

The History of Frankish Conquerors of Jerusalem

By Raymond d'Aguilers, Canon of Notre Dame du Puy

Pons of Balazun¹ and Raymond, Canon of Le Puy,² pray to you my lord, Bishop of Viviers,³ and to all of the orthodox for your blessing and sharing in our toil. We write this book in order to inform you and all the people beyond the Alps of the mighty works which God in his customary generosity incessantly brought to pass through us. This task, chiefly undertaken because misfits of war and cowardly deserters have since tried to spread lies rather than truth, shall enable future readers to avoid the friendship and counsel of such renegades because their works will be an open book. It is a matter of record that God's army, although it bore the whip of the Lord for its transgressions, nevertheless triumphed over all paganism because of His loving kindness. But it seems too tiresome to write of each journey since some crusaders went through Sclavonia,⁴ others by Hungary,⁵ by Lombardy, or by the sea. So, we have taken care to write of the Count of Saint-Gilles,⁶ the Bishop of Le Puy,⁷ and their army without bothering with the others.

¹ Pons of Balazun, joint author of Raymond's book, was probably a knight from the diocese of Viviers. There are several variants of his name, including Balon, Ballon, and Baladun. He was killed during the siege of 'Arqah, and Raymond completed the book.

² Raymond, Canon of Le Puy, was author of *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*. See preface; also Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-329.

³ The Bishop of Viviers at the time of the First Crusade was Leger. Viviers was southeast of Le Puy and Chaise-Dieu. It was closely associated with Chaise-Dieu which was a favorite abbey of Raymond of Toulouse. See Dom. Cl. Devic and Dom. J. Vaisette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (15 v., Paris, 1872-1893) 3: p. 542. Hereafter cited as *HGL*.

⁴ Sclavonia is Raymond's word for Dalmatia, the land of the Slavs. His description of Sclavonia as a "forsaken land, both inaccessible and mountainous" is probably drawn from Psalm 62:3. This Psalm, "Deus, Deus, Meus," occurs in the Office Sunday at Laudes, in the Office of the Dead at Laudes, and on such other occasions as the Breviary calls for the Psalms of Sunday.

⁵ Hungary had experienced a period of peace prior to the crusades largely because of the efforts of King Ladislas (1077-1095). Coloman, who succeeded to the throne, had the problem of controlling the crusading armies.

⁶ The Count of Saint-Gilles was frequently used by Latin and Moslem writers to refer to the Count of Toulouse. Saint-Gilles was a thriving town at the mouth of the Rhone during the First Crusade.

⁷ The Bishop of Le Puy refers to Adhémar. See n. 19 in preface.

I. The March Through Slavonia and the Treachery of the Greeks

FOLLOWING ITS DEPARTURE, the army entered Slavonia and underwent many privations during the winter season. Truly, Slavonia is a forsaken land, both inaccessible and mountainous, where for three weeks we saw neither wild beasts nor birds. The barbarous and ignorant⁸ natives would neither trade with us nor provide guides, but fled from their villages and strongholds and, as though they had been badly injured by our infirm stragglers, slew these poor souls—the debilitated, the old women and men, the poor, and the sick—as if they were slaughtering cattle. Because of the familiarity of the Slavs with the countryside, it was difficult for our heavily armed knights to give chase to these unarmed robbers through the midst of rugged mountains and very dense forests.⁹ Yet our army endured these marauders because our soldiers could neither fight them in the open nor avoid skirmishes with them.

We break our story at this point to relate a glorious encounter of the Count which occurred one day along the route when Raymond and his band, upon finding themselves hedged in by the Slavs, rushed and captured some six of them.¹⁰ The

⁸ See our discussion of the date of departure of the Provençals in *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse*, pp. 38-39. The forces of Raymond probably left during September and October, 1096. See Norman Golb, "New Light on the Persecution of French Jews at the Time of the First Crusade," *Proc. Amer. Acad. for Jewish Research* 34 (1966): pp. 1-63. Golb throws light on Jewish persecution in southern France. We are inclined to think that the Provençals did not engage in movements similar to those in Germany. Jews occupied a much higher position in the Midi. Certainly, there must have been cases of sporadic outbreaks against them by the poorly controlled elements in the Provençal army. The descriptive terms, "barbarous and ignorant," were used in classical times. See Cicero, *Oration for A. Licinius Archias*, 8.

⁹ The crusaders gave chase through "the midst of rugged mountains and very dense forests" to no avail. This is, no doubt, drawn from Saint Ambrose, "On Psalm 1," *Patrologiae cursus completus Series Latina* (217 v. Paris, 1844-1864) 14: c. 932-935 (hereafter cited as *MPL*).

¹⁰ The phrase, the Count of Toulouse "rushed upon" the Slavs, is used frequently in classical Latin. See Caesar, *The Gallic War* I, 22. The entire account of Raymond's skirmish is one in which he is perilously situated with a few companions. He is able through quick judgment and prompt action to emerge safely.

Count, now sorely pressed by their menacing comrades, realized that he must break through to his army and so gave a command to snatch out the eyes of some of his captives, to cut off the feet of others, and to mangle the nose and hands of yet others and abandon them. Thus, he and his comrades fled to safety while the enemy was horror-stricken by the gruesome sight of their mutilated friends and paralyzed by grief. In such manner he was freed from the agony of death and this perilous place by God's goodness.

Actually, we find it difficult to report the bravery and judgment displayed by Raymond in Sclavonia.¹¹ For almost forty days we journeyed in this land at times encountering such clouds of fog we could almost touch these vapors and shove them in front of us with our bodies.¹² In the midst of these dangers the Count always protected his people by fighting in the rearguard and by being the last one to reach his quarters. Some might return to camp in the middle of the day or at sundown, but not Raymond, who frequently arrived at his tent in the middle of the night or at the cock's crow.¹³

We passed through Sclavonia without losses from starvation or open conflict largely through God's mercy, the hard work of the Count, and the counsel of Adhémar. This successful crossing of the barbarous lands leads us to believe that God wished His host of warriors to cross through Sclavonia in order that brutish, pagan men, by learning of the strength and long suffering of His soldiers, would at some time recover from their savageness or as unabsolved sinners be led to God's doom.

Upon our arrival at Scutari¹⁴ after our strenuous passage across Sclavonia, the Count affirmed brotherhood¹⁵ and be-

¹¹ The virtues of Raymond, "bravery and judgment," are among those outlined by Ambrose, *De Officiis Ministrorum* in *MPL* 16: c. 60-76.

¹² "Forty days" is used symbolically. The chaplain was well aware of its significance in Biblical literature.

¹³ Raymond was the last to arrive in camp "at the cock's crow." See Mark 13: 35. *Gallicantu* in medieval service books might designate one of the canonical hours.

¹⁴ Scutari was a medieval town, now known as Shkodër in Albania. The Provençals arrived in Scutari toward the end of January, 1097. The chaplain wrote of the slaughter of the poor in Sclavonia but states that no losses from hunger or open conflict were sustained.

¹⁵ "Brotherhood" is frequently used by Raymond. See William Daly, "Christian Fraternity, the Crusaders, and the Security of Constantinople, 1097-1204: The Precarious Survival of an Ideal," *Mediaeval Studies* 22 (1960): pp. 43-91.

stowed many gifts upon the king of the Slavs so that the crusaders could buy in peace and look for the necessities of life.¹⁶ But this was only an illusion, for we sorely regretted our trust in the sham peace when the Slavs took advantage of the occasion, went berserk as was their custom, slew our people, and snatched what they could from the unarmed. You may well believe we prayed for a refuge and not for revenge;¹⁷ but why should we continue this dreary account of Sclavonia?

On our encampment at Durazzo¹⁸ we were confident that we were in our land, because we believed that Alexius¹⁹ and his followers were our Christian brothers and confederates. But truly, with the savagery of lions they rushed upon peaceful men who were oblivious of their need for self defense.²⁰ These brigands, operating by night, slew our people in groves and places far from camp and stole what they could from them. While the Greeks acted thus without restraint, their leader, John Comnenus,²¹ promised peace; but during such a truce they killed Pontius Rainaud and fatally wounded his brother, Peter, two most noble princes.²² We had a chance for vengeance, but we renewed our march in preference to vindicating our injustices. En route, we had letters concerning security and brotherhood, and I may say of filiation, from the Emperor;²³

¹⁶ Runciman thinks that the Count of Toulouse bargained with Bodin, a prince of the locality.

¹⁷ It was a Christian virtue not to pray for revenge. Ambrose warns against revenge. See *De Officiis* in *MPL* 16: c. 62.

¹⁸ Durazzo was the old medieval town of Dyrrachium located along the Adriatic coast. It was held by the Greeks at the time of the First Crusade. The crusaders arrived there in the early part of February. See Steven Runciman, "The First Crusaders' Journey Across the Balkan Peninsula," *Byzantion* 19 (1949). We have in most cases used the dating of Hagenmeyer. In general dating of the crusade is subject to error. See Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, Nos. 116, 117 (hereafter cited as *H Chr*).

¹⁹ Alexius Comnenus was a Byzantine leader who seized the throne, made himself emperor (Basileus), and ruled the eastern empire from 1081 to 1118. See *The Alexiad*.

²⁰ The enemy rushed upon the Christians with the "savagery of lions." See *Liber II Machabaeorum* 11: 11.

²¹ John Comnenus, who was stationed at Durazzo, was the nephew of Alexius. He had instructions from his uncle on the reception of the crusaders.

²² Pontius Rainaud and his brother, Peter, were knights in the army of the Provençals.

²³ The chaplain uses a phrase, "I may say," as a device to add more information. See Cicero, "For the Manilian Law," 4.

but these were empty words, for before and behind, to the right and to the left Turks, Kumans, Uzes, and the tenacious peoples—Pechenegs and Bulgars—were lying in wait for us.²⁴

²⁴ The crusaders followed the Via Egnatia. The chaplain shows his resentment of the guarded reception. The Greeks, on the other hand, were aware of the looting of the Latins. Kuman refers to a Turkish tribe called Kipchaks; the Pechenegs were people of Turkish origin known as Patzinaks to the Byzantines; Uzes were Turkish people sometimes called Oghuz Turks; the word *tanaces* we have translated as "tenacious people."

II. The Journey Across Greek Lands and the Relations of Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Alexius

TO ADD TO OUR TROUBLES, one day we were in the valley of Pelagonia when the Pechenegs captured the Bishop of Le Puy, who had wandered a short time from camp looking for a comfortable lodging.¹ They threw him from his mule, stripped him, and struck him heavily upon the head. But one of the fellow Pechenegs, while seeking gold from Adhémar, saved him from his fellow brigands; and so the great bishop, indispensable to God's justice, was spared to mankind because of God's compassion. When the commotion was heard in camp, the attacking crusaders saved the Bishop from the Pechenegs, who had been slow in dispatching him.

Thus, surrounded by treacherous imperial soldiers, we came to a fort, Bucinat, where Raymond heard that the Pechenegs lay in ambush for us in the defiles of a nearby mountain.² The Count reversed the tables by lying in ambush for them, and, along with his knights, took these mercenaries by surprise in a sudden attack, killing many and routing the others. In the midst of these events mollifying dispatches from Alexius arrived; yet still the enemy encircled us, and on all sides we were confronted with the Emperor's deceit.

Soon thereafter we arrived at Roussa, a town where the open contempt of its citizens so strained our customary forbearance that we seized arms, broke down the outer walls, captured great booty, and received the town in surrender.³ We then left after we had raised our banner over the town and shouted *Tolosa*, the rallying cry of the Count. Our march took us thence to Rodosto, where mercenary troops of Alexius, anxious

¹ Pelagonia was an area located northwest of Macedonia. See Runciman, *op. cit.* (n. 18, chap. I) and *H Chr* 124, 125, 134 for the Provençal journey. The Provençals were in this area by the middle of February.

² Bucinat, the name of a castle, has not been identified.

³ Roussa was a town in Thrace. Its Turkish name was Keshan. The attack on Roussa was made on April 12, 1097. See *H Chr* 118, 124, 125, and 134 for dates of journey from Durazzo to Constantinople.

to avenge the Roussa defeat, attacked us; but we slew a number of these hirelings and took some loot.⁴

Now our agents returned to us at Rodosto from the court of Alexius where we had sent them. They brought rosy reports of Byzantine promises largely because the Emperor bribed them; thus the following events need no further comment. Byzantine and crusader envoys urged Raymond to abandon his army and, unarmed with a few followers, to hurry to the court of the Basileus. They reported that Bohemond, the Duke of Lorraine, the Count of Flanders, and other princes besought Raymond to make a pact concerning the crusade with Alexius, who might take the Cross and become leader of God's army.⁵ They added that Alexius was willing to transact all affairs beneficial to the trip with the Count in matters pertaining to him and to others. They further stated that the absence of such a great man's advice on the eve of combat would be unfortunate. Therefore, they pressed Raymond to come to Constantinople with a small force so that upon completion of arrangements with Alexius there would be no delay of the march. Raymond followed this advice, left a garrison in camp, and preceded the army on this mission, going alone and unarmed to Constantinople.

Thus far, the recording of these deeds, deeds marked by both a joyous and prosperous course, has been an agreeable task to the writer. However, the story is now pressed so with the burden of harshness and grief that it wearies me that I began what I have sworn to complete. Frankly, I do not know how to record these events in their importance. Shall I write of the most fraudulent and abominable treachery of the Emperor's

⁴ Rodosto is the Turkish town of Tekirdagh located some four days journey from Constantinople. The Count of Toulouse met ambassadors from Alexius at Rodosto on April 18, 1097.

⁵ Bohemond (1050ca.-1111) was the son of Robert Guiscard, who had fought the Greeks before the First Crusade. His father's patrimony went to a younger half brother, Roger Borsa. Consequently, Bohemond went crusading with the obvious hope of winning a state in the Near East. He did seize Antioch and was prince of that city from 1099 to 1111. The Duke of Lorraine refers to Godfrey (1060ca.-1100), who was a duke of Lower Lorraine. His role in the First Crusade was not brilliant although he did become Defender of the Holy Sepulchre. Later historians made him one of the great heroes of the movement. The Count of Flanders (d. 1111) sometimes called the "Jerusalemite" was the son of Robert the Frisian, who had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem around 1087 to 1091. For biographies of these leaders see fn. 6 in preface.

counsel? Or shall I record the most infamous escape of our army and its unimaginable helplessness? Or by relating the deaths of such great princes, shall I leave a memorial of eternal grief? To the contrary, let whoever wishes to know inquire from others rather than from us.⁶

However, we shall report this very important occurrence. While all of our people dreamed of leaving camp, fleeing, forsaking their comrades, and giving up all which they had carried from far away lands, they were led back to such a steadfast strength through the saving Grace of repentance and fasting that only their former ignominy of desperation and desire for flight strongly embarrassed them. But we shall tarry no longer with this sad account.

Upon the most honorable reception of Raymond by Alexius and his princes, the Basileus demanded from the Count homage and an oath which the other princes had sworn to him. Raymond responded that he had not taken the Cross to pay allegiance to another lord or to be in the service of any other than the One for whom he had abandoned his native land and his paternal goods.⁷ He would, however, entrust himself, his followers, and his effects to the Emperor if he would journey to Jerusalem with the army. But Alexius temporized by excusing himself from the march on the grounds that he was afraid that the Germans, Hungarians, Kumans, and other fierce people would plunder his empire if he undertook the march with the pilgrims.⁸

In the meantime the Count, after learning of the rout and death of his men, believed that he had been misled and through the services of some of our leaders summoned the Emperor on charges of betraying the crusaders. But Alexius replied that

⁶ This passage reminds us of the later orators of the early Renaissance who used the device of leaving their audience without an answer to the questions which they proposed. Apparently, the chaplain was poorly informed at this point and resorted to this literary device.

⁷ The Count of Toulouse was the subject of several reports on his religious zeal. He was reported to have stated that he would never return to his native land. We are certain that the stories reflect the current opinion of his character. The chaplain is spinning a pretty phrase at this point, probably based on what the Count would be expected to say.

⁸ Raymond's use of "fierce people" following the word Kumans supports our theory that in a preceding passage (fn. 24, chap. I) he used Kuman and *tanaces* and in this chapter Kuman and *feras gentes*. Thus, we believe, that the *tanaces* were not a race but a general term for fierce people.

he himself had been unaware that our troops had plundered his kingdom and that his people had borne many wrongs, and that he knew of no legal grounds for the Count's investigation unless it was that while Raymond's army in its accustomed way was ravaging villages and walled towns his men fled at the sight of the imperial army. Yet he promised he would make amends to the Count, and he gave Bohemond as a hostage of his pledge. They came to judgment, and the Count, contrary to justice, was compelled to free his hostage.

Meanwhile, our army arrived in Constantinople and after it came the Bishop with his brother, whom he had left ill in Durazzo.⁹ Alexius sent word again and again promising that he would reward the Count handsomely if he would pay the same homage as the other princes; but Raymond brooded over revenge for unjust treatment of himself and his men and sought means to remove the shame of such ill fame. However, the Duke of Lorraine and the Count of Flanders and other princes deplored such thoughts, saying that it was the height of folly for Christians to fight Christians when the Turks were near at hand. Bohemond, in fact, pledged his support to Alexius in case Raymond took action against him or if the Count longer excused himself from homage and an oath. At this juncture, following consultation with his Provençals, the Count swore that he would not, either through himself or through others, take away from the Emperor life and possessions. When he was cited concerning homage, he replied that he would not pay homage because of the peril to his rights. We may add that Alexius gave him little of worldly goods because of his intransigence.¹⁰

⁹ The role of Adhémar in the quarrel of Raymond and Alexius is unknown. However, his admirers have his good counsel prevailing. See *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁰ We have translated Raymond's oath to read that he would "not take away from the Emperor life and possessions." Krey and others have Raymond not sullyng the "life and honor" of Alexius. Similar oaths were taken in southern France, and the Latin "honorem" is better translated as possessions. Actually, the Count of Toulouse took an oath similar to those in his land and was in no sense a vassal of the Emperor. See our article, "The Convention of Alexius Comnenus and Raymond of Saint-Gilles," *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 58 (1953): pp. 322-327.

III. The Siege of Nicaea and the Passage of Romania

THEN AFTER PASSAGE of the sea we hastened to Nicaea, where Godfrey, Bohemond, and other leaders, who were in the vanguard, besieged Nicaea, a city well protected by natural terrain and clever defenses.¹ Its natural fortifications consisted of a great lake lapping at its walls and a ditch, brimful of runoff water from nearby streams, blocking entrance on three sides. Skillful men had enclosed Nicaea with such lofty walls that the city feared neither the attack of enemies nor the force of any machine. The ballistae of the nearby towers were so alternately faced that no one could move near them without peril, and if anyone wished to move forward, he could do no harm because he could easily be struck down from the top of a tower.²

In short, as we have so said, Bohemond besieged the town from the north, the Duke and the Germans from the east, the Count and the Bishop of Le Puy from the south; and for the record the Count of Normandy was absent.³ At this time we must record the following event. While the Count of Toulouse wished to encamp there, the Turks marched down from the mountains in two bodies and fell upon our army. Doubtless they had made their plans with the hope that while one contingent fought Godfrey and the Germans encamped to the east, the other group of Turks would enter Nicaea through the

¹ Nicaea was built by Antigonus around 316 B.C. and was located in Bithynia on Lake Ascanius. At the time of the crusade it was held by the Selchükids and governed by Kilij Arslan. The Count of Toulouse remained in the vicinity of Constantinople until May 10, 1097, and then departed for Nicaea. It is possible that his relations with Alexius were more cordial than Raymond d'Aguilers leads us to believe. See *H Chr* 148.

² Ballistae were machines of war often made in the form of crossbows and used to hurl missiles.

³ The Count of Normandy (1054 ca.-1134) was better known as Robert Curthose, the Duke of Normandy. He was the son of William the Conqueror (d. 1087), who had gained the throne of England. Robert mortgaged his lands to his brother, King William II (Rufus), to go crusading. His military feats on the crusade were heralded by his contemporaries, but in all he was a rather obscure person in the political affairs of the movement. See C. W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 1920).

south gate and go out another gate and thereby easily rout our unsuspecting forces. But God, the customary scourge of wicked counsel, ruined their schemes so that it seems that he planned the battle according to the following outcome. God caused the Count, who at the moment was about to make camp with his men, to attack that body of Turks which at the very same time was on the point of entering Nicaea. In the first charge Raymond routed and killed many of the Turks and then chased the remaining ones to a nearby mountain, while at the same time the Turks who had planned to rush the Germans were likewise put to flight and crushed.

Following this success, we built machines and stormed the wall, all to no purpose. The wall was almost impregnable, and the courageous defense with arrows and machines was frustrating. Finally, after five weeks of fruitless siege, through God's will some troops of the entourage of Adhémar and Raymond after a skirmish pushed forward at great peril to the foot of a tower. Under the protection of a testudo they sapped, undermined, and toppled it to the ground. The coming of night prevented the capture of Nicaea. By the next morning our efforts proved futile, because under the cover of darkness the defenders had restored the walls. Nicaea, gripped by fear, surrendered in great part because Greek ships which had been drawn overland now floated on the lake. Consequently, the Turks, isolated from their friends by this act, bowed to Alexius as they no longer hoped for help while they daily watched the Frankish army grow, a fact accented even more by the arrival of the Count of Normandy.⁴

Alexius had pledged to the princes and the Frankish people that he would hand over to them all of the gold, silver, horses, and effects of all kinds which were in Nicaea; and he further stated that he would found there a Latin monastery and hospice for needy Franks. He also promised to give so much to every person in the army that every soldier would wish to serve him at all times. The Franks trusted these sincere words and praised the surrender. But once in possession of Nicaea, Alexius acted

⁴ Raymond's account of the siege of Nicaea is rather close to that of the *Gesta*, but there are details in each which indicate additional sources of information. The garrison surrendered to the Byzantine leader, Butumites, probably on the night of June 18, 1097. By the morning of June 19 Byzantine banners flew over Nicaea, *H Chr* 159, 160.

as such an ingrate to the army that as long as he might live people would ever revile him and call him traitor.

At this time we learned that when Peter the Hermit and his peasant hordes had arrived in Constantinople months before the main crusading force, Alexius had betrayed him by forcing Peter and his followers, unfamiliar with both the locale and the art of war, to cross the Straits with no defense against the Turks.⁵ So the Nicene Turks, sensing an easy kill, rapidly and easily butchered sixty thousand peasants and missed only the survivors who escaped their swords by taking refuge in a fortress. The victors, emboldened and made arrogant by their success, sent the captured weapons and crusaders to their noblemen and to Saracen leaders in distant places, and wrote throughout their lands that the Franks were unwarlike.

Following these events, we left Nicaea bound for Romania; and on the march the next day Bohemond and some of the princes indiscreetly parted from the Count, the Bishop, and the Duke.⁶ On the third day of Bohemond's diversionary march, as he was considering making camp, his soldiers beheld one hundred and fifty thousand men approaching in battle formation.⁷ While he formed his battle ranks according to circumstance and made ready for the fight, he lost many stragglers; and so as the skirmish heightened Bohemond summoned to his aid the Count and the Duke, who were only two miles distant. The help was not slow in coming. The crusaders donned their armor, mounted their steeds, and galloped off to fight the enemy shortly after Bohemond's messenger brought the news.

The sight of the onrushing knights chilled the hopes of Kiliġ Arslan, the attacking leader, and he fled precipitately.⁸

⁵ Peter the Hermit was an unknown person until Urban's call at Clermont. An ardent preacher, Peter stirred the peasants to start the ill fated marches to Jerusalem. Heinrich Hagenmeyer in his book, *Peter der Eremit*, has divested the Hermit of his legendary role in the First Crusade. However, Peter remained a popular figure with the chroniclers and represented to them an unselfish man of God. The reader will note that Raymond d'Aguilers uses every opportunity to show his hatred of the Greeks.

⁶ Romania was loosely applied by writers and in this case refers to Anatolia.

⁷ The reader cannot trust Raymond's figures. See Runciman, *The First Crusade*, pp. 336-341.

⁸ The chaplain describes the battle of Dorylaeum (near the modern Eskişehir). The battle was fought on July 1, 1097, *H Chr* 169, and resulted in the rout of the Turks. Raymond does not report the diversionary attack of Adhémar of

It seems to us that it was poetic justice that Kılıj Arslan, who had seized captives and many tents from Bohemond, now through God's power abandoned his goods. Although we did not see it, some recounted a remarkable miracle in which two handsome knights in flashing armor, riding before our soldiers and seemingly invulnerable to the thrusts of Turkish lances, menaced the enemy so that they could not fight.⁹ Although we learned this from apostate Turks now in our ranks, we can certify from evidence that for two days on the march we saw dead riders and dead horses.

Following the defeat and repulsion of the Turks, we rapidly crossed through Romania in peace although an illness of Raymond retarded the march a bit.¹⁰ Distasteful as the following may be to scoffers, it should be made a matter of public record because it is an account of the miracle working of divine mercy. A Saxon count in our army, claiming to be a legate of Saint Gilles, said that he had been urged two times to command the Count: "Relax, you will not die of this infirmity because I have secured a respite for you from God and I shall always be at hand."¹¹ Although the Count was most credulous, he was so weakened by the malady that when he was taken from his bed and placed upon the ground, he scarcely had a breath of life. So the Bishop of Orange read the office as if he

Le Puy and deals with celestial manifestations. Brundage emphasizes the military skill of Adhémar. Runciman thinks that it was the joint effort of the crusaders that won the day. Kılıj Arslan was the son of Sulaimān and was known as Ibn-Sulaimān, and hence was called Solomon by the crusaders. Following the death of Malik-Shāh in 1092 he became ruler of Asia Minor and held weak control of it until his death in 1107. The divisive character of the Turkish states led to the success of the First Crusade.

⁹ The author is careful throughout his work to offer details which can be corroborated by witnesses. This is apparently little more than style. The two knights in "flashing armor" are probably drawn from *Liber II Machabaeorum* 10: 29-31. Victory is brought through the might of the Lord, and heavenly protectors in shining armor slaughter the enemy. See Ambrose, *De Officiis*, MPL 16, c. 82.

¹⁰ The chaplain omits all of the details of the burdensome march across the Taurus mountains. This lacuna is difficult to explain.

¹¹ The account of the illness of Raymond of Saint-Gilles suggests Isaiah 38: 1-6. The story of Hezekiah's restoration from mortal illness through divine intervention was well known. The Canticle of Hezekiah, Isaiah 38:10-20, is a part of the Office of the Dead. It is strange how the Count of Toulouse was deathly ill several times and then miraculously recovered to return to the field of battle within a few days. Hagenmeyer dates the illness of Raymond on August 5, 1097, *H Chr* 177.

were dead; but divine compassion, which had made him leader of his army, immediately raised him from death and returned him safe and sound.¹²

¹² The Bishop of Orange was named William and was an honored member of the Provençal clergy. Following the death of Adhémar, William held the respect of the crusaders until he died at Ma'arrat-an-Numân.