. They are driven out weeping from the walls and exposed without protection to the enemy, that the remaining stock of food may the longer maintain the fighting men. At last, worn out and half dead with hunger, they enter into terms of capitulation, but yet such as honour would sanction; for they obtained a free passage for themselves and liberty for their lord Remfrid of Tours who had been taken prisoner. By a similar fortune, Gerard de Riddeford, master of the Temple, was also released on the surrender of certain fortresses; and the father of the marquis obtained his liberty in exchange for some of the Mahomedan captives.

Chapter XVI. — *How Saladin, extolling the law of Mahomet, is reprov'd by a jester.*

Saladin by these means had got possession of nearly all the kingdom, and every thing succeeded to his wishes. Elevated with his proud triumphs, he talked in magnificent terms of the law of Mahomet, and pointed to the result of his enterprise as a proof that it was superior to the law of Christ.

These insolent vaunts he often threw out in the presence of the Christians, one of whom, well known to him for his loquacity, on a certain occasion, inspired by the Almighty, turned him into ridicule by the following reply: "God, who is the father of the faithful, judging the Christians worthy of reproof and correction for their crimes, has chosen thee, O prince, as his agent in this matter: thus sometimes a worldly father in anger seizes a dirty stick out of the mire, wherewith when he has chastised his erring sons, he throws it back among the filth where he found it."

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XVII. — *First of Richard, earl of Poitou, then of Henry, king of the English, and of Philip, king of the French.*

Whilst these things were done in Palestine, the archbishop of Tyre had embarked on ship-board, and already reported to Christendom the news of this great calamity, and the affliction of so small a kingdom was felt as a calamity over many countries. Fame had carried to the ears of all the kings, and of all the faithful, that the inheritance of Christ was occupied by the heathen: some were affected to tears by the news, and some were stimulated to vengeance. First of all, Richard the brave earl of Poitou, assumed the cross to revenge its wrongs, and took the lead of all, inviting others by his example. His father Henry, king of England, was now declining in years; yet the young man was not deterred by either his father's advanced age, or his own right to the throne, or the difficulties of so long a voyage: no arguments could deter him from his purpose. The Almighty, to reward the valour of this brave man, whom he had chosen to be the first inciter of the others, reserved him, after the other princes were dead or returned to their own country, to achieve his great work. Some time after, Philip, king of France, and Henry, king of England, take the cross at Gisors, followed by the nobles of both kingdoms, with numbers of the clergy and laity, — all, with equal aspirations, bent upon the same design. So great was the ardour of this new pilgrimage, that it was no longer a question who would take the cross, but who had not yet taken it. Several persons sent a present of a distaff and wool to one another, as a significant hint that whosoever declined the campaign would degrade himself as much as if he did the duties of a woman: wives urged their husbands, mothers their sons, to devote themselves to this noble contest; and they only regretted that the weakness of their sex prevented themselves from going also. The renown of this expedition spread so extraordinarily, that many migrated from the cloister to the camp, and exchanging the cowl for the cuirass, shewed themselves truly Christ's soldiers, and quitting their libraries for the study of arms. The prelates of the churches publicly preached to one another the virtue of abstinence, admonishing all men that, laying aside all extravagance in eating and

## *Itinerary*

dress, they should refrain from their accustomed luxuries. It was agreed also both among nobles and bishops, by common consent, that to maintain the pilgrims who were poor, those who remained at home should pay tithes of their property; but the flagitious cupidity of many took advantage of this to lay heavy and undue exactions upon their subjects. In those days William, king of Sicily, yielded to the lot of mortality; and his death was the cause of so much the greater sorrow to all the faithful, because he had always been prompt and ready to lend assistance to the Holy Land.

Chapter XVIII. — *The emperor of the Romans (Frederic Barbarossa) takes the cross.*

In process of time, Frederic, the Roman emperor, assumed the insignia of the holy pilgrimage, and displayed, both outwardly in his dress, and inwardly in his heart, the form of a true pilgrim. So great a king, whose empire was bounded on the south by the Mediterranean Sea, on the north by the Northern Ocean, whose glory was augmented by continual victories, whose fortune had experienced no check, resigns every pleasure and blandishment of the world, and humbly girds on his sword to fight for Christ. His bravery, especially in his declining years, is no less to be wondered at than praised; for though he was an old man and had sons, whose age and valour seemed better adapted to military service, yet esteeming them insufficient, he took upon himself the charge of defending Christianity; but when his sons urged him to let them discharge the task which he had undertaken, either in his stead or in his company, he left his eldest son to govern his empire, and the younger, whom he had created duke of Suabia, he took with him on the expedition; and because the imperial majesty never assails any one without sending a defiance, but always gives notice of war to his enemies, a herald is dispatched from the emperor to Saladin, calling upon him to give full satisfaction to Christendom, which he has injured, or, failing to do so, to prepare himself for war.

The Epistle of Frederic to Saladin.

## *Itinerary*

*Frederic, by the grace of God emperor of the Romans, ever august, the magnificent triumpher over the enemies of the empire, and the fortunate governor of the whole monarchy, to the illustrious Saladin, formerly govern or of the Saracens. May he take warning from Pharaoh, and touch not Jerusalem!*

The letters which your devotion sent to us a long time ago, on weighty and important matters, and which would have benefited you if reliance could have been placed on your words, we received, as became the magnificence of our majesty, and deemed it meet to communicate by letter with your greatness. But now that you have profaned the Holy Land, over which we, by the authority of the Eternal King, bear rule, as guardian of Judea, Samaria, and Palestine, solicitude for our imperial office admonishes us to proceed with due rigour against such presumptuous and criminal audacity. Wherefore, unless, before all things, you restore the land which you have seized, and give due satisfaction, to be adjudged according to the holy constitutions, for such nefarious excesses, that we way not appear to wage unlawful war against you, we give you, from the first of November, a period of twelve months, after which you shall experience the fortune of war, in the field of Zoan,<sup>9</sup> by the virtue of the vivifying cross, and in the name of the true Joseph. For we can scarcely believe that you are ignorant of that which all antiquity and the writings of the ancients testify. Do you pretend not to know that both the Æthiopias, Mauritania, Persia, Scythia, Parthia, where our general Marcus Crassus met with a premature death, Judea, Samaria, Maritima, Arabia, and Chaldæa, also Egypt, where, shame to say! a Roman citizen, Antony, a man endowed with signal virtues, passing the bounds of temperance, and acting otherwise than as became a soldier sent from so great a state, submitted to the unchaste love of Cleopatra — do you pretend not to know that Armenia, and other innumerable countries, have been subject to our sway? This is well known

<sup>9</sup>The allusion is to Psalm lxxviii. 12. The emperor seems to mean that he will attack Saladin in Egypt.

## *Itinerary*

to those kings in whose blood the Roman sword has been so often steeped; and you, God willing, shall learn by experience the might of our victorious eagles, and be made acquainted with our troops of many nations — the anger of Germany — the untamed head of the Rhine — the youth from the banks of the Danube, who know not how to flee — the towering Bavarian — the cunning Suabian — the cautious Franconian — Saxony, that sports with the sword — Thuringia — Westphalia — the active Brabantine — the Lorrainer unused to peace — the fiery Burgundian — the nimble mountaineer of the Alps — the Frison with his javelin and thong — the Bohemian ever ready to brave death — Bolonia fiercer than her own fierce beasts — Austria — Byria — Ruwennia — Istria — Rocumphia — Illyria — Lombardy — Tuscany — the march of Ancona — the resolute Venetian and the Pisan sailor — and lastly, also, you shall assuredly be taught how our own right hand, which you suppose to be enfeebled by old age, can still wield the sword upon that day of reverence and gladness which has been appointed for the triumph of Christ's cause.

We think it right to insert in our history the letter which Saladin sent in reply to the foregoing. The proud boasting of the tyrant, which he had conceived in his opposition, is sufficiently manifest in it. However, we give it in the simple form of words in which it was written, without changing a syllable of it.

*To the great king, his sincere friend, the illustrious Frederic, king of Germany: — In the name of God the merciful: by the grace of the one God, the powerful, the surpassing, the victorious, the everlasting, of whose kingdom there is no end.*

We give continual thanks to Him, whose grace is over all the world: we pray that he may pour out his inspiration over all his prophets, and especially on our teacher, his messenger the prophet, Mahomet, whom he sent to teach the true law, which he will make to appear above all laws, But we make it known to the sincere and powerful king, our great, amicable friend, the king of Germany, that a certain man, named Henry, came to us,

## *Itinerary*

professing to be your envoy, and he gave us a letter, which he said was from your hand. We caused the letter to be read, and we heard him speak by word of mouth, and to the words which he spake by word of mouth we answered also in words. But this is the answer to your letter: — You enumerate those who are leagued with you to come against us, and you name them and say — the king of this land and the king of that land — this count and that count, and such archbishops, marquises, and knights. But if we wished to enumerate those who are in our service, and who listen to our commands, and obey our words, and would fight for us, this is a list which could not be reduced to writing. If you reckon up the names of the Christians, the Saracens are more numerous and many times more numerous than the Christians. If the sea lies between us and those whom you name Christians, there is no sea to separate the Saracens, who cannot be numbered; between us and those who will come to aid us, there is no impediment. With us are the Bedouins, who would be quite sufficient singly to oppose our enemies; and the Turkomans, who, unaided, could destroy them: even our peasants, if we were to bid them, would fight bravely against the nations which should come to invade our country, and would despoil them of their riches and exterminate them. What! have we not on our side the warlike Soldarii by whom we have opened and gained the land, and driven out our enemies? These, and all the kings of Paganism will not be slow when we shall summon them, nor delay when we shall call them. And whenever your armies shall be assembled, according to the import of your letter, and you shall lead them, as your messenger tells us, we will then meet you in the power of God. Nor will we be satisfied with the land which is on the sea-coast, but we will cross over with God's good pleasure, and will take from you all your lands, in the strength of the Lord. For if you come, you will come with all your forces, and will be present with all your people, and we know that there will remain none at home to defend themselves or fight for their country. And when the Lord, by his power, shall have given us victory over you, nothing will remain for us to do but freely to take your lands, by His power, and with His good pleasure. For the union of the Christian faith has twice come against us in Babylon; once at Damietta, and again at Alexandria: it was also in the coast

## *Itinerary*

of the land of Jerusalem while in the hand of the Christians, in the land of Damascus, and in the land of the Saracens; in each fortress there was a lord who studied his own interests. You know how the Christians each time returned, and to what an issue they came. But these our people are assembled together with their countries, and the Lord has associated with us countries in abundance, and united them far and wide under our power: Babylon, with its dependencies, and the land of Damascus, and Jerusalem on the sea-coast, and the land of Gesireh with its castles, and the land of Roasia with its dependencies, and the land of India with its dependencies – by the grace of God, all this is in our hands, and the residue of the Saracenic kings is in our empire. For if we were to command the illustrious kings of the Saracens, they would not withdraw themselves from us. And if we were to admonish the caliph of Bagdad (whom God preserve) to come to our aid, he would rise from the throne of his great empire, and would come to help our excellence. We have obtained, also, by the virtue and power of God, Jerusalem and its territory; and of the three cities which still remain in the hands of the Christians, Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch, nothing remains but that we should occupy them also. But, if you wish for war, and if God so will of his good pleasure that we occupy the whole land of the Christians, we will meet you in the power of the Lord, as is written in this our letter. But, if you ask us for the boon of peace, you will command the warders of the three places above mentioned to deliver them up to us without resistance; and we will restore to you the holy cross, and will liberate all the Christian captives who are in all our territories; and we will be at peace with you, and will allow you to have one priest at the sepulchre, and we will restore the abbeys which used to be in the time of Paganism,<sup>10</sup> and will do good to them, and will permit the pilgrims to come during all our life, and we will be at peace with you. But if the letter which came to us by the hand of Henry be the letter of the king, we have written this letter for answer, and may God give us counsel according to his will.

<sup>10</sup>This letter has evidently been translated out of the original Saracenic with reference to Christian notions: a Saracen would hardly have described his own faith by the word “paganism.”

## *Itinerary*

This letter is written in the year of the coming of our prophet Mahomet 584, by the grace of the only God. And may God save our prophet Mahomet and his race, and may he save the salvation of our Saviour, illustrious Lord, and victorious King; the giver of unity; the true word; the adorning of the standard of truth; the corrector of the world and of the law; sultan of the Saracens and Pagans; the servitor of the two holy houses, and of the holy house of Jerusalem; the father of victors; Joseph the son of Job; the reviver of the progeny of Murmurænus!<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup>It is hoped the reader may possess some clue to the meaning of this elegant rhapsody – the translator has given these titles as literally as possible, and does not venture on a word of comment.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XIX. — *How the emperor Frederic Barbarossa assembled his army throughout Hungary.*

This letter of the proud and faithless tyrant, with its absurdities, the magnificent emperor treated with contempt; and, filled with indignation worthy of a prince, prepared all his forces for the war. The princes of all the empire followed him, and when they were met at Mayence, according to the imperial edict, all of them joined with one acclaim in taking the vow of so noble a pilgrimage. This was the Lord's doing, of Him whose inspiration bloweth where it listeth, who inclines the hearts of men at his will. For these great princes were neither allured by a desire of vain glory, nor induced by bribes or entreaties, but solely by desire of the heavenly reward: by the Lord, and the Lord alone, were they led to buckle on their armour for this warfare. For the loftiness of the heavenly wisdom had provided that, as they were enlisted of their own free will, they rendered a service agreeable to God, and the imperial magnificence was accompanied by a train of worthy followers. Thus, then, led by the Holy Spirit, they flocked together on every side; and whoever could have seen so many nations and princes under one commander, must have believed that the ancient glory of Rome was not yet departed. In this army of Christ were pontiffs, dukes, earls, marquises, and other nobles, without number: for if we were to recapitulate their names and territories, the writer would become tedious, his reader be disgusted, and his plan of brevity be overthrown. It was determined by a prudent counsel that no one should go on this expedition whose means could not provide him with supplies for one year. A large number of carriages were constructed for the use of the pilgrims who should be sick, that they might neither give trouble to the sound, nor be left behind and perish. It had long been a question whether the mass of the army should proceed by sea or land. But it seemed that any number of ships, however large, would be insufficient to transport so great a multitude. The emperor, therefore, urging on the task which he had undertaken, determined to march through Hungary, and so, though he was the last sovereign who took the vow of pilgrimage, he was the first to carry it into effect.

## *Itinerary*

### Chapter XX. — *Bela, king of the Hungarians, receives the king hospitably.*

The king of the Hungarians, Bela by name, came out with joy to meet the emperor. He was a man endowed by nature with many good qualities; tall in stature, of a noble countenance, possessing a combination of virtues, and worthy of the highest panegyric; who, if he had no other merit, would be thought worthy of sovereignty by his dignified appearance. He received Christ's army with hospitality, met them in a triumphant procession, and followed them with good will, testifying by his deeds the fervour of his friendship. The people in large numbers, burning with their sovereign's example, contemplate the sacred army and are eager to enlist; they look forwards to the prizes of the combat, and fear no dangers: at once they form the wish, they take the vow, and follow with the army, so that it is evident the workings of Holy Inspiration knew no impediment or delay. Crossing the Danube they reached the furthest passes of Bulgaria, where Huns, Alans, Bulgarians, and Pincenates rushed suddenly from their ambush upon the Lord's host, encouraged to the attack by the rugged and inaccessible nature of the ground.

### Chapter XXI. — *How Frederic, having crossed the Danube, found the Huns and Alans hostile to him.*

The outlet from Bulgaria into Macedonia is fortified on both sides by high rocks, covered with thorns and bushes, through which wind narrow and rugged paths. To these the inhabitants have added lofty artificial defences. These passes were seized by the nations before mentioned, who had been sent for this purpose by the wicked emperor Conrad, that they might destroy the army, or at least stop its further approach. Our soldiers, however, courageously overcame both the enemy and the road, and passing through Macedonia, arrived at Philippopolis, a city which had before been called Pulpudeba, but took the name of Philippopolis in honour of the Roman emperor Philip, who first of all the emperors became a Christian, and by the profession of the Christian faith conferred

## *Itinerary*

additional lustre upon the imperial dignity. The Greeks, hearing of the approach of the Latin army, deserted the city, fearing where there was no need of fear; for which their only reason was that they feared all whom they did not love: for the pilgrims had not come to plunder others, as they had sufficient of their own; nor had they taken arms against the faithful, but only to crush the errors of an infidel race. But the ancient and inexorable hatred which the Greeks entertained of old against the Latins, had been handed down by the tenacity of ages to their posterity. If a motive or reason of this enmity be sought –

“It were no wrong, if it a plea had found.”

Yet this may, perhaps, be urged as an excuse, that whereas the Latins were flourishing in arts and arms, they themselves were altogether ignorant and unwarlike: this gives a motive to their enmity, and they pine with jealousy at the prosperity of others. They are a perfidious race, a wicked generation, and utterly degenerate: the more illustrious they once were, the more signal is their degradation; their gold is converted into dross, their wheat into chaff their purity to filth, their glory to corruption. The old Greeks attempted and achieved much, both in arts and arms; but all their zeal for virtue has chilled in their posterity and has passed over to the Latins, so that where once were fountains there now are rivulets, or rather, dry and exhausted channels. Their virtues have found no heirs, but their crimes many; they still retain the deceit of Sinon, the falseness of Ulysses, and the atrocity of Atreus. If I be asked concerning their military science, this turns on stratagems rather than on battles; if concerning their good faith, the man should beware who has them for his friends, though their hostility can do him no harm. That nation, unable to impede the march of our army at the aforesaid passes, did what lay in their power to do it: all the natives fled to the mountaintops and carried with them every comfort which we could have bought of them for money, leaving their empty houses without an article of furniture in them to our army that was approaching. The emperor indeed, on the plea of peace, had already sent forwards the bishop of Munster, with some other princes, to Constantinople; but the wicked and

## *Itinerary*

cruel tyrant cast them into prison, daring to violate the sanctity of an ambassador, which, even among barbarians, has been respected from all antiquity by the sanction of usage and the laws of honour. Afterwards, however, influenced more by fear than a regard for right, he released the ambassadors from prison; for he feared the destruction of his capital if he should not speedily pacify our wrath. It would have been right, indeed, that the city should have been razed, even to the ground; for, if we believe report, it was polluted by new mosques, which its perfidious emperor allowed to be built, that he might strengthen the league which he had entered into with the Turks. The season of the year was now ripening towards autumn, and the constellation Libra was balancing the day and night in nearly equal lengths. The magnificent emperor of the Romans marched to take up his winter-quarters at Adrianople, which he found empty and deserted by its inhabitants. Here he took up his position, and waited for the season when he should lead his army forwards.

Chapter XXII. — *Of the emperor Frederic's wintering in Greece, and of the peace between him and the emperor Isaac: of the deceitful embassy sent to him by the sultan of Iconium, and of his passage through St. George's Arm.*

The duke of Suabia, son of the emperor, fearing lest ease should produce luxury, and luxury generate indolence, determined to find employment for the army during the inactivity of winter; and for this purpose, he formed a plan to storm a fortress which was situated at no great distance from the aforesaid city. The Greeks had assembled together in it, trusting in its fortifications, that they might from thence direct their schemes against the Latins; but in this expectation they were confounded, for they were speedily defeated and vanquished, thrown into chains and kept prisoners. When the Byzantine emperor heard of these things, he feared that something still worse would happen; and, apprehending the destruction of all his empire, he hastily sent ambassadors to our emperor, promising hostages for peace, a market for the sale of provisions, and ships to transport all who wished to cross. The emperor, although many of them thought it dangerous to make peace at all with a tyrant, yet preferred to

## *Itinerary*

accept the offered treaty rather than longer delay his expedition. And now that Easter was approaching, he crossed over the narrow sea, generally called by the name of "St. George's Arm." Although but a narrow strait, this sea enjoys no little reputation, because it washes so great a city, and flows between the two divisions of the world, Asia and Europe. The sultan of Iconium, a deceitful man, and thirsting after Christian blood, under a fraudulent pretext professed friendship towards us, and concealing the malignant venom of his heart, sought thereby to destroy us when off our guard. He had sent frequent messengers to the emperor, whilst still in Greece, entreating him to cross over; and whilst he accused the Greeks and their prince of treachery, he promised that he would be a devout and faithful servant to the Christians, and that he would place himself and all that he had at their disposal, and furnish to all of them a market to buy provisions, and a safe passage through his dominions. The emperor, too credulous, and estimating others by his own knowledge of himself, made a proclamation, in which he threatened all with punishment who, when they entered the territories of the Turks, should commit depredations, or fail to observe the peace which had been concluded. Thus then it happened, that our men passed on without touching the great booty which the sultan had, intentionally, left at the very entrance of his dominions. Alas, how blind are men and ignorant of the future! If they could have foreseen the famine which they were about to suffer, the difficulties of the road, and the deceitfulness of the tyrant! Chance had thrown in their way the means of providing for themselves against these great and imminent dangers. However, our people did not so far listen to the words of that faithless prince, as, neglecting their own security, to march in disorder, or without their arms. When, therefore, they were about to enter Parthia, all of them seized their arms, in number 3,000 knights; of the rest there were about 80,000. There were seven bishops, one archbishop, two dukes, nineteen counts, and three marquises; and this splendid army seemed neither to have had its like before or after. But to prevent disaffection or confusion in so large a mass, the whole army was divided into three bodies — the first was led by the duke of Suabia, the last by the emperor, that in the centre was charged with the care of the sumpter-horses and baggage. The army

## *Itinerary*

advanced judiciously arranged, to the delight of the beholder, neither crowded together, nor yet dispersedly, but in bodies; and though there were many officers over each body, yet there was but one commander-in-chief. This is the best for a camp, an important circumstance in war: for as an army perishes without a leader, where no one is pre-eminent above the rest, so it is generally inefficient, where there are many leaders who contend for pre-eminence. Happy empire! happy Germany! the parent of so many nations, so many brave warriors of Christ, a source of pride to herself, and destruction to her enemies!

Chapter XXIII. — *Of the discomforts which the Christians endured through the sultan, and how they reached Iconium.*

Our army, having entered the territories of the Turks, experienced no hostility during several days: the sultan wished by his forbearance to allure them into the heart of his dominions, until want of food and the asperities of the road should give him more ready means of annoying them. That nefarious traitor had seized the rugged mountain-tops, the thickets of the woods, and the impassable rivers; and whilst he professed to observe the treaty which he had made, he opposed arrow and stones to our passage. This was the market and the safe-conduct which he had promised us; such is the faith that must be placed in the unbelievers; they always esteem valour and treachery as equally praiseworthy towards an enemy. Moreover, they avoid, above all things, coming to close quarters and fighting hand to hand; but they shower their arrows from a distance; and with them it is no less glory to flee, than to put their enemy to flight. They attack both extremities of the army, at one time the rear, at another time the van; that, if by any chance they can separate them, they may attack either the one or the other by itself. Night brought with it neither sleep nor rest; for a terrific clamour disturbed the army on every side. A shower of javelins pierced through their tents, numbers of them were slain asleep, and the enemy hung on them so incessantly, that for six weeks, they ate their meals under arms, and slept under arms, without taking off their coats of mail. At the same time they were assailed by such violent hunger

## *Itinerary*

and thirst, that when they lost their horses by the chances of war, it was to them a consolation and source of delight, to feed on horse-flesh and drink the blood: in this manner, by the ingenuity which necessity teaches, they found out an additional use for the animals on which they rode.

There was a place between high rocks which was rendered so difficult to pass by reason of the steep ascent and the narrowness of the paths, that when the first division of the army, led by the emperor's son, had passed through, the Turks suddenly rushed from their ambush on the last division, and in their confidence of victory, attacked them with lance and sword. The alarming news was carried to the duke, who returned with headlong haste upon his march, eagerly retracing all the difficulties which he had a little before rejoiced at having surmounted. His rage heeded not danger; his cavalry were made to gallop where they could not even walk. In this manner, whilst he was anxiously and incautiously seeking for his father on every side, and incessantly shouting his father's name, his helmet was struck off by a stone, and his teeth knocked out, yet he still remained immovable and unshaken. Happy the son, who, to save his father, was so prodigal of his own life, and exposed himself to so many dangers! As a consolation for the wound which he then received, he retains a lasting mark of it; for whenever he opens his mouth, the bare gum testifies the glory of his victory. At last, after many severe attacks, the army arrives at Iconium, where that wicked traitor had shut himself within the walls of the city: our soldiers pitched their tents at no great distance, uncertain what new disaster the morrow might bring with it. It was now about the end of Whitsuntide, and that same night so violent and sudden a storm burst upon them, that its fury was felt even within the camp. In the morning, when the clouds were dispersed, the sky became clear, and behold! the Turkish army appear around on every side with trumpets, drums, and horrid clang, ready to attack. They had never before been seen in such multitudes, nor could they have been conceived to have been so numerous. If any one should read that there were three hundred thousand or more of them, it was only an estimate of the amount, for it was impossible to number them. All this multitude had been roused to arms by the sultan's son Melkin, who wished to anticipate his father-in-law Saladin's victory,

## *Itinerary*

and, trusting in the number and valour of his men, was confident of success. Meanwhile the sultan had ascended a lofty tower, where he sat in expectation, eyeing the country beneath him and the armies that were ready to engage, and hoping in a short time to see accomplished what his sanguine mind had promised. The emperor, seeing some of his men alarmed at the unusual multitude of the enemy, displayed the confidence of a noble chieftain, and raising his hands to heaven, gave thanks to God in the sight of all, that the inevitable necessity was at length arrived for that combat which had so long been deferred by the flight of the enemy. At these words, all were inspired with fresh ardour, as they looked on the emperor's placid countenance; and one old man, weak though he was, supplied an incentive of valour to many who were young and strong. What God is so great as our God? All that multitude who were so sure of victory that they brought chains with them rather than swords, were overthrown in a moment: and at once the city was taken and occupied, and the enemy without vanquished; everywhere were blood and death, and heaps of slain, their number impedes their flight, and they fall by those very means on which they had counted for triumph. The battle is now fought hand to hand; the bows are snapped asunder; the arrows no longer fly, and they have scarcely room to wield their swords. Thus everything is thrown into confusion by the multitude, and what our enemies intended for our ruin, turns out to our greater glory; the flying war, which had been waged among brambles and the gorges of rocks, is now carried on in a fair and open field; the Christians satiate their fury, which had so often been put forth in vain. The Turks experience, against their will, how well their enemies can fight hand to hand whom they had so often provoked at a distance.

This splendid victory was not granted unworthily by the Divine excellence to His faithful servants: for they observed chastity in the camp, and discipline when under arms: in all, and above all, was the fear of the Lord; with all was the love of their neighbour; all were united in brotherly affection, as they were also companions in danger. The sultan, when the city was taken, seeing that there remained to him only the tower in which he was, sent hastily to the emperor, throwing all the blame upon his son,

## *Itinerary*

and professing his own innocence; promising, moreover, as much gold as he should demand, and whatsoever persons he should name as hostages for his observance of the treaty. The emperor, alas! too easy, accepted what was offered and gave what was asked: in this less worthy of praise, because he let go that man of blood and treachery whom he had almost in his possession, when it would have been more honourable to slay him than to keep alive so great an enemy to the Christian name. The hostages were given and the treaty confirmed; but the wickedness of that malignant traitor did not rest there; for, whilst the Christians were continuing their march far beyond Iconium, he attacked them, sometimes by ambuscade, sometimes openly in the field. The hostages were asked what this meant, and they told a falsehood which suited their own purpose: they said that the Turks were a wild race whom no one could govern; that they wandered about with no fixed habitation, having no property of their own, and always trying to obtain that of others either by robbery or theft. They attacked us however less boldly, knowing that many of their men had fallen, for, by a moderate computation, 22,000 of the Turks had been slain in former conflicts.

Chapter XXIV. — *How the Emperor Frederic, arriving in Armenia, is drowned in the river Selesius, and his son, the duke of Suabia, takes the command of the army.*

The victorious army now enters the Armenian territories all rejoice at having quitted a hostile kingdom, and at their arrival in the country of the faithful. But, alas! a more fatal land awaits them, which is to extinguish the light and joy of all. Let man take thought and investigate, if he may, the counsels of the Lord, whose judgments are unfathomable. Things will occur sometimes to cause him astonishment, sometimes confusion, yet so that in every circumstance man may recognize the author of all things. On the borders of Armenia there was a place, surrounded on one side by steep mountains, on the other side by the river Selesius. Whilst the sumpter-horses and baggage were passing this river, the victorious emperor halted. He was indeed an illustrious man, of stature moderately tall, with red hair and beard; his head was partly turning grey, his eyelids were prominent

## *Itinerary*

and his eyes sparkling; his cheeks short and wide; his breast and shoulders broad: in all other respects his form was manly. There was in him, as is read of Socrates, something distinguished and awful; for his look denoted the firmness of his mind, being always immoveably the same, neither clouded by grief, nor contracted by anger, nor relaxed by joy. He so much revered the native language of Germany, that although he was not ignorant of other languages, yet he always conversed with ambassadors from foreign countries by means of an interpreter. This great man, having halted some time, in consequence of the sumpter-horses crossing the river, became at last impatient of the delay; and wishing to accelerate the march, he prepares to cross the nearest part of the stream, so as to get in front of the sumpter-horses and be at liberty to proceed. O sea! O earth! O heaven! the ruler of the Roman empire, ever august, in whom the glory of ancient Rome again flourished, its honour again lived, and its power was augmented, was overwhelmed in the waters and perished! and though those who were near him hastened to his assistance, yet his aged spark of life was extinguished by a sudden though not premature death. If love of swimming, as several have asserted, be said to have caused his death, yet the gravity of the man argues the contrary; nor does it merit belief that, a bad swimmer, he would have committed to the deceitful waters the safety of so many. The conscience is witness that death is less painful than the cause of death, but this is our consolation as it is written: the just, by whatever death he shall be surprised, will be refreshed. If the mountains of Gilboa, where the brave ones of Israel were slain, deserved to be deprived of the dew and rain, what imprecations may we not deservedly utter upon this fatal river, which overthrew a main pillar of all Christendom? There were some who said that the place had been marked by a fatality from ancient times, and that the nearest rock had long borne upon it these words inscribed, "Here the greatest of men shall perish." The lamentable report of his death was spread around and filled all with dismay. If we search all the annals of antiquity, the traditions of history, and the fictions of romance, concerning the sorrows of mothers, the sighs of brides, or the distresses of men in general, the present grief will be found to be without example, never before known in any age, and surpassing all tears and lamentations.

## *Itinerary*

There were many of the emperor's domestics present, with some of his kinsmen and his son; but it was impossible to distinguish them amid the general lamentation, with which all and each lamented the loss of their father and their lord. This, however, was a consolation to all, and they all returned thanks for it to Divine Providence, that he had not died within the territories of the infidels.

When his funeral-rites were performed, they left the fatal spot as soon as possible, bearing with them the body of the emperor adorned with royal magnificence, that it might be carried to Antioch. There the flesh, being boiled from the bones, reposes in the church of the Apostolic see, and the bones were conveyed by sea to Tyre, thence to be transported to Jerusalem. It was fit indeed and wonderfully contrived by God's providence, that one who had contended gloriously for Christ, should repose in the two principal churches of the Christian religion, for both of which he had been a champion, — part of him in the one, and part in the other, — the one that which our Lord's burial rendered the most distinguished, the other that which was honoured by being the see of the chief of the apostles. The Christians arriving at Antioch, after many and long fastings, gave way too plentifully to their appetites, and died of sudden repletion: and so, after they had resisted both famine and the swords of their enemies, repose was fatal to them, and a pernicious abundance cut them off. In this shameful manner, then, the greater part of that great army perished, and most of the survivors returned to their own countries: a small body of them, ashamed to return, served under the emperor's son, to whom the prince of Antioch surrendered his city with all its defences. For on the plea of greater protection, he offered of his own accord to commit his city to the duke, that this brave man might defend his territories against the frequent assaults of the enemies.

Chapter XXV. — *Acre is besieged. King Guy is freed from his oath.*

In the mean time Christ's soldiers, who had been conveyed by sea to the succour of the Holy Land, were laying siege to Acre. That the order of the siege may be better understood, we will relate it from the beginning.

## *Itinerary*

Guy, king of Jerusalem, after he had been a year in captivity at Damascus, was released by Saladin on the strict promise that he should abjure his kingdom, and, as soon as possible, go into exile beyond the sea. The clergy of the kingdom determine to release the king from the bond of his oath; both because what is done under compulsion deserves to be annulled, and because the bands of the faithful who were on their way would find in him a head and leader. It was right indeed that art should overreach art, and that the treachery of the tyrant should be deceived by its own example; for one who is faithless in his promises, gives encouragement to similar faithlessness in him whose promise he exacts. The faithless unbeliever, having broken his previous agreement, had extorted from the captive king, after many injuries, an oath that on being restored to liberty he, would go into exile. A sad condition this, of liberty accompanied with exile and the renunciation of a kingdom. But God so ordered it that the counsel of Belial was brought to naught; for the tyrant was baffled in his hopes of retaining the kingdom, and the king was released by the sentence of the clergy from the enormity of his promise. Men also had arrived, who would nobly vindicate the wrongs which had been done to Christ's cross, distinguished champions, whose devout zeal had stirred them up to bring consolation to thee, O Jerusalem! Behold, the whole world is in arms for thy service, and the word is fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Isaiah: "I will bring thy seed from the north, and from the west I will gather thee together: I will say to the north, Give! and to the south, Do not forbid." Thus, then, when numbers had flocked together to meet the king at Tripoli, the minds of all were inspired with bravery, so that they strove not only to keep what they had retained, but also to recover what they had lost. Moreover, whilst they were remaining at Tripoli, they did not pass the time in idleness; for they assailed the enemies in that neighbourhood, and defeated at one time three hundred, at another time a larger number, with their victorious band. Among the rest was the king's brother who had lately landed: his name was Geoffrey, and he distinguished himself especially amongst the combatants by his valour, for, in addition to the common cause, which influenced all alike, he was roused to action by his own private wrongs, and the injury which had been done to his brother.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXVI. — *How the king, arriving at Tyre, is not received by the marquis, but dissembling the insult, proceeds with the men of Pisa, and a small army to Acre, which the Christians besiege by sea and land.*

After a while the king assembled his army and proceeded, to Tyre; but, demanding admittance, was refused by the marquis, though the city had been committed to his custody on the condition that it should be restored to the king and the heirs of the kingdom. Not content with this injury, he adds insult to breach of faith, for whenever the king's messenger, or any pilgrims, endeavoured to enter the town, they were treated harshly, and were in his sight no better than Gentiles and Publicans. But the Pisans, who possessed no small part of the city, would not be induced to consent to his perfidy, but with commendable rebellion stood up for the king's rights. The marquis directed not only insults, but civil war against them, and they, prudently withdrawing for a time, retired with others from the city to the army. The troops had pitched their camp in an open plain; but none of them were allowed to enter the city, even to buy provisions; and they all found an enemy where they had hoped to find an ally. Whilst these events were going on, the marquis was afflicted by a complaint to which he had long been subject; but, as it chanced to assail him this time with greater violence than usual, he conjectured that he had taken poison. Upon this, he issued a harsh edict against physicians who make potions; innocent men were put to death on false suspicions, and those whose province it was to heal others, now found the practice of their art lead to their own destruction. The king was urged by many to attack the city, but he prudently dissembled his own wrong, and hastily marched, with all the army he could collect, to besiege the town of Acre. There were seven hundred knights, and others more numerous still, collected out of all Christendom; but if we were to estimate the whole army, its strength did not amount altogether to nine thousand men. At the end of August, on St.

## *Itinerary*

Augustin's day,<sup>12</sup> two years after the city had been taken, they bravely commenced that long and difficult siege which was protracted during two years longer before the city surrendered. The Turks from the battlements of the walls, beheld the army approach, but without knowing who they were, or for what they came. When they learnt the truth, they feared not their approach, and treated their intentions with derision. The men of Pisa, who chose to proceed by sea, as shorter and easier, approached Acre in due order in their ships, and bravely occupied the shore; where they had no sooner secured a station, than they formed the siege on the side towards the sea with equal courage and perseverance. The king, with the rest of his army, fixed his tents on a neighbouring hill commonly called Mount Turon, from which, by the eminence of the ground, he overlooked the approach both by sea and land. This hill was higher on the eastern side of the city; and, as it allowed the eye to rove freely round, it gave a prospect over the plain on all sides, far and wide.

Chapter XXVII. — *The Christians assault the city, but are attacked by Saladin in the rear, and whilst they are thus between two enemies, they are encouraged by receiving a reinforcement of 12,000 northern warriors.*

On the third day after their arrival the Christians made an assault upon the town; and deeming it tedious to await the effect of engines for throwing stones, together with other machines, they trusted to the defence of their shields alone, and carried scaling-ladders to mount the walls. That day would have put a happy termination to the toil of so many days, if the malice of the ancient enemy, and the arrival of false information, had not frustrated their achievement when it was almost completed; for it was reported that Saladin was at hand, and our men returned with speed to the camp; but when they perceived that it was only a small body that had come in advance, they expressed indignation rather than complaint that the victory had been snatched from them. They were indeed few that had

<sup>12</sup>Aug. 28, 1189.

## *Itinerary*

come, but fear had reported that an innumerable multitude was at hand: for it is not unusual, that things should be magnified through terror.

The sultan, at this time, was besieging the castle of Belfort; and when he heard what was going on, he marched in haste with a large army to Acre. Our men, unequal to cope with him, kept themselves within the limits before described. The Turks assailed them perseveringly, both morning and evening, trying every means to penetrate to the hill-top; and thus, those who came to besiege others, were now besieged themselves. In this position, then, were our men, when the Morning Star visited them from on high; for behold! fifty ships, such as are commonly called cogs, having twelve thousand armed men, on board, are seen approaching, — a grateful sight to our men, on account of the strait which they were in. Grateful is that which comes when prayed for; more grateful still is that which comes contrary to our hope; but grateful beyond all is that which comes to aid us in the last necessity: yet oftentimes we suspend our belief concerning a thing we so much long for, and cannot credit what we too much desire. Our army, from the top of the hill, see the reinforcements coming, and dare not hope for an event so joyful; and the new comers, also, look upon the camp as an object of suspicion. When, however, they came nearer and saw the ensigns of the Christian faith, a shout is raised on both sides, — their joyful feelings find vent in tears: they eagerly flock together and leap into the waves to go and meet them. O happy fleet, which, sailing from the Northern Ocean, and encountering a voyage never before tried, passed over so many seas, so many coasts, so many dangers, and came from Europe, along the shores of Africa, to succour Asia in her distress. The crews of these ships were Danes and Frisons, men inured to labour by the rigours of the north, and having three qualities good in war — large limbs, invincible minds, and devout fervour for the faith. They had sailed from their country, and the kindly breeze had wafted them on: the waves, as well as winds, were benignant, such as give delight to sailors, and so the merciful Lord brought his champions safe and uninjured through so many dangers. But the inhabitants of the lands by which these vessels sailed, were excited when they saw the fleet, and, embarking on ship-board, both Englishmen and Flemings followed them in haste. Nor must I pass in

## *Itinerary*

silence a gallant action which was performed by them as they passed: they courageously attacked a city called Silvia, on the sea-coast of Spain, and having quickly made themselves masters of it, and slain the Gentile inhabitants, they delivered the city up to the Christians, appointed there a bishop, and proceeded victorious on their voyage. To Acre, then, they came; and having pitched their camp between the city and Mount Turon, they turned their invincible prowess to the destruction of the enemy, whom they assailed, not by frequent skirmishes, but by one continued conflict; – for their prodigal valour and reckless fury exposed them to so many dangers that afterwards, when the city was taken, hardly a hundred men remained alive out of the twelve thousand.

Chapter XXVIII. – *Of the arrival of James d’Avennes: the siege of the city is pressed with greater vigour: the fiction of Saladin.*

The night after the landing of the Frisons and Danes, James d’Avennes reached the desired shore, a man endowed with threefold qualifications, – in counsel a Hector, in arms an Achilles, and in honour surpassing Regulus. He pitched his camp opposite the tower they call the Cursed (*Maledicta*), and a little further on lay the Templars; still the greater part of the city was not besieged, but there was a free communication open to the enemy. Our men, anxious as to their movements, liked not this freedom of entrance and exit; but the extended circuit of the walls and the paucity of soldiers allowed not of a continued blockade. They therefore divided their forces into troops, and by turns watched the approaches of the city in arms; and thus, for some days, obstructed the passage of those who would go out. The Turks, however, issuing from city and camp, and having collected their strength from all quarters, attacked our men and prevailed; for a divided line of battle is easily broken through, and scattered strength quickly yieldeth. On that day the Hospitallers were on guard, and on giving way, were relieved by the Templars, who checked the enemy, and hindered them, though pressed severely, from bursting into the camp. Moreover, day by day the army of the faithful increased; and a multitude of ships coming together, struck no small terror into the

## *Itinerary*

Mahometan army. But Saladin, by means of a fiction, lessened the fears thus excited, asserting that the Christians took away their ships by night, and brought them back again at dawn of day as if they were newly arrived, for the purpose of making a display of strength. He himself was not, however, ignorant of the real state of the case, and grieved bitterly at our daily increase of strength; but, dissembling the cloud on his mind under a haughty aspect, he exhibited a calm and fearless countenance.

### Chapter XXIX. — *Of the arrival of the French, English, and Germans,*

Very many indeed had already come from the kingdom of France; and amongst others the bishop of Beauvais, a man more devoted to the camp than the closet, and one who gloried in warfare and strove to be like Turpin if he could but find a Charles. There is a part of France called Champagne; and though the whole country is famous for the pursuit of arms, this one, by a sort of privilege of chivalry, excels and surpasses the rest. Hence its warlike youth marching out in power displayed the strength which it had exercised in the gymnasium with greater boldness against the foe; and having laid aside the playful game of battle, they turned their bellicose spirits to the realities of war. So, indeed, English as well as French are led on by the warmth of their devotion, so that not waiting for their own kings they march forward to perform their duty to the King of kings. From Germany, also, there came an illustrious and powerful man, whom in their language they call Landgrave;<sup>13</sup> which, according to the sense of the word, appears to mean count of the land, as if so entitled *par excellence*. He persuaded the marquis, who had a difference with King Guy, to repair to Acre, though at first he had declined to do so on account of the disagreement. We know that the rules of history sometimes require us to commit to writing, seriatim, the names of the chiefs who assist in the management of affairs, to which, indeed, they themselves, in a sort of itch

<sup>13</sup>This was Lewis III., landgrave of Thuringia, who had accompanied or followed the emperor to the crusade.

## *Itinerary*

for glory, sometimes lay claim; whilst, on the other hand, the fastidious reader may think the work too long in this particular, and so reject a narrative which runs to wearisomeness. We therefore will be as brief as possible in enumerating the chiefs. But when the course of affairs shall offer an opportunity, we will mention the illustrious actions of each. After the numbers of the faithful were considerably increased, and when the army was fitter for setting about its arduous undertaking, it was unanimously determined to attack the neighbouring camp of the unbelievers. A certain mount stood opposite to Mount Turon, which we have before described; here the enemy had pitched their pavilions, and a large intervening space of plain presented far and wide an area well adapted for battle. Hither the army descended from the camp to the plain; and there being put in array, were divided into troops so that the light-armed soldiers with the bowmen and arbalesters went first; next to them followed the body of the army, glittering with horses, arms, and the various insignia of war. Their countenance and bearing indicated the disposition of their minds; the faithful had recourse to prayer, whilst the enemy trembled. There were those who, abandoning themselves to excessive exultation at the sight of the battle-array, presumed to say, — “What power shall prevail, what multitude shall withstand us? Let the Lord assist neither us nor our adversaries; the victory rests in our own valour.” Certainly a most impious and utterly detestable sentiment, for it placed the issue of the battle in man and not in the Deity, when man can do nothing without God; which, indeed, the issue of affairs proved by sad experience.

The Turks stood resolute for the defence of their camp but when our men approached nearer, they opened the body of their infantry who stood first, and boldly charged the enemy with their horse. The unbelievers were put to flight, and abandoned their camp; the Christians desisted from the pursuit, and were eager after the spoil; the cords of the pavilions were cut, and the tent of the sultan himself was seized upon by the fiery Count de Bar. Meanwhile, an immense multitude of the enemy burst out from the city, and marching from that part which was not besieged, proceeded towards the mountain by a circuitous path. Indeed, they purposely

## *Itinerary*

marched by a tortuous circuit, that while our men were in doubt whether they meant to attack the camp or the army, they might fall suddenly upon the latter, and close them in from the rear. The Templars, inferior to none in renown, devoted to slaughter, had by this time burst through the enemies' squares, and, if the remainder of the army had pressed on in pursuit, they would that day have been the fortunate conquerors as well of the city as of the battle; but when the Templars in their ardour had advanced too far in following up their fortune, they were suddenly attacked by the townsmen; and although multitudes overcame them, it was not without great slaughter of their own men that the enemy triumphed. There Gerard de Riddeford the master of the Templars, of whom we have made mention before, was slain; happy he on whom the Lord conferred so great glory, that he should gain the laurel which he had earned in so many wars, and be admitted into the fellowship of martyrs. In another part, while the Germans were too eagerly bent upon plunder, the old deceiver offered to their view a horse escaping; and seeing them pursue him in a crowd, the rest supposed that they were running away. By this slight but fatal accident the whole army was thrown into a panic, and all turned their thoughts to flight. At the same time, a new rumour increased their fear: for there was a cry that the townsmen had gone forth to plunder the baggage. The army was at once thrown into confusion; the battalions dispersed, and abandoned their standards; even the commanders fly headlong, and scarce any have courage to resist.

### Chapter XXX. — *The flight and slaughter of the Christians.*

The Turks, on seeing the confusion of the Christians, wondered at the circumstance, but were ignorant of the cause; and having regained the victory unexpectedly, they turned their horses and resumed the courage which they had more from use than nature, yielding to those who pressed, and pressing on those who yielded; for they will fly from those who attack, and pursue those who fly. In this lamentable and disastrous tumult, Andrew de Brienne, while calling upon his comrades to resume the battle, was slain by the Turks who were pursuing; this man was so superior to all

## *Itinerary*

the other Frenchmen, that they awarded him the crown of chivalry, while others were content to strive for the honour of being second to him. His brother, the Count de Brienne, though he had seen him fall, passed him as he lay on the ground, and though called upon, feared to stop, and, like a coward, left him to his fate. Different from this was the conduct of a soldier, who, seeing James d'Avennes thrown from his horse, gave him the one on which he was escaping, and nobly by his own death saved the life of his lord. King Guy, also, was on the point of being slain by the foe, had not the marquis come to his assistance, who forgot the wrongs he had received from him, to discharge the duties of humanity, though to one undeserving of it, and rescued him from destruction. Geoffrey, the king's brother, seeing the army in confusion, and all hastening to fly, at last abandoned the care of the camp which he had undertaken to defend; and, anxious for his brother's safety, rushed forward to arrest the fugitives. O miserable change of affairs! the Christians had gone forth with confidence — they return in confusion; they had marched in order — they return in disorder; victorious, they had routed the foe — yet they run back vanquished. Alan's presumption at length acknowledged what man and what man's strength can effect, if it rely not on the Lord's right hand; for he powerfully works victory amongst his own people, who gives confidence to the warrior, and a crown to the victor. Our men had presumed on their own strength, they believed no enemy could be found who could put them in fear, and yet they found that enemy too near them, for they lost one thousand five hundred men. There was a knight named Ferrand, who having been left behind naked and nearly lifeless, after lying hid amongst the slain, returned by night to the camp, but was so disfigured by his wounds, that he could not be recognized by his friends, and with difficulty gained admission. The license of the poet or a lengthy dissertation might depict the various incidents of the battle and the divers modes of death; but we are obliged to be brief, and must say, not *how*, but *what* occurred. Saladin ordered the bodies of the Christians to be collected and cast into the river which flowed near; that, being carried down by the current, the sight of them might occasion terror, or becoming decomposed they might infect the water.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXXI. — *How our men, increasing in number daily, suffer severely from the Turks while occupied in carrying a trench round the city.*

After this, our chiefs, thinking it best to abstain for the present from open war, occupy themselves in strengthening their camp, and carry round an embankment of turf, with deep ditches from sea to sea, for the protection of the tents; while the marquis and the Hospitallers boldly seized upon the space free from siege, and thus the city was blockaded by sea and by land. While our men were thus sedulously employed in making the trenches, the Turks harassed them incessantly, and one party relieving another continued to annoy them from morn till night. It was necessary, thus, that one part of our men should defend the other while at work from their attacks. Such as we thought worth while to bear with, we did, without returning them, although the air was darkened with their missiles and darts, which exceeded all computation. Our men, however, worked away with their utmost endeavour and the Turks lamented their progress. You might see in their frequent encounters, now these now those (according to the chances of war) overthrown and borne down. While our men were thus for a considerable time struggling, the Lord above grieved over them, and by strengthening and increasing our numbers from day to day, deserted not altogether those who trusted in him. There came together, therefore, from different parts of the world, princes, dukes, counts, besides many of inferior degree; whose names were the Count of Ferrara, Nargenot du Bourg, Anselm de Montreal, Geoffrey de Grenville, Otho de la Fosse, William Goetz, the Viscount de Chatellerauld, the Viscount de Turome, the Chastellan of Bruges, the Archbishop of Pisa, also the Count Bertulf, the Count Nicholas of Hungary, the Count Bernard, the Count Jocelyn, the Count Richard of Apulia, the Count Alebrand, Engelran de Vienne, Hervey de Gien, Theobald de Bar, the Count John of Loegria, another Count John of Seis, with a nephew of the king of Denmark. There came also some chiefs of the Danes, with 400 of their countrymen. At the same time came Guy de Dampierre, the bishop of Verona, and a few Roman citizens. All these, and a great many future martyrs and confessors, were added to the number of the faithful. Martyrs truly they were, a great part of whom died

## *Itinerary*

in a short time by the stench of the dead bodies which corrupted the air, and by the fatigue of constant watchings; while others were overcome by the injuries they received, as neither rest nor breathing time was allowed them, for the Turks harassed without intermission those who were working at the ditch, and reduced their spirits by unexpected attacks, until it was at length completed. They then made an attempt to relieve the city from the threatened blockade.

Chapter XXXII. — *The description of the city of Acre and the places round about it.*

We do not think it foreign to our purpose to give at times, as the order of our matter requires, the description of places, in order that a city, so famous for its magnificence, as well as the various incidents of war, may gain additional celebrity by our labours. For if a ten years' war made Troy celebrated; if the triumph of the Christians made Antioch more illustrious, Acre will certainly obtain eternal fame, as a city for which the whole world contended. In the form of a triangle, it is narrow on the western side, while it extends in a wider range towards the east, and full a third part of it is washed by the ocean on the south and west. The port, which is not so convenient as it should be, often deceives and proves fatal to the vessels which winter there: for the rock which lies over against the shore, to which it runs parallel, is too short to protect them from the fury of the storm. And because this rock appeared a suitable place for washing away the entrails, the ancients used it as a place for offering up sacrifices, and on account of the flies which followed the sacrificial flesh, the tower which stands above it was called the Tower of Flies. There is also a tower called the Cursed, situated on the wall which surrounds the city; and if we are to credit common report, it received its name because it is said that the pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed his Lord, were made there. The city, then named Ptolemais, was formerly situate upon Mount Turon, which is close to the city, whence, by an error of antiquity, some call Acre Ptolemais. There is a hill called the Mosque, near Mount Turon, where the ancients say is the sepulchre of Memnon; but by whose kind offices he was brought

## *Itinerary*

thither, we have learnt neither by writing nor by hearsay. The river which flows by the city is named Belus, and although its bed is narrow, and not deep, Solinus has rendered it celebrated by numbering it amongst the wonders of the world, as being enriched with glassy sand. For there was a certain sandy foss, the sand of which supplied materials for making glass; these, if taken out, were altogether useless; but, if let in, from the secret virtue of the place assumed a glassy nature. Not far from the river is pointed out a low rock near the city, at which it is said that the three divisions of the world, Asia, Europe, and Africa meet; and though it contains separately the other parts of the world, the place itself, dependent on none, is distinct from and independent of all three. Mount Carmel rises aloft on the southern side of the city, where Elijah the Tishbite is known to have had an habitation of modest cost, as his cave still testifies; but although we are often wont in a description to wander away to the pleasant parts of the circuit, we must at present overlook the attractions of the surrounding places, while we turn our attention to the course of the war.

*Chapter XXXIII. — How the people of the city were reduced to such starvation that they offered to surrender; the Sultan comes to their assistance with fifty galleys, they capture and put to flight our galleys.*

When therefore our men had encompassed Acre on all sides with a blockade, the townspeople, having consumed their provisions, began to be severely pressed by famine, so that they offered to surrender the city on condition that they should be allowed to depart, with their property, unmolested. These conditions did not satisfy the chiefs, who had determined, either to compel them by extreme necessity to submit to their will, or to gain, by every means in their power, the glory of storming the city. But whilst they were slowly negotiating for the surrender of the city, the sultan had fully equipped at Alexandria fifty galleys, with men, provisions, and arms, which he sent to succour Acre. These arrived on All Saints' Eve, and when they were seen at a distance, vague rumours distracted the people with various forebodings. Some report that the

## *Itinerary*

enemy are at hand; others that subsidies are come for the Christians. While they were still doubting, the enemy threw themselves into the city, and even carried with them, by force, one of our ships laden with provisions, which they found in the port; and being long sustained with those provisions, pressed upon us with the greater courage. Not content with plundering our ship of burden, they put to death without mercy the crew and every one else they had found therein, and hung them round the walls on the day of All Saints. Moreover, the galleys of the enemy kept watch over both the exit and entrance of the port of the city, that no one dared to come to our assistance for fear of falling into their hands. And on the morrow of the Nativity of our Lord, one of our galleys deeming the fleet an arrival of Christians, went for the purpose of making inquiries after our succours, incautiously to meet this Babylonian fleet as it approached, and with it a smaller vessel, called a galleon; this taking the lead, owing to its lightness, fell suddenly into the midst of the enemy, instead of meeting with friends as was supposed. The voice of some who answered, and the suspicious silence of others, undeceived them; upon which the terrified sailors cast themselves into the sea, and escaped, by means of swimming, according as each was able. Thus then occupying that part of the sea, and our galleys which were by far the least numerous, having gone away secretly to Tyre, the enemy had free and open communication with the city by sea. At that time the Germans, making a large mill for the grinding of corn, turned by horses, while the millstones grated as they were drawn round, the Turks, gazing with great earnestness at the mill at work, thought that it was some instrument for their destruction, or for storming their city; for never before had a mill of that description been seen in that land.

Chapter XXXIV. — *Of the sea-fight between the fleet of the marquis and our men and that of the enemy, and how we gained the victory.*

At a season of calm, when Easter was close at hand, the marquis at our request returned from Tyre with a large equipment and supplies of men, arms, and provisions. For by the provident care of the chiefs, the king

## *Itinerary*

and marquis were pacified on the pretext that the marquis should have possession of Tyre, Berytus, and Sidon, and on condition that he should be faithful and strenuous for the interests of the king and his kingdom. But rash ambition always turns to evil the avaricious and iniquitous heart; for inflamed with the desire of obtaining the kingdom, he broke the faith he had pledged; and while to the outward eye he appeared a friend, within his breast he concealed the foe. At length the townspeople liked not their privation of liberty, and determined to try the issue of a sea-fight. They therefore led forth their galleys by twos, and keeping good order, they rowed into the offing to meet and attack those that were coming; our men prepared to meet them as they came on, and since there was no means of getting away, prepared to face them with greater resolution. [On the other hand our men got on board our war ships, and straining to the left by an oblique course, retreated to a distance, and gave the enemy free means of egress.] And now that mention is made of a sea-fight, we judge it right to describe briefly the fleet, and what difference there is between those of the moderns and ancients. With the ancients, a larger number of oars was required in ships of this kind, which were arranged in stories, so that some plied the oars at a longer, others at a shorter distance from the sea. These vessels had frequently three or four banks of oars each, some even five; and a few of the ships used at the battle of Actium between Antony and Augustus, are said to have had six. Furthermore, ships of war were called *liburnæ*; for the ships used in the battle of Actium were chiefly built at Liburnia in Dalmatia; whence it became usual among the ancients to call them *liburnæ*. But all that ancient magnificence has passed away; for ships of war, which once had six banks of oars, have now seldom more than two. But what the ancients used to call a *liburna*, we call a *galia*, with the middle syllable lengthened; it is long and graceful, not high out of water, and has a piece of wood at the prow, which is commonly called the spur; with which the enemy's ships are struck and pierced. Galleons are vessels with one bank of oars, manageable from their shortness, easily turned, and light for running to and fro; they are better suited for throwing fire. When, therefore, they went forth on both sides to fight, our men drew not up their ships in a straight line, but in the form of a crescent; that if the enemy

## *Itinerary*

should charge the inner ships, he might be shut in and crushed. They placed their most powerful ships at the points of the crescent, as against them would be directed the enemy's most vigorous attack; on the upper row of benches were arranged shields close together; and in one the rowers sat, in order that those who were on deck might have free space for fighting. The sea was perfectly calm and tranquil, as if it favoured the battle, and the rippling wave impeded neither the shock of the attacking ship, nor the stroke of the oars. As they closed, the trumpets sounded on both sides. A terrific clang is roused, and the battle is commenced by the throwing of missiles. Our men implore the Divine assistance, and ply their oars strenuously, and dash at the enemy's ships with their beaks. Soon the battle began; the oars become entangled and they fight hand to hand, having grappled each other's ships together; and they fire the decks with burning oil, which is vulgarly called Greek fire. That kind of fire with a detestable stench and livid flames consumes both flint and steel; it cannot be extinguished by water, but is subdued by the sprinkling of sand, and put out by pouring vinegar on it. But what can be more dreadful than a fight at sea? what more savage, where such various fates await the combatants? Some are tortured by the burning of the flames; some falling overboard are swallowed in the waves; others wounded perish by the enemy's weapons. One galley, unskilfully managed by our men, exposed its flank to the foe; and being set on fire, received the Turks as they boarded her on all sides. The rowers in their fright fall into the sea; but a few soldiers, impeded by their heavy armour, and restrained by ignorance of swimming, took courage from desperation, and commenced an unequal fight; and trusting in the Lord's valour, a few of them overcame numbers; and having slain the foe, they brought back the half-burnt vessel in triumph. Another ship was boarded by the enemy, who had driven the combatants from the upper deck; while those who were below strove to escape by the help of their oars. Wondrous and terrible was the conflict; for the oars being pulled different ways, the galley was drawn first one way, then the other, as the Turks drove it; yet our men prevailed, and the enemy, who rowed on the upper deck, being overcome and thrust down by the Christians, yielded. In this naval contest, the enemy lost both the galley and

## *Itinerary*

a galleon, together with their crews; and our men, unhurt and joyful, gain a glorious triumph. Having drawn the captured galley on shore, they gave it up to be plundered by both sexes who came to meet them. On this our women, dragging the Turks by the hair, after treating them shamefully and cutting their throats in a disgraceful manner, beheaded them. And the weaker the hand to strike, so much the more lengthened was the punishment inflicted; for they used knives, and not swords, for cutting off their heads. A like sea-fight was never seen, so destructive in its issue, accomplished with so much danger, and completed with so much cost.

Chapter XXXV. — *Meanwhile the Turks from without, eager to fill our breach with earth, fiercely attack our men who were within.*

In the mean time the Turkish army from without, though deeply bewailing our victory, persisted in making attacks upon our men who were within the trench, endeavouring either to fill up the completed portion by casting back the earth, or to slay those who resisted. Our men, sustaining their attack, though with difficulty, fight under great disadvantages, for they seemed unequal to contend against so countless a multitude, — for the numbers of the assailants continually increased, and we had to take precautions on the side of the city lest they also should rush in and assault us. There was amongst the assailants a fiendish race, very impetuous and obstinate; deformed in nature as they were unlike to the others in character, of a darker appearance, of vast stature, of exceeding ferocity, having on their heads red coverings instead of helmets, carrying in their hands clubs bristling with iron teeth, which neither helmet nor coat of mail could withstand; and they had a carved image of Mahomet for a standard. So great was the multitude of this evil race, that as fast as one party was thrown to the earth, another rushed forward over them. Thus, by their constant attacks, they confounded our men so much, that we doubted which way to turn ourselves; for as there was neither security nor rest, we were distressed on all sides, at one time guarding ourselves from sallies of the besieged from the city, at another from the incessant attacks of the enemy from without; and again from the side of the sea where their galleys

## *Itinerary*

were lying in wait to convey the Turks into the city as they arrived, or to intercept the succours which were coming to us the Christians. At length, by favour of the Divine mercy, our adversaries were driven back and repulsed.

Chapter XXXVI. — *How our men were on the point of assaulting the city with three wooden towers; the townsmen offer to surrender, while we are attacked by the enemy below, our machines are set on fire.*

Our chiefs contribute mutually to the making of machines for storming the city, and construct three moveable towers of dry wood, of which the making of the first fell to the lot of the Landgrave, the second to the Genoese, and the third to the rest of the army. The huge machines raised with zealous emulation, and being carried up by stories, were urged forwards on wheels, which, assisted by mechanical contrivances, moved easily. To prevent their catching fire, the workmen covered them with tarpaulins and raw hides; and that the blow of the *petrariæ* might not injure them, which it does if caught by a softer substance, they suspend twisted ropes in front. And the upper parts of the towers, which were much higher than the walls and bulwarks of the city contained slingers and darters, while the middle story was occupied by men armed with stakes and poles. Each camp had its *petrariæ*, which stood on the side and afforded protection to the towers as they were drawn along, as well is serving to throw down the opposite walls. The townsmen now entirely despairing, offered to surrender the city if they might be allowed to depart and take away their property with them. Our people refused, and hastened with all their might to bring the machines they had made against the walls, upon which the townsmen resisted, and in turn revenge themselves on their besiegers and assaulters; for, on the Saturday after Ascension-day, when the machines had been brought nearer the walls, after we had assaulted the city from morn till even, behold! the army of the Turks from without came rushing in troops with immense violence upon the trench, to attack from the rear those who were assaulting the city, that they might draw them off if not entirely disperse them. Thus, while our men, held in check on both

## *Itinerary*

sides, and having their attention divided, were either defending themselves against the attacks from without, or were engaged in storming the city, and their strength was weakened from having so many objects to contend with, the enemy set fire to our towers, which our utmost endeavours could not extinguish, and being burnt with Greek fire, they were rendered useless. And thus, by an unfortunate accident, our hope of triumph fell, — the more mortifying in the result from being considered so certain at first.

Chapter XXXVII. — *Of the famine among the citizens and the succour brought in by the galleys.*

The besieged were now so sorely pressed from the great want of provisions, that they ate up their horses and spared not beasts of other kinds, forgetful of the Mahometan law, while, reduced by hunger to eat forbidden things, they satisfied their ravening appetites. Meanwhile, they turned out the older Christian captives, whom they reckoned useless, having become speechless and decrepit, but they reserved the younger captives, who were hale and fit for work. While the Turks were thus straitened, there arrived three vessels of burthen, whose crews suddenly threw themselves into the city, for fear of meeting the Christians, in such haste that some of them were wrecked, but those that carried provisions were saved. Whereupon the besieged, overcome with excessive joy, as if their wishes had been gratified, testify their deliverance by howling in loud tones to the music of cymbals and pipes; they hoped by these rejoicings to confirm the belief that they had not sustained any loss.

Chapter XXXVIII. — *How Saladin, having collected the armies of his kingdom together, attacks our men, who by their bold resistance force him to retire in confusion.*

Meanwhile, Saladin, having gathered together the forces of all Asia, from the Tigris as far as India, as well as from the parts between the Tigris and Euphrates, and thence to the southern districts, led them forth to war.

## *Itinerary*

From Africa too, there came countless tribes; the Nadabaræ, Gætulians, and Numidians, and from the scorching south, the people named Moors or Mauritians, from the Greek word mauros, which means black. Thus two divisions of the globe attacked the third; against both of which Europe entered into conflict, the only one of them which acknowledged the name of Christ. Most of these troops served Saladin as stipendiaries; so that the money which had been raised was no longer sufficient for their pay. For by common agreement the barbarians decreed that whoever died, should leave the third of his property to the defenders of the law. Some, however, served for nothing as a sort of pilgrimage, and instead of performing the ceremonies of the law, went to fight against the Christians. The pouring out, therefore, of these multitudes from all parts, gave the king excessive joy; and falling on our men boldly, he hoped either to carry them all away captive, or to exterminate them with the edge of the sword. And if we read that Darius king of the Persians fought with seven hundred thousand men, we may judge of the multitude on the present occasion; for his army could be numbered, but this army none could count. That large plain, stretching from sea to sea, over which they were spread far and wide, would not hold so many thousands; and had the ground been itself much more extensive, it would have been narrow compared with the numbers engaged. The Christians, though pressed by the townsmen on one side and by the enemy on the other, stood their ground manfully; and having placed guards at the trenches, repelled the assaults of both. The attack commenced on the Saturday of Pentecost, and continued for eight days, the great slaughter on both sides bearing witness to the fury of the combat. Our men found the holidays no holidays; but their resolute valour strengthened them to the confusion of the foe; and He who ordained of old the Apostles to prophecy, now inflamed his soldiers to battle. All had strict charge not to go beyond the camp; for there was no need to go in search of an enemy, when one was at their doors. And so great was the multitude which came to attack, that darts thrown at random were not without effect; nor did any take aim, when the crowded squadrons afforded so many objects to wound. On the eighth day, a blow from a sling killed one of the sultan's sons, whose death put a stop to the attack which had begun, and terrified the hostile army.

## *Itinerary*

Very many of them, therefore, returned to their own land in great dread of coming in contact with the Christians, who had resisted so great a multitude so boldly.

Chapter XXXIX. — *Further of the famine among the citizens and of the succours by the galleys.*

Meanwhile, hunger afflicts the townsmen sorely, but the south wind brings them supplies of corn from the sultan in Egypt. The vessels were five and twenty in number; of the three largest of these, two were run aground, while attempting to push through between the Tower of Flies and the adjacent rock; the third got into port unhurt; for our galleys had turned them from their intended course; but one of ours, in its hasty pursuit of the enemy, struck on a rock and was dashed to pieces.

Chapter XL. — *Of the misfortunes of our men, arising from a battle begun without the counsel of their chiefs.*

As time wore on, and our army had enjoyed a long repose, the common soldiers, desirous of a change, began to tax the chiefs with sloth; and all excited with one wish, each encourages his fellow to battle. Their indignation is excited by the proximity of the heathen camp; the greedy are encouraged by the prospect of spoil, and the honour of victory inflames the warlike. They therefore enter into a tumultuous plot, and with eager heat, prepare unanimously for battle, without asking the consent of their chiefs. The latter endeavour, as far as possible, to check the rash daring of the people, and the patriarch forbids them under pain of anathema from provoking the enemy, and incurring the dangers of a battle, without consulting their chiefs; but neither the dissuasions of these, nor the threats of the others, availed; for fury overcame counsel, violence reason, and order yielded to multitudes; whichever way the vulgar are impelled, they think rashness a virtue, and that to be the best which is the object of their wishes; and not weighing the issue of things, they reject him who chideth, and despise him who ruleth. Therefore, on St. James's-day, a mournful and

## *Itinerary*

unpropitious one, the ill-fated crowd of common soldiers burst forth; they go forth in arms, it is true, but they oppose themselves without precaution against the coming danger; a fine body of young men, indeed, distinguished for bravery, and that would yield to no victor, had it had a head, or used counsel in its darings, or been as fond of battle as it was of booty. But the army had no leader; every one was his own soldier and guide; they scarcely paid attention to or followed their proper standards; many ran before them, and thought more of the booty than the battle in which they were to perish. The Mahometans, when they saw the crowd coming forth, whether from fear or design, gave way a little, and as they did not gather up their baggage, they left their tents behind, rich with various things. But under the declivity of an adjacent mount they collected their lost courage, and stopped, while they sent spies to discover the object at which our men aimed, and why they had come forth. Tecadin, the sultan's grandson, at that time had pitched his tent opposite the camp of Himbert; he was a man of active spirit and bold in arms, but of exceeding wickedness and implacable cruelty, and he hated above all things the name of Christian. Hither the aforesaid multitude hastened; hither the lust for plunder urges every one, and they, who were eager after the spoil, explored not the ambuscades that lay around. Many glutted their appetite with the abundance of food they met with, and having relinquished their arms, lay down in over security, as if they had been invited to a feast. The Turks, having learnt what was going on, soon poured in on all sides, and shouting with a terrible noise, as is their wont, gained an easy victory over a scattered and stupefied foe. No one dreamt of fighting, every one thought of flight; but being on foot, laden with arms, and exhausted with thirst and heat, they could not escape when pursued by an active and mounted enemy. In all directions they were routed, and thrown into confusion; no quarter was given, nor a captive taken; fury could not satisfy its appetite, and anger recalls the sword, which the weariness of the striker had for a moment laid aside. Wherever fear urged any one, he was sure to meet with death; an inevitable fate threatened one and all. The foe and slaughter presented themselves on all sides; numbers were wounded, and four thousand are reckoned to have been slain. Though they heard the tumult,

## *Itinerary*

and saw the slaughter, the chiefs pretend to be ignorant of it; hard-hearted, inhuman, and impious, certainly they were, who saw their brethren butchered before them, and offered no assistance to them when perishing, whose only crime was the leaving the camp against orders. At length, when others hesitated from sloth, rather than from anger, Ralph de Hauterive, archdeacon of Colchester, came to the assistance of those who were suffering and succoured them when on the point of falling. He was a man of handsome form and figure, and merited a twofold laurel for his excellence in both kinds of warfare being illustrious for his knowledge, and famous in arms. He met with a glorious and happy end, after performing many remarkable actions in the siege in which he was then engaged. The townsmen on seeing the success of their friends, issued out boldly, and went so far as to attack and overthrow some of the nearest tents.

Chapter XLI. — *Of the ships and succours which came to our men.*

After this sad slaughter had been brought about, by which our strength was considerably diminished, fortune smiled more favourably; and the west wind setting in brought some vessels laden with soldiers. Meanwhile the barbarian fleet, mixing itself secretly with ours, got forward, and imitating the language and ensigns of the Christians, made a sudden and unexpected approach to the city.

Chapter XLII. — *What men and warriors of the higher and lower grades of the laity and clergy came to our succour*

When, therefore, our men were utterly purified by the constant fire of tribulation, and the heavy trials which penetrated them to the very soul, the Lord regarded them, and withdrew them from the scourge, for He deserteth not those who hope in Him, and He grieved over them, and brought them powerful allies from the uttermost parts of the earth, illustrious men, mighty in battle, who not only made up for the past valour of the lost army, but also augmented it by numerous additions. Amongst the first that landed was Count Henry of Troyes, count of Champagne,

## *Itinerary*

with a powerful body of soldiers. There came, also, many others in succession, whose names are given as they arrived. They were: Theobald, Count of Blois, who died within three months after his arrival; next came Count Stephen, the Count of Clairmont, Count of Scalons, Manserius de Garland, Bernard de St. Waleri, John Count of Pontiny, Erard de Castiny, Robert de Buon, Adaunius de Fontaines, Louis de Ascla, Walter d'Arzillieres, Guy de Castellan, with his brother Lovel, Guy de Meisieres, John de Montmirail, John d' Arcy; also the Lord of Camte in Burgundy, Gaubert d'Aspremont, Clarembald de Noyers, the Bishop of Blois, the Bishop of Toulon, the Bishop of Ostia, the Bishop of Mordre (Mordrensis), the Bishop of Brescia, the Bishop of Aste; also the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Archbishop of Cæsarea, the Bishop of Nazareth; there were also the bishop elect of Acre, and the Archbishop of Besançon, Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hubert Bishop of Salisbury; as well as the Archdeacon of Colchester, Rodolph de Hauterive, of whom we have spoken before, and the Abbot of Scalons, the Abbot of Esterp. There came, also, a priest, who was incessantly active against the enemy, hurling darts from a sling with indefatigable toil.

There came, also, many from Normandy, such as Walkelin de Ferrars, Robert Trussebot, Richard de Vernon with his son, Guilbert de Tillieres with a strong band of warriors, and Ivo de Vipont, Ranulph de Glanville, formerly justiciary of England, Gilbert de Malines, and Hugh de Gorney. Besides these came many from different parts of the earth, whose names have not been enumerated; and if we knew them we would not mention them, for fear of wearying our hearers.

Chapter XLIII. — *How Henry of Champagne was set over the army.*

Henry count of Troyes at that time landed with a strong body of soldiers, into whose hands was committed the command of the army, which James d'Avennes and the Landgrave had held hitherto conjointly or by turn; for the Landgrave — being in ill-health left the camp on the pretext of returning home; — a man who, after performing many noble actions, to

## *Itinerary*

the admiration of all, tarnished the bright glory of his deeds by his pusillanimous return.

Chapter XLIV. — *How the duke of Suabia came to Acre by the persuasion of the marquis.*

At this time, the duke of Suabia, shortly after his father's death, was staying at Antioch with the sons of the emperor, and the chiefs send to him to remain in that quarter, to make war upon the neighbouring territory of the barbarians. This was sound and wholesome policy; for if he had occupied the enemy by urging the war in many places at once, their endeavours would have become distracted, and consequently weaker for individual operations. The marquis, who was charged with this message, failed to execute his instructions faithfully, and by an invidious interpretation of them influenced the duke's mind, for he represented that the chiefs wanted to procure his absence through jealousy, that they might have the glory of taking the city without him. Some asserted that the marquis had received from the sultan sixty thousand byzantines to persuade the duke to depart from the confines of Antioch. The duke, therefore, on arriving at Acre, proved a cause of disagreement, for the French had an old and long-standing quarrel with the Germans, since the kingdom and empire contended for the supremacy.

Chapter XLV. — *How the marquis, by the advice of the duke, aspired to the kingdom.*

Moreover, the marquis, secretly assisting the cause of the duke, to whom he was related by blood, studiously sought his presence, that by his means, if he could, he might obtain the throne. An accident also favourable to his wishes made him indulge more confidently in his hopes, for premature death carried off the queen and the offspring she had conceived from King Guy; but in order that this point may be more clearly understood, we will trace the succession of the royal race from its first origin.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XLVI. — *Of the genealogy of the kings of Jerusalem, and the cause why the marquis aspired to the throne.*

It must be stated that Fulk, father of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, who was chosen king of Jerusalem on account of his singular virtues, had two sons, Baldwin and Almaric, by Melesende, the daughter of King Baldwin, his predecessor. Of these the elder ascended the throne, and bearing his grandfather's name, married Theodora, the daughter [niece] of Manuel, emperor of Byzantium, but died without children after the conquest and capture of Askalon. His brother, who succeeded to his valour and throne, compelled Babylon to pay tribute, and by his two marriages had offspring of both sexes. His first wife, Beatrix, whom he married before coming to the throne, was daughter of the Count of Roasia; but forasmuch as she was related to him by blood, the marriage was set aside by judgment of the clergy, by a formal divorce. He had, however, two children by her, a daughter named Sybille, and a son called Baldwin, who on his father's death, being presented with the crown, although a minor and afflicted with leprosy, miraculously defeated Saladin and sixty thousand Turks, with a small body of soldiers. He, being removed at an early age from the affairs of this world, appointed as his successor his nephew Baldwin, whose mother had married William, the brother of the marquis; but who died while yet a child in his seventh year. But as the boy's father had been dead some time, Guy, who had come to visit the sepulchre, and was sprung from Poitou, married his mother Sybille, and in her right assumed the insignia of royalty; by her he had four daughters, whose premature death, and that of their mother, caused Guy to be accused, and gave the marquis the hope of reigning. Furthermore, Maria, whom King Almaric had married after divorcing his first wife, was a kinswoman of the Emperor Manuel, and had two daughters: one of them died in infancy, but Enfrid of Tours espoused Elizabeth, the second daughter, before she was of a marriageable age; but forasmuch as she was heiress to the throne, the marquis determined to remove both, and deprive Enfrid of his wife, as well as Guy of his sceptre.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XLVII. — *The wonders which happened during the siege are subjoined.*

Meanwhile, according to the various events of war, as has been said, success changing from one side to the other, there occurred manifold incidents not less wonderful than to be wondered at, which seem worthy of our notice.

Chapter XLVIII. — *How a certain petraria of the enemy by its strength destroyed all our machines, and how it struck one of our men without hurting him.*

One of the enemy's *petrariæ*, of which there were a great number in the city, was of an unusual magnitude and form, and as the engineers intended it, able to cast stones of immense weight, the blows of which nothing could resist: for it cast stones of incredible size to a great distance, and its blow destroyed everything it struck. When the stones met with no obstacle, they were driven into the ground a foot deep. It struck and shattered in pieces some of our *petrariæ*, or rendered them useless, and either destroyed our other machines, or knocked off the part it touched. In fact there was nothing so solid or compact, of whatever kind or substance, that would bear its overwhelming blow, so great was the violence with which it acted. This machine struck one of our men from behind with a stone of enormous size, as he was standing with his face turned away, quite unsuspecting of danger, not supposing that a stone could be sent so far, yet it hurt him not in the least, but, rebounding as from a mountain, fell close by, and the man, when he saw it, was more horrified at the sight than injured by the blow. Who does not see by this the wonderful works of the Lord, and that his mercy is ever ready for those who fight for him? To the praise of his mightiness I will subjoin other of his works.

Chapter XLIX. — *How a javelin, hurled against one of our men, penetrated his armour, but would not penetrate his breast, where a writing containing the name of God lay.*

## *Itinerary*

Furthermore, one of our body-guard, while walking in the ditch outside the city wall, either for the purpose of reconnoitering the weak parts of the wall, or to strike any of the enemy he could see with his sling, stopped at last; he was armed sufficiently like a foot-soldier, with iron headpiece, coat of mail, and a tunic of many folds of linen, difficult of penetration, and artificially worked with the needle, vulgarly called a *pourpoint*. A Turk from the wall struck him with a dart from a sling with great force on the breast, so that it penetrated all the aforementioned, the iron armour descending from the head, and the coat of mail and *pourpoint*, but it was stopped by a certain writing banging from his neck on his breast, and fell out blunted and twisted as from an iron plate. Are not the works of God manifest in the dart penetrating many folds of steel, and bounding back blunted from a little scroll? For the man was said to have worn suspended from his breast, the name of God on a scroll, thus proved to be impenetrable to steel. God is a wall of strength to them that hope in him.

Chapter L. — *How one of our men, unarmed, having retired to satisfy the calls of nature, struck down with a stone a Turk attacking him with a lance.*

Again, as one of our men was stooping down outside the camp, a Turk rode up to attack him unawares, but the soldier on seeing him advance sideways, and scarcely having done what he came for at the aforesaid ditch, rose up hastily, though unarmed, either to avoid him as he came up, or by an impulse from the Lord to receive him in the best way he could, As the Turk struck at him with the point of his lance, he bent down and escaped the blow by the protection of God.

“The horse rode by and passed with scatheless blow.”

The Turk annoyed at his ill success, prepared to repeat the attack, and brandishing his lance, bore down upon the soldier. What could the latter do, unarmed as he was? On foot, single-handed, and a ready prey for the foe, he called upon God, who is always by his grace present with his people, and seeing a stone by chance ready at hand, he aimed it at the face

## *Itinerary*

of his enemy, which was exposed beneath his helmet, and it struck him on the temple. The Turk fell stunned from his horse, broke his neck, and died; the soldier caught the horse, mounted, and returned to his friends. One who saw the occurrence, related it; and it is well known as a fact in the camp.

Chapter LI. — *How a woman on the point of death, while our men were filling the city trench with earth, threw herself in instead of earth.*

On another occasion, amongst those who were carrying earth to make a mound in the ditch for assaulting the town more easily, was a woman who laboured with great diligence and earnestness, and went to and fro unceasingly, and encouraged others unremittingly, in order that the work might be accomplished; but her zeal put an end to her life and labours; for while a crowd of all sexes and ages were constantly coming and going to complete the work in question, and while the aforesaid woman was occupied in depositing what she had brought, a Turk, who had been lying wait for her, struck her a mortal blow with a dart. As she fell to the ground, writhing with the violence of her pain, she entreated her husband and many others who had come up to assist her, with tears in her eyes, and very urgently, saying, "By your love for me, my dearest lord, by your piety as my husband, and the faith of our marriage contracted of old, permit not my corpse to be removed from this place; but I pray and beseech you, that since I can do nothing more towards the fulfilment of the work, I may deem myself to have done some good, if you will allow my lifeless body to be laid in the trench instead of earth, for it will soon be earth." This she urged with supplications to all the multitude that stood around, and soon after gave up the ghost. Oh! wonderful faith of the weaker sex! Oh! zeal of woman, worthy of imitation, for she ceased not, even dead, to help those who laboured, and in her death continued to shew her zeal in the cause!

Chapter LII. — *Of the Turk's horse caught in a net.*

## *Itinerary*

Again, a common fellow of our camp was spreading his net outside the camp, either for the purpose of driving off the Turks or to catch them if they came on; one of them came rushing forward on horseback, and put the man to flight before he had finished what he was about; but unable to overtake him, he gave up the pursuit, when he saw him reach the camp, and in his excessive indignation, he began to pluck up the net. But after pulling up some poles by which the net was fixed with cords, his horse's head was accidentally entangled and caught by the net, which he was trying to roll up in a hasty, incautious manner. The horse, being one of great beauty, was indignant at being thus hampered, and in his wild attempts to get free, became more and more entangled. Some of our men seeing this, rode down in haste toward him. The Turk, finding his horse entangled, quickly dismounted and fled on foot, and although deprived of his steed, escaped his pursuers, for fear added wings to his feet. His valuable horse, which had broken the net in many parts, was with difficulty disentangled, and became an object of contention, but was given to the man who had fixed the net, as compensation for his loss.

Chapter LIII. — *Of the Turk's horse that was caught in a foot-trap.*

At another time, when, on account of the frequent and sudden sallies of the Turks, our chiefs ordered that foot-traps should be made and buried in the earth to escape being seen, it happened one day, that while some of our young men were exercising by appointment in the plain by throwing darts at a mark, some of the Turks, putting spurs to their horses, suddenly attacked them, upon which our young men, being unarmed and inferior in numbers, retreated to the camp. But one of the pursuers, as if trusting in the activity of his horse, too eagerly outstript the others, when the animal was suddenly stopped in its career by being caught in a foot-trap, and no effort or endeavour of his rider could extricate him. The Turk, preferring the loss of his horse to that of his head, escaped on foot uninjured, to his own friends. The horse was decreed to be given to him whose instrument caught it, viz. Robert Count of Dreux.

Chapter LIV. — *How Ivo de Vipont stays eighty pirates with a handful of men.*

## *Itinerary*

On another occasion, as three sailors were conducting Ivo de Vipont with ten companions to Tyre, and had wandered too far from the port, some Turkish pirates, coming out in a galley from an eddy of the sea near the land, bore down upon them; they were about eighty in number, and when the sailors saw them coming near, in their excessive fear they cried out together, "O Lord God, we shall be taken and slaughtered." To whom Ivo de Vipont said, "Why do ye of little faith fear those whom you shall soon see dead?" And when the enemy's galley appeared by force of rowing to be on the point of striking the vessel with its beak, Ivo leapt into it and began to cut down the Turks who pressed upon him, with the axe he carried in his hand. His companions, when they saw his work prosper, gaining heart, leapt into the galley also, and either beheaded whomsoever they found, or led them away captives. Thus these men triumphed who placed their hope in God, who knows not how to be conquered, and with whom a counterfeit faith availeth not, nor a multitude of warriors, for it matters not with the Lord whether the valour of battle and the glory of victory rest with a few or with many.

Chapter LV. — *The admiral's genitalia destroyed by the Greek fire with which the enemy proposed to destroy our machines.*

Again, when the townsmen beheld a great multitude of our people going, as was their wont, in search of provender for the animals, they sallied out against them under the command of their admiral Bellegeminus, a famous and powerful man, and rushed without care upon them; but our men withstood the enemy obstinately, and after many were killed on both sides, drove them back into the city. But the admiral stood his ground a long time, as he was a man of greater bravery than the others; while he was doing his best to execute the main object of the attack by cutting to pieces or burning with Greek fire the machines which were ready to move against the walls of the city, and as, while his men fled, he lagged behind to accomplish his purpose, a soldier, coming behind, threw him from his horse, and the vessel in which he carried the Greek fire being

## *Itinerary*

broken by the fall, the inextinguishable liquid burnt his genitalia. So that what he had intended for our detriment became his own destruction.

Chapter LVI. — *How a Turk, while carrying the Greek fire, is caught in a net by our men.*

On one occasion, some of our fishermen were throwing their nets for fish at no great distance from land, — men who, being devoted to this pursuit, gained a livelihood for themselves and no small relief by selling the fish. It happened one day towards sunset, when the nets were stretched out, that one of our men, sitting on an elevated spot on shore, saw a man swimming at a distance with his head only above water, and on his pointing him out, the aforesaid fishermen closely pursued the swimmer in their boat to ascertain what this strange appearance might be; and when they approached nearer they perceived that he was a Turk. He was frightened at their shouts and tried to escape, but they rowed quickly and caught him in their net. The man, being an expert swimmer, had already passed their nets with a load which he carried suspended from his neck, for he had with him in a skin Greek fire, destined for the besieged in the city. In this way the Turks used to send Greek fire to the besieged by skilful swimmers, as they judged it the safest and most secret plan. The fishermen landed with their captive, and told their story to those on shore: and then conducted him with the fire he carried through the midst of the army, and after scourging him severely and gibing at him, they sadly mangled, and then decapitated him, and so he had his reward. Thus the Lord shewed that he cared for his people; for he scattereth the counsels of the heathen and of princes, and brought to nothing the plans which the malignity of the enemy imagined.

Chapter LVII. — *How a Turk, who attempted to defile the cross of Christ, died of a wound with a dart in his bowels.*

Again, we think we ought not to pass over the following fact in silence, though irksome of relation and horrible to listen to: viz. that the

## *Itinerary*

Turks were wont, to the scandal and disgrace of our faith, to take whatever images and pictures representing the mysteries of our religion they could find in the city, bringing them on the walls in sight of the Christians, to scourge and beat them with rods as if they were alive, and spit upon and treat them shamefully in many other ways as the humour took them. One day as some of our men saw a Turk doing this and tossing about a cross with the image of our Saviour in a shameful and impious manner, and obscenely giving utterance to blasphemies and impious revilings against our religion, on his proceeding further and attempting to defile the same, a zealous man cut a dart from his sling and killed the Turk, and thus proved to him how man's attempts against the Lord are as nothing.

Chapter LVIII. — *How a Parthian bowman was shot by a Welch bowman, for not keeping to his agreement.*

It chanced, moreover, one day that the slingers and bowmen, and all who were skilled in throwing missiles, frequently challenged one another on both sides, and discharged their weapons for exercise. When the rest had departed from the field in their turns, a Parthian and a Welchman began to aim their arrows at each other in a hostile manner, and discharge them so as to strike with all their might. But the Welchman, aware of his foe's intention, repaid like for like; on which the Parthian, making a truce, approached him, and when within hearing, began a parley. "Of what country are you," said he, "and by what name may I be pleased to know you? I see you are a good bowman, and in order that you may be more inclined to tell me, I am a Parthian by nation, brought up from childhood in the art of shooting, and my name is Grammahyr, of good reputation amongst my people for my deeds of renown, and well known for my victories." The Welchman told his name and nation. "Let us prove," said the Parthian, "which is the best bowman, by each taking an arrow, and aiming them against one another from our bows. You shall stand still first, and I will aim an arrow at you, and afterwards you shall shoot in like manner at me." The Welchman agreed. The Parthian having fitted his

## *Itinerary*

arrow, and parting his feet as the art requires, with his hands stretched asunder, and his eyes fixed on the mark,

“Lets fly the arrow, failing of its aim.”

The Welchman, unhurt, demanded the fulfilment of the aforesaid condition. “I will not agree,” said the Parthian; “but you must stand another shot, and then have two at me.” The Welchman replied, “You do not stand by your agreement, nor observe the condition you yourself dictated; and if you will not stand, although I may delay it for a time, as I may best be able, God will take revenge on you according to His will, for your treachery;” and he had scarce finished speaking, when in the twinkling of an eye he smote the Turk with his arrow in the breast, as he was selecting an arrow from his quiver to suit his purpose, and the weapon, meeting with no obstacle, came out at the back, having pierced the Turk’s body; upon which he said to the Turk, “You stood not by your agreement, nor I by my word.” Animated by these and the like successes, the Christians thought they should preserve themselves for good fortune by bearing all their misfortunes with more cheerful faith, and more fervent hope.

Chapter LIX. — *Of the sea-fight between the Turks and our men, and how, while our men are trying to take the Tower of Flies with towers and machines fixed on the galleys, our machines are destroyed by fire.*

Meanwhile the Pisans, and others who were skilled in managing ships, to whom had been entrusted the siege of the city from the sea, had built and fitted on their galleys a machine in the form of a castle, with bulwarks, with a great deal of toil, to overlook the walls, and give the power of throwing in their missiles more effectually. They had also built two ladders, with some steps, whereby they might reach the top of the walls. These machines they covered, as well as the galleys, with raw hides, so that it was judged they would not be affected by iron, or any kind of weapon.

## *Itinerary*

Having all things in readiness, they proceeded to lay siege to the Tower of Flies, and fiercely attacked it with slings and missiles. Those who were in the tower manfully resisted them, and being a match for them, both in strength and good fortune, they took immediate revenge on our men for the death of one of their party. And in order to vanquish them or drive them away, nearly two thousand Turks went out from the city against the galleys to give assistance to the besieged in the tower, while they harassed the Pisans from the opposite quarter. Our men being skilful and experienced warriors, moved their machines as conveniently as they could against the aforesaid tower, and immediately strove to cast immense anchors on it, and throw on its defenders whatsoever stones or weapons they had at hand; while others were appointed to fight by sea, and no less bravely repelled those who attacked them in that quarter. With the anchors they threw on the tower the defences were pulled down, and the bucklers and shields crushed to pieces. The tower was assaulted for a long time with wonderful and intolerable violence; one party succeeding the other when tired, in rapid succession and with invincible valour. Darts flew with horrid crash, and ponderous missiles rushed whizzing through the air. The Turks give way for a time, for they were not able to withstand the brunt of the battle; and behold! our men, having fixed the ladders for scaling the tower, were ready to mount, when the Turks, seeing that it was their last struggle, and that they must resist our ascent with all their might, cast masses of enormous size down to crush our men and throw them from the ladders. They afterwards threw Greek fire on our castle, which at last caught fire; and when those who were in it saw this, they were obliged to descend and retreat. An incalculable slaughter of the Turks, who attacked our men from the sea, was made; and although the design of our men was defeated on the side of the tower, those to seaward slew an immense number of the enemy. In the end the machines were destroyed by the devouring fire, together with the turret and the galleys in which they were placed, and the upright ladders. The Turks, overcome with excessive joy, laughed with loud shouts, making a mockery of us, and wagging their heads at our misfortune: and the Christians, being disheartened above measure, were not less annoyed by the revilings that were heaped upon

## *Itinerary*

them, than by the losses they had sustained. However, their spirits were raised by the constant arrival of strangers, and they were thus strengthened by the increase of their numbers.

Chapter LX. — *The townsmen, with great loss to themselves, burn the battering-ram of the archbishop of Besançon, with Greek fire.*

Meanwhile, the archbishop of Besançon had caused to be built, with great labour and much expense, a machine to batter down the walls, covered with iron plates, commonly called a battering-ram; because by repeated and frequent blows, after the manner of a ram, it overthrows the most solid walls. Another very strong rain was built by Count Henry; and the other princes and heroes, either singly or conjunctively, had caused to be made different kinds of machines. Some prepared sows<sup>14</sup> of different kinds; others poles; or whatsoever each fancied, or which came first to hand. A day was then appointed for bringing against the walls the instruments that each had prepared. The archbishop brought his machine, like a ceiled house, to strike the walls; it had in front a very long mast of a ship, with its head covered with iron, which was impelled by many men, and then being drawn back again, was levelled with greater force; and thus, by frequent blows, they tried to breach or cast down the city walls. Those who impelled the machine below were secure from all injury that came from above. The Turks defended themselves manfully from the walls, and collected and threw upon it immense heaps of dry wood, to set the machine on fire, while, independently of its being easily assailed by fire, they cast immense masses from the *petrariæ*, without ceasing. Last of all, they threw on it Greek fire, and the dry wood having caught, the men in it saw it must be inevitably destroyed, and were obliged, by the intolerable heat, to leave it, and continue their attack with what instruments they could lay hold of. The Turks were indefatigable in their efforts to destroy

<sup>14</sup>*Sues rostratas, contos, sues.* The sow was a military covering, under shelter of which the assailants made their approaches to the walls of a besieged town.

## *Itinerary*

the machine, by throwing down immense masses on it, or consuming it by means of liquid oil. Great was the contest and show of prowess between the Turks and Christians; the latter strove to extricate the battering-ram, the former to resist their attempts. The fire, once lighted, and fed constantly by the Turks, who spared no material for the purpose, reduced the machine to ashes. The Christians retired, grieving at the failure of their efforts; while the Turks hastened to and fro, with dances and shouting, and thought their deeds incomparable. But they did not insult our adversities with impunity for they lost eighty of their number, and amongst them, a certain renowned admiral, at whose command these things were done; though they concealed their grief, that their loss might escape our notice. Our chiefs, observing that their exertions had not the success they expected, broken down by their misfortunes, determined to take respite for awhile, and relax their efforts.

Chapter LXI. — *How a fleet of fifteen ships was sent to the aid of the townsmen, of which several perished.*

Meanwhile, soon after the feast of St. Michael, a fleet of fifteen ships arrived from Alexandria, glittering in gorgeous array, and a short distance one from another, they arrived towards dusk, and being driven by a violent wind, were unable to slacken their course. Hence, when they saw our army, they dreaded lest we should go forth to meet them, and they could not avoid us; but the Christians did not venture, as the night was coming on, and the wind high. The fleet, too, having gathered together, made for the chain, with all speed: the three largest ships, of the kind called dromons, came behind; the galleys, which were swifter of motion, went before. They bore down violently into port, and coming into collision with each other, two of them dashed on the rocks, and most of the men on board perished, amidst the shouts and laughter of the Christians, who beheaded some of them that were cast on shore by the fury of the waves. Besides this, they seized upon the largest of the galleys, which was driven by the wind into port, laden with provisions; and having killed the crew, they kept the cargo for themselves. The remainder reached the desired haven, below the

## *Itinerary*

chain, in safety; and when the townsmen saw them, they went out with numberless lamps, and received them with much pomp into the city, overjoyed at their arrival. Afterwards, their numbers being thus augmented, they turned out of the town those of their men who were less fit for fighting, lest their numbers should consume their provisions and strength; and so the time was protracted.

Chapter LXII. — *How, on our men being set in battle array under the command of Archbishop Baldwin against Saladin, Saladin flies to the mountains.*

The common men now murmured at the inactivity of the chiefs, and the continuance of a fruitless blockade, and grew weary of the siege: and when the chiefs had considered for some time what had best be done, the result was, that the enemy on the outside should be challenged to a general engagement; for if the hostile army gave way, the city would more easily be assaulted and stormed. On the morrow of St. Martin's, therefore, our chiefs led out their troops in order of battle into the plain, in the cold rays of a winter's sun; and when we saw them come forth, with their various standards, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the others, their number, valour, and varied costumes, created in us mixed sentiments of admiration, confidence, and pleasure. The clergy claimed no small share of military glory; for abbots and prelates led their own troops, and fought manfully for the faith, joyfully contending for the law of God. Among and above the others, the venerable Archbishop Baldwin distinguished himself; and although his advanced age might have inclined him to inactivity, the perfection of his virtues made up for the defect of nature. Raising the standard on which was inscribed the name of the glorious martyr Thomas, he found for it a meet and worthy company; for two hundred knights and three hundred followers served in the pay of the holy man. He himself, with the duke of Suabia, and Theobald, count of Blois, had charge of the camp; and having performed the duties of the patriarch, who was ill in bed, he blessed and gave absolution to the army as it went forth. Nor could the noble bishop of Salisbury endure to be absent from the fray, but he performed the duties of a soldier in the field, a leader in the camp, and a

## *Itinerary*

pastor in the church. Towards sunset, when the army had advanced and pitched their tents, the townsmen came into the vacant space, and burst upon the baggage to plunder it; but our men received them manfully, and putting them to flight, saved their friends without sustaining any loss. At night, the sultan ordered all his tents and property to be carried to the mountains; and what could not be moved in time was burnt. It was the part of a spirit conquered and hesitating, thus declining battle on the plain, to destroy his own property, change his position, and retreat to the mountains. When he found a spot not easy of access, he halted; and sent out an overwhelming number of infantry and bowmen to check those who should pursue, that at least he might annoy from above, those whom he feared to engage at close quarters. Our men, therefore, cheated of their battle in the plain, and unable to follow the foe up the precipitous road, returned equally without hurt and without glory.

Chapter LXIII. — *How the Turks fought with a party of our men, who had gone out to Caiffa for provisions, and were returning, and how they yielded.*

After this, hearing that provisions, of which they were much in want, might be procured at Caiffa, the army proceeded in that direction; but when they came to a place called Recordana, behold the Turks suddenly rushing down, made a fierce attack on them, taking them for fugitives; some of them threw their darts, others pressed on with their spears; one party made loud shouting, another blew their trumpets like horns, to frighten those who were flying. Our men, having pitched their tents in the plain that night, kept quiet till morning; and then they saw the Turks in vast numbers surrounding them on all sides. Our men terrified at such a multitude, having taken up their arms, and put themselves in array, went forth in battle array to meet them; yet the Turks did not venture to attack, but gave way as our men came on, although their own numbers were countless. Having heard that there were no provisions at Caiffa, as they supposed, for the Turks had carried them all away, our men returned towards Acre in order of battle. The Turks constantly harassed them on the road, but they sustained little loss from their attacks. At a certain river,

## *Itinerary*

however, which flows from thence to Acre, near a fountain, there was a severe engagement, and great slaughter of noble steeds, before the armies were separated; our army now proceeded on one side of the stream, while the other was occupied by the enemy, who were constantly engaged in throwing missiles, and threatening them without ceasing, as well as harassing them in the rear. They harassed our men much, for the foot followers and bowmen, who occupied the rear of our army, were forced to keep facing about and discharging arrows at their pursuers without intermission.

On the following night they pitched their camps close by the stream, and had very little rest, but much anxiety; for they were obliged either to drive off the enemy, who attacked them openly, or watch against hidden ambuscades; for it was not so much by constant, as continued, attacks, that the enemy tried to annoy them with injuries, or provoke them with jeers. There was a bridge over the river, which it was necessary for us to pass, but which was occupied by the Turks before our arrival; this they had not had time to break down, as they intended, but closing together, they placed themselves in the middle of it to check our advance; but when our men saw that nothing but absolute force would remove them, Godfrey of Lusignan, the king's brother, with five other chosen knights, made a fierce attack upon them, and put them to flight in a moment, and by the same assault threw thirty of them into the river, never more to rise, for they were drowned; thus they gained a free passage across the river in spite of all opposition, and returned to the siege of Acre.

Chapter LXIV. — *With what guiles the marquis espoused the wife of Reinfred, who was yet alive, in order to gain the heirship of the kingdom.*

Now the marquis, having for some time aspired to the glory of reigning, on seeing a way open to his wishes, made himself confident of obtaining the kingdom, if he could supplant the wife of Reinfred; to this end he strained every effort, and put in practice every art. But adopting an underhand policy, he complained of the condition of the kingdom, that the king was not able to manage affairs, that he was reigning without right,

## *Itinerary*

now his wife was removed, and that another daughter of King Amalric still survived. He first set forth these matters among the people, but he sedulously courted the chiefs also, enticing these with gifts, and binding others by the tie of kindred; and all he either allures by his bland manners, or obliges by his gifts, or gains over by his promises. It was easy for so active a man, surpassing Sinon in devices, Ulysses in eloquence, and Mithridates in variety of tongues, to gain all his wishes, armed as he was with such cunning; but forasmuch as the Church forbade the bonds of marriage to be broken asunder, the crafty man found out a new charge to take away the wife of Reinfred; for the chiefs persuaded him that she could be separated from her husband without violation of the law, as having married when too young, and without consent. But Reinfred himself had conceived the hope of gaining the kingdom in the right of his wife — a person more akin to a woman than a man, effeminate in manner and loose in language, and to whom that verse of Virgil applies,

“While Nature doubts, if boy or girl be made,  
You’re born, fair boy, to be a pretty jade.”

For one day, when, at the mandate of the chiefs, Reinfred had brought forward his wife, he lost his bride and his kingdom together by the arts of the marquis. Oh wickedness worthy of the satirist’s pen and of tragic declamation! For if we condemn the rape of Helen, the present deed is much more base, and its injustice greater: for Helen was stolen, surreptitiously stolen, in the absence of her husband, whereas this one was violently withdrawn in his presence. But that the act might lose the infamy of its wrong, the girl is given into the keeping of a sequestrator, while the judgment of the clergy is sought for a divorce. The marquis, therefore, tampered with the clergy by gifts and wiles; he sounded all those whom he believed agreeable to his purpose and effects, by immense largesses and the fascination of gold, to corrupt their judicial impartiality. The report of so great a wickedness was carried to the ears of the most sacred metropolitan of Canterbury; it arouses his innocence to astonishment, and inflames the anger of the defender of the law. While he performed with

## *Itinerary*

due rigour the duties of the patriarch, who, as we said, was sick, the friends of the marquis tried to quash the verdict which was to be given, under the pretext of appeal. Three of his chief favourites were Reginald, lord of Sidon, Pagan, of the castle of Caiffa, and Balisantus; and there would have been a fourth, the count of Tripoli, had he not gone away, who would have formed this consummate council of iniquity. For in them, as in an abode of wickedness, were united the treachery of Judas, the cruelty of Nero, the impiety of Herod, and all that the present or olden times regarded as abominable and wicked. Now, Balisantus, on Amalric's death, had married his wife, this damsel's mother; and she, having imbibed from her childhood the lowest Grecian morals, had a husband similar to herself in cruelty, levity, and faithlessness. The marquis wins them both over by presents and promises, to persuade the girl to prefer a complaint, that she had married Reinfred against her will, that she had always opposed it, and that the marriage could not stand, because she had never given her consent. This plot is entirely successful, and the woman easily changes her mind; for a female is always variable and changeable, her sex frail, her mind fickle, and she delights in novelty; so she lightly rejects and forgets those whom she knows; the girl is thus easily taught what is bad, and willingly receives evil advice, and so blushed not to say that she was not carried away, but had followed the marquis willingly. Indeed the chiefs themselves, in defiance of justice, used their efforts to bring it about that the marquis should have the kingdom and the damsel. The venerable archbishop of Canterbury seeing that justice and equity were perversely confounded, and that ecclesiastical authority would be rejected; perceiving also that the clergy, with some of the bishops, who had a sounder mind and more fervent zeal, murmured as far as they dared; he pronounced sentence of excommunication on those who had contracted and agreed to this unholy wedlock, and not undeservedly, because he had cohabited with another man's wife, and taken her to his own house and espoused her, by the ministry of the bishop of Beauvais, and because he had a wife in his own country, and another in Constantinople, both of noble birth, young, and beautiful, and suitable to his position; whence the clergy charged him with threefold adultery, and as far as they could, spoke against the act

## *Itinerary*

which the holy church deemed impious. Those who favoured him tried to excuse themselves on the plea that the marquis had sworn to supply the army, when in much want, with an abundance of provision from Tyre, on condition of their aiding him in the marriage; but he had set at nought his oath, and transgressed the sanctity of his honour, for he who is faithless in a little, fears not to commit a greater crime. And while the nuptials were celebrated with great festivity, it happened that some of our men, who were guests at the feast, having gone to a short distance from the spot, were set upon by an ambuscade of the Turks, and some taken, others slain. This was the commencement of misfortunes. Here the Butler of St. Lice was taken, and whether the Turks kept him captive or killed him, was never known afterwards. Twenty men were taken prisoners or slain on this occasion.

Chapter LXV. — *How the marquis returned to Tyre, and perjured himself, by not assisting our men when in need of provisions.*

But the marquis, having gained his wishes, returned to Tyre quickly with his wife and his men; and the army was disappointed in their expectation of obtaining through him a supply of provisions. For, on the contrary, either forgetful of this agreement, or ungrateful for what was done for him, he did not send so much as an egg when the army was in danger of starvation but, both perjurer and liar, he would not allow those who wished to sail to Acre with provisions to depart. Therefore, the want of provisions increased daily amongst the besiegers; little or nothing was found to purchase, and nothing was brought by ships.

Chapter LXVI. — *How Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, died.*

When the archbishop of Canterbury saw what he had before heard, that the army had become altogether dissolute, and given to drinking, women, and dice, it afflicted his spirit, unable to bear such excesses, even to the weariness of life. And because a disease which in general is difficult to cure, when one day the worst reports of this kind reached his ears,

## *Itinerary*

knowing that man is charged with the care of things, though the power of creating is God's, he sighed and uttered these words, "O Lord God! now is there need of chastening and correcting with holy grace, that if it please thy mercy that I should be removed from the turmoil of this present life, I have remained long enough in this army." Scarcely fifteen days after these words, as if heard by the Lord, he began to feel cold and stiff, and overcome by a fever, a few days after he slept in the Lord.

Chapter LXVII. — *Of the bitterness of the famine amongst our men, and the enormous price of provisions, which was the cause of their cursing the marquis.*

Meanwhile, the want of provisions increased daily, and the middle and lower classes were tormented at first continuously rather than constantly by the approaching famine, the more severely as the marquis prevaricated more shamefully. Nevertheless, he sent provisions secretly to those accomplices and favourers he had won over to join in his illicit and impious transaction. And now the higher ranks of the army obtained hardly sufficient food to sustain life, and the winter was drawing near, a period when they were usually more prodigal and luxurious, formerly abundant in all kinds of food, but now with the change of circumstances threatening want; and the hungry stomach, once overloaded, now became satisfied with any food it could procure. The greedy table had consumed their substance, and not satiating the sharp appetite of those who were in search of it, they were worn away by hunger, being without the common necessaries of life; and they felt it so much the more severely, as it was the time when they were accustomed to dainties. The heat of the season, too, added to the horrors of the impending famine, and want is always felt more severely by those who have been brought up in affluence. Why need we say more? A moderate measure of wheat, which a man could carry under his arm, was sold for 100 aurei, a chicken for twelve sols, and an egg for six deniers. By these examples, the rates of all other kinds of provisions may be imagined. The army then cursed the marquis for withdrawing their means of support, and because through him they stood in danger of starvation.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter LXVIII. — *How our men, while perishing of famine, ate the dead bodies of their horses, with their intestines.*

Famine, as we have said, urges to the commission of crimes, and yet pardonable ones, for the Lord created all things for man, and gave them into his hands to be of service to him, that man should not perish while beasts lived; they therefore slew valuable horses, and without taking off the skins of some of them, ate horse-flesh with joy; even the intestines were sold for ten sols. And wherever it was known a horse was killed, they crowded to it one before the other to buy or steal, and like birds of prey to a corpse, so the starving soldiers rushed in troops to a dead steed, that they might devour the bodies of those that once carried them; and thus the animals who once carried them on their backs were in turn carried themselves; the dead horse sold for more than a living one, and the words of the evangelist seemed to apply to them, "Where the body is, there the eagles are gathered together;" saving the mystical interpretation, from the dignity of which we do not wish to derogate. None of the intestines of the slain horses were rejected, owing to the pressure of the famine, and the most worthless part was valued at a high rate: they ate up the head with the intestines, so that after all was consumed, nay, devoured with avidity, they licked their fingers with a relish, that while any thing remained, it might be removed with the tongue rather than wiped away with a napkin. Hence they held the marquis in detestation for depriving them of the means of subsistence, since by his means they had been defrauded of their food, and stood in danger of starvation.

Chapter LXIX. — *How he who had some food ate it secretly.*

In progress of time, the famine increased exceedingly for want of provisions, and if any one had any thing appertaining to food, he hid away secretly for his own use that which was enough for more than once, in order that it might not be taken away from him by force; and thus it happened that little was exposed for sale, and whatsoever they had they

## *Itinerary*

did not distribute for common use, but the poor man was everywhere in want. Hence their detestation of the marquis for depriving them of the means of subsistence, as by his means they were deprived of food, and stood in danger of starvation.

Chapter LXX. — *How those who were once delicate ate grass.*

Wherever by chance grass was discovered growing, it was greedily devoured by men who once were brought up delicately, men of high rank and the sons of great men; they fed on grass like beasts, that the violence of famine might be extinguished by such food, whence many, led to reason by necessity, planted herbs fit for eating and good for driving away the pangs of hunger; and such as they once despised and believed not fit for human use, the greatness of the famine made now most sweet to the starving. Oh! then, the voice of the people, cursing the perfidy of the marquis! because he cared not for the misery of a starving people.

Chapter LXXI. — *How they perish from rain and hunger.*

Moreover, owing to the great quantity of rain that fell, a certain very severe disease spread among the men: for unusual showers, by their constant and continuous fall, had such an injurious effect upon the soldiers, that, with the excess of the affliction, their limbs becoming swollen, the whole body was affected as with the dropsy, and from the violence of the disease, the teeth of some of them were loosened and fell out. O the lamentations of each of them! O the sorrow of all! while those who were safe grieved for the sufferings of their comrades, and day by day saw the funerals of their friends, for every day they performed the rites of a thousand who had perished. Some, however (but they were few), recovered from their disease, and becoming more eager after food, regained health only to suffer the excessive miseries of famine. O, then, the voice of the people, cursing the perfidy of the marquis, for he cared not for the sufferings of the perishing people!

## *Itinerary*

### Chapter LXXII. — *How our starving men fought at the oven.*

Wherever it was known that bread was baking at the oven, there was a concourse of the people crying out and saying, "Here is money; we will give what price you please, so that you give us plenty of bread." For each asked to be served first, offering a price in exchange for bread, and each violently struggling to snatch from the others what they had not yet received, and perhaps never would. But as often as it happened that any of the rich bought much bread, then arose mourning, and sorrow, and clamour among the poor, united in one voice of wailing, when they saw that quantity of bread carried away by the rich, which, if distributed in portions, might have done good to the poor as far as it would go. They eagerly offered the price of the bread at the will of the seller; but, because any moderate quantity was not enough for so great a multitude, there arose frequent and angry disputes, quarrels, contentions, jealousies, and sometimes fights around the oven which contained the bread and they contended for it like dogs before they were sure of obtaining it. O, then, the voice of the people, cursing the perfidy of the marquis, for he cared not for the wretchedness of a perishing people!

### Chapter LXXIII. — *How they gnawed and ate up dirty bones which had been already gnawed by dogs.*

But who can write or set forth how great their misery was how great the general suffering, when some were seen from the pressure of famine running about like rabid dogs and snatching up bones that had been gnawed by dogs for three days together, and sucking and licking them when there was nothing on them to be gnawed, not because they did them any good, but because they gratified the imagination with the remembrance of flesh? What need we add to these horrors? The enemy, harassing them by constant attacks from both sides, when they slew them suddenly, were held less terrible than the violence of so great a famine; for the former put an end to their lives and their miseries by the edge of the sword and at once, whereas by the famine they pined away in lengthened

## *Itinerary*

torments. Oftentimes, in the sight of all, they whom hunger had stripped of shame, fed upon abominable and filthy things, found by chance, and which cannot be named; yet they deemed them delicious food, though unlawful for man to make use of. O the voice of the people, cursing the perfidy of the marquis, for he cared not for the wretchedness of a perishing people!

Chapter LXXIV. — *How noblemen also, when they had not wherewith to buy bread, stole it.*

From some other instances worth relating, the magnitude of the famine may be estimated; for in those who endured it patiently according to the flesh, it may be not undeservedly considered martyrdom, unless perchance by murmuring, they diminished the credit which they would thus have received. The pressure of necessity moreover led to the commission of many disgraceful acts; and some even of noble extraction, who were on that account ashamed to beg openly, feared not to sin in secret to obtain the subsistence so difficult to get honestly, and were in the habit of stealing bread. Thus it happened that one man was caught in this kind of robbery, and was bound tightly with thongs, in which condition he was placed in custody in the house of the man who had caught him, who was a baker; and while the family was very much engaged in domestic matters, by some movement or other, the captive managed to get his hands loose, and as he was placed by chance close by a heap of new loaves, he ate his full unperceived by any one, and then escaping with one loaf in his hand, returned unpunished to his friends; and after telling his story distributed the bread he had in his hand to them to eat. But what was this among so many? Want irritated the appetite, and exasperated rather than quieted hunger. O then the voice of the people, cursing the perfidy of the marquis, because he cared not for the wretchedness of a perishing people!

Chapter LXXV. — *How many turn apostates from the bitterness of the famine.*

What was still worse, some of our men, and it cannot be told or heard without great grief, gave way to the severity of the famine, and in paying

## *Itinerary*

attention to their corporeal safety incurred the damnation of their souls. For after having overcome a great part of their tribulation, some of our men taking refuge among the Turks, did not hesitate to turn apostates, and to procure for themselves by wicked blasphemies eternal death, that they might enjoy a little longer this mortal life. O pernicious exchange! O crime for which no punishment can suffice! O foolish men like unto senseless beasts! while ye fled from the death, which must soon come, you took no care against the death that is without end! For if a just man liveth by faith, perfidy is accounted death, but the conscience of all who act foolishly must be purged. Then they execrate the marquis for breaking his covenant, and imprecate evil on him and mortal woe.

### Chapter LXXVI. — *How two friends buy thirteen beans for a denier.*

There were two friends, comrades in misfortune as well as in war, so needy and distressed that the two possessed only one piece of money, commonly called an angevin, and with that only they wished to purchase something to eat; but what could they do? It was a mere trifle, and worth little, even if there had been abundance of all sorts of good things; and they had nothing else but their armour and clothing. They considered for a long time very thoughtfully what they should buy with that one little piece, and how it could be done to ward off the pressing evil of the day. They at last came to the resolution of buying some beans, since nothing was to be bought of less value; with difficulty, therefore, they obtained, after much entreaty, thirteen beans for their denier, one of which on returning home they found consumed by maggots, and therefore unfit for eating. Upon this, by mutual agreement, they went a long distance in search of the seller, who consented not without difficulty and after much supplication, to give them a whole bean in exchange. How strange this exchange of such a thing after a long search, and at such a distance! From those beans, which were consumed in a moment, how much benefit do we think could accrue to the hungry? We judge that must be weighed more by the opinion of the hearer than described by the pen. Then they execrated the marquis for the violation of his covenant, and prayed for evil on him and mortal woe.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter LXXVII. — *How the famished ate karrubles, and died from drinking wine.*

There was exposed for sale a kind of fruit growing on trees; a grain enclosed in a pod like a pea, which the common people called karruble, sweet to the taste, and very pleasant to eat. The hungry were recruited by them, because there was a greater abundance of them than other things, whence the way to buy them was much frequented; for although they were of inferior value, they were something. Of those who lay weak and ate little, either because they had nothing to eat, or because they could not eat, the wine which they drank heated them so much that many were suffocated, either from the violence of the liquor, which was not tempered with food, or from being too weak to support its strength and goodness. There was a tolerable supply of wine for sale, but, much wine is not good for the preservation of the body with little food; for it is necessary to proportion the one to the other. But inasmuch as the marquis was the cause of the scarcity, they ceased not to curse him and execrate him for the violation of his covenant, and invoked evil on him and mortal woe.

Chapter LXXVIII. — *How the famished ate flesh during Lent.*

Some were driven by the pressure of the famine to eat flesh in the beginning of Lent, on what is commonly called Ash-Wednesday, — not because they had plenty of it, but because it was more easily obtained: afterwards, however, as the famine slackened, they repented and made proportionate penitence. Above all these things, during the whole of that winter, the charity of all was so cooled by the fear of want of money, that a man did not even share his necessaries with his friend, their little faith leading them to doubt God's love, and to believe that if they shared with others, they themselves would lack the necessaries of life. To such a degree the vice of parsimony, and the concealment of their stores increased, that even they hid what they had, and those that had were thought not to have

## *Itinerary*

at all. What did the voice of so many in want then imprecate on the marquis? Who did not think him the cause of so many being in jeopardy?

Chapter LXXIX. — *The exhortation of the bishop of Salisbury and some others to the rich, to make collections to assist the poor.*

The intercourse of the faithful becoming beyond measure checked, and no one taking thought or notice of the poor and needy, the infamy of this want of faith extended itself to all. The bishop of Salisbury was active in shewing that nothing was greater than charity, nothing more acceptable to God, nothing more fruitful than to give; and to this end he induced all, by his powerful persuasion, to open their hands and distribute to their neighbours, to give to the needy, and support the perishing, lest, if they neglected the wants of others, they should not obtain their own; for it is said that he who heeds them not when he may, is the cause of death to the languishing: he shewed that he was guilty of another man's death, who refused to assist him when he could; for we are commanded to give drink to our enemy when thirsty, and to feed him when hungry. And the bishops of Nerrona and Faenza in Italy, earnestly assisted in his exhortation. In consequence of the exhortation and urgency of these men, a collection was made for distribution amongst the poor, and so many and so great were the hearts God moved to contribute to the support of the needy, that the hungry were greatly recruited; and the substance of the givers, also, by the grace of God co-operating, was not diminished. Then arose fresh joy, then the lips of many blessed the givers, then were benefits multiplied, then it is said that pity was turned gratefully towards them, whilst the powerful yearned with compassion over the afflicted. Among the most active in performing these duties, were Watlin de Ferrars and Robert Trusebot, and not behind them were Henry count of Champagne, Jocelin de Montoirs, as well as the count of Clairmont; and the bishop of Salisbury, who was the first promoter of these good deeds.

By the care of these men, aided by the others, every one contributed according to his means to a common fund, that it might be distributed to each as he had need. Thus, those whose hearts were before cold under

## *Itinerary*

cover of the ashes of avarice, through God's grace became fervent in deeds of charity, and because they were converted to compassion the Lord regarded and magnified his pity with them, according to his words, "turn unto me and I will turn unto you, saith the Lord."

Chapter LXXX. — *How a small ship arrived with provisions, and how that which cost a hundred gold pieces one day, was bought for four on the morrow.*

For while all were engaged in these works of charity, behold the Lord sent a ship laden with provisions, by which the former scarcity of food was very much alleviated. For so great a want of bread had not existed because there was no corn, but because the sellers asked such a price for it from the buyers, that it could scarcely be obtained for a large sum after much bargaining; for what will not avarice do? The aforesaid ship, which was but a small one, had arrived, as I think, on a Saturday; and on the morrow, a measure which had been sold hitherto for a hundred pieces of gold, by the bounty of God, the dispenser of all good things, was lowered to four. Meanwhile there arises among the people an unusual hilarity, the avaricious merchants being the only persons who grieved, owing to the decrease of their wonted gain, and with difficulty concealing it. But why need I say more? There is no counsel against the Lord, for he doeth whatsoever he will.

Chapter LXXXI. — *How, when a Pisan wished to keep his provisions till the morrow, his house and provisions were consumed by fire.*

A certain Pisan, a seller of provisions, had kept some corn, untouched during the whole year, until he could sell it according to his wishes hereafter, expecting that the famine would increase; and if at any time he sold any, he sold it at his own price, as he liked, to those who could not do without it. But God, by his judgment, shewed the wickedness of this action, for it happened that the house of that Pisan, filled with wheat, suddenly and violently caught fire. And though very many hastened to extinguish the fire, their efforts were ineffectual, for every thing was destroyed.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter LXXXII. — *How all vied in giving away meat, and how a penance was enjoined on those who ate what was unlawful.*

All therefore being emulously engaged in such works of piety, strove with all their might to distribute alms; while each one in his zeal was eager to outdo his neighbours in bounty thinking that he was performing an acceptable duty to God, if he could more abundantly administer what was necessary to the needy. Those also, who from necessity fed on flesh during Lent, as we before said, repenting of their guilt, after each had received penitence from the illustrious and venerable bishop of Salisbury, undertook with a vow to perform proportionate satisfaction as was enjoined them.

## *Itinerary*

### Book II.

#### Chapter I. — *Of the kings of England and France.*

After Easter arrived Philip, king of France, and not long after him, Richard, king of England; but in order that the course of their voyage may be more fully known, it seems advisable to commence our history from their first departure from their kingdoms, so that it may be set forth, in the due order of events, until it reaches the period of the siege of Acre.

#### Chapter II. — *Of the emulation of the French and the English in taking up the Cross.*

When report, then, had spread these events, as we have described, throughout the world, that the cities of the Holy Land were in possession of infidels; that the holy relics were scornfully treated and trodden under foot; and that the Christians were plundered and despoiled, the empires were moved by the most strenuous exhortation of Pope Gregory VIII.; and many men of various nations were aroused, and above all, the French and English devoutly took up the sign of the cross, and prepared with all their strength to hurry to the aid of the Holy Land, being incited like David to take vengeance on the Philistines, who were defying, with their Goliath, the oppressed armies of the God of Jerusalem. For the chief pontiff earnestly stimulated all to obtain by these means pardon for their sins, and according to the authority with which he was invested gave them absolution from the guilt of their past transgressions, if they would devote themselves to the performance of so pious and so necessary a work; proving to them that they would deservedly be the happier for undertaking the mission at once, in fervent zeal and without delay. Yea, their journey would be the more praiseworthy, and their endeavours many times more excellent, in behalf of a place, though desolate, yet rendered holier by the divine mystical promise, and which was consecrated by the nativity, dwelling, and passion of our Lord. Moreover, it was distinguished, by the divine choice, from every other nation; and being his

## *Itinerary*

dwelling, ought to be snatched from the heathen, of whom the Lord had said, "that they should not enter into His Church." They hastened, therefore, with ready zeal and pious emulation to take the cross at the hands of the clergy; so that the question was, not who should take it up, but who had not already done so. The voice of song was now silenced, the pleasures of eating and luxurious habits were abandoned, the quarrels of disputants quieted; new peace was made between old enemies, causes of litigation were settled by mutual agreement, and for this new ground of quarrel, every one who had cause of dispute, even for long-standing enmity, was reconciled to his neighbour. What need is there to say more? By the inspiration of God, all were of one accord, for one common cause led them to undertake the labour of this pious pilgrimage.

Chapter III. — *How Henry, king of England, and Philip, king of France, with an immense multitude, took up the cross between Gisors and Trie.*

Richard, then count of Poitou, was the first to take up the cross, and an immense multitude with him; but they did not set out on their pilgrimage, owing to some delay, occasioned by a dispute between Philip, king of France, and Henry, king of England, the father of Count Richard. An inveterate dispute had excited them to international war, as it had done their ancestors, the French and Normans, from an inexorable and almost uninterrupted feud. The archbishop of the land of Jerusalem, that is of Tyre,<sup>15</sup> was earnest to effect a reconciliation between them, and had fixed the day they were to meet, to take up the cross, at a place between Gisors and Trie. The aforesaid archbishop had come on a mission to animate the faithful, and obtain assistance for the deliverance of the Holy Land, having been specially sent to the king of England, the fame of whose virtues was spread far and wide above all the other kings of the earth, on account of his glory, riches, and the greatness of his power. On that day, after many plans

<sup>15</sup>This was William of Tyre, the author of the well-known history of the earlier period of the Crusades,

## *Itinerary*

had been proposed, and much spoken on either side, they both came finally to the determination that each of them should take up the cross, and depart from his land, it appearing to each a safe precaution against the one invading the kingdom of the other, while absent, for neither would venture to go unless the other went also. At length, these conditions having been, with some difficulty, agreed on, the two kings exchanged the kiss of peace, and assumed the cross with the blessing of the archbishop, and with them an immense number of both nations, partly from the love of God and for the forgiveness of their sins, partly from respect for their king; and so great was the multitude that took up the cross on that day, that the people, from the crush and intolerable heat (for it was summer) nearly fainted. The delay in entering upon their march must be reprehended; it was the work of the enemy of the human race, whose interest it is to foment discord, and excite inexorable enmity, and by whose instigation, the altercation between the kings was revived, and the seeds of discord sown from a very light occasion, that by their diabolical superstition neither was inclined to forego, lest, as it were, his fame and honour should be derogated thereby; as if it were abject and mean to yield obedience to justice and right.

### Chapter IV. — *Henry, king of England, dies.*

The death of Henry, king of England, put an end to these dissensions, and the vow of making the crusade, which he had deferred fulfilling while in safety, after a lapse of time, could not be performed, by the intervention of his death. As a vow must be entirely voluntary, so when taken, it must irrefragably be discharged; and he who binds himself by a vow is to be condemned for the non-performance of it, as he could not have made it lawfully, but of his own accord and free-will. Now King Henry died on the day of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, in the year of our Lord 1189, and was buried at Fontevrault.

### Chapter V. — *How Richard, count of Poitou, was crowned king of England.*

## *Itinerary*

Therefore in the same year, after the death of his father, Richard, count of Poitou, having arranged his affairs in Normandy, in about two months crossed over to England, and on St. Giles's day he was received at Westminster, with a ceremonious procession; and three days afterwards, viz., on the 3rd of September, the day of the ordination of St. Gregory the pope, which was a Sunday, he was solemnly anointed king by the imposition of hands, by Archbishop Baldwin, in virtue of his office, who performed the service, assisted by many of his suffragans. At his coronation were present his brother John, and his mother Eleanor, who, after the death of King Henry, had been, by the command of her son Richard, the new king, released from prison, where she had been ten years; and there were also present counts and barons, and an immense crowd of men and soldiers; and the kingdom was confirmed to the hands of King Richard. On the 3rd day of September, in the year of our Lord 1189, Richard was anointed king, on a Sunday, with the dominical letter A., viz., in the year after leap year. Many were the conjectures made, because the day above that was marked unlucky in the calendar; and in truth it was unlucky, and very much so to the Jews of London, who were destroyed that day, and likewise the Jews settled in other parts of England endured many hardships. Having therefore celebrated the occasion by a festival of three days, and entertained his guests in the royal palace of Westminster, King Richard gratified all, by distributing money, without count or number, to all according to their ranks, thus manifesting his liberality and his great excellence. His generosity, and his virtuous endowments, the ruler of the world should have given to the ancient times; for in this period of the world, as it waxes old, such feelings rarely exhibit themselves, and when they do, they are subjects of wonder and astonishment. He had the valour of Hector, the magnanimity of Achilles, and was equal to Alexander, and not inferior to Roland in valour; nay, he outshone many illustrious characters of our own times. The liberality of a Titus was his, and, which is so rarely found in a soldier, he was gifted with the eloquence of Nestor and the prudence of Ulysses; and he shewed himself pre-eminent in the conclusion and transaction of business, as one whose knowledge was not without active good-will to aid it, nor his good-will wanting in

## *Itinerary*

knowledge. Who, if Richard were accused of presumption, would not readily excuse him, knowing him for a man who never knew defeat, impatient of an injury, and impelled irresistibly to vindicate his rights, though all he did was characterized by innate nobleness of mind. Success made him better fitted for action; fortune ever favours the bold, and though she works her pleasure on whom she will, Richard was never to be overwhelmed with adversity. He was tall of stature, graceful in figure; his hair between red and auburn; his limbs were straight and flexible; his arms rather long, and not to be matched for wielding the sword or for striking with it; and his long legs suited the rest of his frame; while his appearance was commanding, and his manners and habits suitable; and he gained the greatest celebrity, not more from his high birth than from the virtues that adorned him. But why need we take much labour in extolling the fame of so great a man? He needs no superfluous commendation, for he has a sufficient meed of praise, which is the sure companion of great actions. He was far superior to all others both in moral goodness, and in strength, and memorable for prowess in battles, and his mighty deeds outshone the most brilliant description we could give of them. Happy, in truth, might he have been deemed had he been without rivals who envied his glorious actions, and whose only cause of enmity was his magnificence, and his being the searcher after virtue rather than the slave of vice.

*Chapter VI. — How King Richard, having arranged the affairs of his kingdom, celebrated the Nativity of Christ at Liuns, in Normandy, and how, by agreement, he and the king of France met on the feast of St. John the Baptist at Vezelai.*

After the coronation-feast was ended, as we before said, King Richard arose in his father's stead, and, after having received the oath of allegiance from the nobles, as was the custom, in the form of homage, and each having submitted to his sovereignty, he left London and went round his country; and afterwards he set out on a pilgrimage to St. Edmund, whose festival was at hand; thence he went to Canterbury, and at his command some bishoprics, which, having become vacant, had been kept so by the king his father, were filled up, and, with the approval of the king,

## *Itinerary*

the following were installed bishops: Richard the treasurer, of London; Godfrey de Luci, of Winchester; Hubert Walter, of Salisbury, William de Longchamp, of Ely, whom the king also made his chancellor and justiciary of all England. In like manner, also, the king caused bishops to be ordained to the vacant bishoprics in his other territories. Having prepared every thing necessary for his journey, and having set the kingdom of England in order as far as time permitted, he returned to Normandy without delay, and kept the festival of the Nativity of Our Lord at Liens; for his intention of setting out upon his journey and the fulfilment of his vow made him unceasingly anxious, as he judged delay to be dangerous, whilst it was of consequence to commence the journey which was due: wherefore he wrote to the king of France that he was quite ready to set out, and urged that he should be ready also, shewing by his father's example that delay was hurtful when every thing was prepared. Therefore, in the year of our Lord 1190, with the dominical letter G, the kings met at Dreux to confer about the arrangement of their journey. After many had communicated their opinions, and while the conference was going on, there suddenly arrived a messenger with the news that the queen of France was dead. The king, smitten by the bitterness of this news, was greatly cast down, so that he almost thought of laying aside his premeditated journey; and to augment this bereavement, news was brought that William, king of Apulia, was likewise dead. Overwhelmed by these adverse occurrences, and utterly overcome by the belief that they predicted ill, they abstained from the transaction of the business, and the fire of their zeal in a measure grew lukewarm. However, by the favour of the inspiration of God, who guideth the footsteps of man, and in whose hands are the hearts of kings, to prevent the ruin of a work planned with so much toil and solemnly arranged, and the turning into condemnation and disgrace what had been disposed for the attainment of good, they recovered their strength, and were animated to proceed and set out, and not to grow lukewarm by unpardonable slothfulness. Now they had agreed together to set out on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in order that the kings, together with their men, should meet on the eighth day at Vezelai. Whereupon Philip, king of France, setting out from the city of Paris, which is the capital of France,

## *Itinerary*

with a large quantity of provisions, shortly afterwards marched by the chapel of St. Denis, to whose prayers and merits he commended himself, and thus commenced his journey accompanied by a very large multitude. There also set out with him on his journey, the duke of Burgundy and the count of Flanders. Who can relate the progress of each with their forces? You might meet them on all sides flocking together and assembling from different parts, and joining together in one army, amidst pious tears; while those who went forward with their friends or kinsmen, regarded them with a look of love, and on their departure were unable to restrain the tears from bursting forth, as devotion or sorrow affected them.

Chapter VII. — *How King Richard, being at Tours, commanded his fleet to proceed and go round Spain by the Straits, and wait for him at Messina.*

King Richard was at Tours with a chosen body of soldiers. Both the city and suburbs were so crowded with the multitude of men that they inconvenienced each other from the crowd and the narrowness of the streets and roads. Therefore, by the command of the king, the royal fleet, being collected together, was ordered to proceed in order, being in number a hundred and eight, not including the ships that followed afterwards. Thus the royal fleet, having been set forward on its voyage by the command of the king, with a fair wind and in close company, reached the destined port of Messina, after having safely escaped the dangerous sandbanks, and the perils of the terrible rocks, the stormy straits of Africa, and all the dangers of the ocean. Here they awaited the arrival of the king, according to his command, who was marching with his army by land. When the king departed from Tours with his forces, the inhabitants of the land were terrified by the appearance of so great a multitude. Who could relate the numbers of those who accompanied him, the variety of their arms, the trains of nobles and chosen hands of combatants? Or who could describe the troops of infantry and their bodies of slingers, which those who saw as they advanced in order, from their inmost hearts, and with pious zeal forcing out the tears, equally mourned and congratulated their lord the new king, who thus, at the commencement of his reign, without

## *Itinerary*

having tasted the sweets of rest, so devotedly and so speedily left all pleasures, and, as if chosen by the Lord, he undertook a work of so great goodness, so arduous and so necessary, and a journey so commendable. O the miserable sighs for those that left them! O the groans of those who embraced at parting! and the good wishes for those who were going away! O the eyes heavy with tears, and the mutual sobs interrupting the words of the speakers amidst the kisses of those who were dear to them, not yet satisfied with the conversation of those who were leaving them; and although they grieved, those who were setting out feigned equanimity by the gravity of their countenances, and separated from each other, after long conversations, as if choking for utterance, and often interchanging a farewell, staid a little longer, and repeated it to gain delay and to appear about to say something more; and at last, tearing themselves from the voices of those that cheered them, they bounded forward and extricated themselves from the hands of those who would detain them.

Chapter VIII. — *How the two kings, according to agreement, met at Vezelai.*

Thus, in the first year of his coronation, Richard, king of England, set out from Tours on his journey. From Tours he marched to Luti, then to Mount Richard; after that to Celles, thence to Chapelles, thence to Dama, thence to Vitiliacum, that is, Vezelai, where the two kings and their forces were to meet. And because the people of both nations were reckoned to be incalculably numerous, the mountains, far and wide, were spread with pavilions and tents, and the surface of the earth around was covered, so that the level of the sowed fields which were occupied, presented to the beholder the appearance of a city, with its effect heightened by a most imposing variety of pavilions, and by the different colours that distinguished them. There you might see the martial youth of different nations equipped for war, which appeared able to subdue the whole length of the earth, and to overcome the countries of all the world, and to penetrate the retreat of different tribes, and judge no place too hard or no enemy too fierce to conquer; and that they would never yield to wrong while they could aid and assist each other by the help of their valour. That

## *Itinerary*

army, boasting in its immense numbers, well protected by the defence of their arms, and glowing with ardour, was scattered by the intervention of disputes, and overthrown by internal discord, which, if combined with military discipline and good-will, would have remained invincible to all without; and thus, by the violation of the ties of fellowship, it met with a heavier downfall, whilst it was distracted by its own friends; for a house divided against itself is made desolate.

Chapter IX. — *How the two kings entered into a treaty at Vezelai, and agreed to wait for each other at Messina, and how they arrived together at Lyons on the Rhone.*

There the two kings made a treaty for their mutual security, and for preserving good faith with each other in every respect, and for inquiring into all things according to the rights of war, with a view to their equal division. Besides that, it was agreed that he who should arrive first at Messina was to wait for the other to follow; after which, each of their friends who had followed them so far on their pilgrimage should return home. The two kings set forward with their men, and arranged the manner of their march, holding frequent intercourse with great magnificence, and paying each other mutual honour; and being also of one accord, the mighty army, during the progress of their march, performed their duties without complaint or dissension, — nay, with joy and alacrity. And as they thus passed along cities and villages with a mighty equipment and clash of arms, the inhabitants, observing the multitude, and marking the distinctions of the men by the place of each nation in the march, and noticing their discipline, exclaimed, “O heaven! what meaneth so great a multitude of men, and so mighty an army? Who can resist their valour? O noble soldiery in the flower of their youth! O young men, happy in so much beauty! Were your parents affected with sorrow at your departure? What land gave birth to youths of so distinguished a mien, or produced such fine young soldiers? And who are the rulers of so mighty a multitude that govern with their word such brave legions?” Uttering these words, and such like, and following with good wishes those that passed, they paid

## *Itinerary*

the most marked attention to the people of different nations and those who were fatigued by the march, by testifying all the devotion in their power. Thus the army proceeding in order by separate divisions, went joyfully from Vezelai to St. Leonard of Curbeny, thence to Mulins, afterwards to Mount Escot, then to Tulnis, near St. Mary de Bois, thence to Belivi, afterwards to the village of Furaca, and thence to Lyons on the Rhone; there they stopped some days, owing to the difficulty of crossing the river from its rapidity and unknown depth; so that the army which had come in the interim might cross over, and wait the arrival of those who were to follow. Having at length crossed the river, the two kings pitched their pavilions on the other side in the meadows: as many of the army as it could contain lodged in the town; the others in the fields in the suburbs. There you might see people of different nations, distinguished by their proper places and by the forms of their arms, in countless numbers; for they were reckoned to exceed a hundred thousand, and recruits had not yet ceased to flock in. Afterwards, the king of England followed up his show of friendship and honour to the king of France, on his departure with all his troops for Genoa. For the king of France had engaged the Genoese, who were good seamen, to carry him over the gulf. For they had agreed, as has been afore said, that whichever first put in at Messina in Sicily, should await the arrival of the other.

*Chapter X. — How, after the departure of the king of France to Genoa, the bridge over the Rhone gave way from the pressure of the crowd, and how King Richard embarked at Marseilles and crossed over to Messina.*

While the crowd of pilgrims, who came in constantly from all quarters, was incautiously hastening to cross the bridge over the Rhone, a part of it gave way under their weight, with those who were on it, and, as it was of considerable elevation, about a hundred men fell into the water, which was very violent, and its course rapid, and owing to its depth, it was difficult for any who had fallen in to get out alive. But they who fell in cried out loudly, and implored assistance; and, wonderful to relate, though exhausted, they all escaped save two, who were drowned, and experienced

## *Itinerary*

death of the body, though they live spiritually in Christ, in whose service they were. Those who came behind were embarrassed by their numbers, as each sought his own way or means of crossing the Rhone; but they were thrown into despair by the breaking down of the bridge, which seemed to cut off their hopes of reaching the other side. On learning this, King Richard, whose constancy was never shaken, relieved their anxiety by causing a bridge to be made, by collecting as quickly as possible a number of boats together, such as the urgent necessity of the case should suggest; and so they crossed over, after some delay and difficulty. This accident caused a delay of three days to the king and his army: one part then proceeded to the nearest port, Marseilles; part went to Venice; part to Genoa, or Barlata, or Brundisium; and very many set out for Messina, the port where the two kings were to meet. Three days afterwards, the king departed, and on the same day the bridge was broken up. From Lyons we crossed by Vicaria near Alba Ripa, thence to Mount Galonte, afterwards to St. Bernard of Rumaux, then by Valence, afterwards by Ariola, after that to Valois, thence to St. Paul of Provence; we afterwards passed through Mount Drague and Orange, and then crossing Mount Sorgre, we came to Dompas, near Avignon, then by Tenaiz, then by Salus and Marignan near the sea, and thence to Marseilles, where we stayed three weeks; then we embarked the day after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the first year of King Richard's coronation, and passed between two islands, of which Sardinia, one of them, was on our right, Corsica, the other, on our left: here there is a great strait of the sea. We then passed between two burning mountains, one called Vulcano, the other Strango, and by Farus, a very perilous stream, and then arrived at the city of Messina, where the fleet of King Richard lay, which he sent forward, as we have said before.

Chapter XI. — *Of the city of Messina, and of the queen, sister to King Richard, and of her dowry from Tancred.*

You must know that the city of Messina is filled with abundance of good things; its situation is pleasant and very agreeable; it lies on the confines of Sicily and Rasa, which was said to have been given to the

## *Itinerary*

famous Agoland, for his services. Thus the city of Messina stands the first in Sicily for affluence and wealth; but its inhabitants are a wicked and cruel race. Their king, Tancred, was very rich in every kind of wealth, which his predecessors, from the time of Robert Guiscard, had amassed. At the same time, the queen of Apulia, having lost her husband, William, was staying at Palermo; for King William had died without an heir, and his queen with her dowry was in ward of the same King Tancred, who had succeeded King William on the throne. This dowager queen was sister to Richard, king of England, who taking up her cause, forced King Tancred to give condign satisfaction, over and above the dowry that was due to her.

Chapter XII. — *Of the injuries which the Griffons at Messina did to our men before the arrival of King Richard.*

The noble fleet of the king of England, as we have said before, waited here the arrival of their sovereign, — a fleet wonderful for its numbers, complement, and the splendour of its array, and the like of which none was ever seen fitted out with such labour, and so numerous, besides the various classes of men that belonged to it, stationed on the shore in pavilions and tents of different forms; for they kept apart from the city, until the arrival of King Richard, on account of the overbearing insolence of its citizens. For this wicked people, commonly called Griffons, many of whom are of Saracen extraction, hostile to our men, annoyed them by repeated insults, by pointing their fingers into their eyes, and calling them stinking dogs, and mocking them in many other ways, privately killing some of them, and throwing others into the sewers, of which crime many of them were afterwards convicted. In this manner they upbraided our men, and shewed their hatred by doing them every ill turn they dared; and if our men attempted to resist, or retaliate, they threatened to drive them entirely from their city, being strangers, and no match for them in numbers or strength; but the citizens acted in this without foresight, for they forgot that their king was coming.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XIII. — *With what show, first the king of France, then the king of England, arrived in Messina.*

It is a general custom, that when any particular king or prince of the earth, conspicuous for his glory, might, and authority, comes forth in public, his appearance of power shall not fall short of that with which he is actually invested, — nay, it is but right and becoming that the greatness of a king should be shewn in his display and the homage which is paid him; for a common proverb says, “Such as I see you are, I esteem you.” Moreover the general style and manner is taken from the disposition of the chief. When, therefore, the king of France, of so high renown, whose edict so many princes and nations obeyed, was known to be entering the port of Messina, the natives, of every age and sex, rushed forth to see so famous a king; but he, content with a single ship, as if to avoid the sight of men, entered the port of the citadel privately, while those who awaited him along the shore conceived this to be a proof of his weakness, and spoke upbraidingly of him as one not likely to be the performer of any great actions who thus slunk from the eye of man; and being frustrated in their hopes of seeing him, they returned indignant to their homes. But when the report was spread of the arrival of the noble-minded king of England, the people rushed out eagerly to behold him, crowding along the shore and seating themselves wherever they were likely to catch a glimpse of him. And lo! they beheld the sea in the distance covered with innumerable galleys; and the sound of trumpets and clarions, loud and shrill, strike upon the ear! Then, as they approached nearer, they saw the galleys as they were impelled onward, laden and adorned with arms of all kinds; their pennons and standards floating in countless numbers in the breeze in good order and on the tops of their spears; the prow of the galleys distinguished from each other by the variety of the paintings, with shields glittering in the sun, and you might behold the sea boiling from the number of oarsmen who plied it, and the ears of the spectators rang with the peals of the instruments commonly called trumpets, and their delight was aroused by the approach of the varied crowd, when lo! the magnificent king, accompanied by the crowd of obedient galleys, standing on a prow more

## *Itinerary*

elevated and ornamental than the others, as if to see what he had not seen before, or to be seen by the crowds that densely thronged the shore, lands in a splendid dress, where the sailors whom he had sent before him, and others of his equipage, receive him with congratulations, and bring forward the chargers and horses which had been committed to their care for transportation, that he and his suite might mount. The natives crowd round him on all sides, mixed with his own men, and followed him to his hostel. The common people conversed with each other in admiration of his great glory; and agreed that he was worthy of empire, and deserved to be set over nations and kingdoms, "for the fame of him which we had before heard fell far short of the truth when we saw him." Meanwhile the trumpets blew, and their sounds being harmoniously blended, there arose a kind of discordant concord of notes, whilst the sameness of the sounds being continued, the one followed the other in mutual succession, and the notes which had been lowered were again resounded.

Chapter XIV. — *What injuries our men suffered at Messina: at the hands of the Lombards.*

When the Griffons saw the kings land in such strength, their arrogance was in part checked, for they perceived that they were their inferiors in valour and appearance; but the Lombards<sup>16</sup> ceased not contumaciously to menace and revile our men and to provoke them by insults, threatening even to attack our camp, to slay us and plunder our goods. They were excited by jealousy on account of their wives, with whom some of our men had talked, more for the purpose of irritating their husbands than with the intention of seducing them. From this quarrel and through envy, the Lombards were aroused, together with the commune<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup>It is probable that Vinsauf calls this portion of the population Lombards, because they were occupied in mercantile pursuits. They were not, of course, Lombards by nation.

<sup>17</sup>It is hardly necessary to state that the commune was the corporate body of the city, probably jealous of their municipal privileges, which the crusaders perhaps had infringed.

## *Itinerary*

of the city, and were always hostile to us as far as they could, chiefly because they had learnt from their ancestors that they had been subdued by us of yore; whence they did them as much annoyance as they could, at the same time heightening the battlements of their towers, and deepening the fosses that surrounded them. To irritate our men still more, they provoked them by repeated revilings and insulted them with contumelies.

*Chapter XV. — How, owing to a loaf of bread which was sold by a woman, a fight took place between us and the Lombards.*

By chance one day it happened that one of our men was bargaining with a woman about a new loaf which she offered for sale; and while they were conversing together and he threatened to have the loaf weighed, the woman, because he would not give her the price she asked, flew into a great passion and insulted him with contumelious and wicked language, and scarcely restrained her hands from striking him or tearing his hair. Immediately a concourse of the citizens flocked together at the noise of the abusive woman, who seized hold of the man and beat him unmercifully; and after tearing out his hair and injuring him in many other ways, they trod him under foot and left him for dead. When complaint was made, King Richard begged for peace and friendship, asserting that he had come in peace, and that he had set out merely to perform a pilgrimage; and he desisted not from praying for peace, until each party, having given a promise to that effect, returned quietly to their abodes.

*Chapter XVI. — How the Lombards attacked King Richard's men, and how King Richard besieged, assaulted, and stormed the city, and raised his standard on the towers, which gave umbrage to the king of France, who was preparing to assist the Lombards.*

But by means of that old enemy of the human race, whose part it is to disturb peace and excite sedition, the dispute was renewed on the morrow, so that a more destructive altercation arose between the citizens and the pilgrims. Meanwhile the two kings had a conference with the justiciaries of

## *Itinerary*

Sicily and the chief citizens, to treat of peace and security; when behold, a cry arose that the natives were already slaying the men of the king of England; which when the king minded not, chiefly because the Lombards asserted that it was not true, there came a second messenger announcing that the natives had attacked the pilgrims. The Lombards, who had been in the same conflict, persuading him that it was not so, thought to circumvent the king by falsehood: when a third messenger rushed in headlong, exclaiming that such peace was not to be approved of when the sword was actually banging over their necks. Then the king, hastening without delay from the said conference, mounted on horseback, and went out with the design of putting a stop to the quarrel and making peace between the wranglers. There were two Lombards, very cunning and deceitful, at whose instigation the mob of the city had been excited against the pilgrims; who, to conceal their craft by a lie, asserted that they had come thence, and that no harm had been done: their names were Jordan Luppin and Margarit. When King Richard arrived at the spot, the two parties were already at blows, and strove no longer with words, but with fists and bludgeons; and the Lombards now inflamed with rage, instead of yielding to the king's endeavours to separate the combatants, attacked him with contumelious and profane railings; whereupon he, irritated by their mockeries, took up arms, and besieged them in their city. The French, meanwhile, doubtful what their lord the king would do, ran about in search of him here and there; when they saw him come hastily from the place of conference and enter the palace in which he was lodged. There was a general commotion in the city; every one seized upon what came to hand, and they talked boastingly of defending themselves to the last. The Lombards went to the king of France to implore his aid and assistance, offering to give themselves and their property into his power and will, if he would relieve their city from the assaults of the king of England, and take it into his own subjection. The king of France immediately took up arms, and as we were told by one who knew the truth, answered that he would rather assist the Lombards than the men of the king of England, although he was bound to him by his oath, and had pledged his honour to give him aid and to be faithful to him everywhere. The gates of the city being closed and

## *Itinerary*

guards placed along the battlements, there arose a clamour, tumult, and commotion from the assaulters without; while those within ran to arms and seized whatever weapons fury supplied them with to defend themselves. The French having joined themselves with the Lombards, they were animated with one purpose, and acted together as one body. But those without knew not that their associates had thus become their adversaries. Some Lombards had gone out before the gates of the city were shut, to attack the hostel of Hugh le Brun, and obstinately persevered in fighting. The king of England, hearing of it, turned his course thither, and when they saw him coming, they took hastily to flight and were scattered in a moment, like sheep before wolves; after which, their attacks and revilings ceased. The king pursued them as far as a postern of the city, which they made for, not daring to look at, much less resist, him, though the king is said to have had only twenty men when he first attacked them. He slew some of them, however, as they entered the postern. The Lombards, now seeing that the attack had become serious, and that they were besieged in earnest, resisted with all their might, and occupying the battlements of the walls, they hurled down stones and javelins from bows and slings like showers of rain; and impeded their assailants in every way they could, either to put an end to their assaults, or cause them to be less formidable; and thus at the commencement of their impetuous defence, they did much hurt to our men, killing some, bruising others, wounding and shattering the limbs of many; for by the shower of darts, javelins, and stones that were thrown at us, we lost, besides others, three knights, Peter Tireprete, and Matthew de Saulcy, and Radulph de Roverei. Indeed, if they had had the true faith of Christ in them, and a due regard for justice, they might have made a great slaughter of our men, and might have conquered by their numbers; but their arrogance and dishonesty deservedly proved hurtful to them, who had wrought such injury without a cause; for the number of the citizens and others who defended the city was said to exceed fifty thousand. You might there see men making most valorous attacks to force an entrance, some showering darts, and others assaulting the gates; while our galleys from seaward occupied the port opposite the palace, and blockaded the city: but the king of France hindered them from entering the

## *Itinerary*

port, and some were destroyed in the attempt. But, on the land side, where the king of England was, a man remarkable for his skill in arms, the attack was closely pressed; some essayed to cut the fastenings of the gates, and not succeeding, they ascended a high hill, close by the city, and by means of a postern, which King Richard, on the second day of his arrival, when going round the walls to reconnoitre with two companions, had observed to be neglected by the citizens, they forced an entrance with great boldness and violence, and having broken down the gates, they admitted the rest of the army into the city. Then they slew or made captive all citizens they met who resisted them, and entered the city in a body; and many, as well Lombards as our men, fell in that conflict. For the citizens, not daring to oppose us as we were now entering and occupying the city, threw down darts from the tops of houses and battlements of towers, and tried in every manner they could to annoy us from the solers, in which they had taken refuge. But our men now marched through the captured city as victors, preceded by King Richard, who was the first in every attack: by his own daring example, he at once gave courage to his own men, and carried dismay amongst the foe. About ten thousand men marched in after him, and plundered the whole city. There you might hear horrible clamours, in a variety of confused tones, on the one side, of our men, urging on the pursuit, on the other, of the flying Lombards, screaming for fear, while they redoubled their blows, and mowed down those who met them with their swords, like corn. When our men entered the houses, the Lombards threw themselves from the house-tops and the solers, rather than fall into the hands of their enemies; conscious that by their own inhospitality they had forfeited all claim to mercy. The city was now subdued by force, and no one appeared to make further resistance; what need we say more? King Richard captured Messina by one assault, in less time than a priest could chant the matin service. Many more of the citizens would have fallen, had not King Richard, with an impulse of generosity, ordered their lives to be spared. But who could reckon the sum of money which the citizens lost? All the gold and silver, and whatsoever precious thing was found became the property of the victors. They also set fire to, and burnt to ashes, the enemy's galleys, lest they should escape, and recover strength to resist. The

## *Itinerary*

victors also carried off their noblest women. And lo! after this action had been performed, the French suddenly behold the ensigns and standards of King Richard floating above the walls of the city; at which the king of France was so mortified, that he conceived that hatred against King Richard which lasted during his life, and afterwards led him to the unjust invasion of Normandy.

Chapter XVII. — *How the king of France being displeased that the standards of the king of England only should be placed on the city walk, King Richard, humbling himself, allowed the standards of both to be placed there together.*

The king of France, jealous of the successes of the king of England, and misliking his high spirit, very much grieved that he should not have the glory which the other had gained by the force of his own greatness; for, contrary to the conditions of mutual agreement, and while the army was in the greatest danger, and a great slaughter going on before his eyes, he proffered not a helping hand to the king of England against an obstinate foe, as he was bound by the treaty of alliance. Nay, he resisted as much as he could, and kept him a long time from occupying the entrance of the city where he himself abode. The city being taken, as we said before, and the banners of King Richard planted on the walls, the king of France, by the advice of his council, sent orders to King Richard to take down his standards, and substitute those of France, as an acknowledgment of his superiority. King Richard, indignant at this command, considering what previously occurred, and bearing in mind the rights of their fellowship, sent no answer, lest he should seem to surrender his right, and the victory should be ascribed not only to one who had been inactive, but to a perjured adversary. At the intercession of mediators, however, the anger of King Richard was at length appeased; an end was put to their wrangling, and yielding to the soothings of his friends, with some difficulty, he, who was held invincible, being overcome by his foes, gave way to the request of the king of France, viz., that he should deliver into his custody the towers he had taken, and place in them guards of *both* nations, until they should learn the sentiments of King Tancred as to what had been done; and he who

## *Itinerary*

remained angry and obdurate to threats and boastings was moved by prayers and soothing. The standards of both were, therefore, raised above the walls of the city, until he should try the consistency of the king of France, and proved his friendship.

Chapter XVIII. — *How messengers were sent to King Tancred to demand satisfaction and the restoration of the queen's dowry, and how the king of France sends secretly a contrary message.*

It was therefore decreed by common counsel, that King Richard should send messengers to Tancred, king of Sicily, to require satisfaction for the enormous outrage committed by his people, and to ascertain his intentions in regard to what had occurred. Moreover, King Richard commanded King Tancred to give his sister, the queen of Sicily, a sufficient dowry, and the portion of the king her husband's treasure which belonged to her by right, as well as the table of gold, which ought to be equally shared with the wife of him who had possessed it. The duke of Burgundy and Robert de Sabloel, and some others, whose names are lost, were the messengers appointed for this business. Meanwhile, the king of France weighing in his mind the greatness of King Richard, and repining from envy, began to raise a question about the plunder of the city, demanding his portion, according to the covenant they had entered into. Giving vent, therefore, to arrogant and contumelious speeches about these things, because King Richard sternly refused his demand, he ceased not to irritate his spirit to passion by sly insinuations and opprobrious taunts; and he hesitated not to transgress the terms of the covenant which had been entered into between them, and to shew the hollowness of his friendship. Whereupon King Richard, more from indignation than from any other feeling, determined to reject his friendship, and ordered his ships to be ready to depart with all their baggage; for he had rather, under the guidance and direction of the Lord, proceed alone with his own men to the accomplishment of his pilgrimage, than have any dealings with an envious man; according to the common proverb, "It is better to be alone than to have a bad companion." When, however, this was known to the king of

## *Itinerary*

France, the latter procured, by means of mediators, the renewal of their broken friendship and their association as before, with the condition that every thing which was gained hereafter should be equally divided.

Chapter XIX. — *How King Tancred made an ambiguous reply, on which the king of England was inflamed with anger; and how the Lombards refused his men provisions.*

Meanwhile the messengers, in discharge of the business of their mission, inquired the sentiments of King Tancred on the matters in question. But the king replied in ambiguous terms, asserting that he would give satisfaction to the kings by advice of the nobles of the land in proper time, place, and manner, upon all the subjects specified. It was reported that the king of France had by letter exhorted King Tancred not to yield to the demands of the king of England, but to shew himself firm in defending his right in every thing, with the assurance that he would not take part with King Richard against him, but would be faithful to him. If such a message was sent, there was an evidence of it something like the proverb; for King Tancred loaded the messengers of the king of France with presents, while he did not give those of the king of England so much as an egg. Therefore the messengers returned, and when they had reported their answer to the kings, King Richard replied, "There is no need of much talking or long speeches; since King Tancred will not give satisfaction of his own accord, I will endeavour and labour my utmost to correct his faults myself." These quarrels restored the courage of the natives, who, incited by the king of France, endeavoured to injure King Richard and his men as much as they could, and prohibited the supplying of provisions necessary for so great an army; and ordered that nothing should be exposed for sale, in order that they might thus be compelled to submit themselves to the power of the natives.

Chapter XX. — *Of the construction of Mategriffin, and of the discord between the two kings.*

## *Itinerary*

King Richard had expended great labour and diligence in erecting a castle, to which he gave the name of Mategriffin; at which the Griffons were very much exasperated, because this erection they saw was intended for their destruction. The building was now completed on the bill, close by the city, and very convenient for retreat. The army would have suffered much from want of provisions, which were forbidden to be exposed for sale, had they not used those which were brought by the fleet as provision against future wants. The enemy, therefore, did what harm and injury they could to our soldiers; they placed guards over the city by night, and the army in their turn defended themselves from their attacks by keeping watch. Moreover, discord again took possession of the minds of the kings, and the king of France openly shewed himself a favourer of the enemies of King Richard. But the great majority of the nobles were earnest for the renewal of peace, visiting at one time the palace, at another Mategriffin, to try and pacify their anger: but their labour and endeavours were in vain, for each accused the other, and offered to prove that the other was the aggressor, and neither of them would yield to the others will; the king of France, unwilling to commit himself to the power of an inferior, and so derogate from his own dignity; and King Richard, fearful that the acknowledgment of subjection might lessen the glory of his own deeds.

*Chapter XXI. — How King Tancred made peace with King Richard, by giving him 40,000 ounces of gold as a dowry for the queen and the marriage of Arthur; and how the two kings and the citizens made peace.*

Thus matters fluctuated, when King Tancred considering that danger might arise from further discord, and perceiving that King Richard would not desist from his purpose until he had obtained what he wished, sent messengers of noble birth to offer peace, and beg for reconciliation, asserting — very appositely for persuading him — that he was unwilling, as far as lay in him, to bear the ill-will of so great a man, to the danger of his own people; that he was willing to purchase his alliance with money, and that he would give the queen, sister of King Richard, 20,000 ounces of gold for her dowry, and 20,000 ounces more as a marriage portion for a

## *Itinerary*

daughter of his own, a damsel of talent and beauty, to become the wife of his nephew, Arthur of Brittany, if he chose. King Richard, at the earnest request of the messengers on both sides, agreed, and the affair was concluded; the money, viz. 40,000 ounces of gold, was paid, and his sister, the queen, delivered up altogether to her brother's care. And thus, after peace had been agreed upon, and confirmed in writing, all controversy ceased entirely. So when King Richard saw that satisfaction had been given him, as he required, he ordered the money which had been received from King Tancred to be equally divided, and also the money which had been given as a dowry for his sister he divided in like manner, although he was not bound to do so; but he did it from mere liberality, which redounded to his glory and praise, and relieved him in part from the hatred of his adversaries. Finally, by the advice of Walter, archbishop of Rouen, all who should not restore entire whatever silver or gold had been plundered from the city, were laid under an anathema. All things having thus been restored, and to outward appearance peace established, the citizens rejoiced in their safety, and the pilgrims in their tranquillity; the condition of the city was thus rendered secure, and penal laws made against the disturbers of the peace. The citizens had free intercourse with the pilgrims, without either quarrelling or giving offence; all rejoiced exceedingly, and henceforth provisions, for both man and horse, were exposed for sale, at a very reasonable price. The friendship of the kings was also renewed, and by the intervention of justice, universal goodwill was restored. But though in outward appearance the king of France dissembled his feelings, the rivalry which had been once engendered continued immortal in his mind, and throwing a veil over his envy at the illustrious deeds of King Richard, he concealed the cunning of the fox beneath an unmoved exterior.

Chapter XXII. — *How King Tancred and King Richard meet at the city of Fatina.*

Meanwhile, King Tancred, who was residing at that time at Palermo, not a little astonished at the fame of the magnificence and glory of King Richard's deeds, sent ambassadors of noble birth to invite him to an interview at the city of Fatina. He very much desired to behold the face of

## *Itinerary*

the man whom he much admired for the report of his magnanimity and valour. Now the city of Fatina was situated midway between Messina and Palermo, and King Richard assenting, went to meet him at the appointed place, with a splendid company of his nobles. And when they had met according to appointment, each was exceedingly rejoiced at the arrival of the other, and strove to shew every mutual civility, and they entered into a treaty of friendship; by which they bound themselves to preserve peace between each other, and having exchanged gifts of royal magnificence, they concluded the ceremony in a becoming manner, and separated, King Tancred returning to Palermo, and King Richard to Messina.

Chapter XXIII. — *How King Richard bestows most ample gifts on his soldiers and others who had been impoverished by his stay there.*

Meanwhile, the soldiers, who had been at great expense during the summer while the aforesaid troubles and disturbances were going on, liked not so long, so idle, and so useless a delay. For they considered that their brethren in Christ were constantly engaged in contests at the siege of Acre, and that they had already spent the greater part of their substance, and had even been compelled to restore what they acquired by plundering the captured city. King Richard, being moved by the prevalence of complaints of this kind, with royal munificence bestowed gifts on all that needed it, beyond their expectation, so that each one was most sufficiently enriched according to his rank. The knights were amply relieved by these gifts, whether of gold or silver, or any other kind; and even noble women of Palestine, who had been deprived of their inheritance and exiled, both widows and virgins, were bountifully enriched. King Richard thus obtained the gratitude and favour of all, for he gave the foot-soldiers and attendants of inferior rank a hundred sols at least. The king of France, also allured by his example, bestowed very many gifts on his own men. Hence fresh joy reigned among the people, and those who had been broken down by sorrow were raised up by such generous magnificence.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXIV. — *Of the great feast given by King Richard at Mategriffin, on Christmas Day, to which he invited the king of France and all his people, and of his splendid gifts.*

The great festival of Christmas was at hand, kept with the greater solemnity as it was the more needful for the redemption of the human race. In honour of this festival, King Richard invited, with all respect, the king of France to dinner, and by the public crier called upon every soul to pass that day with him in joy and gladness. At his courteous request, the king of France came with an innumerable band of nobles, and a crowd of others. He labours not much who compels a willing person; and we cannot suppose many were absent from King Richard's feast. They were, therefore, received with honour into the castle of Mategriffin, which he had built against the will of the natives, and where every one sat down according to his rank. Who could count the variety of dishes which were brought in, or the different kinds of cups, or the crowds of servants in splendid attire? which, if any one wishes to do, let him measure in his mind the magnanimity of King Richard, and then he can understand the kind of feast which would be prepared. You might have seen there nothing unbecoming or inapposite — nothing which was not of value and commendable; for the dishes and platters on which they were served were of no other material or substance than gold or silver, and all the vessels were of wrought gold or silver, with images of men and beasts worked thereon with the chisel or the file, and adorned with precious stories. Moreover, their joyous countenances were conspicuous above all, and gave a grace to the festival; and the guests were entertained with the cheerfulness of the entertainers over and above the variety and abundance of meat and drink. After the feast was at an end, King Richard set before the king of France the most beautiful cups, and gave him his choice in honour of the occasion, and gave to each of the nobles presents according to his rank; for like Titus, with whose hand he lavished his wealth, he thought that the day was lost on which he happened to have given nothing.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXV. — *How the Pisans and the Genoese attack the guards of King Richard's fleet.*

It happened at that time that some Pisans and Genoese, heated with wine, and disturbed by some cause or other, attacked the guards of King Richard's fleet in a hostile manner, and from the vehement nature of their assault a great number were killed on both sides. On the morrow, as if grieving that they had not wrought their full malice the day before, they returned to the attack, and while they were fiercely engaged, King Richard came upon them hastily, and with difficulty restraining the combatants, forced them to separate.

Chapter XXVI. — *Of the arrival of Queen Eleanor and Berengaria, the future wife of King Richard, and of the departure, first, of the king of France, and then of the king of England, for the Holy Land.*

Therefore, in the year of our Lord 1191, with the dominical letter E, after the stormy months of the more idle season of winter, when brighter days were coming on, the people, who were wearied with slothful delay, hailed with joy the arrival of the season for navigation; for the kings had stayed in the city of Messina from the feast of St. Michael until after Lent. They therefore held a conference about the transportation of their men, alleging the inconvenience of further delay, both on account of the presence of fine weather, and because their means would fail if spent in useless idleness, and because their friends at Acre were suffering from want of them, and they were grieved at having given them such tardy help. While, therefore, each was preparing to proceed on his journey, couriers arrived who informed Richard that his mother Eleanor was hastening after him, and having completed her journey, was close at hand; and that she was bringing with her the noble damsel, daughter of the king of Navarre, named Berengaria, the intended wife of King Richard. A long time previous, while yet count of Poitou, he had been charmed by the graces of the damsel and her high birth, and felt a passion for her; on which account her father, the king of Navarre, had committed her to the care of King

## *Itinerary*

Richard's mother to be carried to him, in order that he might marry her before crossing the sea as he intended. All rejoiced at their coming. Meanwhile the king of France, having made ready with all his equipment, taking advantage of a favourable wind, set out with all his fleet, on the Saturday after the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and King Richard accompanied him some way in his galleys, with his noblest peers. But he himself was not ready to cross the sea, for he had not yet collected all his transport-ships; and he thought that they were not sufficiently provisioned: moreover, he had heard that his mother was coming with the illustrious Berengaria. When, therefore, he had let the king of France go on his voyage in peace, crossing past the Faro he came to Risa, where he heard that the queen his mother and Berengaria were, and having taken them on board with great joy, he returned to Messina; where having stayed a short time, he let his mother depart, and committed to her the care of his kingdom, together with Walter, archbishop of Rouen, as we have said before, a man of great virtue. And with them returned Guilbert de Gascul, by whose treachery the king of France afterwards gained possession of the celebrated castle of Gisors, situated in a very strong position on the confines of France and Normandy, which had been committed to his safekeeping. But King Richard retained with him the aforesaid damsel, whom he was about to marry. Queen Eleanor returned by Bourges, and thence to Salerno, and thus to Normandy. But King Richard, having furnished himself with every thing necessary for the voyage, prepared, according to agreement, to follow after the king of France as quickly as he could; and appointed Robert de Torneham to conduct and take care of the fleet. He sent forward his betrothed, with his sister the dowager queen of Sicily, in advance, in one of the ships which are commonly called dromons, keeping a course direct to the east; he had also placed some knights on board, and a numerous retinue of servants, for their comfort and safekeeping. These kind of vessels are slower than others, on account of their burthen, but of stronger make. The multitude of the galleys remained immoveable, until the king, having dined, on account of the annoyances which had happened, bade farewell, with all his army, to the natives, and was on the point of setting out and committing himself to favourable

## *Itinerary*

winds and the waves of the sea. Then the whole multitude of ships was launched into the sea, impelled by numerous oarsmen. The city of Messina might justly boast that so great a fleet had never in past ages quitted those shores; and that they never will see there such a one again. Therefore, on the seventeenth day after the departure of the king of France, i.e. on the Wednesday after Palm Sunday, King Richard followed with a numerous fleet of ships, and passing amid the Faro with a fair breeze, some by sailing, some by rowing, they came out into the deep, — the dromons, however, keeping them in the rear as Richard had planned, in order that, as far as it was possible to avoid it, they should not part company, unless they were accidentally separated by the tides; while the galleys purposely relaxed their speed and kept pace with the ships of burthen, to guard their multitude and protect the weaker.

Chapter XXVII. — *Of the winds that were at one time calm, at another agitating the sea, and the dangers which King Richard sustained as far as Crete, and from Crete to Rhodes.*

The wind all at once began to fall gradually, so that the fleet was compelled to remain motionless at anchor between Calabria and Mount Gibello; but on the morrow, i. e. the day of the Lord's Supper, He who withdraws and sends forth the winds from his treasuries, sent us a wind which continued the whole day, not too strong, but impelling the fleet at a moderate speed; but after that it abated altogether on the following night. But on Holy Friday, a contrary wind arising, drove it back to the left, and the sea being very much agitated thereby, boiled up from the very depths, while the waves beat together, and the storm increased; the roar of the dashing waves, and the ships creaking with the violence of the wind, struck all with no small terror, and from the excessive fury of the latter, all management of the ships was at an end; for no pilot could steer them while tossing to and fro in such a manner. They were borne hither and thither; their line was broken, and they went different ways. The crews committed themselves to the guidance of the Lord, despairing of earthly aid; but as far as human weakness permitted, we determined to bear all things with

## *Itinerary*

patience, under the eye of our Saviour, who on that day had suffered so undeserved a death for our sakes. And as the ships were tossed to and fro, and dispersed divers ways, men's stomachs began to feel a qualm, and were affected by a violent nausea; and this feeling of sickness made them almost insensible to the dangers around; but towards evening, it grew by degrees calm, and the fury of the winds and waves abated. A favourable wind now springing up, according to our wishes, and the sailors having recovered their strength and confidence, we strove to keep a direct course for our voyage. King Richard, unmoved amid this state of confusion, never ceased to animate those who were dispirited, and bid them take courage, and hope for better fortune; moreover he had as usual a very large wax-light in a lantern, hoisted aloft in his ship to give light to the rest of the fleet and direct them in their way. He had on board most experienced sailors, who did every thing which human art could do to oppose the fury of the winds. All, therefore, as far as they could, followed the light burning in the king's ship. The king remained stationary some time to collect his fleet, which congregated together by seeing the light, so that the king resembled a hen gathering together her chickens. After that, we started with a favourable wind, and sailed along, without obstacle or injury, on the Saturday of the Passover, as well as on the day of the festival, and until the following Wednesday. That day we came in sight of Crete, where the king put in to repose and collect his fleet. When the ships had come together, twenty-five were found missing, at which the king was much grieved. Among the steep mountains of this island of Crete, is one raised above the others, like a lofty summit, which is called the Camel, which sailors acquainted with those seas say is exactly midway between Messina in Sicily, and Acre in Palestine. On the morrow, being Thursday, the king and all his army entered their ships; when the wind began to rise stronger, and though favourable, was very vehement in impelling us forward, for we moved rapidly along, with sails swelled out and mast slightly bent, not unlike the flight of birds. The wind, which slackened not all night, at dawn of day drove our fleet violently upon the island of Rhodes: there was no port, and the surf stretched along the shore; however, we enjoyed there our rest the better for having wished for it so earnestly, from that day until the

## *Itinerary*

following Monday, when we put in at Rhodes. Rhodes was anciently a very large city, not unlike Rome; though its extent can scarcely be estimated, there are so many ruins of houses and portions of fallen towers still standing, and such wonderful remains of walls and buildings of admirable workmanship. There are also a few monasteries still remaining out of so many ancient edifices, for the most part deserted, though formerly inhabited by such numerous societies of monks. The site of so great a city, though by time laid waste, proves the former existence of a large population; but very few inhabitants were found there now who could sell us food. But as the king was indisposed, we tarried there a few days, during which he waited the arrival of the ships that had wandered out of their course and lost us, and the galleys which followed him. He made inquiries also about that cruel tyrant, emperor of Cyprus, who was wont to detain the pilgrims who put in at his port.

Chapter XXVIII. — *Of the departure of King Richard from Rhodes, through the gulf, and of the arrival of the queen at Cyprus.*

Having spent ten days at Rhodes, which is a very fertile and productive island, they went on board, and set out on their voyage on the 1st of May. They were borne on their course into that most dangerous place, called the Gulf of Satalia. There is a mighty strife of currents formed by the junction of four seas, struggled violently together, each dashing against and resisting the other. We were on the point of entering it, when lo! as if apprehensive of our safety, a contrary current carried us back to the place from whence we had started. But in a short time, the wind, which in those parts is constantly shifting, drove us from behind back again into the gulf, with the more danger from its increased violence. Fearing the effects of its fury, we did all we could to guard against the dangers of the place, and pass over the waves that boiled and foamed around. The royal ship was always in advance, and when the king lifted his eyes, he saw beneath a calm sky, a very large ship of the sort called a buss (*buza*) bearing down, which was returning from Jerusalem. The king, therefore, speedily sent men to inquire for intelligence concerning the siege of Acre, from those

## *Itinerary*

who were in the ship; who replied that the king of France had already arrived at Acre in safety, and was diligently employed in making machines, until the arrival of the king of England. The king of France had put into the port of Acre on the Saturday of Easter week, and was applying all his energies to the taking of the city. He had therefore caused petrarix to be erected, and placed near the tower Maledictum, as well as other machines for throwing down the walls, for the king of France lay on the side near to that tower. By means of filling up and treading in the trenches, and bringing machines and petrarix for casting stones, the wall was in part broken down; but not long afterwards, the machines were attacked and burnt to ashes by the exertions of the Turks. When King Richard heard all these things from the aforesaid sailors, the buss passed on its way, and he made all his arrangements in high spirits; and as the wind was not fair, he beat about, and toiled much to master its uncertainty; but the fleet, from the adverse gales, and the rising and falling of the waves, was forced back, and driven into the open sea. However, the buss from Lyons, in which the queens were, first put into the port of the city of Limozin, in the island of Cyprus; though they did not come to the land, but dropped their anchors at some distance out at sea.

Chapter XXIX. — *Of the many misfortunes which befel the Holy Land, especially through the emperor of Cyprus.*

With what expiation do we deem the Holy Land to have been punished, or with what scourge smitten, or of what crime guilty, that so many adversaries should have resisted its succour, whereby assistance should have been so long deferred? Nay, it began to be believed that the cause of its redemption being so long delayed was the wickedness of its defenders; and it is very evident by many proofs that the Divine aid was withheld in consequence of the iniquity of its inhabitants; whence also it happened that the excellent soldiers of France, who were looked forward to as brave allies, were unseasonably taken away in the midst. For why need we speak of the death of the illustrious emperor of Germany, whose end sullied the glory of his former reign? or who could relate the grief felt for

## *Itinerary*

the death of the once rich and glorious Henry, king of England? By his money, the city of Tyre was preserved, and by his wisdom and prudence it was hoped that the Holy Land would be recovered lastly, what might we say of the decease of William, king of Sicily, who after he had made all the necessary preparations for his pilgrimage, and had oftentimes sent the wished-for aid, was cut off by sudden death, and closed his career? All these, and many other misfortunes, impeded the recovery of the Holy Land, and each of them was more than enough to injure the cause. But there was one thing above all others, we mean that which concerned the island of Cyprus, from which the land of Jerusalem used annually to gain no small profit; but now, after shaking off the yoke of subjection, it disdained to give it any thing, by the direction of the tyrant of the island, who had usurped the imperial power. Most wicked of all bad men, and surpassing Judas in treachery, and Guenelon in treason, he wantonly persecuted all who professed the Christian religion. He was said to be a friend of Saladin, and it was reported that they had drunk each other's blood, as a sign and testimony of mutual treaty, as if by the mingling of blood outwardly, they might become kinsmen in reality. This, too, was afterwards evident by certain proofs; for the tyrant, gaining confidence by this step, and setting at nought the subjection which he owed, falsely usurped the name of emperor, and he was accustomed to seize upon every one who put into the island of his own accord, or was driven thereto by the violence of the wind, that he might extract a ransom from the rich, and force the poor to become slaves. When, therefore, he learnt that a strange fleet had arrived, he determined, according to his custom, to seize upon all who were on board, and, having plundered them of their money, to keep them captives.

*Chapter XXX. — Of the shipwreck and misfortune of some of our men, and of their capture and imprisonment; also of the attack they made and the victory they gained over the islanders of Cyprus.*

On the vigil of St. Mark the Evangelist, a little before sunset, dark clouds covered the horizon, and the spirit of the storm rushed forth, and

## *Itinerary*

the violence of the wind disturbed the waters; some of our ships which had been dispersed by the shifting of the winds, while attempting to reach the island of Cyprus before his arrival, were driven by adverse waves and wind on the rocks; and though the sailors used their utmost efforts to resist the wind that assailed them, three of the king's ships filled and went to pieces, and some of those on board were drowned; but some who had by chance caught hold of the timbers of the ship, were by this means, and not without the greatest toil, from the tossing of the waves, cast on shore naked and penniless. Amongst those who were drowned was Roger, surnamed Malus Catulus, the king's signet-bearer, and the signet was lost. But on the body being cast on shore by the tide, a man found the signet on him, and brought it to the army for sale; and thus it was redeemed, and restored to the king. As to the sailors who were cast on shore, the inhabitants, under the garb of peace, hailed their coming with joy; and, as if to recruit them, introduced them into a certain fort close by; and all those who put to shore in safety, the Griffons stripped of their arms, and conducted to the same place, asserting that if they entered in arms, they might appear to be spies, or to have intentions of attacking the island, and they would wait until they ascertained the will of the emperor. But our nobles compassionating the shipwrecked men who were detained in custody, sent them clothing and other necessaries. Also Stephen de Turnham, the king's steward and treasurer, sent them abundance of provisions, which, as they were brought to the entrance of the fort for the captives, were plundered by the Griffons and guards of the city. However they pacified them with specious language, and did not yet show their enmity openly, but they would not set them at liberty until the emperor had been informed of what had happened; meanwhile, they promised with crafty words to supply them with every thing necessary. They then convened the nobles of the land, and entered into counsel to keep captive as many of the pilgrims as they could by stratagem, and then slay them; which when it became known to our men, they shut themselves up of their own accord in the fort, with the intention of defending themselves, and some of them were killed by the natives. Thus, considering that danger really threatened them, they chose to stand the hazard of a battle, rather than die of starvation by falling into

## *Itinerary*

the hands of the infidel persecutors of Christians. Therefore, when they had come forth from the fort and reached a certain plain, the natives began to surround and kill them; but though unarmed, they resisted as much as they could, and effected not less slaughter than their adversaries, though they had only three bows to defend themselves with, which they had kept concealed from the natives. There was amongst them one Roger de Hardecourt, who, having found a mare and mounted her, rode down the crowd that opposed him; and also William du Bois, a Norman, and a most skilful archer, scattered first these, then those, by casting darts and arrows at them incessantly. The soldiers who were yet on board, seeing this, came hastily with their arms to their succour; and the Griffons, with their bows and slings, hindered them as much as they could from landing; but by the protection of the Lord they sallied from their ships and came into port unhurt. At last, after the Griffons had been dispersed and were giving way, the pilgrims, coming out of the aforesaid fort, and defending themselves, came in the rear, and made their way to the port, where they found our men, who had disembarked from their ships, fighting with all their might against the Griffons who opposed them. Having thus formed a junction, they dispersed the Griffons, and gained the port of Limozin, in which was the buss of the two queens that had put in before the arrival of King Richard, as has been said before; but owing to their ignorance of the state of the island, and from dread of the cruelty and treachery of the emperor, they had not disembarked.

### Chapter XXXI. — *Of the arrival of King Richard at Cyprus.*

On the same day, towards evening, on which the pilgrims had made their exit from the aforesaid port, viz. on a Thursday, the emperor of Cyprus, who had been informed of their arrival, came to the city; and when the pilgrims made complaint of the injuries they had received, the emperor promised every kind of satisfaction, and agreed to restore the money taken from the shipwrecked men; and they also obtained entrance and egress into and from the city of Limozin, on condition of a mutual exchange of four men as hostages. Meanwhile, the emperor gave orders that the

## *Itinerary*

warriors of all his empire should be assembled, and a mighty army formed. The day after his arrival, the emperor sent a crafty message to the two queens, bidding them put to shore for greater security, and go about as they pleased without fear of molestation or ill-treatment from his people; and on their refusing, he sent them the next day, under pretence of paying them respect, bread and ram's flesh and wine from the vineyards of Cyprus, which are said to have no match for quality throughout the world. On the third day, also, he tried to circumvent and beguile them, by bland and deceptive messages, and on the other hand they were in great state of perplexity, lest the emperor should make them prisoners, if they should listen to him, or else, if they obstinately refused, they must fear some violence; for as yet nothing was known of the expected arrival of the king, or the good condition of his fleet; but they kept him in suspense by returning an ambiguous answer, saying, that on the morrow they would place themselves at his disposal. In expectation of the fulfilment of this promise, the emperor kept quiet; and while the queens were agitated by intense anxiety, and were questioning and conversing with each other, that same day, being Sunday, behold! there appeared in the distance, like crows, on the foaming summit of the curling waters, two vessels, driven forwards and sailing swiftly towards them. And while the queens, and those with them, were in doubt as to what they were, some more ships were espied coming on, and directly after the whole fleet was seen, bearing down with rapid course to the port; and conjecturing that it was the king's fleet, they were so much the more rejoiced that it had come to their succour, when they were despairing of their desolate position. And thus King Richard arrived by the guidance of the Lord, after many dangers overcome, in the port of Cyprus. Therefore, on the festival of St. John before the Latin Gate (May 6), King Richard put into the port of Limozin, with all his fleet, but did not go on shore.

Chapter XXXII. — *How King Richard with his forces, routed the emperor with his forces, first by sea and then by land.*

## *Itinerary*

When the king learnt in what danger the shipwrecked men had been, and how they were plundered of their property, and all that had happened in the interim, he was exceedingly angry; and on the morrow, being Monday, he sent two knights to the emperor, to ask satisfaction of him, in a peaceful manner, for the injuries received, and the money he had plundered, at his will. The emperor was very indignant at this demand, and just as though he himself had been the injured man, burst out into abusive language, saying, "Pruht, Sire," and declaring he had nothing to do with a *king*; boasting, as he did, for the assumption of *imperial* authority, and wholly confiding in impunity from Heaven, he acted just as it pleased him. When the ambassadors brought back his answer the king, irritated at the emperor's arrogance, abusive reply, and the loss his own men had sustained, shouted out aloud, "To arms!" a command his men immediately obeyed. Therefore the king, having armed himself, proceeded, in the boats of the "Esneckars," with his soldiers, to seize on the port; but the emperor, with a large army, surrounded it, and resisted their landing, and they blocked up the entrance to the port with every kind of bar and obstacle, taking the doors and windows from the houses, casks with hoops, benches and ladders, and long pieces of wood, placed crosswise; also, bucklers and shields, old galleys, abandoned vessels, dirty from being laid up, and every description of utensil, to prevent their coming on shore; — in a word, every thing portable of wood or stone that could be found in the city of Limozin, the Griffons piled upon the shore to oppose the assailants. Moreover, the emperor and his troops marched up and down the beach. Oh! how splendidly was the emperor's host equipped! They had on costly armour, and very valuable and many-coloured garments, and rode on war-horses that champed the foaming bit, and beautiful mules; they marched to and fro, ready for battle, their numberless pennons and gorgeous banners floating in the breeze, to keep off those that were advancing, or to give them battle. As our men were endeavouring to reach the shore, they tried to frighten them by horrible shoutings, like growling dogs, and abused them as if they had been curs, and told them they were hastening after what it was impossible to accomplish. They also had some slingers and archers and five galleys on the shore, well armed, and filled with young

## *Itinerary*

men skilled in sea-fights. Our troops, who were making for the port to seize upon it, blocked up as it was, seemed no match for the enemy, because they were exposed in small boats, and were also much fatigued by long tossing about on the sea, and besides, they were foot soldiers, burdened with their proper arms; the natives, on the contrary, were in their own country, and could do every thing at pleasure. So when our men approached in their boats, in order, they determined on coming to close quarters to drive off the slingers and archers in the galleys, and against them our archers and slingers directed their attacks; and the Griffons, after losing a great many of their men, gave way, for they could not withstand the brunt of the battle. And when the arrows flew thickly, three or four at a time leaped out of the galleys into the sea, and dived under water, where they perished, by knocking against each other in their attempts to seek refuge in flight. The galleys, therefore, being captured, and our boats come to shore, our slingers and archers, gaining courage by success, sent a shower of arrows, like rain, at those who were guarding the landing-place. The Griffons not able to stand the charge, retreated from the beach to firmer ground, while their arbalesters and ours kept constantly throwing darts, so that the sky was darkened, and the calmness of day seemed to grow into night from the shower of arrows, while the whole city swarmed with men, and the neighbourhood was filled with a multitude of men plying their engines. It was a long time doubtful on which side the victory lay, or which party was superior; for our troops, though they strove with all their strength, did not make progress. The king, perceiving that his men were not daring enough to get out of their boats, and make for the shore, leaped first from his barge into the water, and boldly attacked the Griffons; and then our soldiers, imitating his example, eagerly sought to put the enemy to flight; and having made an impression on their troops, forced them to give way. Then you might see a shower of flying darts, and the Greeks cut down; and you might hear the murmurs of the combatants, the groans of the dying, and the yells of the retreating. Then, also, our men in a body, mowing down the Greeks as they fled in confusion, drove them first into the city, and from thence to the plains beyond. The king, pushing on in pursuit of the emperor, found a common horse, upon which he speedily

## *Itinerary*

vaulted by the aid of a lance, placed behind the saddle, and rode on with cords for stirrups. The king thus hastily pressed after the emperor, crying out, "My lord the emperor, I challenge you to single combat;" but, as though he were deaf, he fled swiftly away. The king, having thus taken the city, caused the two queens to be landed from the buss and lodged in Limozin, where, after the fatigues and perils of their voyage, they recruited themselves in security.

Chapter XXXIII. — *Further of the fight between the king and the emperor, and of the victory of the king and the flight of the emperor to Nicosia.*

The same night the king lodged in his pavilion, and caused his horses to be landed by the Esneckars. But the emperor, not thinking he had any horses, feared him the less, and passed the night encamped within a distance of two leagues. On the morrow, about two o'clock, the king mounted his horse, and discovered some Greeks standing not far off in an olive-yard with their gorgeous banners, and on their taking to flight, he pursued them. But forasmuch as our horses had been injured by being tossed about on the sea, standing for a whole month, our men spared them and went at a moderate pace, until they saw the army of the emperor, which had spent the night in a valley, and then they stopped in their pursuit. The Greeks, crying out with a horrible clamour, began to insult our men; on which the emperor, aroused from his sleep, mounted his horse, and marched with his men towards ours gradually, as far as a neighbouring hill, where he took his station to overlook the engagement. The Greeks making use only of their bows and slings, cried out that our men were immoveable. Then there came to the king a certain clerk, by name Hugo de Mara, in arms, and said to the king, "My lord the king, it appears to be a wise plan to decline for a time so large and so powerful a multitude." To whom the king answered, "Sir clerk, as for our profession, you had better employ yourself in writing, and leave war to us, and take good care to keep out of the crowd." Others likewise dissuaded the king from fighting against so mighty a host: indeed he had not with him at that time more than fifty men; but taking courage from the enemy's wavering,

## *Itinerary*

he put spurs to his horse, and was suddenly carried against the enemy, and piercing through their line, scattered them, and attacking first one and then the other, he instantly dispersed them. For when their army perceived that their adversaries were collecting together, their valour gave way, and they took to flight; those who had swift and nimble horses escaped, but the foot-soldiers and common people, who were less fitted for flight, were slain in all directions without distinction, and could not fly further, on account of the arrival of the king. And while the emperor was encouraging and animating his men to fight, the king coming suddenly upon him at full speed, knocked him off his horse with his lance; but he quickly procured another, and escaped in the crowd: some of his companions, however, were lost. Oh! how many noble horses might you have seen slain there, and coats of mail, and helmets, and swords, and lances, and pennons fallen down, and standards of various shapes, and the bodies of dead men weltering in their blood, and some yet breathing their last, in countless numbers. The emperor, perceiving the boldness of our men, and the flight of his own, and not forgetting his spurs, which he saw were the only thing that remained, fled with the utmost swiftness to the mountains. The king struck down his banner-bearer, and gave orders that the splendid and beautiful banner should be kept for him. Then our horsemen pursued the fugitives as fast as they could for two miles; after which, coming back at a moderate pace, they quietly returned. The people then turning to the booty, took much spoil, viz. arms, and costly woven vestments, and the tent of the emperor, with all the vessels of gold and silver which were found therein, and all his splendid apparel and household stuff: besides coats of mail, helmets, choice swords, horses and mules, and also very much plunder in sheep and cattle, and goats, noble mares and mules, swine, fowls, and hens; and they also found choice wines and provisions of all sorts, and carried off a host of captives; so that from the immense quantity of plunder they became fastidious, — in a word, every mind was satiated with booty, nor would they regard any thing that was precious when offered them, for they were amply laden. After these things were done, the king proclaimed an edict by herald, that whoever of the inhabitants were disposed for peace, might go and return as they liked without harm from his men, and

## *Itinerary*

enjoy perfect liberty; but that whoever held the king as an enemy, should take care not to fall into his hands, or those of the army, for he would certainly treat him as a foe, and that he would prove himself such as they stood to him. By these means the emperor lost very many of his men, who constantly deserted him. At last he betook himself to a very strong fort called Nicosia, in confusion and sorrow at having failed in his intentions.

### Chapter XXXIV. — *Of the arrival of King Guy at Cyprus.*

On the following Saturday three galleys bore in sight, and all doubted what they could mean, or whence they came. The king, always prompt, not to say venturous, embarked in a small vessel impelled with oars, and went to meet them and inquire who the comers were and whence they came; and on their answering that it was Guy de Lusignan, the king returned quickly and ordered supper to be immediately prepared for the guests that were coming. And when King Guy landed, he received him with the greatest respect, and entertained him most cordially. King Guy had come to King Richard to ask his advice and assistance against the king of France, who had planned that the marquis, of whom we have before spoken, should be made king of Jerusalem, and Guy be deposed. Then King Richard welcomed him kindly, and honoured him with gifts, because he was poor and destitute of means; for he gave him two thousand marks of silver and twenty cups of the value of a hundred and five marks, of which two were of the purest gold.

### Chapter XXXV. — *Of the nuptials of King Richard and Berengaria, and on the arrival of the king's galleys.*

On the morrow, viz. on the Sunday, which was the festival of St. Pancras, the marriage of King Richard and Berengaria, the daughter of the king of Navarre, was solemnized at Limozin: she was a damsel of the greatest prudence and most accomplished manners, and there she was crowned queen. There were present at the ceremony the archbishop, and the bishop of Evreux, and the bishop of Baneria, and many other chiefs and

## *Itinerary*

nobles. The king was glorious on this happy occasion, and cheerful to all, and shewed himself very jocose and affable. The nuptials having been solemnly celebrated in a royal manner, one day all the king's galleys, which had been anxiously looked for, arrived in port: they were equipped and defended with splendid armouries, and no one ever saw better or safer ships; and he added to them the five galleys which he had taken from the emperor. The king had thus forty armed galleys and sixty others of a very good quality.

Chapter XXXVI. — *Of the conference and the manner of making peace between the king and the emperor.*

The king, elated with success, thought that fortune smiled upon him; he therefore exhorted his soldiers to expedition, and commanded them to get every thing in readiness, lest the emperor should make a sudden attack upon them; and he caused watches to be kept, and appointed sentinels to guard the army. The king proposed with his army to pursue the emperor wherever he was, and so take him by force or induce him to surrender; but by the mediation and earnest request of the masters of the Hospitallers of Jerusalem, it was determined that a conference should be held between the king and the emperor, who greatly lamented the loss of his men, and that he had been forced to fly in a shameful manner to Nicosia from the face of the king; and he feared pursuit the more, because the natives detested him, and he could not, therefore, trust to their assistance. Wherefore, having called together as many as he could, the king proceeded to a very large plain, between the sea and the highway, close by the city of Limozin. He was mounted on a Spanish charger, of high mettle, of large size and elegant shape, with high shoulder and pointed ears; his neck was long and slender, and his thighs faultless; his feet were broad, and his limbs so perfectly marked, that a painter could not have imitated them with perfect accuracy. As if preparing himself for a swifter movement, he disdained to be checked by his golden curb, and by the alternate change of his feet he seemed at one time to move forward on his hind, at another on his fore legs. The king bounded into his saddle glittering with gold spangles interspersed with

## *Itinerary*

red, while on the binder part two small lions of gold were turned towards each other, with their mouths open, and one pointed to the other on each of the fore legs, as if stretched out to devour. The king's feet were decorated with golden spurs, and he was clothed in a vest of rose-coloured stuff, ornamented with rows of crescents of solid silver, like orbs of the sun shining in thick profusion. The king thus apparelled rode forward, girded with a sword of proved metal with a handle of gold and a woven belt, and the mouth of the scabbard was fastened with silver; on his head he wore a hat of scarlet, ornamented with the shapes of various birds and beasts worked with the hand, and sown in with orfray-work by the needle. He carried a staff in his hand, and the manner of his bearing it proved him to be a soldier of the highest order, and afforded the greatest gratification to all who saw him. After many proposals from both sides, between the king and the emperor, the emperor offered to swear fidelity to him in every thing, and that he would send five hundred knights to the land of Jerusalem, for the service of God, to be at the disposal and command of King Richard; and in addition to all these things, in order that he might fully satisfy the king and leave no doubt on his mind, he offered to place all his castles and forts in the hands of the king's guards, and he gave besides three thousand five hundred marks as satisfaction to those who had lost their money, or had it plundered; and if the king, according to the agreement between them, should think that he and his men fought faithfully, the emperor should have his territory with his castles and forts restored to him; the friendship between them remaining the same as heretofore. And when the king referred this offer to his friends for examination, to see whether there was any thing derogatory to the king's honour by such an agreement, and whether all were satisfied with it, they answered that it was in every respect to the king's honour, and that they were perfectly satisfied with it. And after the king had heard this, the emperor immediately swore to observe faithfully all the aforesaid conditions to the king; and having exchanged the kiss of peace, they made an alliance in the manner described. The king, returning from the conference, which had been broken up, immediately sent to the emperor his pavilion, which he had captured in the aforesaid battle, as a pledge of

## *Itinerary*

peace and friendship; he sent, besides, the vessels which had been plundered from it, and the emperor caused tents to be erected forthwith on the spot where the abovementioned conference took place.

Chapter XXXVII. — *Of the flight of the emperor by night through Famagusta as far as Candosia, and of the capture of Nicosia.*

On the following night, at the suggestion of a treacherous knight named Pain de Caiffa, the emperor, trusting to the darkness, fled away with all speed on a valuable and favourite horse, for the knight told him that King Richard intended to seize upon him that night, and throw him in chains; and the emperor, frightened thereat, escaped to his city of Famagusta, leaving behind him his tents and chargers, and all his household stuff. On hearing which, King Richard commenced a pursuit after him, with his galleys, accusing him of perjury and the violation of his word, and he entrusted to King Guy the conduct of his army by land to Famagusta, where he arrived on the third day, and found it deserted, for the emperor, convinced that it would not be safe for him to stand a siege, concealed himself in the woods, where access was difficult, that, if our men should venture to pass through, he might attack them from an ambuscade. The king, on arriving at Famagusta, gave orders that the ports of the sea should be most strictly watched by his galleys, in order that he might take the emperor prisoner, if he attempted to escape. And, after staying there three days, there came as ambassadors, the bishop of Beauvais, and Drogo de Mirle, a nobleman of high renown, to exhort him to cross the sea without delay, and to assure him that the king of France would not proceed to the assault of Acre before his arrival; and they added words of rebuke, that he had neglected necessary matters, and expended his endeavours on vain duties, and was presumptuously persecuting innocent Christians, when so many thousand Saracens were to be attacked in the land adjoining, for whom, even his valour, although so mighty, would be no match on trial. To this message, the king replied in angry terms, by no means suitable for insertion here; but their labour was in vain, although they used every argument to dissuade him from his purpose, for he was

## *Itinerary*

busy enough in attacking and pursuing the Greeks as they deserved, as it appeared to be of the greatest consequence to subdue an island so necessary to the land of Jerusalem. Paying no attention to the messengers, he advanced to Nicosia, whither each had brought the provisions necessary for himself, as it was a desert place; they moved forward in order of battle, for they had learnt that the emperor intended to lie in ambush for them. The king marched in the rear, to guard against attacks, when on a sudden, the emperor burst from his hiding-place, and assailed them with about seven hundred Greeks. Their arbalesters exerted all their ability to throw their darts against the foremost of our men; but not even thus did our troops suffer themselves to be broken, for they kept together in good order, while the emperor advancing on the flank to reconnoitre, bore down upon them pell-mell, with a view either to break up our lines, or to find out and shoot the king; and when he found that the king was in the rear, he shot two poisoned arrows at him, which inflamed the king to a pitch of anger, and putting spurs to his horse, he bore down on the emperor, with the intention of striking him with his lance; but the emperor evaded him, and fled as swiftly as possible to his aforesaid fort of Candaira, in exceeding dismay and confusion, because he had not succeeded according to his wishes; and the king did not pursue him far, for he doubted of taking him; for he had a bay horse of such swiftness and perseverance in running, that no one ever saw his match for speed. Then the king marched towards Nicosia, with his army, and an immense booty of noble horses and men, which had been taken in the encounter; and the citizens of Nicosia came forth in a body, to congratulate him, and admitted him as if he had been their lord; and the king received them in peace, and caused their beards to be shaved in token of their change of masters. The emperor, on hearing this, in his fury, caused them to seize upon every one of our men that they could, and they plucked out their eyes, or cut off their noses, or mutilated their arms or legs, to satisfy his revenge and soothe his grief. The king exacted homage of the Greek nobles, who appeared to throw off the emperor's yoke with joy; and feeling himself somewhat afflicted with sickness, he tarried there to rest and recruit himself.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXXVIII. — *Of the capture of the three forts, in one of which was the emperor's daughter and treasure.*

With the army, which had been divided into three parts by the king, King Guy laid siege to the three forts, Cherimes, Didimus, and Butphenens; the two first he quickly gained possession of; for, with the help of a guide who knew the ways and the places of difficult access, the army, approaching the fort of Cherimes by land and by sea, assaulted it instantly; and they who were in it, not expecting any aid, surrendered the fort, in which were found the emperor's daughter, and his treasure. When the emperor heard of his loss, he was so overwhelmed with grief, that it nearly drove him mad. King Guy, having hoisted the banners of King Richard on the battlements of the fort, proceeded to attack the second fort, called Didimus, very strong by situation, and exposed to attack on no side; and those who were shut up therein prepared to defend themselves, and for some days kept throwing stones and darts at the besiegers, until they were commanded by the emperor to give it up; and in it the king placed the emperor's daughter, to prevent her being recaptured. From thence King Guy returned to the army at Nicosia, where King Richard, as has been afore said, lay sick; and immediately on his recovery, he attacked and stormed the fort of Bufferentum, which had hitherto been deemed impregnable.

Chapter XXXIX. — *How the emperor came from Candaira to Nicosia, and prostrating himself at the feet of King Richard, surrendered Cyprus to his power.*

O mighty wealth of the emperor! O land, rich in every good thing! O forts, most strong by position, that were given up, which could never have been stormed by the machines of any enemy, unless obtained by treachery or famine! The emperor considering that he was pressed by misfortune enough; that his daughter, on whom his life hung, had been taken captive; and that his forts had been either seized upon or surrendered, and his people alienated from him; and that he was only tolerated, not beloved by his men; perceiving also, that there was no hope of resistance left, he

## *Itinerary*

determined that, although a foe, he would sue for peace and mercy. He therefore sent ambassadors to King Richard, to plead his cause; and in order to incline Richard to feel kindness for him, he followed them in sad attire, and with a dejected countenance; and coming into the presence of King Richard, he fell on his knees in humiliation before him, saying that he submitted himself entirely to his mercy, and that he had neither territory nor fort left: but that he would consider him lord of every thing else, if only he would not throw him into iron chains. The king, moved with pity, raised him up, and made him sit beside him; he also had his daughter brought to him, and when he saw her, he was wonderfully overjoyed, and embracing her most affectionately, covered her with kisses, while the tears started from his eyes. This took place on the Friday after the feast of St. Augustine, and before Pentecost. And the king threw the emperor not into iron chains, but silver ones.

Chapter XL. — *How, after that the king had subjugated Cyprus and set it in order, he made preparations for his voyage, and sent his army to Limozin.*

Thus the king gained possession of Cyprus in fifteen days, and gave it to his men to inhabit. He found all the towers fortified, and the forts filled with much treasure; and various riches, in golden cups, and vases, and plates; also in silver jars, and caldrons, and casks of a large size; with saddles, bits, and spurs of gold; and a large quantity of precious stones, of great value. He also found robes of scarlet and woven cloths, of beautiful pattern, and very costly. Why need we say more? Whatever different kinds of wealth Cræsus is said to have possessed, King Richard found that the emperor had amassed; and being necessary for his expedition, he took possession of them as if they had been prepared for him; for it is scarcely possible that means should fail the man who is rich in courage, or abundance attend on one who is poor in spirit. Having done all these things, King Richard sent back his army to the city of Limozin, where the queens were, and the domestics, with the baggage; and he gave them orders to give their whole attention to the repair of the fleet, for crossing the sea. He committed the emperor to the custody of King Guy, and his

## *Itinerary*

young little daughter he delivered to his queen, to bring her up and educate her.

Chapter XLI. — *How, while the fleet of King Richard was sailing towards Acre, a very large Saracen ship bore in sight, and how the king immediately attacked it, and took it.*

Having concluded these operations, the king gave his attention to the immediate crossing of the sea, and when they had placed the baggage on board, a favourable wind blowing, the fleet set sail from the shore; and the queens moved forward in company with the king in person. The king had left in Cyprus brave and diligent men to secure a supply of necessary provisions hereafter; viz. wheat, corn, and barley; meat and live stock of various kinds, which abound in that island.

By this time a report was spread that Acre was on the point of being taken, and when the king heard it, he sighed deeply and said, "May God defer the taking of Acre till I come, after it has been so long besieged, and therefore the triumph will be the more glorious with the assistance of God." Then getting ready with all speed, he went on board one of his largest and swiftest galleys, at Famagusta; and as was his wont, he moved forward in advance, impatient of delay, while the other ships followed in his wake as quickly as they could, and well prepared, for there is no power that might not justly have dreaded their hostility. As they ploughed across the sea, the holy land of Jerusalem was descried for the first time, the fort called Margat being the first spot that met the eye; afterwards Tortuosa, situated on the sea-shore; then Tripolis, Nephyn, and Bocion. And soon after appeared the lofty tower of Gibelath. Lastly, on this side of Sidon, opposite Baruth, there bore in sight a vessel filled with Saracens, chosen from all the Pagan empire, and destined by Saladin for the assistance of the besieged in Acre. They were not able to obtain a speedy entrance into the port, because of the Christian army that menaced them, and so were waiting a favourable moment for entering the port by surprise. The king, observing the ship, called Peter des Barres, commander of one of his galleys, and ordered him to row quickly, and inquire who commanded the

## *Itinerary*

vessel. And when they answered that it belonged to the king of France, the king in his eager haste approached it; but it had no mark of being French, neither did it bear any Christian symbol or standard; and on looking at it near, the king began to wonder at its immense size and compact make, for it was crowned with three tall masts, and its sides were marked with streaks of red and yellow, and it was well furnished in all manner of equipments, so that nothing could exceed them, and it was abundantly supplied with all kinds of provisions. One of those on board said, that while at Baruth, he saw the vessel laden with all these things; viz. one hundred camel-loads of arms, slings, bows, darts, and arrows: it had also on board seven Saracen admirals, and eighty chosen Turks, besides a quantity of all kinds of provisions, exceeding computation. They had also on board a large quantity of Greek fire, in bottles, and two hundred most deadly serpents for the destruction of the Christians. Others were therefore sent to obtain more exact information who they were, and when, instead of their former answer, they replied that they were Genoese, bound for Tyre, our men began to doubt the truth at this change of reply; one of our galley-men persisted that they were Saracens, and on the king's questioning him, he said, "I give you leave to cut off my head, or hang me on a tree, if I do not prove these men to be Saracens. Now let a galley be sent quickly after them, for they are making away, and let no kind of salute be given them by us, and in this way we shall have certain proof what their intention is, and how far they are to be believed." At the king's command, therefore, a galley was sent at full speed after them. and on reaching their ship, and rowing by its side without giving a salute, they began to throw darts and arrows at our men. On seeing this, the king ordered the ship to be attacked forthwith, and after casting a shower of darts against each other, the ship relaxed in its speed, for the wind carried it but slowly along. Though our galley-men rowed repeatedly round the ship, to scrutinize the vessel, they could find no point of attack: it appeared so solid and so compact, and of such strong materials; and it was defended by a guard of warriors, who kept throwing darts at them. Our men, therefore, relished not the darts, nor the great height of the ship, for it was enough to strive against a foe on equal ground, whereas a dart thrown from above always

## *Itinerary*

tells upon those below, since its iron point falls downwards. Hence, their ardour relaxed, but the spirit of the king increased, and he exclaimed aloud, "Will you allow the ship to get away untouched and uninjured? Shame upon you! are you grown cowards from sloth, after so many triumphs? The whole world knows that you engaged in the service of the Cross, and you will have to undergo the severest punishment, if you permit an enemy to escape while he lives, and is thrown in your way." Our men, therefore, making a virtue of necessity, plunged eagerly into the water under the ship's side, and bound the rudder with ropes to turn and retard its progress, and some, catching hold of the cables, leapt on board the ship. The Turks receiving them manfully, cut them to pieces as they came on board, and lopping off the head of this one, and the hands of that, and the arms of another, cast their bodies into the sea. Our men seeing this, and glowing with anger, gained fresh courage from the thirst for vengeance, and crossing over the bulwarks of the vessel, attacked the Turks in a body with great fierceness, who, though giving way a little, made an obstinate resistance. The Turks gathering boldness from despair, used all their efforts to repel those who threatened them, cutting off the arms, hands, and even heads of our men; but they, after a mighty struggle, drove the Turks back as far as the prow of the ship, while from the interior others rushed upon our men in a body, preparing to die bravely or repel the foe; they were the choice youth of the Turks, fitted for war, and suitably armed. The battle lasted a long time, and many fell on both sides; but at last, the Turks, pressing boldly on our men, drove them back, though they resisted with all their might, and forced them from the ship. Upon which our men retired to their galleys, and surrounding the vessel on all sides, tried to find a more easy mode of attacking it. The king seeing the danger his men were in, and that while the ship was uninjured it would not be easy to take the Turks with the arms and provisions therein, commanded that each of the galleys should attack the ship with its spur, i.e. its iron beak. Then the galleys drawing back, were borne by rapid strokes of the oar against the ship's sides to pierce them, and thus the vessel was instantly broken, and becoming pervious to the waves, began to sink. When the Turks saw it, they leapt into the sea to die, and our men killed some of them and

## *Itinerary*

drowned the rest. The king kept thirty-five alive, namely, the admirals and men who were skilled in making machines, but the rest perished, the arms were abandoned, and the serpents sunk and scattered about by the waves of the sea. If that ship had arrived safely at the siege of Acre, the Christians would never have taken the city; but by the care of God it was converted into the destruction of the infidels, and the aid of the Christians, who hoped in Him, by means of King Richard, who by His help prospered in war. The Saracens saw from a distance on the heights what had happened, and sorrowfully carried the news to Saladin, who, on hearing it, seized and plucked out his beard in anger and fury, and afterwards broke out into these words with a sigh, "O God! have I lost Acre, and my dear and chosen soldiers, in whom I had so much confidence? I am overwhelmed by so bitter a loss." When they who saw it told the tidings to the Saracenic army, there arose long and loud wailings, and bitter lamentations for their misfortune, and they cut off the tresses of their hair, and rent their garments, and cursed the hour and the fate of the stars, by which they had come to Syria. For in the above-mentioned ship they had lost all their choice youth, in whom they trusted.

## *Itinerary*

### Book III

#### Chapter I. — *Of the arrival of King Richard at Acre.*

Thus, after his success by sea, King Richard hastened with joy and alacrity, and with all his suite, towards Acre, whither his eager wishes carried him; and the next night, with the aid of a prosperous gale, the fleet anchored off Tyre. In the morning they weighed anchor, and hoisted sail, and soon afterwards passed Candalion, of which we have before spoken; and going by Casella Ymbrici, the high tower of Acre came in sight, and then, by little and little, the other fortifications of the city. Around it the besiegers lay in countless multitudes, chosen from every nation throughout Christendom and under the face of heaven, and well fitted for the labours and fatigues of war; for the city had now been besieged a long time, and had been afflicted by constant toil and tribulation, by the pressure of famine, and every kind of adversity, as we have before described. Moreover, beyond the besiegers, was seen the Turkish army, not in a compact body, but covering the mountains and valleys, hills and plains, with tents, the colours of whose various forms were reflected by the sun. They saw, also the pavilion of Saladin, and his brother Safahadin's tent, and that of Kahadin, the mainstay of Paganism; he was watching the parts to seaward, and planning constant and vigorous attacks upon the Christians. King Richard beheld and computed all their army; and when he arrived in port, the king of France and a whole army of natives, and the princes, chiefs, and nobles, came forth to meet him and welcome him, with joy and exultation, for they had eagerly longed for his arrival.

#### Chapter II. — *Of the joy, songs, and processions which took place on account of King Richard's arrival.*

On the Saturday before the festival of the blessed apostle Barnabas, in the Pentecost week, King Richard landed at Acre with his retinue, and the earth was shaken by the acclamations of the exulting Christians. The people testified their joy by shouts of welcome and the clang of trumpets;

## *Itinerary*

the day was kept as a jubilee, and universal gladness reigned around, on account of the arrival of the king, long wished for by all nations. The Turks, on the other hand, were terrified and cast down by his coming, for they perceived that all egress and return would be at an end, in consequence of the multitude of the king's galleys. The two kings conducted each other from the port, and paid one another the most obsequious attention. Then King Richard retired to the tent previously prepared for him, and forthwith entered in to arrangements about the siege; for it was his most anxious care to find out by what means, artifice, and machines, they could capture the city without loss of time. No pen can sufficiently describe the joy of the people on the king's arrival, nor tongue detail it; the very calmness of the night was thought to smile upon them with a purer air; the trumpets clanged, horns sounded, and the shrill intonations of the pipe, and the deeper notes of the timbrel and harp, struck upon the ear; and soothing symphonies were heard like various voices blended in one; and there was not a man who did not, after his own fashion, indulge in joy and praise; either singing popular ballads to testify the gladness of his heart, or reciting the deeds of the ancients, stimulating by their example the spirit of the moderns. Some drank wine from costly cups, to the health of the singers; while others mixing together, high and low, passed the night in constant dances. And their joy was heightened by the subjugation of the island of Cyprus by King Richard; a place so useful and necessary to them, and one which would be of the utmost service to the army. As a further proof of the exultation of their hearts, and to illumine the darkness of the night, wax torches and flaming lights sparkled in profusion, so that night seemed to be usurped by the brightness of day, and the Turks thought the whole valley was on fire.

Chapter III. — *How the Pisans gave themselves up to King Richard, and how the Turks challenged us to battle.*

The Pisans, admiring the glory and magnificence of King Richard, came before him and did him homage, and took the oath of allegiance that they submitted voluntarily to his authority and service. But the cunning

## *Itinerary*

Turks envied the honour paid him, and some of them, either to feign the assumption of fresh boldness on his arrival, or to provoke a speedy encounter, one Sunday morning exposed themselves to attack outside our camp, wandering up and down as if for the sake of exercise, and throwing their darts at random; and at times they seemed to threaten to cross the ditch in numbers, and annoyed our men, irritating them to a contest unceasingly.

Chapter IV. — *Of the gifts of the two kings to their needy soldiers, and of the sickness of King Richard.*

By the conjunction of the retinues of the two kings, an immense army of Christians was formed: with the king of France, who had arrived on the octaves of Easter, there came the count of Flanders, the count of St. Paul, William de Garlande, William des Barres, Drogo d'Amiens, William de Mirle, and the count of Perche; and with them also came the marquis, of whom we have before spoken, and who aspired to be king of Jerusalem. But why should we enumerate them singly? There was not a man of influence or renown in France who came not, then or afterwards, to the siege of Acre. And on the following day of Pentecost, King Richard arrived with an army, the flower of war, and upon learning that the king of France had gained the good-will and favour of all, by giving to each of his soldiers three *aurei* a month, — not to be outdone or equalled in generosity, he proclaimed by mouth of herald, that whosoever was in his service, no matter of what nation, should receive four statute *aurei* a month for his pay. By these means, his generosity was extolled by all, for he outshone every one else in merit and favours, as he outdid them in gifts and magnificence. "When," exclaimed they, "will the first attack take place, by a man whom we have expected so long and anxiously? A man, by far the first of kings, and the most skilled in war throughout Christendom? Now let the will of God be done, for the hope of all rests on King Richard." But after some days' sojourn, the king was afflicted with a severe illness, to which the common people gave the name of Arnoldia, which is produced by change of climate working on the constitution. But for all that, he caused petriariæ

## *Itinerary*

and mangonels to be raised, and a fort in front of the city gates; and spared no pains to expedite the construction of machines.

*Chapter V. — How, while King Richard was sick, the king of France assaulted Acre vigorously; and how the Turks, upon Saladin attacking our trenches without, made a vigorous resistance, and set the king's machines on fire, upon which the king fell sick.*

The king of France, not liking the delay in commencing the attack, sent word to King Richard, that a favourable opportunity now offered itself; and he also warned, by voice of herald, the army to prepare for an assault. But King Richard had signified his inability hitherto to attend to his duty, both on account of indisposition, and because his men were not yet come; though he hoped that they would arrive in the next fleet of ships, and would bring with them materials for the construction of machines. The king of France not thinking fit to desist, on that account, from his purpose, commanded an assault to be proclaimed, by voice of herald, throughout the army. Therefore, on the Monday after the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the king of France, having erected his machines, gave orders to his men to arm. Then might have been seen a countless multitude of armed men, worthily equipped; and so many coats of scale armour, gleaming helmets, and noble chargers: with petitions and banners of various workmanship, and soldiers of tried valour and courage, as never had been seen before. Having placed men to defend the trenches against the threatened attack of Saladin from without, the army approached the walls of the city, and commenced a most vigorous assault, by casting darts and stones from arbalests and machines, without ceasing. When the Turks who were shut up in the city saw this, they raised a tumultuous clamour, and shouted to the skies; so that it resembled the crash in the air caused by thunder and lightning; for some had this sole duty — to beat basins and platters; to strike timbrels; and by other means, to make signal to Saladin and the army without; in order that they might come to their succour, according to agreement. And when the Turks from without saw and heard this, they gathered in a body; and collecting every material within their

## *Itinerary*

reach to fill up the ditch, they essayed to cross over, and attack our men, but failed in effecting their object. For Godfrey of Lusignan, a man of the most approved valour, opposed them, and drove them back from the barricades, which they had already seized upon, above our men; and he slew ten of them with an axe he carried in his hand, in a most glorious manner; and none but he escaped; nay, he took some alive; for such was his courage and activity, that no one since the time of those famous soldiers, Roland and Oliver, could lay claim to such distinction, from the mouth of all, as himself. Our men regained the barricades but with much labour and difficulty; for the Turks kept pouring in, and by their obstinate persistence, made the issue a long time doubtful. So severe and insupportable was the struggle, and so horrible the clamour of the conflict, that the men who were making the assault on the city, and were intent on filling up the trenches, were forced to retire, and give up the attempt, for they were not able to carry on the assault, and at the same time defend their camp from the Turks without. And many of the French perished by the darts cast from the arbalests, the throwing of stones, and the pouring on them of Greek fire; and there was great mourning and lamentation amongst the people. O! with what earnestness had we expected the arrival of the kings! How fallen were our hopes! They had come, and we profited not; nay, we suffered a severer loss than usual, and those we expected came to no purpose. Our men of France having laid aside their arms, the Turks began to revile them shamefully; and reproached them with not being able to accomplish what they had begun; moreover, they threw Greek fire on the machines and other warlike instruments of the king of France, which had been made with such care, and destroyed them. Whence the king of France, overcome by fury and anger, sunk into a state of languid sickness, from sorrow, it was said; and, from confusion and discouragement, mounted not on horseback.

Chapter VI. — *How, in consequence of the illness of the two kings, the army was closely pressed; and how they were comforted by the arrival of the Nectars.*

## *Itinerary*

Thus the army pined away from excessive grief and discouragement at the sickness of the two kings; for they had not a chief or leader to fight the battles of the Lord. To add to the public grief, the count of Flanders died immaturely. The arrival of the Nectars (? Esneckars) in some measure consoled the army, amidst the distress which these circumstances occasioned. There came, after a tranquil voyage, very many bishops and princes, each accompanied by his own retinue, to the aid of the Christians, whose names were, the bishop of Eneverria, Roger de Toony, and many brothers and kinsmen surnamed de Cornebu; Robert de Newbury, Jordan de Humez, the chamberlain of Tancarville, Robert, earl of Leicester; Gerard de Talebor, Radulph Taisson; also the knights named of Torole; the viscount of Castle Dim, Bertram de Verdun, Roger de Hardencort, and the knights of Praels; Garin fitz Gerold, and those of Mara, Henry fitz Nicholas; Ernald de Magnaville, the Stutevilles, William Martel, William Maler, William Bloez, Godard de Loreora, Roger de Satya, Andrew de Chavenguy, Hugo le Brun, Geoffrey do Rancona, Radulph de Mauleon, William des Rocques, Geoffrey de Lancelles; Hugh de Fierte, who was in Cyprus when it was taken, and afterwards came to Acre. The two kings were sick, but the Lord reserved them to succour the Christians, and to recover the city.

Chapter VII. — *How the petrariæ of the two kings, and those of the army of the faithful, attacked the tower Maledictum, and shook down and destroyed a great part of the wall.*

The king of France first recovered from his sickness, and turned his attention to the construction of machines and petrariæ, suitable for attacks, and which he determined to ply night and day, and he had one of superior quality, to which they gave the name of "Bad Neighbour." The Turks also had one they called "Bad Kinsman," which by its violent casts, often broke "Bad Neighbour" in pieces; but the king of France rebuilt it, until by constant blows, he broke down part of the principal city wall, and shook the tower Maledictum. On one side, the petraria of the duke of Burgundy plied; on the other, that of the Templars did severe execution; while that of

## *Itinerary*

the Hospitallers never ceased to cast terror amongst the Turks. Besides these, there was one petraria, erected at the common expense, which they were in the habit of calling the "petraria of God." Near it, there constantly preached a priest, a man of great probity, who collected money to restore it at their joint expense, and to hire persons to bring stones for casting. By means of this engine, a part of the wall of the tower Maledictum was at length shaken down, for about two poles' length. The count of Flanders had a very choice petraria of large size, which after his death, King Richard possessed; besides a smaller one, equally good. These two were plied incessantly, close by a gate the Turks used to frequent, until part of the tower was knocked down. In addition to these two, King Richard had constructed two others of choice workmanship and material, which would strike a place at an incalculable distance. He had also built one put together very compactly, which the people called "Berefred," with steps to mount it, fitting most tightly to it; covered with raw hides and ropes, and having layers of most solid wood, not to be destroyed by any blows, nor open to injury from the pouring thereon of Greek fire, or any other material. He also prepared two mangonels, one of which was of such violence and rapidity, that what it hurled, reached the inner rows of the city market-place. These engines were plied day and night, and it is well known that a stone sent from one of them killed twelve men with its blow; the stone was afterwards carried to Saladin for inspection; and King Richard had brought it from Messina, which city he had taken. Such stones and flinty pieces of rock, of the smoothest kind, nothing could withstand; but they either shattered in pieces the object they struck, or ground it to powder. The king was confined to his bed by a severe attack of fever, which discouraged him; for he saw the Turks constantly challenging our men, and pressing on them importunately, and he was prevented by sickness from meeting them, and he was more tormented by the importunate attack of the Turks than by the severity of the fever that scorched him.

Chapter VIII. — *How the Turks burnt with Greek fire all the machines and the cat and cercleia belonging to the king of France, when assaulting the city.*

## *Itinerary*

The city of Acre, from its strong position, and its being defended by the choicest men of the Turks, appeared difficult to be taken by assault. The French had hitherto spent their labour in vain in constructing machines and engines for breaking down the walls, with the greatest care; for whatever they erected, at a great expense, the Turks destroyed with Greek fire or some devouring conflagration. Amongst other machines and engines which the king of France had erected for breaking down the walls, he had prepared one, with great labour, to be used for scaling it, which they called "a cat;" because like a cat it crept up and adhered to the wall. He had also another, made of strong hurdle twigs, put together most compactly, which they used to call a "cercleia," and under its covering of hides the king of France used to sit, and employ himself in throwing darts from a sling; he would thus watch the approach of the Turks, above on the walls, by the battlements, and then bit them unawares. But it happened one day that the French were eagerly pressing forward to apply their cat to the walls, when, behold! the Turks let down upon it a heap of the driest wood, and threw upon it a quantity of Greek fire, as well as upon the hurdle they had constructed with such toil, and then aimed a petraria in that direction, and all having forthwith caught fire, they broke them in pieces by the blows from their petraria. Upon this, the king of France was enraged beyond measure, and began to curse all those who were under his command; and rated them shamefully for not exacting condign vengeance of the Saracens, who had done them such injuries. In the heat of his passion, and when the day was drawing in, he published an edict, by voice of herald, that an assault should be made upon the city on the morrow.

*Chapter IX. — How, while the French army were undermining the city wall, the Christians within the trenches vigorously repelled the Turks, who had fiercely attacked them from without.*

In the morning, therefore, all armed themselves, and some of the bravest soldiers chosen from the whole army were posted at the trenches towards the exterior, against the repeated annoyances and sudden attacks of the Saracens; for Saladin had vaunted that on that day he would cross

## *Itinerary*

the trenches in force, and prove his valour in humbling to the dust the army of the Christians. But he kept not his word, and came not; though his army, under the command of Kahadin, his vizier, came in a body to the trenches and attempted to cross them; but the French were not slow to resist, and endeavoured to drive them off. The slaughter on both sides was great; and the Turks dismounting, advanced on foot with greater ease, and having joined battle, fought most obstinately with swords, hand to hand, and with poignards and two-edged axes, and some of them used clubs bristling with very sharp teeth. Their strokes on the one hand, and cries on the other, were terrific, and many were slain on both sides. The Turks pressed on, and the Christians drove them back; the one the most obstinate, the others the most valiant of men; but they effected this with so much the more difficulty, as the numbers of the Turks who pushed on was the greater, and both melted with twofold heat, as it was now summer. Those who directed their attacks against the city tried by every means in their power to batter down or undermine the walls, or else to surmount them with scaling-ladders. The Turks who were shut up in the city, dreading the spirit of our men, hoisted a signal to the Turks of Saladin's army without, and intimated to them, either to make an attack, for the purpose of removing the French from the walls, or to give them instant succour. The Turks from without pressed on obstinately, when Kahadin learnt this, and driving our men back with all their might, violently filled the ditch; but the Christians, notwithstanding, resisted, and opposed their attacks, so that by God's aid our men stood as an impenetrable wall, and the enemy was repulsed. Meanwhile, the men employed by the king of France to undermine the wall, advanced so far as to remove the foundations, and they filled the space thus dug out with logs of wood, and set them on fire; these ignited the piles of wood forming the foundations of the wall, which sunk down gradually, with a slight inclination, and without falling altogether. A large number of Christians hastened to that part, in order to enter and drive back the Turkish army. O! how many banners might then be seen there, and piles of wood, of different shapes, and on the other hand the Turks throwing Greek fire; on the one side were the French applying ladders to the wall, that was but partially thrown down, and trying to cross

## *Itinerary*

over; whilst the Turks were also mounting with ladders on the other side to defend the breach which had been made in it.

Chapter X. — *How Alberic Clements was slain by the Turks whilst scaling the walls.*

There happened a wonderful event, not to be passed over in silence. There was a man of renown for his tried valour and excellence, named Alberic Clements, who, when he saw the French toiling to very little purpose, exerted his strength in the vehemence of his ardour, exclaiming, "This day I will perish, or, if it please God, I will enter into the city of Acre." With these words, he boldly mounted the ladder; and as he reached the top of the wall, the Turks fell on him from all sides and killed him. The French were on the point of following him, but were overwhelmed by the pressure of numbers which the ladder could not hold; and some were bruised to death, and others dragged out much injured. The Turks shouted with the greatest joy and applause when they saw the accident, for it was a very severe misfortune. They surrounded and overcame Alberic Clements, who was left alone on the top of the wall, and pierced him with innumerable wounds. He thus verified what he had before said, that he would die a martyr if he was unable to render his friends assistance by entering Acre. The French were much discouraged by his loss, and ceasing the assault, gave themselves up to lamentation and mourning on account of his death, for he was a man of rank and influence and great valour.

Chapter XI. — *How the French from without undermine the tower Maledictum, while the Turks from within carry on a countermine.*

Not long after, the French miners, by their perseverance, undermined the tower Maledictum, and supported it by placing beams of wood underneath. The Turks also, digging in the same direction, had reached the same part of the foundations; on which they entered into a mutual treaty of peace, that the Turks should depart uninjured; and some of the Christians whom they held captive, were by agreement, in like manner, set at liberty.

## *Itinerary*

On discovering this, the Turks were very much chagrined, and stopped up the passages by which they had gone out.

Chapter XII. — *How King Richard, though still sick, assaulted the city with his men, slew many by a sling with his own hand, and threw down one of the towers by means of his miners and petrariæ.*

King Richard was not yet fully recovered from his sickness; nevertheless, anxious for action, and strenuously intent upon taking the city, he made arrangements that his men should assault the city, in the hope that under Divine Providence he should succeed. For this purpose, he caused to be made a hurdle, commonly called a circleia, put together firmly with a complication of interweaving, and made with the most subtle workmanship. This the king intended to be used for crossing over the trench outside the city. Under it he placed his most experienced arbalesters, and he caused himself to be carried thither on a silken bed, to honour the Saracens with his presence, and animate his men to fight; and from it, by using his arbalest, in which he was skilled, he slew many with darts and arrows. His sappers also carried a mine under the tower, at which a petraria was directed; and having made a breach, they filled it with logs of wood, and set them on fire; when, by the addition of frequent blows from the petraria, the tower fell suddenly to the ground with a crash.

Chapter XIII. — *How the Turks vigorously repelled King Richard's men who were assaulting the city, and how King Richard slew with his arbalest one who had on the armour of Alberic Clements.*

Perceiving, therefore, how difficult success was, that he had a most warlike enemy to contend with, and that there was need of all his strength for the attack, the king thought it best to make the minds of his younger soldiers by rewards, rather than to urge them by severe orders; for whom will not the love of gain draw on? He therefore ordered the herald to proclaim a reward of two *aurei*, afterwards three, and then four, to whoever should overthrow a petraria from the walls; and for each stone displaced from the wall, be promised a reward of four *aurei*. Then you might see the

## *Itinerary*

young men bound forward, and soldiers of great valour press on emulously to draw stones from the wall, as eager for glory as for gain, and persisting in their efforts amidst the darts of the enemy. Very many of them failed in their undertaking, while others were driven back by fear of death; for the Turks from above vigorously repelled them, and neither shields nor arms availed to protect them. The height of the wall was very great, as well as its thickness; but the men of valour, overcoming all difficulties, extracted very many stones from the solid wall; and when the Turks rushed upon them in a body, and tried to cast them down, they strove to repel them, but, having forgot their arms, they exposed themselves to the darts, in an almost unarmed condition. One of the Turks, vaunting in the armour of the aforesaid Alberic Clements, which he had put on, was shewing himself, to the annoyance of our men, on the highest part of the wall, in a boastful manner; but King Richard inflicted on him a deadly wound, piercing him through the heart with a cast of his arbalest, the Turks, grieving at his fall ran together in crowds to avenge his death, and to assuage the bitterness of their grief by the fierceness of their onslaught, They boldly exposed themselves, as if they feared not that the darts and missiles would strike them, and repelled and pressed on our men like madmen, — never were there braver warriors of any creed on earth; and the memory of their actions excites at once our respect and astonishment. In the hottest of the combat, however close the armour fitted, or whether the coat of mail was twofold, it availed little to resist the darts from their arbalests. Nevertheless, the Turks kept mining from within, so that our men were obliged to retreat; and the enemy raised a loud shout, as if they had gained their purpose.

*Chapter XIV. — How our esquires and the Pisans boldly scaled the tower, which had been shaken, for the purpose of entering the city; and how the Turks repelled them with spirit, both with arms and Greek fire.*

At last the aforesaid tower was thrown down by the constant blows of our petrariæ and the pulling away of stones; and when King Richard's men had ceased from undermining, and the assaults were discontinued,

## *Itinerary*

our esquires eager for praise and victory, and fitted and equipped for war, armed themselves. Among them were the retainers of the earl of Leicester, and those of Andrew de Cavegin and Hugo Brun; there also came, most nobly arrayed. the bishop of Salisbury, and very many others. It was about tierce, *i.e.* the hour of dinner, when the men of valour and the most excellent esquires, prepared to attack the aforesaid tower, and forthwith boldly mounted it. The sentinels of the Turks on seeing them began to shout, and the whole city, being roused, took up arms with all haste, and ran to oppose them; and the Turks pressed in dense numbers upon the squires, who were nimbly making their way. While our men tried to enter the city, and the Turks to drive them back, they met in a body and fought hand to hand on both sides, right hand met right hand, and swords flashed against swords; some seized hold of each other, others struck each other, — some were driven back, and others fell. Our men were few in numbers; the multitude of the Turks increased constantly, and by throwing Greek fire, they forced our men, who could not withstand it, to retire and descend from the tower; some of them were killed by the enemy and afterwards burnt to ashes by this destructive conflagration. Then the Pisans, either thirsting for praise or revenge, mounted the tower in full force; but the Turks again attacked them like madmen, and although the Pisans made a bold resistance, they were compelled to retire and abandon the tower. For there never was seen any thing like that race of Turks for efficiency in war. The capture of the city would, however, have been accomplished on that day, had the battle been fought with the whole combined army, and on a prudent plan; but the greater part of the army was at dinner at the time, and the attempt was a presumptuous one, and therefore did not succeed.

Chapter XV. — *A commendation of the Turks in the city, who sent Mestoc and Caracois in despair to our kings, in order to obtain a respite until they should consult Saladin, but they returned fruitlessly.*

What can we say of this race of unbelievers who thus defended their city? They must be admired for their valour in war, and were the honour of their whole nation; and had they been of the right faith, they would not have had their superiors as men throughout the world. Yet they dreaded

## *Itinerary*

our men, not without reason, for they saw the choicest soldiers from the ranks of all Christendom come to destroy them; their walls in part broken down, in part shattered, the greater portion of their army mutilated, some killed, and others weakened by their wounds. There were still remaining in the city 6,000 Turks, with Mestoc and Caracois, their chiefs, but they despaired of succour. They perceived that the Christian army was very much dejected at the death of Alberic Clements, and their sons and kinsmen, who had fallen in battle, and that they were determined either to die bravely or gain the mastery over the Turks, and that they thought a middle course dishonourable. Under these circumstances, by common counsel and assent, the besieged begged a truce in order to inform Saladin of their condition, and to ascertain how far he would afford them security according to the manner of barbarous nations, by either sending them speedy help, or giving them leave to depart from the city with honour. To obtain this object, two of the most noble of the Saracens and of Paganism, Mestoc and Caracois, came to our kings with the promise that if Saladin did not send them speedy assistance, they would give up the city, on the condition that all the besieged Turks should be permitted to depart in freedom, with their arms and property, and go whithersoever they liked. And on the king of France and nearly all the French giving their assent to this condition at the conference, King Richard absolutely refused his, and said, it was not to be consented to, that after so long and laborious a siege, they should enter a deserted city only. On his pleasure being known, Caracois and Mestoc returned to the city without effecting their object. And Saladin, when he learnt that ambassadors had been sent by the besieged, commanded them to persevere and defend their city with as much courage as that which they had hitherto shewn, promising that most ample assistance should soon come to them without a doubt; for he declared to the ambassadors who waited upon him, that he would certainly persevere, and as he was expecting a large body of soldiers from Babylon, they would soon come in ships and galleys; for he had given orders to Muleina to be with him, without fail, in eight days; and if they did not come according to agreement, he promised, with an oath, to procure for them as honourable a peace as he could from the Christians, and the liberty to depart. On hearing

## *Itinerary*

these things, the ambassadors returned to the city, and, repeating the promises of Saladin, persuaded the townsmen to resist, while they looked forward with anxiety for the promised assistance.

Chapter XVI. — *How, while our men were courageously assaulting the city, some of the Turks in despair escaped out of it.*

Meanwhile, the petrarixæ of the Christians never ceased, day and night, to shake the walls; and when the Turks saw this, they were smitten with wonder, astonishment, terror, and confusion; and many, yielding to their fears, threw themselves down from the walls by night, and without waiting for the promised aid, very many sought, with supplications, the sacrament of baptism and Christianity. There was little doubt, and with good reason as to their merits, that they presumptuously asked the boon more from the pressure of urgent fear than from any divine inspiration; but there are different steps by which men arrive at salvation. It was now well known to Saladin, by means of messengers, who passed backwards and forwards, that to persevere any longer in defending the city, was dangerous, as it could not be kept from the Christians.

Chapter XVII. — *How the besieged entered into treaty with the Christians by the advice of Saladin.*

Saladin, perceiving the danger of delay, at length determined to yield to the entreaties of the besieged: he was, moreover, persuaded by his admirals, and satraps, and his influential courtiers, who had many friends and kinsmen amongst the besieged. The latter alleged also, that he was bound to them by his promise made on the Mahometan law, that he would procure for them an honourable capitulation at the last moment, lest, perchance, made prisoners at discretion, they should be exterminated or put to an ignominious death, and thus the law of Mahomet, which had been strictly observed by their ancestors, be effaced by its dependence on him; and nevertheless, very much would be derogated from his name and excellence if the worshippers of Mahomet should fall into the hands of the

## *Itinerary*

Christians. They also begged to remind Saladin of the fact, that they, a chosen race of Turks, in obedience to his commands, had been cooped up in the city, and withstood a siege for so long a time; they reminded him too that they had not seen their wives and children for three years, during which period the siege had lasted; and they said, it would be better to surrender the city, than that people of such merit should be destroyed. The princes persuading the sultan to this effect, that their latter condition might not be worse than their former one; he assented to their making peace on the best terms they could, and they drew up a statement of what appeared to them the most proper terms of treaty. On the messengers bringing back the resolution of Saladin and his satraps, the besieged were filled with great joy; and forthwith, the principal men of the city went to the kings, and through their interpreters, offered to surrender unconditionally the city of Acre, the Cross, and two hundred and fifty noble Christian captives; and when they perceived this did not satisfy them, they offered two thousand noble Christian captives, and five hundred of inferior rank, whom Saladin would bring together from all parts of his kingdom, if they would let the Turks depart from their city, with their shirts only, leaving behind them their arms and property; and, as a ransom for themselves, they would give two hundred thousand Saracenic talents. As security for the performance of these conditions, they offered to deliver up, as hostages, all the men of noble or high rank in the city. After the two kings had considered with the wisest of the chiefs, the opinion of all was for accepting the offer, and consenting to the conditions; that on taking the oath for security, and subscribing the terms of peace, they might quit the city, without carrying any thing with them, having first given up the hostages.

*Chapter XVIII. — How, on giving hostages for the delivery of the Cross, money, and captives within a month, the Turks marched out of the city and the Christians entered it; and how the two kings divided every thing equally between them.*

Thus, on the Friday after the Translation of St. Benedict, the principal and noblest of the admirals were given and received as hostages, and the space of one month fixed for the delivery of the Cross, and the collecting

## *Itinerary*

together of the captives. And when it was rumoured abroad that the city was to be given up, the common people, in their folly, were inflamed with fury, but the wiser portion rejoiced at gaining so profitably, and without danger, what they had been so long a time unable to obtain. Then was it proclaimed and prohibited, by voice of herald, that any one should molest the Turks by word or deed, or provoke them by abuse, or that missiles should any longer be cast for the destruction of the walls or of the Turks who might be seen on the battlements. And when the day came that the Turks, so renowned for their courage and valour, most active in the exercise of war, and famous for their magnificence, appeared on the walls ready to leave the city, the Christians went forth to look at them, and were struck with admiration when they remembered the deeds they had done. They were also astonished at the cheerful countenances of those who were thus driven almost penniless from their city, — their demeanour unchanged by adversity; and those who but now had been compelled by extreme necessity to own themselves conquered, and betake themselves to supplication, bore no marks of care, as they came forth, nor any signs of dejection at the loss of all they possessed — not even in the firmness of their countenances, for they seemed to be conquerors by their courageous bearing; but the form of superstitious idolatry, and the miserable error of sinfulness, throw a stain upon their warlike glories. At last, when all the Turks had departed, the Christians, with the two kings at their head, entered the city without opposition, through the open gates, with dances, and joy, and loud vociferations, glorifying God, and giving Him thanks, because He had magnified His mercy to them, and had visited them, and redeemed His people. Then the banners, and various standards of the two kings, were raised on the walls and towers, and the city was equally divided between them. They also made a proportionate division of the arms and provisions they found; and the whole number of captives, being reckoned, was divided by lot. The noble Caracois, and a large number, fell to the lot of the king of France; and King Richard had for his portion Mestoc and the remainder. Moreover, the king of France had for his share the noble palace of the Templars, with all its appurtenances; and King Richard had the royal palace, to which he sent the queens, with their

## *Itinerary*

damsels and handmaids; thus each obtained his portion in peace. The army was distributed through the city, and after the protracted contest of so long a siege, gave themselves indulgence, and refreshed themselves with the rest they needed. The night following our entrance, Saladin, through fear of us, retired from the place in which he was posted, and occupied a most distant mountain.

Chapter XIX. — *How vilely and shamefully the Turks, when in possession of the city, had treated our sacred things.*

From the day on which the Saracens first got possession of the city of Acre, to that on which it was restored, was a space of four years. It was restored, as has been said, on the morrow of St. Benedict. The state of the churches within the city was not beheld without horror, and it is not without grief that we relate the unseemly things that had been perpetrated within them. For who could behold, without tears, the countenances of the holy images of the crucifixion of the Son of God, and of many saints, defiled or disfigured in one way or another? Who would not shudder at the horrible sight of altars overthrown, and crucifixes cast to the earth, and beaten in contempt by that insulting and impious nation, the Turks, and their own Mahometan rites exhibited in holy places — all the relics of man's redemption and the Christian religion effaced, and the corruption of the Mahometan superstition introduced?

Chapter XX. — *Of the quarrel between the two kings on account of the Marquis and King Guy, and of their reconciliation.*

After this a great discord arose between the two kings, on account of the aforesaid marquis whom the king of France favoured, and to whom he had determined to give his share of all that fell to his lot, present or future, in the Holy Land. But King Richard, who compassionated the distress of King Guy, would not consent to this grant, for he thought that all and every thing belonged to Guy. On this point the kings were at variance for some time; until, by the mediation of the chiefs and leaders of the people,

## *Itinerary*

they were reconciled, on the condition that, as the marquis was heir by marriage to the throne, he should have the government of Tyre, *i.e.* Tyre, Sidon, and Baruth, with the title of count, as a recompense for the assistance he had given during the siege, and that Godfrey of Lusignan should be count of Joppa, *i.e.* Joppa and Askalon, as a recompense for his services, being brother to King Guy. And if King Guy died first, the marquis should receive his crown, although he had married in so unlawful a manner the heiress to the throne, as we have before said; but that if the marquis and his wife should happen to die while King Richard was in those parts, it should be left to him to dispose of the kingdom at his pleasure. On these conditions, the disputants were one and all pacified.

Chapter XXI. — *How, after the city was restored, the king of France amidst the wonder, disapproval, and execrations of all, prepared to return home.*

Affairs being in this position, at the end of the month of July, within which the Turks had promised to restore the holy cross, and receive back their hostages, a rumour spread amongst the army, that the king of France, on whom the hope of the people rested, intended to return home, and was making active preparations for his journey. Oh how wicked and how insulting a proceeding, while as yet so much work remained on hand, to wish to go away, when his duty was to rule so large a multitude of people, and when his presence was so necessary to encourage the Christians to so pious a work, and to provide for the progress of so arduous an undertaking! O why did he come so long a way, with so much toil, if he intended to return almost immediately! O wonderful performance of his vow, by merely entering the Holy Land, and contending against the Turks with such small triumph! But why need we say more? The king of France alleged sickness as the cause of his return; and said that he had performed his vow as far as he was able; most of all, because he was well and sound when he took up the cross with King Henry between Trie and Gisors. But in making this assertion, he produced no one by whose evidence it could be confirmed. It must not be denied, at the same time, that the king of France expended much labour and money in the Holy Land for the

## *Itinerary*

assaulting of the city, and that he afforded aid and assistance to very many, and that by the influence of his presence, he procured the more speedy execution and consummation of so great a work in the capture of the city, as the most powerful of Christian kings. and of the highest dignity, should have done: whence, by how much the greater in valour and surpassing in excellence, by so much the more he was held bound to recover a land so cast down and destitute of aid, against which the heathen had come to pollute it; for, according to St. Gregory, when gifts are increased, the reasons for them increase also, and to whom much is given, of the same much will be required. But when the inflexible determination of the king of France to return became known to all, and his refusal to yield to the murmurs of his men, or their supplications to remain, the French would have renounced their subjection to him, if it could have been done, and would have loathed his dominion; and they imprecated on him every kind of adversity and misfortune that could fall to the lot of man in this life. But for all that, the king of France hastened his voyage as much as possible, and left in his stead the duke of Burgundy, with a large number of men. Moreover, he begged King Richard to supply him with two galleys, and the king readily gave him two of his best: how ungrateful he was for this service, was afterwards seen.

Chapter XXII. — *How the king of France swore to King Richard that he would observe peace towards his subjects and his territories until the latter returned home.*

King Richard was of opinion that the king of France should enter into a covenant for the preservation of their mutual security; for they, like their fathers, regarded each other with mistrust, under the veil of friendship, which even in the following generation never expelled fear. King Richard was therefore anxious with this uneasy feeling, and required an oath from the king of France to keep his faith not to do injury to his men or territory knowingly or purposely, while he, King Richard, remained in a foreign land; but if on any occasion any thing that should appear reprehensible went unpunished, King Richard on his return should have forty days'

## *Itinerary*

notice before the king of France should proceed to obtain redress. The king of France took the oath which was required faithfully to observe all these conditions, and gave the duke of Burgundy and Count Henry as hostages, and five or more others, whose names are lost. How faithfully he stood to his covenant and oath is very well known to all the world; for he had no sooner reached his own country, than he set it in commotion and threw Normandy into confusion. What need we say more? The king of France, having taken leave, retired from his army at Acre, and instead of blessings, he received wishes of misfortune and execrations from all.

Chapter XXIII. — *How, on the king of France retiring with his hostages and the Marquis to Tyre, the duke of Burgundy and many others of the French remained with King Richard.*

On St. Peter's day the king of France embarked and sailed for Tyre, but he left the greater part of his army with King Richard; and with him he took that infamous marquis and Caracois and the other hostages that had fallen to his lot; and he reckoned that he would receive for their ransom a hundred thousand *aurei* or more, which would support his army till Easter. But on the term expiring for ransoming the hostages, the Turks paid no attention to it, and most of them perished: for it was very evident that they would not give an egg or a farthing to release them: and by their means nothing at all was gained, nor any portion of provisions found in the city; which caused the French to remember the more frequently that they received no other remuneration from the king of France. On this account there arose frequent wrangling and murmuring amongst them, until King Richard, at the request of the duke of Burgundy, lent him, over and above his hostages, five thousand marks of silver to support his men.

## *Itinerary*

### Book IV.

Chapter I. — *How King Richard bestows gifts on his soldiers, and repairs the walls of Acre.*

King Richard, therefore, perceiving that the consummation of the business and the progress of affairs, together with the labour and expense, devolved upon him chiefly, made most ample largesses of gold and silver to the French and to all the others of every nation, by means of which they might abundantly recruit themselves and redeem what they had put in pledge. On the king of France returning home with haste as aforesaid, King Richard turned his attention to the repair of the walls to a greater height and perfection than before they were thrown down; and he himself walked about, exhorting the workmen and masons, as if his whole intention was to strive for the recovery of God's inheritance.

Chapter II. — *How Saladin stood not to his covenant for restoring our Lord's cross, and paying the money; and neglected his men, who were hostages.*

He therefore awaited the term which had been agreed upon between the Turks and himself as aforesaid, and turned his attention to the packing up of the petriariae and mangonels for transportation. For when the time had expired which had been fixed by the Turks for the restoration of the cross and the ransom of the hostages, after waiting three weeks, according to the conditions, to see if Saladin would stand to his word and covenant, the king looked upon him as a transgressor, as Saladin appeared to have no care about it; and perhaps this was by the dispensation of God, that something more advantageous might be obtained. But the Saracens asked further time to fulfil their promise and make search for the cross. Then you might hear the Christians inquiring for news, and when the cross was coming? but God was unwilling that it should be restored for those by whom it was promised, but preferred rather that they should perish. One would exclaim, "The cross is coming!" another, that he had seen it in the Saracen army; but each speaker was deceived, for Saladin had not taken

## *Itinerary*

any steps to restore the cross; nay, he neglected the hostages who were bound for it, for he hoped, by means of it, to obtain much more advantageous terms. Meanwhile, he sent constant presents and messengers to King Richard to gain delay by artful and deceptive words, though he fulfilled none of his promises, but tried to keep the king's mind in suspense by crafty and ambiguous messages.

Chapter III. — *How the king of England sent twice to Tyre, before he could obtain the hostages of Saladin from the Marquis, and how he himself refused to return.*

In the meantime messages were sent to Tyre to command the marquis to return to the army, and bring with him the hostages which had been committed to his charge, in order to get the ransom for them, — viz., the share of the payment which belonged to the king of France. With the message were sent the bishop of Salisbury, Earl Robert, and Peter de Pratellis, a very eminent soldier. To these three messengers the marquis answered indignantly, that he dared not venture into King Richard's presence: moreover, he boasted that if the true cross was ever recovered, he was to receive the half of it for the king of France; and that until this was accomplished he would not resign the hostages. On ascertaining the obstinate determination of the marquis, the messengers tried to prevail upon him with soft speeches, offering to leave one of themselves as an hostage to secure his safe journey to and from King Richard; but they did not succeed in persuading him, — nay, he refused with an oath to come. They therefore returned unsuccessful and empty handed, and excited the king's anger by telling him the whole matter. At his request the duke of Burgundy, Drogo d'Amiens, and Robert de Quincey, were sent on a second embassy to request the said marquis to come with them to the army, as his presence seemed necessary to the progress of the business, especially as he aspired to the kingdom, the acquisition of which he was preventing; and that he should grant those who were bringing provisions a free passage from Tyre, for (according to his former conduct) he had hitherto hindered them; and on their arrival at Tyre, they set forth their zeal in behalf of King Richard, and urged him to come to their aid in Syria, the dominion of

## *Itinerary*

which he aspired to obtain. But he replied arrogantly, protesting that he would not come, but would maintain the government of his own city. When they answered each of his assertions, by contrary arguments, the matter was with difficulty brought to this point, that the messengers should take back with them the Saracen hostages to King Richard; but they could, by no method or persuasion, prevail on the marquis to turn from his obstinate and wicked intentions.

### Chapter IV. — *How the hostages of Saladin were slain by our men.*

When it became clearly evident to King Richard that a longer period had elapsed than had been fixed, and that Saladin was obdurate, and would not give himself trouble to ransom the hostages, he called together a council of the chiefs of the people, by whom it was resolved that the hostages should all be hanged, except a few nobles of the higher class, who might ransom themselves, or be exchanged for some Christian captives. King Richard, aspiring to destroy the Turks root and branch, and to punish their wanton arrogance, as well as to abolish the law of Mahomet, and to vindicate the Christian religion, on the Friday after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, ordered 2,700 of the Turkish hostages to be led forth from the city, and hanged; his soldiers marched forward with delight to fulfil his commands, and to retaliate, with the assent of the Divine Grace, by taking revenge upon those who had destroyed so many of the Christians with missiles from bows and arbalests.

### Chapter V. — *How King Richard ordered his army to move by land and by sea towards Askalon.*

When evening approached, it was proclaimed by mouth of herald, that the army should march on the morrow, and cross the river of Acre in the name of the Lord, — the dispenser of all good things — in order that they should proceed to Askalon and conquer the maritime districts. It was also ordered that the ships should take on board, for the army, ten days' provisions, — viz., biscuits, meal, meat, and wine, and whatever else

## *Itinerary*

appeared necessary. The sailors were strictly enjoined to keep sailing along shore, with the barges and smacks, which carried the provisions as well as armed men; and thus the forces advanced in two divisions, one by sea the other by land; for otherwise it was not possible to keep possession of the country so completely occupied by the Turks.

Chapter VI. — *How many of our chiefs had died in a year and a half at the siege of Acre.*

It must be known, that during the two winters and one summer, and up to the middle of the autumn, when the Turks were hanged, as they deserved to be in the sight of God and man, in return for the destruction of our churches and slaughter of our men, many of the Christians who were engaged in the siege of Acre at a great sacrifice had died. The multitude of those who perished in so great an army appears to exceed computation; but the sum total of the chiefs, as a certain writer has estimated it, omitting the others which he says he has no means of reckoning, is as follows: — We lost in the army six archbishops and patriarchs, twelve bishops, forty counts, and five hundred men of noble rank; also a vast number of priests, clergy, and others, which cannot be accurately counted.

Chapter VII. — *How King Richard compelled the French to quit Acre and how he fixed his own tent outside the city.*

After the Turks were hanged, King Richard, having recovered his health, went out from the city with all his retinue, and ordered his tents to be pitched in the plain outside, and compelled all his soldiers, who were not willing, to quit the city; thus the army took up their quarters on the aforesaid plain, to be ready for setting out on its March; of the French some be allured by soft words, others by entreaties, and many by money, to leave the place, and some be forced out violently. King Richard thereupon appointed a large number of guards to lodge about his pavilion in their tents and awnings, for his protection, as the Turks were making constant irruptions, and all day coming up and rushing out on them unawares, and

## *Itinerary*

it was the king's custom to be the first to go forth to attack and punish them, as far as the divine favour would allow him.

Chapter VIII. — *How the count of Hungary and the king's marshal, having put the Turks to flight who had attacked our men, were captured by them.*

It happened one day that our camp was put into commotion by the Turks, who were attacking our men, as was their custom, and making a disturbance. Our men immediately ran to arms, the king and his cavalry went forth, and also the count of Hungary, and very many Hungarians with him, who, having put the Turks to flight, pursued them further than they ought to have done: for some of our men, although they behaved themselves most nobly, were taken captive on the spot and disgracefully treated. The count of Hungary, a man of tried valour and renown, was taken prisoner by the Turks and carried off, as well as a man of Poitou, named Hugh, King Richard's marshal. The king fought recklessly, careless of his own person, and strove with all his might to rescue Hugh, his marshal; but he was hurried away too rapidly and carried off. Oh how uncertain is the fate of war! Those who were but now victors are often vanquished, and the vanquished becomes as suddenly victor; it was fated for those who had put the enemy to flight to perish themselves, for the pursuers were now captured by the pursued, and that which was ascribed to their glory now proved their folly, and the deed of valour became the cause of danger. In short, the Turks were not loaded with armour like our men; but from their light movements distressed us so much the more severely, for they were for the most part unarmed, carrying only a bow, or a mace, bristling with sharp teeth, a scimitar, a light spear with an iron head, and a dagger suspended lightly; and when put to flight with greater force, they fled away on horseback with the utmost rapidity, for they have not their equals for agility throughout the world; for it is their custom to turn if they see their pursuers stop; — like the fly, which, if you drive it away, will go, but when you cease, it will return; as long as you pursue, it will fly, but it reappears the moment you desist; so likewise the Turks, when you desist from the pursuit they will pursue you; if you attack them,

## *Itinerary*

they will fly away: so when the king put them to flight, they fled without stopping; when he was disposed to return, they threatened from the rear, sometimes not with impunity, and sometimes to the injury of our men.

Chapter IX. — *How our army, being abandoned to pleasures, could scarcely be forced to quit the city and cross the river of Acre, while the Turks infested them on all sides.*

King Richard was resting in his tents, waiting for the army to come out of the city, but they came out slowly and peevishly, as if they did it against their will; and the numbers of the army did not increase, but the city was crowded with an immense multitude. The whole army, including those who were yet in the city, was computed at 300,000 men. The people were too much given up to sloth and luxury, for the city was filled with pleasures, viz. — the choicest wines and fairest damsels, and the men became dissolute by indulging in them; so that the city was defiled by the luxury of the sons of folly and the gluttony of its inhabitants, who made wiser faces blush at their shamelessness; and, in order to blot out this contamination, it was ordained by the council that no woman should quit the city or go with the army, except the washerwomen, on foot, who would not be a burthen to them, nor an occasion for sin. Therefore, on the morning of the aforementioned day, the soldiers armed themselves, and were arranged in becoming order. The king was in the rear of the army to check the Turks, who threatened annoyance; but the duty was a slight one. From the time that impious race saw our army in motion, they poured down from the mountains in scattered bands, like rushing waters, and dispersed themselves in numbers of twenty or thirty, to find out the best opportunity of harassing us. For they were exceedingly grieved at the deaths of their parents and kinsmen, whose slaughtered bodies they saw strewn about as aforesaid: and they therefore pressed upon our army continuously, and harassed it as much as they could. But, with the assistance of the Divine Grace, the Turks succeeded not as they wished; for our army passed over the river of Acre unhurt, and again pitched their tents on the other side the stream until on Friday, being the vigil of St.

## *Itinerary*

Bartholomew, they were all assembled together; and on the following Monday, two years had elapsed since the Christians first laid siege to Acre.

Chapter X. — *How our army, departing from the city in battle array, boldly repulsed the Turks, who attacked them in force: the standard is here described.*

On the morrow, therefore, of St. Bartholomew, being Sunday, the army was drawn up, early in the morning, to advance along the sea-coast, in the name of the Lord. Oh! what fine soldiers they were! You might there see a chosen company of virtuous and brave youth, whose equals it would have been difficult to meet with, bright armour and pennons, with their glittering emblazonry; banners of various forms; lances, with gleaming points; shining helmets, and coats of mail: an army well regulated in the camp, and terrible to the foe! King Richard commanded the van, and kept the foremost guard. The Normans defended the standard, which we do not consider it irrelevant here to describe. It was formed of a long beam, like the mast of a ship; made of most solid ceiled work, on four wheels; put together with joints, bound with iron, and to all appearance no sword or axe could cut, or fire injure it. A chosen body of soldiers were generally appointed to guard it, especially in a combat on the plains, lest, by any hostile attack, it should be broken or thrown down; for if it fell by any accident, the army would be dispersed and put into confusion. For they are dismayed when it does not appear, and think that their general must be overcome by faint-heartedness when they do not see his standard flying; for no people have strength to resist the enemy if their chief is in alarm from the fall of his standard; but whilst it remains erect they have a certain refuge. Near it the weak are strengthened; the wounded soldiers, even those of rank and celebrity, who fall in the battle, are carried to it, and it is called "Standard," from its standing a most compact signal to the army. It is very properly drawn on wheels, for it is advanced when the enemy yields, and drawn back if they press on, according to the state of the battle. It was surrounded by the Normans and English.

The duke of Burgundy and the French brought up the rear, and by their tardy movements and long delay incurred severe loss. The army

## *Itinerary*

marched along the sea-shore, which was on its right, and the Turks watched its movements from the heights on the left. On a sudden the clouds grew dark, and the sky was troubled, when the army arrived at some narrow roads impassable for the provision-waggons; here, owing to the narrowness of the way, the order of march was thrown into confusion, and they advanced in extended line, and without discipline. The Saracens, observing this, poured down suddenly on the pack-horses and loaded waggons, slew both horses and men in a moment, and plundered a great deal of the baggage, boldly charging and dispersing those who opposed them as far as the sea-shore. Then there took place a fierce and obstinate conflict: each fought for his life. Here a Turk cut off the right hand of Everard, one of the bishop of Salisbury's men, as he held his sword; the man, without changing countenance in the least, with his left hand boldly took the sword, and closing with the Turks, who were pressing on him, defended himself courageously from them all. By this time the rear was put into great confusion, and John Fitz-Luke, alarmed at this mishap, put spurs to his horse, and went to tell King Richard, who was ignorant of what had taken place. On hearing it, he rode at full gallop to their assistance, cutting down the Turks, right and left, like lightning, with his sword. And quickly, as of yore the Philistines fled from Maccabeus, so were the Turks now routed, and so did they fly from the face of King Richard, and make for the mountains; but some of them remained amongst us, having lost their heads. In that conflict one of the French, William de Bartis, who had been at variance with King Richard from some old grudge, by his extraordinary good conduct was reconciled and restored to the king's former favour. The sultan was not far off with the whole strength of his army, but owing to the aforesaid repulse, the Turks, despairing of success, refrained from attacking our men any more, but watched them from the heights. Our troops, being restored to order, proceeded on their march as far as a river which they by chance met with, and cisterns, the excellence of which being ascertained, they pitched their tents, and rested there on a spacious plain, where they had seen that Saladin had fixed his camp before, and they judged that he had a very large army by the extent of the trodden ground. On the first day there our army fared thus, and by God's providence they

## *Itinerary*

were warned to be more cautious, after having experienced how much loss they might escape if properly on their guard another time.

Chapter XI. — *How our army arrived at Cayphas from the river of Acre.*

Saladin and the Turks, always on the watch to do us harm, had seized upon some passes between the rugged mountains, by which our army was to proceed; and they intended to kill, seize, or disperse us as we issued forth in an extended line; but when our army had advanced cautiously from the aforesaid river, and by slow march, as far as Cayphas, they pitched their tents there, and waited for the mass of the army who were following. They posted themselves between the town of Cayphas and the sea, and remained there two days, looking into and arranging their baggage, and they threw away what they thought they could dispense with, only retaining what was absolutely necessary, for the common soldiers marched on foot, and were much distressed by the weight of their baggage and provisions; so that in the aforesaid battle they suffered much from fatigue and thirst.

Chapter XII. — *How our army kept along the maritime parts, where they were wounded by the underwood, and met with wild beasts; and how they left Cayphas by way of Capernaum, and reached the passes.*

On a Wednesday, which was the third day after stopping at Cayphas, the army moved forward in order, the Templars leading the van, and the Hospitallers closing the rear, both of whom by their high bearing gave evidence of great valour. That day the army moved forward with more than wonted caution, and stopped after a long march, impeded by the thickets and the tall and luxuriant herbage, which struck them in the face, especially the foot-soldiers. In these maritime parts there were also numbers of beasts of the forest, who leapt up between their feet from the long grass and thick copses, and many were caught, not by design, but coming in their way by chance. When the king had proceeded as far as Capernaum, which the Saracens had razed to the ground, he dismounted, and took some food, the army, meanwhile, waiting; those who chose took

## *Itinerary*

food, and immediately after proceeded on their march to the house called "of the narrow ways," because the road there becomes narrow; there they halted and pitched their tents. It was the custom of the army each night before lying down to rest, to depute some one to stand in the middle of the camp, and cry out with a loud voice, "Help! help! for the holy sepulchre!" The rest of the army took it up, and repeated the words; and stretching their hands to heaven, amid a profusion of tears, prayed for the mercy and assistance of God in the cause. Then the herald himself repeated the words in a loud voice, "Help! help! for the holy sepulchre!" and every one repeated it after him a second time, and so likewise a third time, with contrition of heart and abundant weeping. For who would not weep at such a moment, when the very mention of its having been done would extract tears from the auditors? The army appeared to be much refreshed by crying out in this fashion.

Chapter XIII. — *How the tarrentes afflicted our people with their venomous stings.*

As each night came round, a sort of reptile attacked us, commonly called *tarrentes*, which creep on the ground, and have most venomous stings. As the day comes on, they are harmless; but on the approach of night, they used their stings most pertinaciously, and those they stung were instantly swelled with the venom, and tortured with pain. The more noble and wealthy of those who were attacked applied theriacal ointment on the stings, and the antidote proved efficacious to remove the pain. At last, the more observant, perceiving that the reptiles were frightened away by loud sounds, raised a great noise at their approach by beating and clashing their helmets and shields together; also by beating against their seats, poles, casks, flagons, basins, platters, caldrons, and whatever household ware they could lay hands on to make a sufficient sound; and by these sounds they drove away the reptiles. The army remained two days at the abovementioned station, where there was plenty of room for their camp, and waited there until the ships arrived which they were expecting; namely, barges and galleys, laden with provisions, of which

## *Itinerary*

they were in need; for these vessels were sailing in connection with the army along the shore, and carried their provisions on board.

Chapter XIV. — *How our men marched from the house of the narrow ways to Merla, and thence to Cæsarea and the Dead River. The Turks attacking them, were defeated.*

The army advanced, using all precaution against the Turks, who kept on their flank, to a town called Merla, where the king had spent one of the previous nights: there he had determined that he would lead the van himself the next day, on account of the obstacles in the way, and because the Templars kept guard in the rear; for the Turks continually threatened them in a body on the flank. On that day the king, putting spurs to his horse, charged them furiously, and would have reaped great glory, had it not been for the backwardness of some, which retarded his success; for, when King Richard pursued the Turks to a distance, some of his men suddenly halted, for which they were rebuked in the evening. If the king's companions had followed up their pursuit of the Turks, they would have gained a splendid victory; for the king drove all before him. The army had a very difficult march along the sea-shore on account of the great heat; for it was summer time, and they marched a long day's journey. Many of them, overcome by the fatigue of the march, dropped down dead, and were buried where they died; but the king, from compassion, caused many to be transported in galleys and ships, when they were overcome by the fatigue of the march or sickness, or any other cause, to their destination. The army, after accomplishing its march with much difficulty, arrived that day at Cæsarea. The Turks had been there before them, and broken down part of the towers and walls, and destroyed the city as much as possible; but on the approach of our army they fled. There the army pitched their tents, and passed the night by the side of a river close to the city, called the river of Crocodiles, because the crocodiles once devoured two soldiers while bathing therein. The circuit of the city of Cæsarea is very great, and the buildings are of wonderful workmanship. Our Saviour with his disciples often visited it, and worked miracles there. It was here the king

## *Itinerary*

had charged his ships to meet the army. Meanwhile the king caused it to be proclaimed by voice of herald in the city of Acre, that those who had remained behind from slothfulness should embark on board the ships which he had sent, and come to the army, for the love of God, and to promote the success of the Christian cause, and to perform their vow of pilgrimage more fully. In obedience to his mandate, many came to Cæsarea with the fleet, which was amply laden with provisions; and he arranged that the ships should advance from that place in attendance on the army. A large number of ships here came together, and when the king had divided the army into squadrons, they set out one day about nine o'clock, at a slow pace, on account of the Turks, who continually harassed them when they left their stations, and, coming up to them as close as they dared, caused them all the molestation and annoyance in their power. They troubled us more than usual on this day, but by the help of God we escaped unhurt, having cut off the head of one of their admirals, a man of the greatest courage, and renowned for his valour: he was said to have such strength that no one could throw him from his horse, or even dare to attack him; and he carried a lance heavier than two of ours, to which he gave the name of *aias estog*. The Turks were overcome with grief and lamentation at his fall, so that they cut off their horses' tails, and, had they been permitted, would have carried off the corpse of their chief. After that the army arrived at a river called the Dead River, which the Saracens had previously covered over, in order that, not being seen, our men might endanger their lives by falling into it; but by the providence of God they were preserved from danger, and, the river having been uncovered, our men drank thereof, and passed the night there.

Chapter XV. — *How on quitting the Dead River, our army, before they arrived at the Salt River, were much harassed by the Turks, who slew many of our men, and horses.*

On the third day the army advanced slowly from the Dead River, through a country of a most desolate character, and destitute of every thing; for they were compelled to march through a mountainous country,

## *Itinerary*

because they were unable to go by the sea-side, which was choked up by the luxuriant growth of the grass; and the army on its march kept itself in closer companies than usual. The Templars on that day had charge of the rear, and they lost so many horses by the attacks of the Turks that they were almost reduced to despair. The count of St. Paul also lost many horses; for he himself opposed the Turks with great valour, when they attacked and made incursions against us; so that by his exertions the rest got off in safety, and thus he earned the thanks and favour of the whole army. On that day the king was wounded in the side by a dart while he was driving the Turks; but this slight hurt only incited him to attack them more vehemently; for the smarting of the wound made him more eager for vengeance, and during the whole of the day he fought against them and drove them back. The Turks, on the other hand, obstinately annoyed our men, and, keeping by the side of our army, did them all the injury they could, by throwing darts and arrows, which flew like hail. Alas! how many horses fell transfixed with darts! how many died afterwards of the wounds which they received! There was such a stream of darts and arrows, that you could not find four feet of ground, where the army passed, free from them. This terrible tempest continued all day, until at night-fall the Turks returned to their tents and dwellings. Our people also stopped near what was called the Salt River, and passed the night there: they arrived there on the Tuesday after the festival of St. Giles, and tarried there two days. Here there was a great throng on account of the horses who died from their wounds; for the people were so eager to purchase the horse-flesh, that they even had recourse to blows. The king, on hearing this, proclaimed by herald that he would give a live horse to whoever would distribute his dead one to the best men in his service who needed it; and thus they ate horse-flesh as if it was venison, and they reckoned it most savoury, for hunger served in the place of seasoning.

Chapter XVI. — *How our army marched from the Salt River, through the forest of Assur, in safety, to the river Rochetailie.*

## *Itinerary*

On the third day, about nine o'clock, our army marched in battle array from the Salt River; for there was a rumour that the Turks were lying in ambush for them in the forest of Assur, and that they intended to set the wood on fire to prevent our troops from crossing it. But our men, advancing in order, passed the place where the ambuscade was said to be, unmolested; and on quitting the wood, they came to a large plain that ran along it, and there they pitched their tents, near the river commonly called Rochetailie. Here they sent spies to reconnoitre, who brought back news that the Turks were awaiting their approach in countless numbers; for their multitudes covered the whole face of the earth around, and were estimated at 300,000 men, while the Christians were only 100,000 strong. The Christian army arrived at the river Rochetailie on the Thursday before the Nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, and tarried there until the morrow.

Chapter XVII. — *How our army, on advancing from the river Rochetailie towards Assur, prepared for battle with the Turks, whom they had vowed to attack on that day with all their might.*

On the Saturday, the eve of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, at earliest dawn, our men armed themselves with great care to receive the Turks, who were known to have preceded their march, and whose insolence nothing but a battle could check. The enemy had ranged themselves in order, drawing gradually nearer and nearer; and our men also took the utmost care to place themselves in as good order as possible. King Richard, who was most experienced in military affairs, arranged the army in squadrons, and directed who should march in front, and who in the rear. He divided the army into twelve companies, and these again into five divisions, marshalled according as the men ranked in military discipline; and none could be found more warlike, if they had only had confidence in God, who is the giver of all good things. On that day, the Templars formed the first rank, and after them came in due order the Bretons and men of Anjou; then followed King Guy, with the men of Poictou; and in the fourth line were the Normans and English, who had the care of the royal standard; and last of all, marched the Hospitallers: this

## *Itinerary*

line was composed of chosen warriors, divided into companies. They kept together so closely, that an apple, if thrown, would not have fallen to the ground, without touching a man or a horse; and the army stretched from the army of the Saracens to the sea-shore. There you might have seen their most appropriate distinctions, standards, and ensigns of various forms, and hardy soldiers, fresh, and full of spirits, and well fitted for war. There was the earl of Leicester, Hugh de Gurnay, William de Borriz, Walkin do Ferrars, Roger de Toony, James d'Avennes, Robert count of Druell, the bishop of Beauvais, and William des Barres his brother, William de Garlande, Drogo de Mirle, and many of his kinsmen. Henry count of Champagne kept guard on the mountain's side, maintaining a constant look-out on the flank: the foot-soldiers, bowmen and arbalesters, were on the outside, and the rear of the army was closed by the pack-horses and waggons, which carried provisions and other things, and journeyed along between the army and the sea, to avoid an attack from the enemy. This was the order of the army, as it advanced gradually, to prevent separation; for the less close the line of battle, the less effective was it for resistance. King Richard and the duke of Burgundy, with a chosen retinue of warriors, rode up and down, narrowly watching the position and manner of the Turks, to correct any thing in their own troops, if they saw occasion; for they had need, at that moment, of the utmost circumspection.

*Chapter XVIII. — How our armies were much harassed by the Turks, who attacked them incessantly on all sides, and especially in the rear, wounding and cutting them down; and our men would have yielded under the weight of the battle in despair, had not the grace of God assisted them, when they were just on the point of giving way.*

It was now nearly nine o'clock, when there appeared a large body of the Turks, 10,000 strong, coming down upon us at full charge, and throwing darts and arrows, as fast as they could, while they mingled their voices in one horrible yell. There followed after them an infernal race of men, of black colour, and bearing a suitable appellation, expressive of their blackness. With them also were the Saracens, who live in the desert, called

## *Itinerary*

Bedouins: they are a savage race of men, blacker than soot; they fight on foot, and carry a bow, quiver, and round shield, and are a light and active race. These men dauntlessly attacked our army. Beyond them might be seen the well-arranged phalanxes of the Turks, with ensigns fixed to their lances, and standards and banners of separate distinctions. Their army was divided into troops, and the troops into companies; and their numbers seemed to exceed twenty thousand. They came on with irresistible charge, on horses swifter than eagles, and urged on like lightning to attack our men; and as they advanced, they raised a cloud of dust, so that the sky was darkened. In front came certain of their admirals, as it was their duty, with clarions and trumpets; some had horns, others had pipes and timbrels, gongs, cymbals, and other instruments, producing a horrible noise and clamour. The earth vibrated from the loud and discordant sounds, so that the crash of thunder could not be heard amidst the tumultuous noise of horns and trumpets. They did this to excite their spirit and courage, for the more violent the clamour became, the more bold were they for the fray. Thus the impious Turks threatened us both on the side towards the sea and from the side of the land; and for the space of two miles, not so much earth as could be taken up in one's hand could be seen, on account of the hostile Turks who covered it. Oh! how obstinately they pressed on, and continued their stubborn attacks, so that our men suffered severe loss of their horses, which were killed by their darts and arrows! Oh! how useful to us on that day were our arbalesters and bowmen, who closed the extremities of the lines, and did their best to repel the obstinate Turks. The enemy came rushing down, like a torrent, to the attack; and many of our arbalesters, unable to sustain the weight of their terrible and calamitous charge, threw away their arms, and fearing lest they should be shut out, took refuge, in crowds, behind the dense lines of the army; yielding, through fear of death, to sufferings which they could not support. Those whom shame forbade to yield, or the hope of an immortal crown sustained, were animated with greater boldness and courage to persevere in the contest, and fought with indefatigable valour face to face against the Turks, whilst they at the same time receded step by step, and so secured their retreat. The whole of that day, on account of the Turks pressing them closely from behind, they faced

## *Itinerary*

about and went on skirmishing, rather than proceeding on their march. Oh! how great was the strait they were in on that day! how great was their tribulation! when some were affected with fears, and no one had such confidence or spirit as not to wish, at that moment, he had finished his pilgrimage, and had returned home instead of standing with trembling heart the chances of a doubtful battle. In truth, our people, so few in number, were hemmed in by the multitudes of the Saracens, that they had no means of escape, if they tried; neither did they seem to have valour sufficient to withstand so many foes, — nay, they were shut in, like a flock of sheep in the jaws of wolves, with nothing but the sky above, and the enemy all around them. O Lord God! what feelings agitated that weak flock of Christ! straitened by such a perplexity; whom the enemy pressed with such unabating vigour, as if they would pass them through a sieve. What army was ever assailed by so mighty a force? There you might have seen our troopers, having lost their chargers, marching on foot with the footmen, or casting missiles from arbalests, or arrows from bows, against the enemy, and repelling their attacks in the best manner they were able. The Turks, skilled in the bow, pressed unceasingly upon them: it rained darts; the air was filled with the shower of arrows, and the brightness of the sun was obscured by the multitude of missiles, as if it had been darkened by a fall of winter's hail or snow. Our horses were pierced by the darts and arrows, which were so numerous that the whole face of the earth around was covered with them, and if any one wished to gather them up, he might take twenty of them in his hand at a time. The Turks pressed with such boldness that they nearly crushed the Hospitallers; on which the latter sent word to King Richard that they could not sustain the violence of the enemy's attack, unless he would allow their knights to advance at full charge against them. This the king dissuaded them from doing, but advised them to keep in a close body; they therefore persevered and kept together, though scarcely able to breathe for the pressure. By these means they were able to proceed on their way, though the heat happened to be very great on that day; so that they laboured under two disadvantages, — the hot weather and the attacks of the enemy. These approved martyrs of Christ sweated in the contest; and he who could have seen them closed up

## *Itinerary*

in a narrow space, so patient under the heat and toil of the day and the attacks of the enemy, who exhorted each other to destroy the Christians, could not doubt in his mind that it augured ill to our success from their straitened and perilous position, hemmed in, as they were, by so large a multitude; for the enemy thundered at their backs as if with mallets, so that having no room to use their bows, they fought hand to hand with swords, lances, and clubs; and the blows of the Turks, echoing from their metal armour, resounded as if they had been struck upon an anvil. They were now tormented with the heat, and no rest was allowed them. The battle fell heavily on the extreme line of the Hospitallers; the more so, as they were unable to resist, but moved forward with patience under their wounds, returning not even a word for the blows which fell upon them, and advancing on their way, because they were not able to bear the weight of the contest. Then they pressed on for safety upon the centre of the army which was in front of them, to avoid the fury of the enemy, who harassed them in the rear. Was it wonderful that no one could withstand so continuous an attack, when he could not even return one blow to the numbers who pressed on him? The strength of all Paganism had gathered together from Damascus and Persia, from the Mediterranean to the East; there was not left in the uttermost recesses of the earth one man of fame or power, one nation of valour, or one bold soldier, whom the Sultan had not summoned to his aid, either by entreaty, by money, or by authority, to crush the Christian race; for he presumed to hope he could blot them from the face of the earth; but his hopes were vain, for their numbers were sufficient, through the assistance of God, to effect their purpose. The flower of the chosen youth and soldiers of Christendom had indeed assembled together and were united in one body, like ears of corn on their stalks, from every region of the earth; and if they had been utterly crushed and destroyed, there is no doubt that there were none left to make resistance.

Chapter XIX. — *The battle continued, and the wonderful victory of the Christians.*

## *Itinerary*

A cloud of dust obscured the air as our men marched on and, in addition to the beat, they had an enemy pressing them in the rear, insolent, and rendered obstinate by the instigation of the devil. Still the Christians proved good men, and, secure in their unconquerable spirit, kept constantly advancing, while the Turks threatened them without ceasing in the rear; but their blows fell harmless upon the defensive armour, and this caused the Turks to slacken in courage at the failure of their attempts, and they began to murmur in whispers of disappointment, crying out in their rage, "that our people were of iron, and would yield to no blow." Then the Turks, about twenty thousand strong, rushed again upon our men pell mell, annoying them in every possible manner; when, as if almost overcome by their savage fury, brother Garnier de Napes, one of the Hospitallers, suddenly exclaimed, with a loud voice, "O excellent St. George! will you leave us to be thus put to confusion? The whole of Christendom is now on the point of perishing, because it fears to return a blow against this impious race." Upon this, the master of the Hospitallers went to the king, and said to him, "My lord the king, we are violently pressed by the enemy, and are in danger of eternal infamy, as if we did not dare to return their blows; we are each of us losing our horses one after another, and why should we bear with them any further?" To whom the king replied, "Good master, it is you who must sustain their attack; no one can be everywhere at once." On the master returning, the Turks again made a fierce attack on them from the rear, and there was not a prince or count amongst them but blushed with shame, and they said to each other, "Why do we not charge them at full gallop? Alas! alas! we shall forever deserve to be called cowards, a thing which never happened to us before, for never has such a disgrace befallen so great an army even from the unbelievers. Unless we defend ourselves by immediately charging the enemy, we shall gain everlasting scandal, and so much the greater the longer we delay to fight." O, how blind is human fate! On what slippery points it stands! Alas, on how uncertain wheels doth it advance, and with what ambiguous success doth it unfold the course of human things! A countless multitude of the Turks would have perished, if the aforesaid attempt had been orderly conducted; but to punish us for our sins, as it is

## *Itinerary*

believed, the potter's wheel produces a paltry vessel instead of the grand design which he had conceived.<sup>18</sup> For while they were treating of this point, and had come to the same decision about charging the enemy, two knights, who were impatient of delay, put every thing in confusion. It had been resolved by common consent that the sounding of six trumpets in three different parts of the army should be a signal for a charge, viz., two in front, two in the rear, and two in the middle, to distinguish the sounds from those of the Saracens, and to mark the distance of each. If these orders had been attended to, the Turks would have been utterly discomfited; but from the too great haste of the aforesaid knights, the success of the affair was marred. They rushed at full gallop upon the Turks, and each of them prostrated his man by piercing him with his lance. One of them was the marshal of the Hospitallers, the other was Baldwin de Carreo, a good and brave man, and the companion of King Richard, who had brought him in his retinue. When the other Christians observed these two rushing forward, and heard them calling, with a clear voice, on St. George for aid, they charged the Turks in a body with all their strength; then the Hospitallers, who had been distressed all day by their close array, following the two soldiers, charged the enemy in troops, so that the van of the army became the rear from their position in the attack, and the Hospitallers, who had been the last, were the first to charge. The count of Champagne also burst forward with his chosen company, and James d'Avennes with his kinsmen, and also Robert count of Dreux, the bishop of Beauvais, and his brother, as well as the earl of Leicester, who made a fierce charge on the left towards the sea. Why need we name each? Those who were in the first line of the rear made a united and furious charge; after them the men of Poictou, the Bretons, and the men of Anjou, rushed swiftly onward, and then came the rest of the army in a body: each troop shewed its valour, and boldly closed with the Turks, transfixing them with their lances, and casting them to the ground. The sky grew black with the dust which was raised in the confusion of that encounter. The Turks, who

<sup>18</sup>The author here quotes Horace — “currente rotâ cur urceus exit.”

## *Itinerary*

had purposely dismounted from their horses in order to take better aim at our men with their darts and arrows, were slain on all sides in that charge, for on being prostrated by the horse-soldiers they were beheaded by the foot-men. King Richard, on seeing his army in motion and in encounter with the Turks, flew rapidly on his horse at full speed through the Hospitallers who had led the charge, and to whom he was bringing assistance with all his retinue, and broke into the Turkish infantry, who were astonished at his blows and those of his men, and gave way to the right and to the left. Then might be seen numbers prostrated on the ground, horses without their riders in crowds, the wounded lamenting with groans their hard fate, and others drawing their last breath, weltering in their gore, and many lay headless, whilst their lifeless forms were trodden under foot both by friend and foe. Oh how different are the speculations of those who meditate amidst the columns of the cloister from the fearful exercise of war! There the king, the fierce, the extraordinary king, cut down the Turks in every direction, and none could escape the force of his arm, for wherever he turned, brandishing his sword, he carved a wide path for himself: and as he advanced and gave repeated strokes with his sword, cutting them down like a reaper with his sickle, the rest, warned by the sight of the dying, gave him more ample space, for the corpses of the dead Turks which lay on the face of the earth extended over half a mile. In fine, the Turks were cut down, the saddles emptied of their riders, and the dust which was raised by the conflict of the combatants, proved very hurtful to our men, for on becoming fatigued from slaying so many, when they were retiring to take fresh air, they could not recognize each other on account of the thick dust, and struck their blows indiscriminately to the right and to the left; so that, unable to distinguish friend from foe, they took their own men for enemies, and cut them down without mercy. Thus the Christians pressed hard upon the Turks, the latter gave way before them: but for a long time the battle was doubtful; they still exchanged blows, and either party strove for the victory: on both sides were seen some retreating, covered with wounds, while others fell slain to the ground. Oh, how many banners and standards of various forms, and pennons and many-coloured ensigns, might then be seen torn and fallen to

## *Itinerary*

the earth; swords of proved steel, and latices made of cane with iron heads, Turkish bows, and maces bristling with sharp teeth, darts and arrows, covering the ground, and missiles enough to load twenty waggons or more! There lay the headless trunks of the Turks who had perished, whilst others retained their courage for a time until our men increased in strength, when some of them concealed themselves in the copses, some climbed up trees, and, being shot with arrows, fell with fearful groan to the earth; others, abandoning their horses, betook themselves by slippery foot-paths to the seaside, and tumbled headlong into the waves from the precipitous cliffs that were five poles in height. The rest of the enemy were repulsed in so wonderful a manner, that for the space of two miles nothing could be seen but fugitives, although they had before been so obstinate and fierce, and puffed up with pride: but by God's grace their pride was humbled, and they continued still to fly; for when our men ceased the pursuit, fear alone added wings to their feet. Our army had been ranged in divisions when they attacked the Turks; the Normans and English also, who had the care of the standard, came up slowly towards the troops which were fighting with the Turks, — for it was very difficult to disperse the enemy's strength, and they stopped at a short distance therefrom, that all might have a rallying point. On the conclusion of the slaughter, our men paused; but the fugitives, to the number of twenty thousand, when they saw this, immediately recovering their courage, and armed with maces, charged the hindmost of those who were retiring, and rescued some from our men who had just struck them down. Oh, how dreadfully were our men then pressed! for the darts and arrows, thrown at them as they were falling back, broke the heads, arms, and other limbs of our horsemen, so that they bent, stunned, to their saddle-bows; but having quickly regained their spirits and resumed their strength, and thirsting for vengeance with greater eagerness, like a lioness when her whelps are stolen, they charged the enemy, and broke through them like a net. Then you might have seen the horses with their saddles displaced; and the Turks, who had but just now fled, returning, and pressing upon our people with the utmost fury; every cast of their darts would have told, had our men kept marching, and not stood still in a compact immovable body. The commander of the Turks was

## *Itinerary*

an admiral, by name Tekedmus, a kinsman of the sultan, having a banner with a remarkable device; namely, that of a pair of breeches carved thereon, a symbol well known to his men. He was a most cruel persecutor, and a persevering enemy of the Christians; and he had under his command seven hundred chosen Turks of great valour, of the household troops of Saladin, each of whose companies bore a yellow banner with pennons of a different colour. These men, coming at full charge, with clamour and haughty bearing, attacked our men who were turning off from them towards the standard, cutting at them, and piercing them severely, so that even the firmness of our chiefs wavered under the weight of the pressure; yet our men remained immovable, compelled to repel force by force, and the conflict grew thicker, the blows were redoubled, and the battle raged fiercer than before: the one side laboured to crush, the other to repel; both exerted their strength, and although our men were by far the fewest in numbers, they made havoc of great multitudes of the enemy; and that portion of the army which thus toiled in the battle could not return to the standard with ease, on account of the immense mass which pressed upon them so severely; for thus hemmed in they began to flag in courage, and but few dared to renew the attack of the enemy. In truth, the Turks were furious in the assault, and greatly distressed our men, whose blood poured forth in a stream beneath their blows. On perceiving them reel and give way, William de Barris, a renowned knight, breaking through the ranks, charged the Turks with his men; and such was the vigour of the onset that some fell by the edge of his sword, while others only saved themselves by rapid flight. For all that, the king, mounted on a bay Cyprian steed, which had not its match, bounded forward in the direction of the mountains, and scattered those he met on all sides; for the enemy fled from his sword and gave way, while helmets tottered beneath it, and sparks flew forth from its strokes. So great was the fury of his onset, and so many and deadly his blows, that day, in his conflict with the Turks, that in a short space of time the enemy were all scattered, and allowed our army to proceed; and thus our men, having suffered somewhat, at last returned to the standard, and proceeded in their march as far as Arsur, and there they pitched their tents outside its walls. While they were thus engaged, a large body of the Turks

## *Itinerary*

made an attack on the extreme rear of our army. On hearing the noise of the assailants, King Richard, encouraging his men to battle, rushed at full speed, with only fifteen companions, against the Turks, crying out, with a loud voice, "Aid us, O God! and the Holy Sepulchre!" and this he exclaimed a second and a third time; and when our men heard it, they made haste to follow him, and attacked, routed, and put them to flight; pursuing them as far as Arsur, whence they had first come out, cutting them down and subduing them. Many of the Turks fell there also. The king returned thence, from the slaughter of the fugitives, to his camp; and the men, overcome with the fatigues and exertions of the day, rested quietly that night. Whoever was greedy of gain, and wished to plunder the booty, returned to the place of battle, and loaded himself to his heart's desire; and those who returned from thence reported that they had counted thirty-two Turkish chiefs who were found slain on that day, and whom they supposed to be men of great influence and power, from the splendour of their armour and the costliness of their apparel. The Turks also made search for them to carry them away, as being of the most importance; and besides these the Turks carried off seven thousand mangled bodies of those who were next in rank, besides of the wounded, who went off in straggling parties; and when their strength failed, lay about the fields and died. But by the protection of God we did not lose a tenth, nor a hundredth part so many as fell in the Turkish army. Oh the disasters of that day! Oh the trials of the warriors! for the tribulations of the just are many. Oh mournful calamity and bitter distress! How great must have been the blackness of our sins to require so fiery an ordeal to purify it! for if we had striven to overcome this urgent necessity by pious long-suffering, and without a murmur, the sense of our obligations would have been deeper.

Chapter XX. — *How the admirable knight James d'Avennes was slain in the second encounter.*

But we had to mourn greatly the loss of James d'Avennes, who was overpowered by the numbers of the Turks; for he was thrown by a grievous fall of his horse, while bravely fighting; and the Turks, gathering

## *Itinerary*

round him, after much labour, put him to death. But before breathing his last, he slew fifteen of the Turks, according to the report of those who were sent to bring his body to the camp, and who found so many Turkish soldiers lying dead around him. There were also found dead along with him three of his kinsmen, to whom some of our men did not give the assistance which they ought; but, shame to say, deserted them in their struggle against the attack of the Turks, on which account the count of Dreux and others who were present obtained the infamy and detestation which they deserved. Alas for the manifold calamities of war! How loud were the groans and sighs of our soldiers on that night for the absence of James d'Avennes, the excellent soldier and renowned warrior! for they augured his fall, as they did not see him and his kinsmen with the rest, and the whole army was afflicted by his irreparable loss. On the Saturday before the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the aforesaid battle was fought; and on the Sunday following, it was decreed that a search should be made for the body, in order that it might be buried. Therefore, the Hospitallers and knights of the Temple armed themselves, and took with them many of the Turcopoli and others, and, on arriving on the field of battle, they made anxious search, and at last found the body, its face covered with clotted blood, so that it was difficult of recognition until it was washed with water, for it was dyed in gore and swollen with wounds, and very unlike his former self. Thus, having decently wrapped up the body, they bore it back to Arsur, whence a great multitude of the soldiers came forth to meet it; and all lamented the death of so great a man, for they called to mind his prowess, bounty, and the many virtues that adorned him, and King Richard and King Guy assisted at his funeral, where a solemn mass was celebrated, with large offerings, in the church of our Lady the Queen of Heaven, whose nativity it was. After the mass, the funeral rites were solemnly performed, and the nobles, taking his body in their arms, buried it in a grave, erecting a mound thereon; and there was great wailing, weeping, and lamentation for his death. When the obsequies were ended, the clergy solemnly performed the service for the day, being that of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXI. — *Of the rout of the Turks, who first turned their backs and then fled, and how they left all their baggage about the fields a prey to the Christians.*

Now the emirs and nobles of the Saracens, to whom Saladin had given great territories and riches, had been induced, by his deceitful words and high-flown language, to believe, that on that day, with the aid of Mahomet, he would utterly extirpate the Christians; but the oracle of Mahomet deceived them, and their insolent boasting was repressed. For according to the report of those who saw it, you might trace the flight of the Turks through the mountains, on the day of battle, by the booty that was thrown aside, the dead horses and camels lying along the way, as they had fallen, and laden with heavy baggage; for the Turkish bowmen had fled from the face of the Christians, and retreated with all that was left them; and on the day of battle, the more anxiously they hastened their flight, the more surely they failed, and perished, leaving behind them an immense quantity of spoil. Such was the vigour of our men's last attack, that if the enemy had remained a little longer, and had not taken to flight, they would never again have been in fighting order, and the land would have been left for the Christians to occupy.

Chapter XXII. — *Saladin reproaches and derides his men, who excuse themselves by praising King Richard and his troops, beyond all they had ever seen.*

The sultan, hearing that his choice troops, in whom he had placed so much confidence, were routed in this manner by the Christians, was filled with anger and excitement; and calling together his admirals, he said to them, "Are these the deeds of my brave troops, once so boastful, and whom I have so loaded with gifts? Lo! the Christians traverse the whole country at their pleasure, for there is no one to oppose them: Where now are all their vaunts, those swords and spears with which they threatened to do such execution? where is that prowess which they promised to put forth against the Christians, to overthrow them utterly? They have fought the battle which they desired, but where is the victory they promised? They are degenerated from those noble ancestors who performed such exploits

## *Itinerary*

against the Christians, and whose memory will endure for ever. It is a disgrace to our nation, the most warlike in the world, thus to become as nothing in comparison with their glorious ancestors." The admirals held down their heads at these words; but one of them, named Sanscuns, of Aleppo, returned this answer: "Most sacred Sultan, saving your majesty, this charge is unjust, for we fought with all our strength against the Franks, and did our best to destroy them: we met their fiercest attacks, but it was of no avail; they are armed in impenetrable armour which no weapon can pierce, so that all our blows fell as it were upon a rock of flint. And, further, there is one among their number superior to any man we have ever seen: he always charges before the rest, slaying and destroying our men: he is the first in every enterprise, and is a most brave and excellent soldier; no one can resist him or escape out of his hands: they call him Melech Ric.<sup>19</sup> Such a king as he seems born to command the whole earth: what then could we do more against so formidable, an enemy?"

Chapter XXIII. — *How Saladin destroyed all the fortresses except Jerusalem, Crach, and Darum.*

Saladin, in the heat of his indignation, called to him his brother Saphadin. "It is my wish," said he, "to try what reliance can be placed on my men in this extremity: go and destroy without delay the walls of Ascalon and Guadres, but deliver Darum into the custody of my people, to insure safety to those who pass that way. But destroy also Galatia, Blancheward, Joppa, the castles of Plans, Maen, St. George, Ramula, Belmont, Toron, the castle of Ernard, Beauverie, and Mirabel: destroy, in short, all the mountain fortresses; spare neither city, castle, nor fort, except Crach and Jerusalem." Saphadin obeyed these commands, and destroyed all these fortresses without delay.

<sup>19</sup>King Richard

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXIV. — *The Turks with 15,000 men attack our men on the river Arsur, but without success.*

Meanwhile, a powerful Saracen prince, named Caysac, urged Saladin to send scouts into the plains of Ramula to reconnoitre the movements of the Franks. "For I hope," added he, "if I have stanch troops, to be able to cut off the greater part of them, and to draw them into the narrow passes, that few of them shall be able to escape us." By his advice, Saladin ordered thirty of his principal admirals, each at the head of five hundred men, to occupy the banks of the river Arsur. Here, therefore, they kept guard, to prevent the Franks from passing. On Monday, the morrow of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and the third day after the battle before mentioned, King Richard marched with his army to the Arsur. The Templars were in the rear, and marched with much order and circumspection, to guard against sudden attacks of the enemy; but they reached the river without opposition. The Turks now, having kept close in their ambuscade, when the Christians came up, assailed the foremost of them with their javelins and arrows, but failing of success, retreated, and our men encamped that night on the Arsur. In the morning our infantry, who could hardly maintain the march, advanced with the quarter-masters to Joppa, which they found so entirely dismantled, that the army could not find lodgings in it. They therefore encamped in an olive-garden on the left side of the town, about three weeks after they left Acre.

Chapter XXV. — *How our ships brought us provisions from Acre to Joppa.*

The army remained outside the walls of Joppa, and refreshed themselves with abundance of fruits, figs, grapes, pomegranates, and citrons, produced by the country round: when lo! the fleet of King Richard, with other vessels, which accompanied the army and went to and fro between Joppa and Acre, brought us necessaries, much to the annoyance of the Turks, because they could not prevent them.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXVI. — *How King Richard advised to save Ascalon from the Turks, who were dismantling it; but by the sinister counsels of the French they preferred to repair to Joppa, and indulged themselves there in vice and luxury.*

Saladin, meanwhile, had destroyed the walls of Ascalon. This intelligence was brought by some common soldiers, who escaped, whilst it was in progress; but our people could hardly believe that Saladin had done this in despair, as if so powerful a prince could not or did not dare defend them. To ascertain the truth, King Richard, by advice of his nobles, sent Geoffrey de Lusignan, William de Stagno, and others, in a strong galley to sail to Ascalon, and bring back word how matters stood. This commission they faithfully discharged, and reported that all they had heard was true. King Richard, therefore, and his nobles now deliberated whether they should march to save Ascalon, or proceed at once to Jerusalem: many opinions were given, and the king gave his own, in the presence of the duke of Burgundy and others, in these words: "It seems to me," said he, "that our difference of opinion may be not only useless, but dangerous to the army. The Turks who are dismantling Ascalon, dare not meet us in the field. I think we should endeavour to save Ascalon, as a protection to the pilgrims who pass that way." The French violently opposed this opinion, and recommended rather that Joppa should be restored, because it furnished a shorter and easier route for pilgrims going to Jerusalem. The acclamations of the multitude seconded the opinion of the French. Foolish counsel! fatal obstinacy of those indolent men! By providing for their immediate comfort, and to avoid labour and expense, they did what they would afterwards repent of: for if they had then saved Ascalon from the Turks, the whole land would soon have been clear of them. But the cry of the people prevailed, a collection was made, and they immediately began to rebuild the towers, and to clear out the moat of Joppa. The army remained there long, enjoying ease and pleasure; their sins grew daily upon them; women came to them from Acre, to stir up their passions and multiply their misdeeds: the whole people became corrupted, the zeal of pilgrimage waxed cold, and all their works of devotion were neglected.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXVII. — *How the people returned to Acre, where they spent their time in taverns, and were led back by King Richard to Joppa, where they remained seven weeks.*

It was now the end of September, and Joppa partly rebuilt, when the army, issuing from the suburbs, encamped before the fortress of Habacuc; too small an army, alas! for many of them had withdrawn to Acre, where they spent their time in the taverns. King Richard, seeing their idleness and debauchery, sent King Guy to bring them back to the army at Joppa, but very few of them returned, and King Richard was obliged himself to sail to Joppa, where he urged them by exhortations of their duty as pilgrims, and by these means induced many of them to return to Joppa. He also conducted back with him the queens and their females. They now remained seven weeks at Joppa, to assemble and make ready the army, so that when they came together, they formed a much more numerous and efficient body than before.

Chapter XXVIII. — *How King Richard went out unadvisedly with only a small escort, and would have been taken by the Turks, if William de Pratelles had not pretended to be the king, and so secured Richard's escape.*

About this time King Richard went out hawking with a small escort, and intending, if he saw any small body of Turks, to fall upon them. Fatigued with his ride, he fell asleep, and a body of Turks rushed suddenly upon him to make him prisoner. The king, awakened at the noise, had hardly time to mount his bay Cyprian horse, and his attendants were still getting on their horses also, when the Turks came upon them and tried to take him; but the king, drawing his sword, rushed upon them, and they, pretending flight, drew him after them to a place where there was another body of Turks in ambush. These started up with speed and surrounded the king to make him prisoner. The king defended himself bravely, and the enemy drew back, though he would still have been captured if the Turks had known who he was. But in the midst of the conflict one of the king's companions, William de Pratelles, called out in the Saracenic language, that

## *Itinerary*

he was the "melech," *i.e.* the king; and the Turks, believing what he said, led him off captive to their own army. In this skirmish were slain Regnier de Marum, a brave knight, but almost unarmed, his nephew Walter, and Alan and Luke du Stable. At the news of this action our army was alarmed, and seizing their arms, came at full gallop to find the king, and when they met him returning safe, he faced about and with them pursued the Turks, who had carried off William de Pratelles, thinking they had got the king. They could not, however, overtake the fugitives, and King Richard, reserved by the divine hand for greater things, returned to the camp, to the great joy of his soldiers, who thanked God for his preservation, but grieved for William de Pratelles, who loyally redeemed the king at the price of his own liberty. Some of the king's friends now reproved him for his temerity, and entreated him not to wander abroad alone, and expose himself to be taken by the ambuscades of the Turks, who were especially eager to make him prisoner; but on all occasions to take with him some brave soldiers, and not to trust to his own strength against such numbers. But, notwithstanding these admonitions on the part of his best friends, the king's nature still broke out; in all expeditions he was the first to advance, and the last to retreat, and he never failed, either by his own valour or the divine aid, to bring back numbers of motives, or if they resisted, to put them to the sword.

Chapter XXIX. — *King Richard and his army rebuild the forts of Plans and Maen, and repel the Turks who attack them.*

The army seemed now by rest to have recovered their rigour, and a royal order was issued for them to march and rebuild the fortress of Plans, which was necessary for the safety of the pilgrims who passed that way. The king therefore left a garrison in Joppa, with orders that none should leave it besides merchants bringing provisions. The care of the town was deputed to the bishop of Evreux, the count of Chalons, Hugh Ribole, and others. On Wednesday, the feast of All Saints, King Richard was riding in the plains of Ramula, and seeing by chance some Turkish scouts, he attacked them bravely, and put them all to the rout, slaying some of them,

## *Itinerary*

and cutting off the head of a noble Turkish admiral: the rest took to flight. The next day was the eve of All Saints, and the army, after a short march, encamped between the forts of Plans and Maen. The Turkish army was then at Ramula, whence they frequently sallied to attack us. The army remained fifteen days or more where they were, during which time the king repaired the fort of Maen, and the Templars rebuilt the fort of Plans, notwithstanding the attacks of the Turks, who one day assailed them with an immense multitude of foot and a thousand cavalry; but the king mounting his horse in haste, and the whole army being roused, the Turks fled, losing twenty in slain, and sixteen taken prisoners. All the king's attempts to overtake the others were ineffectual; he pursued them till he came in sight of Ramula, and then led back his troops to the camp.

Chapter XXX. — *Of the wonderful victory of King Richard and his men, in defending their men-at-arms who were foraging.*

On the sixth day after the feast of All Saints, namely, on the day of St. Leonard's, the esquires and men-at-arms went out to get fodder for their horses and beasts of burthen. The Templars were guarding the esquires whilst they dispersed to find fresh herbage, a duty which sometimes cost them dear, when they acted without much caution. Whilst the Templars were thus engaged, about four thousand Turkish cavalry rushed upon them from Bombrac, in four divisions, and in an instant the Templars were surrounded by a multitude of Turks, which was continually increasing. Acting with promptitude according to the emergency, they dismounted, and, standing back to back with their faces to the enemy, defended themselves bravely. Three of them were slain in a moment, but they still fought bravely, and a fierce conflict ensued, as the Turks assailed them with the utmost fierceness, and tried to take them all prisoners. On a sudden, news of what was going on having been conveyed to the camp, Andrew de Chamgui galloped up to the rescue with fifteen knights in his train, and, attacking the Turks, liberated the Templars from their dangerous position. Andrew bore himself like a brave knight on that day, as well as his companions bore witness: but the Turks were continually

## *Itinerary*

receiving reinforcements, and sometimes attacked, sometimes retreated, and the battle still raged, until King Richard, who was busy in rebuilding Maen, heard of the tumult, and sent the count de St. Paul and the earl of Leicester to assist the Templars. With them, also, went William de Cagen and Otho de Pransinges, and the party soon heard the cries of the men-at-arms for assistance. Then the king, exhorting the counts to get ready, seized his arms, and followed them as fast as he was able. As the counts were galloping onwards, about four thousand Turks sprang up in four bodies, from the neighbourhood of a certain river, and half of them attacked the Templars, whilst the others assailed the two counts. The count of St. Paul then made an unworthy proposition to the earl of Leicester, that only one of them should fight with the enemy, whilst the other should stand by to assist whenever it might be necessary. The earl of Leicester chose to attack the enemy, not liking to stand by and do nothing. He at once, therefore, charged the enemy, and rescued from their hands two of our men whom they had made prisoners, and by his achievements on that day added greatly to his former reputation. The conflict was raging fiercely when the king came up, and as his retinue wits very small, some of his men said to him, "My lord, we do not think it prudent or possible, with our small body, to resist this great multitude, nor shall we be able to save our men who are fighting with the Turks. It is better to let them perish than to expose your person and all Christendom to certain danger, whilst we have the power of escaping." The king changed colour with indignation at these words. "What!" said he, "if I neglect to aid my men whom I sent forward with it promise to follow them, I shall never again deserve to be called a king." He said no more, but spurring his horse, dashed into the middle of the Turks, overthrowing them on both sides of him, and brandishing his sword, carved his way to and fro among the thickest ranks, slaying and maiming every one he came near. Amongst others, he slew a Turkish admiral, named Aralchais, whom chance threw in his way. In short, the enemy were put to the sword or took to flight, and our men returned with several prisoners to the camp. This success was gained without any help from the French. The same day three Turks, from fear of death perhaps, renounced their superstitions, and embracing Christianity, submitted to King Richard.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXXI. — *How Saladin amused King Richard by false promises, and thereby gained time to destroy certain fortresses.*

The two castles before mentioned were now partly restored, and King Richard, perceiving that his troops not only hated the Turks, but had less fear of them than before, because they had always, with God's help, defeated them, even when superior in numbers, now sent a distinguished embassy to Saladin and Saphadin his brother, to demand the surrender of the kingdom of Syria, with all that belonged to it, such as the leprous king had last possessed it. He demanded also tribute from Babylon, as the kings, his predecessors, had received it, together with all the privileges and dues which had at any time before belonged to the kingdom of Jerusalem. The ambassadors unfolded their message before Saladin, who would not, however, acquiesce in the demand. "Your king," said he, "makes an unreasonable claim, and we cannot, with regard to the honour of Paganism, consent to it; but I will offer to your king, through my brother Saphadin, to give up to him the whole land of Jerusalem, from Jordan to the sea, without tribute or hinderance, on condition that the city of Ascalon shall never be rebuilt, either by the Christians or the Saracens. When Saphadin came with this message to the king, Richard, who had just been bled, would not converse with him on that day; but Stephen de Torneham, by the king's order, supplied him with every kind of delicacy for his table, and entertained him in the valley between the castles of the Temple and of Jehoshaphat. The next day Saphadin sent a present of seven camels and a rich tent, and coming into the king's presence, delivered Saladin's message; upon which Richard, considering the disturbances and uncertainties of war, determined to have patience for a time, that he might the better make provision for the future: but, alas! he shewed too little prudence in not foreseeing the deceit with which they sought to protract the time until the cities, castles, and fortresses of that country were destroyed. In short, Saphadin so cunningly beguiled the too credulous king, that one would have thought they had contracted a mutual familiarity; for the king received Saphadin's gifts, and messengers were daily passing with presents to the king, much to the annoyance of his friends, who blamed

## *Itinerary*

him for contracting friendship with the Gentiles. But Saphadin pleaded that he wished to make peace between them, and the king thought he was adopting a wise policy, by which the bounds of Christianity would be enlarged, and a creditable peace concluded, particularly since the departure of the French king, from whom he feared treachery, for he had always found his friendship hollow and deceitful. When, however, the king discovered that the promises of Saphadin were mere words, and likely to produce no result, particularly in the matter of Fort Erach of Mount Royal, of which, according to the understood conditions, the king demanded the demolition, but the Turks would not consent to it, he at once broke off the negotiations. This failure of the treaty becoming known, the enemy were soon again to be seen on our flanks, and King Richard was again in the field to meet them; and by way of wiping out the former charges which had been made against him, he brought every day numbers of Turkish heads, to prove that his zeal had not slackened in the cause of Christianity. The difficulties thrown in his way, and accusations made against him, had arisen from those who sought to obtain his money; for it is rare to find persons not actuated by the desire of gain.

Chapter XXXII. — *Of the annoyance which our men experienced from the rains and the enemy, whilst they encamped between St. George and Ramula, and in the town of Ramula itself.*

When the two forts were repaired and garrisoned, Richard moved his army towards Ramula; which caused Saladin to order Ramula to be dismantled, because he did not dare meet the king in the field. He then withdrew with his troops towards Darum, because he had most confidence in the mountainous districts. Our troops then encamped between St. George and Ramula, where they remained twenty-two days waiting for reinforcements and provisions. There also we endured severe attacks from the enemy, and the heavy rains drove the king of Jerusalem and our people to remove into St. George and Ramula: the count of St. Paul went to the Castle of the Baths. We stopped in Ramula seven weeks, not however in case, for we had a rough beginning, though it was afterwards made amends for by a more pleasant termination. The Turks would not allow us

## *Itinerary*

the least repose, but continually attacked us with their javelins. On the eve of St. Thomas the Apostle, King Richard had sallied forth with a small retinue towards a fort called Whitecastle, on some enterprise against the Turks, but foreboding something wrong, by inspiration as is thought from heaven, he returned to the camp. The same hour he was told that Saladin had a little before sent a body of three hundred of his choicest troops to Whitecastle, where Richard was going. The same day also King Guy went to Acre, whither he was followed the next day by Stephen de Torneham. In the middle of the night of the Holy Innocents, the Hospitallers and Templars left the camp, and returned in the morning with two hundred oxen, which they had driven off from the mountains near Jerusalem.

Chapter XXXIII. — *Of the glorious victory gained by the earl of Leicester against the Turks, when our men at last came to his assistance.*

The noble earl of Leicester, one day, followed by a few men only, endeavoured to drive off a large body of Turks who were passing by with much arrogance and boasting. The enemy fled with precipitation, and were followed by three of the swiftest knights in the earl's train: by this act of imprudence they placed themselves in the power of the Turks, who turned back and made them prisoners. The earl, seeing this, spurred his horse and rode into the midst of more than a hundred Turks, to rescue the knights. His men, following him, pursued the enemy over a river, when a fresh force of about five hundred Turkish cavalry charged them with bows and lances of reed, and cutting off the retreat of the earl and his small party, essayed to make him prisoner. Already was Garin Fitz-Gerald dismounted and severely beaten with the iron maces. A fierce struggle took place. Drogo de Fontenille Putrell and Robert Nigel were unhorsed, and the Turks made such exertions to seize the earl that at last they struck him also from his horse, and almost drowned him in the river. but the earl defended himself bravely, and dealt his blows on every side of him, seconded by Henry Fitz-Nicholas and the brave Robert de Newbury, whose generosity has gained for him immortal renown; for, seeing the earl hard pressed, in the midst of his enemies, and engaged in a doubtful contest, he gave his

## *Itinerary*

own horse to the earl, whose safety he deemed more important than his own. Few I fear will be led by his example to do the like, though evil deeds have an abundance of imitators. In this manner Robert by his noble deed saved the earl's life and did not lose his own. Besides these, there were with the earl Count Ralph of St. Mary's, Arnald du Bois, Henry de Mailoc, William and Saul de Bruil; but what were they among so many? However, they defended themselves bravely; but the valour of so few could do little against such numbers, and as fresh Turks continually came up, they were unable to fight any more, but holding by the necks of their horses, bore unmoved the blows which fell upon them. Thus, as if lost to feeling, they were led off prisoners towards Darum. But how good is it to trust in the Lord, who does not suffer any one to be tempted beyond what he can bear! Our army had heard of the skirmish, and, seizing their arms, were already on the spot: they assail, vanquish, and rout the Turks. Andrew de Chamgui, Henry de Gray, Peter do Pratelles, and other brave men, kill each his man, the first that came in their way. The Turk whom Peter de Pratelles and his companion encountered, was so powerful that they could not take him prisoner, and had much trouble to vanquish and slay him. Andrew de Chamgui also ran an admiral through the body with his lance; and he fell, never to lead his men to battle more; but, ere he fell, had pierced Andrew's arm with his lance of cane. The Turks, roused by his fall, rushed to save him, but it was all over with him, and the infidels turned their rage and their steel-tipped canes against the Christians. They would, even now, have gained the day, if our men had not been reinforced from the camp. The battle raged fiercely: the earl was at one time attacked by the enemy, at another assailing them in turn; with one blow he cut off their heads, so that a second stroke was unnecessary. Two horses were slain under him, and it may be truly said of him, that so small a man never performed such brave deeds. So many of the best soldiers sallied from the camp to assist him, that not one of them was slain, but they repulsed the Turks and pursued them, until, fatigued with their exertions, they returned quietly to the camp.

Chapter XXXIV. — *Of the annoyances which our soldiers experienced from the rain and the attacks of the enemy as they marched by Betenoble towards Jerusalem.*

## *Itinerary*

In the mean time it became known to Saladin that our men were preparing to attack Jerusalem, and were only two miles distant from him; but, not thinking it safe to fight with the Christians, he gave orders to destroy Darum, its walls and towers, and retreated himself to Jerusalem. The Turks, also, in general left the plains and withdrew to the mountains. In consequence of this, our men were commanded by voice of herald to move towards the foot of the mountains, and, when all the arrangements were completed, they marched towards a castle called Betenoble. Then the rain and hail began to beat upon our men, and killed many of their beasts of burthen: the storm was so violent that it tore up the pegs of the tents, drowned the horses, and spoiled all their biscuit and bacon. The armour and coats of mail, also, were so rusted, that the greatest labour was necessary to restore them to their former brightness: their clothes were dissolved by the wet, and the men themselves suffered from the unwonted severity of the climate. Under all these sufferings, their only consolation arose from their zeal in the service of God, and a desire to finish their pilgrimage. To this end each contributed his share of provisions for the siege, and they came together with joy prepared for any pilgrimage. Even those who were sick in bed at Joppa, were carried in litters, so great was their wish to see Jerusalem. A large number of them, also, were influenced by a desire to see our Lord's tomb, and this was their only hope under their great sufferings. But the Turks, paying no regard to these convoys of the sick, lay in wait for them and killed both them and their bearers, looking on them all as enemies alike. But, surely, these are all to be accounted martyrs, and there is this consolation for them, that though the Turks slew them with evil intentions, yet they suffered but for a moment, and gained the reward of a long service.

Chapter XXXV. — *How the army prepare with joy to march on Jerusalem, neglecting the advice of the Templars and other wise men who dissuaded them.*

The army now rejoiced that they should soon set eyes on our Lord's sepulchre; and all began to brighten up their armour, their helmets and

## *Itinerary*

their swords, that there might not be a single spot to spoil their brightness. In short, all were most eager for the enterprise, and boasted that not all the power or assaults of the hostile Saracens should prevent them from accomplishing their plighted vow. But the wiser ones did not acquiesce in these views; for the Templars, Hospitallers, and Pisans, who had sharper eyes on the future condition of that land, dissuaded King Richard from marching at present to Jerusalem, lest, whilst they were besieging Saladin and the garrison of that city, the Turkish army, which was without among the mountains, might attack our men by surprise, and so place them between the attacks of the garrison from within, and the Turkish army from without: and even if they should take the city, it would be necessary to garrison it with some of their bravest troops, which could hardly be done, in consequence of the people's eagerness to complete their pilgrimage and return each to his own home, for they were now all tired out with the privations and disturbances which they had suffered. For these reasons, they advised that the siege should be delayed, and the army be kept together, because their vow would not have been accomplished; for if they could once fulfil their pledge, the army would at once be dissolved. But the advice of the Templars was not listened to.

Chapter XXXVI. — *How King Richard, concealing his troops near the Castle of the Baths, surprised and slew the Turks on his march towards Jerusalem.*

It was now the beginning of a new year, A. D. 1192, being leap-year, and having D for its Dominical letter. On the third day after our Lord's circumcision, the army, bent on their march, were assailed by a multitude of Turks who had lain in ambush during the night near the fort des Plans among the bushes on the line of their route. The two foremost of our men were instantly slain; but God had already prepared to avenge their death, for King Richard had been apprised of the ambuscade, and advanced with all speed in the morning, hoping to rescue the advanced guard. But the Turks who had beheaded them, recognizing the king's banner, took to flight, being about a hundred in number, of whom seven were either killed or taken prisoners by the king in the pursuit. Eighty of the Turks fled

## *Itinerary*

towards Mirabel, and were speedily overtaken by the king, who, seated on his bay horse, a charger of incomparable swiftness, slew two of them before any of their friends could assist them. In this skirmish were Geoffrey de Lusignan and some others, who either slew or made prisoners twenty Turks, and if they had pursued them further, there is no doubt that they would have taken many more.

## *Itinerary*

### Book V.

Chapter I. — *By the advice of the Templars, though much against the inclinations of the army, the march to Jerusalem was abandoned until the walls of Ascalon should first be rebuilt.*

In the year 1192, not many days after the feast of the Epiphany, the councillors of the army, joining with them some of the more discreet of the natives, again consulted about the march to Jerusalem. The Hospitallers, Templars, and Pisans, urged, as before, that the city of Ascalon should first be rebuilt as a check on the Turkish convoys between Babylonia and Jerusalem. To this the majority of the council gave their assent, that Ascalon should be rebuilt to check the arrogance and impede the free passage of the Turks in those parts. When the decision became known the army were much dejected, conceiving that their hopes of seeing the Lord's sepulchre would altogether be frustrated. Their former hilarity altogether disappeared, and was succeeded by despair at what they had just heard. They uttered imprecations on the authors of this counsel as destroyers of all their most ardent wishes. If, however, they had known the penury and destitution of those who dwelt in Jerusalem, they would have derived some little consolation from the tribulation of the enemy. For the Turks in Jerusalem were enduring many severe sufferings from the hail and snow, which, melting in the mountains, caused a flood of water to descend upon the city, either drowning their cattle, or causing them to perish afterwards from the cold. So great were their sufferings from the state of the weather, that if the Christians had known of them they might certainly have taken the city; though they could not long have kept it, for the people would have returned home after fulfilling their vow of pilgrimage, and there could not have been a sufficient garrison left to defend it.

Chapter II. — *Of the despondency of the army at the abandonment of their enterprise, and of their return to Ramula.*

## *Itinerary*

The feast of St. Hilary was now at hand, and so great was the disaffection and sorrow of the army that many of them abandoned their pilgrimage, cursing the day in which they were born to suffer such a disappointment. Some of them also were so worn down by their sufferings and by want, that they with difficulty could bear up against it. Their horses and beasts of burden, also, affected by the cold and rain, were unable to proceed through the mud, but fell famished and knocked up beneath their loads. The drivers, in bitterness of spirit, raised their hands in anguish to heaven, and uttered imprecations approaching even to blasphemy. It was impossible to conceive a severer lot, even in the worst of criminals, than that which our men now suffered. Their brave deeds, their prowess in war, were now succeeded by grief and despair of mind, in addition to their bodily sufferings; and whilst all were in this state, the weak and sick would have been in danger of perishing, if it had not been for the care of King Richard, who sent out messengers on all sides to collect them together and bring them to Ramula, where the whole army soon assembled, not long after they had left it.

*Chapter III. — Of the tribulation and anguish which our men endured between Ramula and Ascalon, from the dangers of the roads and the state of the weather, and how many of the French left the army.*

Whilst our men remained at Ramula, many of them, either to avoid the painful march, or from indignation and obstinacy, deserted from the army, thereby considerably diminishing its numbers. The greater part of the French departed out of indignation; some of them went to enjoy their ease at Joppa, others retired to Acre, where there was plenty of provisions. Some joined the marquis at Tyre, as he had often urged them to do, others, with the duke of Burgundy, from anger and indignation turned aside to the fort des Plans, where they remained eight days. King Richard, angry at the situation in which things were, proceeded with his nephew, Henry Count of Champagne, and the army thus reduced in its numbers, towards Ibelin; but they found the roads so muddy that it was necessary to halt there, that the army might have rest; for their misery, both mental and bodily, was so

## *Itinerary*

great that no pen can write, nor tongue tell it. At dawn of day the men with the tents were sent forwards, and the rest of the army followed; the sufferings of the day before were nothing to those which they now endured from fatigue, rain, hail, and floods, so that it might be thought all heaven had conspired to destroy them. The ground, too, was muddy and soft beneath them, and the horses and men had the greatest difficulty to maintain their footing: some of them sunk, never to rise again. Who can tell the calamities of that day? The bravest of the soldiers shed tears like rain, and were wearied even of their very existence for the severity of their sufferings. When the beasts of burden fell, the provisions which they carried were either spoiled by the mud, or dissolved in the water. In this manner, cursing the day on which they were born, and beating their breasts with their hands, they reached Ascalon, which they found so dismantled by the Saracens that they could scarcely enter through its gates for the heaps of stones. This day was the 20th of January, and they encamped for the night, every man as well as he was able.

*Chapter IV. — How the army suffered at Ascalon from the weather and want of provisions.*

The city of Ascalon lies on the coast of the Grecian sea, and, if it had a good harbour, could hardly find an equal for its situation and the fertility of the adjoining country. It has indeed a port, but one so difficult of access, owing to the stormy weather in which the army reached it, that for eight days no vessel could enter it; so that our troops and their horses, who were greatly in want of provisions, could get nothing for eight days, except what they had brought with them; for it was not safe, on account of the Turks, to forage for provisions in the neighbouring country. At last, when the weather became more favourable, some ships entered the harbour with provisions: but the storm again came on, and the army began again to be in want; for some barges and galleys, loaded with provisions, perished on the voyage with all their crews: the snakes also, belonging to the king and others, were broken by the storm; and the king made long vessels out of their materials, vainly imagining that they would serve to cross the sea.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter V. — *Saladin, hearing of the return and dispersal of our army, sends his men to their homes until May.*

Saladin, hearing that our troops were dispersed along the sea-coast, and in part broken up, dismissed his troops to return to their homes, and attend to their domestic affairs, with orders to assemble again in the month of May. The Turks, who had now for four years been serving laboriously in the Sultan's army, now gladly return to see their wives and families. There their admirals and princes, men of renown, recapitulated their adventures, and the disastrous campaigns which they had gone through: men who before had always come off victorious, and got abundance of spoil from all their former wars; but now, on the contrary, they had suffered both in their own property and by the deaths of their relations slain in the battles which they had fought. They, in particular, grieved for the fate of those princes, admirals, and others, who had been slain by King Richard, as before related, in the siege of Acre, when Saladin failed in his promise to redeem them. For this reason they had conceived bitter anger against Saladin, and now left his army for a time with groans and lamentations.

Chapter VI. — *King Richard persuades as many of the French as he can to return, and, by common consent, they rebuild Ascalon.*

The month of January was now ended, and the sky was becoming brighter. The king, annoyed at the dispersal of the army, sent messengers to persuade the French to return, and so strengthen the army that they might be in a condition for further deliberations. "For," said he, "it is desirable that all the army should be together when we deliberate, for division will only weaken us, and expose us to the attacks of our enemies." The French by these arguments were led to promise that they would rejoin the army until Easter, on condition that they should have leave to depart, and safe conduct at that time, if they should wish it. The king, seeing that it was necessary to use forbearance, assented to these conditions, and the army was thus reunited. It was now agreed by all to rebuild Ascalon; but

## *Itinerary*

the princes and nobles were so exhausted, that they found their means insufficient for the purpose. They, nevertheless, began the work as well as they could, and dividing it out amongst them, they dug to the foundations of one of the chief gates, until they came to solid masonry, and removed the rubbish that was lying on the top. All engaged in the work: princes, nobles, knights, esquires, and retainers, might be seen tossing the stones from hand to hand. There was no distinction made between clerks and laymen; nobles and plebeians, princes and their attendants, all worked alike, so that they were even themselves astonished at their own progress. Masons were then brought, the work went on with double vigour, and the walls rose rapidly. Fifty-three of the highest and strongest towers, besides other smaller ones, had been levelled with the ground. Five of these towers had received names from their founders; according to tradition, the first and most powerful, was Ham, the son of Noah, who had thirty two sons: these all reigned after him, and built Ascalon, with the help of the people whom they invited together from all the country under their dominion; and to gain their favour, and a lasting name to themselves, the females built the tower which is called the tower of the "maidens." In the same way the soldiers built the tower of the "shields:" the "Bloody tower" was so called because founded by certain criminals, who, by this work, are said to have saved their lives from the punishment due to their crimes: the fourth tower was erected by the admirals, and is therefore called the "Admirals' tower:" the fifth, called the "Bedouins' tower," was constructed by the race of men bearing that name. Such are the five principal towers of Ascalon, named from their founders. When skilful masons were employed upon it, the work advanced more rapidly. The king, as in all other matters, was conspicuous in promoting the work; and by joining therein with his own hands, encouraging the men, and distributing to each their allotted tasks, he rendered great service. For, at his exhortation, each of the nobles and chiefs undertook the completion of his share in proportion to his means; and if any one desisted from the work for want of money, the king, more exalted still in heart than in outward dignity, gave to them from his own purse as he knew each had need. And such was his approval and encouragement of the workmen, such his diligence and expenditure, that

## *Itinerary*

three-fourths of the city of Ascalon were said to have been rebuilt by his means.

Chapter VII. — *How King Richard rescued from the Turks at Darum 12,000 Christian captives, who were on their way to Babylon.*

Meanwhile Saladin had made preparations for sending 12,000 Christians, French, and natives of the Holy Land, captives to Babylon; and his servants had brought them as far as Darum, and were spending the night there, with the intention of setting forward on their journey on the morrow; when it happened, by the dispensation of God, that they were rescued by King Richard from slavery. For one day the king chanced to be out, with a chosen body of soldiers, reconnoitering the fortress of Darum, to ascertain how he could take it; for there was a passage there too convenient for the Turks, who brought provisions from Babylon to Jerusalem. The Turks, who had arrived just before sunset, recognizing the king by his banner, became frightened for their lives, and consulting their own safety, let themselves quickly into the tower of the fort, leaving their captives outside; and these persons, on seeing this, took refuge with all speed in a church close by. The king, coming up, released them without a moment's delay, and let them go away uninjured; whilst he and his men slew many Turks, who happened to fall in their way. Then the king took many valuable horses, and captured twenty of the Turkish chiefs alive. Who can doubt but that the king's coming, which turned out so advantageous to those captives, was ordained of God? Had he not come and rescued them, there is no doubt they would have been condemned to perpetual slavery.

Chapter VIII. — *How King Richard sent an order to the marquis and was not obeyed.*

After performing these exploits, King Richard sent messengers to the marquis, whom we have so often already mentioned, as he had done many times before, bidding him come to Ascalon to join in the campaign for the kingdom to which he aspired; and this he charged him to do by the oath

## *Itinerary*

which he had taken to the king of France, who was a pledge for his fidelity; but the base marquis replied, with a perverse sneer, that he would on no account stir unless King Richard first gave him a meeting. They afterwards held a conference by appointment at the fort of Ymbric.

Chapter IX. — *How the duke of Burgundy, who had been recalled by King Richard to Ascalon, again left him, and retired to Acre, because the king would not lend him money.*

While, therefore, the king and his army were diligently engaged in the restoration of the walls of Ascalon, a quarrel took place between King Richard and the duke of Burgundy; for the provisions, being for the most part consumed, and the substance of each man almost brought to nothing, the French began to importune the duke of Burgundy for the pay which was owing to them, alleging that if they were not paid, they could not serve any longer in the camp. The duke, not being able to meet their pressing demands, thought it best to ask King Richard to supply him with a large sum of money. For, on a former occasion, as before said, the king, at the duke's request, lent the French an immense sum of money at Acre, which was to be repaid out of the ransom money from the captives; but this had turned out to be nothing, as the captives had paid no other ransom than their heads; wherefore King Richard refused his application. It was owing to this, and other causes of disagreement, that the duke left Ascalon; and for all his inability to pay them, the French set out hastily with him towards Acre.

Chapter X. — *How the Pisans at Acre, who favoured King Guy, fought with the Genoese, who sided with the marquis and the French, and how they threw the duke of Burgundy from his horse, and compelled him and the marquis to flee to Tyre; and how they sent for King Richard, who made peace between them.*

On their arrival at Acre, the French found the Pisans and Genoese engaged in a fierce conflict with each other. For the Pisans, from mere generosity, and a sense of the justice of his cause, were favourers of King

## *Itinerary*

Guy, while the Genoese were on the side of the marquis, — chiefly on account of the oath of fidelity by which he was bound to the king of France. Hence arose discords which ended in bloodshed, and mutual attacks, as in a civil war, at Acre; and the whole city was in a state of confusion. On approaching the city the French heard a great uproar, and the noise of the people, exhorting each other to fight; upon which they, and the duke of Burgundy, in full armour, hastened to give succour to the Genoese, who were elated to an insolent pitch by their arrival. For all that, the Pisans, irritated when they saw them coming, went forth boldly to meet them; for their appearance was that of men disposed to fight. Falling upon the duke of Burgundy, who seemed to be their leader, they surrounded him, and having pierced his horse with a lance, threw him to the ground; they then retreated to the city, and closed and bolted the gates, as a precaution against any unforeseen accidents which might happen. For they had heard that the Genoese had sent to the marquis to ask him to come as quickly as possible, and seize the city of Acre, which they promised to deliver over to him. The Pisans, therefore, took every precaution against this faction, for their own safety and that of the city. The marquis, without a moment's delay, came to Acre in his galleys, with a large number of armed men, in the hope of seizing on the city unawares; and on their arrival, the Pisans attacked them manfully with petraryæ and mangonels; and confiding in their own valour, and the justice of their cause, they resisted their adversaries for three days, and fought bravely with them, until they sent a message to King Richard to inform him of the state of affairs, and bid him come with all speed. The king was then at Cæsarea, on his way to the conference with the marquis, when the messengers arrived, and set forth the whole matter, and asked of him on the part of the Pisans, to come quickly and preserve the city: they then returned to Acre under favour of the darkness of the night. The marquis, on hearing that King Richard was close at hand, returned hastily to Tyre, as if conscious that the king's coming betokened ill to himself. For all his haste, the duke of Burgundy and the French reached Tyre first. But King Richard, on learning the confused state of things on his arrival at Acre, took upon himself to arrange everything on the day after Ash Wednesday, as if he were the only man left

## *Itinerary*

in the place; and having called the people together, he persuaded them, with most convincing arguments, that nothing was more commendable, amongst comrades, than friendship, nothing pleasanter than good fellowship, or sweeter than peace and concord, or more lasting than unity; and, on the contrary, that nothing was more dangerous to the continuance of peace, or more pernicious than ill-will, for it loosened the bonds of affection: in fine, that whatever was bound by mutual charity, and strengthened by the graceful ties of friendship, was always dissolved by the fermentations of envy. By means of such arguments, King Richard reconciled the Genoese and Pisans, and caused them to unite in harmony and concord, and re-established their former good understanding

*Chapter XI. — How King Richard held a conference with the marquis at the castle of Ymblic, and admonished him to return and join the army, and how, on his refusing, he disinherited him of the lands and revenues which had been promised to him.*

King Richard, having pacified them in this manner, sent a messenger to the marquis to return to the conference at Ymblic, and try if they could, with the help of the divine grace, come to an amicable understanding about the arrangement of affairs, in order that the government of the kingdom might be the better administered by their joint efforts. They therefore met, and held a long conference, but to little purpose. The marquis brought forward, as a pretext for not performing his duty, the retirement of the duke of Burgundy and the French; and returning to Tyre, concealed himself in his wife's chambers, away from camps and war. King Richard, perceiving that the duke of Burgundy and the marquis, as well as the French, had now voluntarily absented themselves from the army, and reflecting deeply on the terms of peace which had been agreed upon, hesitated for a long time in his mind what it was best to do under the circumstances, and took into his counsel the leaders and more discreet men of the army, to ascertain what they thought most expedient; and they, after carefully weighing the merits of the whole matter, adjudged that the marquis had forfeited his claim to the kingdom which had been promised

## *Itinerary*

him, and that, in consequence of his doubtful and prevaricating conduct, he should be deprived of all his revenues. In consequence of this decision, great discord arose between the nobles of the French and King Richard, and especially between him and the marquis, who, as he had often done before, importuned all the French to quit Ascalon, and come to him at Tyre; thus throwing the kingdom and country into such a state of confusion, that King Richard, fully aware of his treachery, remained in Acre from the day after Ash Wednesday until the Tuesday before Easter. For it is the part of a prudent man to take precautions even against an humble foe.

Chapter XII. — *How, while King Richard was at Acre, our men at Joppa and Ascalon made an expedition and brought back an immense booty; and how King Richard knighted Saphadin's son.*

On the third day, before Palm Sunday, a number of young men at Joppa went on an expedition as far as Mirabel; and carried off a large booty of cattle from the Saracens, thirty of whom they killed, and brought back fifty alive, besides an immense spoil. A moiety of it was given to the count, who was governor of the city, the other moiety was sold for eight thousand Saracenic bezants, of good money. Likewise, on the morrow, which was the Saturday before Palm Sunday, all those at Ascalon who had horses made an expedition, and scoured the whole country, as we were told by those who were present, as far as Egypt, four miles beyond Darum; and having collected a large number of cattle, horses, and mares, also twenty asses, thirty camels, and seventy sheep, and other cattle, they formed in a body and returned with all speed to Ascalon, bringing back also with them 200 Saracens, with their wives and children. On Palm Sunday, King Richard, amid much splendour, girded with the belt of knighthood the son of Saphadin, who had been sent to him for that purpose.

Chapter XIII. — *How the duke of Burgundy and the marquis, from envy at the successes of King Richard, recalled the French, who were with him at Ascalon and Joppa.*

## *Itinerary*

Meanwhile, the duke of Burgundy and the marquis, inflamed with envy, which is always jealous of the virtues of a superior, sent ambassadors from Tyre to Ascalon, to charge the residue of the French who remained to come to them at Tyre as quickly as possible, and join in their new schemes and designs, and that they should act together in common concert, in accordance with their former oath of allegiance to the king of France. Then the treachery and premeditated faithlessness with which the marquis had, from the first, himself entered into treaty with the king of France, became manifest; which was, that the marquis should join the French to his party, in order to expedite the accomplishment of his own plans. Hence he strove to withdraw the French, as if they were bound to his service, in order that King Richard might be the less able to carry on the war.

Chapter XIV. — *How King Richard returned to Ascalon, and how 700 of the French soldiers, in obedience to the commands of the duke of Burgundy and the marquis, left the king and went to Tyre.*

On the Tuesday before Easter, King Richard returned to the army at Ascalon, exceedingly sorrowful and disturbed. On the morrow, i. e. Wednesday, the leaders of the French requested of the king to furnish them, according to agreement, with an escort and safe conduct; and the king consenting, assigned to them the Templars, to conduct them on their journey, as well as the Hospitallers, and Count Henry of Champagne, and many others, as their comrades. The king also, anxious to omit no proper mark of attention, escorted them on their way in person; while he entreated them, with tears and soothing words, to stay a little longer with him, and that they should be provided for at his expense if they would succour the Holy Land in its desolation, to the utmost of their power. This, however, they absolutely refused, so he let them go away and returned to Ascalon; whence he sent messengers at full speed to Acre, to charge the garrison not to admit the French within the city to lodge, but yet not to offer them any insult or annoyance, from which offence might be taken, or an occasion of dispute: so when the French arrived there, they stationed themselves outside the city.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XV. — *How Saladin, hearing of the departure of the French, summoned his army together again.*

Thus on the day of our Lord's Supper the army was dejected at the departure of the French, for it lost no small portion of its strength thereby, as 700 French knights had left, men of tried valour and great activity, and the people were in consequence thrown into much tribulation. But the Turks were rejoiced on hearing what had taken place; and Saladin, when he was told of it, sent messengers on horseback to carry letters, addressed to all the admirals and people throughout his dominions, charging them by edict to lay aside every occupation, and come to the land of Jerusalem with all speed. "The French," he said, "have, from ill will, departed, and left the land almost without a defender, and the strength of the war and the power of the Christian army are fallen; wherefore we trust that in a short time we shall gain possession of Acre and Tyre, the chief cities of the land." The Turks returned at the command of the Soldan, but with less readiness, and in smaller bodies than before; for they had not forgotten the past: in comparison, however, with our paucity of numbers, they exceeded us greatly in strength.

Chapter XVI. — *How fire from heaven, as usual, lighted the lamp at the Holy Sepulchre, in the sight of Saladin, and how he had it extinguished three times, and how it was three times relighted.*

On Easter Eve, Saladin, with his retinue, paid a visit to the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, to assure himself of the truth of a certain fact, namely, the coming down from Heaven of fire, once a year, to light the lamp. After he had watched for some time, with great attention, the devotion and contrition of many Christian captives, who were praying for the mercy of God, he and all the other Turks suddenly saw the divine fire descend, and light the lamp, so that they were vehemently moved, while the Christians rejoiced, and with loud voices praised the mighty works of God. But the Saracens disbelieved this manifest and wonderful miracle,

## *Itinerary*

though they witnessed it with their own eyes, and asserted that it was a fraudulent contrivance, To assure himself of this, Saladin ordered the lamp to be extinguished; which, however, was instantly rekindled by the divine power: and when the infidel ordered it to be extinguished a second time it was lighted a second time; and so likewise a third time. God is all-patient. Of what use is it to fight against the invincible Power? There is no counsel against God, nor is there any one who can resist his will. Saladin, wondering at this miraculous vision, and the faith and devotion of the Christians, and exceedingly moved, asserted by the spirit of prophecy, that he should either die or lose possession of the city of Jerusalem. And his prophecy was fulfilled; for he died the Lent following.

### Chapter XVII. — *How King Richard celebrated Easter Sunday at Ascalon.*

King Richard celebrated the feast of Easter, which fell on the fifth of April, at Ascalon, with great magnificence; and he supplied all who needed with abundance of meat and drink. For he caused his pavilions to be pitched in the meadows outside the city, and provided in abundance every necessary for his people to celebrate the occasion with splendour. Nothing, however, was there to be seen more glorious than the ready good-will with which these bounties were dispensed, for courage in action always goes hand in hand with liberality; and where nobleness of heart harmonizes with deeds of renown,

“The stingy mind suits not the bounteous hand,  
But rather checks its givings; let each gift  
Be e'er attended with a generous heart.”

### Chapter XVIII. — *How the rebuilding of Ascalon is completed at the king's expense.*

On Easter Monday, King Richard returned with diligence to the work which he had commenced, and continued with all eagerness the rebuilding of the city walls, and familiarly urged the rest to proceed in the work; so

## *Itinerary*

that by his care and co-operation it was all accomplished at his own expense, and without the contributions of the French, who had departed and who ought by right to have shared in the burden.

Chapter XIX. — *How King Richard set out to reconnoitre Gaza and Darum.*

On Easter Tuesday, the king set out with a few followers to reconnoitre Gaza. On the Wednesday he set out to make a close survey of Darum, walking round, and trying to ascertain the best point of assault. But the Turks shut themselves up in Darum, and threw out many missiles from bows and arbalists with much abuse at the king and his men, as if the place were impregnable. When the king had fully surveyed it, he returned to Ascalon.

Chapter XX. — *How the French, who were recalled to Tyre, amused themselves only in luxury and taverns.*

After the French had departed, as aforesaid, those who had been charged by the king to conduct them as far as Acre returned to the camp at Ascalon; but the French, arriving at Tyre, gave themselves up to all kinds of amusements, which we may think worth while here to mention. The very men who were supposed to have been led by their devotion to succour the Holy Land, now left the camp and abandoned themselves to amatory and effeminate songs and debaucheries, for, as was told by those who saw them, they delighted in dancing-women; and their luxurious apparel bespoke their effeminacy, for the sleeves of their garments were fastened with gold chains, and they wantonly exposed their waists, which were confined with embroidered belts; and they kept back with their arms their cloaks, which were fastened so as to prevent a wrinkle being seen in their garments; and that which was once intended to cover their back, was now forced into the service of other parts of the body, for their bellies, not their backs, were covered by their cloaks; and around their necks they wore collars glittering with jewels, and on their heads garlands interwoven with flowers of every hue: they carried goblets, not falchions, in their hands, and

## *Itinerary*

after spending whole nights in drinking and carousing, they went, heated with wine, to the houses of prostitutes, and if by chance they were preoccupied, and the door closed against them, they pulled it down, giving utterance to language and oaths which horrified those who heard them, as is well known from the habits of the French. In a word, their external condition proved their inward levity. Shame on the French for indulging in such excesses! We do not assert that all were guilty of this folly, for there were some who were much concerned at their dissolute habits, and sorry for their discord with King Richard.

Chapter XXI. — *How the discord which arose between the Christians, who were now come to the Holy Land, never occurred amongst the ancients.*

The great King Charlemagne, famous for his deeds and the subjugation of so many kingdoms to his authority, when he set out for the conquest of Spain is said never to have suffered a quarrel to occur in his army. Such was the case also when he made his expedition against Saxony, where he performed so many exploits and utterly subdued the famous Wercelin.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, when he went from Rome to give battle to that powerful warrior, Aguland, who had landed at Pisa, a city of Calabria, with a large body of Saracens, which would have been invincible but for the divine aid, no discord ever took place in his army. So also, in the land of Jerusalem, shattered by so many wars, during which so much slaughter of the enemy was made, and so many battles were successfully fought, wherever of yore we read of famous deeds of arms being carried on, there was no quarrel to divide the army who served under one general, no factious ill-will to disunite the people of different nations who formed it, nor did jealousy distract those who were under the guidance of one prince, nor was reviling or insulting language heard of amongst them, — nay, they shewed each other every honour and kindness, and they were called one people on account of their unity, amongst whom no contention could last

<sup>20</sup>This appears to be an error for Witekind.

## *Itinerary*

long. This was the reason why the French prevailed in those days over all foreigners, and so likewise should we moderns imitate with advantage the example of the ancients.

### Chapter XXII. — *How the prior of Hereford was sent to the Holy Land.*

When Easter was over, and the season for crossing the sea came on, the prior of Hereford, an English priory, came with a message for King Richard which put the whole army in commotion. The prior brought letters from William, bishop of Ely, the king's chancellor, informing him that he and the others whom King Richard had deputed to govern the country in his absence, had been insolently expelled from the fortresses of the kingdom, and some of their party killed in the riots; also, that by the agency of the king's brother, Earl John, the chancellor, had been driven from England; that there was no more money in the king's treasury or any where else, except what was with difficulty kept concealed in the churches. In addition to this, the prior said that the same chancellor, priest, and bishop, had been forced to fly to Normandy, after much annoyance and ill-treatment; and that the said earl rigorously exacted from the earls and nobles of the land the oath of allegiance, with homage, and the custody of the castles. He had also arbitrarily laid hands on the king's yearly revenues, namely, those of the exchequer. "And," said the prior, "if your majesty does not take speedy counsel on these matters, and return home with all haste and avenge our wrongs on the insurgents, it will fare worse, and you will not be able to recover your kingdom without the hazard of a war." The king was exceedingly astonished at what he heard, and turning it over in his mind for a long time, said but little, for he thought it incredible and a piece of wickedness exceeding belief. Where is the man who, when his wealth is plundered, bears it patiently? Who endures wrongs without a murmur? Fear, in its anxiety, gives all things, however uncertain, an appearance of probability; and when a confused state of affairs comes to the knowledge of others, they are themselves disturbed, and their minds are apt to be alarmed lest every thing should turn out disordered. The discord of princes is seldom to be allayed; but if King Richard should be

## *Itinerary*

obliged to return home, probably not a man would remain in the Holy Land, as there was jealousy and strife between the people of Tyre and Ascalon, and without a doubt the Turks would have possession of the land for ever.

Chapter XXIII. — *How the army, on hearing the secret news brought by the king's messenger, took counsel to choose a king for themselves. and how the people preferred the marquis to King Guy.*

On the morrow, the king having called together the leaders of the army, laid before them the news which he had heard, fully explaining the words of the prior, and at the same time declaring that he must, of necessity, return home directly, but promised to furnish to the campaign in the Holy Land three hundred knights and two thousand chosen foot soldiers, at his own expense. He then inquired who would return with him, and who would stay behind? He would compel no one to do either, but left it entirely to their own choice. Having taken counsel, in common, on this point, they made the following reply to the king's inquiries: — That as the land was suffering from the discord of certain parties, and the issue of events was still uncertain, especially as King Guy had not yet effected his purpose of recovering the kingdom, they thought it absolutely necessary that a new king should be appointed, to whom all should pay allegiance, and to whose care the land should be entrusted, that he might fight the battles of the people; one, in fine, whom the army could follow and obey; and if this should not be settled before the king's departure, that they would, one and all, depart from the land, for they should not otherwise be able to guard it against the enemy. On the king inquiring, in reply to this, which of the two they would rather have for king, King Guy, or the marquis, the whole army, high and low, entreated, on their bended knees, that the marquis should be elevated to the sovereignty, as much better able to defend the country than any other they could choose. The king, listening to their petition, censured them in gentle terms for their fickleness, for they had before this often detracted from the character and good qualities of the marquis.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXIV. — *How King Richard, to satisfy the people, sent for marquis, though known to be seditious and in league with Saladin.*

King Richard, when he had weighed well the petition of the people for choosing the marquis as their king, gave his assent, and appointed noble men to go to Tyre, and bring back the marquis with all due honour. On the king's giving his consent, a general decree was unanimously issued for the election of the marquis, and certain men of high rank, viz., Henry Count of Champagne, Otho de Transinges, and William de Cague, were sent by sea with a retinue, to impart the good news to the marquis at Tyre; but, as the proverb says, "There is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip!" for God proved the marquis to be unworthy of the kingdom; and as a further evidence of his judgment of him, we may add this: that after the departure of the French, King Richard had asked the marquis, as he had often done before, for the aid which was required to recover the kingdom, as we have already said, but he refused it obstinately, so that blame must deservedly be imputed to him; and over and above this, he was diligently plotting against the honour of the king's crown, and the army at Ascalon, by entering into a treaty of peace with Saladin, on the conditions that he should come to him and swear to observe concord hereafter, and that the Christians should have a share of the city of Jerusalem; and that he should have the fortress of Baruth, and Sidon, and half the land on this side the river Jordan. To those terms Saladin readily assented in spite of his brother, who opposed them; and, as we heard afterwards, constantly persuaded Saladin to agree to no conditions of peace with any of the Christians without the consent of King Richard. "There is not a better man than he in Christendom," said Saphadin; "nor has he his match for probity; and I will neither advise, nor assent to the confirmation of peace, unless with his consent and privity." By these means the infamous design was abandoned, and the treason failed of success. The existence of this plot was clearly proved afterwards; for during the time that ambassadors were going to and fro, between Saladin and the marquis, to arrange and negotiate the matter, Stephen de Tornehan happened to meet them coming out of

## *Itinerary*

Jerusalem from the presence of Saladin. They were men notorious for infamy of character; one of them was called Baban of Ybelin, the other, Reginald of Sidon; but we pass them by for all their anxious endeavours and zeal came to nought, like dust, which a man scatters against the wind.

*Chapter XXV. — How the marquis, on hearing that he had been chosen king, was elated with great joy, as well as his friends; and how the latter prepared armour for themselves, and every thing necessary for his coronation.*

The ambassadors, who had been sent to fetch the marquis, arriving at Tyre, set forth to him how he had been unanimously chosen king by the whole army, and with the consent of King Richard; and that the crown of the kingdom had been granted to him, if he would come with his army and perform the duties thereof, vigorously and bravely, against the Turks, and apply himself to the government of the kingdom of Jerusalem in all other matters as his own. On hearing this, it is said, that the marquis, in the excessive joy of his heart, stretched forth his hand to heaven, and prayed thus, "O Lord God! who has created me, and infused life into my body; who art a just and merciful King; I pray Thee, O Lord, if thou thinkest me deserving of the government of Thy kingdom, grant me to see myself crowned; but if Thou judgest otherwise, consent not thou to my promotion!" When it became well known throughout the city of Tyre that the marquis was to be crowned king, so great was the joy of the people, that they got in readiness whatever they had, and used their utmost diligence to prepare for celebrating his coronation. They borrowed money to buy robes and armour, for they wished to make the most splendid appearance possible in the service of one so magnificent, who had been raised to so high a dignity. Men were now to be seen cleaning their armour, polishing their rusty arms, sharpening their swords, and rubbing their lances; soldiers and boys engaged in sham battles, and maintaining the appearance of a real conflict of combatants, boasting at the same time of the future destruction of the Turks; and, in fact, they were a brave people, had they not been without the Divine aid. Thus they indulged in joy, the more unreasonable, for being

## *Itinerary*

so intemperate, according to the proverb, — “We should not rejoice too much, nor grieve too much,” for all excess is reprehensible.

Chapter XXVI. — *How the marquis was stabbed with two poniards, by two young men, assassins, sent by the old man (senior) of Musse.*

Meanwhile, Count Henry, after executing his embassy, turned off with his companions to Acre, to equip themselves in becoming attire for the coronation, and were on the point of returning to Ascalon, when the marquis was overtaken by sudden death at Tyre. For it happened one day that he was returning, in a very cheerful and pleasant humour, from an entertainment given by the bishop of Beauvais, at which he had been a guest, and had reached the custom-house of the city, when two young men, assassins,<sup>21</sup> without cloaks, suddenly rushed upon him, and having drawn two poniards, which they carried in their hands, stabbed him to the heart, and ran off at full speed. The marquis instantly fell from his horse, and rolled dying on the ground; one of the murderers was slain directly but the second took shelter in a church; notwithstanding which he was captured, and condemned to be dragged through the city until life should be extinct. One of them was closely questioned before expiring, at whose instigation, and for what reason, they had done the deed, when he confessed that they had been sent along time before to perpetrate the crime, and that they had done it by the command of their superior, whom they were bound to obey. This turned out to be true; for these very young men had been some time in the service of the marquis, waiting for a favourable opportunity to complete the deed. The old man of Musse had sent them over to assassinate the marquis, whom he thought worthy of death, within a certain space of time; for every one the old man judged deserving of death, he caused to be assassinated in the same manner. The old man of

<sup>21</sup>The origin of the fraternity of Assassins, followers of the Old Man of the Mountain, as he is generally called in the common histories of England, has not been very clearly traced. It appears by the accounts which we have of the Thugs and other tribes in India, that similar associations still exist in the East.

## *Itinerary*

Musse, according to hereditary custom, brought up a large number of noble boys in his palace, causing them to be taught every kind of learning and accomplishment, and to be instructed in various languages, until they could converse in them without the aid of an interpreter, in any nation of the known world. Cruelty of the greatest degree was also inculcated with profound secrecy; and the pupils were carefully and anxiously trained to follow it up. When they reach the age of puberty, the senior calls them to him, and enjoins on them, for the remission of their sins, to slay some great man, whom he mentions by name; and for this purpose he gives to each of them a poniard, of terrible length and sharpness. From their devoted obedience, they never hesitate to set out, as they are commanded; nor do they pause until they have reached the prince, or tyrant, who has been pointed out to them; and they remain in his service until they find a favourable opportunity for accomplishing their purpose; for by so doing they believe they shall gain the favour of heaven. Of this sect were the persons who slew the marquis.

Now while he was breathing his last, the attendants who were about him took him up in their arms and carried him to the palace, mourning and weeping inconsolably; the more so, as their joy had been, but now, so great. He enjoined his wife to attend carefully to the preservation of the city of Tyre, and to resign it to no one, save King Richard, or to whomsoever the kingdom should fall by right of heirship. Immediately afterwards he expired, and was buried in the Hospital, amidst great mourning and lamentation. Thus the former state of excitement and public joy was cut short; and the dominion so long desired, but not yet secured, vanished. The cheering hopes of that desolate land were destroyed, and intense grief superseded the former gladness.

Chapter XXVII. — *How the French, from envy, accused King Richard of the marquis's death.*

In the confusion which now prevailed amongst the people, the tares which an enemy had sown sprung up and corrupted the wheat. For it was whispered by certain of the French, who sought to veil their own

## *Itinerary*

wickedness by such a falsehood, and they infused it into the minds of all the people, that King Richard had vilely brought about the death of the marquis, and that he had hired these men from the Assassins for that purpose. Oh, infamous and malicious envy, that always carps at virtue, hates what is good, and endeavours to blacken the splendour which it cannot extinguish! Nor were they content with defaming the character of King Richard in those quarters, but also sent a warning to the king of France, to be on his guard against the satellites of the old man of Musse; detailing the manner in which the marquis died, and stating that King Richard had directed four of these ministers of superstition against himself. What did not they deserve who fabricated such misrepresentations, by means of which so many nations are believed to have been confounded, and so many provinces shaken! The infamous authors thought, by the invention of this malicious slander, to add to their own strength, and perhaps palliate their own wickedness.

Chapter XXVIII. — *How Count Henry was chosen king at Tyre, and how messengers were sent to report this and the assassination of the marquis to King Richard.*

After the marquis was buried, the French, who lived in tents outside the city, to the number of about 10,000, met together, and after a long discussion, sent orders to the wife of the marquis, bidding her to place the city in their charge, without delay or opposition, for the service of the king of France. But the queen replied, that when King Richard came to see her, she would give it up to him, and to no one else, for such were the commands of her dying lord, as there was no one who had laboured so much to rescue the Holy Land from the hands of the Turks, and restore it to its former freedom; and that the kingdom ought to be given to the bravest man, to dispose of it as he thought fit. The French were exceedingly indignant at this reply, and while they were striving to obtain possession of the city, Count Henry, astonished at what he heard had taken place, came unexpectedly to Tyre; and when the people saw him amongst them, they forthwith chose him as their prince, as if he had been sent by

## *Itinerary*

God; and began with much earnestness to entreat him to accept the crown of the kingdom, without excuse or hesitation, and to marry the widow of the marquis, as the kingdom was hers by right of inheritance. To this he replied, that he would act according to the advice of his uncle, King Richard, respecting the settlement of the business, to which it had pleased the Lord to call him; and immediately, ambassadors were sent to announce to King Richard the solemn election of Count Henry by all the people, and the horrible assassination of the marquis.

Chapter XXIX. — *Of the great zeal with which King Richard fought, slew, and made captives of the Turks.*

Meanwhile, before the messengers from Tyre to King Richard reached their destination, the fair season sat in, after the cold winter months; and King Richard began again to attack the Turks, with indefatigable ardour, as before. For there never was a man like him, nor one whom the Turks feared so much; no one had ever before injured them in like manner, falling upon them almost single-handed, and bringing back the heads of his foes, sometimes ten in a day, sometimes twelve, or twenty, or thirty, according as they happened to fall in his way; and besides all this, he would also bring home captives every day in large numbers. There never was a man in the times of the Christians who destroyed so many Saracens single-handed.

Chapter XXX. — *How Mestoc was ransomed, and how some of our men-at-arms, while out foraging, were captured by the Turks.*

On the Thursday before the feast of Saint Alphage, Mestoc, who, as aforesaid, was taken with many others in the city of Acre, was ransomed and released. Shortly after this, some of our men-at-arms and servants, who had gone out in search of fodder for the beasts of burden, while proceeding incautiously too far, were set upon by an ambuscade of the Saracens, and many were killed and made captives, as well as a large number of horses.

## *Itinerary*

### Chapter XXXI. — *Of the fight between King Richard and a boar that he met, and of the king's boldness in the contest*

On the Wednesday before the feast of St. Mark the evangelist, the king and his army set out to Gadida to protect the city, but found no one there, for the enemy had taken to flight when they heard of his coming. On their way back, the king attacked a fierce boar, which, hearing the noise of the party passing by, had come out and stood in the way. The fierce animal, foaming at the mouth with rage, and with his shaggy hair bristling up, and his ears erect, seemed to be collecting all his strength and fury to receive or make an attack. He did not move from his place when the king shouted; nay, when the king made a circuit round him, he also turned himself in his astonishment round in a circle, and kept in the same place which he had first occupied. The king now making use of his lance for a hunting spear, moved on to pierce him; and the boar, turning a little to one side, prepared to meet him. The animal was of enormous size, and terrible aspect, and the lance which was boldly thrust against his broad breast broke in two, from not being strong enough to bear the pressure of both, as they were closing with each other. The boar, now rendered furious by his wound, rushed with all his might upon the king, who had not an inch of room, or a moment of time to turn away; so putting spurs to his horse, he fairly leapt over the animal unharmed, though the boar tore away the hinder trappings of his horse; but the activity of the latter frustrated the blow; and the part of the lance which was fixed in the animal's breast prevented him from coming to closer quarters. They then make a simultaneous attack on each other, and the boar made a rapid movement, as if to close with the king; but he, brandishing his sword, smote him with it as he passed, and stunned him with the blow; then wheeled round his horse, and cutting the boar's sinews, he consigned the animal to the care of his huntsmen.

### Chapter XXXII. — *Of the capture of some Turks by our men.*

## *Itinerary*

On the Tuesday before the feast of St. Philip and St. James, Roger de Glanville set out with his soldiers, from Whitecastle, and passing, in force, before the gates of Jerusalem, intercepted some Saracens, whom he put in chains, and brought back captives. On the following Wednesday, King Richard fell in with some Saracens also, between Whitecastle and Gaza, and slaying some, made prisoners of five of them whom he sent to Ascalon.

Chapter XXXIII. — *Likewise of the capture of some Turks by King Richard at Furbia, and by the Templars at Darum.*

While the king was passing the night after the day of the blessed apostles St. Philip and St. James with a few followers at Furbia, the Turks, early in the morning, came upon them by surprise, thinking either to capture or destroy them; but the king was the first to leap from his bed, and seizing only his shield and sword, took seven of the Turks captive, and slew four; the rest fled from before him. Afterwards he sent out the Templars and Turcoples,<sup>22</sup> as far as the fortress of Darum, to explore the country, and they found twenty Saracens, who had come out from the fort, sowing barley; these they seized, and sent to Ascalon

Chapter XXXIV. — *How the aforesaid messengers arrived from Tyre, and how, on their announcing the death of the marquis, and the election of Count Henry, King Richard was rejoiced at the said election, and granted the count all he asked for; and how he sent for the French.*

In those days, while King Richard was engaged on the plains of Ramula, in pursuit of the flying Turks, the messengers, who had been sent from Tyre, came to him, and informed him of the state of affairs there; of the death of the marquis, and the choice of Count Henry to be his successor; but that the latter would not venture to accept the kingdom

<sup>22</sup>The Turcoples seem to have been natives of the country, of cross breed between Turks and Christians, they served as light cavalry.

## *Itinerary*

without the king's consent and advice. King Richard hearing of the death of the marquis, was for a long time silent, with astonishment, at his violent and untimely end; but he was exceedingly rejoiced at the election of his nephew, and the regal honours so solemnly conferred upon him; for he knew that his own people desired it much. "Wherefore," said he, "as the marquis, by the inexorable decrees of fate, has ceased to exist, it is of no use to indulge in sorrow: mourning will avail nothing to the spirit of the departed! I congratulate you on the election of Count Henry; and I am very desirous, if it be the will of God, that he should be invested with the government of the kingdom as soon as we have obtained entire possession of the Holy Land; but concerning his marrying the widow of the marquis, I have no advice to give, for the marquis seized upon her unlawfully while her husband was alive, and committed adultery by his intercourse with her; let Count Henry take the kingdom, and the city of Acre, with all its appurtenances, Tyre and Joppa, and the whole of the land, if it so please God, for ever. Tell him also, in my name, to set out for the campaign as quickly as possible, and bring the French with him; for I purpose to take Darum in spite of all the opposition of the Turks.

*Chapter XXXV. — How, on the return of the messenger from King Richard, and their announcing his pleasure, the count was married to the marquis's widow, to the great joy of all, and how Tyre and other fortresses were given up to the count.*

After receiving the instructions of King Richard, the ambassadors returned to Tyre to the count, their future king, and reported the message entrusted to them. Then the joy and exultation of all was revived, and the principal persons persuaded the count to marry the marquis's widow who was heiress to the kingdom; but he refused, lest he should offend King Richard. Upon this, the French, and the nobles of the kingdom, urged him to it, alleging that his position would be strengthened thereby; and by their influence, the lady came of her own accord to offer him the keys of the city. This was done at the instance of the French, who were for hurrying on the matter. The marriage was solemnized in the church in the presence of the clergy and laity. Those who persuaded the count to this step were not

## *Itinerary*

supposed to have had much difficulty; for there is no trouble in persuading a willing man. The nuptials were solemnized with royal magnificence, and all were rejoiced at the accomplishment of the affair, which was wished for by every one; the French exulted, and the Normans were equally joyful, for the count was a nephew of both the kings of France and England; and by this union happier times were hoped for, and a return of those who differed to peace and concord. On the completion of his nuptials, the count immediately sent persons to assume the government of Acre, Joppa, and other cities and forts, in his name; and to take possession of all his dominions, which they were to hold under him as their lord. He then published an edict, calling on all to get ready for the expedition against Darum.

Chapter XXXVI. — *With what joy Count Henry was received at Acre on his way, with the duke of Burgundy and his army, to aid King Richard.*

Having, therefore, left fit persons to guard the city of Tyre, and the rest of the land, Count Henry, in company with the duke of Burgundy, moved forward his army towards Acre, in order to hasten the campaign and provide what was necessary; and he also brought his wife with him, as he could not yet endure to be without her. When the count's coming was known to the people of Acre, they came out, with dances, to meet and applaud their new lord; and crowding round him, they accompanied him into the city, which was adorned on every side like a temple, with curtains and silken cloths; burning censers were filled with frankincense, and carried about the roads and streets; and women led the dance with joy and exultation. Why need we enter into detail? An immense number of people, calculated at 60,000, went forth in full armour to meet the count, and testify their joy and regard for him. The clergy led him by the hand into the church before the altar, and offered him the Holy Cross, and other relics, to kiss. The count himself, and several others, made many precious offerings there; after which he was conducted to the royal palace, where he ordered a banquet to be prepared, and every one, according to his means, strove to do honour to their new lord.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXXVII. — *How King Richard, moved with pity, gave to King Guy the island of Cyprus as a reward for his prowess in war, and to console him for the loss of his kingdom.*

But since it is hardly possible for one man to rise without another's downfall, so that the loss of the one turns to the advantage of the other, King Guy was now deprived of the kingdom, in the acquisition of which Count Henry gloried, and for which he had fought so many battles. He now dwelt therein like a private man, not because he was undeserving of the kingdom, for there was not another king to be found of more royal habits or character than he, but for this only reason, that he was simple-minded and unversed in political intrigue; instead of being esteemed the more on this account, as he should have been, he was considered the more contemptible. He was a soldier of great prowess, and conducted the siege of Acre, when occupied by the Turks, with the greatest vigour and perseverance; but owing to the increasing numbers of the enemy on the side towards the sea, he could not storm the city, which two kings afterwards with difficulty gained possession of. Ought, then, the simplicity of his character to have injured him in obtaining his rights? For such was the perversity of the age, that he whoever was known to be most inhuman in his actions was thought worthy of greater honour and glory; and thus while craftiness gained respect, piety sunk into disrepute, because prudence is the reigning virtue of the present age. Thus, then, Guy became a king without a kingdom, until King Richard, moved with pity for him and his well-known probity, gave him the unconditional sovereignty of the island of Cyprus, although the Templars had previously bought it of him; and thus the condition of purchase by the Templars being set aside, Guy was made emperor of Cyprus.

Chapter XXXVIII. — *How messengers arrived frequently from England, and how the news they brought made King Richard doubtful what to do.*

## *Itinerary*

At the time that the marquis was assassinated at Tyre as aforesaid, many messengers arrived from England, soliciting the king to return; some of them said that every thing was safe, others that England was on the point of being taken from him; some begged him to return home, while others used all their endeavours to persuade him to accomplish his pilgrimage in the land which he had come to; and thus their different assertions disturbed his mind, and made him doubtful to which he should lean. But he measured the spirit of the king of France by his former experience, for, according to the proverb, "He who has a bad man for his neighbour, is sure to find something wrong in the morning."

Chapter XXXIX. — *How King Richard, without the aid of the French, and with his own amy alone, took Darum by storm in four days, and captured 300 Turks therein.*

In the meantime, while Count Henry and the French at Acre were proceeding to the siege of the fort of Darum, King Richard, who hated delay, started with his men from Ascalon, and sent his stone-engines, which had been placed piecemeal on board the ships, to proceed thither by sea. The king, deputed men to guard the city, and hired others, at the most lavish price, to keep a good look-out by day towards the neighbouring forts, and a careful watch by night to prevent the Turks from carrying supplies as before to Darum, or whatever might be wanted by the army at Jerusalem, or from any longer having a safe retreat to Darum, whence they frequently planned ambuscades against our men. Then the king, with his own soldiers only, set out armed for the fort of Darum, and arriving there on a Sunday, he pitched his tent and those of his followers at a short distance from it. Owing to the paucity of our men, it was doubted which part of the fort they should attack, as they were unable entirely to surround it; for if our small numbers were scattered, they would not be able to storm the tower, or withstand the attack of the Turks; wherefore they retired in a body towards a village situated in a plain, where they drew up. The Turks, on seeing so small an army, came forth from the castle, as if to solicit and challenge them to battle, and then retired again, and having barred their

## *Itinerary*

gates very strongly, prepared to defend themselves. Immediately afterwards, the king's stone-engines arrived in his ships, which being disjointed, and in different pieces, the king, his princes, and nobles, carried on their shoulders from the shore, not without much sweating, as we ourselves saw, for nearly a mile. At last, when the engines were put together, and men placed to work them, the king took upon himself to manage one of them, and with it to attack the principal tower of the fort, the Normans had the second, and the men of Poictou the third; and all of them were put in motion for the destruction of the fort. The Turks saw that utter destruction was close at hand; but for all that, they endeavoured to defend themselves manfully. King Richard caused his engines to be plied day and night. Darum had seventeen strong and compact towers, one of which was higher and stronger than the others, and externally it was surrounded by a deep ditch, which was built on one side of layers of paving stones, and a natural rock hung over the other. And now cowardly fears came upon the unbelieving race, lest they should not be able to defend themselves effectually, or even to escape with their lives. On the morrow, the king caused the sappers to carry a mine very cleverly underground, in order to break up the pavement, and make a hollow in the wall; and the stone-engines, being plied in common, broke in pieces, by their frequent blows, one of the enemy's mangonels, erected on the principal tower, at which the enemy were very much discouraged. At first the Turks drove back our men with stones and darts, which fell in dense showers from their slings and bows; but our slingers, to the great destruction of our foes, wherever they saw any one exposed to their attack on the battlements, threw missiles at him, and wounded and killed so many of them, that the enemy scarcely dared to move for fear; and their condition began now to be far from enviable, when on a sudden, one of the gates of the fort was broken down, set on fire, and utterly destroyed by the blows of the king's stone-engines. The Turks, now driven to desperation, by this continuous and harassing attack, were not able to make a longer defence, and many were killed, while others lay wounded on the ground. It was now clear that King Richard was invincible in every operation he commenced; and that by undermining the towers, and plying his engines,

## *Itinerary*

he was sure to succeed. Three, therefore, of the Saracens came from the fort to the king, and sued for peace, offering to surrender the fort, and every thing belonging to it, on condition that they should be allowed to go away with their lives; but the king refused, and told them to defend themselves to the utmost of their power. They returned therefore to the fort, and the king's engine was kept constantly at work; and directly afterwards, a tower, which had been weakened by a subterranean passage, made by the king's miners, after repeated blows, fell to the ground with a dreadful crash. The Turks in escaping from the ruins became mingled with our men, who pursued them with slaughter, till they took refuge in the principal tower, having first performed the horrible act of cutting the sinews of their horses, to prevent their being of service to the enemy. The Turks now fled, and our men boldly approached the fort. The first who entered it were Seguin Borret, and his armour-bearer, named Ospiard; the third was Peter of Gascony, and after him, many others, whose names are lost. The banner of Stephen de Longchamp was the first that was raised above the walls; the second was that of the earl of Leicester; and the third, that of Andrew de Chavegui; the fourth was that of Raimund, son of the prince; and then the Genoese and Pisans raised on the wall their standards of various forms. Thus the banners of our men were raised, and those of the Turks thrown down. And now the Turks might be seen flying towards the tower, or falling to the earth, smitten with the sword or transfixed with darts, before they could reach it; all whom our men found still standing their ground on the battlements, they hurled down to the earth below. Sixty Turks were killed in different parts of the fort. Those who had taken refuge in the tower, seeing the slaughter of their troops, and that their place of refuge would be demolished (for, at the instance of the king, men were already setting to work to overthrow it), and that there was no longer any safety in opposing the king, in their extremity, on the Friday before Pentecost, gave themselves up to the royal clemency to be slaves for ever; especially as one of their most powerful admirals, by name Caisac, to whose care the fort had been intrusted, had failed in his promise to give them succour. The fort of Darum being thus taken, nearly forty Christian captives were found there in chains, and were now set at liberty. On the following Saturday

## *Itinerary*

night, King Richard caused his men to keep guard over the Turks who still survived in the tower, until the morning, and on the Whitsuntide eve he ordered them to come down therefrom, having their hands tied behind their backs with thongs, so that their limbs became stiff. Their number amounted to 300, besides boys and women. Thus King Richard, with his own soldiers, gained possession of the fort of Darum with great credit, after assaulting it for four days; for our men were very desirous of accomplishing this without the French, in order that they might gain the greater glory.

Chapter XI. — *How King Richard gave Count Henry the fort of Darum on his arrival there, and returned to Furbia.*

Thus Darum was taken; but meanwhile Count Henry, with the French, and the Duke of Burgundy, were coming in great haste, that they might be present at its capture, but it was already taken. The king received the count on his arrival with special manifestations of joy; and leading him to the fort, gave it over to him, in the presence of all, as the first fruits of the kingdom, which he was to obtain, with the appurtenances thereof, present and future. All remained in the fort of Darum on the great day of the feast of Pentecost. On the Monday after, they placed some of the count's men as guards in the fort, and set out for Ascalon, passing through the midst of Gaza, till they came to Furbia. Here the king tarried three days, but the rest set out for Ascalon, where the French solemnized the festival of Pentecost.

Chapter XII. — *How King Richard, on hearing that Caisac, the admiral, was fortifying the castle of Figs With 1,000 Turks, went thither to storm it, and how the enemy fled at his approach.*

One of the king's spies, in returning to Furbia, from the direction of the castle of Figs, reported that a thousand Saracens, or more, were with the chieftain, Caisac, posted in that fort, and were actively engaged in fortifying it against the Christians, in case they should come to attack it. On hearing this, King Richard started thither immediately, and the army followed him. At nightfall, they stopped at the fort of Reeds, or the "Cane-

## *Itinerary*

brake of starlings" (cannetum sturnellorum), and at dawn of day set out for the castle of Figs, as they had proposed, but they found no one there save two Turks, whom they took away captive with them, for the Turks had levelled the gates of the fort to the ground, and fled rapidly away on hearing of the approach of King Richard and his army. They were also not a little frightened at the capture of the fort, and the men who were found therein; and mindful of their loss, took precautions lest they should themselves fall into a like predicament. Our men, therefore, finding the fort deserted, mounted the highest of the battlements, and took a survey around, to see if any enemy was in sight, that they might attack him; but not finding any one to fight with, they returned to the house of starlings to spend the night.

Chapter XIII. — *How on hearing the news of the disturbed state of his kingdom, through the intrigues of Earl John, his brother, King Richard was much moved, and declared his wish to return home.*

While Richard was at this place, there arrived a messenger from England, a clergyman, by name John de Alençon, to inform the king of the disturbed state of England, owing to Earl John, his brother, who would not listen to the persuasions of his mother the queen, nor to those of any other person, but was led on by his own will, and the frequent solicitations of the king of France; and he assured the king that unless the infamous treason was put a stop to by some means or other, England stood in danger of being alienated from the dominion of King Richard. The king was troubled at hearing this news, and reflected in his mind, for a long time, what would be the best course to adopt; at last he confessed that he must return home, if he would not have his native land, and the kingdom of his fathers, wrested from him. As the report of the king's intention was not made public, some said he was going away; others said that he would remain, and not allow uncertain reports to call him away from the accomplishment of so pious an undertaking; an act which would neither promote the recovery of the Holy Land, nor redound to his own honour.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XLIII. — *How the whole army unanimously agreed that Jerusalem should be besieged, whether King Richard should return home directly or not.*

While people differed in opinion as to the departure of King Richard, all the leaders and officers of the army, English, French, Normans, men of Poictou, Maine, and Anjou, met together, and agreed with each other, that whether King Richard returned or not, they would proceed to the siege of Jerusalem, and that nothing should prevent them. When this was known in the army, the people were filled with exceeding joy, and all, rich and poor, high and low, rejoiced in common; and there was not a man in the army but evinced by outward signs the most immoderate joy each in his own peculiar manner; wherefore they made a brilliant illumination, and danced and sang nearly all the night; and thus

They passed the livelong night in wakeful glee.

The king was the only one troubled with care from what he had heard, and he fell into a long train of thought, until, overcome with the weight of it, he threw himself, in an angry mood, upon his bed. It was now the beginning of June, and the whole army was animated with the desire of setting out for Jerusalem.

Chapter XLIV. — *How the flies called cincenelles stung the soldiers in the face, at Ybelin, so that they looked like lepers.*

The king and the army started from the Brake of Starlings, and proceeded through the plains to Ybelin, of the Hospitallers, by Hebron, near the valley, where Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary, is said to have been born. Here, the army made a halt, exceedingly rejoiced at the prospect of proceeding towards Jerusalem. And here the men were beset with swarms of small insects, which flew about like sparks of fire, and were called cincenelles. The whole region round swarmed with them, and they annoyed the pilgrims horribly, with their sharp stings in the hands, neck, throat, forehead, and face, and in whatever part of the person happened to

## *Itinerary*

be exposed; their stings were immediately followed by burning and swelling, and those who were stung looked like lepers. They could scarcely keep off their troublesome attacks with veils thrown over the face and neck. But they were in high spirits, and thought they should bear these annoyances with patience; for they were all pledged to advance to the siege of Jerusalem, and the king was the only one troubled at the news which he had received from England.

Chapter XLV. — *How one of King Richard's chaplains addressed him, and dissuaded him, by every argument in his power, from returning home.*

One day a chaplain from Poictou, named William, saw the king sitting alone in his tent, with his eyes fixed on the ground, in meditation, and he felt grieved for him, for he knew that he was exasperated at the news brought from England; but he did not venture to come up to him, to lighten his mind of the cares which oppressed him; so he regarded him with a respectful look, and shed tears, but without uttering a word. When the king saw by his manner that the man was desirous of addressing him, he called him, and thus spoke to him: "Sir Chaplain, I pray you, by your allegiance to me, tell me, without delay or dissimulation, what is the cause of your weeping, and if occasion of your distress has any reference to me." The chaplain, with eyes swollen with tears and humble voice, replied, "I will not speak before I know that your highness will not be angered with me for what I say." The king, with an oath, gave him free leave to speak. Upon which, the chaplain, taking confidence, thus began: "My lord the king, I weep on account of the ill repute in which you stand with the army, because you intend to return home, and especially amongst those who are the most solicitous for your honour; but may God forbid that you be turned from the recovery of this desolated land, by doubtful or uncertain reports, for we believe it would tend to your eternal disgrace; let not then the glory of a most splendid enterprise be overcast by a hasty retreat; nor let it be charged against you hereafter, that you returned home in idleness, while your enterprise was still unfinished. How unlike will the end be to the beginning, if you thus derogate from your former glory! I pray you to take

## *Itinerary*

heed, lest your glory, so well earned at first, fade and tarnish in the end! My lord the king, remember what God hath done for you, and how he hath prospered all your acts, to be recorded by immortal fame. Never did king of your age perform so many or such glorious deeds! Remember, O king, that even when you were but count of Poictou, you never had a neighbour for a foe, whatever might be his valour or courage, but he was subdued and conquered by your might. Remember, O king, the multitudes of Brabaçons whom you so often routed and dispersed, with a small band of soldiers. O king, remember how gloriously you raised the siege of Hautefort, when the count of St. Giles besieged it; how you drove him off, and put him to ignominious flight. O king, remember how you obtained possession of your kingdom, peacefully and quietly, without opposition, or need of shield or helmet. O king, remember how many and mighty nations you have subdued, how bravely you captured the city of Messina, and how nobly you behaved yourself when the Greeks ventured to provoke and make war against you, and how you crushed them, and the divine mercy rescued you out of their hands, whilst they were confounded and destroyed. Remember, O king, the qualities with which God has endowed you, according to the riches of his grace, when you subdued the island of Cyprus, which no one had dared to attack before, and which you subjugated in the short period of fifteen days; which you were only able to do by the assistance of God himself. Remember how you then captured the emperor; and that ship of extraordinary size, which could not put into the port of Acre by reason of a contrary wind, you met and overwhelmed her with the eighty armed Turks, and cast into the waves of the sea the serpents which were therein. Remember, my lord the king, the siege of Acre, to the capture of which you arrived in good season, and which was surrendered when you assaulted it. Remember how you then fell ill of the sickness called arnalia, and how you suffered much, but, by the mercy of God, recovered when so many princes died of the same complaint. O king, remember that land which God hath committed to your care, and whose eye is turned to you only, for the king of France has departed, like a coward. O king, remember the Christian captives whom you released from the bonds with which the Turks had fettered them, in the fort of Darum,

## *Itinerary*

and to whose succour you were sent by God. How deeply should you reflect on the numberless triumphs with which God has honoured you, and the successes with which he has magnified you, so that there is not a king or prince who can venture to resist you. Has it also escaped your memory that you have lately captured the fort of Darum in four days? And what shall we think of that hour, when you were lying asleep incautiously, and were nearly seized by the wicked infidels, had not God aroused you, and rescued you from their hands? Why need I detail the foes whom you have subdued throughout the world, the cities that have fallen before you, and the successful issues of all your undertakings? Remember, that when you came hither from the western world, you were everywhere victorious, and your enemies lay in chains at your feet; for before your face,

In vain Antæus rose refreshed from earth,  
Or Hydra's heads were multiplied.

And now the sultan trembles at your name, the hearts of the people of Babylon are astonished, and the Turk is struck with awe. Need I say more? All agree in declaring that you are the father, the champion, and the defender of Christianity, and if you desert them, it is the same as if you gave them up to be destroyed by the enemy. O king, continue to be their chief, bravely as you have begun; succour this people, for their hope is entirely in you: you are their natural protector, and may you, with the aid of Christ, still continue to prosper!"

Chapter XLVI. — *How King Richard caused it to be proclaimed, by voice of herald, throughout the army, that he would not return until after Easter.*

The king attended to the words of the chaplain, and deliberated within himself some time in silence. He had held his peace while the chaplain was speaking, and they also who were sitting with him in his tent had listened with the utmost attention. The king's heart was changed by this address, and his intention was confirmed as to the certainty of the course which he should pursue; and therefore, he and his army returned at

## *Itinerary*

three o'clock on the morrow to Ascalon, and stopped in the orchards outside the city, while every one supposed that he was on the point of returning home, and that in reality he was hastening his departure. But the king had changed his purpose by the inspiration of God, through the agency of the chaplain; and he told Count Henry, the duke of Burgundy, and others of the nobles, that he would not leave before Easter for the solicitations of any messenger, or any reports or complaints whatever. On the fourth of June, therefore, in Trinity week, he summoned Philip, his herald, and commanded him to proclaim throughout the army, that the king would not depart from the Holy Land before Easter; and that all should equip themselves according to their means, and prepare for the siege of Jerusalem.

Chapter XLVII. — *How the army was rejoiced on hearing the king's determination, and how they prepared for the siege of Jerusalem.*

When the army heard the words of the herald, they were as delighted as a bird at dawn of day, and all immediately set themselves in readiness, packing up their luggage, and preparing for the march, Then, with hands lifted up to heaven, they prayed thus. "O God, we adore and thank thee that we shall soon see thy city of Jerusalem, in which the Turks have dwelt so long! O how blessed are our expectations, after this long delay! How deserved have been the sufferings and tribulations of each of us! The much longed-for sight of thy city will recompense us for all!" These and the like prayers were offered up by each; their only care and anxiety being now to proceed on their march. Moreover, the crowd of the lower class of people, made active by hope, took the provision baggage on their shoulders, asserting that they were fully able to carry a month's supply, so eager were they to proceed to Jerusalem; for there is nothing the mind of a willing man cannot overcome, if he only has the inclination; and zeal in the service of God softens the hardships of his toil.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XLVIII. — *How King Richard and the army set out from Ascalon towards Jerusalem, and arrived at the White Custody; and how two of our men died from the bite of serpents.*

While, therefore, each was getting ready for the campaign, every thing that happened seemed to be done in harmony with their intentions. The king and army, therefore, who were encamped outside the city, being now thoroughly prepared for the march, set out from Ascalon on Sunday, the octave of the holy Trinity, towards Jerusalem at dawn of day. A chosen people, and nobly arrayed, were they who now issued forth, advancing slow on account of the heat. The richer classes supplied with lowly generosity the poor pilgrims who were on foot with means of conveyance horses, and every kind of beast of burden, to carry them; while the light-armed and robust young soldiers followed spontaneously behind them on the march. Then might you have seen many a banner and pennon of various forms floating in the breeze; many a mother's son, people of various nations, arms of various shape, and helmets with crests, brilliant with jewels, and shining mails, and shields, emblazoned with lions or flying dragons in gold; mules and horses, eager to move at full speed, and burning with indignation at being held in by the foaming bit; many a lance with its sharp point glittering; the air sparkling with the gleaming of swords, and so many soldiers, choice men, good and true, who, in my opinion, were quite sufficient to crush or withstand the Turkish host, or even a much larger number than they could shew. They made such progress on their march, that after crossing a river of sweet water, they arrived at the White Custody, and having pitched their tents in the plain outside, they spent the night there. On the first night of their stay, a soldier and his armbearer died from the bites of two serpents, within a small space of ground; and may God, in whose service they were taken, give their souls absolution. The army tarried in that place two days.

Chapter XLIX. — *How the king and his army arrived in three days at Betenoble from the White Custody, and there waited for the arrival of the people one month.*

## *Itinerary*

On the third day, *i.e.* the ninth of June, the army arrived at "Turon of the Soldiers," without obstacle or misfortune. On that night, our men captured fourteen Parthians who had come down from the mountains to plunder. On the morrow, after dinner, the army moved forward, the king going first, with his own private soldiers, as far as the castle of Arnald, where he ordered his tent to be pitched on the right and higher side of the castle. On the morrow, the French arrived, and the whole army set out for Betenoble, where they stayed some time in expectation of Count Henry, whom King Richard had sent to Acre to fetch the people who were living there in idleness; wherefore, it was necessary for the army to stay a whole month or more at the foot of the mountain, which the pilgrims are obliged to cross in going to and returning from the Holy City. While in the valley, we saw many things happen which we do not think we ought to pass over in silence. On the morrow of St. Barnabas, which was Friday, the king was informed by a spy that the Turks were on the mountains, lying in ambush for those who should pass by, and at earliest dawn he set out in search of them, and coming to the fountain of Emaus, he caught them unawares, slew twenty, put the others to flight, and captured Saladin's herald, who was accustomed to proclaim his edicts; he was the only one King Richard saved alive. He also took three camels, and horses, mules, and beautiful Turcomans; and also two mules laden with costly silken coverings, and different species of aloes, and other things. The rest of the Saracens he pursued over the mountains, routing and slaying them, until he came to a valley, where, after piercing one of the enemy, and casting him dying from his horse, he looked up and beheld in the distance the city of Jerusalem.

Chapter L. — *How the Turks in Jerusalem, on hearing that King Richard was coming fled away in terror, and how Saladin prepared for flight.*

When, therefore, news was brought by the fugitive Turks to those who dwelt in Jerusalem, that King Richard was approaching, they were struck with terror, and there is no doubt that had the king and his army moved forward at this critical juncture of their panic, the Turks would have abandoned Jerusalem, and let the Christians take undisputed possession of

## *Itinerary*

it; for the Saracens one and all had left it and fled, and not a man who could defend it even ventured to remain in the city; nor was any one deterred by the threats of the sultan, or allured by the hope of reward; for all that the sultan himself demanded was to be supplied with his swiftest charger, that he might flee from the face of King Richard, whose arrival he dared not await.

Chapter LI. — *How, while the French were at Betenoble, they would have been routed in a conflict with 200 Turks, had not the bishop of Salisbury come to their succour.*

On the same day on which the king was thus employed, two hundred Saracens came down from the mountains to the plain opposite the tents of the French, and threw the whole army into confusion before they could be put to flight. They had killed two of our guards, who had gone some distance in search of fodder for the beasts of burden; at whose cry, the French rushed forth with the Templars and Hospitallers, but the Turks defended themselves manfully at the foot of the mountain, and boldly returned their blows, refusing to fight with our men on level ground, but turning to resist as soon as they reached the declivity of the mountain; they also unhorsed one of our knights, from which the French obtained no small disgrace. On this occasion a knight would have performed an act of memorable valour, had he not transgressed the rule of his order, and his exploit was ascribed more to rashness than real courage. He was an Hospitaller, by name Robert de Bruges, who, having passed the royal standard, spurred with violence the valuable charger on which he sat, and in his eagerness to close with the enemy, issuing from the ranks, contrary to discipline, charged the Turks alone, before the others came up in order; and urging at full speed against a Turk who was most splendidly armed, he pierced him through his coat of mail and body with such force, that the lance came out at his back. The Turk fell to the ground, but his body was not left behind; and then our men made a simultaneous charge upon the enemy. After this, Gervier, the master of the Hospitallers, commanded Robert to dismount, and attend to the discipline of his order; Robert

## *Itinerary*

obeyed his commands, and dismounting, returned on foot, and waited patiently until some nobles and men of influence prayed Gervier, the master, on their knees, to forgive him, and remit his transgression, warning him not to behave in like manner for the future. Both sides now laboured in the contest with doubtful success. The heavens resounded with the shouts of war; the earth was moist with blood; swords rung as they clashed together, shields rattled, and each side was agitated by equal fury. Our men, fatigued by the weight of the battle, began to waver, when, by divine providence, the count of Perche, bearing the noise of the combat, came up; yet he shewed himself but a timid man, and the French would have been routed on that day, had not the bishop of Salisbury, hearing the tumult, come quickly to their succour.

Chapter LII. — *How, while the army was staying at Betenoble, a large number of our men, who had the charge of the caravans from Joppa, were vilely treated and most roughly beaten by the Turks, and how they were rescued by the earl of Leicester.*

On the seventeenth of June, *i.e.* on St. Botolph's day, being Wednesday, our caravan was on its way from Joppa to the army, laden with provisions and other necessaries. Ferric of Vienna was deputed to conduct it, in the place of Count Henry, who should have protected the rear, but who had been sent to Acre. Ferric had that day asked Baldwin de Carron and Clarenbald de Mont Chablon, to take charge of the caravan, lest the people should straggle too widely, or be incautiously separated; but they nevertheless fell into this error, and paid the penalty of their negligence. These were Manassier de Lisle, Richard de Erques, Theoderic Philip, and some comrades of Baldwin de Carron, Otho, and many squires, with their relations and friends, who proved their friendship in the hour of need. The foremost of our men moved quickly forwards, but the hindmost followed with a slow and unwilling pace; when suddenly, not far from Ramula, the Turkish horse from the mountains, bursting from their ambush, rushed upon the latter at full speed, and endeavoured to get before them; they therefore penetrated and passed through the horses,

## *Itinerary*

which formed the hindmost of the caravan. There Baldwin de Carron was thrown from his horse; but brandishing his drawn sword and multiplying his blow in all directions, he proved inaccessible to the enemy, In that encounter Richard Torques and Theodoric were thrown from their horses, but Baldwin fought with great courage until his men brought him a horse, and helped him to mount it. There was then a very severe conflict, and honourable to both sides; drawn swords flashing, the one side attacking, and the other defending themselves most bravely; horses wandering up and down without riders; the Turks rushing about, and our men fighting stoutly. As often as the Turks felled a man to the ground, our men closed round him, and raising him up, helped him to mount his horse, each assisting one another. But our men fought at great odds, for they were very few compared with the hosts of the enemy, and each contended separately with the foe, and was hid as it were by the multitude of his adversaries; whence it was not to be wondered that the enemy's numbers excluded our men; for whenever one of our bravest men was thrown from his horse, he was overpowered by numbers, and the horses were wounded and much weakened by the showers of darts that were thrown at them. Moreover Baldwin was soon after thrown a second time from his horse, and he immediately commanded one of his men-at-arms to dismount from the horse on which he sat, and himself mounted on it, immediately after which, the man, who had behaved himself with great prowess, had his head cut off. Our men now stood on the defensive, and Philip, the comrade of Baldwin, who behaved himself with great distinction, was taken prisoner, and with him the Turks took another man-at-arms of great prowess, and killed the brother of Richard. The timid would dread a renewal of such a combat. Baldwin and his comrades fought with their swords and defended themselves with all their might. But Clarembald de Mont Chablon deserted his men, and took to flight as soon as he saw the numbers of the Turks increase. Then the conflict was renewed with fresh vigour, and Baldwin was a third time thrown from his horse, and so beaten with clubs, as almost to be rendered lifeless; the blood flowed in streams from his nose and ears, whilst his sword was blunted from constant use, and was unserviceable from its point being broken. Then Baldwin, on

## *Itinerary*

finding himself surrounded by a dense mass of Turks, cried out to Manassier de Lisle, a knight of great prowess, and who crushed all he met: — “Manassier,” said he, “do you then desert me?” On hearing this, Manassier flew with all speed to rescue him from the Turks; but the enemy were so many, that these two could do nothing against them, though they fought bravely for a long time against overwhelming numbers; until Manassier was thrown from his horse, and when he was on the ground they beat him cruelly with their iron maces, made rough with teeth, and, standing round, they so mangled him, that they broke off his leg, bone and all, from his body; and thus Baldwin and Manassier were being destroyed by the enemy, while their own men were ignorant of their fate. But, at this moment, God sent the valiant earl of Leicester, who had been ignorant of their danger, to rescue and protect them. The earl, on his arrival, dashed at the enemy and cast the first man he encountered from his horse; upon which, Auscun, the comrade of Stephen de Longchamps, cut off his head, and hurled it to a distance. Stephen also behaved himself manfully, and our people increasing in numbers, the enemy were routed, and fled with speed to the mountains, except those whom our men overtook. Those of our army who were wounded were placed carefully on horses, and carried to the army. Thus then we have thought that day’s action worthy of mention, on account of the brave deeds of the earl of Leicester, who put the Turks to flight, killed some, and captured others.

Chapter LIII. — *How, while Richard was at Betenoble, the Syrian bishop of St. George gave him a piece of the Lord’ Cross.*

A certain Syrian bishop of St. George, who had been a tributary to Saladin for himself and his flock, when, after the destruction of the country, the Saracens first came to Jerusalem, brought a piece of the Holy Cross to King Richard. He was accompanied by a large number of men and women, belonging to his own people, and gave the piece of the Cross to the king.

Chapter LIV. — *Likewise, how while King Richard was there, an abbat came to him, and told him he had hidden a piece of the Holy Cross in a certain spot; and*

## *Itinerary*

*how the king went thither with the abbat, and found it, and how the people worshipped it.*

It also happened, on the third day before the feast of St. John the Baptist, *i.e.* St. Alban's day, that while the army was staying there, they were much comforted by news which was brought to the king; for a devout man, the abbat of St. Elie, whose countenance bespoke holiness, with long beard and head of snow, came to the king, and told him, that a long time ago he had concealed a piece of the Holy Cross, in order to preserve it, until the Holy Land should be rescued from the infidels, and restored entirely to its former state; and that he alone knew of this hidden treasure, and that he had often been pressed hard by Saladin, who had tried to make him discover the Cross, by the most searching inquiries; but that he had always baffled his questioners by ambiguous replies, and deluded them with false statements; and that on account of his contumacy, Saladin had ordered him to be bound; but he persisted in asserting that he had lost the piece of the Cross during the taking of the city of Jerusalem; and had thus deluded him, notwithstanding his anxiety to end it. The king, hearing this, set out immediately, with the abbat and a great number of people, to the place of which the abbat had spoken; and having taken up the piece of the Holy Cross with humble veneration, they returned to the army; and together with the people, they kissed the Cross with much piety and contrition.

## *Itinerary*

### Book VI.

Chapter I. — *How, when the French were desirous of proceeding to Jerusalem, King Richard would not agree, without the advice of the Templars, Hospitallers, and natives of the country.*

When the army had worshipped the Cross for a long time, in their exceeding great joy, the lower order and common people complained, and said, "O Lord God, what shall we do? Shall we still proceed to Jerusalem? What more shall we undertake? Shall we be able to hold out until we have accomplished our pilgrimage?" Thus loud murmurs and complaints arose amongst the people. On which account, the king and the leaders of the army assembled together, to consider whether it was expedient to proceed to the siege of Jerusalem or not. The French earnestly entreated, and even exhorted the king to proceed; but he replied, that it could not be done. "For," said the king, "you will not see me acting as the guide and leader of the people in this matter; for I might incur disgrace thereby, as it would be the height of imprudence now to press on this enterprise. If it please you to proceed to Jerusalem, I will not desert you; I will be your comrade, but not your commander; I will follow, not lead you. Does not Saladin know all that goes on in our camp; and do you think that our weak condition has escaped his notice? He is aware of our precise strength, and that we are so distant from the sea-coast, that if the enemy were to come down with force from the mountains to the plains of Ramula, to watch the roads, and block up the passage, against those who convey our provisions, the consequences would be most disastrous to the besiegers. When too late, we should repent, and pay the penalty of our foolhardy enterprise. Moreover, the walls of Jerusalem, to which we propose to lay siege, are, as we hear, very great in circuit; and were we to attempt to blockade it with our troops, few as they now are, and proportionably divided, their number would not be sufficient to carry on the siege, or to protect those who brought in the supplies, in case the Turks should attack them; nay, they would, one and all, be utterly destroyed to a certainty, if they had none to relieve them. Should I, therefore, undertake this hazardous enterprise, and should any

## *Itinerary*

misfortune befall when I was general (which God forbid), I alone should be blamed for my blind infatuation; and should alone be responsible for the danger, were I, in these circumstances, to conduct the troops to the siege of Jerusalem. But there is no doubt, and I am well aware, that there are persons here at present, as well as in France, who have long wished, and very much desired, that I should exert my utmost efforts in this matter, without due and proper caution; and that I should perform daring acts, which might justly be questioned, and bring infamy on my hitherto spotless name. Wherefore, in so hazardous an undertaking, with such doubtful issue, I should deem it wrong to rush rashly forward, without great precaution. Moreover, we, and our people, are ignorant of the locality of this region, of the roads and defiles; which, if we were better acquainted with, we should be able to proceed with greater safety; until we attained, with joy and triumph, the long-desired success. But I am of opinion, that the best course to pursue, is to ask the advice of the natives of the soil, who long to recover their lands and former possessions, and endeavour to ascertain from them what they deem best to be done, as they are fully acquainted with the nature of the roads. I think also we should consult the Templars and Hospitallers, and take their judgment and opinion, as to whether we should proceed, first, to the siege of Jerusalem, or to Babylon, or Baruth, or Damascus; and thus our army will not continue, as now, to be divided into parties, from diversity of opinion."

*Chapter II. — How it was agreed by common consent, that twenty discreet men should be appointed, and that all should abide by their opinion; and how the king assented and the French opposed it.*

It was therefore agreed, by the king's recommendation, and by common consent, that twenty trusty men should be sworn, and that all should follow their advice, without further opposition. There were chosen five of the Templars, five of the French nobles, five of the Hospitallers, and five of the natives of Syria. These twenty met together, and after conferring for some time on the aforesaid matter, they gave it as their decided opinion, that it was the most eligible plan to proceed direct to the siege of

## *Itinerary*

Babylon. On hearing this, the French stoutly opposed it, and protested that they would march nowhere else but to the siege of Jerusalem. The king, on hearing of the obstinacy and defection of the French, was troubled thereat, and remarked — “If the French will accede to our plan, and agree to proceed to the siege of Babylon, according to their oath of obedience, I will give them my fleet, which lies at Acre, fully equipped, to carry their provisions and necessaries, and the army can then march along the coast with confidence. I will also conduct thither, at my own charge, 700 knights, and 2,000 of their followers, in the name of the Lord; and if any one has need of the assistance of my money or means, he may be assured that he shall be supplied according to his wants; and if any one doubts my doing this, I will march with my own soldiers only, and without other help.” Then he immediately ordered that inquiries should be made at the tents of the Hospitallers, which were contiguous to his own, what they could supply for the completion of the siege, and how many men they could furnish. The chiefs also came there, and agreed to make an ample contribution towards the expenses of the siege, though they had very little in their pockets. But at that doubtful and critical juncture, they seemed too eager to undertake so venturous an enterprise, with even less precaution than they evinced in commencing the siege of Jerusalem, from which the jurors had so earnestly dissuaded them.

Chapter III. — *How, while the army was at Betenoble, Bernard, the king’s spy, brought news of the approach of some very large caravans from Babylon, and how King Richard sent out men to capture, and Saladin sent on the other hand to guard them.*

While therefore they were anxiously inquiring what each ought to contribute towards the expenses of the siege, there arrived Bernard, a spy of King Richard’s, and two others, all of whom were natives of the country, and came from the neighbourhood of Babylon. They were attired in the Turkish costume, and differed in nowise from the Saracens, and it was their business to report to King Richard the condition of the enemy. No one spoke the Turkish language with greater ease, and King Richard had given

## *Itinerary*

to each of the three 100 marks of silver for his services. They signified to the king that he should set out, with all his men, as quickly as possible, to intercept the caravans, which were coming from Babylon, and to which they promised to conduct him. The king, delighted at what he heard, charged the duke of Burgundy to join him immediately in the enterprise, and bring the French to assist; and they agreed to go, on condition that they should receive the third part of the booty, to which the king assented. Then about 500 soldiers instantly set out, well armed, and the king took with him a thousand hired serving men. At evening they pursued their march, the king preceding them, and advancing all night, by the light of a splendid moon, they arrived at Galatia. There they rested a short time, and sent to Ascalon for provisions. Meanwhile, they carefully prepared their arms, until the servants, who had been sent for the provisions, arrived. But our men had no sooner started, as we have said, to capture the caravans, than a spy informed Saladin, at Jerusalem, that he had seen King Richard set out, with his people, in great haste, to intercept his caravans; and thus the secret of our expedition was revealed. Saladin then hastily sent off 500 chosen Turks, who, on joining with the others that were intrusted with the protection of the caravans, formed a body of 2,000 horsemen, besides a numerous company of foot-soldiers.

Chapter IV. — *How King Richard fought bravely with the Turks, and took a caravan full of costly things, of inestimable value, camels, dromedaries, horses, and asses.*

Whilst King Richard and his people were staying at Galatia, a spy informed the king, that one of the aforesaid caravans was passing by a round cistern, and advised him to proceed at once and capture it, recommending that he should keep back his troops; “for,” said he, “whoever shall capture that caravan, will gain an immense booty.” But as the spy was a native of the country, the king did not think he ought to place implicit confidence in his sole assertion. Therefore, the king straightway sent a Bedouin and two cautious Turcopolite servants, to inquire into the truth of the matter, and ascertain its accuracy; and he

## *Itinerary*

caused them to be clothed after the fashion of Bedouins, to look like Saracens. These men set out by night across the hills, which were covered with watch-towers, and descended to the valley, by turns, until they saw some Saracens on the higher ground, who were themselves spies, and lying in wait for those who might cross the mountains; and when our Bedouin approached, with stealthy steps, to reconnoitre them, the Saracens asked him, who they were, whence they came, and whither they were going? The Bedouin, beckoning the other two to be silent, lest the Saracens should recognize them by their speech, answered, "that they were returning from the neighbourhood of Ascalon, whither they had gone for the sake of plunder:" but one of the Saracens said to him, "You are come to look out for us, and you belong to the king of England." The Bedouin answered, "that he lied," and then proceeded hastily in the direction of the caravan, followed for some time by the Saracens, with their bows and lances, until they ceased in their pursuit from weariness. They, however, strongly suspected that they were of their own country, and not belonging to the enemy. Our spies, therefore, having ascertained the truth, as to the before-mentioned caravans, returned with all speed to the king, and told him that he might easily capture the caravans if he would make haste. On learning this, the king, after refreshing his horses with provender, set out with his men, and they walked during the following night until they came to the place where the caravan and its guards were resting: a short distance from it they halted, armed themselves, and formed into companies; the king being in the front rank, and the French in the rear. The king forbade, by mouth of herald, any one from turning to plunder; and commanded, that all should endeavour, by their utmost means, to break and destroy the Turkish lines. When, therefore, day arrived, and they were engaged in forming their ranks, another spy came up at full speed, and informed the king that the caravan was preparing to hasten forwards at dawn of day, for the king's intention to attack it had become known to its guards. On hearing this, the king sent forward the lightest of his slingers and bowmen to retard their march; and by feigning to challenge them to battle, keep them in check until he and his troops should come up. In this manner the Turks were harassed and delayed by these attacks; whilst our army

## *Itinerary*

approached in battle array. When the Turks perceived them, they immediately began to ascend a certain mountain, in order that the higher ground might afford them a firmer position; but their bearing was less arrogant than usual. Then the Turks, making a fierce onset, threw their darts and arrows, like hail, upon our ranks: the caravan, meanwhile, standing motionless. King Richard now having placed his army in two divisions, suddenly charged the Turks, and with his followers, penetrated and routed the foremost rank. Such was the fury of his onset, that they fell to the ground almost without a blow; and he pressed so hard upon the fugitives, that there were none left to make further resistance, except that several of those who fled turned back and shot their arrows behind them. Thus all of them took to flight, like hares before the hounds, and were routed in every direction, while the caravan stood at the mercy of the pursuers, who slew all they met with; so that the enemy lay dead in heaps upon the sand. Those who were thrown from their horses by our knights, were put to death by their squires. There might be seen horses with their saddles twisted round; the conquered were miserably destroyed, and the king's men fought nobly. The French, too, fought with the utmost spirit, like men accustomed to battle. The king was conspicuous above all the rest by his royal bearing, surpassing all of them: he was mounted on a tall charger, and charged the enemy singly; his ashen lance gave way from his repeated blows, and was shivered in pieces; but drawing his sword instantly, and brandishing it, he pressed upon the fugitives, and mowed them down, sweeping away the hindmost, and subduing the foremost; thus he thundered on, cutting and hewing every one he came up with; no kind of armour could resist his blows, for the edge of his sword cut open the heads from the top to the teeth: thus waving it to and fro, he scared away the routed Turks, as a wolf, when he pursues the flying sheep. While the king was thus scattering the fugitives, who were flying with all their speed over the mountains, some of them despairing of escape from his persevering pursuit, for he had come up with the foremost, turned aside out of their road, and returned to our nearly deserted camp hoping to effect something against the guards in the king's absence, for their courage failed them when he was in sight, and not without reason, for the life or death of

## *Itinerary*

the enemy was always in his hands. About thirty, therefore, of the fugitives came round upon our men by a circuitous route, and made a violent charge on Roger de Toony, whose horse they killed under him; and they were near capturing himself, but he was rescued from their hands by one of his comrades, Jakel of Maine, who however was also thrown front his horse; but Roger stoutly defended him on foot, and succeeded in rescuing him. Meanwhile, our men-at-arms came up, and the earl of Leicester, who attacked them to the right and left, also Gilbert Malemain, with four companions, Alexander Arsi, and others, to the number of about twenty; Stephen de Longchamp also generously offered his services to Roger do Toony, in the midst of the hostile Turks, and supplied him with a horse to mount. Then the slaughter was renewed; swords flashed in the air; and the ground was covered with blood; arms rung and clashed together; bodies were torn limb from limb; heads, arms, feet, and hands, and other limbs, lay scattered about; and our men were interrupted as they walked along by the bodies of the enemy, which lay along the fields in great numbers, and caused them to stumble at every step. The men of Poictou and Anjou, together with the French and Normans, distinguished themselves in the battle; but King Richard, the flower of valour, and the crown of chivalry, bore away the prize from all; and any praise that I could give him would fall far short of his merits. The slaughter of the Turks was greater than our ancestors had ever seen; and such was their confusion and dismay in the encounter, that a boy might have killed ten of them, or, in fact, as many of them as came in his way. By this defeat the pride of the Turks was entirely cast down, and their boldness effectually repressed; whilst the caravan, with all its riches, became the spoil of the victors. Its guards surrendered to our soldiers themselves, their beasts of burden, and sumpter horses; and stretching forth their hands in supplication, they implored for mercy, on condition only that their lives should be spared. They led the yoked horses and camels by the halter, and offered them to our men, and they brought mules loaded with spices of different kinds, and of great value; gold and silver; cloaks of silk; purple and scarlet robes, and variously-ornamented apparel, besides arms and weapons of divers forms, coats of mail, commonly called *gasiganz*; costly cushions, pavilions, tents, biscuit, bread,

## *Itinerary*

barley, grain, meal, and a large quantity of conserves and medicines; basins, bladders, chess-boards; silver dishes and candlesticks; pepper, cinnamon, sugar, and wax; and other valuables of choice and various kinds; an immense sum of money, and an incalculable quantity of goods, such as had never before (as we have said) been taken at one and the same time, in any former battle.

Chapter V. — *How many camels and dromedaries were taken, and how many Turks were slain.*

The slaughter of the infidels being finished, and the caravan captured, our army was harassed with new toils in gathering together the runaway camels and dromedaries, by which the whole army was thrown into confusion, for they avoided the pursuit of our horses with such great fleetness, that no other kind of animal appeared to be of so active and swift a nature. These animals appeared slothful and tardy until the pursuers were within a short distance, and then they moved at full speed. At last, by one means or another, 4,700 camels and dromedaries were collected together, though the number is not quite certain. They took so many mules of both sexes, and laden asses, that they could not reckon the number, for they appeared more abundant than the number of men could possibly require. Moreover, the number of Turkish horsemen who were that day slain, exceeded 1,700, besides very many foot soldiers, who were trodden to death in the mêlée.

Chapter VI. — *How while King Richard was returning with his spoil to Betenoble whence he had started, Count Henry from Acre met him with the army for which he had been sent.*

Having accomplished all these things, and prepared the baggage, for returning, the king and his army set out, laden with spoil, at an easy pace, and reached Bethaven, which was only four miles distant from Joppa. There they shared the plunder, and then proceeded on the second day to Ramula. Here Count Henry came up with the troops, and the people he had brought with him from Acre, and thence they all set out for Betenoble,

## *Itinerary*

from which place they had started. Here the universal joy was renewed, and all flocked together in astonishment at the numbers of beasts of burden with which the army was accompanied. On arriving, the noble king distributed the camels, which were larger than any that had ever been seen there, as well to the soldiers, who had remained to protect the camp, as to those who had joined in the expedition, in equal proportions. In this respect, he graciously imitated the example of that renowned warrior, King David, who gave an equal share of the spoil to the soldiers who went forth to battle, and to those who remained in the camp; and he also divided the asses amongst his serving men. By these means the army was supplied with so plentiful a number of camels and other beasts of burden, that it was with difficulty they were kept together. The flesh of the young camels they stuffed with lard and roasted for the table, and they found it very white and palatable.

Chapter VII. — *How the people murmured at being prohibited, however reasonably and prudently, from going to Jerusalem.*

Shortly after the distribution of the plunder, the people grew discontented, and complained that the beasts of burden consumed too much barley and provender, and that on this account the price of grain was become higher. Besides this, there arose much complaint and sorrowing amongst the people, because it was not thought expedient to proceed to the siege of Jerusalem, as they wished, owing to the opposition of the twenty counsellors aforesaid, who had given their reasons for deciding to the contrary. They thought it a difficult and impossible enterprise, from the want of water, which the men and cattle could not do without, especially as the festival of St. John was close at hand; a time when, from the increasing heat of the summer, all things were naturally dry, particularly around Jerusalem, which is situated in the mountains. Besides this, the Turks had blocked up all the cisterns, so that not a drop of drinkable water could be found within two miles of the city, and it would be unsafe to go in search of it to a distance when the siege had once begun; and the small stream of Siloe, which runs down at the foot of the Mount of Olives, would not be

## *Itinerary*

sufficient for the army. These were the reasons why the counsellors dissuaded the king from the siege of Jerusalem at that time, and when it became known to the army that they were not to proceed thither, but were on the point of turning away from that city, they cursed this delay in the hopes they had conceived, and asserted that they only wished to live until Jerusalem and the Holy Land and Cross were once more in the possession of the Christians alone. But God, who is the just judge of men's feelings, governeth time and actions; and to his mercy and kindness is it to be ascribed that he chastens sinners and punishes them for all the inventions of their hearts.

Chapter VIII. — *Of the jealousies and discords of the French, and how they separated themselves from the rest of the army, and how Henry, duke of Burgundy, composed a satirical poem against King Richard,*

We must not wonder that the pilgrims who were thus harassed without any good result, grieved at the failure of their wishes, for discord grew rife amongst them; nor that the vacillating character of the French, which distinguished them from all other nations, should have been here displayed. For at evening, when the army advanced on their march, the French separated themselves from the rest, and took up a distinct position, as if they disdained their company. They were not, however, content with separating only, but they fell to quarrelling among themselves, and gave utterance to ironical jests and abusive language, each vaunting his own superior prowess, while they disparaged that of the others. Above all, Henry, duke of Burgundy, whether instigated by a spirit of arrogance, or influenced by envy and jealousy, composed and caused to be recited in public, a song, which if he had any sense of shame, he would never have allowed to be published; and those songs were sung not only by men but by immodest women. By which means, they shewed the real character of those who indulged in such indecent folly, and the nature of their hearts was sufficiently manifest from this fact, for the stream is clear or turbid according as is its source. On this composition becoming current amongst the soldiers, King Richard was much annoyed, but he thought that a

## *Itinerary*

similar effusion would be the best mode of revenging himself on the authors, and he had not much difficulty in composing it, as there was abundance of materials; why then should he hesitate to reply to such a false and scurrilous composition? Moreover, the king's high honour was so evident in all his actions, that his rivals, who could not equal him, assailed him with foul and gratuitous aspersions. For they were not like the pilgrims of yore who besieged and captured Antioch, and whose famous deeds and victories are still recited in song. Such were Boemund, Tancred, and Godfrey of Bouillon, and other princes of high renown, who gained so many triumphs, and whose exploits are like food in the mouths of their narrators. Men, who because their hearts were true to the service of God, received from the Lord the reward of their labours, who magnified them by giving them an immortal name, which posterity should regard with the deepest veneration.

### Chapter IX. — *Of the return of the army from Betenoble to Joppa.*

The army remained in this state for some days after the capture of the caravan, and were in great sorrow and distress in consequence of the check put on their progress to visit the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, from which they were only four miles distant. The dejection which their return caused was never before equalled in a people of the like valour. Our men, on setting out on their march, were attacked by the Turks from the mountains, and some of our camp-followers were slain, though they were repulsed by our horsemen, from not having good horses. The army afterwards arrived at a place between Saint George and Ramula, where they spent the night, the French posting themselves on the left, the king and his men on the right. Next day they proceeded on their march in separate divisions, and arrived at night at a castle midway; this was on the 6th of July. Here some in disgust deserted the army, on account of the tediousness and penury to which they were exposed in the expedition: these went to Joppa.

### Chapter X. — *How Saladin, learning the discord and departure of the Christians, collected an immense army.*

## *Itinerary*

When the state and intention of the Christians were made known to Saladin, his hopes revived, and his joy was unbounded. He immediately sent messengers bearing despatches, sealed with his own ring, to the admirals, princes, satraps, and prefects of his dominions, informing them of the internal discord which had broken up the Christian army and forced them to retire; and that whoever wished to serve in his pay, should come forthwith to Jerusalem. So large a number flocked thither in consequence, that the cavalry was estimated at 20,000 strong, besides a countless multitude of foot soldiers.

*Chapter XI. — How King Richard, seeing the defection of his men, sought to obtain the truce which had been first offered him, but in vain, and how in consequence he destroyed Darum and fortified Ascalon, and then returned to Acre by way of Joppa.*

Meanwhile our men moved off by degrees, and many went to Joppa. The king perceiving his inability to check them on account of the diversity of opinion which prevailed, thought the best line of policy was to send to Saphadin at this juncture, and agree to the truce, which had been before offered between him and Saladin, in the plains of Ramula, for a certain period, in order that he might have time to return from his own country. But Saladin, who knew well the condition of our army, and that it was daily growing weaker and weaker, absolutely refused, unless Ascalon was razed to the ground. The king, learning Saladin's answer, was not at all discomposed; nay, he gave immediate orders to the Templars, Hospitallers, and others, to the number of three hundred, to mount their horses and proceed to the destruction of Fort Darum; and he set guards to watch over and fortify Ascalon as strongly as possible. They hastened to obey the king's orders, and levelled Darum with the ground. The army then returned in dejected mood as far as Joppa, and thence the king and the rest proceeded in all haste to Acre, but many remained from ill health and weakness at Joppa. Thus the army returned to Acre, broken up, with a

## *Itinerary*

heavy heart, for God did not as yet judge them worthy of the higher bounties of his grace.

Chapter XII. — *Of the great army with which Saladin came to Joppa.*

When Saladin heard that the men of Joppa were without the presence of King Richard to protect them, he ordered his army should proceed thither, in the hope that he would easily take the city during the king's absence. He therefore led an immense army having 20,000 horse in that direction; and he had with him the powerful admiral of Bala, and the son of Arcisus, together with about one hundred and six admirals, and an immense multitude of infantry from the mountains, who covered the face of the earth like locusts. The army, leaving Jerusalem, descended into the plains of Ramula, rushing on in troops and squadrons as if impelled by the furies to the utter destruction of the Christians.

Chapter XIII. — *How Saladin assaulted Joppa so vigorously, that he would have taken it, if the townsmen had not asked for a cessation of arms until the next day.*

On the same Sunday, next preceding the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*, being the same day on which King Richard came with his army to Acre, Saladin advanced with his troops to assault Joppa. On the Monday following they began to attack the castle; but the citizens issuing forth into the suburbs, resisted them the whole day, and prevented them from approaching the town. Tuesday and Wednesday also passed away in the same manner; nor was it till Thursday, that the Turks, ashamed of being baffled by so few, made a great exertion, and formed the siege at once. By the command of Saladin, four powerful petraryæ were erected, and two mangonels of great efficiency for casting missiles. The besieged were about 5,000 in number, and they now began to be afflicted at their desperate condition, and to call out upon the Lord to save them. They also turned their thoughts towards the king of England, and to wish that he had not gone to Acre, leaving them there to be destroyed. Meanwhile, the Turks pressed on the siege; and it would have melted any one to tears to have

## *Itinerary*

seen the distracted state of the townspeople, who offered the bravest resistance, though they were overwhelmed with a thousand cares at once in the defence of their city. The petrariæ and mangonels played without intermission; though the latter instruments were worked the most successfully. At last, by the exertions of the Turks, the gate leading to Jerusalem was broken open on the Friday by the frequent strokes of their petrariæ, and the wall on the right-hand side was shattered, about two poles in width. The conflict was then fierce, whilst the besieged resisted the entrance of the Turks, who at length, however, became so reinforced by numbers, that the Christians were driven back, and followed even as far as the citadel of the fortress. What a terrific slaughter then took place! The Turks put to death without mercy all those whom they found in the houses sick and lying in their beds. Some of our people fled down to the seashore and escaped; whilst the enemy plundered every thing; and knocking out the heads of the casks which they found in the houses, let the wine run about the streets. Some of them, however, attacked the principal tower of the fortress; and others pursued those who fled down to the seaside. Numbers of the hindmost were cut off; and Alberic of Rheims, whose duty it was to defend the town, fled on board ship to escape being slain; but his companions reproaching him for his cowardice, recalled him to a sense of duty, and absolutely forced him into one of the towers; where, seeing nothing but danger on every side surrounding him, he exclaimed, "Here then we shall devote our lives to God's service;" for it was the only thing that remained for him to do. The Turks now fiercely assaulted the tower, and the arrows flew like hail, so as to darken the sky: the besieged knew not which part first to defend, and so the attack lasted the whole day; and the besieged would certainly have at length yielded to its violence, if by God's good pleasure the newly-elected patriarch had not been present: and he proved himself, at that moment, a man whom no fear of death could vanquish, nor any danger terrify. This man, instigated by the necessity of the case, proposed to Saladin and his brother to grant them a respite from the attack until the next day, on condition, that if before three o'clock, they should not receive assistance, each of those who were in the tower, should pay Saladin ten bezants of gold, every woman five, and every child three

## *Itinerary*

bezants, in return for the respite which he had granted them; and that the patriarch, with others of the nobles, should be given up to Saladin to be kept in chains as hostages until the hour agreed on should arrive. Saladin assented; and when the guarantee was completed for observing the conditions of the truce, the following hostages were given over to Saladin: the patriarch, Alberic of Rheims, Theobald of Trèves, Augustin of London, Osbert Waldin, and Henry de St. John, besides others, whose names we do not remember, all of whom were carried off prisoners to Damascus; for the besieged had now conceived hopes of obtaining succour from the king, for which, indeed, they had already sent, the moment they first saw Saladin approaching.

*Chapter XIV. — How King Richard, though on the point of embarking to return home, and refused aid by the French, no sooner heard of the message from Joppa, than he proceeded thither immediately by sea, having first sent on his troops by land.*

Meanwhile, King Richard was busily engaged in preparing to leave Acre for his own country, and his ships were all but ready: he had also obtained consent and a blessing from the Templars and Hospitallers, and had sent forward seven of his galleys, with troops to dislodge the enemy from Baruth, by which he would pass; and the expedition had succeeded, for the enemy fled in alarm. The king was in his big tent, talking with his officers about embarking for their homes on the morrow, when, lo! the messengers from Joppa entered, and tearing their garments, related to the king how the enemy had taken Joppa, all but the citadel, in which the remnant were besieged, and unless he should render them speedy assistance, they would all be involved in one common fate, according to the conditions which had been entered into with Saladin. The king hearing of the danger to which the besieged were exposed, and pitying their condition, interrupted the messengers: "As God lives," said he, "I will be with them, and give them all the assistance in my power!" The words were hardly out of his mouth, before a proclamation was made that the army should be got ready. But the French would not vouchsafe even to honour the king with an answer, exclaiming proudly that they should never again

## *Itinerary*

march under his command; and in this they were not disappointed, for they never again marched under anybody's command, for in a short time they all miserably perished. Meanwhile, however, the soldiers of all nations, whose hearts God had touched, and the sufferings of their fellow-creatures excited to compassion, hastened to set out with the king; namely, the Templars, the Hospitallers., and several other valiant knights, all of whom marched by land to Cæsarea; but the noble king trusting for his safety to his own valour, embarked on board his fleet of galleys, which were equipped with every thing that could be necessary. With him were the earl of Leicester, Andrew de Chaveguy, Roger de Satheya, Jordan de Humez, Ralph de Mauleon, Achus de Fay, and the knights of Pratelles, companions of the king together with many others of illustrious names, besides Genoese and Pisans. Those who went by land to Cæsarea, halted there some time for fear of an ambuscade, which they heard had been laid by Saladin for all such as should pass that way; and there was no better way for them to go by, on account of the son of Arcisus, who guarded the maritime district between Cæsarea and Arsur: and besides this, a contrary wind arose, which detained the kings ships three days at Cayphas, where they had put in. The king, vexed at this delay, exclaimed aloud, "O Lord God, why dost thou detain us here? consider, I pray thee, the urgency of the case, and the devoutness of our wishes." No sooner had he prayed thus, than God caused a favourable wind to spring up, which wafted his fleet before it into the harbour of Joppa, in the midst of the night of Friday immediately preceding the Saturday on which they had agreed to surrender, and all of them would have been given over to destruction. Alas, for the perfidy of that wicked race! Early on the morning of that day, which was the day of St. Peter *ad vincula*, the besieged were importuned by the Turks to fulfil the conditions of the truce. They accordingly began at the ninth hour to pay in part the bezants which they had promised; when the wicked Turks, behaving worse than brute beasts, and with no feeling of humanity about them, cut off the heads of those who paid them the money; and thus seven of them had already perished, and their heads were thrown into a ditch. But those in the town who were still alive, discovering the treachery, were struck with terror, and began to send forth cries of

## *Itinerary*

lamentation and distress. Seeing certain death before them, they bent their knees, and confessed their sins to one another, thinking no longer of their lives which were doomed, but of their souls; whilst to delay their fate for some few moments longer, — for who is there that does not fear death? — they fled up the fortress as far they were able, and there awaited the stroke of martyrdom, shedding tears, and supplicating the mercy of the Almighty, who at length was appeased, and deigned to listen to their petition: their deliverer was already come, his fleet was riding in the harbour, and his soldiers were eager to land for their rescue!

Chapter XV. — *Of the fierce conflict by which the king recovered the castle of Joppa, and liberated the besieged.*

The Turks, discovering the arrival of the king's fleet, sallied down to the seaside with sword and shield, and sent forth showers of arrows: the shore was so thronged with their multitude that there was hardly a foot of ground to spare. Neither did they confine themselves to acting on the defensive, for they shot their arrows at the crews of the ships, and the cavalry spurred their horses into the sea to prevent the king's men from landing. The king, gathering his ships together, consulted with his officers what was the best step to take. "Shall we," said he, "push on against this rabble multitude who occupy the shore, or shall we value our lives more than the lives of those poor fellows who are exposed to destruction for want of our assistance?" Some of them replied that further attempts were useless, for it was by no means certain that any one remained alive to be saved, and how could they land in the face of so large a multitude? The king looked around thoughtfully, and at that moment saw a priest plunge into the water and swim towards the royal galley. When he was received on board, he addressed the king with palpitating heart and spirits almost failing him. "Most noble king, the remnant of our people, waiting for your arrival, are exposed like sheep to be slain, unless the divine grace shall bring you to their rescue." "Are any of them still alive, then?" asked the king, "and if so, where are they?" "There are still some of them alive," said the priest," and hemmed in and at the last extremity in front of yonder

## *Itinerary*

tower." "Please God, then," replied the king, "by whose guidance we have come, we will die with our brave brothers in arms, and a curse light on him who hesitates." The word was forthwith given, the galleys were pushed to land: the king dashed forward into the waves with his thighs unprotected by armour, and up to his middle in the water; he soon gained firm footing on the dry strand: behind him followed Geoffrey du Bois and Peter de Pratelles, and in the rear came all the others rushing through the waves. The Turks stood to defend the shore, which was covered with their numerous troops. The king, with an arbalest which he held in his hand, drove them back right and left; his companions pressed upon the recoiling enemy, whose courage quailed when they saw it was the king, and they no longer dared to meet him. The king brandished his fierce sword, which allowed them no time to resist, but they yield before his fiery blows, and are driven in confusion with blood and havoc by the king's men until the shore was entirely cleared of them. They then brought together beams, poles, and wood, from the old ships and galleys to make a barricade; and the king placed there some knights, servants, and arbalesters, to keep guard and to dislodge the Turks, who, seeing that they could no longer oppose our troops, dispersed themselves on the shore with cries and howlings in one general flight. The king then, by a winding chair, which he had remarked in the house of the Templars, was the first to enter the town, where he found more than 3,000 of the Turks turning over every thing in the houses, and carrying away the spoil. The brave king had no sooner entered the town, than he caused his banners to be hoisted on an eminence, that they might be seen by the Christians in the tower, who taking courage at the sight, rushed forth in arms from the tower to meet the king, and at the report thereof the Turks were thrown into confusion. The king, meanwhile, with brandished sword, still pursued and slaughtered the enemy, who were thus enclosed between the two bodies of the Christians, and filled the streets with their slain. Why need I say more? All were slain, except such as took to flight in time; and thus those who had before been victorious were now defeated and received condign punishment, whilst the king still continued the pursuit, shewing no mercy to the enemies of

## *Itinerary*

Christ's Cross, whom God had given into his hands; for there never was a man on earth who so abominated cowardice as he.

Chapter XVI. — *Of the severe conflicts by which the king made Saladin raise the siege, and fixed his own tents where those of Saladin had been.*

But the king had only three horses with him, and what were three among so many? If we examine the deeds of the ancients, and all the records left us by former historians, we shall find that there never was a man who so distinguished himself in battle as King Richard did this day. When the Turks leaving the town saw his banners floating in the air, a cry was raised on right and left as he sallied forth upon them, and no hail-storm or tempest ever so densely concealed the sky, as it was then darkened by the flying arrows of the Turks. Saladin, hearing of the king's arrival, and of his brilliant contest with the Turks, of whom he had slain all who opposed him, was seized with sudden fear, and like that timid animal, the hare, put spurs to his horse and fled from before his face. The king, with his men, still continued the pursuit, slaying and destroying, whilst his arbalesters made such havoc of the horses, that for two miles the traces of their flight were visible. He now therefore pitched his tent in the same place where those of Saladin had been, and thus by the divine grace so small a body of men had defeated this large army of the Turks. Saladin called together his admirals and thus addressed them: "Has he then beaten all of us? Has the Christian army returned from Acre to slaughter and defeat us thus? By what superior disposition have they been able to accomplish this? In infantry, as well as cavalry, our army was decidedly superior." To these words, one of those perverse ones who were present, conscious of the state of our army, replied: "My lord, it is not as you think; they have neither horses nor beasts of burden of any kind, except three horses only, which their wonderful king found in Joppa. I think, however, that the king himself could easily be surprised, for he lies almost alone in his tent, and fully worn out with fatigue. Whoever seizes him will at once put an end to our labours and to the whole campaign." It was then given out among the Turks what a reproach it was to them, and lasting scandal,

## *Itinerary*

that so large an army and so many thousands of the Turks had been defeated by so small an army, and that Joppa had been recovered from them by force of arms. In this manner they murmured to one another at what had taken place, and trembled with confusion.

Chapter XVII. — *How the Christians acted in the matter of the swine which the Turks had killed.*

Now the execrable Turks, who were surprised in Joppa, had made an immense slaughter of those who were too weak to resist, and in particular had killed a large number of swine, in fact, all they could find; for it is against the law of Mahomet to eat them; wherefore they naturally abominate swine as unclean, because swine are said to have devoured Mahomet. The Turks, therefore, in contempt of the Christians, had collected into one mass the bodies of the swine, together with the bodies of the Christians, whom they had slain. But the corpses of the Christians were now buried in peace, whilst those of the Turks were in their turn cast out to rot with those of the swine.

Chapter XVIII — *Of the rebuilding of the walls of Joppa.*

On the next day, being Sunday, the king diligently set to work to repair the walls of Joppa, and continued his exertions on Monday and Tuesday, that some protection at least might be furnished by them such as it was, though the repairs were made without either lime or cement — but this could not be avoided, for an immense army of Turks was close at hand.

Chapter XIX. — *How certain men called Menelones and Cordivi boasted that they would surprise the king, asleep or otherwise, unawares.*

Meanwhile a certain depraved set of men among the Saracens, called Menelones of Aleppo and Cordivi, an active race, met together to consult what should be done in the existing state of things. They spoke of the

## *Itinerary*

scandal which lay against them, that so small an army, without horses, had driven them out of Joppa, and they reproached themselves with cowardice and shameful laziness, and arrogantly made a compact among themselves that they would seize King Richard in his tent, and bring him before Saladin, from whom they would receive a most munificent reward.

Chapter XX. — *How Count Henry arrived at Joppa from Cæsarea, and of the number of his soldiers.*

In the mean time Count Henry came in a galley with his followers from Cæsarea, where the rest of our army was detained, on account of the ambuscades of the Turks, who lay in wait at all the roads, bridges, and wells, so that the king could not, on this emergency, bring with him out of all his army more than fifty-five knights, with a strong body of infantry, arbalesters, and retainers; besides, about two thousand Genoese and Pisans and others; whilst of horses he had no more than fifteen, whether good or bad.

Chapter XXI. — *How the aforesaid Menelones and Cordivi would have surprised the king in his tent, as they had boasted, if a certain Genoese had not perceived them, and awakened the king.*

Meanwhile the Menelones and Cordivi aforesaid prepared themselves in the middle of the night to surprise the king, and sallied forth armed, by the light of the moon, conversing with one another about the object which they had in hand. O hateful race of unbelievers! they are anxiously bent upon seizing Christ's steadfast soldier, while he is asleep: they rush on in numbers to seize him, unarmed and apprehensive of no danger. They were now not far from his tent, and were preparing to lay hands on him, when, lo! the God of mercy, who never neglects those who trust in Him, and acts in a wonderful manner even towards those who know him not, sent the spirit of discord among the aforesaid Cordivi and Menelones. The Cordivi said, "You shall go in on foot, to take the king and his followers, whilst we will remain on horseback to prevent their escaping into the castle." But the Menelones replied, "Nay, it is your place to go in

## *Itinerary*

on foot, because our rank is higher than yours: we are content with the service which is our duty; but this service on foot belongs to you rather than us." Whilst thus the two parties were contending which of them were the greatest, their continued dispute caused much delay, and when at last they came to a decision how their nefarious attempt should be achieved, the dawn of day appeared, viz. the Wednesday next following the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*. But now, by the providence of God, who had decreed that his holy champion should not be seized whilst asleep by the infidels, a certain Genoese was led by the divine impulse to go out early in the morning into the fields, where he was alarmed at the noise of men and horses advancing, and returned speedily, but just had time to see helmets reflecting back the light which now fell upon them. He immediately rushed with speed into the camp, calling out "To arms! to arms!" The king was awakened by the noise, and leaping startled from his bed, put on his impenetrable coat of mail, and summoned his men to the rescue.

Chapter XXII. — *Of the marvellous bravery of the king in this never-to-be-forgotten skirmish.*

God of all virtues! lives there a man who would not be shaken by such a sudden alarm? The enemy rush unawares, armed against unarmed, many against few, for our men had no time to arm, or even to dress themselves. The king himself therefore, and many others with him, on the urgency of the moment, proceeded without their cuishes to the fight, some even without their breeches, and they armed themselves in the best manner they could, though they were going to fight the whole day. Whilst our men were thus arming in haste, the Turks drew near, and the king mounted his horse, with only ten other knights, whose names are as follows: Count Henry, the earl of Leicester, Bartholomew de Mortimer, Ralph de Mauleon, Andrew de Chavegui, Gerald do Finival, Roger de Sacy, William de l'Etang, Hugh de Villeneuve, a brave retainer, and Henry le Tyois, the king's standard-bearer. These alone had horses, and some even of those they had were base and impotent horses, unused to arms: the common men were skilfully drawn out in ranks and troops, with each a captain to

## *Itinerary*

command them. The knights were posted nearer to the sea, having the church of St. Nicholas on the left, because the Turks had directed their principal attack on that quarter, and the Pisans and Genoese were posted beyond the suburban gardens, having other troops mingled with them. O who could fully relate the terrible attacks of the infidels? The Turks at first rushed on with horrid yells, hurling their javelins and shooting their arrows. Our men prepared themselves as they best could, to receive their furious attack, each fixing his right knee in the ground, that so they might the better hold together, and maintain their position; whilst there, the thighs of their left legs were bent, and their left hands held their shields or bucklers; stretched out before them in their right hands they held their lances, of which the lower ends were fixed in the ground, and their iron heads pointed threateningly towards the enemy. Between every two of the men who were thus covered with their shields, the king, versed in arms, placed an arbalester, and another behind him to stretch the arbalest as quickly as possible, so that the man in front might discharge his shot whilst the other was loading. This was found to be of much benefit to our men, and did much harm to the enemy. Thus every thing was prepared as well as the shortness of the time allowed, and our little army was drawn up in order. The king ran along the ranks, and exhorted every man to be firm and not to flinch. "Courage, my brave men," said he, "and let not the attack of the enemy disturb you. Bear up against the frowns of fortune, and you will rise above them. Every thing maybe borne by brave men; adversity sheds a light upon the virtues of mankind, as certainly as prosperity casts over them a shade; there is no room for flight, for the enemy surround us, and to attempt to flee is to provoke certain death. Be brave, therefore, and let the urgency of the case sharpen up your valour: brave men should either conquer nobly, or gloriously die. Martyrdom is a boon which we should receive with willing mind: but before we die, let us whilst still alive do what may avenge our deaths, giving thanks to God that it has been our lot to die martyrs. This will be the end of our labours, the termination of our life, and of our battles." These words were hardly spoken, when the hostile army rushed with ferocity upon them, in seven troops, each of which contained about a thousand horse. Our men received their attack

## *Itinerary*

with their right feet planted firm against the sand, and remained immovable. Their lances formed a wall against the enemy, who would assuredly have broken through, if our men had in the least degree given way. The first line of the Turks, perceiving, as they advanced, that our men stood immovable, recoiled a little, when our cross-bowmen plied them with a shower of missiles, slaying large numbers of men and horses. Another line of Turks at once came on in like manner, and were again encountered and driven back. In this way the Turks came on like a whirlwind, again and again, making the appearance of an attack, that our men might be induced to give way, and when they were close up, they turned their horses off in another direction. The king and his knights, who were on horseback, perceiving this, put spurs to their horses, and charged into the middle of the enemy, upsetting them right and left, and piercing a large number through the body with their lances; at last they pulled up their horses, because they found that they had penetrated entirely through the Turkish lines. The king now looking about him, saw the noble earl of Leicester fallen from his horse, and fighting bravely on foot. No sooner did he see this than he rushed to his rescue, snatched him out of the hands of the enemy, and replaced him on his horse. What a terrible combat was then waged! a multitude of Turks advanced, and used every exertion to destroy our small army: vexed at our success, they rushed towards the royal standard of the lion, for they would rather have slain the king than a thousand others. In the midst of the *mêlée* the king saw Ralph de Mauleon dragged off prisoner by the Turks, and spurring his horse to speed, in a moment released him from their hands, and restored him to the army; for the king was a very giant in the battle, and was everywhere in the field, — now here, now there, wherever the attacks of the Turks raged the hottest. So bravely did he fight, that there was no one, however gallant, that would not readily and deservedly yield to him the pre-eminence. On that day he performed the most gallant deeds on the furious army of the Turks, and slew numbers with his sword, which shone like lightning; some of them were cloven in two from their helmet to their teeth, whilst others lost their heads, arms, and other members, which were lopped off at a single blow. While the king was thus labouring with incredible exertions in the fight, a

## *Itinerary*

Turk advanced towards him, mounted on a foaming steed. He had been sent by Saphadin of Archadia, brother to Saladin, a liberal and munificent man, if he had not rejected the Christian faith. This man now sent to the king, as a token of his well-known honourable character, two noble horses, requesting him earnestly to accept them, and make use of them, and if he returned safe and sound out of that battle, to remember the gift and recompense it in any manner he pleased. The king readily received the present, and afterwards nobly recompensed the giver. Such is bravery, cognizable even in an enemy; since a Turk who was our bitter foe, thus honoured the king for his distinguished valour. The king, especially at such a moment of need, protested that he would have taken any number of horses equally good from any one, even more a foe than Saphadin, so necessary were they to him at that moment. Fierce now raged the fight, when such numbers attacked so few: the whole earth was covered with the javelins and arrows of the unbelievers; they threw them several at a time against our men, of whom many were wounded. Thus the weight of the battle fell heavier upon us than before, and the galley-men withdrew in the galleys which brought them, and so in their anxiety to be safe, they sacrificed their character for bravery. Meanwhile a shout was raised by the Turks, as they strove who should first occupy the town, hoping to slay those of our men whom they should find within. The king, hearing the clamour, taking with him only two knights and two cross-bow-men, met three Turks, nobly caparisoned, in one of the principal streets. Rushing bravely upon them, he slew the riders in his own royal fashion, and made booty of two horses. The rest of the Turks who were found in the town, were put to the rout in spite of their resistance, and dispersing in different directions, sought to make their escape even where there was no regular road. The king also commanded the parts of the walls which were broken down to be made good, and placed sentinels to keep watch lest the town should be again attacked.

Chapter XXIII. — *Of the wonderful acts of the king in battle, by which, with the Divine aid, he overthrew numbers of the enemy and returned safe out of the midst of them to his own army.*

## *Itinerary*

These matters settled, the king went down to the shore, where many of our men had taken refuge on board the galleys. These the king exhorted by the most cogent arguments to return to the battle, and share with the rest whatever might befall them. Leaving five men as guards on board each galley, the king led back the rest to assist his hard-pressed army; and he no sooner arrived, than with all his fury he fell upon the thickest ranks of the enemy, driving them back and routing them, so that even those who were at a distance and untouched by him, were overwhelmed by the throng of the troops as they retreated. Never was there such an attack made by an individual. He pierced into the middle of the hostile army, and performed the deeds of a brave and distinguished warrior. The Turks at once closed upon him and tried to overwhelm him. In the meantime our men, losing sight of the king, were fearful lest he should have been slain, and when one of them proposed that they should advance to find him, our lines could hardly contain themselves. But if by any chance the disposition of our troops had been broken, without doubt they would all have been destroyed. What however was to be thought of the king who was hemmed in by the enemy, a single man opposed to so many thousands? The hand of the writer faints to tell it, and the mind of the reader to hear it. Who ever heard of such a man? His bravery was ever of the highest order, no adverse storm could sink it; his valour was ever blooming, and if we may, from a few instances, judge of many, it was ever indefatigable in war. Why then do we speak of the valour of Antæus, who regained his strength every time he touched his mother earth, for Antæus perished when he was lifted up from earth in the long wrestling match. The body of Achilles also, who slew Hector, was invulnerable, because he was dipped in the Stygian waves; yet Achilles was mortally wounded in the very part by which he was held when they dipped him. Likewise Alexander, the Macedonian, who was stimulated by ambition to subjugate the whole world, undertook a most difficult enterprise, and with a handful of choice soldiers fought many celebrated battles, but the chief part of his valour consisted in the excellence of his soldiers. In the same manner, the brave Judas Maccabeus, of whose wars all the world discoursed, performed many wonderful deeds,

## *Itinerary*

worthy for ever to be remembered, but when he was abandoned by his soldiers in the midst of a battle, with thousands of enemies to oppose him, he was slain, together with his brothers. But King Richard, inured to battle from his tenderest years, and to whom even famous Roland could not be considered equal, remained invincible, even in the midst of the enemy, and his body, as if it were made of brass, was impenetrable to any kind of weapon. In his right hand he brandished his sword, which in its rapid descent broke the ranks on either side of him. Such was his energy amid that host of Turks, that, fearing nothing, he destroyed all around him, mowing men down with his scythe as reapers mow down the corn with their sickles. Who could describe his deeds? Whoever felt one of his blows, had no need of a second. Such was the energy of his courage, that it seemed to rejoice at having found an occasion to display itself. The sword wielded by his powerful hand, cut down men and horses alike, cleaving them to the middle. The more he saw himself separated from his men, and the more the enemy sought to overwhelm him, the more did his valour shine conspicuous. Among other brave deeds which he performed on that occasion, he slew by one marvellous stroke an admiral, who was conspicuous above the rest of the enemy by his rich caparisons. This man, by his gestures seemed to say that he was going to do something wonderful, and whilst he reproached the rest with cowardice, he put spurs to his horse and charged full against the king, who waving his sword as he saw him coming, smote off at a single blow not only his head, but his shoulder and right arm. The Turks were terror-struck at the sight, and giving way on all sides, scarcely dared to shoot at him from a distance with their arrows. The king now returned safe and unhurt to his friends, and encouraged them more than ever with the hope of victory. How were their minds raised from despair when they saw him coming, safe out of the enemy's ranks! They knew not what had happened to him, but they knew that without him all the hopes of the Christian army would be in vain. The king's person was stuck all over with javelins, like a deer pierced by the hunters, and the trappings of his horse were thickly covered with arrows. Thus, like a brave soldier, he returned from the contest, and a bitter contest it was, for it had lasted from the morning sun to the setting sun. It may

## *Itinerary*

seem indeed wonderful and even incredible, that so small a body of men endured so long a conflict; but by God's mercy we cannot doubt the truth of it, for in that battle only one or two of our men were slain. But the number of the Turkish horses which lay dead on the fields is said to have exceeded fifteen hundred; and of the Turks themselves more than seven hundred were killed, and yet they did not carry back King Richard, as they had boasted, as a present to Saladin; but, on the contrary, he and his brave followers performed so many deeds of valour in the sight of the Turks, that the enemy themselves shuddered to behold them.

Chapter XXIV. — *How Saladin ridiculed his men for having boasted that they would seize King Richard, and how they, in self-defence, replied that they had never seen so brave a soldier.*

In the meantime, our men having by God's grace escaped destruction, the Turkish army returned to Saladin, who is said to have ridiculed them by asking where Melech Richard was, for they had promised to bring him a prisoner? "Which of you," continued he, "first seized him, and where is he? Why is he not produced?" To whom one of the Turks that came from the furthest countries of the earth, replied: "In truth, my lord, Melech Richard, about whom you ask, is not here: we have never heard since the beginning of the world that there ever was such a knight, so brave and so experienced in arms. In every deed at arms, he is ever the foremost; in deeds, he is without a rival, the first to advance, and the last to retreat: we did our best to seize him, but in vain, for no one can escape from his sword; his attack is dreadful; to engage with him is fatal, and his deeds are beyond human nature."

Chapter XXV. — *How the king was ill from his fatigue and exertions in the battle.*

From the toil and exertion of the battle, King Richard and several others who had exerted themselves the most, fell ill, not only from the

## *Itinerary*

fatigue of the battle, but the smell of the corpses, which so corrupted the neighbourhood, that they all nearly died.

Chapter XXVI. — *Saladin sends word to the king, whilst he was sick, that he was coming to seize him. Richard sends to Cæsarea for assistance from the French, who refuse to come.*

In the meantime Saladin sent word to the king that he would come with his Turks and seize him, if he could only be sure that Richard would await his approach. The king replied instantly, that he would wait for him there, without stirring one foot from where he was, provided only that he had strength, to stand upright and to defend himself. Such was the kind courage, that it could not be overcome by any disasters. When the king, however, came to reflect on his actual situation, and the illness by which he was disabled, he thought it not expedient to be too secure when the serpent was in his neighbourhood; he therefore sent Count Henry to Cæsarea, with a message to the French, who had previously come thither, that they should join him and assist in defending the Holy Land, signifying also to them his present complaint, and the aforesaid message of Saladin. But the French refused to render him the least assistance; indeed, as far as they were concerned, he might have been destroyed by the multitude of the enemy, if he had not agreed to a truce which in some particulars was open to reprehension. So great was the multitude of the Turks, that what chance could so small a body of men have had against them, even if they had not been sick? It was therefore agreed that Ascalon should be destroyed, rather than that so dangerous a hazard should be run for if the enemy, meeting with no opposition, had seized the king lying ill upon, his bed, Ascalon would of course have been taken possession of without resistance; but, would Tyre or Acre have been safe?

Chapter XXVII. — *How the king wished to return to Acre to be cured, but, on the people opposing it, he asked of Saladin a truce for three years, which was granted.*

In the meantime the king began to be anxious about his health, and after long reflection he sent for his relation Count Henry, with the

## *Itinerary*

Templars and Hospitallers, to whom he explained the enfeebled state of his body, and protested that in consequence of the vitiated atmosphere, and the bad state of the fortifications, he must immediately leave the place. He then appointed some of them to go and take charge of Ascalon, and to others to guard Joppa, whilst he went himself to Acre to be cured, as was now absolutely necessary for him. To this proposition they all with one heart and one voice made objection, saying, that they could not possibly guard Joppa or any other fortress after he was gone; and persisting in this refusal, they kept aloof, and no longer acted in concert with the king. Richard was vexed and embarrassed by this conduct, and it gave him the most bitter pain that none of them sympathized with his intentions or wishes. He then began to waver as to what he should do, but in all his deliberations he came only to the same conclusion, that there was none of them to sympathize with his misfortunes. Seeing, then, that all left him, and that none took the slightest interest in the common cause, he ordered proclamation to be made, that whoever wished to receive the king's pay should come together to give him their help. At once two thousand footmen and fifty knights came forward. But the king's health now began to get so bad, that he despaired of its being re-established; wherefore, in his anxiety both for the others and for himself he thought it best, of all the plans which suggested themselves, to ask a truce, rather than to leave the land a prey to devastation, as many others had done, by sailing home in numbers to their own country. Thus the king, perplexed and hesitating what he had best do, requested Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, to mediate between them, and obtain the most honourable terms of truce in his power. Now Saphadin was a man of extraordinary liberality, who on many occasions paid great honour to the king for his singular virtues; and he now with great zeal procured for Richard a truce on the following conditions; namely, that Ascalon which had always been a cause of annoyance to Saladin's government, should be destroyed, and not rebuilt for the space of at least three years, beginning at the following festival of Easter; but at the end of that time, whoever could get possession of it might fortify it; that the Christians should be allowed to inhabit Joppa without let or molestation, together with all the adjoining country, both on the sea-

## *Itinerary*

coast and in the mountains; that peace should strictly be observed between the Christians and Saracens, each having free leave to come and go wherever they pleased; that pilgrims should have free access to the Holy Sepulchre, without any payment or pecuniary exaction whatever, and with leave to carry merchandise for sale through the whole land, and to practise commercial pursuits without opposition. This treaty was presented in writing to King Richard, who gave it his approbation, for in his weak condition, and having so few troops about him, and that too within two miles of the enemy, he did not think it in his power to secure more favourable terms. Whoever entertains a different opinion concerning this treaty, I would have him know that he will expose himself to the charge of perversely deviating from the truth.

Chapter XXVIII. — *How the king and Saladin corresponded amicably with one another by means of messengers.*

When therefore the king, in his present emergency, had settled matters in the way described, he, in his magnanimity, which always aimed at something lowly and difficult, sent ambassadors to Saladin, announcing to him, in the presence of numerous of his chiefs, that he had only asked for a truce of three years for the purpose of revisiting his country, and collecting more men and money, wherewith to return and rescue all the land of Jerusalem from his domination, if indeed Saladin should have the courage to face him in the field. To this Saladin replied, calling his own Holy Law and God Almighty to witness, that he entertained such an exalted opinion of King Richard's honour, magnanimity, and general excellence, that he would rather lose his dominions to him than to any other king he had ever seen, always supposing that he was obliged to lose his dominions at all. Alas! how blind are men, whilst they lay plans for many years to come, they know not what to-morrow may bring forth: the king's mind was looking forward into the future, and he hoped to recover the Sepulchre of our Lord; but he did not

Reflect how every human thing

## *Itinerary*

Hangs pendent on a slender string.

Chapter XXIX. — *How the king went to Cayphas for his health.*

The truce having been reduced to writing, and confirmed by oaths on both sides, the king went to Cayphas in the best manner he could, to take medicine and get himself cured.

Chapter XXX. — *How the French, by the king's agency, for their malice, were forbidden to visit the Holy Sepulchre, whilst the others had permission.*

In the meantime the French, who had been long enjoying a holiday at Acre, were getting ready to return home; but though they had venomously opposed the truce, they now, before leaving the country, wished to complete their pilgrimage by visiting our Lord's Sepulchre. The king, remembering their backwardness to assist him at Joppa, as we have related, and also on many other occasions, sent messengers to request that neither Saladin nor Saphadin, his brother, would allow any one to visit the Holy Sepulchre who did not bring a passport from either himself or Count Henry. The French were much vexed at this, and foiled of their object, soon afterwards returned to their own country, carrying back nothing with them but the reproach of ingratitude. The king, hearing that the greater part of the French who did their utmost to defame him were gone home, and that the mouths of his slanderers were stopped, caused it to be announced by proclamation, that whoever wished might visit our Lord's tomb, and bring back their offerings to help in repairing the walls of Joppa.

Chapter XXXI. — *Of the first company who made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, led by Andrew de Chavegui, and of the alarm occasioned by their indiscretion on the way.*

The people were now arrayed to visit Jerusalem in three companies, each of which was placed under a separate leader. The first was led by Andrew de Chavegui; the second by Ralph Teissun; and the third by

## *Itinerary*

Hubert bishop of Salisbury. The first company then advanced under Andrew bearing letters from the king. But, for their sins, they fell into a snare on the journey; for when they reached the Plain of Ramula, they by common consent despatched messengers to inform Saladin that they were coming with letters from King Richard, and that they wished to have a safe-conduct, coming and going. The messengers were noble men, and energetic in character, but on this occasion they well nigh incurred the charge of neglecting their duty; their names were William des Roches, Girard de Tourneval, and Peter de Pratelles. When they came to "the Tower of the Soldiers," they halted there to procure the authority of Saphadin for proceeding further; but there they fell asleep, and slept till sunset, and found on awaking that all the pilgrims, on whose behalf they came, had passed by and were gone on before them. The whole number crossed the plains and were approaching the hills, when Andrew de Chavegui and the rest, looking behind them, saw their own messengers coming after them as fast as they were able. Seeing this, they halted in much alarm, considering that they were in great danger of being put to death, for the army of the Turks had not yet departed, and their messengers, who ought to have brought back for them a safe-conduct from the Saracens, were now behind them. When therefore these came up, the others blamed them for their neglect, and told them once more to make haste on before, and do as they had been instructed. The messengers went on with all speed to Jerusalem, and found about 2,000 Turks, or more, encamped without the city. They inquired for Saphadin, and when they had found him, they explained what had happened, and he, rebuking them smartly, said it was evident that they did not value their lives a rush, as they had come into the middle of a hostile army without passport or safeguard of any kind. It was now sunset, and the other pilgrims came up, not knowing what they ought to do, and having no arms to defend themselves. The Turks grinned and frowned on them as they passed, and it was manifest by their looks what enmity they harboured in their hearts, for the face is after the index of the mind; and our men at that moment were so confounded that they wished themselves back again at Tyre, or even Acre,

## *Itinerary*

which they had just left. Thus they passed the night, near a certain mountain, in a state of great alarm.

Chapter XXXII. — *How the Turks wished to take vengeance on our pilgrims, but Saladin and his chiefs would not allow it.*

The next day certain of the Turks appeared before Saladin, and earnestly entreated of him that they might be allowed to take vengeance on the Christians who were now in their power, for the death of their friends, fathers, brothers, sons, and relations who had been slain, first at Acre, and afterwards at other places, now, as they said, that they had so good an opportunity. Saladin sent for the Turkish chiefs to consult about this request, and Mestoc, Saphadin, Bedridin, and Dorderin were speedily in attendance. When the subject was placed before them, it was their unanimous opinion that the Christians should have leave to come and go, without injury or hinderance. "For," said they to Saladin, "it would be a deep stain upon our honour, if the treaty which has been made between you and the king of England should, by our interference, be broken, and the faith of the Turks for ever afterwards be called in question." In consequence of these observations, Saladin gave orders immediately that the Christians should be taken care of, and escorted to the city and back again without molestation. To discharge this commission, Saphadin was at his own request deputed; and under his protection the pilgrims had free access to the Holy Sepulchre, and were treated with the greatest liberality, after which they returned joyfully to Acre.

Chapter XXXIII. — *Of the second company of pilgrims who went to Jerusalem, escorted by Ralph Teissun.*

On their return, the second company of pilgrims stationed between the castle of Arnald and Ramula, set forth, led by Ralph Teissun. Now Saladin, as we have before stated, had posted his men to keep diligent guard over the roads whenever any of the pilgrims were on their way to Jerusalem. In consequence of this precaution, we travelled freely and

## *Itinerary*

unmolested, and crossing the hill country, arrived at the Mountain of Delight, where, seeing in the distance the city of Jerusalem, we knelt down and gave humble thanks to God, as is the custom of pilgrims. From the same spot we saw also Mount Olivet; after which all advanced with joy, and those who had horses rode forward with speed, that they might the sooner gratify their desire of saluting the Holy Sepulchre. Moreover, as those horsemen who had gone before told us, Saladin allowed them to see and kiss the true Cross of our Lord, which formerly had been carried to battle. But we who were on foot, and came in the last, saw what we could, viz.: in the first place we saw our Lord's monument, where oblations were made: but, as the Saracens took these away, we did not offer much, but gave part to the French and Syrian slaves, whom we there saw in servitude, labouring in the duties assigned to them. From thence we proceeded to Mount Calvary, where our Lord was crucified, and where there was a stone in which our Lord's cross had been fixed in Golgotha. When we had kissed this with reverence, we proceeded to the church built on Mount Sion, on the left side of which was the place from which Mary, the Holy mother of God, passed from this world to the Father. This spot we saluted with tears running down our cheeks, and then hastened to see the holy table at which Christ condescended to eat bread. This also we kissed fervently, and then we all departed together, in haste; for it was no longer safe for us to go anywhere, except in a body, on account of the treachery of the unbelievers, for the Turks had secretly strangled three or four of our men who had strayed into the passages of the crypts. From thence we hastened to the sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, in the middle of the valley of Jehoshaphat, near Siloe, and kissed it with devout and contrite hearts. After which, with minds not altogether free from apprehension, we entered the vaulted chamber in which our Lord and Redeemer was kept prisoner during the night, to be crucified the next morning. This we saluted devoutly, whilst the tears ran down our cheeks, and then took our leave in haste, and the Turks also spurned us from them not a little, and we grieved for the pollutions with which the holy places were defiled by the horses of the unbelievers who used them for stables. We now took leave of Jerusalem and returned to Acre.

## *Itinerary*

Chapter XXXIV. — *Of the third company of pilgrims, led by Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, to whom Saladin shewed much honour, and granted every thing he asked for.*

The third company, led by the bishop of Salisbury, was now not far from Jerusalem, and Saladin sent out his people to receive the bishop honourably, and to conduct him wherever he pleased, to visit the holy places. Moreover, in acknowledgment of his prudent and honourable character, and his other merits, which had long before been known to Saladin, he was requested to take up his residence in the Sultan's palace, and to be entertained at his expense. The bishop refused, saying, "By no means, for we are but pilgrims." Saladin enjoined his servants to shew every attention to the bishop and his men, and sent him many presents; afterwards, also, he invited them to an interview, that he might behold his manner and deportment, and he allowed him to have a sight of the Holy Cross; and they sat and conversed together a long time. Saladin, therefore, asked him about the king of England, and what the Christians said of his Saracens. To which the bishop replied, "In truth, as concerns my lord the king, I will only say what justice demands, that he has no equal among all the knights in the world, either for valour or for liberality in giving; for he is in every thing distinguished for every excellent quality. In short, my lord, in my humble opinion, if any one, bating your majesty's sins, were to bring your virtues into comparison with those of King Richard, and were to take both of you together, there would not be two other men in the world that could compete with you." Saladin listened patiently to the bishop, and at last replied, "I have long since been aware that your king is a man of the greatest honour and bravery, but he is imprudent, not to say foolishly so, in thrusting himself so frequently into danger, and shews too great recklessness of his own life. For my own part, of however large territories I might be the king, I would rather have abundance of wealth, with wisdom and moderation, than display immoderate valour and rashness." The conversation then took a familiar turn between the two, and Saladin told the bishop to ask for any thing he liked, and it should be given

## *Itinerary*

him. The bishop in reply, asked if he might have until the next day to consider what he should ask. Which being granted, he then requested, that, whereas divine service was but half performed before at our Lord's tomb, which he had just visited, in the barbarous way of the Syrians, it might be allowed for the future, that two Latin priests with two deacons, to be maintained by the offerings of the faithful, should perform divine service in conjunction with the Syrians; and an equal number at Bethlehem, and also at Nazareth. This petition was one of great importance, and as we believe, agreeable to God. The sultan assented to the request; and the bishop instituted two priests in the aforesaid places, together with two deacons, rendering to God a service where there had been none before. After this, the pilgrims obtained the sultan's license, and returned from Jerusalem to Acre.

Chapter XXXV. — *How the pilgrims, having fulfilled their pilgrimage, set sail for their own country, but suffered many shipwrecks and hardships on the way.*

The people had now completed the pilgrimage to which they had devoted themselves, and preparing their fleet to return home, they spread their sails to the winds, and committed themselves to their ships. The fleet speedily set sail, and the ships were wafted in different directions, according to the variety of the winds. For a long time they were tossed about on the waves, and some of them reached different ports in safety; others were driven about, and in danger of being shipwrecked; others, again, died on their voyage, and found their grave in the depths of the ocean; others also were seized with incurable diseases, and never recovered or returned to their own country. Others, moreover, who endured in safety to the end, through the loss of their fathers, brothers, relations, and friends, who had perished of disease. or by the sword, are believed to have endured a severe species of martyrdom, and diverse passions pierced their breasts as with a sword. Each, in his own way, we must admit it, endured a kind of martyrdom; every one, in short, of those, who with simple and devout hearts had exposed themselves for the love of God to this distant pilgrimage. Some, however, with loquacious garrulity, were accustomed

## *Itinerary*

afterwards to complain that the pilgrims had done little good in the land of Jerusalem, because they had not freed the city; but they did not know what they were saying, for they were inquiring about things of which they have no personal knowledge or experience. We, however, who have seen, and who know all of it by our own eye-sight, claim to be believed in our accounts of the tribulations and miseries which those men endured. Wherefore, we state confidently, in the hearing of those also who were present, that 100,000 Christians perished in that pilgrimage, for the sole reason that, in the hope of divine reward, they had separated themselves from women, deeming it wicked by sacrificing their purity to obtain bodily health and thus they opposed patience even to the corruption of the flesh, that the purity of their minds might remain unimpaired. We know also, for certain, that by sickness and famine combined, there died more than 300,000, in the siege of Acre, and afterwards, in the same city. Who, however, can doubt of the salvation of the souls of such noble and excellent men, who daily heard divine service from the lips of their own chaplains? These surely may be supposed to have gone to heaven.

Chapter XXXVI. — *How the king, before setting sail for home, exchanged ten noble Turkish captives for William de Pratelles, who had suffered himself to be captured to save the king, saying that himself was Melech.*

Meanwhile King Richard's ship was made ready, and every thing necessary, both in arms and provisions, prepared for the voyage. The king then, out of mere liberality, and impelled by his nobleness of mind alone,<sup>23</sup> redeemed William de Pratelles, who, as we have before related, suffered himself to be captured to save the king, by exchanging for him ten of the most noble Turks, though they would gladly have given a large sum of

<sup>23</sup>Such may be the opinion of Geoffrey de Vinsauf, a narrow-minded priest of the twelfth century; but every liberal-minded and enlightened man will believe, and probably no one knew it better than the noble King Richard, that his escutcheon would have been for ever dishonoured, if he had left the Holy Land without redeeming from slavery the noble knight who had sacrificed himself for his sovereign. — See Book ii. c. 20.

## *Itinerary*

money to retain him; but the king's generosity would not condescend in any way to be tarnished.

Chapter XXXVII. — *How King Richard set sail to return home, and of the misfortunes which he met with.*

Every thing was now settled, and the king was already on the point of embarking, when determining before he went, to leave nothing behind him that might detract from his honour, he ordered proclamation to be made that all who had claims on him should come forward, and that all his debts should be paid fully, and more than fully, to avoid all occasion afterwards of detraction or complaint. What sighs and tears were there when the royal fleet weighed anchor! A blessing was invoked on the king's many acts of benevolence, his virtues and his largesses were set forth, and the numerous excellences combined in one man. How then did the lamentations of all resound as they exclaimed, "O Jerusalem, bereft now of every succour! How hast thou lost thy defender! Who will protect thee, should the truce be broken, now that King Richard is departed?" Such were the words of each, when the king, whose health was not yet fully re-established, and who was the subject of all their anxious wishes, went on board and set sail. All night the ship ran on her way by the light of the stars, and when morning dawned, the king looked back with yearning eyes upon the land which he had left, and after long meditation, he prayed aloud, in the hearing of several, in these words, "O holy land, I commend thee to God, and if his heavenly grace shall grant me so long to live, that I may, in his good pleasure, afford thee assistance, I hope, as I propose, to be able to be some day a succour to thee." With these words he urged the sailors to spread their canvass to the winds, that they might the sooner cross over the expanse of sea that lay before them; ignorant indeed of the tribulations and sorrows that awaited him, and the calamities that he was to suffer from the treachery that had long before been transmitted to France, by which it was contrived that he should be wickedly thrown into prison, though he justly suspected no such evil in the service of God, and in so laborious a pilgrimage. O how unequally was he recompensed for his

## *Itinerary*

exertions in the common cause! His inheritance was seized by another, his castles in Normandy were unjustly taken, his rivals made cruel assaults upon his rights without provocation, and he only escaped from captivity by paying a ransom to the emperor of Germany. To gather the money for his ransom, the taxes were raised to the uttermost; a large collection was levied upon all his land, and every thing was distracted; for the chalices and hallowed vessels of gold and silver were gathered from the churches, and the monasteries were obliged to do without their utensils; neither was this unlawful according to the decrees of the holy fathers, nay, it was even a matter of necessity, inasmuch as no saint, many though there be, ever during life suffered so much for the Lord as King Richard in his captivity in Austria and in Germany. He who had gained so many triumphs over the Turks was nefariously circumvented by the brethren of his own faith, and seized by those who agreed with him in name only as members of the creed of Christ. Alas, how much more are secret snares to be feared than open discord, according to the proverb, "It is easier to avoid a hostile than a deceitful man." Oh, shame be it said, that one whom no adversary could resist, nor the whole force of Saladin could conquer, was now seized by an ignoble people, and kept a prisoner in Germany. Oh, how painful is it for those who have been nurtured in liberty, to be placed at the beck of another! But out of that captivity, by God's usual mercy, his own activity, and the care of his faithful servants, he was at length set at liberty for a large sum of money, because he was known to be a man of great power. At last restored to his native soil and the kingdom of his ancestors, in a short time he restored all to tranquillity. He then crossed over into Normandy, to avenge himself on the wanton aggressions of the king of France, his rival; and when he had more than once defeated him, he powerfully recovered with sword and spear his alienated rights, even with augmentation.

Here Ends The Book Of King Richard's Expedition To The Land Of Jerusalem