

been included in brackets and highlighted in bold. Important or interesting variations in wording between the letter to R. and the other two letters are indicated in the notes. Many minor stylistic variations, however, are not indicated. Unless otherwise stated, all references to the letter to Duke Henry are to the 1880 edition of the *Chronica regia Coloniensis* by G. Waitz²⁶ and indicated by the abbreviation *DHL*. Significant differences between this edition of the letter to Henry of Louvain and three earlier, less definitive editions are noted as warranted.²⁷ All references to the letter edited by Martène and Durand are indicated by the abbreviation M/D.

The Letter of Hugh of Saint Pol to R. of Balues

Hugh, count of Saint Pol, to his very dear friend and vassal, R. of Balues, greetings and sincere affection:²⁸

To you (regarding whom I commend myself quite copiously)²⁹ I offer great thanks for the diligent care that you have expended on my lands. You should know that, after I quit my lands, I had nothing from any source, except what I was able to acquire and win. Indeed, on the night preceding the day on which the city surrendered itself to us, I had fallen into such poverty that it was necessary for me to exchange my surcoat for bread, although I kept my horses and weapons. Yet, now I am safe, sound, and wealthy, and greatly honored by all. Notwithstanding, I am quite anxious about my lands and my loans³⁰ because, if I return (God willing), I will return burdened with many debts, and it is in my interest that they

²⁶ MGH Script. rer. Germ., 18:203-208.

²⁷ Hugo comes Sancti-Pauli, "De expugnata per Latinos urbe Constantinopoli," *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet, 24 vols., (Paris, 1738-1904), 18:517-519 (hereafter *RHGF*); "Hugonis, comitis Sancti Pauli, epistola de expugnata per Latinos urbe Constantinopoli," *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, eds. G. L. Fr. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856-1857), 1:304-311 (hereafter *T/T*); *Annales Colonienses maximi*, ed. K. Pertz, MGH SS, 17: 812-814 (hereafter *Pertz*).

²⁸ *DHL* is addressed: "To his very dear friend Henry, duke of Louvain, a man of nobility, from Hugh, count of Saint Pol."

²⁹ For having such a fine vassal.

³⁰ On 18 December 1201, Hugh had received permission from King John to mortgage his English lands—lands granted him by Richard I—in order to help finance his crusade: Beatrice N. Siedschlag, "English Participation in the Crusades, 1150-1220," (Ph.D. diss: Bryn Mawr, 1939), 95 and 133.

be paid off from my lands. Anyway, I doubt that it has slipped your tenacious memory what you said to me while we were riding along on horseback: namely, you were exceedingly upset because I had undertaken the pilgrimage journey with such men who were young in age and maturity and did not know how to render advice in such an arduous affair.³¹ In return, I replied to you that because of what I might accomplish, I [willingly]³² enter their company and embrace them because, unless they manage to avoid it through deeds of heroism, they would submit to the loss of their heads in the service of God. Moreover, all that I promised you in our conversation – as you shall hear in what follows – I accomplished in action.

You should know³³ that Alexius, the son of Kirisac,³⁴ came to us at Corfu,³⁵ and there, on bended knees before us³⁶ and drenched in tears,³⁷ he humbly entreated us to go with him to Constantinople and aid him so that **[he might, with our help, expel from royal power]**³⁸ his father's brother, whom his father freed from heathen captivity.³⁹ This man, liberated and redeemed by his brother, repaid him this great debt: To wit, due to imperial ambition, he drove his aforesaid brother, Kirisac, from the imperial

³¹ Whereas Count Hugh was a grizzled crusade veteran, many of the other counts and barons were young. Baldwin of Flanders was twenty-eight, for example, and Louis of Blois was also in his twenties.

³² The text is corrupt here, but this seems to be the sense of the phrase.

³³ *DHL* begins: "I desire to declare to Your Nobility the state of the very poor army of Jesus Christ. Therefore, Your Serenity should know..."

³⁴ *Filius Kirisaci*: Emperor Isaac II, called Kirisac by the crusaders, who mutilated the Greek title *Kyrios* (Lord) and elided it with a truncated version of "Isaac." *DHL* refers to him as *filius Tirsaci* (but T/T reads it as *filius Kir-Saci*); M/D calls Alexius the Younger *Alexis Barisiaci*. *DHL* adds "the former emperor of Constantinople, whom his brother blinded out of imperial ambition."

³⁵ M/D adds "as I confided to you with uncertainty on another occasion." Apparently Hugh had sent this recipient a now-lost letter while enroute from Zara to Corfu, in which he expressed his fears and uncertainties regarding the rank and file's upcoming reception of Prince Alexius on Corfu.

³⁶ *DHL* lacks *coram nobis* (before us), but it is in M/D (see note 40).

³⁷ *Perfusus lacrimis*; *DHL*: *profusus lacrimis* (with profuse tears).

³⁸ In *DHL* but missing here by reason of a corrupt text.

³⁹ Alexius was imprisoned in 1186 by the Latin count of Tripoli, not by heathens, by which Hugh means Muslims. Isaac successfully sought Saladin's help in effecting Alexius's release from this captivity: Charles M. Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185-1192: Opponents of the Third Crusade," *Speculum* 37 (1962): 167-170. *DHL* does not contain this information regarding Alexius III's captivity and release, but it does appear in M/D (note 40) and in Ralph of Coggeshall (as well as in Alberic of Trois Fontaines' *Chronicle*).

throne and, driven by avarice, usurped and unjustly held that same throne.⁴⁰

A good deal of disagreement was engendered in our army, and there was an enormous uproar and grumbling.⁴¹ For everyone was shouting that we should make haste for Acre, and there were not more than ten⁴² who spoke in favor of the journey to Constantinople. One of these was the count of Flanders, [and then there were] I, Matthew of Montmorency,⁴³ the marshal of Champagne,⁴⁴ Conon of Béthune,⁴⁵ Miles of Bréabant,⁴⁶ John Foison,⁴⁷ Renier of Trith,⁴⁸ Macaire of Sainte-Menehould,⁴⁹ Manasses of L'Isle,⁵⁰ and Anselm of Cayeux.⁵¹ We all⁵² clearly

⁴⁰ M/D: "He humbly entreated us face-to-face (*coram nobis*) to go with him to Constantinople so that he might, with our help, drive from the imperial throne (which, driven by avarice, he had usurped and unjustly held) his father's brother, whom his father freed from heathen captivity. This man liberated and redeemed by his brother, repaid him this great debt: To wit, due to imperial ambition, he wickedly blinded his brother." DHL: "He entreated all of us to go with him to Constantinople and aid him, so that with our help he might drive from royal power (which, by reason of ambition, he had usurped for himself and unjustly held) his own uncle, who had committed a great crime against his father."

⁴¹ DHL: "Regarding this matter, however, there was a tremendous amount of disagreement among us and an enormous uproar." M/D: "Regarding this matter, a tremendous amount of disagreement arose in the army and an uproar."

⁴² DHL: "There were few more than twenty." M/D: "There were few." Note that Hugh actually lists eleven people. Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:98-100, sec. 99, states that when this issue was debated at Zara, only twelve Franks took the oath to support the covenant with Prince Alexius. For more on the supporters of Alexius the Younger, see note 51.

⁴³ Longnon, *Compagnons*, 116-118.

⁴⁴ Geoffrey of Villehardouin: *ibid.*, 26-32.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 146-149.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 48-56.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 63-65.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 150-152.

⁴⁹ A knight of Champagne and one of the heroes of the crusade: *ibid.*, 45-48.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 42-45.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 200-201.

DHL: "Among these were the marquis [Boniface of Montferrat], the count of Flanders, Count Louis [of Blois], and others, whose names are kept silent at present." M/D: "Of these, one was the count of Flanders, Louis [of Blois], the marquis of Montferrat, Count Matthew of Montmorency, the marshal of Champagne (Geoffrey of Villehardouin), Conon of Béthune, M[iles] of Bréabant, John Foison, John of Fraise, Peter of Bracieux, Anselm of Cayeux, R[enier] of Trith, Macaire of Sainte-Menehould, M[anasses] of L'Isle, the bishop of Halberstadt (Conrad), the bishop of Troyes (Garnier), [and] John Faicete." Cf. these lists with that provided by Ralph of Coggeshall.

⁵² DHL: "They clearly demonstrated to the entire army."

demonstrated to the entire army that the journey to Jerusalem was fruitless and injurious for everyone, insofar as they were destitute and low on provisions, and no one among them could retain the services of the knights and pay the men-at-arms⁵³ or could provide for the employment of petrarries or the introduction of other weapons of war. Well, at last they barely gave into us, but only on the condition that we should linger in Constantinople for no more than a month, except if we tarry there by their own free will. The response to them was that it was counterproductive for us to announce the brevity of our stay because the Greeks would fear us less if they heard ahead of time mention of the shortness of the stopover.⁵⁴ Notwithstanding, they demanded⁵⁵ that we publicly pledge to stay only one month. And so it was done.

After that was done,⁵⁶ the young emperor enticed us with the promise⁵⁷ that he would liberally provide food for the entire army for a year and would maintain for a year at his own expense ten thousand mounted soldiers in the Holy Land. He also promised that, as long as he lived, he would maintain at his expense five hundred knights in the Holy Land, and he would disburse 100,000⁵⁸ marks of silver to the doge of Venice and, to be sure, just as much to our army and to us.⁵⁹

After these matters were settled and agreed upon by common consent,⁶⁰ we boarded the⁶¹ ships and reached the port of Bucca⁶²

⁵³ *Seriantes*; M/D: *sociantes* (comrades-in-arms).

⁵⁴ *DHL*: "if the length of the brief stopover were known ahead of time"; M/D: "if the length of our brief stopover were known ahead of time."

⁵⁵ *Impetiverunt*; *DHL*: *impetraverunt a nobis* (They required us).

⁵⁶ The terms that follow were initially proposed in the name of Prince Alexius by envoys from Philip of Swabia, who arrived at Zara in January 1203, and were accepted by a small band of the army's top leadership at that point: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:90-100, secs. 91-99. In all likelihood, the Greek prince reiterated these promises to the entire army when he met up with it on Corfu.

⁵⁷ *Ecantavit*; *DHL*: *promisit* (promised).

⁵⁸ M/D: 10 marks. T/T wrongly doubles the figure: "He would disburse 200,000 marks of silver to the doge of Venice and the same to our army." All other editions of the *DHL* have the correct 100,000 marks.

⁵⁹ That is, a total of 200,000 marks, as also reported by Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:92-94, sec. 93; Clari, *Conquête*, 31, sec. XXXII; and the *GeH* (see below).

Villehardouin, *ibid.*, also mentions two promises not mentioned here: to reunite the Greek Church with Rome and to campaign personally in Egypt with the crusaders, if they wished his presence on the crusade. Regarding these two promises, however, see the end of this letter.

⁶⁰ *Communi voluntate*; *DHL*: *communi utilitate* (for the common advantage); *RHGF*: *communi voluntate*.

on the eighth day.⁶³ From that point one reckons one-hundred leagues to Constantinople. From that port one is carried to Constantinople through a narrow, swiftly running sea. Sailing from there, then, through that strait, we passed by the Arm of Saint George⁶⁴ and made port on solid ground in the direction of Iconium.⁶⁵ This port lies one league from Constantinople.⁶⁶ There, indeed, we were stunned, very much astonished that none of the friends or family of the young man, who was with us, or any messenger of theirs came to him, who might tell him about the situation in the city.⁶⁷ Without delay, the emperor in power dispatched his messengers⁶⁸ to the doge of Venice, the marquis, the count of Flanders, Count Louis, and us. But, indeed, we discussed the matter privately among ourselves and said that in no way would we give a hearing to the emperor's messengers, unless he first stepped down from the throne of imperial majesty.⁶⁹ Otherwise, we would in no way listen to him or his messengers. You see, we did not want the Greeks to solicit or soften us with their gifts.⁷⁰

Furthermore,⁷¹ the emperor's army stood on the shore opposite

⁶¹ DHL and M/D: "our."

⁶² Abydos, halfway up the Dardanelles on the Asiatic side. DHL: *Buceaviae*; M/D: *Ducaevia*.

⁶³ Carl Klimke argued that this eight-day voyage was unbelievably fast: *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des Vierten Kreuzzuges* (Breslau, 1875), 21-22. Perhaps not. The fleet had set sail in squadrons from Corfu on 24 and 25 May: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:123, sec. 119 and the DC below. The first group to arrive at Abydos had to wait eight days for the others to arrive: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:128, sec. 126. From there, the entire fleet reached the environs of Constantinople on 23 June: *ibid.*, 1:129, note 3. Given this itinerary, an eight-day voyage to Abydos for the lead squadron is not out of the question.

⁶⁴ The peninsula (arm) on which Constantinople was located. It was so called, apparently, because of the monastery of Saint George of the Mangana, which stood at the tip of the peninsula, overlooking the Bosphorus.

⁶⁵ Actually, they landed first at Chalcedon directly across from Constantinople on 24 June and then moved north to Scutari on the 26th: FC², 109-110. Iconium is nowhere near Constantinople. Only T/T has the correct *Cutarium* (Scutari). See note 66.

⁶⁶ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1: 136, sec. 136, notes that Scutari lies a good league from Constantinople, so Hugh must be referring to Scutari, which is about three miles north of the city on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and not Chalcedon (note 65).

⁶⁷ DHL and M/D: "Constantinople."

⁶⁸ M/D: *munera* (gifts).

⁶⁹ According to Villehardouin, Conon of Béthune dismissed Alexius III's envoy, Nicholas Roux, by telling him not to come back to the crusader camp until he could bring word of Alexius's abdication: *Conquête*, 1:142-144, secs. 141-144.

⁷⁰ M/D: "You see, we did not want the Greeks to solicit us with their deceitful gifts [or] to destroy [us] with their promises."

⁷¹ DHL and M/D: *interim* (meanwhile).

us, ready to prevent our crossing and displaying hostility⁷² toward us and a readiness for battle with us. Upon seeing that, we flocked to confess our sins, yet we trusted in God's help and might.⁷³ Next⁷⁴ we marshaled our battle lines and,⁷⁵ with everyone armed, we boarded the ships, transports, and galleys, which numbered two hundred,⁷⁶ not counting the skiffs and barges. When, indeed,⁷⁷ we landed [on the opposite shore],⁷⁸ all the Greeks, who had assembled for the purpose of preventing our crossing, by the grace of God, withdrew to such a distance⁷⁹ that [we could barely]⁸⁰ reach any of them even with a shot arrow. Then we made our way toward a certain heavily fortified tower known as Galata. A very great,⁸¹ excessively thick iron chain was fastened to it. Supported on [wooden crossbeams],⁸² it ran across the sea, stretching from the tower⁸³ all the way to the city walls. That chain protected⁸⁴ the harbor. Close by the chain, the city's ships and galleys with barges were joined in formation side by side, barring our passage.⁸⁵ In that tower,⁸⁶ moreover, there were English,⁸⁷ Pisan,

⁷² DHL and M/D: "a show (*imaginem*) of hostility."

⁷³ DHL: "trusting only in God's mercy"; M/D: "trusting only in the merciful power of God."

⁷⁴ M/D: "After we marshaled our battlelines, then we all boarded the ships under arms. When, indeed, with God leading the way, we landed on the opposite shore...." Note that it does not give a count of the vessels.

⁷⁵ DHL and M/D: *deinde* (then).

⁷⁶ DHL: "which numbered two hundred vessels fitted to sail."

The DC (below) informs us that forty ships, sixty-two galleys, and one hundred transports, or a total of two hundred and two major vessels, set sail from Venice; of these, three were lost in shipwrecks before the fleet reached Constantinople.

⁷⁷ DHL and M/D add: "with God leading the way."

⁷⁸ In DHL and M/D but missing here.

⁷⁹ DHL and M/D: "retreated so far from us."

⁸⁰ In DHL but missing here due to a corrupt text; M/D: "we could not."

⁸¹ *Maxima*: missing in DHL.

⁸² In DHL and M/D but missing here.

⁸³ *A turri*: missing in DHL; M/D: *a terra* (from the land).

⁸⁴ *Servabat*; M/D: *tenebat* (guarded).

⁸⁵ *Nobis transitum prohibentes*; DHL and M/D: *nobis introitum inhibentes* (hindering our entry).

⁸⁶ M/D: "On that oft-mentioned land, moreover." As was also the case above (note 83), *in terra* (on land) is a misreading of *in turri* (in the tower). DHL: "In that oft-mentioned tower, moreover."

⁸⁷ Missing in M/D.

Genoese,⁸⁸ and Danish⁸⁹ men-at-arms stationed to protect⁹⁰ it, who left and entered the tower whenever they wished⁹¹ to shoot arrows at our men. And indeed, we spoke about that tower with the doge of Venice, a most prudent⁹² man, [telling him]⁹³ that it could in no way be captured except by sappers⁹⁴ and petraries.⁹⁵ He replied to us that he would align his ships alongside the aforementioned chain and would set up his petraries and various other machines on the ships, and we should set up our siege engines on land, and in this way, with the tower⁹⁶ besieged on all sides, it might be easily captured, with the help of God.⁹⁷

Moreover, while these matters were being talked over, there were the aforementioned men in the tower,⁹⁸ who launched many⁹⁹ harassing attacks with frequent¹⁰⁰ arrow assaults on our men, but they always suffered many casualties of their own.¹⁰¹ In fact, on the third day after our tents were set up there, exiting¹⁰² from within, they

⁸⁸ *Geneviani*; DHL: *Ieveniani*; M/D: *Geneciani*; Pertz: *Leveniani* (chosen over the MS variant *Ievenani*); T/T: *Livoniani* (Livonians), which appears in no MS. Clearly, Genoese is the correct reading. *FC*², 260, note 95, misreads the Pertz version as *Leventiani* (Levantines).

⁸⁹ M/D adds "and other."

⁹⁰ *Servandam*; DHL: *servandam et protegendam* (to protect and defend); M/D: *conservandam et protegendam* (to preserve and defend); T/T, *RHGF*, and Pertz: *protegendam*.

⁹¹ *Quando volebant*; DHL: *sicut et quando volebant* (as and whenever they wished); M/D: "as they wished."

⁹² DHL adds "and discreet."

⁹³ In DHL but missing here.

⁹⁴ Who would dig under and undermine the tower wall.

⁹⁵ M/D adds "along with his various war machines on the ships," but this apparent addition is the product of a scribal or editorial error of omission not commission. The error is that, prior to this phrase, M/D omits fourteen words that appear in DHL (Balues differs slightly in construction). One reads in DHL (the text omitted by M/D appears in bold): "He replied to us that he would align his ships alongside the aforementioned chain [and] erect his petraries, along with various war machines, on the ships." What we have here is a case of an eye missing an entire line of text.

⁹⁶ Rather than *turris*, M/D has *terris*, which leads to the somewhat nonsensical reading, "with [it] besieged on all sides on Earth." See notes 83 and 86.

⁹⁷ DHL and M/D add "and with our help."

⁹⁸ DHL: *sarianti in turri latitantes* (the men-at-arms lurking in the tower); M/D: *serjanti praefatae turris* (the men-at-arms of the aforementioned tower).

⁹⁹ Missing in DHL; M/D: *crebro* (repeatedly).

¹⁰⁰ Missing in DHL and M/D.

¹⁰¹ DHL and M/D: "By no means at any time did they break our ranks; in fact, they were rather sharply repulsed and suffered numerous casualties of their own."

¹⁰² *RHGF* and T/T add *acriter* (furiously).

launched violent¹⁰³ attacks on some of¹⁰⁴ our knights and foot-soldiers. Peter of Bracieux,¹⁰⁵ however, reinforced by some knights and men-at-arms, came upon the scene.¹⁰⁶ He so fiercely attacked them in a hasty assault that they could offer no resistance¹⁰⁷ nor could they return to the safety of the tower. Rather, with our men blocking the way¹⁰⁸ and pursuing them resolutely,¹⁰⁹ some of them had to leap into the sea, and so some of them drowned;¹¹⁰ some were cut down; some were captured alive.¹¹¹ And immediately, through the aid of God,¹¹² the tower was captured¹¹³ and the iron¹¹⁴ chain was broken. Thereupon, indeed, with the city's ships in retreat, our ships had an open harbor, and they captured¹¹⁵ some of those ships, along with their skiffs and galleys.¹¹⁶

Then, moreover, with our ships and our ranks in battle formation, we proceeded along the shore¹¹⁷ up to a certain stone bridge, the distance of a league from the aforementioned tower.¹¹⁸ This bridge was longer¹¹⁹ than the little bridge of Paris and was so narrow that three horsemen, flank to flank, could barely cross it simultaneously. Given the depth of the stream, we could not ford elsewhere,¹²⁰ except if we had made a three-league detour.¹²¹ If, in fact,

¹⁰³ *Protervos*, which also appears in *RHGF* and *T/T*; *DHL*: *preter nos* (against us), which is redundant; *M/D*: *post nos* (after us), which is even more nonsensical.

¹⁰⁴ Missing in *M/D*.

¹⁰⁵ Longnon, *Compagnons*, 91-98.

¹⁰⁶ *Superveniens*; *M/D*: *supervenientes* (Peter of Bracieux, however, reinforced by some knights and men-at-arms who came on the scene, so fiercely attacked....).

¹⁰⁷ *DHL* adds *ei* (to him).

¹⁰⁸ Missing in *DHL* and *M/D*.

¹⁰⁹ *Nostris...instante eas insequentibus*; *DHL* and *M/D*: *nostris instantibus* (with our men pressing forward). Note that *eas* is feminine plural.

¹¹⁰ *DHL* adds *ibi* (there). Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 543 (Magoulias, *O City*, 297), also notes that some defenders were drowned in their flight.

¹¹¹ "Alive" is missing in *DHL* and *M/D*.

¹¹² *Deo iuvante*; *DHL* and *M/D*: *Deo mirabiliter operante* (through God's miraculous handiwork).

¹¹³ *DHL* and *M/D* add *absque bellico instrumento* (without the use of artillery).

¹¹⁴ Missing in *DHL*.

¹¹⁵ *DHL* and *M/D* add *simul* (at once).

¹¹⁶ *DHL* and *M/D* add *bargis* (barges).

¹¹⁷ *Iuxta litus*: missing in *M/D*.

¹¹⁸ Once again *M/D* has *terra* rather than the correct *turre*; this translates as "the distance of a league and more from the mentioned spot (*terra*)."

¹¹⁹ *Potentior*; *M/D*: *potentior* (stronger).

¹²⁰ *Alias*: missing in *M/D*.

¹²¹ *DHL* says only "a great detour." Robert of Clari, *Conquête*, 44, sec. XLIV, says four leagues.

we were separated significantly¹²² from our fleet, we would have, perhaps, run a great risk and incurred casualties.

When, however, we had reached that bridge, by the grace of God,¹²³ we crossed unopposed.¹²⁴ Moving on, we set up our tents between the emperor's palace, which is called the Blachernae,¹²⁵ and the palace of Bohemond.¹²⁶ And we were so close¹²⁷ that our arrows pelted¹²⁸ on top of the palace¹²⁹ and through the windows below,¹³⁰ and Greek arrows fell on our tents. Afterwards,¹³¹ however, we positioned our army behind thick stakes and encircled it with a palisade.¹³² With that done,¹³³ we set up our siege engines¹³⁴ and petreries before the walls. The doge of Venice, indeed, constructed¹³⁵ from the yardarms above each ship a very high bridge, one-hundred feet in height, and four armed¹³⁶ knights could walk abreast¹³⁷ on each bridge. Moreover, each transport ship had its own mangonel set up.¹³⁸

Well, in the meanwhile, while these things were taking place,¹³⁹

¹²² *Tantum*; DHL: *longe* (far).

¹²³ DHL and M/D: *Dei patientia* (by the sufferance of God).

¹²⁴ Clari, *Conquête*, 44, sec. XLIV, says that Greeks came there to contest the passage but were driven away; Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 164, sec. 163, mentions no resistance but says the Greeks had dismantled the bridge to the point that it took a full day and a full night to make it passable. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 543 (Magoulias, *O City*, 297), states that the Romans (Greeks) put up only slight resistance.

¹²⁵ DHL places this clause not here but below. See note 127.

¹²⁶ Actually the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian, known as the Cosmidion. The crusaders called it Bohemond's castle because Bohemond of Taranto had resided there in 1097.

¹²⁷ DHL: "to the palace which is called the Blachernae." M/D, which has already identified the imperial palace by name, adds here "to the Blachernae."

¹²⁸ *Traebant*; DHL and M/D: *cadebant* (rained down on).

¹²⁹ M/D adds "of the emperor."

¹³⁰ *Infra*; T/T: *intra*.

¹³¹ DHL and M/D: *hoc facto* (given that this happened).

¹³² M/D: "we encircled our army with thick stakes and a palisade."

¹³³ *His factis*; DHL and M/D: *deinde* (next).

¹³⁴ *Ingenia nostra*; DHL: *instrumenta nostra bellica*; M/D: *ingenia nostra bellica*.

¹³⁵ *Construxit* (also in RHGF, T/T, and Pertz); DHL: *constrinxit* (lashed); M/D: *constituit* (erected).

¹³⁶ *Armati*: missing in DHL.

¹³⁷ *De fronte*: missing in M/D.

¹³⁸ In what seems to be a concatenation of errors made by both the medieval scribe and Martène-Durand, M/D reads nonsensically: *Praeterea quidam Ussarius suus habebat magnellum erectum* (Moreover, his certain Ussarius had a mangonel erected). Someone turned *quilibet* into *quidem* and *suum* to *suus*. The editors also, apparently, thought that *ussarius* (transport ship) was a proper name.

¹³⁹ DHL: "While, however, this was taking place."

large numbers of Greeks on foot and horse launched¹⁴⁰ attacks against us,¹⁴¹ but they always¹⁴² came off worse than¹⁴³ we did. On a certain day, a huge multitude of knights coming out in formation from a certain gate, which opens on the right side [**of the palace above**],¹⁴⁴ suddenly¹⁴⁵ rushed forth and forced us to take up arms. Our men threw them back¹⁴⁶ with such a massive and bold charge that many [**of them, trampling one another**],¹⁴⁷ fell into ditches. Among these was the son of the duke of Durazzo,¹⁴⁸ who was said to be one of the more well-born¹⁴⁹ and handsome in Constantinople.¹⁵⁰ He was killed¹⁵¹ along with some others. The next day¹⁵² a certain troop of knights from the city exited through the gate of the Blachernae, in that area where we had set up our military machines, but with God's help, they were courageously¹⁵³ thrown back – to their shame. It was then that a certain nobleman¹⁵⁴ was captured.¹⁵⁵ He¹⁵⁶ was one of the more powerful and higher ranking in the military among all the citizenry,¹⁵⁷ and he was an advisor to the king.¹⁵⁸

On the Wednesday that followed, it was decided and a plan was drawn up that there would be an assault on the city the next day: to wit, the doge of Venice would attack by sea, while the marquis,

¹⁴⁰ DHL adds *instante* (vehemently).

¹⁴¹ *Nobis* (against us): missing in M/D.

¹⁴² *Semper*: missing in DHL.

¹⁴³ Missing in M/D.

¹⁴⁴ In DHL but missing here; M/D: "on the right side above."

¹⁴⁵ *Subito*; Missing in DHL and M/D. The punctuation of RHGF, T/T, and Pertz joins *superius*, which belongs to the phrase *a dextera parte palacii superius* (note 144), to the verb *exiit*, which results in "rushed forth from higher ground."

¹⁴⁶ DHL and M/D add *audacter* (courageously).

¹⁴⁷ In DHL and M/D but missing here.

¹⁴⁸ *Durat*, DHL: *Durato* (but *Ducato* in RHGF and T/T); M/D: *Duras*. This would probably be, as Pokorny plausibly argues the son of the governor of Durazzo-Dyrrhacion: "Zwei Briefe," 207, note 9.

¹⁴⁹ *Generosior*; DHL: *fortior* (stronger).

¹⁵⁰ DHL and M/D: *inter Constantinopolitanos* (among the Constantinopolitans).

¹⁵¹ DHL: *peremptus* (cut down).

¹⁵² DHL and M/D add *quoque* (also).

¹⁵³ *Audacter*; DHL and M/D: *potenter* (forcefully).

¹⁵⁴ M/D lacks "noble."

¹⁵⁵ *Retentus*; M/D: *interemptus*, which can mean "snatched" but also "killed."

¹⁵⁶ This was probably Constantine Lascaris, whose capture is reported in Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:168, sec. 167.

¹⁵⁷ DHL: "Constantinopolitans."

¹⁵⁸ DHL and M/D: "emperor." I.e. Emperor Alexius III.

the count of Flanders, and Count Louis¹⁵⁹ would attack by land.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, while the assault was taking place, I, M[atthew] of Montmorency, the marshal of Champagne, [and] O[gier]¹⁶¹ of Saint Cyrone¹⁶² would protect the army's perimeter along the valley and throughout the plains.¹⁶³ **[And so we did it. Moreover, with battle lines established and the plan completed, the doge and the Venetians,¹⁶⁴ along with some of our people, approached in force by ship <by way of the sea>¹⁶⁵. They brought the ships close to the walls, leaned ladders against the walls,]¹⁶⁶ and so the Venetians¹⁶⁷ entered the city with a gallant rush. They took twenty-five towers,¹⁶⁸ **[broke into close to the same number]**,¹⁶⁹ and set fire to a good portion of the city. Our men, indeed, launched their attacks by land. With ladders likewise positioned against a wall,¹⁷⁰ they planted their banners and standards above the walls. In fact, sappers tunneling¹⁷¹ under a wall¹⁷² collapsed one tower.**

Then the emperor, beset on every side by a burning city and our tactics,¹⁷³ stationed substantial bodies of knights at individual gates that opened onto the plains, so that he could envelope us with attacks from every side and cut off the attackers.¹⁷⁴ Likewise¹⁷⁵ in response, we set up our own battle lines: the count of Flanders with his troops, I also with mine. With each supporting [the other] with

¹⁵⁹ Missing in M/D.

¹⁶⁰ *DHL*: "the count of Flanders [and] Count Louis would attack by land, and the marquis with them."

¹⁶¹ M/D: *A*.

¹⁶² Longnon, *Compagnons*, 23-24.

¹⁶³ *DHL*: "between the valley and the plains."

¹⁶⁴ T/T: "the doge of the Venetians."

¹⁶⁵ Only in M/D.

¹⁶⁶ In *DHL* and M/D but missing here.

¹⁶⁷ *Sic Venetii*: missing in *DHL* and M/D.

¹⁶⁸ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, I:178, sec. 175, confirms this figure. M/D also has twenty-five, whereas *DHL* has thirty.

¹⁶⁹ In *DHL* and M/D but missing here.

¹⁷⁰ M/D: "the walls."

¹⁷¹ *Subcavantes*; M/D: *excavantes* (excavating).

¹⁷² *DHL*: "the walls."

¹⁷³ M/D adds *importunis insultibus* (and headlong attacks).

¹⁷⁴ *DHL*: *ut nos circumquaque assilirent et invasos involverent et truncarent* (so that they could assault us from every side and envelope and cut off the attackers); M/D: *ut nos circumquaque invasos truncarent* (so that they could cut us, the invaders, off from every side).

¹⁷⁵ Missing in M/D.

his own battalion,¹⁷⁶ we sent out an advance skirmish line,¹⁷⁷ and we rode in an orderly and coordinated fashion against¹⁷⁸ the battle line opposing us. We advanced so close to them that their arrows [**and crossbow bolts**]¹⁷⁹ rained on us and, indeed, ours on them. When they saw that we were brave and steadfast and that we moved forward one after another and in formation and that we could not be¹⁸⁰ overrun or broken,¹⁸¹ they rightly became terrified and confused. Retreating before us, they did not dare to fight with us by day.¹⁸² And you should know that in our entire contingent we were not more than five hundred¹⁸³ knights and an equal number of other¹⁸⁴ horsemen, and with us there were not more than two thousand footsoldiers,¹⁸⁵ for the greater part of the footsoldiers protected the artillery and our siege machines.¹⁸⁶ Yet, when we saw them flee and retreat,¹⁸⁷ we chose not to pursue them, lest, perhaps, they inflict damage through their crafty stratagems and ambushes¹⁸⁸ on our army, our military machines, or the towers that the Venetians had captured.

The emperor, moreover, upon returning to his palace at night,¹⁸⁹ asserted that he would fight us on the morrow, but he secretly took flight in the middle of the¹⁹⁰ night. To be sure, just as the emperor

¹⁷⁶ *Uterque cum cuneo suo assistens*; DHL: *uterque in suo cuneo consistens* (with each staying with his own battalion). See note 177 for M/D's version.

¹⁷⁷ *Fecimus antecustodiam*; M/D: *uterque scilicet in cuneo suo consistens ante custodiam* (with each, to be sure, staying with his own battalion at the head of the skirmish line).

¹⁷⁸ *Contra*; M/D: *juxta* (along side).

¹⁷⁹ Added by DHL and M/D (*balistarū* and *arbalistarū*, respectively).

¹⁸⁰ DHL and M/D add "easily" (*faciliter* and *de facili*, respectively).

¹⁸¹ *Corrumpti*; missing in M/D.

¹⁸² *Die*, because DHL has *Dei gratia* (by the grace of God), Pokorný reasonably suggests that *die* is possibly a scribal misreading of *Dei gratia*: "Zwei Briefe," 208, note i. M/D has neither.

¹⁸³ M/D: *ducenti* (two hundred).

¹⁸⁴ *Alii*; missing in DHL.

¹⁸⁵ DHL: *sariantes non habuimus plures quam 2,000 peditum* (of men-at-arms, we did not have more than 2,000 footsoldiers); M/D: *non habuimus plures quam duo milia peditum* (we did not have more than two thousand footsoldiers).

¹⁸⁶ DHL: *major enim pars statuebatur ad ingenia nostra conservanda* (for the greater part was stationed in defense of our siege machines); M/D has the same wording but without *nostra* (our).

¹⁸⁷ *Abire*, missing in M/D.

¹⁸⁸ *Dolos et insidias*; M/D is missing *insidias*.

¹⁸⁹ *Nocte*, missing in M/D.

¹⁹⁰ DHL adds *eadem* (same).

had predicted, we intended¹⁹¹ to fight on Thursday.

On the following day,¹⁹² therefore, through the handiwork of God,¹⁹³ the city was turned over to us, and at that moment eight days had passed from the [beginning of] the siege.¹⁹⁴ Then, truly, Emperor Kirisac and his wife the empress, namely the sister of the king of Hungary,¹⁹⁵ both of whom had been held and shut up in the horror of prison¹⁹⁶ for such a long time,¹⁹⁷ thanked us profusely. They confided in us that they had been liberated from prison and recovered the imperial dignity through the grace of God and by our help. On the morrow we should enter the palace as if it were our own, along with their son, whom they had missed for so long. And¹⁹⁸ we did it, and we feasted¹⁹⁹ with great rejoicing and seemly dignity.

I especially want you to know this: Stephen of Perche,²⁰⁰ R[ainal] of Montmirail,²⁰¹ E[nguerrand] of Boves,²⁰² I. of Boves,²⁰³ S[imon]

¹⁹¹ DHL and M/D add *pariter* (in an equal degree).

¹⁹² Thursday, 18 July.

¹⁹³ *Deo operante*, DHL: *deo cooperante* (with God's cooperation); RHGF: *deo dante* (God granting it).

¹⁹⁴ DHL and M/D add "of the city."

¹⁹⁵ Born Margaret, a daughter of King Béla III of Hungary, she went to Constantinople, where she was renamed Maria. In late 1185 or early 1186, she married Isaac II, just before her tenth birthday. The fate of Manuel, her son by Isaac, is unknown. Alexius IV was Isaac's son by a previous marriage. Following the second capture of Constantinople, Boniface of Montfort claimed the widowed Margaret-Maria as his wife.

¹⁹⁶ *Carceris*: missing in M/D. One wonders how horrible it actually was. Nicetas Choniates reports that Isaac was incarcerated in very comfortable circumstances and was free to receive any and all guests: *Historia*, 536 (Magoulias, *O City*, 294). Although the sources are silent about the empress's circumstances, it seems reasonable to assume that, following Byzantine tradition, she was shut up in a nunnery.

¹⁹⁷ Since 1195.

¹⁹⁸ DHL and M/D add *ita* (so).

¹⁹⁹ DHL adds *cum eis* (with them).

²⁰⁰ Count Stephen had been disabled by either disease or accident and was left behind at Venice. In March 1203, he set sail from Apulia directly for Palestine: *FC*², 71; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 105.

²⁰¹ Longnon, *Compagnons*, 114-115. Rainal, a leader of the dissident faction, was entrusted to head a delegation from the army to the Holy Land. Although he and his colleagues swore on the Gospels to return to the host within fifteen days of delivering the message, Rainal remained absent until after the army's capture of Constantinople: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:102, sec. 102, and 2:123-124, sec. 315. Possibly his cousin Count Louis of Blois, who supported his receiving this office, saw it as a way of giving Rainal an honorable escape, the oath to return notwithstanding. Obviously Hugh did not look favorably on Rainal's departure and seems to have viewed it for what it was.

²⁰² Longnon, *Compagnons*, 123-124. He defected at an unknown time but after Simon

of Montfort,²⁰⁴ R[obert] Mauvoisin,²⁰⁵ and the abbot of Vaux²⁰⁶ are creating great discord in the fleet. They are proceeding to Jerusalem, and by hastening to the king of Hungary,²⁰⁷ they have left our army and us in mortal danger. We truly have very much to say in praise of the doge of Venice, a man, so to speak, who is prudent, discreet, and skilled in hard decision-making. As to the chief reason why we captured Constantinople, I am going to unfold and make clear to you another [reason] to come [here], by far better and more glorious than the aforementioned [reasons].²⁰⁸ That is to say, in this affair we carried on²⁰⁹ the business of Jesus Christ,²¹⁰ with His help,²¹¹ to the point that the Eastern Church (whose head is

of Montfort: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:112, sec. 109.

²⁰³ A scribal error. This refers probably to Enguerrand's brother Hugh, who quit the army at Zara with Hugh: Villehardouin, *ibid.* A less likely reference is their brother Robert, a notable dissident who served as one of the army's four envoys to Innocent III after the Zaran Affair and then traveled to Syria directly from Rome: Longnon, *Compagnons*, 124-125. M/D has the same error: *J. de Bove*.

²⁰⁴ Probably the most notable defector: Queller, "Neglected Majority," 453; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 113-114.

²⁰⁵ He defected in the company of Simon of Montfort: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:110-112, sec. 109; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 121-122.

²⁰⁶ Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay, a companion of Simon of Montfort: Villehardouin, *ibid.*, 112; Longnon, *ibid.*, 127-128; Monique Zerner-Chardavoine, "L'abbé Gui des Vaux-de-Cernay: Prédicateur de croisade," *Cahiers de fanjeaux* 21 (1986): 183-204.

²⁰⁷ Regarding these apparently contradictory objectives—proceeding to Jerusalem and hastening to the king of Hungary—see M/D's alternative reading in note 208, which seems to clear up some of the confusion. But even so, some of those pilgrims who first went to the king of Hungary eventually made their way to Syria-Palestine. Simon of Montfort, for example, first made a treaty for safe conduct with the king of Hungary and then led his company along the Adriatic coast to Italy, where they finally boarded ships in Apulia for the Holy Land: *FC*², 93.

²⁰⁸ Everything from "Steven of Perche" to this point is missing in *DHL*. M/D: "And I especially want you to know these things, namely that R. of Parke (Stephen of Perche?), and R. of Montmirail, [and] A. (Enguerrand?) of Boves are proceeding to Jerusalem, and J. (Hugh?) of Boves, and Simon of Montfort, R. Mauvoisin, [and] the abbot of Vaux are creating great discord in the fleet and are hastening to the king of Hungary. With this abandonment of our army, they have left us in mortal danger. We, especially have much to say in praise of the doge of Venice, a man, so to speak, who is exceedingly prudent and skilled in hard decision-making. As to why we mainly troubled ourselves to come to the royal city, I am going to give you a satisfactory explanation—indeed, another [explanation] added to the aforementioned [ones] [and] far better and more glorious."

²⁰⁹ *DHL* and M/D add *usque* (continuously).

²¹⁰ *Iesu Christi*; *DHL* and M/D: *Salvatoris* (the Savior).

²¹¹ *Ipsa iuvante*; missing in *DHL* and M/D.

Constantinople²¹²), along with the emperor and his entire empire, reunited with its head, the Roman Pontiff (as was the case in antiquity), acknowledges itself to be the daughter of the Roman Church. It also wishes, with humbled head, to obey the same more devoutly in the future—in accordance with normal custom.²¹³ The patriarch himself,²¹⁴ who desires and²¹⁵ applauds this step, petitions²¹⁶ all the way to the Roman See to receive the pallium of his office,²¹⁷ and on this issue²¹⁸ he, along with the emperor, swore a sacred oath to us.²¹⁹

In addition to this,²²⁰ our new²²¹ emperor, with everything that he had promised us²²² fully and completely rendered, bound²²³ himself to us by oath to cross the sea with us in next March's voyage,²²⁴ accompanied by ten thousand soldiers,²²⁵ and to provide food for one year to the entire army of the Lord. He would also, out of his own resources,²²⁶ make the Venetian fleet available to us for an additional year. Also envoys were sent ahead on his part and our own to the sultan of Babylon, the impious invader and occupier of the Holy Land.²²⁷ We announced²²⁸ to him²²⁹ that this very

²¹² DHL: "whose chief city has been for a long time Constantinople"; M/D: "whose head has been Constantinople."

²¹³ M/D: "the Eastern Church..., along with the emperor and his entire empire, acknowledges itself to be the son of its head, the Roman Pontiff and, bound in humility, wishes to obey the same more devoutly in the future—in accordance with normal custom."

²¹⁴ DHL adds *etiam eiusdem ecclesie* (also, of this very Church); M/D adds only *etiam ejusdem*.

²¹⁵ M/D is missing the conjunction *et*, which results in: "The patriarch, also, of this very [Church], who desires this step, petitions with applause all the way...."

²¹⁶ *Requirit*; DHL: *adibit* (will travel).

²¹⁷ DHL and M/D add "from the Supreme Pontiff."

²¹⁸ *Hoc*; M/D: *hac* (these issues).

²¹⁹ *Nobis prestitit sacramentum*; DHL and M/D: *juramenti praestitit cautionem* (gave surety by an oath) and do not have "to us."

²²⁰ DHL lacks the entire paragraph that follows.

²²¹ *Novus*; missing in M/D.

²²² *Nobis*; missing in M/D.

²²³ *Astrinxit*; M/D: *constrinxit*.

²²⁴ *Ad passagium Martii instantis*; M/D: *ad medium instantis Martii* (toward the middle of next March).

²²⁵ *Armatorum*; M/D: *bellatorum*.

²²⁶ *Suis sumptibus*; missing in M/D.

²²⁷ *Terre sancte invasorem impium et detentorum*; M/D: *Terrae-sanctae ipsius detentorem* (the occupier of this Holy Land).

²²⁸ *Mandavimus*; M/D: *mandat* (he announces).

²²⁹ *Ei*; Missing in M/D.

man,²³⁰ who will make known in the near future the devotion of the Christian people to his²³¹ heathen people who reside there,²³² looks to²³³ the power and mercy of God for the ruination of infidelity.

We, therefore, excited by the large number of important benefits and held here by the holy hope of fruitful²³⁴ advantages, have decided²³⁵ to spend the winter in the aforementioned²³⁶ city. We have taken care to announce this very fact to our brethren in the regions beyond the sea, who await our arrival, so that, when they hear rumors of our successes,²³⁷ which we prefer²³⁸ that they²³⁹ share, they, supported by the aid of holy hope,²⁴⁰ might more steadfastly²⁴¹ await us.²⁴²

[You should also know that we have accepted a tournament against the sultan of Babylon in front of Alexandria. If, therefore, anyone wishes to serve God (to serve Him is to rule), and wishes to bear the distinguished and shining title of "knight," let him take up the Cross and follow the Lord, and let him come to the Lord's tournament, to which he is invited by the Lord himself. Farewell.]²⁴³

²³⁰ Emperor Alexius IV.

²³¹ The sultan.

²³² *Gentis sue incole*; M/D: *genti suae incredulae* (his unbelieving heathen people). *Genti sue incole* seems to be a double scribal error. In light of M/D and also the nobles' letter to King Otto IV, which also employs the phrase *incredule genti sue*, it seems clear that *gentis* should be the dative *genti* and *incole* should be *incredule*. See the appendix to Reg. 6:210 (211) for the concluding lines to the letter to Otto.

²³³ *Prestolatur*; M/D: *expectabit*.

²³⁴ *Felicium*; DHL and M/D: *futurorum* (future).

²³⁵ *Proposuumus*; M/D: *proponimus* (we propose).

²³⁶ *Praedictam*; DHL and M/D: *praescriptam* (previously written about).

²³⁷ *Successuum*; DHL and M/D: *gaudiorum* (joys).

²³⁸ *Preoptamus*; M/D: a nonsensical *peroptamus*.

²³⁹ *Eos* appears in DHL and M/D but is missing here.

²⁴⁰ *Spei* in DHL and M/D; an incorrect *spes* here.

²⁴¹ *Constantius*; DHL: *a Constantinopoli* (from Constantinople).

²⁴² *Nos*; missing in M/D.

The letters to R. de Balues and to the anonymous recipient in M/D's version end here.

²⁴³ Only in DHL.