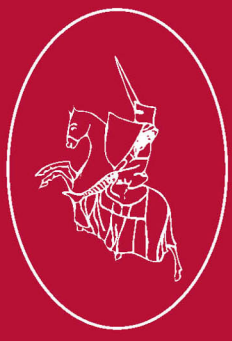
Albert of Aachen's *History of the Journey to Jerusalem*

Volume 2: Books 7–12. The Early History of the Latin States, 1099–1119



Translated by Susan B. Edgington

CRUSADE TEXTS IN TRANSLATION

CRUSADE TEXTS IN TRANSLATION

Volume 25

About the volume

Albert of Aachen's *History of the Journey to Jerusalem* presents the story of the First Crusade (1095–1099) and the first generation of Latin settlers in the Levant (1099–1119). Volume 2, *The Early History of the Latin States*, provides a surprising level of detail about the reign of King Baldwin I (1100–1119), especially its earlier years and the crusading expeditions of 1101. It offers much more detail than the only other substantial Latin account of the same events, by Fulcher of Chartres, and where it can be tested against other narratives, including Arabic and Greek sources, it proves to be worthy of both trust and respect. Susan B. Edgington's English translation has been widely praised, following its first publication in the Oxford Medieval Texts series, and is here presented with a new introduction and updated notes and bibliography.

About the series

The crusading movement, which originated in the 11th century and lasted beyond the 16th, bequeathed to its future historians a legacy of sources which are unrivalled in their range and variety. These sources document in fascinating detail the motivations and viewpoints, military efforts and spiritual lives of the participants in the crusades. They also narrate the internal histories of the states and societies which crusaders established or supported in the many regions where they fought, as well as those of their opponents. Some of these sources have been translated in the past but the vast majority have been available only in their original language. The goal of this series is to provide a wide ranging corpus of texts, most of them translated for the first time, which will illuminate the history of the crusades and the crusader-states from every angle, including that of their principal adversaries, the Muslim powers of the Middle East.

About the translator

Susan B. Edgington is a Senior Research Fellow at Queen Mary, University of London, UK

For Hannah and Rebekah, Emma and Anne

ALBERT OF AACHEN'S *HISTORY OF THE JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM*

Crusade Texts in Translation

Editorial Board

Malcolm Barber (Reading), Peter Edbury (Cardiff),
Bernard Hamilton (Nottingham), Norman Housley (Leicester),
Peter Jackson (Keele)

Titles in the series include

Mary Fisher
The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin
A History of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190–1331

Peter Lock
Marino Sanudo Torsello, The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross
Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis

Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham
The *Chanson d'Antioche*
An Old French Account of the First Crusade

Denys Pringle
Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291

Carol Sweetenham
Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade
Historia Iherosolimitana

Damian J. Smith and Helena Buffery
The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon
A Translation of the Medieval Catalan *Llibre dels Fets*

Albert of Aachen's *History of the Journey to Jerusalem*

Volume 2: Books 7–12. The Early History of the Latin States, 1099–1119

Translated by

SUSAN B. EDGINGTON
Queen Mary, University of London, UK

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2013 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © 2013 Susan B. Edgington

Susan B. Edgington has asserted her right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the translator of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:
Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Albert, of Aachen, 11th–12th cent.
Albert Aachen's History of the Journey to Jerusalem. Volume 2. Books 7–12, The Early history of the Latin States, 1099–1119. –
(Crusade Texts in Translation ; v. 25)
1. Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, d. 1118 – Early works to 1800. 2. Jerusalem – History – Latin Kingdom, 1099-1244 – Early works to 1800.
I. Title II. Series III. History of the journey to Jerusalem IV. Edgington, Susan.
956.9'4032-dc23

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Albert, of Aachen, 11th–12th cent.
[Historia Ierosolimitana. English]
Albert of Aachen's History of the Journey to Jerusalem / translated and edited by Susan B. Edgington.
pages cm. – (Crusade texts in Translation; 24, 25)
Translated from the Latin.
An earlier version of this work was published in one volume under the title Historia Ierosolimitana: history of the journey to Jerusalem by Clarendon Press in 2007. The current edition is presented with a new introduction and updated notes and bibliography. Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Crusades--First, 1096–1099--Early works to 1800. 2. Jerusalem--History – Latin Kingdom, 1099–1244 – Early works to 1800. I. Edgington, Susan, translator, editor.
II. Title.
D161.A4313 2013
956'.014–dc23 2012044663

ISBN 9781409466536 (pbk)

Contents

Maps vii

Abbreviations ix

Preface xi

Introduction 1

Book 7 11

Book 8 59

Book 9 85

Book 10 123

Book 11 153

Book 12 181

Appendix 1: People 209

Appendix 2: Places 223

Bibliography 229

Cumulative Index 235

This page intentionally left blank

Maps

1	The Latin States	xii
2	Routes across Europe, 1101	xiii

This page intentionally left blank

Abbreviations

AA	Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, (ed. and trans.) Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
AA SS	*Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto urbe coluntur: vel a catholicis scriptoris celebrantur quae ex latinis et greacis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis*, (ed.) Johannies Bollandus and Godefridus Henschenius (2nd edn, 70 vols and supplement, Brussels, Paris and Rome, 1863–)
AK	Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, (trans.) E. R. A. Sewter, rev. edn. Peter Frankopan (London: Penguin, 2009)
Anon. Syriac	A. S. Tritton, 'The first and second crusades from an anonymous Syriac chronicle', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 92 (1933), 69–101, 273–305
BD	*Baldrici episcopi Dolensis Historia Jerosolimitana, RHC Occ* 4. 1–111
BN	*Bartolf of Nangis, Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium, RHC Occ* 3: 491–543
Caffaro, *Ann. Ian.*	*Annales Ianuenses*, (ed.) L. T. Belgrano, *Annali Genovesi*, i (*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 11, Genoa, 1890): 3–75
Caffaro, *Breuis*	*Historia Regni Iherosolimitani Brevis Historia, Annali Genovesi*, 1: 127–46
Caffaro, *Lib. Or.*	*De liberatio civitatum Orientis liber, Annali Genovesi*, 1: 99–124
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*
EA	*Ekkehardi abbatis Uraugiensis Hierosolymita, RHC Occ* 5: 1–40
EI^2	*Encyclopedia of Islam* (2nd edn, 10 vols in 11, Leiden, 1954–2000)
FC	*Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095–1127), (ed.) Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913)
GN	Guibertus abbas S. Mariae Nogenti, *Dei gesta per Francos*, (ed.) Robert B. C. Huygens, *CCCM*, 127A (Turnhout, 1996)

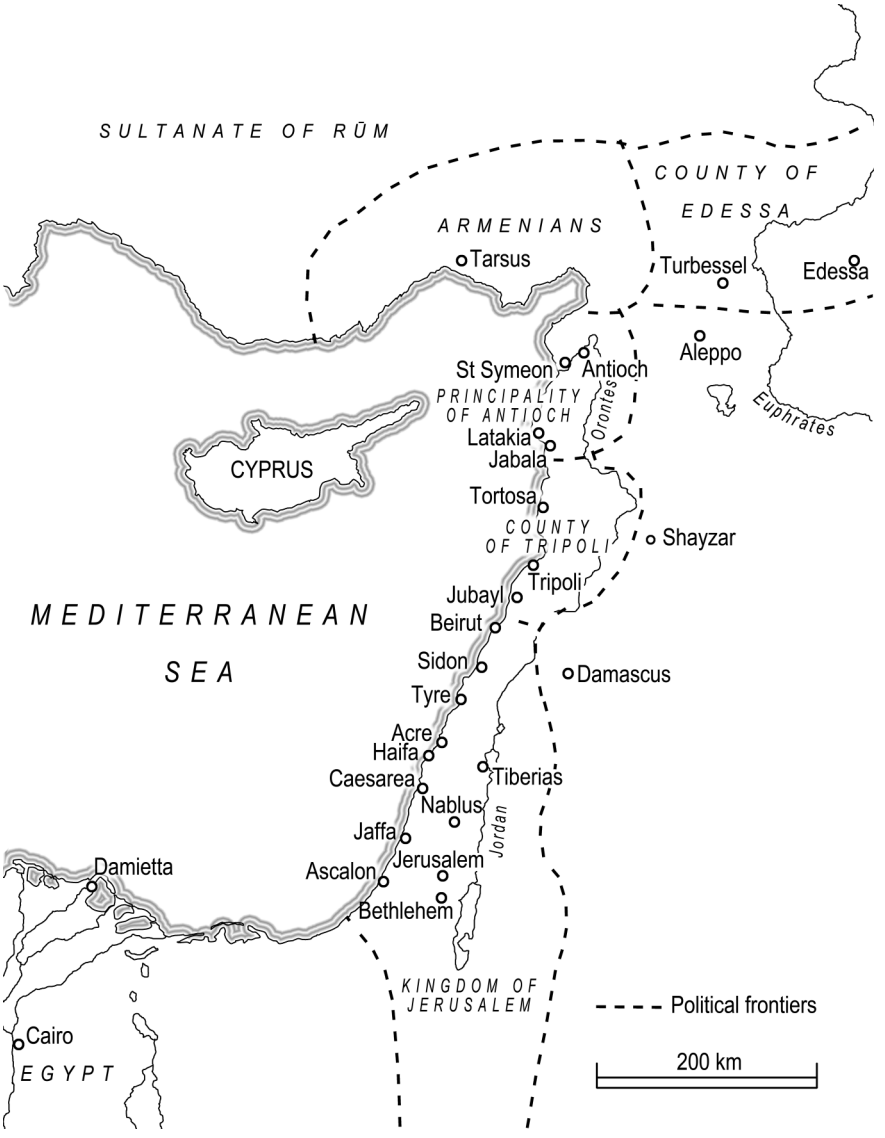
HL	*Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon: Dichterisches Formelgut von Ennius bis zum Archipoeta* (5 vols, Munich, 1979–83)
IA	Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, (trans.) D. S. Richards, vol. 1: 1097–1146 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
IQ	Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, (ed.) H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1932)
ME	Ara E. Dostourian (trans.), *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham, 1993)
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, (ed.) G. H. Pertz et al. (32 vols, Hanover, Weimar, Stuttgart and Cologne, 1826–1934)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd edn, 20 vols, Oxford, 1989)
OV	*The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, (ed. and trans.) Marjorie Chibnall (6 vols, OMT, 1969–80)
RC	Ralph of Caen, (trans.) Bernard S. and David S. Bachrach, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005)
RHC	*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, (ed.) Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Paris, 1841–1906)
RHC Arm	*RHC, Historiens Arméniens* (2 vols, Paris, 1869, 1906)
RHC Occ	*RHC, Historiens Occidenteaux* (5 vols, Paris, 1844–95)
RHC Or	*RHC Historiens Orientaux* (5 vols, Paris 1872–1906)
RR	*Regesta regni hierosolymitani*, (ed.) Reinhold Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1894); *Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1904)
RS	The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls ('Rolls series') (99 vols, London, 1858–96)
WC	Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, (ed.) H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896)
Wisconsin History	*A History of the Crusades*, (ed.) Kenneth M. Setton et al. (6 vols, Madison, WI, 1969–89)
WM	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, (ed.) R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (2 vols, OMT, 1998–99)
WT	William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, (ed.) Robert B. C. Huygens, *CCCM*, 63–63A (Turnhout, 1986)

Preface

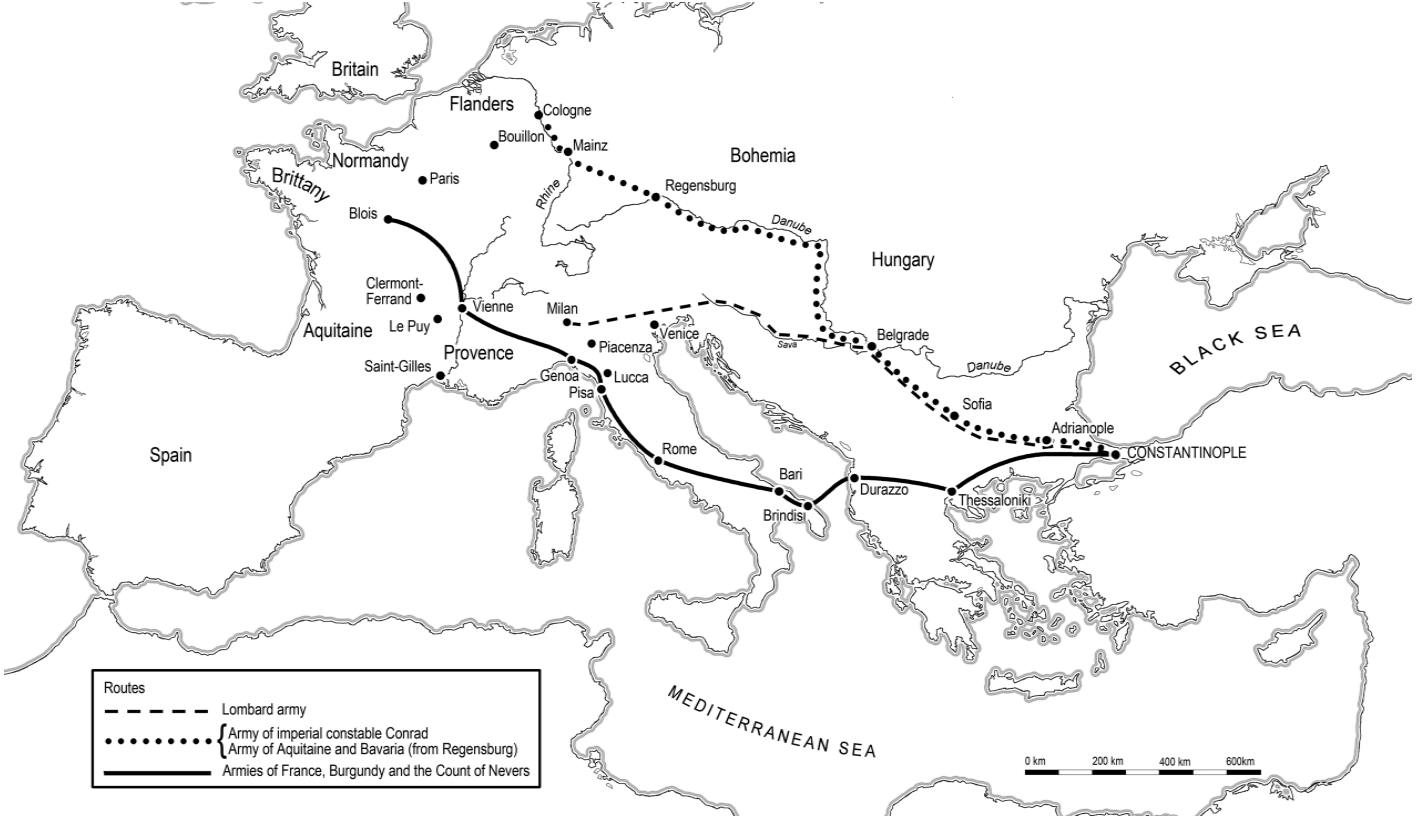
The publication of this paperback translation of Albert of Aachen's *History* is the culmination of a lifetime's work: I started to edit the *History* as my PhD thesis at the age of 21; I celebrated the publication of the edition and translation by Oxford Medieval Texts on my sixtieth birthday, and now, six years later, I offer the translation, with updated introduction and notes, in a format which I hope will be accessible to students and all others who are interested in the First Crusade and the early years of the crusaders' settlement in the Latin East. Practical considerations have governed the decision to divide the work into two volumes and it falls quite neatly into two parts. The first volume (1095–99) recounted events of the First Crusade, well known from other sources but from a different perspective. This volume, covering 1099–1119, offers Albert's account of events of the first twenty years of the Latin states in unparalleled detail. Both are worth reading!

I am especially grateful to Oxford University Press for granting permission to publish the translation in this version. I have previously acknowledged the numerous libraries and individuals who have assisted me along the way. For this version of the book I thank in addition Chris Worthington for hours spent preparing the maps. I also want to pay tribute to the very many colleagues and students whose insights and challenges have often led me to rethink my conclusions and assumptions, and whose company has been a pleasure along the way. I have also been fortunate in good friends and in my family. I now have four granddaughters and I hope, when they are older, they will enjoy reading this book. So this is for them.

SUSAN B. EDGINGTON
January 2013



Map 1 The Latin States



Map 2 Routes across Europe, 1101

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

The *Historia Ierosolimitana*

This second volume contains books seven to twelve of Albert of Aachen's twelve-book *Historia Ierosolimitana*. The Latin title is difficult to translate in a few words: it is 'the story of people and things to do with Jerusalem'. The *Historia* as a whole offers a long and detailed account of events between 1095 and 1119: the First Crusade (Books 1–6) and the careers of the first generation of Latin settlers in Outremer (Books 7–12). For the earlier period, covered in Volume 1, its great value is that its author apparently did not know the contemporary accounts written by Fulcher of Chartres and others.[1] Since these histories were to an extent interdependent, Albert's very different perspective on the same events is at the same time invaluable and – where his evidence differs from theirs – problematical. The situation is quite different for the continuation of the story beyond 1100. Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia* is the invaluable eye-witness source for the reigns of King Baldwin I and II (to 1127). No other Latin source offers a continuous, contemporary narrative. However, for the first time we have a comparable Arabic source by Ibn al-Qalānisī (covering 1097–1159).[2] The survival of three detailed and entirely independent accounts of the same period enables extensive comparison and corroboration as shown in the footnotes to this translation.

The Author

We know very little about the author himself. The name 'Albert' (or 'Adalbert') is not found on the earliest manuscripts and seems to have emerged in the thirteenth century.[3] That the writer lived in or near Aachen in the Rhineland is not seriously

---

[1] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, (ed.) R. Hill (London, 1962); *Le "Liber" de Raymond d'Aguilers*, (ed.) J. H. and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1969); Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, (ed.) H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913) [FC]. See the introduction and notes to Volume 1.

[2] *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, extracted and translated from the chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānisī*, by H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1932).

[3] The name is found in the first part of manuscript E and in its copies. Although E is the earliest extant copy of the *Historia*, the opening chapters are in a different hand and appear to have been written in the early part of the thirteenth century. More detail on this and other manuscript-related matters are to be found in the introduction to my edition: Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, (ed. and trans.) S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007) [*AA*].

in doubt. He has detailed knowledge of people and places in that region and a special interest in the crusaders whose homes were there. Also, where we know the origins of the manuscripts they are from this area. However, we have no concrete evidence to help us identify our Albert. The records from Aachen are patchy for the first decades of the twelfth century. They record an Adalbert as witness to a charter in 1134 and an Albert in 1158.[4] Both men were canons of St Mary's in Aachen which was probably Albert's church,[5] but the dates may be rather late, since the author Albert was probably born before 1080 (see below). Since there was a church dedicated to St Adalbert in Aachen, Albert (or Adalbert) was probably a popular name there. Although it is unsatisfactory to know so little about the author, it remains convenient to refer to him as Albert of Aachen.

There are very few personal insights within the *Historia*, but in his first chapter or prologue, Albert explains that he himself longed to go on crusade but was prevented from doing so, and therefore he decided to write an account instead. This suggests that Albert was of an age to join the expedition in 1096. He refers to hindrances ('impedimenta') and it is possible that he was, like other religious, forbidden by his superior to go.[6] He was born, by inference, no later than *c*.1080. As a canon of St Mary's, the cathedral church of Aachen, he will have received a monastic education, and he wrote serviceable Latin. He shows a rather superficial knowledge of classical literature, perhaps from reading anthologies ('florilegia') in the schoolroom. Predictably, he had a wider and deeper knowledge of the Old and New Testaments, though he never quoted at any length. It is impossible to guess, or deduce, whether Albert's native language was a form of French or German but he was apparently able to gather oral testimony from returning crusaders, and therefore probably had some facility in different vernacular dialects of northern France, Flanders and the Rhineland.

Dating

It is likely and logical that Albert wrote his prologue soon after the work was compiled, and hence it provides some clues to the date at which it was written. Albert says at the outset that the history concerns the journey and expedition to Jerusalem, that is, the First Crusade. He refers to the success of the campaign in opening the way to pilgrims, but he does not mention settlement, nor later expeditions, nor even the reign of Baldwin I (1100–18), all of which he chronicled in the second part of the *Historia* (Books 7–12). This strongly suggests that Albert's original intention was to write the history of the crusade, culminating

---

[4] P. Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart, 1966), p. 65; E. Meuthen, *Aachener Urkunden 1101–1250* (Bonn, 1972), pp. 175, 195.

[5] It figures in a vision (6. 36).

[6] See Pope Urban II's letter dated 19 Sept. 1096: H. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 137–8.

in the liberation of the Holy Places, an aim he achieved in Books 1–6. Whether there was ever a first redaction (covering 1095–99) in circulation cannot now be established, though its existence would satisfactorily explain why William of Tyre in his first eight books shares so much information uniquely with Albert, but there is no shared information after 1099.[7]

The first six books of the *Historia*, according to the evidence of the prologue, were written soon after the events they describe.[8] Books 7–12 cover the period from 1099, when many crusaders returned to Europe, to 1119, following Baldwin I's death and Baldwin II's accession. There is no satisfactory conclusion; in fact, the final chapter tells only half a tale: the massacre of 700 pilgrims by Bedouins and the king's determination to avenge them. Perhaps Albert's own death deprived us of his description of the battle of 'Ager Sanguinis', the Field of Blood, later the same year or it may be that the original text lost its final leaf or leaves before the extant copies were made: the earliest of these (E) is defective at both beginning and end.

The earliest date which is possible for the completion of Book 12 is thus 1119. Additional evidence that the work was finished within a decade of that date is its probable inclusion in the catalogue of the monastery at Egmond (Netherlands) where it was listed in 1128–30.[9] Although the author is not named, the volume comprised twelve books and was about the journey to Jerusalem. Further, there is palaeographical evidence: the main part of the earliest extant manuscript (E) appears to have been written in the second quarter of the twelfth century and a date in the 1120s or 1130s is quite possible.

Sources

A composition date in the first decade of the twelfth century is consistent with Albert's having used the tales of participants as his main source of information. He may have used written sources, but, as observed above, there is no evidence that Albert was familiar with any of the extant written accounts. In the nineteenth century, it was suggested that Albert used a 'lost Lotharingian chronicle', a theory that allowed historians to use Albert's text in a selective fashion: information of which they approved came from Albert's written source; material they rejected was legendary. As late as the 1960s Knoch advanced a variation on the theory, which is that both Albert and William of Tyre used the same lost written source, accounting

---

[7] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, (ed.) R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM*, 63–63A (Turnhout, 1986) [WT].

[8] See introduction to Volume 1.

[9] M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (3 vols, Munich, 1911–31), iii. 426: 'Sub … abbate Asclino Fredericus monachus hos libros scribi fecit … Isti libri circa annum domini MCXXVIII vel XXX scripti vel empti sunt … Item de profectione Ierosolimitana xii libri in uno vol.'

for the similarity of their narratives for the years 1095–99.[10] The difficulty is that no extrinsic trace of such a source survives, and since we can therefore have no idea of its putative content, we still have to evaluate Albert's information by comparison with other sources which do survive. A further argument against the 'lost Lotharingian chronicle' is that it has been proposed only as a source for the First Crusade. Albert's *Historia* continues until 1119 and many events after 1099 are described with different levels of detail and apparent accuracy.[11] More than one lost written source is even more unlikely.

Therefore it seems Albert did not use any known and extant written source when he wrote the *Historia*. He himself says that he compiled his *Historia* 'ex auditu at relatione' ('by listening to those who had been there and from their reports'), implying that he used oral sources.[12] This helps to explain certain features of the text which may be accounted either strengths or weaknesses. Firstly, the informants were self-selected: they both survived to tell the tale and they made the journey back to the Rhineland, which had implications for the type of stories they would tell. Furthermore, oral evidence is likely to be shaky on perceptions of number, of distance and of time, and vagaries of memory may lead to inaccuracies. Because personal and place names have only been heard, not seen written down, they have to be interpreted phonetically. More insidiously, people yield to the temptation to make a good story, to show themselves in a flattering light, to exaggerate the hardships, perhaps, and to minimize their own weaknesses. They are prone to hero-worship and susceptible to prejudice. Add to this the consideration that Albert was dealing not with a single informant but with a multiplicity of them, whose sometimes contradictory reports had to be recorded side by side, or else reconciled. All these characteristics of oral evidence are present in Albert's *Historia*.[13] They demand caution, but they also account for the *Historia*'s vivid readability.

Structure

The above observations on dating and sources assume that the same person ('Albert') wrote the entire work as we have it now. An examination of the writing style leaves little room for doubt that the *Historia* is the work of a single author.[14]

---

[10] For a resumé of the debate and a critique see Knoch, *Studien*, pp. 29–63; AA, p. 26.

[11] See C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord* (Paris, 1940), p. 16: '… surtout pour les années postérieures à la croisade, la comparaison minutieuse avec les sources syriennes de toutes langues ne peut pas ne pas remplir d'admiration celui qui s'y livre devant l'étendue et l'exactitude de la plupart des informations d'Albert.'

[12] See 1. 1 (preface to the work) and, for example, 8. 21.

[13] H. von Sybel subjected the *Historia* to a damning critique, identifying Albert's errors and contradictions: *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* (Leipzig, 1841); trans. as *The History and Literature of the Crusades* (London, 1861), pp. 159–96.

[14] For discussion and examples, see Edgington, *AA*, pp. xxviii–xxix.

Albert's attitude to his subject matter also seems to be consistent throughout the twelve books. For example, he recounts battles with enthusiasm from beginning to end; he has a slightly prurient attitude towards women (the renegade nun, 2. 37; the fate of women on the 1101 expeditions, 8. 19–20); his use of biblical and classical allusions and quotations shows no significant variation over the length of the work. The main discernible change in subject matter is between the incorporation of legendary, 'chanson'-style material into the first six books and the more sober narrative of Books 7–12. This surely reflects the fact that Albert's materials were more copious for the earlier period, 1095–99, presented in Volume 1. The numbers involved in the crusading expeditions and returning from them were greater, and letters and stories of survivors were correspondingly more common. There is a reflection of this in Albert's uniquely detailed account of the 1101 expeditions (Books 8 and 9), which must likewise have drawn on survivors' accounts.

The imbalance within the second six books is striking. Book 7 is a very long book (only equalled by Book 3 on the siege of Antioch) which tells of Baldwin I's expeditions and of the machinations of the patriarch, Daibert of Pisa. Book 8 recounts the wretched outcomes of the 1101 expeditions. In Books 9, 10, and 11 Albert returned to Baldwin I's military successes and reverses and to the struggle with Daibert (the books cover 1102–06; 1107–08; 1108–11 respectively). Book 12 continues to trace the history of the kingdom, but the pace accelerates sharply. Although it is one of the shortest books (with Books 8 and 11), it covers eight years and becomes more chronicle-like in construction,[15] with chapters beginning as follows:

'1. After this, in the eleventh year of his reign …
'17. In the year following King Baldwin's wedding …
'18. After this in the following year …
'19. In the second year after Mawdud's murder …
'21. In the third year after King Baldwin celebrated … the wedding
'31. In the second year of the reign of Baldwin of Bourcq …
'33. Likewise in that very same year …'

It is unlikely that this shift represents a conscious change of genre on Albert's part; rather, it seems to be a desperate, and not very successful, attempt to organize his increasingly sparse and sporadic material.

[15] 'The historian proceeds diffusely and elegantly, whereas the chronicler proceeds simply, gradually and briefly': Gervase of Canterbury, *c.*1188 (RS lxxiii), p. 87, quoted in M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to the Written Record* (London, 1979), p. 78.

Albert's Attitude to:

Crusaders

It has been contended that Albert wrote the *Historia* as a panegyric of Godfrey of Bouillon. This was discussed in the introduction to Volume 1 and is, anyway, less relevant to this volume because Godfrey's final illness and death, recorded in Book 7, chapters 18–21, brought the succession of Baldwin I, who ruled from 1100 to 1118. Since Baldwin was Godfrey's brother, however, Albert's focus on the house of Bouillon, and his identification with imperial interests and those of the Rhineland region are sustained through Books 7–12. This is demonstrated most clearly in Albert's depiction of the rival candidates for the patriarchate of Jerusalem. An interim patriarch, a Norman and therefore a 'northerner', Arnulf of Chocques, had been elected in 1099. Arnulf was a very controversial figure, but he had participated in the First Crusade and there is general agreement that he was a charismatic preacher.[16] Daibert of Pisa arrived after the capture of Jerusalem, appointed to replace Adhémar of Le Puy, the papal legate who died 1 August 1098. Albert's account of Daibert is hostile from the very outset, and Daibert's reported machinations occupy much of Books 7 and 10.[17] Albert's account is very much at odds with that of Fulcher of Chartres (followed by William of Tyre). The same independent (and arguably prejudiced) attitude is also to be found in Albert's references to Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the Provençals.

Byzantines

Albert's treatment of the Byzantines shows a notable lack of prejudice.[18] As evidence we have the way in which Albert describes the emperor Alexios Komnenos: not only does he refrain from negative qualifications, he frequently values him very positively, especially during the First Crusade.[19] Even after the capture of Antioch (1098) and Jerusalem (1099) Alexios welcomed a stream of visitors: in 1101 the Lombards (8. 1–7); Conrad (8. 6); the two Williams (8. 26); Welf and Ida (8. 34). In 1109, after Bohemond's attack on Dalmatia, he received Bertrand (11. 4). Albert also presents a balanced report of the disasters which befell the 1101 expeditions in Anatolia: he reports the rumour that the emperor deliberately caused Raymond to lead the pilgrims into the desert to be slaughtered by the Turks, but he goes on to say that reliable sources proved the emperor was entirely innocent and had in fact repeatedly warned the army about the difficulties.

---

16 See Volume 1, note to 6. 39.

17 For details and references see note to 7. 7.

18 See B. Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in westerse ogen 1096–1204* (Assen, 1971), pp. 84–9. She refers to Albert's 'simple and objective' rendering of the facts, and his 'exceptionally independent and impartial mindset'.

19 See introduction to Volume 1.

He rescued the remnant of the army and severely censured Raymond for the flight (8. 46). Albert is revealed once more as anti-Provençal, but not as anti-Byzantine. The worst epithet Albert applies to the Greeks, as a people, is 'effeminate': this occurs when they lost Myra to the Turks (12. 15). This is not an unusual prejudice among western writers. On the other hand, when Godfrey died in 1100, 'for five days there was very great lamentation and bitter weeping by all the Christians there – Gauls, Italians, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks' (7. 21). Whether Albert was truly unaware of doctrinal tensions between Latins, Greeks and other groups or if he was deliberately underplaying them, is a matter of speculation.

Muslims

Towards the Muslim enemy, Albert is no less remarkably impartial.[20] He usually refers to them simply as Turks or Saracens, and distinguishes between the two. He has an accurate idea of the Turks as former nomadic warriors, recent invaders of Byzantine lands and now the ruling elite over a large area. Their homeland, and the Saljuk Turkish Empire as a whole, he refers to as Khurasan; he uses 'Romania' (Rūm) for Turkish Asia Minor, formerly Byzantine ('Roman'). Saracens is always used for the Egyptians, and also for the indigenous population of Syria and Palestine. Less frequently, Albert refers to both peoples as 'gentiles'. He has some understanding of Islam and does not, like some other Christian writers, accuse the Muslims of idolatry.

Evaluation

The *Historia* is notably secular in outlook. There are comparatively few biblical, patristic or liturgical citations, and these are usually found in speeches made by the leaders. Albert's prose style is unsophisticated, but it is vividly descriptive. All of these features should be viewed as deliberate on Albert's part. There is no reason to doubt that he saw himself as inventing a new type of literature to match a new kind of enterprise, as he indicates in his own preface. What sort of audience he envisaged is hard to gauge.

Albert was apparently unaware of other narratives emerging from the same expedition. His *Historia* achieved a modest circulation within the Rhineland area. At some point that part dealing with the First Crusade (Books 1–6) was used by William of Tyre as one of the sources for his chronicle, and it was in this form that Albert influenced mainstream historiography of the First Crusade thereafter. Although the second part of the *Historia*, Books 7–12 translated here, contained much unique and important information, it was (and still is) widely disregarded. Manuscript copies of the *Historia* continued to be made until the sixteenth century,

[20] H. Szklenar, *Studien zum Bild des Orients in vorhöfischen deutschen Epen* (Göttingen, 1966), pp. 193–5.

and the first printed edition appeared in 1584, but during these centuries the work seems to have been little read. Although interest revived in the nineteenth century, the work was dismissed as too problematical to be useful to historians, and it is only in the last half-century that the value of its unique, independent and vividly detailed narrative has been recognized.

Manuscripts

Albert's original manuscript does not survive, but there are eleven manuscripts extant which contain complete, or almost complete, copies of the *Historia*.[21] In addition there is one which has lost significant portions (M) and another that survives only as fragments (J). They are as follows:

A Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 561 and 562 (Eberbach, s. xii)
B Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 5128 (Noyon?, s. xii^{ex})
C Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 509 (Utrecht, 1158)
D Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 1999 (s. xiii)
E Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 102 (Liège, s. xii^{med})
[**F** and **G** were assigned to the early editions, see below.]
H Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. fol. 677 (Gladbach, s. xii^{med})
J Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, MS xxxvii, 1808 (s. xii^{ex})
K Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ottob. lat. 631 (s. xii^{ex})
L Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 7317 (s. xv)
M Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, MS Cent. II. 100 (s. xv)
N Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1974/641 (Trier, s. xv)
O London, British Library, Additional MS 25440 (Liège, 1390)
P Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 66 No 33 (1517)

The modern edition, translated here, took ms E as its base and recorded variant readings from C, H, N, and A.

Previous Editions

1. Reinerus Reineccius, *Chronicon Hierosolymitanum* (Helmstedt, 1584). It was subtitled: 'De bello sacro historia, exposita libris xii, et nunc primum in lucem edita'. In the preface Reineck explained that the codex had been

[21] The manuscripts and their relationships are fully described in the edition: Edgington*, AA*, pp. xxxvii–liv.

given to him by Christian Distelmeyer (1552–1612), counsellor to the elector of Brandenburg. It was written on parchment and there was no author's name.

2. J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (2 vols, Hanover, 1611), i. 184–381. This was essentially a reprint of Reineck's edition, but Bongars was able to add the author's name. He owed this to David Hoeschel, who printed Albert's name in the preface to his *Alexiad*, having discovered it from J. Gretzer. The superscription on the manuscript in question read: 'Historia Hierosolymitanae expeditionis, edita ab Alberto, canonico et custode Aquensis Ecclesiae, super Passagio Godefridi de Bullione et aliorum principum.'
3. J. P. Migne, in vol. clxvi of the *Patrologia Latina* (1854), used Bongars edition verbatim.
4. Paul Meyer (ed.), Liber Christianae expeditionis pro ereptione, emundatione, restitutione sanctae Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: historiens occidentaux* (5 vols, Paris, 1841–1906), iv. 267–713. This was the first critical edition, but based on an unscientific selection of manuscripts available outside Germany, that is, disregarding three of the earliest and/or best ones.
5. Bernhard Kugler did not produce an edition of the *Historia*, although it is believed that he planned to do so.[22] However in two books, *Eine neue Handschrift der Chronik Alberts von Aachen* (Tübingen, 1893) and *Die Deutschen Codices Alberts von Aachen* (Tübingen, 1894), he did the groundwork for a new edition using the German manuscripts.

Translations

F. P. G. Guizot used the Bongars reimpression of Reineck's edition for his French translation, which appeared in two volumes as *Histoire des faits et gestes dans les régions d'Outre-mer*, volumes xx and xxi in *La Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1824). J. F. Michaud published long extracts from the *Historia*, translated into French, in his *Bibliothèque des croisades* (4 vols, Paris, 1829), i. 43–81. The translated passages were linked by summaries and paraphrases. H. Hefele, *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges* (2 vols, Jena, 1923), used Meyer's *Recueil* edition for his German translation. He added very few historical notes, and although there were sixteen illustrations, none was from an Albert manuscript. Albert is frequently quoted, particularly on the subject of the 'People's Crusade' of 1096, for which he has eye-witness status, but the first complete translation of the *Historia* into English accompanied my edition (Oxford Medieval Texts, 2007).

---

[22] H. Hagenmeyer, preface to edn. of Fulcher of Chartres (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 81 note 2.

This Translation

My aim was to provide a translation which is both accurate and readable. Sometimes this has entailed breaking up or rearranging Albert's very long sentences, or rendering active as passive, or vice versa. Albert rather frequently uses a singular (collective) noun with a plural verb; this has been silently amended except on a very few occasions where the change would be unreasonably pedantic.

A particular problem has been the rendering of names of people and places. For western European people, I have generally used the English equivalent for well known characters, e.g. Peter the Hermit (not Pierre or Pieter); for lesser known people I have not tried to be consistent, for example, Odo (not Eudes or Otto), but Rainald or Reinhard (depending on provenance) rather than Reginald. They are identified in *Appendix 1: People*. Greek characters have their modern transliterations, e.g. Alexios, Tatikios, Anna Komnene. Arabic and Turkish names are usually given in a form close to the one used by Albert in the text of the translation, and are identified in *Appendix 1* with a transliteration of Arabic names. (However, Arab historians' names are customarily used without diacritics.) Place names are even more problematical. Certain well known places have accepted 'crusader' names; for example, for Nicaea and Antioch it would not be sensible to insist on İznik and Antakya. Having made this decision, it seemed more faithful to the text to keep medieval renderings of less well known places: Philippopolis and Adrianople, rather than Plovdiv and Edirne, for instance. In two cases a modern term has been adopted to avoid confusion: the medieval 'Romania' represented Turkish lands conquered from the Greeks in Asia Minor and has been translated as Rūm; Albert's 'Babylonia' has been rendered as Egypt. Modern identifications of places are in *Appendix 2: Places*.

The historical notes correct dates and other matters of factual detail. They also provide references to other sources for the same events, which sometimes corroborate and sometimes conflict with Albert's account. They are intended to complete the rehabilitation of Albert as an indispensable resource for historians of the First Crusade and the first generation of settlement in the Latin East.