THE CONQUEST OF ACRE
*De Expugnata Accone*

A Poetic Narrative of the Third Crusade

Critical edition, translated with an introduction and notes by

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Introduction

In the year 1099 AD, the First Crusade, undertaken by European nobles and overseen by the Christian church, seized control of Jerusalem after a campaign of four years, setting up a Latin kingdom based in that city and establishing a Western presence in the Near East that would endure for two hundred years. After a series of clashes with Muslim armies, a second crusade was called that lasted from 1147-49. Then, in 1187, the delicate balance of powers erupted into conflict, and a unified Islamic force under the leadership of the legendary Saladin, Sultan of Egypt and Syria, swept through the Holy Land, cutting a swathe through the Crusader States until it brought Jerusalem itself to surrender.

In the wake of this calamity, Europe fixed its intentions on reclaiming the land, and the Western powers again took up the Cross in what would be the Third Crusade. The crusade launched in 1189, and would thunder on until 1192, when the warring armies reached a stalemate and a treaty was signed between Saladin and King Richard I of England. But the very first engagement of the Third Crusade, and the longest-lasting, was the siege of Acre, a city on the coast of Palestine northwest of Jerusalem, important both militarily and as a center of trade. Acre was vigorously defended by the Muslim occupiers and fiercely fought for by the assembled might of the West for a grueling two years that saw thousands of casualties, famine, disease, and a brutal massacre.
The poem presented in this critical edition, appearing in English translation for the first time, is an eyewitness account of that battle. Its scope ranges from Saladin’s invasion of the Latin kingdom in 1187 to the final capture of Acre in the summer of 1191. Authored anonymously, the poem is known by various titles, among them De Expugnata Accone, Rithmus de expeditione Ierosolimitana, and Liber de recuperatione Ptolemaidae. Believed to have been composed either during or soon after the siege, the work is a first-hand account by a participant in the crusade that attracts interest on both an historical and artistic level, describing events, dates, and personalities with remarkable factuality, and weaving those facts into a lively and engaging work of poetry that offers not only a thorough treatment of its subject matter, but also an insightful glimpse into the crusading mind.

THE POEM

De Expugnata Accone (the title I will hereafter use for the poem) was composed in the Goliardic meter, so named for a literary movement in the 12th century. The poem consists of 896 verses in Latin hexameter, thirteen syllables per line, arranged in four-line stanzas that rhyme according to an AAAA pattern. (From now on I will refer to parts of the poem using the numbers assigned to each stanza.) Rhythm is based on natural stress and accentuation, in the manner of much Medieval Latin poetry, as opposed to the Classical Latin system of syllabic quantity.

The poem reads in many ways like a versified chronicle, presenting a straightforward record of events as witnessed by the author. He does not take pains to celebrate the heroism of the Crusaders or meditate on the virtues of the Christian effort, proceeding instead in a more factual
way: he gives largely dispassionate accounts of battles, candidly describes barons and clerics, and conscientiously records the prices of goods during the times of famine.

Although it may be tempting to think of De Expugnata Accone as an epic given its length, subject matter, and wide scope, it exhibits none of the conventions associated with that genre. While the poet does sometimes pause to remark on the valor of a certain army or leader, there are no heroes in the mold of Hector, Achilles, or Aeneas who stand out from the crowd. Likewise, there are no subplots, quests, moral dilemmas, or philosophical problems that shape the flow of the story.

Along the same lines, there is hardly a trace of the romanticism found in other later compositions about the Crusades, such as the Old French Crusade Cycle. King Richard of England, revered by subsequent generations as Coeur de Lion, the Lionheart, is treated with a matter-of-fact detachment, and Saladin, who would become for later Europeans the model of a virtuous pagan – even being placed by Dante in the First Circle of Hell among the great heroes of antiquity - is reviled here as a cruel, cunning, and treacherous enemy. No attempt is made to fictionalize or glorify the siege of Acre: the poet does not shy away from describing at length the hardships experienced during the siege, and is not afraid to criticize the failures of his own army.

De Expugnata Accone opens with Saladin’s invasion in 1187, the opening salvo of the Third Crusade, and the sequence of his conquest is described. News of the invasion reaches Europe, and an account of the Western response is given in which Philip II, King of France, Richard I, King of England, and Frederick I Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, agree to wage war for the Holy Land, and the crusade begins in earnest.

In 1189, Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, who has been held in captivity by Saladin since his defeat in the Battle of Hattin (1187), is released, and goes to the city of Tyre - the last
bastion of Christian defense in the region—intending to take over the reins of power from
Marquis Conrad of Montferrat, who has been defending the city for years against enemy
bombardment. Guy’s advance is rejected by the Marquis; leaving Tyre, Guy assembles an army
and starts laying siege to the occupied city of Acre. No sooner has the siege begun when Saladin
and his army appear at their rear; the besiegers themselves are now besieged, and the Crusaders
will remain in that vice grip through the extent of the engagement. Marquis Conrad is persuaded
to join the effort a few months later, and he lends his support.

At the end of 1189, Conrad returns to Tyre for a while, during which time winter arrives and
forces terrible hardships upon the army. The weather is severe and unforgiving, and food is
extremely scarce. Conrad returns in April 1190 with supplies, alleviating the situation. Efforts
are made to storm the city with siege engines, but the machines are destroyed with fire.

A digression is made to discuss the expedition of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and his
German army, who opted to travel by land rather than by sea. After having been betrayed by the
Byzantine emperor, he subjugates Greece, and sets up his winter quarters there. After that, he
takes action against the Sultan of Iconium (modern day Konya in Turkey). The Germans then
pass into Armenia, and, while there, Frederick perishes in the Saleph (Göksu) river by drowning
in an accident. The remnants of the German army arrive in Antioch, where the men are escorted
by the Marquis to Acre.

The siege drags on for several months, during which time the Crusaders experience great
losses and no significant gains. Attempts are made against the city, but none succeed. A section
of the walls of Acre collapse in a violent storm, but the Crusaders fail to capitalize on it. By this
time, many of the leading nobles and prelates have died, and their loss is lamented by the author.
Another great famine occurs in the winter of 1191: its effects are mitigated by an alms collection
undertaken by the clergy, and conditions finally improve when provisions are brought by ships.

King Philip of France arrives in April, and immediately sets to work assaulting the city. King Richard’s diversion in Cyprus is explained, followed by his naval engagement with a massive ship carrying supplies and reinforcements to the Muslim occupiers of Acre. Richard finally arrives in June.

In July, as the defenses of Acre are crumbling, the Muslims surrender the city, and Saladin asks for terms. After some quarreling among the Christians, treaties are made in which Saladin agrees to hand over a large sum of money, all his captives, and the Christian relic of the True Cross, which had been lost to Saladin’s army after the Battle of Hattin.¹ When the date comes for these to be handed over, the Crusaders do not receive them. In a disturbing act of retribution, King Richard carries out a massacre of 2700 Muslim hostages, illustrated by the poet in gruesome detail. With a final exclamation of thanksgiving to God for the victory, the narrative of the poem closes.

SOURCES

The poem as we have it has come down to modernity through two principal channels: the original manuscripts, and the later printed editions of it, beginning with John Basil Herold’s in 1549. These two groups will be examined in turn, each source individually, beginning with the manuscripts, of which there are three: two reside at the Staatsbibliothek in Bamberg, Germany,

¹ See Alan V. Murray, Mighty against the enemies of Christ: the relic of the True Cross in the armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in The Crusades and their Sources, ed. France and Zajac, pp. 217–38.
under the designation *Msc. Patr. 130.2*, while the third is in the collection of Oxford University in England, Oriel College, designated *Ms. Bibl. Colleg. Oriel 2.*

The Bamberg manuscripts were likely produced in the early years of the 13th century, not long after the siege of Acre itself and the poem’s composition. In the preceding two hundred years the city of Bamberg had flourished as a center of learning, and the cathedral there was endowed with an impressive collection of texts from all over Western Europe. The Benedictine Michaelsberg Abbey was especially active in producing and illuminating manuscripts, and the two manuscripts of our poem were likely produced by the monks there. Around 1803, when the abbey was secularized, the massive holdings of the monasteries and cathedral were integrated into one library, formerly called the Royal Library, now known as the present Staatsbibliothek.

Of the two manuscripts, one is much larger, finely preserved and handsomely crafted, and remains the most complete source of the full text of the poem outside of Herold’s later reprinting. The parchment is accurately divided into a grid pattern which organizes the layout of the text, and the first letter of each verse is highlighted with red ink. Its omissions are limited to stanzas 17, 73, 79, 80, 83, 106, 107, and 213-224.

The other manuscript is only fragmentary, produced with none of the craftsmanship and precision of its relative. The writing is crude and choppy, several lines and entire sections are cut out, and the document as a whole speaks to something that was created in haste, without deliberation or style. Earlier editors have supposed that the text was something of a rough draft for the larger codex, as the fragment appears to be slightly older than the other, probably

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2 For designations see Sascha Falk, *Der « Rithmus de expeditione Ierosolimitana » des sogenannten Haymarus Monachus Florentinus*, pp. xviii-xxiii. In P.E.D. Riant’s 1865 edition of the poem, *De Haymaro monacho*, facsimiles of the manuscripts are provided on plates in the appendix.
4 See Anthony Hobson, *Great Libraries*, pp. 36-43.
5 See Riant, *De Haymaro monacho*, p. 13.
produced around the year 1200. The fragment only covers stanzas 1-13, 15-53, and 112-165, and some of the included lines are themselves incomplete.

The third manuscript resides at Oriel College, Oxford University. Like the smaller Bamberg manuscript, this codex is also fragmentary, only supplying lines 729 (stanza 183) to 882 (halfway through 221), picking up the story with the arrival of King Philip of France. However, its condition is more favorable than the Bamberg fragment, and its layout, though simpler and less ornate than that of the greater Bamberg codex, demonstrates careful penmanship and deliberate organization, distinguishing each group of four verses through marginal indications. Like the Bamberg codices, it was apparently produced in the early 13th century, though little more is known of its origin.

A fourth manuscript, now lost without a trace, once existed that may have originated in Italy. It was apparently brought to Dolé, France sometime in the early 16th century, where it resided for some years, until from there it made its way to Germany, at last arriving in Basel. There it was acquired by John Basil Herold who used it to prepare his 1549 edition of the poem. However, after the codex came to Basel, all record of it vanished, and no library in Europe now appears to possess it.

Those are the manuscripts; now for the publication of De Expugnata Accone in later editions, beginning with the earliest: John Basil Herold's edition of 1549.

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6 Riant, De Haymaro monacho, p. 15; Falk, Rithmus, p. xxii.
7 Riant, De Haymaro monacho, p. 14; Falk, Rithmus, p. xxi-xxii.
9 Riant, De Haymaro monacho, p. 16; Falk, Rithmus, p. xxiii.
10 Falk, Rithmus, p. xxiv.
11 Riant, De Haymaro monacho, pp. 7-11.
Herold was a German scholar working in the city of Basel, who lived from 1511 to 1567. In the tradition of later authors to augment William of Tyre’s canonical histories of the Crusades with “Continuations” of the original, Herold himself crafted one such work. His continuation was included in Philibert Poissenot’s Latin edition of William of Tyre’s histories, and was published in that connection first in 1549, and again in 1564. In the appendix to his continuation, Herold prepared an edition of the poem on the capture of Acre, drawing on the Dolè manuscript as his source, which had apparently been procured by Poissenot.

Herold’s edition in the appendix of his continuation represents the most complete existing source of the poem: the text is almost fully intact. He added 85 Latin subtitles, interspersed throughout the work, that provide a brief synopsis of what happens in the next few stanzas. Furthermore, and perhaps most significantly, Herold’s edition is the only one to provide an actual title for the work, presumably informed by the lost Dolè manuscript: *Monachi Florentini, Acconensis Episcopi, De Recuperata Ptolemaidae*. The identity of the author, apparently this Monachus of Florence, will be discussed at length later in this essay.

The next edition of *De Expuganta Accone* was printed in Italy in 1781, edited by Giovanni Filippo Mariti in the appendix to his *Memorie istoriche di Monaco de’ Corbizzi Fiorentino*. Mariti, a Florentine churchman and scholar, wrote his study primarily on the supposed author of the text, Monachus of Florence. According to the preface of his book, Mariti had obtained his version of the poem from a certain Lodovico Coltellini, who had acquired a handwritten copy of Herold’s 1549 text in Rome and given it to him in the hopes that he would

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13 Falk, *Rithmus*, p. xxv.
15 Riant, *De Haymaro monacho*, pp. 1-7. The 1564 edition was published by Henri Pantaleon.
17 Riant, *De Haymaro monacho*, p. 18.
investigate it further. The Latin text present in Mariti’s edition, however, is flawed, perhaps owing to faulty transcription by whoever prepared Coltellini’s copy in Rome; on top of that, Mariti himself was no expert in the field of medieval verse, and his own commentary on the poem contains several errors.

After this publication came that of Paul Edouard Didier Riant in 1865, also reprinted a year later, entitled *De Haymaro monacho, archiepiscopo caesariensi et postea hierosolymitano patriarcha*. Riant, a Parisian count, was a brilliant and devoted scholar who specialized in the encounter of the Latin West with the Orient in the Crusades; in this vein he wrote *De Haymaro monacho*, a work that is itself written entirely in Latin. In this extensive study of the poem, the most thorough treatment it had yet received as an individual subject of research, Riant focused heavily on the identity of the author, but also invested a great deal of effort into investigating the poem’s history, sources, and literary features. His Latin edition of the poem relies more on the Bamberg manuscripts than it does on Herold, though Riant offers a wide apparatus of textual variations among Herold’s text and the three existing manuscripts. He also numbered each of the 224 quatrains of the poem as a system of reference.

After Riant, William Stubbs, the famous English historian and bishop of Oxford, included the poem as part of his edition of the *Chronicles* of Roger of Hoveden, prepared in 1871 as part of the Rolls Series; it appeared in the appendix to the preface of the third volume. Stubbs took Herold’s text as the basis for his own, though on occasion he deferred to the Bamberg or Oxford manuscripts. He provided an apparatus, though it is very selective, not nearly as complete as Raint’s; his wealth of footnotes, however, are quite valuable and insightful, as are the dates corresponding to the action of the poem he attached to the margins.
The latest publication of the poem, and the most comprehensively researched and exhaustive exposition of it since Riant’s, is that of Sascha Falk, Der «Rithmus de expeditione Ierosolimitana» des sogenannten Haymarus Monachus Florentinus, published in 2006. The study originated in 2003 as Falk’s doctoral thesis at the University of Freiburg, and was later revised by the author into its present form. This book, which contains an extensive introduction dealing with all aspects of the poem’s history, contents, and authorship, includes not only Falk’s own prose translation of De Expuganta Accone, but also a versified Italian translation by Antonio Placanica. The Latin edition of the poem is supplied with a complete apparatus and two full historical commentaries, one in German by Falk, and another in Italian by Placanica.

AUTHORSHIP

As the surviving manuscripts of Bamberg and Oxford bear no title or author, the only direct evidence of an author’s name is that supplied by Herold, likely taken from the lost Dolé codex: Monachi Florentini, Acconensis Episcopi; Monachus of Florence, bishop of Acre. Herold further mentions this figure in a letter to a personal friend, Conrad Wescher, which Riant reproduced in his 1865 edition, again identifying him as Monachus of Florence, but this time calling him archbishop of Acre. Our task would be easy if there had indeed been a bishop or archbishop of Acre named Monachus who came from Florence around the time of the Third Crusade, but this identification is problematic: this issue will be taken up in a moment. First, we

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19 Falk, Rithmus, p. xi.
20 Riant, De Haymaro monacho, p. 72: Accipe igitur, Conrade, tesseram hospitalem, Monachi scilicet Florentini, Acconensis olim archiepiscopi, de recuperata Ptolemaidae Rythmum...
can rely on whatever clues can be culled from the internal evidence of the poem itself, and seek to deduce from there a probable sketch of the author.

To begin, what was his country of origin, assuming he was European? It can be understood from the poem that he was of Italian origin, which tracks with Herold’s naming him as a Florentine. A significant element of the poem speaks to this: of all the different nations which play a role in the poem, our author pays special and particular attention to the Italians, with a knowledge of Italian events and geography that would surely belong to one whose homeland it was. He discusses the mission of bishop Adelard of Verona, a relatively minor figure, in some detail in stanzas 10-13. With his specific knowledge of the men who accompanied the bishop to the Holy Land, the details he gives concerning their transport and the length of the voyage, and his use of the first person that is elsewhere uncommon in the poem, it may be assumed that our author himself traveled with the contingent of Adelard. Additionally, whereas when speaking of most of the nations and races of the Crusaders he does not distinguish a great deal between their different specific regions, for the Italians he is seen to distinguish between Venetian (13), Genoese (33), Pisan (123), and Veronese (56). Moreover, stanza 56 makes reference to the subjugation of Ferrara by the Veronese, which had taken place on June 10, 1188, two years to the day before the battle described in that stanza; a detail like this about military endeavors in Italy would probably not have been known with such accuracy, let alone mentioned in that connection, by someone other than a native Italian.

Another aspect of the author’s identity is his level of education. He was well-versed in the Classical liberal arts: examples of this abound in the poem. Stanza 39 contains a reference to Mount Parnassus, famous in Greek mythology as a place sacred to Apollo and the home of the

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Muses. In stanza 85, he mentions the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, relating the predicament of the German army to a particular saying from that work. He references the story of the Trojan War at the end of stanza 195 in describing the naval battle of King Richard against the great ship of the Turks. Whoever the Italian author may have been, he was well-educated for a person of his day, and so belonged to a narrow demographic of medieval society.

A third conclusion can be made from the poem’s internal evidence: our author was a cleric, or was at the very least closely involved with the Church. His familiarity with the liturgical calendar is such that he uses the feast days of saints, instead of the Gregorian calendar, to date the events of the siege: he mentions the feasts of St. Stephen (29), Sts. Vitus and Modestus (57), St. James (89), and St. Martin (126) to name just a few, in addition to the major feast days of the Nativity, the Ascension, Easter, and Pentecost. The author’s knowledge of Scripture is also quite thorough. Aside from the open references to the walls of Jericho from the Book of Joshua in stanza 143, and the Passion of Christ from the Gospels in 210 and 221, there are a number of less evident turns of phrase used in the poem that recall certain verses of the Vulgate Bible. In the last verse of stanza 5, *sanctum lambit canis* recalls the admonition of Matthew 7:6: *nolite dare sanctum canibus*. In 6, *praecipere mari scit et ventis* picks up on Matthew 8:26, *imperavit ventis et mari*, and Luke 8:25, *ventis et mari imperat*. The author of the poem also pulled from the Old Testament, as well as the New: in particular, many passages recall verses from the Psalms, such as 83, *Dominus mirabilis in suis athletis*, which reflects Psalm 67:36: *mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*.22 Seeing all of this, our man seems to have been, if not a direct member of the clergy, then at least someone of close acquaintance with ecclesiastical practices and learning.

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22 See Falk, *Rithmus*, pp. 127-166. Falk’s and Placanica’s commentaries demonstrate many Scriptural references of this kind.
One more extrapolation, a more implicit one, can be drawn from the text: our author must have been a person of some standing among the Crusader forces at Acre. He seems to have had special knowledge, beyond what the average priest or knight would have possessed, of the leaders of the cause and their dealings. His descriptions of the individual nobles and senior churchmen sometimes carry with them sense that the author knew them in person, offering particular details about their character, disposition, or circumstances. For instance, he relates how Henry of Champagne, perhaps owing to his youth, followed unwise counsel (stanza 107), and that the Archbishop of Besancon, while a model of Christian piety, was cunning when it came to war (108). In the litany of fallen barons and prelates from stanzas 160 to 169, one gets the sense the writer is talking about colleagues, men beside whom he fought and with whom he oversaw the siege, more than just distant figures of fame and authority. He also seems to be unusually knowledgeable about the plans and actions made by the Crusaders, from the siege engines that were employed to the arrangements for sorties against the Turks.

In sum, we are left with a probable image of our author: he was a finely-educated Italian, presumably of the upper classes, who was closely involved with the Church and was likely an individual of some stature among the Crusaders at Acre. Here we return again to the name put forward in Herold’s edition, Monachus of Florence, archbishop of Acre; the apparent evidence in the poem tracks quite well with this. It accounts for his Italian origin, his intimacy with the Church, and his place among the Christian leadership during the siege. To advance to such a position in the Church hierarchy would also entail a certain status within medieval society, and a proper education in Scripture, theology, and letters.

Yet there are two major problems: first, the bishopric of Acre was suffragan to the see of Tyre; thus there would have been no “archbishop of Acre”, only an archbishop of Tyre, who held
sway over Acre as well. However, if not an archbishop, Acre did have a bishop; perhaps Monachus was a bishop. But there was no bishop of that name or description presiding in Acre around the time of the siege; in fact, the office remained empty during the city’s Muslim occupation from 1187 until 1191, after the last bishop, Rufinus, was killed in the Battle of Hattin. The nearest possibility is a certain bishop Walter- Gaulterus in Latin- who was also from Florence, and held the episcopacy from 1205 to 1215: but this would place the beginning of his term a full 15 years after the siege, and in any case would not account at all for the name Monachus.

Fortunately, a solution has been put forward, first by Mariti in 1781 and then again with greater elaboration by Riant in 1865: the author was in fact a certain Monachus of Florence who was not archbishop of Acre, but rather archbishop of Caesarea from 1181-94, and then Patriarch of Jerusalem until his death in 1202. Both his name and his office are well attested to in chronicles of the period, and he is known to have taken direct part in the siege of Acre. In fact, he was one of very few senior prelates to have survived through the entirety of the siege, having arrived- as we can deduce from the poem- with Adelard of Verona in September 1189, and seeing it through to the city’s surrender. This identification, then, is entirely believable.

What, then, of Herold’s title, which calls him archbishop of Acre, when he was in fact the Archbishop of Caesarea? A possible explanation relies on the historical fact that the Patriarch of Jerusalem, after 1187, did not sit in Jerusalem, but in Acre. A case of simple confusion could

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23 See Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 244.
24 See Riant, *De Haymaro monacho*, pp. 19-20: the author provides a list of all the bishops of Acre in the late 12th/early 13th century.
27 His presence is recorded, for instance, in the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 98 (trans. Helen Nicholson).
have resulted in Monachus, a former archbishop who later presided in Acre as Patriarch, being erroneously recorded as archbishop of Acre. In any case, the identification of the archbishop of Caesarea as author seems cogent enough that this issue may reasonably be set aside as a mere mistake.

Mariti and Riant went one step further in their quest for the author, proposing that his full name was in fact Haymarus Monachus; in the Italian vernacular, the name is rendered as Amerigo Monaco.\(^{30}\) The two editors seem to have taken the name Haymarus from a variant reading in *L’Estoire d’Eracles*, the Old French translation of the chronicles of William of Tyre, where the name appears as *Heimer*.\(^{31}\) The name “Monachus”, then, was an epithet, much like the names Charles Martel (the Hammer) or Peter the Hermit: the Latin word *monachus* means “monk”. To flesh out this point, Riant refered to the *Instrumentum translationis brachii sancti Philippi*, a document about the donation of the arm of the Apostle Philip, a holy relic, to the city of Florence. Riant interpreted a certain passage from the *Instrumentum* as implying that it was Haymarus’ monk-like virtues that earned him the nickname.\(^{32}\)

Mariti and Riant further identified him as a member of the Corbizzi, a powerful family in Florence at that time, basing that hypothesis on a passage from the *Storia Fiorentina* of the chronographer Rigordano Malespini; according to their conclusions, each made independently, the full name of the author was thus Amerigo Monaco dei Corbizzi.\(^{33}\)

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\(^{30}\) See Riant, *De Haymaro monacho*, pp. 20-27 and Falk, *Rithmus*, pp. lxiii-lxvii

\(^{31}\) *Chronica Rogeri de Houdene*, vol. 3, ed. William Stubbs, p. cv. The passage (from p. 177 of *L’Estoire*), is reproduced by Falk, p. lxiv: *Car ensi com l’on dit, que le conte Henri maintenoit Heimer, qui estoit eslit a patriarche, por la quel chose le rei Heymeri ne s’en parti mie dou reiaume o la bone volonté dou conte.*

\(^{32}\) *Instrumentum translationis*, p. 16: *Qui licet vocaliter Monachus dicaretur, propter morum honestatem et laudabilem conversationem realiter monachus cernebatur.* (Reproduced in Falk, *Rithmus*, p. lx, note 323.)

Although this fuller identification of the archbishop and Patriarch has yielded a wide following—numerous histories of the Crusades now list him as Amerigo, or some variation of that name—it has not been universally accepted. William Stubbs, the editor of the 1871 edition of *De Expugnata Accone*, found the hypothesis inconclusive because, as he states, the name “Monachus” was a commonly-used personal name among Florentines in that era.\(^{34}\) Adding to Stubbs’ objection, the Patriarch was always denoted in his correspondence with the Pope by the initial M, more likely suggesting that Monachus was his real name, not a nickname.\(^{35}\) On the whole, the question of whether or not the name Haymarus and the Corbizzi family can indeed be identified with Monachus of Florence is still open to conjecture, owing to the scarcity of supporting evidence; that being said, though, the case is interesting and not at all without merit.

Setting these issues aside, a fair amount is known about the historical Monachus of Florence, the apparent author of our poem. Originating in Florence, he received a fine education there in the arts, sciences, and religion.\(^{36}\) Some time later, he migrated to the Holy Land, where he appears again as a canon of the Church of the Holy Cross in Acre, and in 1171, the current Patriarch of Jerusalem, Amalric of Nesle, named him Chancellor of the Holy Sepulchre.\(^{37}\) He retained that position until 1181, when he was elected to succeed the former archbishop of Caesarea, Eraclius, who had been promoted to be the new Patriarch of Jerusalem.\(^{38}\)

It was about six years later, while Monachus was Archbishop, that Saladin staged his invasion of the Crusader States. Monachus fled Caesarea and found refuge in the coastal city of Tyre, now the last Crusader stronghold, vigorously defended by Marquis Conrad of

\(^{34}\) *Chronica Rogeri de Houdene*, vol. 3, ed. Stubbs, p. cv.


\(^{37}\) Cardini, *Crusade and “Presence of Jerusalem”*, p. 338

\(^{38}\) Ibid.
Montferrat. From Tyre, Monachus withdrew from the Holy Land and remained in Italy until 1189, when he returned as part of the Third Crusade, presumably alongside Adelard of Verona. He arrived to join the siege of Acre, where he stayed until the city’s surrender two years later.

After recovering his archbishopric of Caesarea, he was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem a few years later, in 1194. His appointment to the office upset the new King of Jerusalem, Henry of Champagne, who had not been consulted by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre prior their electing the new Patriarch. After a great deal of strife, in which Henry actually imprisoned many of the canons, the situation was eventually settled, and Henry made amends by granting Monachus’ nephew, Graziano, a wealthy fief near Acre and making him a knight.

Monachus centered his Patriarchate in Acre, as Jerusalem was still under Muslim control. King Henry died not too long after, falling from a high balcony at the royal palace, and Monachus’ next act was thus crowning the new king and queen, Aimery of Lusignan—brother of the former king Guy—, and Isabel. There is evidence that the Patriarch opposed the marriage in an exchange of letters with Pope Innocent III, but at the latter’s insistence Monachus stood down and related cordially with the royal couple thereafter.

In the last years of his life, Monachus oversaw the transfer of the arm of St. Philip to his native city of Florence, as recorded in the Instrumentum. He was also believed to have been the author of De Statu Terrae Sanctae, a report on the state of affairs in the Holy Land.

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39 Cardini, Crusade and “Presence of Jerusalem”, p. 338. If, during his asylum in Tyre, the archbishop developed a personal connection with Conrad, this would account for the sometimes glowing praise that the Marquis receives in the poem as a champion of Christianity.
41 Ibid.; Cardini, Crusade and “Presence of Jerusalem”, p. 338; Hamilton, The Latin Church, pp. 244-45.
42 Ibid., p. 245-246
commissioned by the Pope in 1199, but recent scholarship now denies it was written by his hand. The Patriarch died in 1202.

PLACE IN LITERATURE

Earlier editors have remarked on the poem’s correspondence with other chronicles of that time: Roger of Hoveden’s *Chronica* and *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, and the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*. The poem is quite accurate in its presentation of events, people, and dates, which are in large part corroborated and elaborated upon by these more detailed contemporary chronicles.

The poem is written in the Goliardic style, popular during that era. The Goliard poets, so called for their following of a certain Golias, who was probably mythical— the name is a variation of *Goliath*— flourished in the twelfth century, and were mostly university students and young clergy. Also called *clerici vagi*, the wandering scholars, these poets drifted like vagrants to and from the universities of Europe, seeking new learning and employment. Many became beggars along the way, and some ended up in the courts of nobles as jesters or troubadours. Their poetry was secular, worldly, and sometimes even scandalous, standing in stark contrast to the religious mores of the time. They praised wine, women, and song, exalting the pleasures of this world. Most of the Benediktbeuern songs, more commonly known as the Carmina Burana, were composed by Goliards.

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44 *Chronica Rogeri de Houdene*, vol. 3, ed. Stubbs, p. cvi. In the appendix to *De Haymaro monacho*, p. 128, Riant included an index of points of congruence between *De Expugnata Accone* and the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*.
Themes commonly employed in Goliardic poetry that appear in De Expugnata Accone are those of Fortune and the Fates. The personified Fortuna, goddess of luck, was a device often used in their verse, as were the three sisters of Fate, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos of Classical mythology. The poets may have consciously drawn on these pagan traditions to suit the secular nature of their work.

Seeing that our author was a Florentine, how does De Expugnata Accone figure into the Italian literature and poetry of that time? Giuseppe Chiri, in his 1939 study La Poesia Epico-Storico dell'Italia Medioevale, remarked upon how little the Italian poets of that era celebrated the Crusades in their works: De Expugnata Accone, in fact, is one of very few examples of its kind. He attributes this to the Italian peninsula having had a much smaller military role in the Crusades than the other European powers; their major stake was in trade, which of course did not stimulate the sort of epic-style poetry produced by other European poets, most notably the French chansons de geste. By contrast, the Italians were more concerned with the constant battles and sieges between their own neighboring city-states, which were closer to home; examples of poetry about these clashes are far more abundant. Chiri noted insightfully that the Florentine author of De Expugnata Accone, in writing about the Crusades, also chose for his subject the siege of a city, the subject matter most familiar to Italian poems of that style and scope, now applying that native literary tradition not to an Italian city, but to Acre.

THE CURRENT EDITION AND TRANSLATION

Fortune is the theme of two of the more famous poems from the Carmina Burana, Fortuna imperatrix mundi and Fortune plango vulnera. The former bears close comparison with stanza 52 of De Expugnata Accone. Giuseppe Chiri, La Poesia Epico-Storico dell'Italia Medioevale, pp. 34-35.
In translating *De Expugnata Accone*, I have intended to render the poem both as an accurate and mindful expression of the Latin and a readable and satisfying English work on its own terms. I opted to maintain the original versification of the poem, translating line for line whenever possible, but dispensed with the use of any poetic meter or rhyme. To impose the rhythm and rhyme scheme of the Latin hexameters onto the English would inevitably have meant bending the original ideas and meanings to do so. I also felt that the poem’s real value to the modern reader lay in its presentation of facts and its illustration of events, not its poetic eloquence, so leaving the poem without meter seemed a permissible compromise.

In a few places, I was compelled to supply proper names when the Latin text only offered a series of pronouns, which sometimes yielded confusion as to who exactly was who. In a few other cases, when a straight and literal translation of the words would have fallen heavily on the ear, I made elementary changes for purely aesthetic reasons, without straying far from the true meaning of a given verse. The verb tenses of the original Latin frequently alternated between the past and the historic present; to clarify the sequence of events, I rendered the poem in a uniform past tense, except where the present tense was explicitly called for. This edition supplies the mirroring Latin text alongside the English one, so if any cosmetic changes were made in translation, a quick comparison with the original is easily managed.

For the Latin edition of the poem, I have favored no particular source over another, though when there was a case of doubt I typically deferred to the Bamberg manuscripts over Herold on account of their age. Variant readings are included in the critical apparatus, which, as I could not obtain the earliest sources to study them in detail, I pieced together from the texts printed in the more recent editions of the poem and the apparatuses included in those volumes.
I have ordered the layout of the poem according to stanza rather than line numbers. This has been done for easier reference, as the stanzas that structure the poem are typically self-contained expressions—often in one complete sentence—that do not rely on surrounding stanzas for qualification, modification, or clarity.

The historical commentary that follows along with the English translation is derived in large part from the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*, but also draws upon other studies of the Crusades listed in the bibliography as secondary sources.48

The three plates included in the appendix are facsimiles of the Bamberg and Oxford manuscripts, taken from Riant’s *De Haymaro monacho*. Maps of the city of Acre and the wider Near East at the time of the Crusades are also included; the map of Acre comes from page 72 of Nicholson’s translation of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*.

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Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

Sources of De Expugnata Accone


Historical and Background Sources


SECONDARY SOURCES


**DICTIONARIES AND LANGUAGE RESOURCES**


The Conquest of Acre

De Expugnata Accone
I
Dum Romanus pontifex praesidet¹ Veronae,
Urbanus memoriae atque famae bonae,
Saladinus impius absque ratione
Occupavit Syriam fera ditione.

II
Urbe Tyberiadis² armis expugnata³,
Caetera sunt moenia sibi⁴ sponte data
Non est opus lancea, non est opus spata,
Sic ei subveniunt cum fortuna fata.

III
Urbe tamen Tripolis⁵ non fuit potitus,
Nec quibusdam aliis juxta⁶ maris litus,
Nam defendit⁷ Marchio jussu Dei citus
Urbem Tyri veluti⁸ conjugem maritus.

IV
Expugnavit postea urbem Ascalonem,
Donec eam⁹ compulit ad deditionem
Incolis Jerusalem dat conditionem,
Ut dent censum propriam in redemptionem.

V
Ad Sepulerum vetuit¹⁰ ire Christianis,
Sanctam ac¹¹ vivificam Crucem dat paganis,
Dumque miscet improbus¹² sacra sic¹³ profanis,
Ecce! nos aspicimus sanctum¹⁴ lambit canis.

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[Critical apparatus: the following is a record of textual variants in the manuscripts and later editions of the poem.  
H: Herold’s 1549 edition; B: larger Bamberg MS; Bf: Bamberg fragment; O: Oxford MS; Sr: Stubb’s 1871 edition;  
R: Riant’s 1865 edition; M: Mariti’s 1781 edition; om: omitted; add: added.]

¹ degeret, B. ² Tyberiade, H. ³ subjugata, H. ⁴ om. in B. Bf. ⁵ Tripoli, H. ⁶ secus, H. ⁷ tutavit, B.; descendit, M.  
While the Roman Pontiff Urban, of fine memory
And fame, presided in Verona,
The godless Saladin without cause
Occupied Syria with cruel dominion.

After the city of Tiberias was subjugated with arms,
The other walls were given over by their own will;
The lance was not necessary, the sword was not necessary:
In this way the Fates with Fortune assisted him.

Yet he did not gain the city of Tripoli,
Nor certain others along the shore of the sea,
For the Marquis at the behest of God swiftly defended
The city of Tyre, as a husband defends his spouse.

Afterward Saladin fought against the city of Ascalon,
Until he overcame it unto surrender.
He gave the inhabitants of Jerusalem the condition
That they must pay the expense of their own ransom.

He forbade Christians to go to the Sepulchre,
He gave the holy and life-giving Cross to the pagans,
And as the wicked one mingled the sacred things with the profane,
Lo! We beheld the dog licking what is holy.

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1 Saladin’s invasion was preluded by a raid on a Muslim caravan by the renegade knight Raynald of Chatillon. This action breached the treaty the Crusaders had made with Saladin, and when he demanded reparations be made, Raynald refused, and the invasion of Palestine ensued. As the poet reports, Pope Urban III was indeed staying in Verona at the time. He died within months of the invasion; it was widely believed that he died of grief.

4 After a siege of roughly two weeks, Jerusalem was surrendered to Saladin’s army on October 2, 1187. Saladin granted the Christians in Jerusalem safe passage out of the city on the condition that each person must pay their own ransom.
Quomodo fama veniente ad Occidentem reges alii sumpserunt crucem.

VI

Fama volans petiit fines Occidentis,
Universos animans Christianae gentis
Ad succursum properent ut Omnipotentis
Qui solus praecipere mari scit et ventis.

VII

In primis rex Franciae atque rex Anglorum
Crucis venerabile signum et decorum
Suis figunt humeris, sed succursus horum
Tardus est dum nimium servat domi torum.

VIII

Fredericus inclytus princeps Romanorum,
Triumphator bellicos, victor proeliorum,
Habito consilio, per regnum Graecorum
Ad strages accelerat hostium dirorum.

IX

Cum eodem properant pugnatorum flores,
Certatim accelerant viri bellatores,
Vulgus cum proceribus, cum magnis minores,
Terra, mari resonant crucis portitores.

De exilio domini Adelardi Veronensis episcopi Sacrosanctae ecclesiae Romanae Cardinalis.

X

Cardinalis presbyter, pontifex Veronae,
Adelardus, opere clarus et sermone,
Exulat tunc temporis, hac intentione
Ut pugnare doceat nos pro ratione.

---

1 venit ad partes, B. 2 universas animas, H. 3 occurrum, B. Bf. 4 venerabile signum crucis, Bf. 5 chlatratus quorum, H.; dilatatus quorum, St. 6 succursus, H. 7 servant, H. 8 domitorum, H. 9 habitus, H. 10 bellatorum, H. 11 nos doceat, H.
How by report coming to the West other kings took up the Cross.

6

Flying news made for the borders of the West,
Quickening the whole of the Christian people,
That they may hasten to the assistance of the Almighty,
Who alone knows how to command the winds and sea.

7

First the King of France and the King of England
Fixed the venerable and worthy sign of the Cross
On their shoulders; but their assistance
Was late, when it stayed too long in the couch of home.

8

Frederick, the renowned ruler of the Romans,
The warlike conqueror, the victor of battles,
After holding council rushed through the kingdom
Of the Greeks to the slaughter of the dreadful foe.

9

The choicest of warriors raced alongside him:
Men of war made haste eagerly,
The commoner with the noble, the lesser man with the greater:
By land, by sea, the bearers of the cross resounded.

The travels of lord Adelard, Bishop of Verona, Cardinal of the most holy Roman Church.

10

The elder cardinal Adelard, bishop
Of Verona, distinguished in work and word,
Traveled abroad at this time, with the intention
Of teaching us to fight for the cause.

7 King Henry II of England and Philip II of France, though formerly enemies, both agreed to go on crusade. A tax was levied on the citizens of England and France to finance the undertaking that came to be known as the “Saladin tithe”. Henry II died in July 1189, and his son Richard I ascended the throne, who shared his father’s intention to join the crusade. Philip and Richard did not set out for Acre until a year later.

8 Upon hearing of the loss of the Holy Land, Frederick Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, immediately responded by taking up the Cross at Mainz Cathedral in March 1188.
XI
Fert Summi Pontificis hic legationem,
Ut hortetur\textsuperscript{1} viros ad transfretationem
Sed ut ejus melius capiant sermonem,
Ipse crucem suscipit, currens ad agonem.

XII
Comitantur praesulem multi boni viri\textsuperscript{2},
Strenui militia, probitate miri,
Non oportet nomina quorum hic inquiri,
Quod cum eo venerint tamen potest sciri.

XIII
Pontum a Venetiis navibus sulcantes,
Et die tricesimo Tyrum applicantes,
Christianos Accaron moenia vallantes,
Vallatos accepinus sese\textsuperscript{3} vix tutantes.

\textit{Quomodo Guido Rex Hierosolimitanus venit ad obsidionem Acconis.}

XIV
Postquam enim venit rex de captivitate,
Non est usus postea Tyri\textsuperscript{4} civitate
Inter eum lites sunt et Cunradum natae\textsuperscript{5},
Quas Pisani frustra flent, pulsi civitate.

XV
Cum quibus et aliis universis fere
Peregrinis venit rex Accon\textsuperscript{6} obsidere,
Sed a tergo tertia die gemuere
Saladinum acrius eis\textsuperscript{7} imminere.

\textsuperscript{1} arceat, H. \textsuperscript{2} viri boni, H. \textsuperscript{3} seque, H. \textsuperscript{4} Tyro, H. \textsuperscript{5} motae, H.; motitae, M. \textsuperscript{6} Accaron, B. \textsuperscript{7} Tyronem, B. Bf.
11
Here he brought embassy of the Supreme Pontiff,
To exhort men to cross the sea;
But so that his sermon might better captivate,
He himself took up the cross, running to combat.

12
Many good men accompanied the prelate:
Steadfast soldiers, extraordinary in integrity;
It is not needed for their names to be examined here,
For it can be known in any case that they came with him.

13
Plowing the sea on Venetian ships
And setting to shore at Tyre on the thirtieth day,
Fortifying the Christian ramparts at Acre,
We greeted the fortified ones, who were barely protecting themselves.

How Guy, the King of Jerusalem, came to the siege of Acre.

14
After the King came out of captivity,
There was no longer need of the city of Tyre;
Between him and Conrad quarrels were born,
Which the Pisans lament in vain, driven away from the city.

15
With them and almost all the other pilgrims,
The King arrived to besiege Acre,
But on the third day they bemoaned that Saladin
At their backs loomed over them more ardently.

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14 King Guy of Lusignan, captured after the Crusader defeat at Hattin in July 1187, was finally released by Saladin the following summer on the condition that Guy would leave Palestine and never return. Guy, however, went immediately for Tyre, the last Christian stronghold in the region, and sought to take over power from Marquis Conrad of Montferrat. Conrad denied his wish, and conflict broke out between the two. The Pisans backed Guy during the struggle; when Conrad prevailed, and Guy left to direct his efforts towards Acre instead, they were expelled from Tyre.
Quomodo Saladinus expugnavit regem, Frisonibus sustinenibus agonem.

XVI
Quos instanter dimicans pellit in Turonem\textsuperscript{1}
Sneccis vecti\textsuperscript{2} Fresones\textsuperscript{3} sustinent agonem,
Quos stella deduxerat insimul Acconem,
Magis quae monstraverat Judae regionem.

XVII
Hi sulcatis fluctibus aequoris Hispani
Ad urbem acephali venerant Messani\textsuperscript{4}
Ubi ducem statuunt, sicut viri sani,
De Avienis Jacobum, licet essent Dani\textsuperscript{5,6}

Quomodo nostri mittunt pro Marchione ut succurrat eis.

XVIII
Cum\textsuperscript{7} nostrorum paucitas nequit ultra pati
Tot incursum hostium, nobiles legati
Tyrum missi protnenus se committunt rati,
Ut succurrat Marchio Christianitati.

Quomodo cum Marchione ivimus Acconem, et de proelio magno quod commisimus ibi.

XIX
Sine mora Marchio jubet praeparari\textsuperscript{8}
Cuncta necessaria, naves onerari
Et quia non poterat\textsuperscript{9} terra, venit mari,
Fluctibus ut Boream vidit dominari.

XX
Nos cum eo venimus, gratanter recepti
Ab his qui tunc fuerant ibidem collecti\textsuperscript{10}
Nostri licet undique forent circumsecti\textsuperscript{11}
Ad pugnam communiter tamen\textsuperscript{12} sunt erecti.

\textsuperscript{1} Tyronem, B. Bf.; furorem, M.  \textsuperscript{2} suetis victi, H.  \textsuperscript{3} Friones, H.  \textsuperscript{4} Melani, H.  \textsuperscript{5} Deum, H.  \textsuperscript{6} Stanza 17 is omitted in the Bamberg MS.  \textsuperscript{7} dum, H.  \textsuperscript{8} praeparati, H.  \textsuperscript{9} poterat, B. Bf.  \textsuperscript{10} recepti, H.  \textsuperscript{11} circumsecti, B.  \textsuperscript{12} tamen communiter, H.
How Saladin fought against the king, whom the Frisians supported in battle.

16
Fighting vehemently, Saladin drove them out into Turon; Carried on skiffs, the Frisians supported the struggle. The star had led them to Acre together, 
The very star which had shown the land of Judea to the Magi.

17
Having plowed the waves of the Spanish sea, They had come to the city of Messina without a head, Where they, like reasonable men, established a leader, James of Avesnes, although they were Danes.

How our men sent for the Marquis, so that he might assist them.

18
When the fewness of our number was unable to endure any longer So many incursions of the enemy, noble legates dispatched To Tyre immediately entrusted themselves with a ship, So that the Marquis might give aid to Christianity.

How with the Marquis we came to Acre, and the great battle which we engaged in there.

19
Without delay the Marquis ordered everything necessary To be prepared, the ships to be loaded, And because he could not come by land, he came by sea, Seeing that the north wind prevailed over the waves.

20
We arrived with him, received joyously By those who at that time were gathered there; Although our men were surrounded on all sides, Nevertheless they were all enthused for battle.

16 Mt. Turon lies east of the city of Acre. Frisia is a region stretching along the coast of the North Sea from Holland to Denmark.

18 Ludwig III of Thuringia, a relative of Conrad, persuaded him to join the effort at Acre in spite of his feud with Guy of Lusignan.
XXI
Ergo diem statuunt certam, qua pugnarent,
Cumque Turcos eminus a\textsuperscript{1} castris fugarent,
Congregati protenus hi post terga parent\textsuperscript{2},
Nostrique victoria quam sperabant carent\textsuperscript{3}.

XXII
Milites Templarii Turcis restiterunt,
\textit{Et ex illis\textsuperscript{4} plurimi mortui fuerunt},
Nostri fugam turpiter\textsuperscript{5} ad castra dederunt,
\textit{Sed qui pigri fuerant ibi remanserunt}.

XXIII
In diebus aliis\textsuperscript{6} sit haec execrata,
\textit{Maledicta dies haec maledicta fata}
In hac die nobis sunt quae sic adversata.
\textit{Sed credo quod accidit ob nostra peccata}.

\textit{Quando vallavimus nos fossatis, Saladinus ante diem nos invasit}. 

XXIV
Habito consilio fecimus fossata
\textit{Ab utroque littore circumoccupata}
\textit{Saladinus valida manu roborata}
\textit{Nos\textsuperscript{7} invasit, antea quam\textsuperscript{8} lux esset nata}.

XXV
Sed nil ei profuit, nosque laesit parum,
\textit{Immo sibi contigit quod fuit amarum},
\textit{Unde tristis rediit plenus et irarum},
\textit{Sed de suo reditu nobis fuit carum}.

\textsuperscript{1} de, H. \textsuperscript{2} parerent, H. \textsuperscript{3} carerent, H. \textsuperscript{4} illorum, B. Bf. \textsuperscript{5} turpiter fugam, H. \textsuperscript{6} inter dies funebres, H. \textsuperscript{7} hos, H. \textsuperscript{8} antequam, B.
So our men determined a certain day on which they would fight,
And when they put the Turks to flight afar off from the camps,
Suddenly the Turks appeared at their rear, regrouped,
And we lost the victory we were hoping for.

The Templar Knights resisted the Turks,
And of these there were many dead;
Our men shamefully gave up to the camp in flight,
But those who had been slow remained there.

Among other days let this accursed day
Be cursed; let these Fates be cursed,
Who on this day were set against us thus.
But I believe it happened because of our sins.

When we fortified ourselves with trenches, Saladin attacked us before daybreak.

Having held council, we made trenches
Encompassing both directions from the shore;
Saladin with a strengthened and mighty hand
Attacked us before light could be born.

But it profited him nothing, and he harmed us little;
Rather it affected him such that he became bitter,
Whereupon he went back troubled and full of rage.
And his return was a dear thing for us.

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22 The Knights Templar was military order of the Church that was established around 1129 and disbanded in 1312. Their Grand Master, Gerard of Ridefort, was killed in this battle.
De instrumentis paratis et viis subterraneis ad capiendam civitatem.

XXVI
Nostri turres ligneas facere coepere¹, Cattos et arietes fieri jussere², Machinas, testudines, erigi fecere³, Vias subterraneas quidam effodere⁴.

XXVII
Sed nil haec nec⁵ alia nobis profuerunt, Inter se dividere dum barones quaerunt Terras, quas tunc temporis Turci possederunt, Nec de illis usque tunc quicquam perdiderunt⁶.

De Tureis obsidentibus nos die noctuque.

XXVIII
Semper nos ad foveas Turci perurgebant, Ventus, nox et⁷ pluvia non hos retrahebant Nec illi de moenibus semper dormiebant, Immo vicem acrius pro vice reddebant.

De Quinquaginta galeis intrantibus civitatem et prohibentibus nobis mare.

XXIX
Die prima Domini post Nativitatem, Colunt Sancti Stephani qua festivitatem, Quinquaginta galeae contra voluntatem Intraverunt omnium per vim civitatem.

XXX
Proh dolor! Tune⁸ incipit noster geminari Labor, at miseria nobis cumulari Nam cum ante libere⁹ frueremur mari, Cum terra jam incipit¹⁰ mare¹¹ denegari.

¹ caperunt, H. ² jussurunt, H. ³ fecerunt, H. ⁴ effoderunt, H. ⁵ vel, H. ⁶ amiserunt, H. ⁷ nec, H. ⁸ nunc, B. Bf. ⁹ liberi, St. ¹⁰ incipit jam, H. ¹¹ aqua, B. Bf.
The "cat" and the "tortoise" were covered sheds set on wheels that served to protect soldiers approaching the walls of city. They could be outfitted with a battering ram, a bridge, or other implements that the troops inside could operate. See Nossov, *Ancient and Medieval Siege Weapons*.

29 December 26, 1189.
Quomodo turci insultabant nobis convicia cruci inferentes.

XXXI
Si ferire tympana tubasque sonare
Videres et vocibus Turcos reboare,
Cum galeas agitant ante nos per mare,
Heu, heu, Deus! diceres, hoc permittis quare?

XXXII
Milites aspereres super muros stantes
Turcos sanctam manibus crucem elevantes,
Cum flagellis asperis eam verberantes,
Et cum improperiis nobis minitantes.

Quomodo Marchio vadit Tyrum pro reparandis galeis in tanto periculo.

XXXIII
Habito consilio, galeam repente
Unam Januensium nocte sub silente
Est ingressus Marchio, vir robustus mente,
Tyrum ut acceleret Africo pellente.

XXXIV
Si des mille millies marcas Marchioni
Argenti purissimi atque valde boni,
Ut tunc et debeat onus hoc imponi,
Eas certe penderet non uni peponi.

XXXV
Illum tamen Marchio subire laborem
Non vitavit omnium Patris ob amorem,
Ad totius populi laudem et honorem,
Et culparum illius poenam mitiorem.

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1 Deus om. H. 2 Aphrico, H.; Affrico, B. Bf. R. 3 datas, B. B.f. 4 et tunc, H. 5 debeant, B. 6 hoc opus, H. 7 penderes, St. 8 istum, H.
How the Turks mocked us, inflicting abuses upon the Cross.

31
If you had seen the drums striking up, trumpets sounding,  
    And the Turkish voices resounding,  
    When the galleys riled before us in the sea,  
    “Alas, alas, God!” you would have said, “Why do you allow this?”

32
You would have seen soldiers standing on the walls,  
    Turks raising the sacred Cross with their hands,  
    Beating it with sharp whips,  
    And threatening us with reproaches.

How the Marquis hastened to Tyre in such peril to repair the galleys.

33
After council was held, the Marquis, a man  
    Robust in mind, suddenly entered  
    One Genoese galley under silent night,  
That he might hasten to Tyre, driven by the southwest wind.

34
If you should give a thousand times a thousand marks  
To the Marquis, marks of the purest silver, and very fine,  
    So that this burden should be laid upon him,  
    He would surely not render them for one melon.

35
Yet the Marquis did not avoid undertaking that task  
    Out of love for the Father of all,  
    For the praise and honor of all the people,  
    And a gentler penalty for their faults.

---

32 Presumably this was the True Cross, which had been lost to Saladin’s army with the defeat at the Battle of Hattin in July 1187.
De variis periculis et pestibus accidentibus nostris in exercitu remanentibus.

XXXVI
Scias in exercitu quod qui remanserunt,
Omnes in periculo mortis extiterunt
Hyemem sic asperam nam passi fuerunt,
Quod vidisse similem nec antiqui ferunt.

XXXVII
Imbris torrens validus terram inundabat
Quando furens Africus mare perturbabat,
Evulsa tentoria cuncta laniabat,
Cum paxillis funditus vel eradicabat.

Ubi tandem tenebam cum dentibus.

XXXVIII
Si confratres mei tunc ibidem fuisse, 
Et tenere dentibus me tandem vidisse,
Horum quidam reputo super me risisse,
Sed eorum plurimi pro me doluissent.

XXXIX
Esse mallet quilibet sine aqua rasus
Quam pati, quot passus sum, tot adversos casus
Non mihi tunc somnia dictabat Parnasus,
Cum a cibis triduo jejunat omasus.

XL
Accessit et aliud nobis nocementum,
Ad poenarum cumulum et majus augmentum,
Licet portes manibus aurum vel argentum,
Hordeum non invenis, carnem aut frumentum.

1 Bacchanalis, H. 2 verse om. H. 3 ibi, B. 4 tendam me dentibus, B. 5 si, B. 6 quod, B. 7 adversus, H. 8 vacuus, H. 9 vel, H. 10 nec, H.
The various dangers and diseases befalling us who remained in the army.

You should know that all those who remained in the army
   Existed in danger of death;
   For we suffered a winter so savage
   That the ancients do not allege to have seen the like.

A mighty torrent of rain flooded the earth;
   When the raging south wind riled the sea,
   It mangled all the tents, tearing them away,
   And even uprooted them utterly, along with the pegs.

When finally I held the tent with my teeth.

If my companions had been there then,
   And had seen me finally holding it with my teeth,
   I reckon some of them would have laughed over me,
   But most of them would have felt sorry for me.

Anyone at all would prefer to be shaved without water
   Than to suffer as many adverse misfortunes as I suffered;
   Parnassus did not speak to me in dreams then,
   When the stomach fasted from food for three days.

Another affliction was also added onto us,
   Onto the heap of punishments and to its greater increase:
   Although you might carry gold or silver in your hands,
   You would not find barley, meat or grain.

---

39 Mt. Parnassus in central Greece was celebrated in Greek mythology, considered a sacred shrine of Apollo and the home of the Muses. Because of these associations, Parnassus became a metaphor for poetic inspiration, as it is used here.
XLI
Nondum vixit aliquis, nec vivit mortalis,
Graviora videret his qui mala malis
Nam vini vel olei modicum vel salis
Vendebatur carius quam vestis regalis.

XLII
Vidi decem solidos pro gallina dari,
Sed bovinas carnes bis feci\(^1\) comparari\(^2\),
In eodem pondere\(^3\) pretioque pari\(^4\),
Cum Paulus in azymis jubet epulari.

XLIII
Qui nummatam\(^5\) voluit carnis coquinare,
De lignis oportuit quinque\(^6\) comparare
Tres in ovo\(^7\) dederam nummos, quod lixare
Volens, ligna\(^8\) contigit totidem\(^9\) constare.

XLIV
Si quando contungeret aliquem aegrotum,
Fama licet nominis gloriosi notum,
Tyrum qui secedere\(^10\) tunc haberet votum,
Quod habebat convenit nautis dare totum.

XLV
Delicate vivere domi qui\(^11\) solebat
Ibi fabas ciceram\(^12\) non fastidiebat
De bis cocto saepius pane sed famebat\(^13\),
Carnem quoque marcidam avidius\(^14\) edebat.

XLVI
Qui praesentes aderant poterant videre
Variis languoribus homines tabere\(^15\),
Sed nec equi pestibus diris caruere
Pars eorum maxima quare\(^16\) periere.

\(^1\) feci his carnis, H.; carnes his feci, St.  \(^2\) comparati, H.  \(^3\) tempore, B. Bf.  \(^4\) cari, M.  \(^5\) minima jam, H.  \(^6\) duas, H.  \(^7\) ovis, B. Bf.  \(^8\) lingua, H.  \(^9\) totidem contigit, H.  \(^10\) quod succedere, B.  \(^11\) qui domi, H.  \(^12\) siceram, H.; cetera, B. Bf. R.  \(^13\) sed de pane bis cocto saepius famebat, H.  \(^14\) avidus, B. Bf.  \(^15\) languere, H.  \(^16\) fere, H.
No one has ever lived, nor does a mortal now live,
Who has seen heavier evils than these evils,
For a little bit of wine or oil or salt
Was sold more expensively than royal vestments.

I saw ten Solids given for a hen,
But I had beef purchased twice
For the same weight and equal price,
Although Paul ordered us to feast on unleavened bread.

Whoever wanted to cook for the cost of meat
Had to pay five coins for pieces of wood;
I had given three coins for an egg, wanting to boil it,
And the pieces of wood happened to cost just as much.

If ever it happened that someone became sick
Who then wished to withdraw to Tyre,
Although known by the fame of an illustrious name,
He would agree to give everything that he had to the sailors.

He who at home was accustomed to live luxuriously
There did not shrink from the beans, the chickpea;
But he fasted from the bread biscuit more often,
And also ate withered meat quite eagerly.

Those who were present at hand were able to see
Men languish from all sorts of infirmities;
But they were not deprived of horses by the dreadful diseases
From which the greatest part of the men had perished.

---

42 The Solid was a type of gold coin, first established as a currency by Constantine the Great. The reference to Paul is from 1 Corinthians 5:8: Therefore, let us celebrate the festival, not with the old yeast of malice and evil, but with unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.
XLVII
In diversa studia nostri se scindebant,
Nam eorum\(^1\) plurimi foras exiebant,
Mori bello quoniam quam fame\(^2\) malebant,
Herbam quoque, stipulam, ligna\(^3\) referebant.

XLVIII
E converso reliqui timentes pugnare,
Rationes visi sunt pro se allegare
Illis esset tutius\(^4\) quam exire, stare,
Dum Cunradum velle se dicunt exspectare.

De reditu Marchionis et reconciliatione cum rege Guidone.

XLIX
Praeterlapso spatio mensium\(^5\) duorum,
Cum immenso Marchio numero\(^6\) virorum
Nobis indigentibus apportavit forum,
Ubertatem insuper omnium bonorum.

\(\text{L}\)
In adventa ejus fuimus gratulati\(^7\),
Nam in urbe postea Turci sunt serati.
Sunt amici Marchio rexque copulati,
Et pugnare cuncti\(^8\) nos sumus animati\(^9\).

\textit{Quomodo castella trahuntur ad civitatem.}

\(\text{LI}\)
Castella vehiculis ad urbem trahuntur,
Machinarum ictibus muri colliduntur
Civitatis incolae mortui sternuntur,
Et de nostris simile plures\(^{10}\) patiuntur.

\(^{1}\) illorum, H. \(^{2}\) quam fame quoniam, H. \(^{3}\) simul, B. Bf. \(^{4}\) tutius esse, H. \(^{5}\) mensum, M. \(^{6}\) numero Marchio, H. \(^{7}\) fuimus ejusdem laetati, B. Bf. \(^{8}\) ad pugnandum quoque, H. \(^{9}\) relevati, B. Bf. \(^{10}\) multi, B. Bf.
47
In diverse efforts our men split up.
Most of them ventured out,
Since they preferred to die in battle rather than by hunger,
And brought back wood, straw, and herbs too.

48
The remaining ones, afraid to fight, turned back.
The reasons seemed to speak for themselves:
It would be safer for them to stay than to go out,
While they claimed they wanted to await Conrad.

The return of the Marquis and his reconciliation with King Guy.

49
After a period of two months went by,
The Marquis with an immense number of men
Brought supplies to us indigents,
In addition to abundance of all goods.

50
On his coming we were joyful,
For after this the Turks were bound up in the city.
The Marquis and the King joined together as friends,
And we were all energized to fight.

How siege towers were dragged to the city.

51
Siege towers were dragged to the city on vehicles;
The walls were crushed by the blows of the machines.
The dead inhabitants of the city were strewn,
And many suffered similarly from us.

49 Conrad returned at the end of March 1190, around Easter.
LII

Heu heu! variabilis nimis\(^1\) est fortuna,
Cum\(^2\) videtur stabilis, hora ter in una
Permutatur saepius\(^3\) quam in orbe luna,
Et relinquit hominem sub ardente\(^4\) pruna.

LIII

Dum speramus etenim urbi\(^5\) dominari,
Fortuna mutabilis\(^6\) coepit variari
Ignem ecce cernimus machinis jactari
Super aedificatione cunctaque cremari.

LIV

Lamentantur\(^7\) milites, plangunt servientes,
Et suspirant\(^8\) pedites prae dolore flentes,
Se barones laniat barbam evellentes\(^9\),
Heu heu! cuncti clamitant pectora tundentes.

De tribus maximis proeliis factis in Ascensione et Pentecoste, et Sabbato post Pentecosten.

LV

Ad hoc in sanctissimo die Pentecostes
Nos ab omni latere circumdabant hostes
Nitentes irrupere fovearum postes
Nec eat locus vacuus a sagittis, quo stes.

LVI

Idem nobis fecerant in Ascensione,
Nec non post in Sabbato, et tunc in agone
Pugnarunt viriliter homines Veronae,
Memores Ferrariae tali die pronae.

\(^1\) nimis variabilis, M.  \(^2\) dum, H.  \(^3\) levius, H.  \(^4\) in fervente, H.  \(^5\) urbe, H.  \(^6\) rex permissio Domini, B.  
\(^7\) suspirabant, B.  \(^8\) lamentantur, B.  \(^9\) capillos vellentes, B.
52

Alas, alas! Fortune is exceedingly variable:
When she seems stable, she is changed more often
Three times in one hour than the moon in its orbit,
   And leaves a man behind under hot coal.

53

While we hoped to control the city,
   Ever-changing Fortune began to turn;
Lo, we saw fire being thrown by machines
   Over the buildings, and everything was consumed.

54

The knights lamented, the servants wept,
The foot-soldiers sighed, crying in sorrow,
The barons lacerated themselves, tearing their beards;
   “Woe, woe!” all cried out, beating their breasts.

The three enormous battles waged on Ascension and Pentecost, and the Saturday after Pentecost.

55

Then on the most holy day of Pentecost
   Enemies were coming around us from every side;
The gleaming gates of the trenches burst open;
   There was not a place empty of arrows where you could stand.

56

They did the same to us on Ascension,
   And also on the Saturday after, and at that time in battle
   The men of Verona fought valiantly,
Recalling Ferrara, subjected on that day.

---

52 Compare this stanza with the opening lines of Fortuna imperatrix mundi of the Carmina Burana: O Fortuna / velut luna / statu variabilis (O Fortune / like the moon / changeable in state).

56 The Italian city of Ferrara was conquered by the Veronese on June 10, 1188, two years to the day before this battle took place.
Quomodo Turcis cum galeis intrantibus civitatem nostri nequiverunt resistere.

LVII
Dum fortuna terimur nimium agresti,
Martyrum vigilia Viti et Modesti
Turci truces nimium nobis et\textsuperscript{1} infesti
Intrant urbem navibus, unde sumus moesti.

LVIII
Armis, victualibus\textsuperscript{2} muniti venerunt,
Nostri quibus obviam classibus iverunt,
Sed eis resistere dum non potuerant,
Utrobique mutuo damna\textsuperscript{3} pertulerunt.

De duobus insultibus factis super galeas nostras ubi duas galeas eorum cepimus nec postea ansi fuerunt exire.

LVIX
Summo mane, Julii die\textsuperscript{4} kalendarum,
Et in quadam alia praecedente parum,
Cum immensa copia Turci\textsuperscript{5} galearum
Longe foras exeunt a turre Muscarum.

LX
Super nostros faciunt acriter\textsuperscript{6} insultum
Jacientes eis\textsuperscript{7} ignem in occultum,
Sed hoc aliquantulum nocuit\textsuperscript{8}, nec multum,
Verum non diutius stetit hoc inultum.

LXI
Duas enim galeas nostri sunt lucrati,
In quibus sunt plurimi Turci trucidati
Unde sic\textsuperscript{9} sunt reliqui tamque perturbati,
Quod exire taliter post hoc non sunt rati.

\textsuperscript{1} et nobis, H. \textsuperscript{2} nobilibus, B. \textsuperscript{3} dampnum, B. \textsuperscript{4} die julii, H. \textsuperscript{5} turci copia, H. \textsuperscript{6} acrius faciunt, H. \textsuperscript{7} in eos, B. \textsuperscript{8} obfuit, B. \textsuperscript{9} sic om. H.
How our men were unable to resist the Turks entering the city with galleys.

While we were afflicted by Fortune, excessively wild,
On the vigil of the martyrs Vitus and Modestus
The Turks were extremely savage towards us, and the hostile ones
Entered the city by ships, wherefore we were aggrieved.

Fortified with arms and munitions they came,
Whose fleet our own went out to meet;
But while we were not able to resist them,
On both sides they brought back mutual losses.

The two attacks made on our galleys in which we captured two of theirs, after which the Turks became timid to sail out.

Very early in the morning on the day of the July calends,
And on another particular day a little before,
The Turks with an immense host of galleys
Ventured forth far off from the Tower of Flies.

They aggressively made an assault on our ships,
Hurling fire at them from in hiding,
But this did only a little harm, not much.
Truly, this no longer stood unpunished.

For our men gained two galleys,
On which most of the Turks were slain;
Upon this, the rest of them were so shaken
That afterward they did not go out by ship in this way.

---

57 June 14, 1190.
59 July 1, 1190. The Tower of Flies was a stronghold built on a shelf of rock in the middle of the water outside the port of Acre. There are a number of stories as to how the tower got its name. One is that the unused flesh from animal sacrifices, after being thrown into the water, would be carried by the current to the tower, where a large host of flies would gather.
Quomodo veros rumores de Imperatore audivimus et quomodo per Ungariam et Bulgariam intrans Graeciam depopulatus est.

LXII
In eodem tempore nuncii venere,
De Romano principe vera qui dixere,
De quo quia contigit sermonem habere,
Praelibandum arbitror quod hi retulere.

LXIII
Ergo postquam inclytus princeps Romanorum
Intravit monarchiam regis Ungarorum,
Ubertatum\(^1\) omnium dat rex ei\(^2\) forum,
Donec eum ducit\(^3\) ad terram Bulgarorum.

LXIV
Postquam\(^4\) passus plurimas est\(^5\) adversitates,
Bulgarorum varias ob dolositates,
Ad Graecorum pervenit donec\(^6\) civitates,
Ubi Graeci comperit regis simultates.

LXV
Eum nam deceperat Graecus imperator,
Pacti, quod promiserat, factus depravator,
Nam sibi promiserat quod esset tutator
Ejus, et commercii fidus venundator.

LXVI
Propter hoc exercitus noster expugnator
Regni\(^7\) sui factus est, atque spoliator\(^8\),
Et cunctarum mercium\(^9\) ferus depraedator,
Insuper et hominum saevus\(^10\) trucidator.

---
\(^1\) ubertatem, H. \(^2\) et, H. \(^3\) duxit, H. \(^4\) per quam, H. \(^5\) est plurimas, H. \(^6\) donec pervenit, H. \(^7\) regis, H.
\(^8\) populator, B. \(^9\) gentium, B. \(^10\) dirus, B.
How we heard true rumors about the Emperor and how, passing through Hungary and Bulgaria, he had devastated Greece.

62
In that same time messengers came
Who told the truth about the Roman sovereign;
Since they happened to have word about him,
I think that what these men recounted should be tasted beforehand.

63
After the renowned ruler of the Romans
Entered the domain of the king of Hungary,
The King gave him goods of all abundance,
Until he led him to the land of the Bulgarians.

64
After this he underwent many hardships
From all kinds of trickeries of the Bulgarians,
Until he came into the states of the Greeks,
Where he discovered the enmity of the Greek king.

65
For the Greek emperor deceived him,
Turned spoiler of the pact that he had pledged:
For he had assured him that he would be his protector,
And a faithful dealer in trade.

66
Because of this our army was made
Subjugator of his kingdom, and despoiler,
And raging plunderer of all goods,
And a brutal slayer of men.

---

64 The Byzantine emperor, Isaac Angelus, had made a pact with Saladin: Isaac would impede of the crusading army, and in exchange Saladin would not invade his lands.

66 Isaac denied Frederick’s army the provisions he had promised, and when relations turned sour, Isaac took hostages from the German army. In return, Frederick subjugated a large part of Thrace and threatened to march on Constantinople. Isaac yielded, releasing the hostages, and troubled the Germans no further.
LXVII
Ut vacare valeat adhuc ultioni,
Et, punitis incolis, instet regioni,
Suae Caesar providens expeditioni
Hyemandum ibidem indicat tironi.

Caesaris moram nobis hic disce dolosam.

LXVIII
Moram importunitas temporis et mensis
Suadebat, et copia se diffundens mensis,
Quod totum exercitus luit Acconensis,
Quem sagitta sauciat, quem castigat ensis.

LXIX
Tandem circa Domini Resurrectionem,
Talem Caesar recipit compositionem,
Ut dent Graeci naves ad transfretationem,
Festinantes Graeculi complent jussionem.

Quomodo Soldanus Iconii voluit eum prodere sibi datis obsidibus.

LXX
Dum sancti Georgii brachium transisset
Caesar, atque fidei obsides cepisset
A Soldano, proditus ab eo fuisset,
Ni Divina gratia eum praecessisset.

LXXI
Dum enim Iconium tuti properarent,
Assistebant undique Turci, qui vetarent
Omnia commercia, hosque trucidarent,
Vel a longo potius eos sagittarent.

1 plenius possit, H. 2 instat, B. 3 expectationi, H. 4 indicat ibidem, H. 5 luit exercitus, H. 6 compositionem, M.
7 festinant, H. 8 ac, B. 9 eminus, H.
67

So that he might still prevail to be free of vengeance,
And, having punished the inhabitants, might occupy the region,
Caesar, making preparation for his expedition,
Declared to the fresh soldier that he shall winter there.

*Here learn of Caesar’s delay, grievous for us.*

68

The importunity of the time and the month urged delay,
And the bounty pouring itself forth on their tables;
For this the whole army at Acre paid the price,
Which the arrow wounded, and the sword punished.

69

Finally around the day of the Lord’s Resurrection
Caesar received a settlement of such a kind
That would give him Greek ships for crossing the sea;
The hurrying little Greeks fulfilled the order.

*How the Sultan of Iconium wanted to betray him after hostages were given over.*

70

When Caesar crossed St. George’s Arm
He also captured hostages loyal to the Sultan;
These would have been handed over by him,
If divine grace had not gone before him.

71

For while they safely hastened to Iconium,
The Turks stood around them at every side, who prevented
All trade, and slaughtered them,
Or preferably shot arrows at them from a distance.

---

67 The honorific title *Caesar* was still applied to the Holy Roman Emperors, whose office was considered a continuation of the Roman imperial line.

69 *Graeculus*, “little Greek”, was a common ethnic slur. Europeans of this time were largely prejudiced towards Greeks, who they viewed as deceitful.

71 The Sultanate of Iconium, also called Rüm or Konya, covered much of what is now modern-day Turkey. The former capital city, situated in central Turkey, is still called Konya.
LXXII
Circumseptis taliter viris Christianis,
Hac illac volantibus Turcis et paganis,
Elapsis ex integro tribus septimanis
Major pars exercitus nil comedit panis.

Quomodo expugnaverunt Iconium.

LXXIII
Caesar exercitu retro providebat,
Sed illius filius ante praecedebat,
Quo duce Suevia inclyta gaudebat
Hic primas incolmis acies agebat.¹

LXXIV
Christiani populi acies parantur²
Dissipati cunei hostium fugantur.
Dux intrat³ Iconium: omnes comitantur,
Superatis hostibus urbi dominantur.

LXXV
Soldanus, resistere cernens esse durum,
Cum thesauris oppidum fugit in⁴ securum,
Et spondet commercia cunctis⁵ se daturum,
Dum Augustum videat inde recessum.

Quomodo in Armenia mortuus est imperator in Salefico flumine.

LXXVI
Abhinc in Armeniam transit⁶ amoenam,
Ubertatum reperit quam cunctarum plenam,
Nam de fonte divite trahit ipsa venam⁷,
Haec⁸ frumentum sibi⁹ dat et equis avenam.

¹ Stanza 73 is omitted in the Bamberg MS. ² cujus ad insignia nostri cohortantur, H. ³ tunc intra, H. ⁴ fugit in oppidum, H. ⁵ cunctis commercia spondet, H. ⁶ transit, H. ⁷ avenam, M. ⁸ nec, B. ⁹ sibi om. H.
With Turks and pagans flying here and there,
Having surrounded the Christian men in such a manner,
The greater part of our army ate no bread
As an entire three weeks went by.

_How they overthrew Iconium._

Caesar saw to the rear of the army,
But his son proceeded in front,
By whose lead glorious Swabia was made glad;
Unharmed, this chief drove the lines of battle.

The Christian people formed battle lines;
The scattered wedges of the enemy were put to flight.
The Duke entered Iconium; all were accompanied;
Overcoming the foe, they took control of the city.

The Sultan, judging it difficult to resist,
Fled to a secure citadel with the treasuries,
And vowed that he would grant passage to all
Once he saw that Augustus was withdrawing from there.

_How in Armenia the emperor died in the Saleph River._

From here the emperor crossed into lovely Armenia,
Which he found full of abundance of all things:
He drew forth the vein from out of its rich source;
The crops he gave to himself, and the oat to the horses.

---

72 With Turks and pagans flying here and there,
73 Caesar saw to the rear of the army,
74 The Sultan, judging it difficult to resist,
75 From here the emperor crossed into lovely Armenia,

73 Frederick’s son, also named Frederick, was the Duke of Swabia, a region in southwest Germany.
75 Augustus is another honorific for the Holy Roman Emperor, derived from the name of the first Roman emperor, Gaius Julius Caesar Augustus.
Quid profuit imperatori, quod vitaverit mare?

LXXVII
Vitae tamen illius hoc dolos\(^1\) paravit,
Dum in parvo gurgite hunc solum\(^2\) necavit
Dic, sibi\(^3\) quid profuit quod mare vitavit,
Ab aquis Salefici dum non sibi cavit?

LXXVIII
Dictus est Saleficus quia\(^4\) factus sale,
Dicatur maleficus quia\(^5\) fidus male,
Salum maris timuit\(^6\) quasi\(^7\) sit mortale,
In salo Salefici solum dicit vale.

LXXIX
O dico fallacia cum fortuna fata!
In Romano principe nimis debacchata,
Quem non possunt sternere lancea vel spata,
Morte cita rapiunt et inopinata.

LXXX
O fata sententiam vestram permutate,
In Romano principe secus iudicate,
Ab aquis Salefici illaesum servate,
Et hunc armis potius quam aquis necate.\(^8\)

LXXXI
Romanorum principi et\(^9\) imperatori
Diceretur potius et esset\(^10\) honori,
Rutilante sanguine quam in aquis mori,
Suis nec principibus hoc esset\(^11\) terrori.

LXXXII
Nam ut verum fatear quod mihi dixere
Qui secum tunc temporis ibidem fuere,
Universi principes ita tremuere,
Quod ex illis\(^12\) plurimi mare transiere.

\(^1\) dolos hoc, H. \(^2\) solum hunc, H. \(^3\) mihi, H. \(^4\) quasi, B. \(^5\) quasi, B. \(^6\) tremuit, H. \(^7\) quia, H. \(^8\) Stanzas 79 and 80 are omitted in the Bamberg MS. \(^9\) et om. H. \(^10\) Ampliori longius cederet, H. \(^11\) esset hoc, H. \(^12\) illorum, B.
What did it profit the Emperor, that he avoided the sea?

77
Yet Armenia prepared treachery for the life of that man,
    When it killed him alone in a little stream.
Tell me, what did it profit him that he avoided the sea
When from the waters of the Saleph he did not protect himself?

78
The river is called Saleficus because it is composed with salt;
    It should be called Maleficus because it is in league with evil.
He feared the salt of the sea as if it were a mortal thing,
    But in the salt of the Saleph he alone said farewell.

79
O I call the Fates, with Fortune, deceitful!
Having raged so much against the Roman ruler,
    Who lances or swords could not allay,
They seized him by a rapid and unexpected death.

80
    O Fates, change your sentence,
Judge otherwise over the Roman ruler,
Preserve him unharmed from the waters of the Saleph,
    And kill him rather with arms than with water.

81
Of the commander and emperor of the Romans
It may be said that it would have been better for his honor
    To die in glowing red blood rather than in water,
And this would not have been to the terror of his princes.

82
For let me admit what they truly told me,
They who were with him there at that time:
    All the princes trembled so greatly
That many of them crossed back over the sea.

77 Accounts differ as to how exactly Frederick drowned. Some say that he fell off his horse while crossing the water, and drowned in his full armor. Others say that he was merely going for a swim because it was a hot day.
LXXXIII
Cur sublato principe principes timetis?
Cum Dominus mirabilis in suis athletis
Occultis judiciis\textsuperscript{1} sibique secretis,
Hunc ad suae\textsuperscript{2} gloriæ traxerit quietis?\textsuperscript{3}

*Quomodo exercitus ejus veniens Antiochiam ibi per crapulam mortuus est fere totus.*

LXXXIV
Post haec\textsuperscript{4} Antiochiam ceteri\textsuperscript{5} venerunt,
Et ducem Sueviae sibi praefecerunt,
Francorum baronibus nuncios miserunt,
Et\textsuperscript{6} ab his consilium sibi petierunt.

LXXXV
Major et praecipua pars Theutonicorum
Non attendens regulam hic aphorismorum\textsuperscript{7},
Multa et repente se dum replet ciborum,
In brevi deleta est de sorte vivorum\textsuperscript{8}.

LXXXVI
Nam cum per inopiam essent vacuati,
Postea per copiam nimis crapulati\textsuperscript{9},
Non est praeter physicam si sint infirmati,
Et de hujus saeculi taedio sublati.

*Quomodo Marchio vadit ad eos Antiochiam.*

LXXXVII
Habito consilio nostri Marchionem
Mittunt Antiochiam, ut ducat Acconem
Per talem Theutonicos viros regionem,
Ut nullam incurrere possent laesionem.

\textsuperscript{1} indiciis, M. \textsuperscript{2} sui, St. \textsuperscript{3} This stanza is omitted in the Bamberg MS. \textsuperscript{4} omnes, H. \textsuperscript{5} alii, H. \textsuperscript{6} et om. H. \textsuperscript{7} a foris morum, H. \textsuperscript{8} virorum, H. \textsuperscript{9} epulati, H.
83

Why, O princes, are you afraid when your ruler suffered,
   When the Lord, marvelous in his champions,
   And with hidden Judgment concealed in Himself,
   Has drawn this man into the glory of His serenity?

_How his whole army, arriving in Antioch, nearly died of drunkenness there._

84

After these things, the rest came to Antioch,
   And placed in charge over them the Duke of Swabia.
   They sent messengers to the barons of France,
   From these entreating counsel for themselves.

85

The greater and outstanding part of the Germans
Here was not considering the example of the _Aphorisms_,
   And when suddenly they replenished a lot of food,
   In a short time it was annihilated by the lot of living men.

86

For when in scarcity they were empty,
   Afterwards in abundance they were excessively drunk;
   It is not beyond nature that they would be weak,
   Suffering from the tedium of this time.

_How the Marquis went to them in Antioch._

87

Having held council, our men sent the Marquis
   To Antioch, so that he might conduct
   The Germans through the region to Acre,
   And they would not incur any harm.

---

85 From the _Aphorisms_ of Hippocrates, 2:4: “Neither fullness, nor hunger, nor anything else is good when beyond what is natural.”

87 Conrad was related to the Duke of Swabia; Frederick Barbarossa was one of his cousins.
LXXXVIII
Qui sine periculo cernens se nequire
Acconem ulterius per terram redire,
Parat cum exercitu navibus venire
Sinit tamen antea\textsuperscript{1} Septembrem exire.

Quomodo nostri pedites occisi sunt in festo Sancti Jacobi.

LXXXIX
Ejus in absentia nobis accidere
Plurima quae postea inulta stetere,
Nam in festo Jacobi nostri exiere
Pedites, et hostium castra irruere.

XC
Turci nimis providi, nimisque sagaces,
Urunt tabernacula, submittentes faces
Nostri nimis avidi nimisque voraces
Certant cuncta rapere, ut lupi rapaces.

XCI
Quos ut Turci taliter vident facientes\textsuperscript{2},
Neque vident\textsuperscript{3} milites eos subsequentes,
Ordinatis cuneis, in hos irruentes,
Plus quam quinque millia morti dant ferientes\textsuperscript{4}.

Licet bene essent armati tamen culpa sua et militum mortui sunt.

XCII
Sic erant hi pedites bene loricati,
Balistis et arcubus decenter ornati\textsuperscript{5},
Quod nunquam ab hostibus essent superati,
Ni quod venit ultio nostri peccati\textsuperscript{6}.

\begin{footnotes}
\end{footnotes}
Seeing that he was unable to return through the land
To Acre without danger later on,
He prepared to go with the army by ships;
Yet beforehand he allowed them to voyage out for all of September.

How our infantry were cut down on the feast of St. James.

In his absence several things happened
To us which afterward went unpunished;
For on the feast of St. James our infantry
Sallied out and rushed the enemy camps.

The Turks, exceedingly prudent and exceedingly keen,
Burned their tents, the flames reducing them;
Our men, exceedingly eager and exceedingly voracious,
Vied to seize everything, like rapacious wolves.

As the Turks saw them acting in such a way,
And saw that the knights were not following them,
They arranged in wedges, rushing at them;
Striking them down, they left more than five thousand dead.

Although they were well-armed, it was nevertheless their fault and that of the knights that they died.

These infantry were well-armored,
Fittingly equipped with ballistae and bows,
So that they would never be overcome by enemies,
Unless vengeance for our sins were to come.

---

The handheld ballista was a type of medieval crossbow.
XCIII
Anhelantes pedites nostri fugiebant,
Equis vecti levibus Turci praeceedebant,
Sed qui retro venerant nostros prosternebant,
Sine ictu etiam plures corruebant\(^1\).

XCIV
Si succursum milites eis\(^2\) praestitissent,
Sarracenos turpiter in fugam vertissent,
Et illi de moenibus ita timuissent,
Quod cum rebus omnibus urbem reddidissent.

Quomodo illi de civitate exeunt et cum Hospitalariis conflagunt.

XCV
Sed ut nostros taliter vident\(^3\) effugari,
Non oportet quaerere si possunt laetari,
Non enim existimant Turcos refraenari,
Donec nostra videant castra concremari.

XCVI
Ut augmentum igitur nostris darent malis,
Exeuntes januam partis borealis
Obviant militibus primum Hospitalis,
Inter quos conficitur pugna manualis.

XCVII
Hospitalis milites ab equis descendunt,
Ut ursa pro filiis cum Turcis contendunt
Turci nostrum aggerem per vim bis conscendunt,
Hos sagittis sauciant, hos igne succendunt.

XCVIII
Tunc\(^4\) Hospitalarii equos ascenderunt,
Et Turcos a latere maris\(^5\) invaserunt,
Quos ad urbis moenia per vim reduxerunt,
Et ex his in foveis multos\(^6\) occiderunt.

---
\(^1\) corruerunt, H. \(^2\) eis milites, H. \(^3\) vident taliter, H. \(^4\) et, H. \(^5\) a maris latere Turcos, B. \(^6\) plures, B.
Panting, our infantry fled;  
Borne by light horses, the Turks surpassed them,  
But those who came from behind struck our men down;  
Even without a blow several fell to the ground.

If the knights had shown them assistance,  
They would have turned the Saracens back in disgraceful flight,  
And the ones around the walls would have been so afraid  
That they would have handed over the city along with all their goods.

How they rallied out of the city and battled with the Hospitallers.

But as they see our men flee in such a manner,  
It need not be asked whether they could rejoice.  
For our men did not suppose that the Turks would hold back  
Until they saw our camps consumed with fire.

So that they would give increase to our evils,  
They rallied out of the gate on the northern side,  
And met first the knights of the Hospital;  
Between them hand-to-hand combat was waged.

The knights of the Hospital descended from their horses;  
Like a mother bear for her child they struggled with the Turks.  
By force the Turks ascended our mound twice;  
They wounded our men with arrows, and burned them with fire.

Then the Hospitallers ascended their horses,  
And from the side of the sea attacked the Turks,  
Who by force drew the knights back toward the walls of the city,  
And cut down many of them in the trenches.

The Knights Hospitaller began around 1080 as a hospital for Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem. After the First Crusade, the hospital coalesced into a religious and military order that saw to the defense of the Holy Land.
Quomodo Turci palam et clam intrabant civitatem.

XCIX
Post¹ hoc infortunium aliud successit²
Plena victualibus ad portum accessit
Navis, dumque saepius quaeritur unde sit,
Velum haec reficiens, in urbem discessit.

C
Vidi post hanc alias tres palam venire,
Et galeas obviam illis nostras³ ire
Nequiverunt tamen sic eas⁴ impedire
Quod vetarent moenia urbis introire.

CI
Intus⁵ noctu saepius ingrediebantur,
A nostris multotiens sed capiebantur,
Et, ereptis spoliis, ipsi necabantur
Alii propterea sed non turbabantur⁶.

De variis instrumentis nostris frustra consumptis.

CII
Post haec turres machinas nobis combusserunt,
Tuncque nostri ligneum castrum⁷ deduxerunt
Ad Muscarum turrim, sed eam non laeserunt,
Nimis cito quoniam⁸ navem succenderunt.

CIII
Item barcam dirigunt facibus succensum
In illorum validam classim condensatam⁹,
Cum qua navem concremant illorum immensam
Cito Turci vindicant verum¹⁰ hanc offensam.

¹ ad, B. ² accessit, B. ³ nostras illis, H. ⁴ eas tamen sic, H. ⁵ item, H. ⁶ Ob hoc tamen alii nunquam terrebantur, H. ⁷ ligneam turrim, B. ⁸ quia, H. ⁹ verse add. B. ¹⁰ tamen vindicant, H.
How the Turks entered the city openly and secretly.

99
After this misfortune another followed:
A ship approached the port full of provisions,
And, while among us it was often asked where it was from,
It deviated into the city, refashioning its sail.

100
I saw after this another three come openly,
And our galleys went to meet them;
Yet they were unable to hinder the Turks in such a way
That they prevented them from entering the walls of the city.

101
In the night they came in more often,
But were caught by us many times,
And after the spoils were snatched, the men were killed;
But on this account others were not daunted.

Our various machines, completed to no avail.

102
After this the Turks burned our engines and towers,
And then our men conducted a wooden fortress
Out to the Tower of Flies, but did not damage it,
Because the Turks set fire to the ship too quickly.

103
Likewise our men piloted a boat, set ablaze by torches,
Into their mighty, thickly-crowded fleet,
With which they burned an immense ship of theirs;
The Turks speedily avenged this offense.

102 September 25, 1190.
CIV
Nam cum nostri segniter et minus attente\(^1\)
Starent ad custodiam in die sequente,
Turci\(^2\) turrim ligneam succendunt\(^3\) repente,
Cum navi, quam fecimus, ipsam deferente.

CV
Ad haec barca, desuper trabibus celata\(^4\),
Dum ad turrim ducitur, fuit naufragata
Instrumenta caetera, ad urbem parata,
Sunt hoc modo perdita, vel igne cremata.

*De adventu comitis Henrici Campaniae.*

CVI
Catervatus militum numerositate,
Campaniensis venerat ea tempestate
Comes, et exercitum in necessitate
Sumptibus innumeris roboravit late.

CVII
Attamen consilio fretus levitatis,
Forte per audaciam juvenis aetatis,
Paucis victualibus secum apportatis,
Summae nobis praestitit causam egestatis.\(^5\)

*De ariete ferro cooperto quem Bisuntinus fieri fecit et de igne Graeco a quo combustus fuit.*

CVIII
Quid de archipraesule dicam Bisuntino?
Vir est totus deditus operi divino,
Orat pro fidelibus corde columbino,
Sed pugnat cum perfidis astu serpentino.

---
\(^{1}\) intente, H.  \(^{2}\) ipsi, B.  \(^{3}\) concremant, H.  \(^{4}\) trabibus desuper velata, H.  \(^{5}\) Stanzas 106 and 107 are omitted in the Bamberg MS.
For when our men sluggishly and less attentively
Stood guard the following day,
The Turks suddenly set a wooden tower on fire,
Along with a ship that we had made for transporting it.

Still more, a boat, covered from above by timbers,
Was shipwrecked while it was led to the Tower;
The other machines prepared for the city
Perished in this way or were burned with fire.

_The arrival of Count Henry of Champagne._

Crowded by a multitude of knights,
The Count of Champagne arrived in that tempest,
And strengthened the army in necessity,
Bringing innumerable resources.

Although trusting in shallow counsel,
Perhaps owing to the boldness of youth,
And having carried with him few provisions,
He stood with us in the cause of greatest need.

_The iron battering ram which the Archbishop of Besancon ordered to be made, and the Greek fire by which it was consumed._

What shall I say about the Archbishop of Besancon?
He was a man totally dedicated to divine work,
He prayed for the faithful with a heart like a dove,
And yet he fought with serpentine treachery.

---

106 Count Henry II of Champagne, the nephew of King Richard, had arrived in late July. After the Third Crusade, he became the new King of Jerusalem following Conrad of Montferrat’s assassination. Henry died shortly into his reign, falling from a high balcony at his palace at Acre.
CIX
Fecit hic arietem, quem de ferro texit,
Qui nostrorum animas plurimum erexit
Nullus enim credit, nullus intellexit,
Quod comburi valeat licet in igne sit¹.

CX
Terruisse creditur mentes paganorum,
Dicebatur etenim, quod stragem murorum
Et ruinam faceret, esset quae dirorum
Digna retributio scelerum Turcorum.

CXI
Secus tamen accidit quam aestimabatur,
Quod per negligentiam factum non negatur
Nam ad murum positus tantum lapidatur,
Quod ferrum excutitur ignisque jactatur.

CXII
Ignis ille foetidus, ignis execratus,
Cum ampullis vitreis desuper stillatus,
Serpit per gracillimos subintrans² meatus,
Donec intus aestuans magnos dat hiatus.

CXIII
Pereat, O! utinam hujus ignis³ vena,
Non enim extinguitur aqua sed arena,
Vixque vinum acidum ejus arcet⁴ fraena,
Et urina stringitur ejus vix habena.

CXIV
Ignis hic conficitur tantum per paganos,
Ignis hic exterminat tantum Christianos,
Incantatus namque⁵ est per illos profanos.
Ab hoc et⁶ perpetuo, Christe! libera nos.

¹ ignem nescit, H. ² subterraneos, B. ³ ignis hujus, H. ⁴ arcat ejus, H. ⁵ numquid, B. ⁶ et om. in H.
Here he made a battering ram that he covered with iron,
Which lifted our spirits greatly:
For no one believed, no one comprehended
That even if it were on fire it could be burned.

It was believed that the minds of the pagans were terrified,
For it was said that the ram would make slaughter and ruin
Of the walls, in worthy retribution against
The wickedness of the dreadful Turks.

However, it happened differently than was imagined:
It is not denied that what happened was through negligence,
For, placed at the wall, it was stoned so much
That the iron was shaken off, and then the fire was thrown.

That stinking fire, accursed fire,
Dripped from glass vessels from above
It seeps, insinuating into the channels through the narrowest places,
Until it yields great fissures, burning from within.

O if only the vein of this fire would disappear!
For it is not put out by water but by sand,
And sharp wine barely controls its bridles,
And its rein is barely held fast by urine.

This fire is produced only by pagans,
This fire exterminates only Christians,
For it is bewitched by those profane ones.
From this and always, Christ! deliver us.

---

113 Greek fire, also called liquid fire, was a flammable viscous fluid that may be thought of as the medieval equivalent of napalm. As the poet writes, sand, strong wine, and urine were the best ways to put the fire out, as water was useless against it. Its use is first recorded toward the end of the 7th century AD.
CXV
Ignis ille terruit sic nostrorum mentes,
Quod ad pugnam congregator non sunt confidentes
Verum aedificia retro retrahentes
Milites quiescere malunt et servientes.

Quomodo nos fatigati frustra exspectavimus reges Franciae et Angliae nequentes venire.

CXVI
Exspectare statuunt reges universi,
Sed dum reges veniunt fluctus sunt adversi,
Sic quod necessarii retro sunt conversi,
Alioquin dicitur quod essent submersi.

CXVII
Sed non solum regibus est obstrusum mare,
Nequiverunt reliquorum quoque transfretare,
Neque victualia nobis apportare
Cara namis apud nos vendebantur care.

De inceptione famis.

CXVIII
De Andegavensibus librae datae trinae
Sunt a me pro modio parvulo farinae,
Palatis nobilium carnes tunc equinae
Respondebant melius quam quondam gallinae.

De edicto vendendorum cibariorum.

CXIX
Barones constituant uno prorsus ore,
Ut dentur cibaria pretio minore,
Sed error novissimus pejor est priore,
Dum non audent vendere consueto more.

1 subversi, M. 2 alii, H. 3 caro, H. 4 quare, B.
That fire so terrified the minds of our men
That they were not brave to go to battle;
Indeed, drawing the towers back,
The knights and servants preferred to rest.

How in vain we wearily awaited the kings of France and England, who were unable to come.

They decided to await all the kings,
But while the kings came, the waves were against them,
So it was necessary that they turn back;
Otherwise it is said that they were drowned.

But the sea had hindered not only the kings:
The rest were also unable to voyage across,
And carry provisions to us;
Precious things were sold among us expensively.

The beginning of the famine.

I paid three Angevin Pounds
For a small bushel of flour;
At that time horse meats responded better to
The palates of the nobles than the meat of the hen once did.

The edict on the sale of foods.

Together the barons determined with one mouth
That food should be given out at a lesser price;
But this latest error was worse than the prior one,
When they did not intend to sell it in the accustomed way.

---

118 The Pound was the currency of England used under the Angevin Dynasty, starting with Henry II.
CXX
Non enim cibaria tunc\(^1\) inveniuntur
Per forum venalia, sed effodiuntur
Pavimenta domuum\(^2\), ubi absconduntur\(^3\)
Sic inops et locuples famem\(^4\) patiuntur.\(^5\)

*De famelicis servientibus ad Turcos fugientibus.*

CXXI
Milites quid facient? quidve servientes?
Exspectare reges se sunt hi poenitentes,
Ne per famem pereant igitur timentes
Turmatim effugiunt ad Turcos servientes.

*Quod nostri exeunt ad castra Saladini.*

CXXII
Tunc disponunt egredi ad castra Turcorum
Nostri, causa straminis et cibariorum,
Deputant custodiae sed prius\(^6\) castrorum
Cum Blesensi comite ducem Suevorum.

*Quumodo Turci exeunt de civitate a parte Pisanorum sed nostri eos reprimunt.*

CXXIII
Secus flumen igitur cum sint\(^7\) hospitati
Cives, igne plurimum et armis parati,
A Pisanis exeat, simul congregati,
Castra defensoribus destituta rati.

CXXIV
Igne Graeco machinas humectarunt\(^8\),
Assuetis\(^9\) spiculis viros sauciarunt\(^10\),
Donec ducis milites\(^11\) eos dissiparunt
Et plures per littora mortuos\(^12\) prostrarunt.

\(^1\) tunc cibaria, H.  \(^2\) domini, H.; domorum, R.  \(^3\) recluduntur, H.  \(^4\) famam, H.  \(^5\) The last two verses of stanza 70 are reversed in both Bamberg texts.  \(^6\) sed prius deputant custodiae, H.  \(^7\) ut sunt, H.  
\(^8\) Super aedificia focum jactitarunt, B.  \(^9\) usitatis, B.  \(^10\) sagittarunt, B.  \(^11\) milite, H.  \(^12\) Et per maris littora plurimos prostrarunt, B.
120
For at that time food was not found
For sale in the marketplace, but was dug up
In the floors of houses, where it was hidden away;
In this way the poor man and the rich man both suffered hunger.

The hungry servants escaping to the Turks.

121
What might the knights do? Or what might the servants do?
These were rueful that they had waited for the kings,
So, fearing that they might perish from hunger,
They fled in masses to the Turks, serving them.

Our men sallied out to the camps of Saladin.

122
Then our men planned to enter the camps of the Turks,
For the sake of straw and food,
But before that they appointed the Duke of Swabia
And the Count of Blois as the guardians of our camps.

How the Turks rallied out from the city at a contingent of Pisans, but our men suppressed them.

123
It went otherwise: for when the Pisans were encamped at the river,
The Turks in the city, most of them equipped with fire and weapons,
Rallied out at them, gathered together,
Thinking the camp was abandoned by its defenders.

124
They wetted the machines with Greek fire,
They wounded men with the customary arrows,
Until the soldiers of the Duke lay them waste
And lay out the many dead by the shore.

---

122 November 12, 1190. The Count of Blois was Theobald V; he and his brother Stephen, the count of Sancerre, both perished during the siege (see stanza 164).
CXXV
Tunc de nostris januam plures\(^1\) intravere,
Et ad muros alii scalas portavere,
Qui\(^2\) potiri moenibus urbis speravere\(^3\),
Nisi quia tenebrae noctis vetuere.

Quomodo Saladinus pugna et dolis fatigaverit nostros donec ad castra redeunt.

CXXVI
Ad nostrum exercitum versus Saladinum
Properantem, circueunt juxta matutinum
Turci die tertia post Sanctum Martinum\(^4\),
Donec castra collocant\(^5\) supra montis sinum.

CXXVII
Saladinus subdolus castra concremavit\(^6\),
Et ad montes properans ibi latitavit
Nam ad praedam currere nostros aestimavit,
Quos onustos perdere pro ea\(^7\) speravit.

CXXVIII
Sed ut nostros aspicit non ire praedatum,
Universum dirigit ad nos equitatum
Vertunt ultra fluvium nostri comitatum,
Et de solo reeditu habent cogitatum.

CXXIX
Turci sunt acerrime nostros comitati\(^8\)
Dum coacti sistere castra sunt\(^9\) metati
Sed in die postera, procul absentati,
Nostris fiunt praevii ad postes fossati.

---
\(^1\) urbis inter januam quidam, B. Bf.  \(^2\) et, B. Bf.  \(^3\) putavere, B. Bf.  \(^4\) verse add. B. Bf.  \(^5\) collocant, H.  \\
\(^6\) subdolus remeavit, H.  \(^7\) penitus perdere, H.  \(^8\) nostris comminati, H.  \(^9\) sunt castra, H.
125
Then many of our men entered the gates,
And others carried ladders to the walls,
And hoped to gain possession of the city’s ramparts,
But the darkness of night prevented them.

*How Saladin wearied us with battle and ruses until our men returned to the camps.*

126
At early morning on the third day after
The feast of St. Martin, the Turks surrounded
Our army, which was hurrying towards Saladin
Until it set up camp over the crook of the mountain.

127
Cunning Saladin set ablaze his camp,
And hastening into the mountains lay hidden there;
For he judged us to run to plunder it,
Hoping to destroy us when we were burdened with loot.

128
But as he perceived us not going to plunder,
He directed all the cavalry at us;
They put our troops to flight across the river,
And they were thinking only of return.

129
The Turks pursued our men very fiercely;
When they were forced to stop, they pitched camp;
But, on the following day, after being put afar off,
They arose before our men at the posts of the entrenchment.
CXXX
A quibus conficitur ibi pugna dura
Prostratis militibus et equis per rura,
Christiani redeunt in castra secura,
Sic deinceps egredi quibus non est cura.

De nepote Clarimontensis comitis, et quibusdam aliis dolo captis.

CXXXI
Sed quia Theutonici in sancto Clemente,
Turcos effugaverunt de campo patente,
Exeuntes effugant in die sequente
Turcos quidam milites de Francorum gente.

CXXXII
Sed tunc in insidiis pagani latentes
Improviso cursitant, Francos colligentes
Inter morti deditos et captos viventes,
Sunt triginta milites et horum clientes.

De septem navibus Turcorum intrantibus civitatem nobis invitis.

CXXXIII
Dum nos de materia plasmati terrestri,
Et in arcto positi loco et sylvestri,
Tribulamur malleo nimium agresti,
Quod in festo vidimus audias Sylvestri.

CXXXIV
Septem victualibus naves oneratae
Christiani populi absque voluntate,
Receptae propatulo sunt in civitate,
Nec galeae nostrae sunt eis adversatae.

---

1 pro, B. Bf. 2 ingredi, H. 3 quibus om. in H. 4 de campo patente, H. 5 in sancto Clemente, H. 6 improvisi, H. 7 timori, H. 8 ferientes, B. Bf. 9 beati, B. Bf. 10 sine, B. Bf. 11 sunt propatulo, H.
By those men hard battle was waged there;
After knights and horses were strewn across the land,
The Christians returned to the secure camp;
Thereafter it was no concern for them to march out.

The nephew of the Count of Claremont and some others captured through cunning.

But because the Germans had put the Turks to flight
From the open field on Saint Clement’s,
Some knights of the French race, sallying out
The following day, put the Turks to flight.

But then the pagans, hiding in ambush,
Unexpectedly ran to and fro, binding up the French;
Between the dead ones left behind and the living ones captured,
There were thirty knights and their retinue.

The seven ships of the Turks entering the city against our will.

During that time we, formed of earthly material,
And placed in a narrow and savage place,
Were afflicted exceedingly, as by a wild hammer:
What we saw on the feast of Sylvester you should hear.

Seven ships loaded with provisions
Against the will of the Christian people
Were openly received in the city,
And our galleys did not oppose them.

131 November 23 and 24, 1190.
132 The Count of Claremont’s nephew was Guy III, the Butler of Senlis; his fate after being captured was unknown.
Quomodo tunc Theutonici viriliter expugnaverunt civitatem.

CXXXV
Tunc ibidem juxta me si tu praesens fores,
Cum armati circuunt villam bellatores,
Certe Theutonicorum jurares\(^1\) furores
Universis gentibus esse fortiores.

CXXXVI
Imbres nam missilium densos\(^2\) contempsere,
Ignis atque lapidum jactus pertulere,
Et muri fastigiis\(^3\) dum sperant haerere\(^4\),
Diminutis plurimis scalis corruere.

CXXXVII
Claruit hoc praelio gens Alemannorum,
Cujus nomen metuunt phalanges Turcorum,
Nam per negligentiam non stetit eorum
Quod non simus moenibus potiti\(^5\) murorum.

De duodecim navibus Turcorum naufragatis in portu.

CXXXVIII
Deus quoque pietas cujus cuncta regit,
Qui quos ab initio sibi praeelegit,
Licet sinat concuti, semper tamen tegit\(^6\),
Naves mirabiliter Turcorum\(^7\) confregit.

CXXXIX
Nam haerebant scopulis anchorae jactatae,
Neque victualia trahuntur\(^8\) de rate,
Fluctuum\(^9\) Cerauniis cum naves quassatae
Sunt in portus medio cunctae naufragatae.\(^10\)

---

\(^1\) jurasses, H. \(^2\) nam densos missilium imbres, H. \(^3\) fastigio, B. Bf.; flatigiis, M. \(^4\) inhaerere, B. Bf.
\(^5\) quod potiti moenibus non simus, B. Bf. \(^6\) regit, B. Bf. \(^7\) Turcorum mirabiliter, H. \(^8\) trahunt, H. \(^9\) ventorum, H.
\(^10\) In Herold’s text, stanzas 141-142 occur here instead of 137-138.
How the Germans at that time valiantly fought against the city.

135
If you had been present with me there and then,
When the armed warriors encircled the city,
Surely you would have judged the passion of the Germans
To be stronger than that of all other nations.

136
For they disdained the dense rain of missiles,
They endured thrown fire and stone,
And while they hoped to cling to the heights of the wall,
They fell to the ground, most of the ladders broken to pieces.

137
In this battle the nation of the Germans was distinguished,
Whose name the legions of Turks dreaded;
For it did not stand through their negligence
That we could not win control of the ramparts of the walls.

The twelve Turkish vessels shipwrecked in the port.

138
God, whose devotion rules all things,
Who from the beginning pre-elected us for Himself,
And who, though he may allow us to be struck, always protects us,
Wondrously broke asunder the ships of the Turks.

139
For the thrown anchors were stuck into the crags,
And the provisions had not been unloaded,
When all the ships, battered by waves like the Ceraunians,
Were shipwrecked in the middle of the port.

139 The Acroceraunian mountains lie in the western Balkans, in the former Greek region of Epirus.
De muro civitatis per imbrem diruto nihil nobis profuit.

CXL
Dum orationibus Virginis\(^1\) Mariae
Fulcimur et meritis Genitricis piae,
Audias quod accidit nobis quadam die
Jejunant vigiliam cum\(^2\) Epiphaniae.

CXLI
Nocte pluit\(^3\) integra nec\(^4\) mane sequente
Redeunt spectacula, sed Austro fremente
Crepitant tonitrua aethere candente,
Nix, imber cum grandine cadunt\(^5\) vehemente.

CXLII
Christus Dei filius, Deus ultionum,
Qui pro suis dimicat medio\(^6\) agonum,
Non gestando elypeum, lanceam vel conum\(^7\),
Urbis muros diruit, dans ad astra\(^8\) sonum.

CXLIII
Idem olim Jerico moenia\(^9\) prostravit,
Quam Hebraeus populus bonis spoliavit,
Sed Acconis muros dum ipse dissipavit,
Ad murum Christicola nullus propinquavit.

CXLIV
Licet nostris pluvia det impedimenta,
Non fuit militia nostra tamen lenta
Adaptare\(^10\) bellica membris instrumenta\(^11\),
Et a longe premere\(^12\) equos et jumenta.

CXLV
Periit\(^13\) audacia militum Francorum,
Quae quondam cacumina transcendens\(^14\) murorum
Effugabat millia trecenta Turcorum,
Sicut Gesta referunt Antiochenorum.

---

The wall of the city broken apart in a storm, which was not advantageous to us at all.

140
While we were supported by the prayers and the merits
Of the Virgin Mary, the devoted Mother of God,
You should hear what happened to us on a certain day
When we fasted on the vigil of Epiphany.

141
It rained the whole night and the spectacle did not return
The following morning, but then with the roaring south wind,
Thunder cracked in the falling sky,
And snow and rain fell down, with furious hail.

142
Christ the son of God, the God of vengeance,
Who for His own fights in the thick of battle,
Not by carrying a shield, lance, or crest,
Destroyed the walls of the city, sending up a din to the stars.

143
The same One once laid low the walls of Jericho,
Which despoiled the Hebrew people of its goods;
But when He lay waste the walls of Acre,
No worshipper of Christ approached them.

144
Although the rains gave hindrances to our men,
Nevertheless our troops were not slow
To fit warlike equipment to their limbs,
And from a far distance mount horses and beasts of burden.

145
But the boldness of the French soldiers vanished,
Who had once climbed over the heights of walls
And driven away thirty thousand Turks,
As the Gesta Antiochenorum relates.

---

142 The wall at Acre collapsed on January 5, 1191.
145 The Gesta Antiochenorum (Deeds of the Antiochians) may be a forerunner to the Chanson d’Antioche, a historical narrative poem of the Old French Crusade Cycle about the siege of Antioch during the First Crusade.
CXLVI
Si tantum cum machinis de muro stravissent,
Certatim ad moenia cuncti cucurrissent\(^1\)
Sed virtute Domini cum moniti essent\(^2\),
Promptiores aggredi esse\(^3\) debuissent.

Quomodo Turci ascendunt tumulum quem fecimus.

CXLVII
Dum in natalitiis Sancti Fabiani
Pranderent ad tertiam horam Christiani,
Exeunt de moenibus bis mille pagani
Qui nuper intraverant, facti oppidani.

CXLVIII
Gradualem tumulum\(^4\), quem nostri fecerunt,
Pulsis\(^5\) operariis, statim conscenderunt,
Pauci tamen milites eos fugaverunt,
Et eos in foveis urbis prostraverunt.

De quodam insultu noctu facto.

CXLIX
Cum sit exercitio dies destinata,
Et dicatur otio nox esse dicata\(^6\),
Nocte tamen colitur Agnes qua Beata,
Ad pugnam egreditur Deo gens\(^7\) ingrata.

CL
Non diurno praelio fuit satiata,
Sed de nocte veniens caterva densata,
Est cum igne spicula Graeco jaculata,
Super nostros vigiles stantes ad fossam\(^8\).

---
\(^1\) credo cucurrissent, H.  \(^2\) muri corruisset, B. Bf.  \(^3\) eos, H.  \(^4\) grandualem tumulum, B. R.; grandualem tumulum, H.; prandualem tumulum, M.  \(^5\) fusis, B.  \(^6\) destinata, H.  \(^7\) gens Deo, H.  \(^8\) fossam, H.
If they had only spread out with machines around the city,
They all would have surely run to the walls;
But when they were admonished by the strength of the Lord,
They ought to have advanced more quickly.

*How the Turks ascended the mound we had made.*

While on the anniversary of Saint Fabian
The Christians ate at the third hour,
There came out from the walls two thousand pagans,
Who had recently entered, becoming city-dwellers.

Straightaway they climbed the graded mound
That our men had made, striking down the laborers;
Yet a few knights put them to flight,
And laid them low in the trenches of the city.

*An attack made in the night.*

Although it was a day intended for training
And the night was said to be devoted to leisure,
Nevertheless on the night on which the Blessed Agnes is venerated,
The nation disagreeable to God went out to battle.

They were not satisfied with battle by day,
But coming by night in a dense crowd,
They hurled spears tipped with Greek fire
Over our watchmen standing in the trenches.

---

January 20, 1191.
CLI
Illorum clamoribus\textsuperscript{1} nostri perturbantur,
Et, nox licet obviet, statim congregantur
Pagani velociter in urbem\textsuperscript{2} fugantur.
Sed utrinque plurimi prius sauciantur.

Quomodo Marchio frustra tentat expugnare Turrim Muscarum.

CLII
Ratione notum est satis evidenti,
Et fide cognovimus hoc experimenti,
Quantum exercitui det\textsuperscript{3} impedimenti,
Turris quam in medio portus pulsant venti.

CLIII
Ut hanc ergo\textsuperscript{4} Marchio possit vendicare,
Fabricatus citius vervex sulcat mare
Sed cum crebris ictibus debet hanc quassare
Ipsum cogunt scopuli longius astare.

CLIV
Ut quod nil proficeret labor hic cognovit
Furens, stridens, Marchio machinam removit,
Cum fatorum serie fortunam devovit,
Et suam Beelzebub qui sic turrim fovit.

De quodam Polino qui prodebat nostros servientes.

CLV
Martis idus septimo, nostri servientes,
Ut herbas colligerent, foras incedentes,
A Polino proditos, longe discurrentes,
Sarraceni capiunt, in dolis latentes.

\textsuperscript{1} a quorum tumultibus, H. \textsuperscript{2} in urbem velociter, B. Bf. \textsuperscript{3} dat, H. \textsuperscript{4} ergo hanc, H.
Our men were disturbed by their clamor, and, although
The night hindered them, they assembled straightaway;
   The pagans swiftly escaped into the city.
   But before that many on both sides were wounded.

*How the Marquis in vain attempted to conquer the Tower of Flies.*

It was known well enough by clear reason,
   And we knew by faith in experience
How much difficulty to the army that tower gave,
   Which the winds whipped in the middle of the port.

So that the Marquis could take it over,
   A battering ram, crafted quite quickly, ploughed the sea;
   But while the Marquis should have battered the tower with repeated blows,
   The rocks forced him to stand far off.

As he knew this effort would profit nothing,
   Raging, hissing, the Marquis removed the machine.
   He cursed Fortune along with the set of Fates,
   And their Beelzebub who sustained the tower thus.

*A certain Polinus, who betrayed our servants.*

On the seventh day before the Ides of March,
   Our servants, going outside to gather herbs,
And wandering far away, were betrayed by Polinus:
   The Saracens, hiding in ambush, captured them.

---

151

152

153

154

155

154 Beelzebub was an ancient Philistine deity identified as a demon in the Old Testament. The reference here may reflect a mistaken belief of the Crusaders that Acre was actually the Biblical city of Ekron (mentioned in 2 Kings chpt. 1), where Beelzebub was worshipped. In Hebrew, *beelzebub* means “lord of the flies”, which would also relate him to the Tower of Flies.
De contraria fortuna ob nostra peccata et de morte praelatorum et baronum.

CLVI
Praetermisso quoties muris erumpentes
Aut a\textsuperscript{1} campis subito nobis\textsuperscript{2} irruentes,
Turci captivaverant\textsuperscript{3} nostros servientes,
Prosequamur alia, parum divertentes.

CLVII
Ob totius populi labem et peccatum
Fortunam contrariam sensimus et fatum,
Quae nostrum ancipitem diuque rotatum
In profundum mergere non desistunt statum.

CLVIII
O nequam et infida series fatorum!
O crudelis Atropos! Pessima sororum!
Numquid simul rumpere vis Christianorum
Fila, quos\textsuperscript{4} praesidio privas praelatorum?

CLIX
Ut enim haereditas nostri Salvatoris,
Crucifixi patria, domus Redemptoris,
Venit ad extranei manum possessoris,
Perdidit auxilii multum et honoris.

De morte Gregorii et Urbani Papae.

CLX
Primo nam\textsuperscript{5} Gregorium statim post Urbanum,
Utrumque pontificem perdidit Romanum,
Qui de Jerosolima tyrannum profanum
Habuerunt animum effugandi\textsuperscript{6} sanum.

\textsuperscript{1} atque, H. \textsuperscript{2} nobis subito, H. \textsuperscript{3} captivaverunt, H. \textsuperscript{4} quod, H. \textsuperscript{5} namque, B. Bf. \textsuperscript{6} profugandi, H.
The adverse fortune on account of our sins, and the deaths of prelates and barons.

156
Passing over how many times the Turks, breaking out from the walls
Or suddenly rushing us from the fields,
Had taken our servants captive,
Let us regard other matters, diverging a little.

157
On account of the fault and sin of all the people,
We perceived that Fate and Fortune were against us,
Who did not cease to plunge our wavering
And long-whirling state into the deep.

158
O wicked and faithless set of Fates!
O cruel Atropos! Worst of the sisters!
If surely you wished to break the threads of the Christians,
Would you not rob them of the protection of the prelates?

159
Thus as the inheritance of our Savior,
The homeland of the Crucified, the house of the Redeemer,
Came into the hand of the foreign possessor,
It lost much of aid and honor.

The deaths of Popes Gregory and Urban.

160
For in the first place, it lost Gregory
Immediately after Urban; both were Roman pontiffs
Who had sound mind to put the profane
Tyrant to flight from Jerusalem.

Urban III died in October 1187; his successor, Gregory VIII, died December of the same year, only two months later.
De morte Henrici et Guillelmi regum Angliae et Siciliae.

CLXI
Post Henricum inclytum regem Anglicorum1
Et Guillelmum2 nobilem regem Siculorum,
Qui suis praesidiis sunt Christianorum
Tutati reliquias de manu3 Turcorum.

De morte Archiepiscopi Ravennatis et Episcopi Faventini.

CLXII
Quisquis archipraesulem novit4 Ravennatem,
Faventini praesulis atque probitatem,
Ob illorum obitum Christianitatem
Seit tulisse maximam incommoditatem5.

De morte Langravii.

CLXIII
Sed quid dignum6 referam nobilis Langravi7?
Corporis et animi fuit vir8 magna vi
In Dei servitio, qui labore gravi
Consumptus in reditu periit9 in navi.

De morte Comitum Theobaldi et Stephani qui fuerunt fratres.

CLXIV
Adventus laudabilis comitum duorum
Theobaldi, Stephani, fratrum germanorum,
Gaudium infuderat mentibus Francorum,
Sed hos nimis vulnerat cita mors eorum.

---

1 Anglorum, H. 2 Guillermum, H. 3 manibus, H. 4 noverit, H. 5 verse om. H. 6 digna, H. 7 lantgravi, B. R. 8 vir add. B. 9 transiit, B.
The deaths of Henry, King of England, and William, King of Sicily.

161
After him went Henry, renowned King of the English,
   And noble William, King of the Sicilians,
   Who in their terms had protected the rest
   Of the Christians from the hands of the Turks.

The deaths of the Archbishop of Ravenna and the Bishop of Faenza.

162
Everyone knew the Archbishop of Ravenna,
   And the goodness of the Bishop of Faenza;
   With the deaths of those men, Christianity
   Knew it had borne the greatest misfortune.

The death of the Landgrave.

163
But what worthy thing shall I relate of the noble Landgrave?
   He was a man with great strength of mind and body
      In the service of God, who, consumed
   With heavy work, perished on the ship in return.

The deaths of Counts Theobald and Stephen, who were brothers.

164
The laudable arrival of the two counts,
   Theobald and Stephen, brothers from the same parents,
      Poured gladness into the minds of the French,
   But their swift deaths wounded them profoundly.

161 King William II of Sicily spent much of his reign maneuvering against the Holy Roman Empire and the Byzantine Empire, but he also staged an attack against Saladin in Egypt in 1174. One of his admirals, Margarito, provided naval support to the Christian defenders of Tripoli in 1188. William died in 1189.

163 The Landgrave, who goes unnamed in this poem, was Ludwig III, Landgrave of Thuringia. He died while crossing the sea on a voyage back to the West.

164 Theobald V, Count of Blois, and Stephen I, Count of Sancerre.
De morte Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.

CLXV
Sanctus Archipontifex Cantuariensis, 
Populum consilio fovens\(^1\) et expensis, 
Militonum coetibus catervatus densis, 
Recreabat pauperes sumptibus immensis.

CLXVI
Quem\(^2\) sic postquam vineae\(^3\) mors\(^4\) intentum vidit, 
Tanti operarii fructibus invidit, 
Vitae filum\(^5\) protinus illius succidit 
Clerus, plebs, cum milite quare vestes scidit.

De morte Archiepiscopi Bisuntini et ducis Suevorum Imperatoris filii.

CLXVII
Hinc archiepiscopus, gemma clericorum, 
Bisuntinus obiit, duxque Suevorum, 
Qui nisi\(^6\) contraria foret sors fatorum, 
Stravisset innumeratas acies Turcorum.

CLXVIII
Nam ut fuit proprio privatus parente, 
Qui velut praediximus stipatus ingente 
Turba venit militum, factus est repente 
De torrente stabilis, tepens de fervente.

De magna fame.

CLXIX
Sic nostris\(^7\) baronibus in necessitatis 
Destituti tempore sumus et praelatis 
Aliisque plurimis\(^8\) non hic nominatis, 
Nobis adversantibus cum fortuna fatis\(^9\)

---

\(^1\) fovit, B. \(^2\) quae, H. \(^3\) unicae, M. \(^4\) mors add. B. \(^5\) filium, H. \(^6\) qui nisi, H. \(^7\) istis, H. \(^8\) pluribus, H. \(^9\) puniente peccata Deo nostra satis, B.
The death of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

165

The holy Archbishop of Canterbury,  
Supporting the people with counsel and expenses,  
Thronged by a dense contingent of men-at-arms,  
Restored the poor at immense costs.

166

So afterward Death saw this ardent man in the vineyard:  
He envied the fruits of so great a laborer;  
He cut off the thread of his life immediately,  
For which the cleric, the layman, and the knight rent their garments.

The deaths of the Archbishop of Besancon, and the Duke of Swabia, the Emperor’s son.

167

Next the Archbishop of Besancon,  
Jewel of clerics, died, and the Duke of Swabia,  
Who, had the sister of the Fates not been against us,  
Would have laid low the unnumbered battle lines of the Turks.

168

For, as he was deprived of his own parent,  
Who, as we have said before, came surrounded  
With a huge host of knights, all at once he was made  
Firm in the torrent, cool in the blazing heat.

The great famine.

169

Thus in the time of need we were bereft  
Of our barons and prelates, and so many others  
Not named here, the Fates with Fortune  
Opposing us!

---

168 The Duke of Swabia died during the famine in winter 1191. Curiously absent from this list of notable losses is the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Eraclius, who had also been present at the siege, and also died during the winter.
CLXX
Et in verbo dicere veritatis tibi
Possunt qui tunc temporis remanserunt ibi,
Quod sunt indigentiam tantam passi cibi,
Quod nescimus similem ab antiquis scribi.

CLXXI
Ploratu cibaria grandi quae reabantur
Pro jugi inedia pauci consolantur,
Sed si quando forsitan inveniebantur,
Cum amaris poculis fletus miscebantur.

CLXXII
Idem cibus dominum et equum alebat,
Nam cum equo dominus panem dividebat,
Herbas quas periculo mortis colligebat
Equus crudus, dominus coctas comedebat.

CLXXIII
In tanta penuria rerum edendarum,
Nos in Quadragesima cibis equinarum
Recreamur carnium et camelinarum
Aliis rodentibus textas carublarum.

CLXXIV
Multi qui divitias suas aliquando
Fuderant pauperibus, eas erogando,
Nihil sumunt, exules facti mendicando
Quare diem ultimum claudunt jejunando.

Quod pontifices statuunt eleemosynas fieri.

CLXXV
Tunc sacri pontifices sacrique praelati,
Principes Ecclesiae sanctae deputati,
Vincula poenitentibus relaxant peccati
Qui de suis conferunt tantae paupertati.

---

1 gravi cibaria, H. 2 nec quarentes quoniam non sic, H. 3 fletu, H. 4 recreabamur, B. 5 sancti, H. 6 vincula, H. 7 reserant, H.
And in word of truth those who at that time
Remained there can tell you
That we suffered so great a lack of food,
That we do not know of a similar thing recorded by the ancients.

With heavy wailing sustenance was sought:
For the constant hunger, few were comforted,
   But if ever by chance it was found,
   Tears were mixed with bitter drinks.

The same food nourished lord and horse alike,
For the lord divided his bread with his horse;
The horse ate raw the herbs which he collected
At danger of death, and the lord ate them cooked.

In such great scarcity of things to eat,
We were restored during Lent with foods
   Of horse meat and camel meat,
While others were gnawing on the husks of carobs.

Many who once poured out their wealth
To the poor by disbursing it,
Spent nothing, and were made begging wanderers;
Because of this they closed their last day in fasting.

_The bishops determined that an alms collection be made._

Then the holy pontiffs and holy prelates,
The appointed leaders of the holy Church,
Loosed the chains of sin for the penitent ones
Who in such great need contributed from their own belongings.

---

170 At this time, Marquis Conrad had returned to Tyre with the promise that he would send supplies and food to the army at Acre. He failed to keep his word, and many Crusaders turned bitter towards him. The _Itinerarium peregrinorum_ records this in detail; the author of our poem neglects to mention it altogether.
CLXXVI
Ut habere valeant hanc remissionem
Omnes largam faciunt erogationem,
Post cordis munditiam et confessionem\textsuperscript{1}
Sed praelati faciunt distributionem.

CLXXVII
Ut tantae participes sint remissionis,
Prae cordis munditia\textsuperscript{2} et confessionis,
Erogant de propriis omnes large bonis,
Onus ferunt praesules distributionis.

*Quomodo mitigatur fames.*

CLXXVIII
Ut\textsuperscript{3} haec eleemosyna coepit erogari,
Iram Dei protinus sensimus placari
Intuemur etenim eminus a mari
Nobis victualia navibus portari.

*Quanti vendebantur victualia.*

CLXXIX
Tunc farinae modius sex minus centenis
Vendebatur aureis, frumenti sex denis,
Hordeique modium\textsuperscript{4} dabant quadragenis,
Reperto vix furfure aureis septenis.

CLXXX
Tres in uno solidi pomo donabantur,
Viginti nuciunculae pro nummo dabantur
Ficus pro denario septem vendebantur;
Pruna cum amygdalis decem emebantur.\textsuperscript{5}

---

\textsuperscript{1} verse add. B.  \textsuperscript{2} mundicia, R.; mundiciam, B.  \textsuperscript{3} et, H.  \textsuperscript{4} modicum, B.  \textsuperscript{5} Stanza 180 is omitted in Herold’s text.
So that they could have this remission,
Everyone made a large payment,
After cleanness of heart and confession;
But the prelates made the distribution.

As they were partaking of such remission,
Before cleanness of heart and confession
Everyone paid abundantly from their own goods;
The bishops bore the burden of distribution.

How the famine was subdued.

As these alms began to be dispersed,
We sensed right away that the wrath of God was placated;
For we beheld far off on the sea
Provisions being carried to us by ships.

At what price provisions were being sold.

At that time a pack of flour was sold for six less
Than a hundred gold coins, a pack of grain for sixty,
And they sold a pack of barley for forty;
Bran, obtained with difficulty, went for seventy gold coins.

Three Solids were paid for one apple;
For a coin, twenty nuts were bought;
Seven figs were sold for a dinar;
Ten plums were bought with almonds.

---

176-177 These two stanzas appear to be duplicates of one another.
180 The dinar was an Islamic currency derived from the Roman denarius.
De miraculo alleviatae famis.

CLXXXI
Pro praedicto pretio nequibat frumenti
Reperiri modius die praecedenti,
Qui dabatur publice cuivis offerenti
Pro duobus aureis¹, in die sequenti.

CLXXXII
O mire potentia Summae Deitatis!
Quae² tam mirabiliter onus paupertatis
Christianis abstulit, gravis egestatis
Tempora temporibus mutans ubertatis.

Quomodo Rex Franciae venit et expugnavit civitatem.

CLXXXIII
Sabbato post Domini resurrectionem,
Philippus rex Franciae veniens Acconem,
Totam mentis operam et intentionem
Circa villae posuit expugnationem.

CLXXXIV
Secus turris igitur maledictae latus
Erigit petrarias, illic hospitatus,
Aliasque machinas necnon apparatus,
Quorum murus ictibus corruat³ quassatus.

CLXXXV
Dumque muros dissipat impletque fossata
Quae profunda fuerant admodumque lata,
Instrumenta plurima sunt ibi cremata,
Aliisque variis modis dissipata.

¹ duos vel tres aureos, H. ² qui, H. ³ corruat ictibus, H.
The miracle of the lifting of the famine.

181
For the aforementioned price, a pack of grain
Could not be obtained on the preceding day;
It was given out publicly for two gold coins
To anyone who offered them on the following day.

182
O astonishing power of the Highest Deity,
Who so miraculously took away from the Christians
The burden of the pauper, changing times
Of heavy want to times of fullness!

How the King of France came and fought against the city.

183
On the Saturday after the Resurrection of the Lord,
Philip, the King of France, arriving at Acre,
Put all the work and intention of his mind
Toward the overthrow of the city.

184
So he erected catapults along the side
Of the Accursed Tower, where he was encamped,
Along with other engines and equipment,
By whose blows the broken wall would be demolished.

185
But while he devastated the walls and filled in the trenches,
Which were quite deep and wide,
Most of the machines there were burned,
And by various other means destroyed.

---

183 Philip arrived on April 20, 1191.
184 The Accursed Tower, standing at the corner of the northern and western walls of the city, was so called by Christians because, according to legend, the silver coins that Judas Iscariot had been paid to betray Jesus were used to build that tower.
De rege Angliae divertente Cyprum, eamque subjugante.

CLXXXVI
Interim rex inclitus Angliae\(^1\) Ricardus
Qui fama tunc floruit\(^2\) ut odore nardus,
Metuendus hostibus sicut feris pardus,
Cyprum iter verterat\(^3\), licet suis tardus.

CLXXXVII
Nam tyrannus insulae, turbo pietatis,
Tribus ibi navibus regis naufragatis,
Homines recluserat\(^4\), manibus\(^5\) ligatis,
Equis, victualibus, armis usurpatis.

CLXXXVIII
Sed a rege reddere cuncta postulatur
Negat, pugnat, vincitur\(^6\), fugit, vinculatur
Digna factis ultio digne compensatur,
Captivator hominum modo captivatur.

CLXXXIX
Vicis\(^7\), castris, urribus\(^8\) Cypri subjugatis,
Plene\(^9\) licet\(^10\) faveant, rex\(^11\) addenda fatis\(^12\)
Cogitat\(^13\) calcaria. Nondum\(^14\) ergo datis
Ventis, intrat pelagus, fluctibus iratis.

De quadam navi Turcorum onerata Graeco igne et armis, volente intrare civitatem, quam ita expugnavit rex Anglorum quod tota penitus submersa est cum omnibus in ea contentis.

CXC
Dum Acconem satagit iter maturare,
Navi magnae contigis molis\(^15\) obviare,
Quam Acconem commperit velle rex intrare\(^16\),
Et Turcis praesidia maxima portare.

---

\(^1\) Angliae inclitus, H. \(^2\) per famam redolet, H. \(^3\) tunc venerat, H. \(^4\) includerat, H. O. \(^5\) navibus, H. \(^6\) vincit, H. O. \(^7\) victis, H. \(^8\) orbibus, M. \(^9\) plane, M. \(^10\) licet add. B. \(^11\) regi, H. \(^12\) addendaque satis, H. \(^13\) cogitent, H. \(^14\) mundum, H. \(^15\) molis contigit, H. \(^16\) rex velle intrare, H.; velle remigare, B.
The King of England digressing in Cyprus, and subjugating it.

186

Meanwhile Richard, the illustrious King of England,
Who in fame at that time flourished like the scent of nard,
Worthy to be feared by enemies like a panther by wild animals,
Had turned his path toward Cyprus, although he was late for his own men.

187

For the tyrant of the island, disruptor of bounden duty,
When three of the King’s ships had been shipwrecked there,
  Imprisoned the men with their hands bound,
  And took over their horses, provisions, and arms.

188

But the King demanded that everything be returned:
The tyrant refused, he fought, he was defeated, he fled, he was shackled;
Worthy revenge was worthily exacted by these deeds:
The captor of men in this way was made captive.

189

After the villages, castles, and cities of Cyprus were subjugated,
The king considered spurring on the Fates, although they would
  Favor him fully. Therefore, when the winds had not yet
  Been given, he entered the open sea in raging waves.

A certain ship of the Turks, loaded with Greek fire and weapons, intending to enter the city, which
the English King so overpowered that the whole was utterly submerged, with all its cargo in it.

190

While the voyage to Acre was rushing to make time,
  It happened to meet a ship of great size,
Which the king discovered was intending to enter Acre
  And carry tremendous aid to the Turks.

---

186 For a much fuller account of Richard’s actions in Cyprus, see the Itininerarium peregrinorum et gesta
187 The tyrant was Isaac Dukas Comnenus, a man noted for his violent and unstable nature. Richard’s
sister, Joan, and fiancée, Berengaria, was among those who were shipwrecked and captured by Isaac.
CXCI
Ad hanc ergo galeae cunctae congregantur,
Sonant tubae, classica, tympana pulsantur,
Exseruntur gladii, arcus sinuantur,
Et ad instar grandinis spiculae vibrantur.

CXCII
At Turci de caveis, ut de castro forti,
Ictu nostros, lapidis ut tormento torti,
Sudibus et jaculis tribuentes morti,
Metum nostrae maximum 2 ingerunt cohorti.

CXCIII
Sed per vocem regiam sese resumentes,
Turcos vexant 3 acius supereminentes,
Jaculorum verubus caveis figentes,
Nostros tamen reprimunt igne perfundentes.

CXCIV
Sed dum navis rumpitur rostris galearum,
Ignis, sudes, jacula, profuere parum
Nam dum illos sorbuit puteus aquarum,
Esca fiunt 5 volucrum atque beluarum.

CXCV
Armis potentissimi periere mille,
Quos si forte moenia recepissent 6 villae,
Nunquam hos devinceret iste rex vel ille,
Nec occurrens 7 Graecia tota cum Achille.

Quomodo Rex Angliae venit Acconem.

CXCVI
Versus Accon igitur malus incurvatur,
Oculis navigium aequora furatur,
Christianus populus gaudens gratulatur,
Et confusus 8 ethnicus dolet et turbatur.

1 et om. H.  2 proximum, M.  3 vexat, H.  4 et, H. O.  5 fuerunt, H.  6 recepissent moenia, H. O.  7 currens, H.
8 confusus, H.
Therefore all the galleys were assembled toward this;
Horns sounded calls to arms, drums resounded,
Swords were brandished, bows were bent,
And arrows were hurled like a hailstorm.

And the Turks from the hatches, as from a mighty stronghold,
Sending our men to Death by the blows of stones
Thrusted as by a catapult, along with stakes and arrows,
Poured tremendous fear into our cohort.

But the Christians, regrouping themselves at the voice of the king,
Ravaged the insurmountable Turks more fiercely,
Pierced into the hatches with the tips of their javelins;
Yet they pushed our men back, soaking them with fire.

But when the ship was broken asunder by the rostra of our galleys,
Fire, stakes, and arrows were less present;
For when the watery grave swallowed them,
They became the carrion of birds and beasts.

A thousand almighty men perished in arms;
If by chance the walls of the city had received them,
No king would ever have overcome them,
Nor all of Greece arriving with Achilles.

How the King of England arrived at Acre.

Therefore towards Acre the mast was bent;
The fleet hid the sea from the eyes;
The glad Christian people rejoiced,
And the confounded heathen was troubled and distraught.
De machinis comitis Flandriae regi datis.

CXCVII
Instrumenta protinus jubet praeparari,
Sed, ne vacet interim, comitis praeclari
Flandrensis petrarias poscit sibi dari,
Omnes flebant obitum cujus tanquam cari.

De rege Franciae murum ascendente cum suis ex altera parte.

CXCVIII
Ruptis propugnaculis muros turres stratata
Parte sed ex2 altera qui jam explanarat
Primi muros ordinis, alios quassarat,
Rex Francorum scandere civitatem3 parat.

CXCIX
Milites appositis scalis ascendebant,
Sed hos igne liquido Turci perfundebant,
Et his4 murum insimul sese opponebant
Aliunde5 neminem quoniam6 timebant.

Quomodo Anglicis non pugnantibus Marescalcus Franciae obiit.

CC
Nam7 suum8 rex Angliae castrum expectabat,
Nec de suis interim quisquam dimicabat.
Illuc9 omnis Asiae manus acclinabat,
Ubi sola Franciae virtus10 impugnabat11.

CCI
Miles strenuissimus inclytus et fortis,
Marescalcus Franciae, militum cohortis
Rector, ibi subiit12 dirae13 jura mortis,
Quem planxit exercitus lacrymis obortis.

1 stratat, M. 2 ex om. H. 3 civitatem scandere, H. 4 hos, O.; his, St. 5 et aliunde, H. 6 quum tunc, H. 7 jam, H. 8 secum, O. 9 illic, H. 10 manus, B. 11 pugnabat, H. 12 solvit, H. O. 13 piae, B.
The machines of the Count of Flanders given to the King.

197
Immediately the King ordered machines to be prepared,
But, so that he would not be idle in the meantime, he asked for the catapults
Of the distinguished Count of Flanders to be given to him,
Whose death everyone grieved, as for a beloved one.

The King of France mounting the wall with his own men from another side.

198
After the ramparts were demolished, he brought down the walls and towers;
But from another side, the King of the French, who had already
Made flat the first ring of walls, and was smashing
The others, prepared to scale the city.

199
The soldiers ascended the walls with ladders at hand,
But the Turks poured liquid fire over them,
And together opposed them like a wall in themselves,
For they were not afraid of anyone from another place.

How the Marshal of France died, while the English were not fighting.

200
For the King of England waited in his own camp,
And meanwhile did not fight against any of their men.
There the hand of all Asia leaned,
Where alone the virtue of France opposed it.

201
A most energetic knight, illustrious and brave,
The Marshal of France, commander of a cohort
Of knights, there suffered the claim of dreadful Death;
The army mourned him with tears welling up.

---

198 The two kings constructed a large catapult nicknamed Malvoisine (Bad Neighbor). The Turks constructed their own machine inside the walls, nicknamed Mal Cousine (Bad Relative). The French had another machine they dubbed “God’s Stonethrower”.

200 King Richard was ill with a disease called arnaldia, which caused fever, hair loss, and peeling skin. Philip had suffered from the same disease after his own arrival.

201 The Marshal was Aubry Clement, who perished after a brave stand at the top of the walls.
Quomodo Francis cadentibus non terretur rex.

CCII
Duxit ergo cedere Gallica juventus,
Sed hinc\(^1\) non efficitur seignior vel lentus\(^2\)
Nec est primo diruto muro rex contentus,
   Ad stragem alterius ordinis intentus\(^3\).

De Turri Maledicta caesa, tonsa, et quassata.

CCIII
Eminebat ibidem Turris Maledicta,
Quondam solo nomine, nunc re maledicta,
   Supertonsa\(^4\) machinis, sub tus facta crypta
   Qua defensa civitas olim\(^5\), nunc victa.

CCIV
Nam quadris lapidibus undique sublatis,
   Omnen jam amiserat robur firmitatis,
   Columnis et postibus sub tus coaptatis,
   Ruitura\(^6\) funditus, tantum concrematis.

Quod Turci timentes ruinam turris offerunt civilatem.

CCV
Lapsu\(^7\) turris igitur territi timore,
   Pessimo in\(^8\) dubiis rebus suggestore,
   Turci, contumaciae\(^9\) posito furore,
   Civitatem offerunt supplicantum\(^10\) more.

De controversia Christianorum et Turcorum per Marchionem sedata.

CCVI
Ablata restitui cuncta, Christianis
   Cum captivis, postulant reges a paganis
   Dum fit controversia super his\(^11\) immanis,
   Hanc diremit Marchio doctus in mundanis.

---

\(^1\) hic, H. \(^2\) retentus, M. \(^3\) contentus, H. \(^4\) supertenta, B. \(^5\) olim civitas, H. \(^6\) ruituris, H. \(^7\) lapsus, H. \(^8\) etiam, H. \(^9\) pertinaciae, B. \(^10\) supplicantum, H. \(^11\) his om. H.
How the King was not upset by the French falling back.

202
Thus the Gallic youth led them in withdraw,
But from this he was made neither idle nor slow;
The King was not content with the first wall being demolished,
Intent on breaching the next ring of walls.

The Accursed Tower cut, sheared, and smashed.

203
In that very place the Accursed Tower stood eminent,
Formerly by name only, now accursed in deed,
Sheared off by the war engines, passages made beneath it;
Where the city was once defended, now it was overthrown.

204
For, after the square stones on all sides were taken down,
Now it had lost all strength of stability,
When the columns and posts fitted together beneath it
Were so consumed by fire, ruined from the very foundation.

The Turks, fearful at the ruin of the tower, offered up the city.

205
Overcome at the fall of the tower with fear,
The worst counselor in uncertain matters,
The Turks, having put aside their rage of obstinacy,
Offered up the city in the manner of supplicants.

The dispute of Christians and Turks, calmed by the Marquis.

206
The kings demanded from the pagans that all things taken away
Be restored, along with the Christian captives;
When there was a huge dispute over these things,
The Marquis came between them, expert in the ways of the world.

---

204 The tower had been undermined by sappers who removed the stone foundations of the tower and replaced them with wooden beams, which were then set ablaze, leading to its collapse.

205 The Turks had first sought to surrender on July 4, but Richard refused their terms. After a few more battles, the official surrender took place on July 12.
CCVII
Procurandam etenim hanc per Marchionem
Rogaverunt compositionem.
Ad tollendam igitur dubitationem
De promissis tribuunt sese cautem.

De rebus cum civitate redditis.

CCVIII
Urbem, supplentilem, arma reddidere,
Captivos cum navibus, quotquot habuere
Urbis inter moenia, quadrigentos fere
Vestes tamen retinent, quas jam incisere.

De his quos Saladinus nobis reddere promisit.

CCIX
Saladinus etiam ad vota nostrorum
Dans electos milites centum, aliorum
Captivorum corpora mille quingentorun,
Cum ducentis millibus spondet aureorum.

CCX
Lignum quoque redditur pretiosae Crucis,
Lignum in quo calicem passionis trucid
Ebiberunt viscera gloriosi Ducis,
Suggerente Principe tenebrosae Lucis.

De vexillis regum positis in civitate.

CCXI
Juramento placuit pactum confirmari,
Et vexillis regis turres titulari,
Tunc videres pueros senes gratulari,
Et victori Domino laudes modulari.

---

1 ordiaverunt, O. 2 sese dederunt, H. 3 jam om. H. 4 reddere, H. O.; reddit, St. 5 reddi quoque debuit, H.; signum quoque reddere, B. R. 6 regis, H. 7 speculari, H. 8 de victoria laudes Domino, H. O.
In fact, the kings had arranged that the oversight
Of this agreement would be carried out by the Marquis;
In this way, to remove any doubt about their promises,
They assigned themselves a surety.

The things given over along with the city.

The city, equipment, and arms the Turks handed over,
Along with the captives in the ships, and however many they held
Within the walls of the city, nearly four-hundred;
Yet they retained their vestments, which they now rent apart.

The things that Saladin promised to render to us.

Then Saladin, sending a hundred chosen soldiers,
Pledged the bodies of one thousand five hundred
Other captives, according to our wishes,
Along with two hundred thousand pieces of gold.

The wood of the precious Cross was also pledged,
The wood on which the flesh of the glorious
Leader drank from the chalice of the cruel Passion,
When the Prince of Light was brought under darkness.

The standards of the kings put up in the city.

It was agreed that the pact would be confirmed by oath,
And the towers would be adorned with the royal banners:
At that time you could see boys and old men rejoice,
And hymns of praise struck up to the Lord the victor.

---

210 The True Cross, widely believed to be the remains of the actual cross that Christ had died on.
211 When the banners were put up, Richard caused a scene by kicking the standards of Duke Leopold of Austria off the walls in a show of disdain. Leopold did not forgive this insult, and a few years later captured and imprisoned Richard in his castle as the king was returning from the crusade.
Descriptio temporis quo fuit capta civitas.

CCXII
A natali Domini mille ducentorum
Novem minus spatium fluxerat annorum,
Accon fere circulis obsessa duorum,
Idus quarto Julii redditur annorum.¹

Quomodo reges discordantur capta civitate.

CCXIII
Postquam reges moenibus urbis sunt potiti,
Arma, victualia, vades sunt partiti,
Quamque² diu foverant³ intendentes liti,
Simulatae foedera pacis sunt obliti.

CCXIV
Dum enim rex Angliæ protegit Guidonem,
E contra rex Franciae fovens marchionem,
Illi suam tribuit terrae portionem,
Parat hic ad propriam dum reversionem.

Quomodo Saladinus noluit attendere pactum veniente termino.

CCXV
Imminebat terminus datus a paganis,
Quo ipsi spoponderant Crucem Christianis
Nec vult plebem sinere cor iniqui canis
Induratum, redimens tempus verbis vanis.

Quomodo rex Angliæ fecit interfici obsides Turcorum.

CCXVI
Coram tabernaculis igitur Turcorum
Jugulari corpora clarus rex Anglorum
Plusquam tria millia jubeat captivorum,
Pro reddenda vadium Cruce relictorum.

¹ The Bamberg MS ends here. ² quam quod, H. ³ foveant, O.
A description of the time when the city was captured.

212

The length of time since the birth of the Lord extended
Nine less than twelve-hundred years;
Acre was besieged in rounds for nearly two years;
On the fourth Ides of July it was given over.

How the kings quarreled after the city was captured.

213

After the kings gained possession of the walls of the city,
Arms, provisions, and sureties were divided,
And, striving towards the dispute which they had fomented over a long time,
They forgot the treaties of feigned peace.

214

For while the King of England defended Guy,
The King of France on the contrary favored the Marquis:
The King granted to the Marquis his own portion of the land,
While he himself made preparation to turn back.

How Saladin did not want to heed the pact when the term came.

215

The date given by the pagans when they promised
The Cross to the Christians was imminent;
But the hardened heart of the godless dog did not want to allow it
To the people, buying time with empty words.

How the King of England massacred the Turkish hostages.

216

Therefore publicly in the pavilions of the Turks
The illustrious King of the English ordered the bodies
Of more than three-thousand of the hostages to be cut across the throat,
To repay the abandoned guarantees on the Cross.

---

214 The dispute was over the legitimacy of Guy’s claim to the throne, and whether Conrad should take the throne in his place. As a result of the fighting, King Philip abandoned the crusade in disgust and returned to France.

215 The Muslim historians tell that Saladin had asked for his hundred soldiers back before handing over the agreed upon items. Richard demanded to see his part of the deal first, and Saladin in response withheld everything.
De auro invento in visceribus occisorum.

CCXVII
Inhumane carnifex coepit desaevire,
Quod referre\(^1\) nefas\(^2\) est, taedium audire,
Ita vidi plurimos aureos sitire,
Ut aurum in viscera vadant exhaure.

CCXVIII
Nec illorum sufficit stercora lavari,
Sed jubentur corpora flammis concremari,
Tunc videres cineres cribro ventilari,
Et ab hisdem rutilans aurum sequestrari.

CCXIX
Nam haec plena plurimis dolis gens per ora
Aureos reconderat in\(^3\) interioa,
Quos emittens postea per inferiora,
Assumebat iterum sero vel aurora.

De corrigis et felle ab eorum lateribus et hepate raptis.

CCXX
At\(^4\) plures corrigis arcus incurvabant,
Illoa lateribus quas excoriabant,
Raptum fel ab hepate\(^5\) reliqui portabant,
Quo pleni nequitia Turci redundabant.

De gaudio innato nobis ex morte eorum qui Crucem promiserant.

CCXXI
Talia conspiciens quisquis gratulatur,
Quod in illos Dominus sic se ulciscatur,\(^6\)
Qui Crucem promiserant in qua designatur
Ejus mortis passio, nobis vita datur.

\(^1\) quodque ferre, O. \(^2\) nephas, R. \(^3\) in add. O. \(^4\) et, H. \(^5\) epate, O. \(^6\) The Oxford MS ends here.
The gold found in the entrails of the slain men.

217
The executioner began to rage violently,
Which in an atrocity to recall and an abomination to hear;
I saw so many thirsting for gold pieces,
That they rushed forward to take out the gold from the victims’ bowels.

218
Yet it did not suffice for the excrement of those men to be washed,
But the bodies were ordered to be burned in flames;
Then you would see the ashes being scattered frequently,
And from out of those ashes gold, glowing red, being set aside.

219
For with very great craftiness this entire people through the mouth
In their interior parts concealed the gold,
Which, after discharging it through the inferior parts,
Again they assumed at dusk or dawn.

The straps and gall taken from their sides and liver.

220
And many bows were bent with straps
That they flayed from the victims’ sides;
The rest carried gall taken from the liver,
Where the Turks, full of malice, flowed over.

The gladness in us at the deaths of those who had promised the Cross.

221
Whoever saw such things rejoiced,
Because on those men the Lord took His vengeance,
Who had promised the Cross on which the Passion
Of His death was assigned, and life was given to us.
De provisione Dei civitas nobis reddita fuit per pactum.

CCXXII
Dei factum creditur hoc provisione
Quod urbs nobis reddita fuit pactione,
Fraudati fuerimus licet sponsione
Super Crucis, regibus facta datione.

CCXXIII
Nam qui cruciatibus digna patravere,
Mortem quam meruerant ipsi pertulere,
At nostrorum acies salvae perstiter:
Protegente Domino pro Quo pugnavere.

CCXXIV
Saladinus etiam fide leviori
A suis habebitur, qui permisit mori
Hos per avaritiam; at nos Creatori
Melos demus, digitum imponentes ori.
Through the providence of God, the city was given over to us by treaty.

222
It is believed to have been through the providence of God
That the city was rendered to us by treaty,
Even though we were defrauded in the agreement
Over the giving of the Cross made by the kings.

223
For those who had done things worthy of torment
Had suffered the death that they merited,
And our ranks had persevered unharmed,
Protected by the Lord for Whom we had fought.

224
So Saladin will be held by us
In lighter faith, who allowed those men to die
Through his avarice; and let us now give up a hymn
To the Creator, putting a finger to the mouth.

After the siege of Acre, the crusading army, now led by Richard alone, pushed on towards Jerusalem, winning a victory over Saladin at the Battle of Arsuf in September 1191, and capturing the city of Jaffa soon after. The following summer, Saladin retook Jaffa, only to lose it again to Richard. Afterwards, the two armies came to a truce that would divide the Holy Land between the Crusaders and the Muslims. Jerusalem remained in Muslim hands, but Christian pilgrimages to the city were freely granted. Saladin perished the following year.

Conrad of Montferrat was elected as the new King of Jerusalem over Guy of Lusignan. Richard gave Guy complete ownership of Cyprus as compensation, where he lived out his days as ruler of the island. Conrad’s victory was short-lived, however, as he was assassinated by the Hashshashin- a shadowy group led by the mysterious Old Man of the Mountain- days before his coronation.

Upon returning to Europe, Richard was kidnapped by Duke Leopold of Austria, whom he had insulted at Acre. He was held in captivity by the Duke until being given over to the Holy Roman Emperor, who ransomed him for his freedom. He was released and returned to England in 1194. He died in 1199 while besieging a castle in France, after a wound from a crossbow bolt became infected.

Six years after the close of the Third Crusade, in 1198, a new crusade was called to recapture Jerusalem. By the end, there would be a total of nine crusades, and Jerusalem ultimately remained under Islamic control. In 1291, exactly one hundred years after the Christian conquest of Acre, the city was retaken by Muslim forces after another bloody siege, and with its fall, the Crusader presence in the Near East vanished into memory.
APPENDIX

Maps

(1) The Near East
(2) The City of Acre

Facsimiles of the Manuscripts

(3) Larger Bamberg manuscript, Msc. Patr. 130. 2.
(4) Bamberg fragment, Msc. Patr. 130. 2.
Die Entdeckung des Phänomens der stationären elektrischen Felder.

Im Zuge der Forschungen in den 1920er Jahren wurde das Phänomen der stationären elektrischen Felder untersucht.


Durch die Analyse der Messdaten konnte eine Analyse der künstlichen Energiezuführung ermöglicht werden.

Die wissenschaftliche Methode ermöglichte die Prüfung der spezifischen Mechanismen der Elektrizitätserzeugung.

Die Arbeiten führten zu einer Verbesserung der Leistung und zu einer eindeutigeren Vorhersage der Effizienz der Energiewandlung.