

Therefore, when we learned that the army of the Babylonians was at Ascalon, we went down to meet them, leaving our baggage and the sick, with a garrison, in Jerusalem. When our army was in sight of the enemy, we invoked upon our knees the aid of the Lord, that he who in our other adversities had strengthened the Christian faith, might in the present battle break the strength of the Saracens and of the devil, and extend the kingdom of the Church of Christ from sea to sea, over the whole world. There was no delay; God was present when we cried for his aid, and indued us with so great boldness that one who saw us rush upon the enemy would have taken us for a herd of deer, hastening to quench their thirst in running water.

The king of
Babylon
defeated.

It was indeed wonderful, since there were in our army not more than five thousand horsemen and fifteen thousand foot soldiers, and there were probably in the enemy's army one hundred thousand horsemen and four hundred thousand foot soldiers. Then God appeared most marvelous to his servants. For before we engaged in fighting, by our very onset alone, he turned this multitude in flight and scattered all their weapons, so that if they wished afterward to attack us they did not have the arms in which they trusted.

There can be no question as to the greatness of the spoils, since the treasures of the king of Babylon were captured. More than one hundred thousand Moors perished there by the sword. Moreover their panic was so great that about two thousand were suffocated at the gate of the city. Those who perished in the sea were innumerable. Many were entangled in the thickets. The whole world was certainly fighting for us, and if many of our men had not been detained in plundering the camp, few of the great multitude of the enemy would have been able to escape from the battle.

Coöperation
on the part
of the cap-
tured
animals.

And although it may be tedious, the following must not be omitted. On the day preceding the battle the army captured many thousands of camels, oxen, and sheep. By the command of the princes these were divided among the people. When we advanced to battle, wonderful to relate, the

camels formed in many squadrons, and the sheep and oxen did the same. Moreover these animals accompanied us, halting when we halted, advancing when we advanced, and charging when we charged. The clouds sheltered us from the heat of the sun and cooled us.

Accordingly, after celebrating the victory, the army returned to Jerusalem. Duke Godfrey remained there; the count of St. Gilles, Robert, count of Normandy, and Robert, count of Flanders, returned to Laodicea. There they found the fleet belonging to the Pisans and to Bohemond. After the archbishop of Pisa had established peace between Bohemond and our leaders, Raymond prepared to return to Jerusalem for the sake of God and his brethren.

Therefore, we call upon you of the Catholic Church of Christ and of the whole Latin Church to exult in the admirable bravery and devotion of your brethren, in the glorious and desirable retribution of the omnipotent God, and in the devoutly hoped-for remission of all our sins through the grace of God. And we pray that he may make you—namely, all bishops, clergy, and monks who are leading devout lives, and all the laity—to sit down at the right hand of God, who liveth and reigneth, God for ever and ever.

And we ask and beseech you, in the name of our Lord Jesus, who has ever been with us and aided us and freed us from all our tribulations, to be mindful of your brethren who return to you, by doing them kindnesses and by paying their debts, in order that God may recompense you and absolve you from all your sins and grant you a share in all the blessings which either we or they have deserved in the sight of the Lord. Amen.

IV. ST. BERNARD AND THE SECOND CRUSADE

St. Bernard was induced to use his unrivaled influence in promoting a new crusade in 1146. The following letter indicates his attitude toward the enterprise:

128. St. Bernard exhorts the people to take arms against the infidel.

To the Lords and very dear Fathers, the Archbishops and Bishops, with the whole Clergy and the faithful people of Eastern France and Bavaria: Bernard, called Abbot of Clairvaux, desires that they may abound in the spirit of strength:

I write to you with respect to a matter which concerns the service of Christ, in whom is our salvation. This I say in order that the Lord's authority may excuse the unworthiness of the person who speaks; let the consideration of its usefulness to yourselves also excuse the faults of my address. I, indeed, am of small account; but I have no small love for you all, in the bowels of Jesus Christ. This, now, is my reason for writing to you, that I may thus approach you as a whole. I would rather do so by word of mouth, if the opportunity, as well as the will, were afforded me.

Behold, brethren, now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation. The earth also is moved and has trembled, because the God of heaven has begun to destroy the land which is his: his, I say, in which the word of the Father was taught, and where he dwelt for more than thirty years, a man among men; his, for he enlightened it with miracles, he consecrated it with his own blood; in it appeared the first fruits of his resurrection. And now, for our sins, the enemies of the Cross have raised blaspheming heads, ravaging with the edge of the sword the land of promise. For they are almost on the point, if there be not One to withstand them, of bursting into the very city of the living God, of overturning the sanctuaries of our redemption, of polluting the holy places of the spotless Lamb with purple blood. Alas! they rage against the very shrine of the Christian faith with blasphemous mouths, and would enter and trample down the very couch on which, for us, our Life lay down to sleep in death.

What are you going to do then, O brave men? What are you doing, O servants of the Cross? Will you give what is holy to the dogs, and cast your pearls before swine? How many sinners there, confessing their sins with tears, have

obtained pardon, after the defilement of the heathen had been purged by the swords of your fathers! The wicked man sees and is grieved; he gnashes with his teeth, and consumes away. He prepares the instruments of sin, and will leave no sign or trace of so great piety, if ever (which God forbid!) he gain possession of this holiest of holy places. Verily that would be an irremediable grief to all time, an irrecoverable loss, a vast disgrace to this most graceless generation, and an everlasting shame.

What are we then to think, brethren? Is the Lord's arm shortened so that it cannot save, because he calls his weak creatures to guard and restore his heritage? Can he not send more than twelve legions of angels, or merely speak the word, and the land shall be set free? It is altogether in his power to effect what he wishes; but I tell you, the Lord, your God, is trying you. He looks upon the sons of men to see if there be any to understand, and seek, and bewail his error. For the Lord hath pity upon his people, and provides a sure remedy for those that are afflicted.

Think what care he uses for your salvation, and wonder. Behold the abyss of his love, and trust him, O ye sinners. He wills not your death, but that you may turn and live; for now he seeks occasion, not against you, but for your benefit. What opportunity of salvation has God not tried and sought out, when the Almighty deigns to summon to his service murderers, robbers, adulterers, perjurers, and those guilty of other crimes, as if they were a people that dealt righteously? Doubt him not, O sinners; God is kind. If he willed to punish you, he not only would not seek your service, but would not accept it when offered.

Again I say, weigh the riches of the goodness of the Highest God; hear his plan of mercy. He makes, or feigns, a need for himself, while he desires to help you in your necessity. He wills to be held a debtor, that he may give pay to those that fight for him, pardon of sins, and everlasting glory. Therefore I may call it a highly favored generation which has happened upon a time so full of indulgence; upon which has come that acceptable year of the Lord, a

Character
of the
crusaders.

very jubilee; for this blessing is spread over the whole world, and all fly eagerly to the sign of life.

Neighbor-
hood war.

Since, therefore, your land is fruitful in brave men, and is known to be full of robust youth, since your praise is in the whole world, and the fame of your valor has filled the entire earth, gird up your loins manfully, and take up arms in zeal for the Christian name. Let not your former warlike skill cease, but only that spirit of hatred in which you are accustomed to strike down and kill one another and in turn be overcome yourselves. How dire a madness goads those wretched men, when kinsmen strike each other's bodies with the sword, perchance causing the soul also to perish! But he does not escape who triumphs; the sword shall go through his own soul also, when he thinks to have slain his enemy only. To enter such a combat is madness, not valor: it is not to be ascribed to bravery, but rather to foolishness.

But now, O brave knight, now, O warlike hero, here is a battle you may fight without danger, where it is glory to conquer and gain to die. If you are a prudent merchant, if you are a desirer of this world, behold I show you some great bargains; see that you lose them not. Take the sign of the cross, and you shall gain pardon for every sin that you confess with a contrite heart. The material itself, being bought, is worth little; but if it be placed on a devout shoulder, it is, without doubt, worth no less than the kingdom of God. Therefore they have done well who have already taken the heavenly sign: well and wisely also will the rest do, if they hasten to lay upon their shoulders, like the first, the sign of salvation.

Why the
Jews are
not to be
attacked.

Besides, brethren, I warn you, and not only I, but God's apostle, "Believe not every spirit." We have heard and rejoice that the zeal of God abounds in you, but it behooves no mind to be wanting in wisdom. The Jews must not be persecuted, slaughtered, nor even driven out. Inquire of the pages of Holy Writ. I know what is written in the Psalms as prophecy about the Jews. "God hath commanded me," says the Church, "Slay them not, lest my people forget."

They are living signs to us, representing the Lord's passion. For this reason they are dispersed into all regions, that now they may pay the just penalty of so great a crime, and that they may be witnesses of our redemption. Wherefore the Church, speaking in the same Psalm, says, "Scatter them by thy power; and bring them down, O Lord, our shield." So has it been. They have been dispersed, cast down. They undergo a hard captivity under Christian princes. Yet they shall be converted at even-time, and remembrance of them shall be made in due season. Finally, when the multitude of the Gentiles shall have entered in, then "all Israel shall be saved," saith the apostle. Meanwhile he who dies remains in death.

I do not enlarge on the lamentable fact that where there are no Jews there Christian men *judaise* even worse than they in extorting usury, — if, indeed, we may call them Christians and not rather baptized Jews. Moreover, if the Jews be utterly trampled down, how shall the promised salvation or conversion profit them in the end? . . .

Christians
practice
usury.

This also we must warn you, dearest brethren, that if any love to bear rule among you, and wish, by hastening, to anticipate the army of his country, he shall by no means attempt to do it. If he pretend to have been sent by us, it is not true; or if he show letters as if given by us, I warn you that they are altogether false or obtained by fraud. It is necessary to choose warlike and skillful leaders, and for the army of the Lord to set out together, that it may have strength everywhere, and not be liable to sustain injury from any.

There was in the former expedition, before Jerusalem was taken, a certain man, Peter by name, of whom (if I mistake not) you have often heard mention. He went alone, at the head of a mass of people who had intrusted themselves to his care, and led them into so great dangers that none, or at least very few, escaped death, either by hunger or the sword. So there is danger lest, if you do likewise, the same fate should overtake you also, which may God, who is forever blessed, avert from you. Amen.

Reference to
the destruction
of Peter
the Hermit's
horde of
followers.

St. Bernard's secretary, Geoffrey of Clairvaux, who wrote a life of his revered master, thus defends him from the criticisms of those who would blame him for the sad outcome of the Second Crusade:

129. St. Bernard blamed because of the disastrous outcome of the crusade.

We ought not to conceal the fact that certain men, through ignorance or malignity, took offense because Bernard had by his preaching stimulated the expedition for the deliverance of Jerusalem, which had such an unfortunate issue. Nevertheless we can confidently affirm that he was not the first mover in the matter. Even after the report of the unfortunate situation had already deeply stirred the souls of many, and he had been repeatedly urged by the king of France, and had also been pressed by apostolic letters, he still refused to speak or to give his advice in the matter until the sovereign pontiff himself, in a general letter to all the faithful, had commanded him, as the natural interpreter of the Roman Church, to set forth to the peoples and their rulers the necessity of the crusade. The tenor of this letter was that both people and princes should, for the purpose of penance and the remission of their sins, betake themselves to Jerusalem, where they would either deliver their brethren or sacrifice their lives for them.

That St. Bernard was preaching the word of God is proved by many miracles.

Bernard accordingly preached the expedition in the most convincing manner, with the aid of the Lord, who confirmed the truth of his servant's words by miracles. So many were the miracles, and so great, that it would be difficult to enumerate, still more to narrate, them. At one time an effort was made to write them out, but the number of the prodigies to report exceeded the strength of the writer, and the grandeur of the subject, the faculties of him who had undertaken to treat it.

In short, as many as twenty sick folk, and even more, were cured of divers ills in a single day, and hardly a day passed that similar miracles were not performed. In a word, at this time Christ permitted his servant, by his touch and his prayers, to restore sight to men who had been blind from their birth,

to cause the lame to walk, to cure the paralytic, to make the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak. All these were restored to a perfection of health truly remarkable in view of that which they had previously enjoyed.

The eastern church was not, it is true, granted the happiness of being delivered by the expedition of which we are speaking; but at least the heavenly Church was filled thereby with pious souls and may therefore rightly rejoice. If, on this occasion, it pleased the Lord, instead of saving the bodies of the eastern people from the pagans, to snatch the souls of many of the western from sin, who shall say, "Wherefore, Lord, dost thou so?" . . .

It happened that at the moment when the first news of the lamentable rout of the crusaders' army reached France a father came to present his blind son to the servant of God, that the boy's sight might be restored. After he had succeeded, by many prayers, in overcoming the reluctance of Bernard, the saint, laying his hands upon the child, addressed the Lord, saying that, if it were truly his word that Bernard had spread abroad when he preached the crusade, and if the Holy Spirit had really inspired him when he preached, the Most High might deign to prove this by opening to the light the eyes of this blind child. While after this prayer they awaited the outcome, the child cried out, "And what shall I do now, for I can see?" Immediately a great stir arose among those present, including not only a great number of monks but secular persons also, who, realizing that the little child could see, were greatly consoled and rendered thanks to God.

St. Bernard is permitted to cure a blind child as a proof of the propriety of preaching the crusade.

V. A HOLY PILGRIM

Along with the soldiers whom Urban and St. Bernard urged to direct their warlike energies against the Mohammedans instead of making trouble at home, thousands of pious pilgrims were constantly seeking the Holy Land in a spirit of single-minded devotion. Such

pilgrimages as that described below had begun long before the crusades¹ and continued long after the military expeditions ceased.

130. The pilgrimage of Udalrich to Jerusalem.

The holy Udalrich, having spent some time at home, began to be oppressed in soul lest the duties imposed upon him by his uncle² were not sufficiently pleasing to God. Wishing, therefore, to be free and entirely unhampered in order to make a pilgrimage for Christ's sake, he gave up his benefices and started for Jerusalem. He took with him his servant, who was at the same time his almoner, and a single horse.

From the day he left Freising until he entered Jerusalem he never mounted his horse until he had repeated the Psalter from beginning to end, in the meanwhile ordering Martin, his servant, to ride, and meditating long, perchance, by the way.

When at last this saintly man reached the holy places, it is not possible to relate with what emotion he greeted the memorials of the birth, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, with what genuflections he adored them, and with what floods of tears he watered them. The simple strength of his prayer and supplication exceeds the power of words. He literally fulfilled the utterances of the Psalmist: "I am weary with my groaning; all the night make I my bed to swim; I water my couch with my tears." His companions were filled with astonishment, and as for himself, he lost his eyesight before his time, as will appear later.

God had given him outpourings from above and from below, that is, compunction due not only to his love of the celestial kingdom, but springing also from his apprehension of the torments of hell;—but perfect love casteth out fear. At last, asked by one of his associates why he bemoaned himself so long every night and permitted no one about him to sleep, and why he did not spare his failing eyes, he replied that he was tired of the long pilgrimage in this world, that he longed to die and be with Christ, nor was he troubled over the failing light.

¹ See, for example, that spoken of above, p. 267.

² The bishop of Freising, who had given him certain benefices.

VI. INDUCEMENTS OFFERED TO THOSE WHO WOULD TAKE THE CROSS

There is no more extraordinary example of the vast power enjoyed by the pope in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries than the privileges granted to those who enlisted in the struggle against the infidel.

Moreover, in virtue of the authority vested by God in us, we, who with paternal care provide for your safety and the needs of the Church, have promised and granted to those who from a spirit of devotion have resolved to enter upon and accomplish this holy and necessary undertaking, that full remission of sins which our predecessor, Pope Urban, granted. We have also commanded that their wives and children, their property and possessions, shall be under the protection of the holy Church, of ourselves, of the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the Church of God. Moreover we ordain, by our apostolic authority, that until their return or death is fully proven, no lawsuit shall be instituted hereafter in regard to any property of which they were in peaceful possession when they took the cross.

Those who with pure hearts enter upon this sacred journey, and who are in debt, shall pay no interest. And if they, or others for them, are bound by oath or promise to pay interest, we free them by our apostolic authority. And after they have sought aid of their relatives, or of the lords of whom they hold their fiefs, if the latter are unable or unwilling to advance them money, we allow them freely to mortgage their lands and other possessions to churches, ecclesiastics, or other Christians, and their lords shall have no redress.

Following the example of our predecessor, and through the authority of omnipotent God and of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, which is vested in us by God, we grant absolution and remission of sins, so that those who devoutly undertake and accomplish this holy journey, or who die by the

131. Privileges granted to the crusaders by Pope Eugenius III (1146).

way, shall obtain absolution for all their sins which they confess with humble and contrite heart, and shall receive from him who grants to each his due reward the prize of eternal life.

Granted at Vetralle on the Kalends of December [1146].

132. Privileges granted by Innocent III at the council of the Lateran (1215).

In order that nothing relating to Christ's business may be neglected, we wish and command patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and others who have charge of souls, to set forth zealously to those committed to their care the word of the cross, exhorting in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, — the one only true and eternal God, — kings, dukes, princes, marquises, counts, barons, and other magnates, also the communities of cities, towns, and villages, who do not go in person to the aid of the Holy Land, to send a suitable number of warriors, with the necessary expenses for three years according to their individual means, for the remission of their own sins, — all which is stated in our general letters, and is also stated below, for the greater surety.

Of this remission we wish that not only those who furnish their own vessels should be partakers, but also those who may have striven to build ships for this purpose. Moreover let it be sternly announced by apostolic authority to those who refuse — if perchance any shall be so ungrateful to our Lord God — that they are to understand that for this they will have to answer to us on the last day of strict judgment before an awful judge. Nevertheless let them first consider with what conscience or what security they will be able to appear before the only begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, into whose hands the Father gave all things, if they shall refuse in this matter, which is peculiarly fitting for them, to aid him who was crucified for sinners, by whose bounty they live, by whose kindness they are maintained, — nay, more, by whose blood they have been redeemed.

Since it is certainly right that those who give their allegiance to the heavenly Emperor should enjoy a special privilege, when the time of the expedition shall exceed one year in length the crusaders shall be free from collections,

Crusaders to be exempted from taxation.

tallages, and other taxes. And we have taken their persons and property, after the assumption of the cross, under St. Peter's and our own protection, and we have decided that their defense shall be intrusted to the archbishops, bishops, and all the prelates of the Church. We have also appointed officers of our own especially for their protection, in order that their property may be kept intact and uninjured until their death or return is known with certainty. And if anyone attempts any attack upon their property, he shall be restrained by ecclesiastical censure.

If any of those setting out thither are bound by oath to pay interest, we command that their creditors shall be compelled by the same means to release them from their oaths and to desist from the exaction of interest. But if any creditor shall compel them to pay interest, we order that he shall be forced, by a similar chastisement, to pay it back.

We command that the Jews, however, shall be compelled by the secular power to remit interest; and until they remit it all faithful Christians shall, under penalty of excommunication, refrain from every species of intercourse with them. For those, moreover, who are unable at present to pay their debts to the Jews, the secular princes shall provide by a useful delay, so that after they begin their journey they shall suffer no inconvenience from interest, until their death or return is known with certainty. The Jews shall be compelled, after deducting the necessary expenses, to count the income which they receive in the meantime from the mortgaged property toward the payment of the principal; since a favor of this kind, which defers the payment and does not cancel the debt, does not seem to cause much loss. Moreover let the prelates of the Church who are proven to be negligent in doing justice to the crusaders and their families, understand that they shall be severely punished.

Therefore, trusting in the mercy of omnipotent God and in the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, by that power of binding and loosing which God has conferred on us, although unworthy, we grant to all who undergo the difficulties in their own person and at their own expense,

They are freed from the payment of interest.

Jews to be forced to reduce debts owed them by crusaders.

Medieval political economy.

Indulgences granted to crusaders and those who aid them.

full remission of the sins of which they have truly repented with contrite hearts and which they have confessed with their mouths; and at the retribution of the just we promise an increase of eternal salvation. To those also who do not go thither in person but yet, according to their ability and means, send suitable men at their expense, and to those likewise who go in person, although at the expense of others, we promise full remission of their sins. We also will and grant that, according to the kind of their aid and the depth of their devotion, all shall partake of this remission who minister fitly from their property to the aid of that land, or furnish opportune counsel and assistance. Also on all who piously proceed in this task, this general council bestows in common the aid of all its benefits, that it may worthily conduce to their salvation. Amen.

VII. A GLIMPSE OF THE COURT OF THE EASTERN EMPEROR

When the crusaders reached Constantinople they saw about them evidences of an elaborate civilization, of which they could have had little conception in their dreary and uncomfortable castles. It is, no doubt, in the general broadening effects of travel that the chief influence of the crusades on the western peoples is to be found. A hundred and fifty years before the First Crusade, when western Europe was still in the midst of the gloomiest period of the early Middle Ages, Liutprand, the historian of Otto the Great, visited Constantinople. He gives the following account of his reception as ambassador of Berengar, king of Italy.¹

Adjoining the imperial palace in Constantinople there is a hall of extraordinary size and beauty. . . . The Emperor Constantine [VII] had this hall arranged in the following manner for the reception of the recently arrived Spanish

133. Liutprand's account of his reception in Constantinople (949).

¹ See above, pp. 255 sq.

ambassador, as well as of Liutfrid [ambassador of Otto I] and myself. In front of the emperor's throne stood a tree of gilded iron, whose branches were filled with birds of various kinds, made of iron and gilded, which gave forth the different sorts of birds' notes. The throne itself was so cunningly constructed that at one instant it looked low, the next, higher, and a moment later had risen to a great elevation. It was guarded on either side by huge lions, I know not whether of metal or wood, but covered with gold, which lashed their tails on the floor and, with open mouth and moving tongue, roared aloud.

In this hall, and accompanied by two eunuchs, I was brought before the emperor. At my entrance the lions roared and the birds sang, each after his kind; but I was neither frightened nor even astonished, since I had taken pains to learn beforehand about these things from those who knew about them. When I raised my head, after prostrating myself before the emperor for the third time, I beheld him, whom before I had seen seated at a moderate height above me, elevated almost to the roof of the hall and clad in different garments. How this was managed I do not know, unless by means of something like the screw of a press. All this time the emperor spoke no word; indeed, even had he wished to do so, it would have been undignified from so great a height. He inquired, however, through his chamberlain, after Berengar's health and pursuits. After I had replied in a fitting manner I retired, at a sign from the interpreter, and was conducted to the inn where quarters had been assigned me.

[Liutprand then tells of his humiliation on discovering that the other ambassadors had brought costly gifts to the emperor from their masters, while the parsimonious Berengar had sent nothing but a letter, "and that full of lies!" So he determined to give the emperor the presents which his stepfather had sent, as if they had been sent by the Italian king, "piecing out the small gift as well as I could with fine words."]

This plan having accordingly been carried out, the emperor, at the end of three days, sent for me to come to the palace,

conversed with me with his own mouth, invited me to dine with him, and, after the meal, honored me and my following with appropriate gifts. . . .

In a hall of extraordinary height and magnificence nineteen tables are spread on the anniversary of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ; around these the emperor and his guests, instead of sitting as usual, recline to eat. On this day, moreover, only golden dishes are used instead of the usual silver ones. After dinner fruit was served in three golden vessels of such enormous weight that they could not be carried by men but were brought in on little carts decked with purple coverings. They were placed on the table in the following manner. Through openings in the ceiling three ropes of gilded leather were let down, on the ends of which were fastened golden rings; these were attached to hooks rising from the golden vessels, which were then lifted on to the table by means of a windlass above the ceiling, while four or more men lent their aid from below. Later they were removed in the same way.

It would take too long to describe all the performances which followed, but I must mention one of them, for it was quite too wonderful. There was a man who carried on his forehead, without touching it with his hands, a pole at least twenty-four feet long, on which, an ell from the top, a cross-piece two ells long was fastened. Then two little boys, naked except for loin cloths, were brought in. They climbed up the pole, performed all sorts of gymnastic feats upon it, and came down again, headforemost, without the pole moving any more than if it had been rooted in the ground.

Then after one boy had climbed down, the other one stayed up alone and went through his tricks, which threw me into still greater astonishment. For as long as they both were performing on the pole the thing seemed, after a fashion, explicable, since by their equal weight, though to be sure with marvelous skill, they had kept the pole perpendicular. That one by himself, however, should be able to preserve the equilibrium so as to perform his antics and come down again unhurt,—this threw me into such a state of wonder that

my amazement attracted the attention of the emperor. He called an interpreter and had him ask me which I admired the more, the boy, who had managed his movements with such care as to leave the pole unmoved; or the man, who had held it so skillfully on his forehead that neither the boy's weight nor his movements had caused the pole to swerve one whit from its position. And when I said I knew not which *thaumastoteron* (i.e. "was most to be admired"), the emperor laughed and said that he did not know either.

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Essays on the Crusades by MUNRO, PRUTZ, and DIEHL, published by the "International Quarterly," New York. Very interesting and useful.

OMAN, *A History of the Art of War*, Vol. II, "The Middle Ages," 1898. Contains a good sketch of the military operations of the crusaders.

AMEER ALI, *A Short History of the Saracens* (see above, p. 124).

MILMAN, *History of Latin Christianity*, Book VII, Chapter VI, for the First Crusade; Book VII, Chapters IV and VI, last part, for the Second; Book IX, Chapter VII, for the Third and Fourth; Book X, Chapter III, for that of Frederick II. For the later period of the crusades, see LANE-POOLE, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Heroes of the Nations), 1898, and PEARS, *The Fall of Constantinople* (1202-1204).

Sources in English.

For an account of the sources of the first crusade, see SYBEL, *The History and Literature of the Crusades*, edited by Lady Duff Gordon.

Some of the sources may be found translated into English in the *Chronicles of the Crusades* in the Bohn Library,—for example, an account of the Third Crusade by RICHARD OF DEVIZES, and JOINVILLE'S famous Life of St. Louis (see above, p. 213). Material is also available in ARCHER, *The Crusade of Richard I* (English History from Contemporary Sources).

The *Chronicles* of ROGER OF HOVEDEN, ROGER OF WENDOVER, MATTHEW OF PARIS, and that ascribed to MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER (see above, p. 244), all contain information relating to the crusades and are all to be had in the Bohn Library.

C. Materials for advanced study.

RÖHRICHT, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem, 1100-1291*, 2 vols., 1898. An authoritative and recent work, with plenty of references to the literature of the subject. The same author has prepared a brief

outline without notes called *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem im Umriss*, 1898. Also, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 1891, with notes.

PRUTZ, *Culturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 1883. This is the best work on the general conditions in the Frankish kingdoms in Palestine.

KUGLER, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2d ed., 1891 (Oncken Series). This is a good general treatment, but contains practically no notes or references.

For the history of the East in general, see HERTZBERG, *Geschichte der Byzantiner und des osmanischen Reiches*, 1883, and MÜLLER, *Der Islam* (see above, p. 125), both in the Oncken Series.

On the institutions: DODU, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques dans le Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*.

For the military orders: GMELIN, *Schuld oder Unschuld des Tempelordens*, 1893; DELISLE, *Opérations financières des Templiers*, 1889; LEA, *History of the Inquisition*, Vol. III, Chapter V.

The best account of the sources for the opening of the crusades will be found in SYBEL, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 2d ed., 1881.

By far the most comprehensive collection of the sources themselves is that issued under the auspices of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, called *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, in fourteen ponderous but magnificently printed folio volumes, 1841-1898. Five volumes are devoted to the western writers, two to the Greek historians, five to the Arabian, two to the laws of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and one to Armenian documents. The Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation, and the Arabic and Armenian material is translated into French.

GUIZOT, *Collection des Mémoires* (see above, p. 220), contains some of the most celebrated writers: FULCHER OF CHARTRES, who went on the First Crusade and kept a diary; ROBERT THE MONK (see above, p. 312); WILLIAM OF TYRE,—the earlier part of whose work is now discredited; and, for the later period, JACQUES DE VITRY.

The sources

Recueil des historiens des croisades.