

OPEN CHRONICLES · VOLUME 4

Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum

THE DEEDS OF THE FRANKS

Anonymous (Gesta Francorum)

SOURCE-FAITHFUL TRANSLATION

Translated from the Latin with AI assistance, edited by Paul McMurry
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Source

Base text: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 572, fols. 1v–64v (*Gesta* narrative through the doxology *Dicat omnis spiritus. amen.*). Single-witness, image-first diplomatic transcription with derived normalized Latin and source-faithful English. The *Descriptio sanctorum locorum* beginning mid-64v after the *Gesta* close is out of scope. Source-faithful reading translation; not a multi-witness critical edition of the Latin.

- BAV Reg. lat. 572 — catalogue / digitization (as available)

Translated from the Latin with AI assistance, edited by Paul McMurry

Translated from Latin verified against manuscript page images of BAV Reg. lat. 572 with AI assistance; edited and verified by Paul McMurry. AI assistance was used for transcription aids, expansion drafting, translation drafting, and editorial review. Abbreviations are expanded in a normalized Latin layer; the diplomatic raw remains the letter-form archive. This is a source-faithful reading translation, not a multi-witness critical edition of the Latin.

Produced from the manuscript without using modern English *Gesta* translations as a source text. A post hoc comparison with Rosalind Hill's 1962 Latin (ten-book scheme) is documented in the textual notes and divergences register; Hill was not used to override clear manuscript letter-forms.

Limitations

Single witness only. Residual palaeographical openings are retained in the textual notes. No full multi-manuscript apparatus; Hagenmeyer 1890 was not usable as a systematic collational base from the available scan OCR. The *Descriptio* after the *Gesta* close on 64v is excluded. This release has not undergone external scholarly peer review.

Suggested citation

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About this edition

The *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* is an anonymous Latin chronicle of the First Crusade, written by a participant who marched with Bohemond's following and continued the story through the capture of Jerusalem and the battle of Ascalon. It is among the earliest continuous Latin narratives of the expedition, and it shaped how later writers told the same war.

This volume presents a source-faithful English reading of one manuscript: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, **Reg. lat. 572**, folios **1v–64v**. The *Gesta* begins on 1v with the red title and the large initial of *Cum iam...*, and it ends mid-64v with the doxology *Dicat omnis spiritus. amen*. Immediately afterward the same side opens the *Descriptio sanctorum locorum*, which is outside the present scope.

The manuscript divides the work by red rubrics into **four books** (Libri I–IV), with Liber IV running continuously from the aftermath of Dorylaeum to Ascalon. Printed editions often impose a ten-book scheme (as in Rosalind Hill's 1962 Latin). This edition follows the manuscript's own book breaks and notes the printed scheme only as a concordance.

The English is made from a diplomatic transcription of the Vatican images and a normalized expansion of that transcription. Manuscript letter-forms control the text. Where a reading remains uncertain, the notes say so. A post hoc comparison with Hill's Latin records real variants; it was not used as a silent source for the English, and clear manuscript forms are not "corrected" from print alone.

Names and places are given in consistent modern English forms after first contact with the manuscript's spellings (Bohemond, Godfrey, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Nicaea, Antioch, Ascalon, and the rest). Numerals and calendar formulas are rendered so that a modern reader can follow them without inventing dates the Latin does not state. The chronicle's religious and military

language is left standing: enemies of God, pagans, martyrs, and the army's own claims about what God willed.

This is a source-faithful reading translation of one witness, not a multi-manuscript critical edition of the *Gesta* tradition. Residual openings, book structure, and selected print divergences are collected in the textual notes and glossary at the back.

————— FOL. IV

When that end-time which the Lord Jesus daily shows to his faithful was already drawing near — especially in the Gospel, saying: if anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me — then a strong movement was made through all the regions of the Gauls, so that if anyone desired to follow the Lord eagerly with pure heart and mind, and after him wished faithfully to carry the cross, he should not be slow to seize more swiftly the way of the Holy Sepulchre. For the Apostolic of the Roman see set out as soon as possible beyond the mountain parts with his archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priests. And he began to discourse and preach, saying that if anyone wished to make his soul safe, he should not hesitate to begin humbly the way of the Lord; and if a supply of denarii was lacking to him, divine mercy would give him enough. And then the lord Apostolic: Brothers, we

————— FOL. 2R

must suffer many things for the name of Christ — namely miseries, poverties, nakednesses, persecutions, wants, infirmities, hungers, thirsts, and other things of this kind — just as the Lord says to his disciples: You must suffer many things for my name, and do not be ashamed to speak before the faces of men. I for my part will give you mouth and speech; and afterward a large recompense will pursue you. And when this word had thus begun little by little to grow frequent through all regions and the countries of the Gauls, the Franks, hearing such things, at once sewed [the cross] on the right shoulder, saying that they would unanimously follow the footsteps of Christ, by whose hand they had been redeemed from the Tartarean power. And already Gaul was remote from its homes. At last the Gauls made three parts. One part of the Franks entered the

region of Hungary — namely Peter the Hermit, and Duke Godfrey, and Baldwin his brother, and Baldwin count of Mons. These most powerful knights and many others whom

————— FOL. 2V

I do not know. They came by the road which Charles the Great, the wondrous king of Francia, had long ago had made ready as far as Constantinople. But the aforesaid Peter came first to Constantinople on the kalends of August, and with him a very great nation of Alamanni. There he found Lombards and Longobards and many others gathered, to whom the emperor had ordered market to be given, as it was in the city. And he said to them: Do not cross the arm, until the greatest force of Christians comes, since you are not so many that you can fight with the Turks. And the Christians themselves were conducting themselves wickedly: they were laying waste and burning through the palaces of the city, and they were carrying off the lead with which the churches were covered, and selling it to the Greeks. Whence the emperor was angry. And he ordered them to cross the arm. After they had crossed by ship, they did not cease to do all evils, burning and laying waste houses and churches. At last they came to Nicomedia, where the Lombards and Longobards

————— FOL. 3R

and the Alamanni were divided from the Franks, [...] the Franks were swelling with pride. And the Lombards and Longobards chose a senior over themselves, whose name was Rainold. The Alamanni likewise. And they entered into Romania, and for four days they went beyond the city of Nicaea. And they found a certain castle whose name is Exerogorgo, which was empty of people. And they seized it, in which they found enough grain and of wine and of meat and abundance of all goods. So the Turks, hearing that Christians were in the castle, came to besiege it. Before the gate of the castle there was a well, and at the foot of the castle a living spring, beside which Rainold went out to ambush the Turks. But the Turks, coming on the feast of Saint Michael, found Rainold and those who were with him. And the Turks killed many of them. Others fled into the castle. When it was so, the Turks besieged it and took away the water from

them. And our men were in so great affliction of thirst that they bled their horses and asses, whose blood

FOL. 3V

they drank. Others put belts and rags into the well, and from them squeezed water into their mouth. Others urinated into another's fist and drank. Others dug damp earth and lay on their backs, and spread the earth over their breasts, for the excessive dryness of thirst. But the bishops and priests comforted our men and admonished them not to fail. This tribulation lasted for eight days. At last the lord of the Alamanni made agreement with the Turks that he would hand over his companions to them, and, pretending to go out to battle, he fled to them and many with him. But those who would not deny the Lord received capital sentence. Others whom they took alive they divided among themselves like sheep. Others they sent to a stake and shot with arrows; others they sold and gave away like animals. Some led their own into their house, others into Corosanum, others into Antioch, others into Aleph, or wherever they themselves stayed. These first happily received martyrdom for the name of the Lord Jesus.

FOL. 4R

At last the Turks, hearing that Peter the Hermit and Walter Sansavoir had been in Civitot, which is above the city of Nicaea, came there with great joy to kill them and those who were with them. And when they had come, they met Walter with his men, whom the Turks soon killed. But Peter the Hermit had gone a little earlier to Constantinople, because he could not restrain that diverse people, which would not even hear his words. But the Turks, rushing upon them, killed many of them; others they found sleeping, others naked, all of whom they slew. With whom they found a certain priest celebrating mass, whom they at once martyred upon the altar. But those who could escape fled to Civitot; others threw themselves into the sea; others hid in woods and mountains. But the Turks, pursuing them into the castle, piled up wood so that they might burn them with the castle. So the Christians who were in the castle cast fire into the piled wood, and the fire turned upon

FOL. 4V

the Turks and burned some of them; but from that fire God nevertheless delivered our men. At last the Turks seized them alive, and divided them as they had done to the others before, and scattered them through all these regions: some into Corosanum, others into Persia. All this was done in the month of October. The emperor, hearing that the Turks had thus scattered our men, rejoiced greatly, and ordered and made them cross the arm. After they were beyond, he bought up all their arms. But the second part entered into the parts of Sclavonia — namely Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and the bishop of Le Puy. But the third part came through old Romania. In this part were Bohemond and Richard of the Principate, Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Hugh the Great, Everard of Puisat, Achard of Montmerle, Isnard of Nulsone, and many others. Then they came to the port of Brandoli, or Bari, or Otranto. Hugh the Great at last and William son of the marquis

— FOL. 5R

entered the sea at the port of Bari, and crossing over came to Durazzo. But the duke of that place, hearing that these most prudent men had put in there, soon an evil thought touched his heart, and he seized them, and ordered them to be led carefully to the emperor at Constantinople, that they might do fidelity to him. Duke Godfrey at last, first of all the elders, came to Constantinople with a great army, two days before the Nativity of our Lord, and was lodged outside the city, until the unjust emperor ordered him to be lodged in the borough of the city. And when the duke had been lodged, he safely sent his squires each day to carry straw and other things needful for the horses. And when they thought they might go out confidently wherever they wished, the unjust emperor Alexius ordered Turcopoles and Pechenegs to attack them and kill them. So Baldwin, the duke's brother, hearing this, set himself in ambush; and at last he found them killing his people, and attacked them with bold spirit, and with God's help overcame them. And seizing

— FOL. 5V

sixty of them, he killed part and presented part to the duke his brother. When the emperor had heard this, he was very angry. Indeed the duke was angry at the emperor on that account; he went out with his men from the borough and was

lodged outside the city. But when evening had come, the unhappy emperor ordered his forces to attack the duke with Christ's people. Whom the duke, pursuing unconquered with Christ's knights, killed seven of them, chasing others as far as the gate of the city. And the duke, returned to his tents, stayed there about five days, until he made a pact with the emperor. And the emperor said to him that he should cross the arm of Saint George, and allowed him to have every market there as it is at Constantinople, and to give alms to the poor, from which they might live. But the warlike Bohemond, who was in the siege of Malh. Scafardi pontis, hearing that an innumerable people of Christians from the Franks had come, about to go to the Lord's Sepulchre and ready for battle against the people of the pagans, began carefully to inquire

— FOL. 6R

what arms for fighting this people carried, and what showing of Christ they bore on the way, so that that sign might sound in the struggle. To whom these things were said in order. He carries arms fit for war: on the right shoulder or between both shoulder-blades they bear the cross of Christ. And the sound "God wills it, God wills it, God wills it" they shout with one voice. Soon, moved by the Holy Spirit, he ordered the most precious cloak that he had by him to be cut up, and at once spent it all on crosses. Then so vehemently did the greatest part of the knights who were in that siege begin to run together that Count Roger almost alone remained. And having returned to Sicily he grieved and mourned whenever he lost his people. At last, having returned again into his land, the lord Bohemond carefully equipped himself to begin the journey of the Holy Sepulchre. At length he crossed the sea with his army, and with him Tancred son of the marquis, and Richard the prince and Rainulf his brother, and Robert

— FOL. 6V

of Ansa, Hermann of Canini, Robert of Sourdeval, Robert son of Tostain, Humphrey son of Radulf, Richard son of Count Rainulf, the count of Russinolo with his brothers, Boello of Chartres, Alberedus of Cagnano, Humphrey of Monte Scabioso. All these crossed the sea to Bohemond's service, and put in to the parts of Bulgaria, where they found very great abundance of grain, wine, and food for the body. Then, going down into the valley of

Andronopolis, they waited for their people until all had crossed their part. Then Bohemond ordered a council with his people, comforting and admonishing all that they should be good and humble, and not plunder that land which was of Christians, and that no one should take except what would suffice him for eating. Then, going out from there, they came through a very great fullness from village into village, from city to city, from castle to castle, until they came to Castoria.

— FOL. 7R

And there we solemnly celebrated the Nativity of the Lord. And we were there for many days, and we sought market, but they would not consent to us, because they greatly feared us, not thinking us to be pilgrims, but that we wished to ravage the land and kill them. Wherefore we were seizing oxen, horses and asses, and all things that we found. Having gone out from Castoria we entered Pelagonia, in which there was a certain castle of heretics. Which we attacked on every side; and soon it yielded to our power. And so, fire having been kindled, we burned the castle with its inhabitants. Afterward we came to the river Bardarum. At last the lord Bohemond went on beyond with his people, but not all. For there remained the count of Russinolo with his brothers. The emperor's army came and attacked the count with his brothers and all who were with them. Tancred, hearing this, turned back, and casting himself into the river by swimming came to the others, and two thousand cast themselves into the river following

— FOL. 7V

Tancred. At last they found Turcoples and Pechenegs fighting with our men. Whom they suddenly attacked strongly, and wisely overcame them. And they seized many of them, and led them bound before the presence of the lord Bohemond. To whom he said: Why, wretched men, do you kill the people of Christ and mine? I have no quarrel with your emperor. Who answered: We can by no means do otherwise. We are placed in the emperor's pay, and whatever he commands us we must fulfill. Whom Bohemond let go unpunished. This battle was done on the fourth feria which is the head of the fast. Through all things blessed be God. Amen.

Here ends Book 1. Book 2 begins.

<!-- source: liber02.md -->

Source: normalized Latin of BAV Reg. lat. 572
(`latin_normalized/liber02_partial.md`), fols. 7v–12v through Explicit.

————— FOL. 7V

The unhappy emperor ordered, together with our messengers, one of his own whom he greatly loved, whom they also call curopalates, that he should lead us safely through his land until we should come to Constantinople. And when we were passing before their cities, he ordered the inhabitants

————— FOL. 8R

of the land to bring market to us. They did so, and we said to them as well. Certainly they so greatly feared the most powerful nation of the lord Bohemond that they would allow none of our men to enter the walls of the cities. And our men wished to attack and seize a certain castle, because it was full of all goods. But the prudent man Bohemond would not consent, so much for the [psulstura] of the land as for the perfidy of the emperor. Wherefore he was very angry, with Tancred and all the others. This was done in the evening. When morning had come, the inhabitants of the castle went out, and with a procession carrying crosses in their hands they came into the presence of Bohemond. He himself received them rejoicing, and with gladness allowed them to go away. Then we came to a certain city which is called Serra, where we pitched our tents, and there we had a market suitable in those days. There Bohemond made agreement with two curopalatae, and for their friendship and for the same concern for the land he ordered all the animals which our men were holding as plunder to be returned.

————— FOL. 8V

Then we came to the city of Rusa. But the people of the Greeks were going out and coming joyfully to meet the lord Bohemond, bringing us a very great market. And there we pitched our tents on the fourth feria before the Lord's

Supper. There also Bohemond dismissed his whole nation, and went on to speak with the emperor at Constantinople, taking with him only a few knights. Tancred remained head of the soldiery of Christ. And seeing the pilgrims buying food, he said that he should go out beyond the road, and lead this people where they might live happily. At last he entered into a certain valley full of all goods, Segrua, abounding with nourishment for the body, in which we most devoutly celebrated the Lord's Easter. When the emperor had heard that the most honorable man Bohemond had come to him, he ordered him to be received with honor and carefully lodged outside the city. When he had been lodged, the emperor sent for him that he should come to speak with him together in secret. Then there came

— FOL. 9R

Duke Godfrey with his brother, and afterward the count of Saint-Gilles drew near to the city. Then the emperor, anxious and boiling with anger, was considering how he might craftily and fraudulently seize these knights of Christ. But by divine grace revealing it, neither place nor space for doing harm was left him that he might invent something else. At last, when all the elders who were at Constantinople had been gathered, fearing that they might be deprived of their country, they found in their counsels and schemes of ingenuity that our dukes, counts, or all the greater men ought faithfully to make an oath of fidelity to the emperor. They refused, and said: Certainly it seems to us most unworthy, and yet right, in no way to swear an oath to him. Perhaps we shall still often be deceived by our elders. At the last, what they were about to do, they say: that, compelled by necessity, unwilling and willing, they humbled themselves to the will of the most wicked emperor. But to the most valiant man Bohemond, whom he greatly feared — who alone had often driven him from the field with his army — he said that if he would freely swear to him, he would give him fifteen days'

— FOL. 9V

journey of land in length from Antioch backward, and twelve in breadth. I swore in such a manner that if he should faithfully keep that oath, this man would never transgress his own. Such strong and such hard knights — why did

they do this? Afterward, because they had been compelled by much necessity. The emperor also gave faith and security to all our men; he also swore that he would come with us in part with his army by land and by sea, and would faithfully give us market by land and sea, and would carefully restore all our lost goods, and moreover that he would not wish or allow any of our pilgrims to be disturbed or constrained on the way of the Holy Sepulchre. But the count of Saint-Gilles was lodged outside the city in the borough, and his nation had remained behind. So the emperor ordered the count that he should do him homage, and confidently follow him. While the emperor was ordering these things, the count was considering how he might take vengeance on the emperor's army. But Duke Godfrey and Robert of Flanders, and with other princes, said to him that it would be unjust to fight against Christians. The wise man Bohemond at last said that if anything

— FOL. IOR

unjust he should do to the emperor, and should forbid the emperor to make confidence toward him, he himself would take the emperor's part. Therefore the count, having received a son from his sponsor Alexius, swore for the emperor's life and honor, that he would not consent that either he himself or the palace be taken from him. And when he was appealed to concerning homage, he said he himself would not do that at the danger of the chapter. Then the nation of the lord Bohemond drew near to Constantinople. But Tancred and Richard of the Principate, on account of the emperor's oath, secretly crossed the arm, and almost the whole nation of Bohemond went with them, and soon the army of the count of Saint-Gilles drew near to Constantinople. But the count remained there with his own nation. Bohemond therefore remained with the emperor, so that with him he might receive a son, and that they might send market to the peoples who were beyond the city of Nicaea. Duke Godfrey therefore went first to Nicomedia together with Tancred and all the others; they were there for three days. Indeed the duke saw that no road was open by which he could lead these peoples as far as the city of Nicaea, and that by that road by which others had previously crossed he could not pass with so great a people; he set soldiers

— FOL. IOV

before him, three thousand men with axes and swords, who should cut and open this road, which when opened would become a way for our pilgrims as far as the city of Nicaea. Which road was made ready through a narrow and excessively rough mountain country, and behind them they made crosses of iron and of wood, which they set upon stakes, so that our pilgrims might recognize them. Meanwhile we came to Nicaea, which is the head of all Romania, on the fourth day, the second before the nones of May, and there we pitched camp. But before Bohemond had come to us, there was such scarcity of bread among us that one loaf was sold for twenty or thirty denarii. After the prudent Bohemond came, he ordered a very great market to be brought out by sea, and both sides came in part, that one by land and that one by sea, and there was the greatest abundance in the whole soldiery of Christ. But on the day of the Lord's Ascension we began to attack the city on every side, and to build engines of wood, and wooden towers, by which we might cast down the wall-towers. So strongly and so fiercely did we assail the city for two days that we even undermined the wall

— FOL. IIR

of the city. The Turks, to be sure, who were in the city, sent messengers to others who had come to give help to the city, in this manner: that they should boldly and securely approach, and enter by the southern gate, by which no one from that side would be in the way, nor would he block them. Which gate on that very day was occupied by Raymond of Saint-Gilles on the Saturday after the Lord's Ascension, and by the bishop of Le Puy. Which count, coming from the other side, protected by divine virtue, also shone with earthly arms, with his most powerful army. Here therefore he found the Turks coming against us. Who, armed on every side with the sign of the cross, fiercely rushed upon them, and overcame them. And they took to flight, and the greater part of them was slain. Who again came to the help of the others, rejoicing and exulting toward a certain battle, dragging ropes with them, with which they would lead us bound to Corosanum. But coming joyfully, they began to descend little by little from the top of the mountain. As many as came down, there they remained with heads cut off by the hands of our men. But our men were hurling the heads of

the slain with a sling into the city, so that from this the Turks might be more terrified.

FOL. IIV

At last Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the bishop of Le Puy took counsel together how they might have a certain tower undermined, which was before their tents. Men were appointed who should undermine this, and crossbowmen and archers who should defend them on every side. For they dug that tower as far as the roots of the wall, and set under posts and timbers, and then put fire to them. But when evening had come, the tower already fell in the night, but because it was night, they could not cut more. But in that night the Turks rose up in haste, and restored the wall so pierced, that when day came no one could harm them from that side. Now there came the count of Normandy, and count Stephen, and many others, and afterward Roger of Barneville. Bohemond at last besieged the city in the first front, and next to him Tancred, and afterward Duke Godfrey, and then the count of Flanders, next to whom count Robert of Normandy, and next to him the count of Saint-Gilles, next to whom the bishop of Le Puy. So tightly was it besieged that no one dared to go out or to enter. And all were gathered there into one. And who could number

FOL. I2R

so great a soldiery of Christ. No one, I think, ever saw so many most prudent knights, nor will be able to see them hereafter. But on one side of the city there was a vast lake, into which the Turks were sending their ships, and they were going out and coming in, and bringing grass, wood, and many other things. Then our greater men, having taken counsel together, sent messengers to Constantinople to say to the emperor that he should have ships brought to the city where the harbor is, and should order oxen to be gathered which should drag them through the mountains and woods, until they should approach the lake. Which was done at once, and he ordered his Turcoples with them. But on the day on which the ships had been brought out, they would not put them into the lake at once, but when night came on they put them into the full lake, full of Turcoples, well equipped with arms. But at the first light of dawn the ships stood most finely ordered, hastening against the city. Seeing them, the Turks

wondered, not knowing whether it was their own people or the emperor's. But after they recognized that they were the emperor's peoples, they feared even unto death, weeping and lamenting, and the Franks were rejoicing

————— FOL. 12V

and giving thanks to the Lord. But the Turks, seeing that they could in no way have help from their armies, sent a legation to the emperor, saying that they would of their own will surrender the city, if he would allow them to go away entirely with their wives and sons and all their substance. Then the emperor, full of vain and wicked thought, ordered them to go away unpunished without any fear, and that they be brought to him to Constantinople with great confidence. Whom he carefully kept, so that he might have them ready as obstacles against the Franks. And in that siege it was for seven weeks and three days, and many of our men there received martyrdom, and rejoicing and glad they gave back happy souls to the Lord, and of the poorest people many died of hunger for the name of Christ. Who, triumphing in heaven, wear the stoles of the martyrdom they have received, saying with one voice: Avenge, O Lord, our blood, which has been poured out for you, who are blessed and to be praised for ever and ever.

Here ends Book 2. Book 3 begins. Amen.

<!-- source: liber03.md -->

Source: normalized Latin of BAV Reg. lat. 572
(`latin_normalized/liber03_partial.md`), fols. 12v–15v through Explicit.

————— FOL. 12V

And now, the city having been surrendered and the Turks led away to Constantinople, wherefore the emperor more

————— FOL. 13R

and more rejoiced that the city had been surrendered into his power, ordered very great alms to be distributed to our poor. And God willed that on the first day on which we withdrew from the city, we came to a certain bridge, and there we remained for two days. But on the third day, before light had begun to rise,

our men rose up, and because it was night they did not see how to keep one road, but were divided into two columns, and they came divided for two days. In one column was the man Bohemond, and Robert of Normandy, and prudent Tancred, and many others. In the other was the count of Saint-Gilles, and Duke Godfrey, and the bishop of Le Puy, and Hugh the Great, and the count of Flanders, and many others. On the third day the Turks rushed fiercely upon Bohemond and those who were with him. At once the Turks began to shriek and chatter, and to cry out, saying with a loud voice a diabolic sound I know not what in their own tongue. The wise man Bohemond, seeing innumerable Turks afar off, shrieking and crying with a demonic voice, immediately ordered all the knights to dismount, and to pitch the tents quickly. Before

— FOL. 13V

the tents had been pitched, he said again to all the knights: Elders and most valiant knights of Christ, behold now a hard battle is all around us. Therefore let all the knights go manfully to meet them, and let the foot-soldiers carefully and more swiftly pitch the tents. After this whole thing was done, the Turks were already surrounding us on every side, fighting and hurling javelins, and shooting darts, and wonderfully shooting arrows far and wide. We therefore, although we could not resist them, nor bear the weight of so many enemies, yet with one mind we held our ground there. Our women also on that day were a very great refuge to us, who were bringing water for our fighters to drink, and always strongly comforted them, fighting and defending. The wise man Bohemond therefore immediately ordered the others, namely Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and Duke Godfrey, and Hugh the Great, and the bishop of Le Puy, and all the other knights of Christ, that they should more swiftly approach to the battle, saying: If they wish to struggle today, let them come manfully. Duke Godfrey therefore, bold

— FOL. 14R

and strong, and Hugh the Great, came first together, with their armies. The bishop of Le Puy also followed them, together with his army, and the count of Saint-Gilles was next to them with a great host. Our men therefore wondered

greatly whence so great a multitude of Turks and Arabs and Saracens and of others whom I do not know how to number had arisen, who almost everywhere all the mountains and hills and valleys and all the level places within and without on every side were covered with that excommunicated generation. There was therefore held a secret speech among us, praising and silent and saying: Be of one mind among all in the faith of Christ and in the victory of the holy cross, for today you will all be made rich, if it please God. Immediately our battle-lines were drawn up. On the left side was the wise man Bohemond, and Robert of Normandy, and prudent Tancred, and Robert of Ansa, and Richard of the Principate. But the bishop of Le Puy came by the other mountain way, surrounding on every side the unbelieving Turks. On the left side also there rode the most valiant knight Raymond,

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count of Saint-Gilles. But on the right side was Duke Godfrey, and the most fierce knight the count of Flanders, and Hugh the Great, and many others, whose names I do not know. But as soon as our knights were coming, the Turks and Arabs and Saracens and Agulani, and all the barbarian nations, swiftly took flight by the short-cuts of the mountains and through the level places. Now the number of the Turks, Persians, Publicani, Saracens, Agulani, and of the other pagans was three hundred and sixty thousand besides the Arabs, whose number no one knows except God alone. But they fled all too swiftly to their tents, and there it was not permitted them to linger long. Again they took to flight, and we pursued them, killing them for a whole day. And we took many spoils, gold, silver, horses and asses, camels, sheep, and oxen, and very many other things which we do not know. And unless the Lord had been with us in the battle, and had quickly sent us another battle-line, none of our men would have escaped — this fight which lasted from the third hour until the ninth hour. But almighty God, kind and merciful, who did not allow his knights to perish

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nor to go into the hands of the enemies. The knights are without help for us. But there two distinguished honorable knights were dead, namely Godfrey of Monte Scabioso, and William son of the marquis, brother of Tancred, and other

knights and foot-soldiers whose names I do not know. Who that is ever so wise or learned will dare to describe the prudence of their soldiery and the fortitude of the Turks? Who thought to terrify the nation of the Franks by the weakening of their arrows, just as they had terrified the Arabs, Saracens, and Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks. But if it please God, they will never be worth as much as our men. Nevertheless they say that they are of the stock of the Franks, and that no man ought by nature to be a knight except the Franks and they. I will speak the truth, for no one will dare to forbid it. Certainly if they had always been firm in the faith of Christ and in holy Christianity, and had been willing to confess one God in the Trinity, and the Son of God born of the virgin mother, who suffered, and rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven in the sight of his disciples, and as perfect knights by the consolation of the Holy Spirit, and him in heaven and on earth

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reigning — if they had believed with right mind and faith — no one could have found any more powerful or stronger or most ingenious in wars than they. And with so great a stroke, the Turks having been conquered — this battle was fought on the first day of July.

Here ends Book 3. Book 4 begins.

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Afterward, behold, the enemies of God and of holy Christianity were wholly conquered, fleeing hither and thither for four days and nights; and it forced Soliman, their duke, son of old Soliman, to flee from Nicaea. He found ten thousand Arabs, who said to him: “O unhappy man, and more unhappy than all nations, why do you flee, struck with terror?” To them Soliman answered tearfully: “Because formerly, when I had conquered all the Franks and thought them already bound in captivity, and while I had wished little by little to bind them to one another, then looking back behind me I saw so innumerable a people of them that if you or anyone had been present there, he would have

thought that all the mountains and hills and valleys and all the level places were full of their multitude. We therefore, seeing them, at once began to take sudden roads—so many, so wonderfully—that we scarcely escaped from their hands,

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whence we are still in so great a terror. And if you would be willing to believe me and my words, you would take yourselves away from here; for if they themselves should also be able to bear you alone, scarcely one of you will escape living any longer.” But they, hearing such things, turned their backs and spread themselves through all Romania. Then we came pursuing the most wicked Turks, who fled before us every day. But they, coming to all the castles or cities, feigning and deceiving the inhabitants of the land of those places, said: “We have conquered all the Christians and have overcome them, so that none of them now ever dares to raise himself before us; only permit us to enter within.” And entering they plundered churches and houses and all other things, and led away with them horses and asses and mules, gold and silver, and whatever they could find; moreover they also carried off Christian children with them and burned them, and devastated all things suitable or useful, fleeing and greatly fearing before our face. We therefore pursued them through deserts and waterless and uninhabitable land,

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from which we scarcely escaped or came out even as one. But hunger and thirst pressed us on every side, and there was utterly nothing for us to eat, unless by chance lentils, and rubbing ears of grain with our hands; on such food we lived as most wretchedly as possible. There the greatest part of our horsemen died, because many of them remained foot-soldiers; and through lack of horses there were oxen for us in place of steeds, and by extreme necessity goats and sheep and dogs served us for carrying. Meanwhile we began to enter a most excellent land, full of bodily provisions and delights and of all goods, and thereafter we approached Iconium. But the inhabitants of that land advised and admonished us to take with us skins full of water, because there for a day’s journey there is the greatest scarcity of water. We indeed did so, until we came to a certain river, and there we lodged for two days. But our scouts began to go ahead, until they

came to Heraclea, in which there was a great gathering of Turks, waiting and lying in ambush as to how they might harm the soldiers of Christ.

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Those Turks the soldiers of almighty God, finding them, boldly attacked. Our enemies therefore were overcome that day, and they fled as swiftly as an arrow flies when shot with a strong blow of the string and bow. Our men therefore entered at once into the city, and there we remained for three days. There Tancred, son of the marquis, divided himself from the others, and Baldwin the count, brother of Duke Godfrey; and together they entered the valley of Botrenthrot. Tancred set out and came to Tarsus with his knights. At length the Turks came out from the city and came to meet them, and having gathered into one they prepared for battle against the Christians. As our men therefore were approaching and fighting, our enemies took flight, returning into the city with swift step. But Tancred, soldier of Christ, came with reins loosed and pitched camp before the gate of the city. From another side therefore came the renowned man Count Baldwin with his army; he asked of Tancred that he would deign most amicably to receive him into partnership of the city. To him Tancred said: "You I refuse altogether in this partnership." Night therefore coming on, all

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the Turks, struck with terror, took flight as one. At length the inhabitants of the city came out under that darkness of night, crying with a loud voice: "Run, most invincible Franks, run, because the Turks, terrified by our fear, are all withdrawing together." But when day had risen, the chief men of the city came and of their own will surrendered the city, saying to those who were disputing with one another over this: "Leave off, our elders, leave off—we who wish and ask that that man who yesterday fought so manfully with the Turks should rule and reign over us." Baldwin therefore, the liberal count, was quarreling and disputing with Tancred, saying: "Let us enter together and plunder the city, and let him who can do more have it, and let him who can take, take." To whom most valiant Tancred said: "Far be this from me. For I do not wish to despoil Christians. The men of this city have chosen me as lord over them, and they

desire to have me.” At last strong Tancred was unable long to struggle with Count Baldwin, who had a great army for him; willing and unwilling he gave up the city and withdrew manfully with his army, and at once two most excellent cities were handed over to him, namely

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Athena and Manuftra and very many castles. But the greater army, namely Raymond count of Saint-Gilles and most learned Bohemond and Duke Godfrey and many others, entered into the land of the Armenians, thirsting and burning with the blood of the Turks. At last they came to a certain castle which was so strong that they could do nothing to it. But there was there a certain man named Symeon who was born in that region, and who asked for this land that he might defend it from the hands of the enemy Turks; to him of their own will they gave it, and he remained there with his people. We at length, going out from there, came happily as far as Caesarea of Cappadocia. But having gone out from Cappadocia we came to a certain most beautiful and exceedingly fertile city, which a little before our arrival the Turks had besieged for three weeks, but had not overcome. Soon, when we arrived there, it at once surrendered itself into our hand with great joy. Therefore a certain knight whose name was Peter of the Alps asked for this city from all the elders, that he might defend it in the fidelity of God and of the Holy Sepulchre and of the elders and of the

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emperor. To him with excessive love they granted it as a favor. On the following night Bohemond heard that the Turks who had been in the siege of the city were frequently going ahead of us. Soon he prepared himself alone with knights so that he might attack them on every side, but he could not find them. Then we came to a certain city named Coxon, in which there was the greatest abundance of all goods that were necessary for us. The Christians therefore, namely the Aluni of that city, surrendered themselves at once, and we were there most excellently for three days, and there our men were greatly recovered. Raymond the count therefore, hearing that the Turks who were in the garrison of Antioch had withdrawn, found in his counsel that he should send there others from among his knights who might carefully guard it. At last he chose those whom he

wished to send, namely Peter of Castellione the viscount, William of Monte Pisslero, Peter of Roasa, Peter Raymond of Pul, with five hundred knights. [Generunt] They went therefore through the valleys near Antioch to a certain castle of the Publicani, and there they heard that the Turks were in the city and that they

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were preparing to defend it strongly. Peter of Roasa divided himself and went from the others, and on the next night crossed near Antioch and entered the valley of Rugia, and found Turks and Saracens, and fought with them, and killed many of them, and pursued others greatly. The Armenians, inhabitants of that land, seeing this—that they had strongly overcome the pagans—at once surrendered themselves. And he himself at once took again one city and very many castles. But we who had remained, going out from where we entered into a diabolical mountain range which was straight, high, and narrow, so that none of our men would dare to presume to go ahead of the others on the path that lay open on the mountain. There horses cast themselves down, and one pack-horse cast another down. The knights who stood on every side, sad, wrung their hands because of too great sadness and pain, doubting what they should do with themselves and with their arms, selling their shields and excellent hauberks with helmets for only three or five denarii, though earlier each one could have had them. But those who could not sell cast them away free and went. Going out therefore from the accursed mountain range we came to the city which is called Marasi.

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But the cultivators of that city came out to meet us rejoicing and bringing a very great market, and there we had every abundance, waiting until lord Bohemond should come. [Generunt] Our knights therefore went into the valley in which the royal city Antioch is situated, which is the head of all Syria, and which the Lord Jesus Christ handed over to blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, that he might call it back to the worship of the holy faith—who lives and reigns with God the Father in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God through all ages of ages. Amen. When we had begun to approach the iron bridge, our scouts who

previously used to go ahead of us found innumerable Turks gathered to meet them, who were hastening to give help to Antioch. Our men therefore, rushing upon them with one heart and mind, overcame the Turks. The barbarians were struck down and took flight, and many of them died in that very combat. Our men therefore, overcoming them by the grace of God, took many spoils: horses, camels, mules, asses laden with grain and wine. Coming at last our men pitched camp upon the bank of the river.

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Then the wise man Bohemond came with three thousand knights before the gate of the city to keep watch, if by chance any should go out secretly by night or should enter the city. But on the next day they arrived as far as Antioch at midday, on the third feria which is the twelfth before the kalends of November, and we besieged wonderfully three gates of the city, since on the other side a place of besieging was lacking to us, because the other side is a very narrow mountain range that constrained us. But so greatly did the Turks who were inside in the city fear us on every side and our fortifications, that none of them dared to harm any of our men for nearly the space of fifteen days. Soon, lodging ourselves about Antioch, we found there every abundance, namely vines full on every side, pits thoroughly full of grain, trees loaded with fruits, and many other things well useful for bodies. The Armenians and Syrians who were inside in the city, going out from it, fled to us; daily they were with us, but their wives remained in the city. They ingeniously were tracking our being and our quality, and they were reporting all things to those who were in the city. But after the Turks had been informed of our

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condition, they began little by little to go out from the city, to hem in our pilgrims on every side. Not only from one part, but on every side they were lying hidden, opposite us toward the sea and toward the mountain country. But there was not far off a castle whose name is Aregh, where many most valiant Turks were gathered, who frequently harassed our men. Our elders therefore, hearing such things, grieved exceedingly, and taking pity chose from among their knights those who might carefully scout the place where the Turks were. The place

where they were lying hidden having been found, our knights who were seeking them met them. But as our men were little by little withdrawing back to where they knew Bohemond was with his army, at once two of our men died there. Bohemond, hearing this, rose up with his men as a most valiant athlete of Christ, and the barbarians rushed against them, because our men were few, so closely joined together on the path of war. Many also of our men died, countless, and other captives were led before the gate of the city, and there they were beheading them, so that those who were in the city might become the more sad. Certain others were going out from the city, and were ascending

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into a certain gate, and they were shooting arrows at us, so that their arrows fell into lord Bohemond's square, and one woman fell dead by the blow of an arrow. All our greater men therefore gathered, and they arranged a counsel, saying: "Let us make a castle on the peak of the mountain Marest, whereby we may be able to be secure and safe from fear of the Turks." The castle therefore having been made and fortified, all the greater men in turn kept watch there. And already bread of grain and all nourishment of bodies was exceedingly dear before the Lord's month. They utterly did not dare to go outside, and we could find utterly nothing in the land of the Christians to eat. For into the land of the Saracens no one dared to enter unless with a great host. At last our elders set a counsel, arranging how they should govern so great peoples. They found in the counsel that one part of us should go carefully to draw in provisions, and should everywhere guard the army, and the other part should remain confidently to guard the camp. Bohemond at length said: "Elders and most prudent knights, if you wish and it seems good to you, I will be with the count of Flanders, about to go with him." The most glorious solemnities therefore having been celebrated

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of the Nativity, on the day of the moon, namely the second feria, those men went out and others more than twenty thousand of knights and of foot-soldiers, and safe and unharmed they entered the land of the Saracens. For many Turks and Arabs and Saracens had been gathered, from Jerusalem and Damascus and Aleppo, and from other regions, who were coming to give strength to Antioch.

Hearing therefore these things—that the nation of the Christians had been led out into their land—they at once prepared themselves for war against the Christians, and at highest dawn they came to the place where our nation was in one. And the barbarians divided themselves and made two battle-lines, one before and another behind, desiring to surround us from every part. The excellent count of Flanders therefore, on every side by the governance of the faith and the sign of the cross, because daily he faithfully was carrying it armed, met them together with Bohemond. And our men rushed unanimously upon them. Who at once took flight, and hastily turned their backs, and very many of them died, and our men took their horses and other spoils. Others who had remained alive fled swiftly, and went away onto the road of perdition. But we, returning

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with great rejoicing, praised and magnified the triune and one Lord, who lives and reigns now and forever. Amen. The Turks at last, enemies of God and of holy Christianity, who were inside in the garrison of the city of Antioch—hearing that lord Bohemond and the count of Flanders were not in the siege—went out from the city, and boldly came to fight with us, lying in wait on every side in which part the siege was weaker, knowing that the most prudent knights were outside, and they found that on one day of Mars they could withstand us and harm us. The barbarians came again carefully in a similar way, and rushed violently upon us, and killed many of our knights and foot-soldiers off guard. The bishop of Le Puy also on that bitter day lost his seneschal, who was leading and guiding him and the banner. And unless there had been the river that was between us and them, they would more often have attacked us, and would have done very great injury to our people. Then the prudent man Bohemond was coming out with his army from the land of the Saracens, and he came into Tancred's mountain country, thinking

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whether by chance he might be able to find there something that could be brought back. For they had put the whole land into expenditure; some indeed had found something, others had returned empty. Then the wise man

Bohemond rebuked them, saying: “O unhappy and most wretched people, o basest of all Christians, why do you wish to go away so quickly? Wait, you countless ones—until we shall be gathered into one, and do not wander thus like sheep not having a shepherd. But if our enemies find you wandering, they will kill you, because day and night they keep watch, that they may find you separated without a leader or alone, and they labor daily to kill you and to lead you into captivity.” And when the end of the speech was done, he returned to his camp with his men more empty than laden. But the Armenians and Syrians, seeing that our men had returned thoroughly empty, having taken counsel into one, went away through the mountain regions and through desert places; they withdrew, seeking and buying grain and bodily provisions, which they brought to the camp in which there was immense famine, and they sold the load of one ass for eight purpurati, which were valued at

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a hundred and twenty solidi of denarii. There indeed many of our men died, not having the price from which they could have bought so dear a thing. William the Carpenter therefore and Peter the Hermit, on account of that imposed unhappiness and that very misery, secretly withdrew. Tancred pursuing them seized them, and brought them back with him with disgrace, who gave him their right hand and faith that they would willingly return to the camp and make satisfaction to the elders. At last all night William lay like a bad thing in the tent of lord Bohemond. But on the next day at highest dawn, coming with blushing he stood before Bohemond’s presence. Bohemond addressing him said: “O unhappy man, and infamy of all France, disgrace and crime of the Gauls, o most wicked of all whom the earth endures, why did you flee so basely? Perhaps for this, that you wished to betray these knights and the army of Christ, as you betrayed others in Spain.” At which he was silent, and no speech proceeded from his mouth. Nearly all the Frankish-born gathered themselves, and humbly asked lord Bohemond that he not permit worse to be done to him. He assented with serene

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countenance, and said: "This with pure love I willingly consent to, if with whole heart and mind he shall have sworn that he will never withdraw from the Jerusalem journey, whether in good or in evil; and Tancred neither by himself nor by his men will consent that anything contrary be done to him." Who, having heard these words, voluntarily yielded. He himself dismissed Peter. Afterward the Carpenter with greatest and great baseness, not long delaying, secretly withdrew. This poverty and misery, for our sins, God granted us to have. For in the whole army one could not find a thousand knights who had excellent horses. Meanwhile our enemy, hearing that the army of the Turks had come upon us, said that he had lost hope, and thinking that we all had perished and had fallen into the hands of enemies, feigning all false things, said: "Elders and most prudent men, see that we are here in the greatest necessity, and from no side does help come to us. Behold, at the end for me there remains a place in the land of Romania, and I without any hesitation will make many ships come hither

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over the sea laden with grain, wine, barley, meat, flour, and cheeses, and with all good things that are necessary for us. I will also make horses be brought for selling and a market come hither over land in the emperor's fidelity. Behold, all these things I will faithfully swear to you and will keep my word. Moreover also my household goods and my pavilion are in the camp, whence also firmly believe that I will return as quickly as possible." Thus therefore he made an end of his words. That enemy left all his things in the camp, and he remains in perjury and will remain. And so in such a manner there was upon us the greatest necessity, because the Turks on every side were binding us tightly, so that none of our men any longer dared to go out beyond the tents. For they indeed were pressing us from one side, and famine was tormenting us from the other. Help indeed and assistance was lacking to us; the small and poorest people were fleeing to Cyprus, the Romaniae, and into the mountain regions. As far as the sea we did not dare to go because of fear of the most wicked Turks; nowhere was a way opened for us. Therefore lord Bohemond, hearing that an innumerable nation of Turks was coming upon us, came cautiously

to the others, saying: "Elders and most prudent knights, what shall we do? For we are not so many that we can fight in two parts. But you know what we shall do. I will make of us two parts. Let the part of the foot-soldiers remain continually to guard the pavilions and to withstand those who are in the city as much as possible. But let the other part of the knights come with us to meet our enemies who are lodged here near us in the castle Areg beyond the iron bridge." But when evening had come, the prudent man Bohemond went out from the tents with other most prudent knights, and they lay between the river and the lake. At highest dawn he at once ordered scouts to go out and see how many squadrons of Turks there are and where they are, or certainly what they are doing. Those men went out and began carefully to inquire where the Turks' battle-lines, drawn back, were. At last they saw innumerable Turks coming apart from the side of the river, divided into two battle-lines; but the greatest force of them was coming behind. For the scouts returned swiftly, saying: "Behold, behold, they are coming. Therefore

be all of you ready, because already they are near us." And the wise man Bohemond said to the others: "Elders and most invincible knights, arrange the battle toward one another." And they answered: "You wise and prudent, you great and magnificent, you strong and victor, you arbiter of wars and judge of combats—do this whole thing; let this whole thing be upon you. All the good that you see for yourself, work and do for us and for you." Then Bohemond ordered that each one by himself should lead forth his own battle-line, arranged. And they did so, and six battle-lines were arranged. But five went out gathered to attack them. Bohemond therefore was little by little stepping back with his battle-line. Then near our men one common man was striking another. But the clamor was resounding to heaven. All were fighting together. Showers of missiles were darkening the air. Afterward the greatest force of them that was behind came and attacked our battle-line, so that our men already were yielding a little backward. When the most learned man Bohemond saw this, he groaned. Then

he ordered his constable, namely Robert son of Gerard, saying: "Go as quickly as

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you can, as a strong man, and be keen in help of the Lord and of the Holy Sepulchre. And truly know that this war is not fleshly but spiritual. Be therefore a most valiant athlete of Christ. Go in peace; may the Lord be with you everywhere." He therefore was fortified on every side with the sign of the cross, as a lion pressed by hunger for three or four days, who going out from his dens, roaring and thirsting for the blood of cattle, thus fearlessly rushes among the ranks of the flocks, tearing sheep fleeing hither and thither—so was this man acting among the ranks of the Turks. So violently was he pressing upon them that the tongues of the banner were rolling over the Turks' heads. But the other battle-lines, seeing that Bohemond's banner had been so honorably carried before the others, at once returned backward, and our men unanimously attacked the Turks, who all stupefied took flight. Our men therefore pursued them and cut them down as far as the iron bridge. But the Turks, having turned back, hurried into their camp, and our men took all things that they could find there and plundered the whole camp and cast fire, and the Turks fled. The Armenians and Syrians, knowing that the Turks had wholly lost the war, went out and kept watch through

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narrow places, and they killed and seized many of them. Our enemies therefore were overcome that day, God willing. Thereupon our men were recovered with horses and with many other things that were very necessary for them. And a hundred heads of the dead they brought before the gate of the city, where the envoys of the amiratus of Babylon had pitched camp, who were sending messages to the elders. Those who had remained in the tents—all day many things were with those who were in the city—before the three gates of the city. This battle was done on the day of Mars, before the head of the fast, on the fifth before the ides of February, with our Lord Jesus Christ favoring, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns, God through immortal ages of ages. Amen. Our men returned, God acting, triumphing and rejoicing over the

triumph which they had on that day over the conquered enemies, who are overcome in all things, often fleeing hither and thither, wandering and straying; some entered into Corrozana, others indeed into the land of the Saracens. But our greater men, seeing that our enemies who were in the city were handling us badly and constraining us, watching day and night and lying in wait in what part they might

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harm us, gathered with one mind and said: “Before we lose our people, let us make a castle at Machumaria, which is before the city’s gate, where the bridge is, and there perhaps we shall be able to constrain our enemies.” All consented, and they praised that it would be good to do. The count of Saint-Gilles first said: “Behold, I myself will be for help to make the castle, and I will fortify and keep it.” Bohemond answered: “If you wish, and the others, I will go with you to the port of Saint Symeon, carefully to lead out those men who are there, that they may pay for this work; let the others who are to remain fortify themselves on every side for defense.” The count therefore and Bohemond went on to the port of Saint Symeon. But we who remained, gathered into one, were beginning the castle, while the Turks prepared themselves at once, and went out beyond the city to meet us for battle. Thus therefore they rushed upon us, and put our men to flight, and killed several of our men, whence we were very sad. But on the next day the Turks, seeing that our greater men were absent, and that on the third day they had gone to the port, prepared themselves, and again were coming to meet them from the

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port. Then, seeing the count and Bohemond coming and leading out that people, they soon began to shriek and chatter and cry with a most violent clamor, surrounding our men on every side, casting javelins, shooting arrows, wounding, and cruelly cutting them down. For they so destined our men that those went in flight over the nearest mountain country, and where a way of going lay open. He who could free himself with swift step escaped alive; he who could not flee took death. And on that day more than a thousand of our knights or foot-soldiers were martyred, who as we believe ascended into heaven, and

received the white-clad robe of martyrdom. Therefore Bohemond did not hold the road which they had held, but more swiftly with few knights came to us, who were gathered into one. Then we, kindled by the slaughter of our men, the name of Christ having been invoked and trusting to live by the Holy Sepulchre, joined together we came against them to battle, and we attacked them with one heart and mind. For they were standing as one, and our men on every side already stupefied and violently terrified, thinking that they would conquer and kill our men, as they had done to the people of the count and of Bohemond. But almighty God did not permit this to them.

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The knights of God therefore, armed on every side with the sign of the cross, so rushed keenly upon them, and strongly attacked. But those fled swiftly through the middle of the narrow part of the bridge, to their destruction. Those who alive could not cross the bridge because of the too great multitude of peoples and of horses, there received a sepulchral death with the devil and his angels. We therefore overcame them, driving them into the river and casting them down. But the wave of the rapid river was seen to flow on every side, red with the blood of the Turks. And if by chance any of them had wished to crawl over the bridge's columns, or by swimming should strive to go out to land, he was wounded by our men standing on every side upon the bank of the river. The rumor also and the clamor of our men and of them was resounding to heaven. Showers of missiles and of arrows were covering the pole and the brightness of day. The Christian women of the city were coming to the windows of the wall, watching the wretched fates of the Turks, and secretly they were applauding with their hands. The Armenians and Syrians, by order of the greater Turks, unwilling or willing, were casting arrows outside toward us. Dead also in soul and body are twelve ammiratiui from the Turks' battle-line in that fight, and others of the most prudent and stronger knights

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who were better defending the city by fighting—the number of whom was a thousand and five hundred. The others who had remained alive no longer dared to shout or chatter, neither by day nor by night, as they used to before. Night

therefore separated all of us and them alone; night which divided both sides in fighting, casting javelins, darting, shooting arrows. Thus were our enemies overcome by the virtue of God and of the Holy Sepulchre, and thereafter they were not able to have such strength, neither in voice nor in work, as before. We therefore were greatly refreshed on that day with many things that were sufficiently necessary for us, and with horses. But on the next day at highest dawn other Turks went out from the city, and they collected all the corpses and entrails of the dead Turks that they could find upon the bank of the river, except those that were lying hidden in the bed of that same river, and they buried them at Machumaria, which is beyond the bridge before the city's gate, and together with them they buried cloaks, golden bezants, bows, arrows, and very many other instruments, which we cannot name. Our men therefore, hearing that the Turks had buried their dead, all prepared themselves, and came hastening to the

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devil, and they ordered the dead to be unburied, and their tombs to be broken, and them to be dragged out beyond the sepulchres. And then they cast all their corpses into a certain pit, and they carried the severed heads to our tents, so that they might perfectly know their number, except that they had loaded four horses with heads as messages for the amiratus of Babylon, and had sent them to the sea. Which when the Turks saw, they grieved exceedingly, and were sad even unto death. For daily grieving, they were doing nothing else but weeping and wailing. But on the third day, with the bishops together joined, with great joy they began to build the aforesaid castle, from the stones namely which we drew out from the Turks' tombs. The castle therefore having been made, soon with the bishop to hem in our enemies from every part, whose pride had already been reduced to nothing. But we were walking securely hither and thither, to the gate and to the mountain regions, praising and glorifying the Lord our God, to whom is honor and glory through all ages of ages. Amen. Already almost all paths were forbidden and closed on every side to the Turks, except from that part of the river where there was the castle and a certain monastery. Which

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castle if it had been perfectly fortified by us, already none of them would dare to go out beyond the city's gate. At length our men took counsel among themselves, and with one voice they said concordantly: "Let us choose one from among us, who may hold that castle robustly, and may forbid to our enemies the mountain regions and the plains, and the entrance of the city and the exit." Tancred therefore first offered himself before the others, saying: "If by chance any profit should come from it, I carefully with my men alone will fortify the castle, and the road by which our enemies are accustomed to go frequently I will securely deny them." Who at once answered him: as much as a hundred marks of silver. Tancred did not consent; nevertheless he went on with his most honorable knights and sergeants, and at once took away the roads from the Turks on every side, so that none of them any longer dared, already by fear of him at the gate, to go out beyond the city's gate, neither for grass nor for wood nor for any necessities. But Tancred remained there with his men, and began vehemently everywhere to hem in the city. On that same day also the greatest part of the Armenian foragers and plunderers was coming securely from the mountain regions, who were carrying

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provisions for the Turks in aid of the city. To whom Tancred came opposite, and seized them, and all things that they were bringing, namely grain, wine, barley, oil, and other things of this kind. Thus therefore Tancred was conducting himself robustly and prosperously, so that he had forbidden and closed all paths to the Turks, until Antioch should be taken. All things that we did before the city was taken I cannot narrate, because there is no one in these parts, whether cleric or layman, who can wholly either write or narrate, so the deed was done. Yet I will say a little. There was a certain amiratus of Turkish stock, whose name was Pirrus, who had received the greatest friendship with Bohemond. Bohemond often was pressing this man with messengers sent back and forth, that he might most amicably receive him within the city, and likewise he was promising him free Christianity, and he was commanding that he would make him rich with much honor. That man consented to the words and promises, saying: "I guard three towers, and likewise I willingly grant them, and

at whatever hour he shall wish I will gather him into them.” Bohemond therefore was secure concerning the entrance of the city, and joyful and with serene mind, with calm countenance he came to all the elders, and brought in joyful words, saying:

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“Most prudent men, knights, see how we all are in too great poverty and misery, greater and lesser, and we utterly do not know in what part it may better succeed for us. Therefore if it seems good and honorable to you, let one from among us choose himself before the others, and if by skill he shall have been able to acquire a city as by engineering, by himself or by others, with one voice let us grant the city to him as a gift.” How they forbade and denied it, saying: “Let this city dismiss no one, but let us all have it equally; so let us have equal labor, so from that let us have equal honor.” Bohemond therefore, having heard these words, smiling a little, at once withdrew. Not long afterward we heard messengers concerning the army of our enemies—of Turks, Publicani, Agulani, Azimitae, and of very many other nations. And at once all our greater men gathered themselves together, and held counsel, saying: how if Bohemond shall have been able to acquire the city either by himself or by others, we with willing heart freely grant it to him on this condition, that if the emperor shall have come to us in aid, and shall have wished to keep all the agreement which he so promised and swore to us, we shall by right restore it to him. But if not, let Bohemond have it in his

— FOL. 30V

power. Soon therefore Bohemond began to entreat his humble friend with daily petition, promising most humble, greatest, and sweet things in this manner: “Behold, truly we now have a fit time, in which we can work whatever good we wish; therefore let my friend Pirrus now help me.” Who, having been made glad by the message, said that he ought entirely thus to act to help him. The next night therefore coming on, he carefully sent his son as a pledge to Bohemond, that he might be more secure concerning the entrance of the city. He also sent him words in this manner: that on the morrow the whole nation of the Franks should be admonished, and should go as if to plunder into the land of the

Saracens, dissembling, and thereafter should swiftly return by the right-hand mountain country; I for my part will be attentive with intent raised, awaiting those battle-lines, and will receive them into the towers which I have in my power and custody. Then Bohemond ordered a certain servant of his, namely Mala Corona, to be swiftly called to him, and commanded him that as if on his behalf he should admonish the greatest nation of the Franks, which should faithfully prepare itself about to go into the land of the Saracens. And so it was done. Bohemond therefore entrusted this, with the son, to Duke

— FOL. 31R

Godfrey, and to the count of Flanders, and also to the count of Saint-Gilles, and to the bishop of Le Puy, saying that by God's favoring grace, this night Antioch will be handed over to us. At last all these things were arranged. The knights held the plain, and the foot-soldiers the mountain country. All night they rode and walked until near dawn, and thereafter they began to approach the towers which that watchman was guarding. At once Bohemond went down, and commanded all the leaders: "Go with secure mind and happy concord, and ascend by the ladder into Antioch, which we shall at once have, if it please God, in our custody." Those men came as far as the ladder which was already erected and strongly bound to the city's walls, and about sixty men of ours climbed by it, and they were divided among the towers which that man was watching. Pirrus, seeing this—that so few of ours had climbed—began to fear, fearing for himself and for our men, lest they should fall into the hands of the Turks, and he said: "I marvel at the Frank ethnic ones—that is, we have few Franks. Where is most keen Bohemond, where is that unconquered man?" Meanwhile a certain servant, a Longobard, went down below, and ran as quickly as possible

— FOL. 31V

to Bohemond, saying: "Why does the wise man stand here? Because you came hither for this purpose. Behold, we already have three towers." He was moved with the others, and all rejoicing came as far as the ladder. Those therefore who were already in the towers, seeing them, began to cry with joyful voice: "God wills it." We too were crying the same. Now they at once began to climb wonderfully; they climbed nevertheless, and ran swiftly into other towers. Those

whom they found there they were handing over to death; they also killed Pirrus's brother. Meanwhile by chance the ladder was broken, by which our ascent was, whence among us arose immense distress and sadness. Although however the ladder had been broken, nevertheless a certain gate was closed near us on the left side, which remained unknown to certain men. For it was night, but nevertheless by feeling and seeking we found it, and all ran to it, and it having been broken we entered through it. Then an innumerable crash was wonderfully resounding through the whole city. Bohemond did not rest content with these things, but at once set an honorable banner down and up opposite the castle in a certain

————— FOL. 32R

mountain. All indeed were rushing in part into the city. But at highest dawn those who were outside in the tents, hearing a most violent rumor resounding through the city, went out in haste, and they saw Bohemond's banner up on the mountain, and hastening with swift course they all came, and through the gates they entered into the city, and they killed the Turks and Saracens whom they found there, except those who had fled up into the castle. But others of the Turks went out through the gates, and fleeing scarcely escaped. But Cassianus their lord nevertheless gave himself wholly into flight from the nation of the Franks, with many others who were with him, and fleeing he came into Tancred's land not far from the city. But their horses had been put to flight, and they cast themselves into a certain village, and plunged themselves into one house. The inhabitants of that mountain country, namely Syrians and Armenians, recognized him, and at once they seized him, and cut off his head, and brought it before Bohemond's presence, so that from that they might deserve to receive freedom. His belt also and scabbard they valued at sixty bezants. All these things were done on the third day as the month of June was beginning, on the fifth feria, the third before the nones of June. For already all the streets of the city were everywhere full

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of corpses of the dead, so that no one could bear to be there, because of the too great stench. No one could go along the paths of the city, except over the corpses

of the dead. The troubled prince of the army, the sultan of Persia, while he was still at Corrozanum—to whom Cassianus the amiralius of Antioch sent a legation, that he should help him at a fit time, because the most strong nation of the Franks was heavily besieging him, blocked, in Antioch, and if he should expend aid for him, he would hand over the Antiochene city to him, or would enrich him with a very great gift. And when he already had a very great army of Turks, gathered over a long time, and had received license to kill Christians from their apostolic caliph, at once he began the journey of the long road to Antioch. The Hierosolimitan amiralius came in aid with his army. The king of Damascus came there with a very great people. The same already Curbanus gathered innumerable nations of pagans, namely Turks, Arabs, Saracens, Publicani, Azimitae, Kurds, Persians, Agulani, and many other innumerable peoples.

<!-- source: liber04_partB.md -->

Source: `latin\_normalized/liber04\_partial.md` and draft English in `translation/liber04\_partial.md` (BAV Reg. lat. 572). **Not** from printed English translations of the Gesta. Past narrative preferred; MS names retained (Curbanus / Curbaran as the manuscript varies). Uncertain readings noted in [brackets].

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...innumerable. And the Agulani were three thousand in number, who feared neither lances nor arrows nor any weapons, because they were all covered with iron on every side, and their horses also; and they themselves would not carry arms into battle except swords alone. All these came to the siege of Antioch, to scatter the company of the Franks. And when they had approached the city, Sensadolus, son of Cassianus the amiralius of Antioch, came to meet them, and at once ran to Curbanus, tearfully asking him and saying: “Most invincible prince, I as a suppliant beg you [to help me], because the Franks on every side are besieging me in the Antiochene town, and they hold the city in their power, and [wish] to alienate us from the region of Romania or of Syria; still moreover they desire even Corrozana. They have accomplished all that they wished—to

kill my father; nothing else remains, except that they kill me and you and all others of our stock. For I have long awaited your help, that you may aid me in this danger.” Wherefore he said: “If you wish that with my whole heart I may be in your

— FOL. 33V

protection [*presidio*; MS *persicuo*], and that I faithfully help you in this danger, hand that town into my hand, and then you will see of what sort I shall be in your protection, and I will make my men guard it.” But Sensadulus [said]: “If you can, kill all the Franks, and hand over to me their captives; I will give you the town and will do homage to you, and in your fidelity I will guard that town.” To whom Curbanus [said]: “It will not be so,” he said, “but at once commit the castle into my hand.” At last, willing or unwilling, he committed the castle to him.

On the third day already after we entered the city, their forerunners ran ahead before the city. Those of them went out to the iron bridge, pitched camp, and stormed the tower, and killed all whom they found there, and no one escaped alive except their lord, whom we found bound in iron chains when a greater battle had been made. On the next day, the army of the pagans having been moved, they approached the city, and pitched camp between two rivers, and stood there for two days. The castle therefore having been received, Curbanus called forth one ammiral from among his men, whom he knew to be truth-

— FOL. 34R

ful and peaceful, and said to him: “I wish that you enter into my fidelity to guard this castle, since from a very long time I know you most faithful; and therefore I ask you that with highest caution you keep this town.” To whom the ammiral said: “Never would I wish to obey you in such an office. But nevertheless I will do this, on this condition: that if the Franks cast you out from mortal battle and conquer, I will at once hand this castle over to them.” And Curbanus said to him: “I know you so honorable and prudent that whatever good you wish to do, I will consent to the whole.”

He [returned] [*Reusus*; *Reuersus*?] therefore at once to his army, and immediately [they, having mocked? / stamp damage over the Latin] the company of the Franks, brought before Curbanus's sight a certain most worthless sword covered with rust, and a most worthless wooden bow, and a lance useless with branches, which they had taken not long before from poor pilgrims, and he said: "Behold the arms which the Franks brought against us for battle." Then Curbanus began to smile greatly, saying to all: "These are warlike and shining arms which the Christians brought against us into Asia, with which they think [to overcome] us and trust

— FOL. 34V

to drive [us] out beyond the bounds of Corrozana, and to destroy all our things beyond the Amazon rivers—they who drove out all our parents from Romania, and from the royal city Antioch, which is the honorable head of all Syria." Soon he called together his notary, and said: "Write swiftly many letters, which are to be read in Corrozana—namely to our apostolic caliph, and to our king the lord soldan, most strong knight, and to all the most prudent knights of Corrozana: greeting and every honor. Let them be sufficiently joyful and glad with pleasant concord, and let them sufficiently fill their bellies; let them rule and converse through that whole region, so that they may wholly give themselves to wantonness and luxury, and beget many sons and rejoice together, who may strongly prevail to fight against the Christians, and willingly take up these three arms which they all took away from the Frankish squadron, and let them say against which arms the Frankish-born nation brought [them] against us. Still also let all know that I have all the Franks shut up inside in Antioch, and I hold the castle in my free will—that [castle] down-

— FOL. 35R

ward [they] are in the city. I have also all those already in my hand, and I will make them either undergo capital sentence, or be led away into Corrozana in too great captivity, because they threaten to drive us back with their arms and cast us out from all our bounds, just as they cast out all our parents from Romania or Syria. From now on truly [I swear] to you by Machomet and by all the names of the gods, that I will not return before your presence until by my

strong right hand I shall have brought the royal city Antioch and all Syria or Romania and also Bulgaria as far as into Apulia, to the honor of the gods and of you, and of all who are of the stock of the Trojans.” Thus he made an end of his words.

Soon indeed she of the same Curbanus who was in the city Aleph came again to him, and said to him tearfully: “Son, are the things true that I hear?” To whom he said: “What?” And she said: “I have heard that you wish to join battle with the nation of the Franks.” He said: “Know it to be altogether true.” She said: “I adjure you, son, by the names of all the gods, and by your great goodness, that you not join battle with the Franks, since you are an unconquered knight, and from the field by anyone

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as a victor fleeing, no one at all finds [you]. Your military force is renowned everywhere, and all prudent knights tremble when your name is heard. Know, son, that you are powerful in war and strong, and no nation of Christians or of pagans has been able to have any virtue before your sight, but they fled only when your name was heard, as sheep flee before a lion’s fury. And therefore I beseech you, dearest son, that you yield to my counsels, and that enemies never find in your mind, or find in your counsel, that you wish to begin war with the nation of the Christians.”

Then Curbanus, hearing the great warnings, answered with fierce speech: “What is this, mother, that you report to me? I think that you are mad, or are full of raging [furies]. For I have with me more ammirals than the Christians are, whether greater or lesser.” His mother answered him: “O sweetest son, the Christians cannot make war with you; for I know that they are not able to bring battle upon you, but their God fights for them daily through Himself, and day and night He defends them with His protection, and He watches over them as a shepherd watches over his flock, and He does not permit them to be hurt nor to be disturbed

— FOL. 36R

by any nation. And whoever wish to resist them—therefore their God confounds those men, as the psalmist David the prophet himself says: *Scatter the nations that wish wars*. And elsewhere: *Pour out your wrath upon the nations that have not known you, and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon your name*. Before they are prepared for beginning war, their God almighty and powerful in war, together with his saints, already has all enemies conquered. How much more now will he do concerning you who are enemies to him, and who prepare yourselves to resist them your whole life. But this, dearest one, know in the truth of the matter: that these Christians are called sons of Christ, and by the mouth of the prophets sons of adoption and of promise, and adoptive heirs of the saints of Christ they are, to whom Christ has already given the promised inheritance, saying through the prophets: from the rising of the sun even to its setting will be your bounds, and no one will stand against you. And then can God contradict these words so as to stand in the way? Certainly if you shall have begun this war against them, there will be for you very great damage and disgrace, and you will lose many of your faithful knights, and all the spoils that you have with you you will lose, and with too great fear by fleeing you will be overthrown. But you in this war

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will not die; but nevertheless in this year, since our God himself so judges you as offending him [with your army], but when he wishes to punish him with open vengeance. And therefore I fear lest he judge you with penal sadness. You will not die, I say, now. The truth [is lost / is betrayed], and held in present circumstances.”

Curbaran at last, greatly grieving in bitter inward parts, having heard his mother’s words, answered: “Dearest mother, I ask you, who said these things to you concerning the Christian nation—that their God so loves them, and that he himself retains the greatest virtue of fighting in himself, and that those Christians conquered us in the Antiochene battle, and that they themselves are about to take our spoils, and that they will pursue us with a great victory, and that in this year [I am] about to die under sudden death?” Then his mother answered him, grieving: “Dearest son, behold, there are more than a hundred

years' times, concerning which it has been found in our page and in the gentile volumes, that the Christian nation would come upon us, and would conquer us everywhere, and would reign over the pagans, and our nation will be subject to them everywhere. But I do not know whether these things are to come about now, or in the future.

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I for my part, a wretched woman, have followed you from the most beautiful city Aleph, in which by watching and ingeniously searching I looked upon the stars of the heavens, and I carefully scrutinized the planets, and the twelve signs, or enumerating countless lots; in all of them I found that the Christian nation is about to conquer us everywhere. And therefore concerning you I greatly fear, too sad, lest from you I remain bereft." Curbaran said to her: "Dearest mother, tell me all the things that in my heart are incredible." Who said: "This, dearest one, I will gladly do, if I shall have known those things that are unknown to you." To whom he said: "Are not therefore Bohemond and Tancred leaders of the Franks, and do they not free them from their enemies, and is it that they themselves eat in each single meal two thousand cows and four thousand pigs?" The mother answered: "Dearest son, Bohemond and Tancred are mortal like all others, but their God greatly loves them above all others, and he gives them the virtue of fighting above the rest. For their God is almighty; his name [is he] who made heaven and earth and founded the seas, and all things that are in them, for whom a seat is prepared in heaven forever, whose power is to be feared everywhere." She said: "Son,

— FOL. 37V

the cause is set, since I shall not cease from his [abundance / rain? *pluaria*]." Therefore his mother, hearing that her son would yield in no way, most sad withdrew backward into Aleph, carrying with her all the spoils that she was able to lead out.

But on the third day Curbaran armed himself, and the greatest part of the Turks with him, and they came to the city from that side in which the castle was. But we, thinking to be able to go to withstand them, prepared war against them. But

so great was their strength that we could not resist them; and so forced we entered into the city, for whom the gate was so wonderfully narrow and tight that there many were dead by the pressing of others. The battle having been begun, some were fighting outside the city, others meanwhile on the fifth feria [Thursday] through the whole day until evening. Meanwhile William of Grandmesnil and Alberic his brother, and Guy Trousseau, and Lambert the Poor—so terrified by every love on account of yesterday's war which had lasted until evening—by night were secretly let down over the wall, fleeing on foot toward the sea, so that neither in hands nor in feet would anything remain except only bones. And many others fled with them, whom I do not know.

— FOL. 38R

Coming therefore to the ships that were at the port of Saint Symeon, they said to the sailors: "What is this wretched condition here? All our men are dead, and we have scarcely escaped death, because the army of the Turks on every side besiege the others in the city." But those men, hearing such things, stood stupefied, and terrified with fear ran to the ships and cast themselves into the sea. Then the Turks, coming upon them, killed those whom they found, and the ships that had remained in the bed of the river they burned with fire, and they seized their spoils.

We at last who remained could not bear the weight of their arms, and they made a wall between us and them, which we were guarding day and night. Meanwhile we were so oppressed by so great oppression that we were eating our horses and asses. On a certain day, while our greater men were standing up before the castle, sad and grieving, a certain priest came before them and said: "Elders, if it please you, hear a certain thing which I saw in a vision. When one night I was lying in the church of Saint Mary mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, there appeared to me the Saviour of the world with his mother and blessed Peter prince of the apostles. And he stood before me and said to me:

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'Do you recognize me?' To whom I answered: 'No.' Saying these things, behold a whole cross appeared on his head. Again the Lord asked me, saying: 'Do you

recognize me?’ To whom I said: ‘You I do not recognize in any other way, unless by the cross on your head I discern [you] as of our Saviour.’ Who said: ‘I am he.’ At once I fell at his feet, humbly asking that he would help us in that oppression which was upon us. The Lord answered: ‘Well have I helped you, and from now on I will help [you]. I promised that you would have the city Nicaea, and would overcome all wars, and I have led you thus far, and I grieved at your misery which you suffered in the siege of Antioch. Behold, in timely aid I sent you sound and unharmed into the city; and behold [you], operating many wicked things and with love with Christians and with wicked pagan women, whence [an immense] stench rises upward.’ Then the kind Virgin and blessed Peter fell at his feet, asking him and entreating that they might help their people in this tribulation. And blessed Peter said: ‘Lord, for so many times the nation of the pagans has held my house, in which many and unspeakable

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evils they have done. But now truly you have cast out the enemies, whence, Lord, the angels rejoice in the heavens.’ And the Lord said to me: ‘Go and say to my people that it turn back to me, and I will turn back to it, and within five days I will send it a great help, and daily let it chant the responsory *Congregati sunt*, the whole with the verse.’ Elders, if you do not believe this to be true, allow me to climb into this tower, and let [someone] cast me down; if indeed I shall be unharmed, believe this to be true; but if I shall have suffered any injury, behead me, or cast me into the fire.”

Then the bishop of Le Puy ordered that the gospels and a cross be brought, so that that man might swear whether this was true. All our greater men took counsel for a long time, that all should swear an oath that none of them would flee, neither for death nor for life, as long as they were alive. First he said that Bohemond had sworn, then the count of Saint-Gilles, and Robert the Norman, and duke Godfrey, and the count of Flanders. But Tancred swore and promised in this manner: that as long as he should have with him forty knights, not only from that war but also from the

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Jerusalem journey there would be no withdrawal. But the Christian congregation rejoiced exceedingly, hearing this oath.

But there was there a certain pilgrim of our army by the name of Peter, to whom before I entered the city there appeared Saint Andrew the apostle, saying: "What are you doing, good man?" To whom he answered: "Who are you?" But the lord apostle [said] to him: "I am Andrew the apostle. Know, son, that when you shall have entered the town, going to the church of blessed Peter you will find there the Lance of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with which hanging on the cross on the gibbet he was wounded." Saying all these things the apostle at once withdrew. But he himself, fearing to reveal the apostle's counsel, was unwilling to make it known to our pilgrims. But he thought that he was seeing a vision. And he said to him: "Lord, if this [will be believed]..." In that very hour Saint Andrew took him and carried him as far as the place where the Holy Lance was hidden in the earth. Again when I was thus as we said above, Saint Andrew came, swearing, saying to him: "Why have you not taken the lance from the earth, as I commanded you? Know in truth that whoever shall have carried this Lance in battle will never be overcome by the enemy." But Peter at once

————— FOL. 40R

revealed the apostle's mystery to our men. But the people did not believe, but forbade [it], saying: "How can we believe this?" For altogether they were fearful, and they thought they were almost dying. Therefore that man approached, and he swore that this whole [thing] was most true, since Saint Andrew had twice appeared to him in a vision, and had said those things: "Rise, go, and say to the people of God that it not fear, but firmly with whole heart believe in one true God, and they will be conquerors everywhere, and within five days the Lord will send them such a thing, from which they will remain glad and rejoicing; and if they shall have wished to fight, as soon as they shall have gone out unanimously to war, all their enemies will be conquered, and no one will stand against them." Hearing therefore that their enemies were wholly to be conquered by them, they accordingly began to revive themselves, and they were comforting one another, saying: "Storm [them] and be everywhere strong and prudent, since God will soon be for us a help, and he will be a very great refuge to his people, whom he

regards remaining in [the mere / the sea].” At last the Turks who were outside in the castle so wonderfully on every side

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were constraining us, that on a certain day they shut in three knights of ours in a tower that was before the castle. The gentiles therefore had gone out and had rushed upon them so fiercely that they could not bear their weight. Two of the knights went out from the tower wounded, and yet through the whole day he was manfully defending himself from the Turks’ invasion, so prudently that on that very day they struck down two Turks upon the approach of the wall with spears cut off. For three spears were truncated for him that day in his hands. They took him under capital sentence. His name was Hugo Insanus, of the army of Godfrey of Monte Scaboso.

But the venerable man Bohemond, seeing that he could in no way lead the peoples out into the castle to war—for those who were shut in the houses feared, some from famine, others from fear of the Turks—for there was very greatly [set in and burned] many things by fire through the city, in that part in which Cassianus’s palace was. Which those who were in the city seeing, abandoned houses and all things that they had, and some were fleeing into the castle,

— FOL. 41R

others to the gate of the count of Saint-Gilles, others to the gate of duke Godfrey, each to his own people. Then a too great storm of wind suddenly arose, so that no one could guide himself upright. Bohemond therefore, a wise man, was very much saddened, fearing for the church of Saint Peter and of Saint Mary and for the other churches. This wrath lasted from the third hour until the middle of the night, and nearly two thousand churches and houses were burned. But when midnight was coming, at once all the fierceness of the fire fell.

Therefore the Turks dwelling in the castle were fighting with us inside the city day and night, and nothing else separated us except arms. Our men, seeing this—that they could not long endure these things, since he who had bread was not permitted to eat it, and he who had water was not permitted to drink—made a wall between us and them of stone and lime, and they built a castle and engines,

that they might be secure. But a part of the Turks remained in the castle, waging war with us; but another part was lodged near the castle in a valley. When night was almost coming on, a fire from heaven appeared, coming from the west,

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and approaching it fell into the Turks' army. Whence both our men and the Turks marveled. But when morning was made, the Turks, struck with terror, fled all alike in fear before lord Bohemond's gate, and there they were lodged. But the part that was in the castle was waging war with our men day and night, shooting arrows, wounding, killing. But the other part on every side besieged the city, so that none of our men dared to go out from the city or enter, except by night and secretly. So indeed we were besieged and oppressed by them, whose number was innumerable. So moreover the profane and the enemies of God so held us shut in the city of Antioch that many were dead of famine, since a little bread was sold for one bezant. Of wine I will not speak. For they were eating horse flesh or ass flesh, and selling [it]. They were also selling a hen for fifteen solidi, an egg for two solidi, one nut for one denarius; for all things were exceedingly dear. Leaves of the fig and of the vine and thistles and of all trees they were cooking and eating; so great an immense famine they had. Others [ate] horse hides

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and of camels and of asses and of oxen, or of buffaloes, dry, they were cooking, and they were eating. These and many anxieties and straits which I cannot name we suffered for the name of Christ and for the way of the Holy Sepulchre that was to be determined. And such tribulations and famines and fears we suffered for twenty-six days.

Nay rather, Stephen the count of Chartres, therefore, seeing [this]—whom all our greater men had chosen that he might be leader of our men—before Antioch was taken, with the greatest [deceit] feigned that he was oppressed by illness, and basely withdrew into another castle, which they call Alexandretta. We therefore daily were awaiting him, that he might come to our aid in help, we who were shut in the city, lacking saving help. But he, after he heard that the

nation of the Turks was surrounding and besieging us, secretly climbed upon the nearest mountain that stood near Antioch, and he saw innumerable tents, and seized with violent fear he withdrew, and fled hastily with his army. But coming into his castle, he filled that [castle], and with swift course he turned back. But after he came to meet the emperor at Philomena, [the emperor] called [him] apart

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to him secretly, saying: “Know the matter truly, that Antioch is taken, and the castle is by no means taken, and all our men are besieged under heavy oppression, and as I think they are already killed by the Turks. Return therefore backward as quickly as you can, lest they themselves also find you and this nation which you lead with you.” Then the emperor, thoroughly terrified with fear, secretly called Guy, brother of Bohemond, and certain others, and said to them: “Elders, what shall we do? Behold, all our men are hindered by a tight siege, and perhaps in this hour all are dead by the Turks’ hands, or led into captivity, as this unhappy count, basely fleeing, narrates. If you wish [your] life [as a] thing, [go] back with swift course, lest we also die by a sudden death just as those men also have died.” When Guy, a most honorable knight, had heard such things, at once with all [of them] he began to weep, and to lament with a most violent wailing, and with one voice all were saying: “O true God, triune and one, why have you permitted these things to happen? Why have you permitted the people following you to fall into the hands of enemies, and have you so quickly abandoned those wishing to free the way of your most holy Sepulchre also? Certainly if it is true, this word which from these most wicked [men]

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we have heard—we and other Christians will abandon you, nor will we remember you any longer, and not one of us will dare further to invoke your name.” And this speech was very most sad in the whole army, so that none of them, whether bishop or abbot, or cleric or layman, dared to invoke the name of Christ for several days. For no one could console Guy, weeping and striking himself with his hands and breaking his fingers and saying: “Alas for me, my lord Bohemond, honor and glory of the whole world, whom all the world feared and

loved; alas for me, sad, I have not deserved, grieving, to see your most honorable form—I who desired to see no thing more. Who will grant me that I may die for you, sweetest friend and lord? Why, going out from my mother’s womb, was I not at once dead? Why have I come to this mournful day? Why was I not drowned in the sea? Why did I not fall from a horse with my neck broken, that I might have received a sudden death? Would that with you I had received a happy martyrdom, that I might have seen you most glorious to have taken your end.” And when all had run to him as if empty [men] that they might console him, that he might so put an end to the lament,

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having returned into himself he said: “Perhaps you believe this white-haired old man, an imprudent knight. Never truly have I heard [anyone] speak of any military deed that the same man had done. But basely and dishonorably he withdrew, so most wicked and unhappy, and whatever the wretch announces, know that it is false.” Meanwhile the emperor ordered his men, saying: “Go, and lead out all the men of this land into Bulgaria, and scout and devastate all places, so that when the Turks come they can find nothing here.” Willing or unwilling our men returned backward, grieving most bitterly even to death, and many of the pilgrims were dead, languishing and not able to follow the campaign strongly, and they were remaining dying on the road. But all the others returned to Constantinople.

We therefore, having heard the words of that man who [revealed and proved] Christ’s revelation to us, at once hastening came to the place in the church of Saint Peter which that man had pointed out. And thirteen men dug there from morning until evening, and so that man found the Holy Lance as he had indicated. And he received it with great joy and fear, and a universal gladness arose in the whole city. From that hour we took among us

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counsel of war. Moreover all our greater men established a counsel, that they should send a messenger to the enemies of Christ, the Turks, who through some interpreter might question them with secure speech, saying why they had

entered most greedily into the land of the Christians, and why they have pitched camp, and why they kill and consume the servants of Christ. And when already an end had been spoken, they found certain men, namely Peter the Hermit and Herluinus, and they said all these things to them: “Go to the accursed army of the Turks, and carefully tell them all these things, questioning them why they entered boldly and most greedily into the land of the Christians and into ours.” These things having been said, the messengers withdrew, and they came to the profane assembly, saying all the words that had been sent, to Curbaran and to the others thus. At once our greater men and elders marvel much: why they had entered rashly and most greedily into the land of the Christians and of those men. “We think perhaps and we believe that you have come hither for this reason, that you may be able to afflict the Christians. Therefore all our greater men alike ask you that you swiftly withdraw from the land of God and of the Christians, which blessed Peter the apostle long ago by preaching converts to the worship of Christ. But they permit you still with you

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to lead away all your things—namely horses and mules, and asses and camels, sheep also and oxen, and all other ornaments—they permit you to carry with you whatever you shall have wished.” Then Curbaran, prince of the army of the sultan of Persia [*persidus / persidis*], with all the others full of pride, answering with a fierce speech: “We neither desire nor want your God and your Christianity, and we reject you with all those things. Thus far already we have come to this, that we greatly marvel why the elders and greater men whom you mention [ask] why the land which those men call their own from foolish and effeminate nations. For you wish to know what we say to you. Return therefore as quickly as possible, and say to your elders that if in all things they desire to be made Turks, and wish to deny your God whom you, renowned men, worship, and to spurn your laws, we will give them this land and other lands more, and cities and castles; moreover also that none of you will remain a foot-soldier—we will make all knights as we also are, and we will always have them in highest friendship. But if not, know that they will in all things undergo capital sentence,

or be led in chains to Corrozana in perpetual captivity to serve us and ours among

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[our children] [*infantibus*; catchword join from 44v open] for everlasting times.” Our messengers swiftly returned backward, reporting all things which the most cruel nation had answered them. Herluinus was [one who] had known both languages, and he was interpreter for Peter the Hermit.

Meanwhile our army was struck with terror on both sides; it did not know what it should do. For from one side a torturing famine was constraining them; on the other love of the Turks was binding them. At length, three-day fasts having been completed, and processions celebrated from one church into another, they confessed their sins and were absolved, and faithfully they communicated in the body and blood of Christ, and alms having been given they caused masses to be celebrated. Thereafter six battle-lines were established from among them beyond the city. In the first battle-line indeed, namely in the first head, was Hugh the Great with the Franks and the count of Flanders. In the second, duke Godfrey with his army. In the third indeed was Robert the Norman with his knights. In the fourth was the bishop of Le Puy, carrying with him the Lance of the Saviour with his people, and with the army of Raymond count of Saint-Gilles, who remained above to guard the castle for

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love of the Turks, that they should not descend into the city. In the fifth battle-line was Tancred with his people. In the sixth was Bohemond with his militia. Our bishops and priests and clerics and monks, clothed in sacred vestments, went out with us with crosses, praying and beseeching the Lord that he make us safe and guard us and snatch us from all evils. They were standing upon the wall of the gate, holding sacred crosses in their hands, signing and blessing us. Thus we, ordered and protected by the sign of the cross, went out through the gate which is before the Machomaria.

After Curbaran saw the Franks’ battle-lines so beautifully ordered going out one after another, he said: “Let them go out, that we may the better have them in

our power.” After they were outside the city, and Curbaran saw the huge nation of the Franks, he was greatly afraid. Soon he ordered his admiral, who had all things in custody, that if that man should see a fire lit at the head of the host, he should at once cause it to be proclaimed that the whole army return, knowing that the Turks had lost the war. At once Curbaran began little by little to go back, toward the mountain country, little by little as far as

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they were pursuing them. At length the Turks were divided. One part went toward the sea, and others stood there, thinking to shut our men in between themselves. Our men, seeing this, did likewise. There a seventh battle-line was ordered, from the battle-line of duke Godfrey and of the count of Normandy, and the head of it was count Rainald. This they sent opposite the Turks who were coming from the sea. But the Turks [advanced / fought] with them, and by shooting arrows they killed many of our men. But other squadrons were ordered from the river as far as the mountain country, which is distant by two miles. But the Turks began to go out from either side, and to surround our men on every side, casting javelins, shooting arrows, wounding. There were also going out from the mountain regions innumerable armies, having white horses, whose banners were all white. Our men therefore, seeing this army, utterly did not know what this was and who they were, until they recognized that it was the help of Christ. Whose leaders were the saints George, Mercurius, and Demetrius. These words are to be believed, because many of our men saw [them]. But the Turks who were standing on the sea side, seeing that they could no longer endure, cast fire into the grass, so that those who were in the tents, seeing [it],

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might flee. But those men, recognizing that signal, seized all the honorable spoils, and fled. But our men little by little were fighting where the greatest force of them was, namely at their tents. Duke Godfrey and the count of Flanders and Hugh the Great were standing next to the water, where the force of those men was. Thus at first, fortified by the sign of the cross, they unanimously attacked them. The other battle-lines, seeing this, likewise attacked them. But the

Persians and the Turks cried out. We therefore, invoking the living and true Lord, rode against them, and in the name of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Sepulchre we began the war, and with God helping we overcame them. But the Turks, struck with terror, took flight, and our men were pursuing them next to the tents. Therefore the soldiers of Christ preferred more to pursue them than to seek any spoils. And they pursued them as far as the iron bridge, and thereafter as far as Tancred's castle. But those men left there their pavilions, and gold, and silver, and many ornaments, sheep also and oxen, horses and mules, camels and asses, grain and wine, flour and many other things which were necessary for us. The Armenians and Syrians who were dwelling in those

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parts, hearing that we had overcome the Turks, ran to the mountain country meeting them, and as many as they seized of them they killed. But we, returning to the city with great joy, praised and blessed God, who gave victory to his people.

The ammiral therefore who was guarding the castle, seeing the city and all the others fleeing from the field before the Franks' army, feared the more. At once with great haste he was seeking the Franks' banners. The count of Saint-Gilles therefore, who was standing there before the castle, ordered his own banner to be carried to him. But that man received it, and carefully set it on the tower. At once the Longobards who were standing there said: "This banner is not Bohemond's." That man asked and said: "Whose is it?" Who said: "Of the count of Saint-Gilles." That man approached, and having seized the banner he restored it to the count. In that very hour the venerable man Bohemond came, and gave him his own banner. But that man received it with great joy, and went into a pact with lord Bohemond, that the pagans who should wish to receive Christianity should be with him, and those who should wish to go away, safe and without

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any injury he should permit to go away. That man consents to whatever the ammiral asked of him, and at once he sent his servants into the castle. Not many

days afterward the ammiral was baptized, with those who preferred to recognize Christ. But those who wished to keep their own laws, lord Bohemond caused to be led out into the land of the Saracens.

This war was done on the fourth before the kalends of July, the vigil of the apostles Peter and Paul, with our Lord Jesus Christ reigning, to whom is honor and glory in everlasting ages. Amen. And when already all were one, to our God triune and one and highest we give worthy thanks. Afterward [they were] carried hither and thither, fleeing, some half-alive, some wounded; in valleys and in woods and in fields and on roads they were failing dead. The people of Christ—the victors, namely the pilgrims—returned rejoicing in a happy triumph, the enemies having been cast down into the city. At once all our elders, namely duke Godfrey, Raymond count of Saint-Gilles, Bohemond, and the count of Normandy and the count of Flanders, and all the others, sent the most noble knight Hugh the Great to the emperor at Constantinople, that to

<!-- source: liber04_partC.md -->

Source: 'latin_normalized/liber04_partial.md' (Reg. lat. 572). Past tense; folio markers for MS orientation. Opens at **48r** (Hugh the Great's embassy; council after Antioch). Gesta ends mid-**64v** at the doxology; the Descriptio rubric and following text are out of scope.

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...to receive the city he should come, and should fulfill the agreements which he had toward them. He went, and afterward did not return. After all these things were done, all our greater men gathered and arranged a counsel, how they might be able to lead forth and govern this happy people until they should complete the journey of the Holy Sepulchre, after they had so far suffered many dangers. It was found in the counsel that they did not yet dare to remain in the land of the pagans, because in the summer time it is very dry and waterless; and therefore they took a term to be observed until the kalends of November. At length the elders were divided, and each one set out into his own land until it should be near the term of going. And the princes caused it to be proclaimed

through the whole city that if by chance any needy person were present there and lacked gold and silver, an agreement having been made with them he might remain if he wished, or he might withdraw with joy. But there was there a certain knight of the army of the count of Saint-Gilles, whose name was Raymond Pilet. This man retained very many men, knights and foot-soldiers. He went out with a gathered army and manfully entered into the land of the Saracens,

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and he set out beyond two cities, and he came to a certain castle whose name is Talamania. The inhabitants of the castle, namely the Syrians, at once of their own will surrendered themselves to him. And when all had been there for nearly eight days, messengers came to him saying that near us there is a castle of the Saracens full of multitude. To this castle at once the pilgrim soldiers of Christ went, and on every side they attacked it, which at once was taken by them with Christ's help. Therefore they seized all the cultivators of that place, and those who were unwilling to receive Christianity they killed; but those who preferred to recognize Christ they kept alive. The Franks of our party therefore returned under this condition with great joy to the earlier castle. But on the third day they went out and came to a certain city whose name is Marra, which was there near them. But there many armed bands were gathered, and Saracens from the city of Aleppo, and from all the cities and castles that are around it. And the barbarians went out against them to war, and our men, thinking to contend with them by fighting, forced them into flight; and yet, having turned back through the whole day, they were attacking our men

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against one another, and that invasion lasted until evening. For the heat was too great. Our men could no longer endure so great a thirst, since by no means could one find water there to drink. They wished so much to return safely to those men's castle. For their sins the Syrians and the lesser people, seized with too great fear, soon began to take the road backward. But when the Turks saw them withdrawing, at once they began to pursue them, and victory was furnishing strength to those men. And many of them rendered their souls to

God, for love of whom they had been gathered there. This occasion was made on the fifth day in the month of July. But those Franks who had remained returned into their own castle, and Raymond was there with his people for several days. The others who had remained in Antioch stood together with joy and great gladness, whose rector and pastor the bishop of Le Puy was. Who by the will of God was seized by a heavy illness, and as was the will of God he departed from this world, and resting in peace he fell asleep in the Lord, namely on the solemnity of Saint Peter which is called ad Vincula. Whence great

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distress and tribulation and immense sorrow was in the whole militia of Christ, because that man was the support of the poor, the counsel of the rich; and he himself was ordering the clerics, was preaching and was summoning the knights, saying that no one of you can be saved unless he honors the poor and refreshes them, and you cannot be saved without them, and they themselves cannot live without you. It is therefore necessary that they themselves by daily supplication with pure hearts pray God concerning the offenses with which you daily offend him in many ways. Whence I ask you that for the love of God you love them, and as much as you can you support them. Not long afterward there came the venerable Raymond count of Saint-Gilles, and he entered into the land of the Saracens, and he came to a certain city which is called Albara, which he attacked together with his army, and he took it at once, and he killed all the Saracens and Saracen women, greater and lesser, whom he found there. Which, after he held it under his rule, he called back to the faith of Christ, and he sought counsel from his most wise men, that he might cause a bishop to be most devotedly appointed in this city, who might faithfully call that city back to Christ's

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worship, and from a diabolical house a temple to the living and true God, and oracles of the saints, might be built. At last they chose a certain honorable and most wise man, and they led him into Antioch to be consecrated. And it was done so. But the others who had remained in Antioch were there with joy and gladness. As the term was approaching, namely the feast of All Saints, all our greater men returned into one place, into Antioch, and all together began to

seek how they might be able to proceed to the land of the Holy Sepulchre, saying that the term of going had approached; there was no hour for being disturbed any longer. But Bohemond was seeking daily the agreement which all the elders had formerly had with him concerning the surrender of the city; but the count of Saint-Gilles was unwilling to soften himself toward any agreement with Bohemond, for this reason, that he feared to swear falsely toward the emperor. So often they were gathered in the church of Saint Peter to do what was desired. Bohemond recited his agreement, and showed his reckoning. The count of Saint-Gilles likewise laid open his words, and the oath which he had made

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to the emperor. By counsel Bohemond, the bishops, and duke Godfrey, and the count of Flanders, and the count of Normandy, and the other elders were divided from the others, and they entered where the chair of Saint Peter is, that there they might discern judgment between either party. But afterward, fearing lest the way of the Holy Sepulchre be disturbed, they were unwilling to carry the judgment forward. But at last the count of Saint-Gilles said: Before the way of the Holy Sepulchre remain behind, if Bohemond shall be willing to come with us, whatever our peers—namely duke Godfrey and the count of Flanders and Robert the Norman and the other elders—shall have approved, I will faithfully consent, the fidelity of the emperor being preserved. Bohemond approved all this, and both promised in the hands of the bishops that by no means should the way of the Holy Sepulchre be thrown into disorder. Then Bohemond took counsel with his men how he might fortify the castle of the high mountain with men and with food. Likewise the count of Saint-Gilles took counsel with his men how he might fortify the palace of Cassianus the amuralis, and the tower which is above the gate of the bridge which is on the side of the port of Saint Symeon—how, I say, he might fortify them with men and

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with that in which he might not lack for a long time.

[Rubric:] The city stands.

This city, namely Antioch, is exceedingly beautiful and honorable, which is within the walls: there are four very great and exceedingly high mountains. On the higher one also there is a castle built, wonderful and exceedingly strong. Below is the honorable city, and convenient for all, which is adorned with honors; how many churches are built in it. Three hundred and sixty monasteries it contains in itself. Under his yoke the patriarch holds one hundred and fifty-three bishops. The city is enclosed by two walls. The greater also is exceedingly high and wonderfully broad, and great, composed of stones; in which there are arranged four hundred and fifty-three towers; and in all ways the city is fair. On the east it is enclosed by four great mountains. On the west, beside the walls of the city there flows a certain river whose name is Farfar. Which city is of great authority. For formerly seventy-five kings stood there, of whom the head was king Antiochus, from whom Antioch is named. This city the Franks held under siege for eight months and one day. Afterward they were shut inside

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for three weeks by the Turks and by other pagans, of whose number never was there a greater gathering of men, whether of Christians or of pagans. Nevertheless, with the help of God and of the Holy Sepulchre, those having been conquered by the Christians of God, they rested with joy and great gladness in Antioch for five months and eight days. Which having been completed, in the month of November Raymond count of Saint-Gilles departed with his army from Antioch, and he came through one city which is called Rugia, and through another which is called Albarra. On the fourth day as November was going out they came to the city of Marra, in which a very great multitude of Saracens and Turks and Arabs and other pagans had been gathered; and the count himself continuously attacked it. Not long afterward Bohemond with his army followed the count, and joined himself with them on a holy day. On the second feria they attacked the city also, and so sharply and strongly that ladders easily stood erect at the wall. But yet the strength of the pagans was very great, so that that city could offend or harm them. But the enemies, seeing that they could do nothing, and that they were laboring in vain, Raymond

count of Saint-Gilles caused a certain wooden castle, strong and high, to be made. Which castle was engineered and built upon four wheels; upon which stood many knights, and Everard the hunter sounding a trumpet outward. Beneath there were armed knights, who led the castle as far as near the wall of the city next to a certain place. Which when the pagan people saw, at once they made an engine with which they were casting very great stones upon the castle, so that they nearly killed our knights. They were also casting Greek fires upon the castle, thinking that it would burn and be devastated. But almighty God was unwilling that the castle should burn this time. It overtopped over all the walls of the city. Our knights therefore who were in the upper solarium, namely William of Monte † Puilario † and many others, were casting immense stones upon those who were standing on the wall of the city, and so they were striking them upon their shields, that shield and enemies fell downward into the city, into death. Thus these were doing; others indeed were holding honorable standards on spears, and with lances and iron hooks they were striking them

to drag them to themselves; and so a private contest lasted until evening. Behind the castle stood priests, clerics, clothed in sacred vestments, praying and beseeching God that he defend his people, and exalt Christianity, and cast down paganism. In another part indeed our knights were fighting daily with them, raising ladders to the wall of the city; but the strength of the pagans was so great that our men could accomplish nothing. Nevertheless Gulferius of Daturre first climbed by a ladder onto the wall, but at once the ladder was broken by the multitude of others; yet he himself climbed with several onto the wall. But those who had climbed were clearing the wall around them. Others also found another ladder, and having set it up they hastened to the wall, and many knights and foot-soldiers climbed by it. And at once they climbed upon the wall. The Saracens therefore so robustly attacked them along the wall and along the ground, shooting arrows and casting spears jointly with their lances, that many of our men, struck with terror, let themselves down over the wall. For so long

indeed those most prudent men who had remained on the wall were enduring those men's

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assault. For so long others who were beneath the castle were digging the wall of the city. But the Saracens, seeing that our men had dug the wall, at once struck with terror turned flight into the city. This whole thing was done on the day of the Sabbath at the hour of evening, with the sun setting, on the eleventh day as December was beginning. Bohemond therefore caused the greater Saracens to be spoken to through an interpreter, that they themselves with their women and children and other goods should move themselves into one palace which is above the gate, and that he himself would defend them from capital sentence. But all our men entered into the city, and whatever good they found in the houses and in the pits, this each one was keeping as his own. But when day had been made, wherever they were finding any of them, whether male or female, they were killing them. No corner of the city was empty of the corpses of the Saracens; and scarcely could anyone go along the paths of the city except by treading upon the corpses of the Saracens. Bohemond at last seized those whom he had ordered to enter into the palace, and took from them all things that they had, namely gold, silver, and other ornaments; some indeed he caused to be killed; others however

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he ordered to be led out to be sold at Antioch. But the stay of the Franks was in that city for one month and four days; in which †Oriens Sept† died. There were there among our men who did not find there as was needful, as much from the long stay as from the destruction of famine. From outside they were not bringing anything; they could not find anything to take, but they were cutting open the bodies of the dead, and what bezants they found hidden in their bellies; others indeed were cutting their flesh into pieces, and were cooking it to eat. But Bohemond could not agree with the count of Saint-Gilles concerning that which he was seeking; and angry he withdrew to Antioch. Count Raymond therefore, not long delayed, sent his legates to Antioch to duke Godfrey and the count of Flanders and Robert the Norman and Bohemond, that they

themselves should come to the city of Rugia to speak with him. And all the elders came thither, and they made a counsel how they might honestly be able to keep the way of the Holy Sepulchre which they had begun and so far had come. They could not bring Bohemond into concord with Raymond, unless the count should restore Antioch to him. The count was unwilling to assent to this—by the faith

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which he had made to the emperor. The counts therefore and the duke returned into Antioch together with Bohemond. But count Raymond returned to Marra, where the pilgrims were. And he ordered his knights to put in order the palace and the castle which was above the gate of the bridge of the city. But Raymond, seeing that none of the elders had been willing to go on the way of the Holy Sepulchre, went out barefoot from Marra on the thirteenth day as January was beginning, and he came as far as Capharda, and he was there for three days. There the count of Normandy joined himself to count Raymond. But the king of Caesarea had many times sent word through his messengers to the count at Marra and at Capharda that he would be willing to have peace with him, and would give him a price from his own goods, and would love the Christian pilgrims, and would make a pledge as great as the empire holds for him—that a pilgrim should not be a stumbling-block—and would gladly give a market of horses and of bodily provisions. But our men went out and came to lodge next to Caesarea, upon the river Farfar. And when the king of Caesarea had seen that the government of the Franks was lodged so near the city, he grieved in mind, and wished to forbid them a market, unless they should withdraw from the city

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boundary. On the next day he sent with them two Turks of his own, namely messengers, who should show them the ford of the river, and lead them out where they could find things to take. At last they came into a certain valley, under a certain castle. And there they plundered more than five thousand animals, and crops of grain and other goods, whereby the whole militia of Christ was greatly refreshed. Nevertheless that castle surrendered itself to the

count, and gave him horses and purest gold, and they swore by their law that no evil should thereafter be done to a pilgrim. And we were there for five days. Having gone out from there, we came rejoicing to lodge at a certain castle of the Arabs. Therefore the lord of the castle went out, and was brought into concord with the count. But going out from there, we came to a certain most beautiful city and one full of all goods, situated in a certain valley, named Kephalia. But its inhabitants, hearing that the Franks had come, abandoned the city, and gardens full of herbs, and houses full of bodily provisions, and fled. On the third day, having gone out from that city, we crossed over a high and immense mountain range, and we entered into the valley of Selem, in which there was

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the greatest abundance of all goods; and we were there for nearly fifteen days. Here near us was a certain castle, in which a very great multitude of pagans had been gathered. Which castle our men attacked, and they would have strongly overcome it, unless the Saracens had cast out immense herds of animals. Our men returned, carrying all goods to their tents. But at first dawn our men gathered their pavilions, and came to besiege the same castle, and there they thought to pitch tents; but the pagan people wholly gave themselves to flight, and abandoned the castle empty. But our men, entering, found there every abundance—grain, wine, flour, herbs, and whatever was needful for them. There we most devoutly celebrated the feast of the Purification of holy Mary; and thither came messengers from the city of Camela. For its king sent to the count horses, gold, and a pact was made with him that he would in no way offend Christians, but would love and honor them. But the king of Tripoli sent word to the count that as soon as possible he would swear faith and a pact, and have friendship if it should please him; and he sent him ten horses and four mules and gold. But the count however in no way

————— FOL. 55V

was willing to receive peace with him—unless that man should be made a Christian. But going out from the excellent valley, we came to a certain castle which is called Arche on the day of the moon, namely the second feria in the middle of February; around which we pitched tents. Which castle was full of an

innumerable people of pagans, namely Turks, Saracens, Arabs, Publicans, and they had wonderfully fortified that castle, and they were defending themselves strongly. Then fourteen going out from among our knights went against the city of Tripoli, which was next to us. There the fourteen found about sixty Turks, and certain others, who had before them gathered men, and animals more than a thousand five hundred. Who, fortified by the sign of the cross, attacked them, and with God helping wonderfully overcame them, and killed six of them, and seized six horses. From the army of count Raymond there went out Raymond Pilet and Raymond the viscount of Tentoria, and they came before the city of Tortosa, and they strongly attacked it. Which was exceedingly fortified by a multitude of pagans. But when evening had already been made, they withdrew into a certain corner, and there they were lodged, and they made innumerable fires, so that the whole host was lit up.

————— FOL. 56R

But the pagans, struck with terror by fear, fled secretly by night, and abandoned the city full of all goods, which also retains within itself a very excellent harbour by the sea. But on the next day our men came, so that they might attack it on every side, and they found it empty. And entering they dwelt in it until the siege should be before the city of Arche. Near that there is another city, which is called Maraclea. The amiralus who was ruling it made a pact with our men, and sent our men into the city, and our banners. Duke Godfrey also and Bohemond, and the count of Flanders, came as far as the city of Laodicea. For Bohemond separated himself from them, and returned to Antioch. But those men came, and besieged a certain city whose name is Gibellum. Raymond therefore, count of Saint-Gilles, hearing that an innumerable people of pagans was rushing upon us to sure war, at once with his son lodged with his men so that he might send word to the elders who were in the siege of Gibellum, that they should come to their aid. Which those men, hearing, at once made peace with the amiraglio, making peace with him, and they received horses and gold, and they abandoned the city, coming to us in aid—but those men did not come to war against us. Therefore the counts

————— FOL. 56V

aforesaid were lodged beyond the river, and there they besieged that castle. Not long afterward our men rode against Tripoli, and they found outside the city Turks, Arabs, and Saracens. Whom our men attacked, and put them to flight, and killed the greatest part of the nobles of the city. So great was the slaughter of the pagans, and the shedding of blood, that even the water which was flowing in the city they saw grow red and flow into their cisterns, whence the others were greatly sad and grieving. Already indeed they were so struck with terror by so great fear that none of them dared to go out beyond the gate of the city. But on another day our men rode beyond †Defem†, and they found oxen and sheep and asses, and many animals, camels also from plunder nearly three thousand. But we besieged the aforesaid castle for three months, less one day, and there we celebrated the Lord's Easter on the fourth before the ides of April. For our ships came near us into a certain harbour for as long as we were in that siege, bringing a very great market, namely grain, wine and meat, and cheese, and barley, and oil, whence the greatest abundance was in the whole expedition. In that siege at last they happily received martyrdom, many

— FOL. 57R

from among our men, namely Anselm of †Riboatmost†, William the Picard, and many others of the signs. The king of Tripoli also was often sending messengers to the elders that they should abandon the castle, and come into concord with him. Our men therefore hearing this—namely duke Godfrey, and Raymond count of Saint-Gilles, and Robert the Norman, and the count of Flanders—and seeing that the new fruits had come early, because in the middle of March we were eating new beans, and in the middle of April also grain, our men saying that the Jerusalem journey was very good to complete with the new fruits. We therefore withdrew from the castle, and we came to Tripoli on the sixth feria, on the thirteenth day as May was beginning, and there we were for three days. At length the king of Tripoli was brought into concord with the elders, and at once he released for them more than three hundred pilgrims who had been captive there, and he gave them fifteen thousand bezants, and fifteen horses of great price. He also gave us a great market of horses, asses, and of all goods, whereby the whole militia of Christ was exceedingly enriched. A pact was

made between them, that if they should be able to overcome Gibellum, which was of the amirals of Babylon, and to seize Jerusalem, he himself should be made a Christian,

————— FOL. 57V

and the land should be recognized from them, and thus the agreement was made. But we withdrew from the city on the sixth feria of the month of May, and we crossed over by a narrow and steep road all day and night, and we came to a castle whose name is Bethelon, then to a city which is called Zebari by the sea, and in which we suffered too great thirst, and thus exhausted we came to a river whose name is Braym. Then we crossed by night and on the day of the Lord's Ascension over a mountain in which there is a road exceedingly narrow, and there we thought to find enemies lying in wait for us, but with God granting none of them dared to hasten before us. Our knights at last going before us freed that road before us, and we put in at a city next to the sea which is called Baruth, and from there we came to another city which is called Sagita, thereafter to another which is called Sur, and from Sur to the city of Acre. From Acre thereafter we came to a castle whose name is Cayphas, and thereafter we were lodged next to Caesarea, and there we celebrated Pentecost, further from the day as May was ending. Then we came to the city of Ramla, which the Saracens had abandoned empty for fear of the Franks. Next to which was an honorable

————— FOL. 58R

church in which the most precious body of Saint George rested, who there from the faithless pagans for the name of Christ happily received martyrdom. There our greater men took counsel, that there they might elect a bishop who should guard this place and raise up the church. To whom they willingly from their own goods gave tithes, and they enriched him with gold and silver, and with horses and with other animals, that he might live devotedly and honorably with those who were with him. He himself remained there with joy; but we, rejoicing and exulting, came as far as the city of Jerusalem on the third feria, the eighth before the ides of June, and we besieged it wonderfully. For Robert of Normandy besieged it from the north, next to the church of Saint Stephen the

protomartyr, where he had been stoned for the name of Christ. Next to Robert was the count of Flanders; but from the west duke Godfrey and Tancred besieged it. From the south the count of Saint-Gilles besieged it, namely on Mount Sion opposite the church of holy Mary mother of the Lord, where the Lord dined with his disciples. But on the third day, from among our men, namely Raymond Pilet and Raymond of Taurina and many others for the sake of foraging, found seven hundred Arabs, and the soldiers of Christ fought against those unbelievers, and with God

— FOL. 58V

helping they strongly overcame them, and killed many of them, and seized thirty horses. But when the second feria came, they attacked the city most strongly, so wonderfully that if ladders had been ready, the city would have been in our hand. We so cast down the lesser wall, and we raised one ladder to the greater wall. Upon which our knights were climbing, and jointly they were striking the Saracens with their swords and lances, and the defenders of the city. And many of our men were dead, but more of those men. But in that siege we could not find bread to buy for nearly the space of ten days, until a messenger of our ships came. And in too great a pasture held back for them, so that through too great terror and fear, for six miles, our men watered horses and other animals. For Siloa, a spring which is at the root of Mount Sion, sustained us, but water was sold so dear among us. For after a messenger of our ships came, one from among our elders took counsel, how they should send knights who should faithfully guard the men and the ships in the port of Jaffa. But at first dawn

— FOL. 59R

a hundred knights went out from the army of count Raymond, namely Raymond Pilet and Achard of Momellou and William of Sabra, and they were going with confidence to the port. At length thirty knights from among our men divided themselves from the others, and they found seven hundred Arabs and Turks and Saracens from the army of the amirais. Whom the soldiers of Christ strongly attacked; but so great was the strength of those men over our men that they surrounded them on every side. And they killed Achard of Momellou and the poor men who were foot-soldiers. But when they were

holding our men so shut in that all thought they would die, a certain messenger came to the others, saying to Raymond Pilet: Why do you stand here with these knights? Behold, all our men are in too great distress of Arabs and Turks and Saracens, and perhaps in this hour all are dead. Therefore run to help them, run to help. Our men, hearing these things, at once ran with swift course, and hastening arrived as far as those men, fighting. But the nation of the pagans, seeing the soldiers of Christ, divided themselves and made two battle-lines. But our men, having invoked the name of Christ, so sharply attacked those unbelievers that each knight could not hold his ground. But those men, seeing that

— FOL. 59V

they could not stand before the fortitude of the Franks, struck with too great terror by fear, turned their shoulders backward. Whom our men, pursuing for nearly the spaces of four miles, killed many of them. Until living men returned who would tell them new things in order; they also returned a hundred and three horses. In the same siege we were so burdened by so great oppression of thirst that we carried hides of oxen and of buffaloes, in which we carried waters for nearly the space of six miles. From those vessels indeed we used foul water, and how much from stinking water and barley bread we were daily in too great distress and affliction. For the Saracens, lying hidden in all the springs and waters, were ambushing our men, and everywhere they were killing them and tearing them to pieces; animals also they were leading with them into their caves and dens. Then our elders ordered how they might be able to engineer the city, that our men might enter the Sepulchre of the Saviour to adore it. And they made two wooden castles, and many other engines. Duke Godfrey made his castle with engines, and count Raymond likewise, for which they were drawing wood from distant lands. The Saracens therefore, seeing our men making these engines,

— FOL. 60R

were wonderfully fortifying the city, and they were raising the towers by night. But our elders, seeing from which side the city was more weak, there in a certain night of the Sabbath carried our machine and wooden castle into the eastern

part. But at first dawn they raised them, and they fitted and adorned the castle, on the first and second and third feria. For the count of Saint-Gilles from the southern quarter was repairing his machine. Meanwhile we were so hard pressed by so great pressure of thirst that one man could not for one denarius have water to sufficiency, or quench his thirst. On the night of the second and by day on the fourth and fifth feria they wonderfully attacked the city from every side. But before we should invade it, the bishops and priests ordered, by preaching and admonishing all, that they should celebrate a procession to God in circuit of Jerusalem, and should faithfully make prayers and alms and fasts. But on the sixth feria at first morning they attacked the city on every side, and they could do it no harm; and we were all stupefied and in too great fear. But as the hour was approaching—the hour of the sun—in which our Lord

FOL. 60V

Jesus Christ digned for us to suffer the cross, on which our knights were fighting strongly in the castle, namely duke Godfrey and count Eustace his brother. Then a certain knight from among our men, Lethold by name, climbed upon the wall of the city. But as soon as he climbed, all the defenders of the city fled along the walls and through the city; and our men, having followed after, were pursuing them, killing and cutting them down, as far as the Temple of Solomon. And there such slaughter was that our men put their feet in the blood of those men as far as the ankles. But count Raymond from the south led his army and castle as far as near the wall; but between the castle and the wall there was a certain ditch too deep. Then our men took counsel that they should fill the ditch; and they caused it to be proclaimed that if anyone should have carried three stones into that ditch, he should have one denarius. But this filling lasted through three days and nights. At length, the ditch being full, they led the castle next to the wall. But those who were within were fighting wonderfully with our men, with fire and stones. The count therefore, hearing that the Franks were in the city, said to his men: Why do you delay? Behold, all the Frankish people are already in the city.

FOL. 61R

The amiralius therefore who was in the Tower of David surrendered himself to the count, and opened to him the gate where the pilgrims were accustomed to pay tribute. But our men, entering the city as pilgrims, were pursuing and killing the Saracens as far as the Temple of Solomon. In which temple, having gathered, they gave our men a very great battle through the whole day, so that the blood of those men flowed through the whole temple. At length, the pagans having been overcome, our men seized males and females made captive in the temple, and they killed whom they wished, and whom they wished they kept alive. But upon the Temple of Solomon there was a very great gathering of pagans of either sex, to whom Tancred and Gaston de Beert gave their banners. Soon they ran through the whole city, seizing gold and silver, horses and mules, and houses full of all goods. But all our men came rejoicing, and weeping for too great joy, to the Sepulchre of our Saviour Jesus to be adored, and they rendered to him the capital debt. But when morning had been made, our men carefully climbed upon the roof of the temple, and they attacked the Saracen males and females, beheading them with naked swords. But others were casting

FOL. 61V

themselves headlong from the temple. Tancred, seeing this, was angry exceedingly. Then our men held a council, that each one should make alms with prayers, that God for himself might choose whom he wished to reign over the others and to rule the city. They also ordered all the dead Saracens to be cast outside, for the too great stench; for nearly the whole city was full of their corpses. And the living Saracens were dragging the dead before the exit of the gates, and were arranging mountains from them, as if they were houses. Such slaughters of the pagan people no one ever heard or saw; how pyres were arranged from them like heaps, and no one knows their number—unless God alone. But count Raymond led the amiralius and the others who were with him as far as Ascalon, sound and unharmed. But on the eighth day on which the city was taken, they elected duke Godfrey prince of the city, who should war down the pagans and guard the Christians. Likewise they elected as patriarch a most wise and honourable man named Arnulf, on the day of Saint Peter ad Vincula. This city was taken by the Christians on the fifteenth day of July, on

the sixth feria. Meanwhile messengers were sent to Tancred and to count Eustace, that they should prepare themselves and go to

FOL. 62R

seize the Neapolitan city. Those men went out and led with them many knights and foot-soldiers, and they arrived at the city. But the inhabitants of that city surrendered themselves at once. Again the duke ordered them that they should come quickly to the war which the amirauissus of Babylon was preparing for us for the city of Ascalon. But those men, hastening, entered the mountain country seeking the wars of the Saracens, and they came to Caesarea. Therefore those men, coming next to the sea to the city of Rama, there found many Arabs who were the cattle and sheep of the war. Whom our men, pursuing, seized several of them, who told all the news of the war—where they were and how many they were, or where they were disposing to fight against the Christians. Tancred, hearing this, at once sent a messenger to Jerusalem to duke Godfrey and to the patriarch and to all the princes, saying: Know that war has been prepared for us at Ascalon; come as quickly as you can with all the strength which you will be able to have. Then the duke ordered all to be summoned, that they should go faithfully prepared to Ascalon to meet our enemies. But he himself with the patriarch and count Robert of Flanders went out from the city on the third feria, and with the bishop of Martirano with them. But the count of Saint-Gilles and Robert the Norman conducted themselves as not about to go out

FOL. 62V

unless there should be certain war. And they ordered their knights that they should go to see if the war truly was, and should return as quickly as possible, who themselves soon would be ready to go. Those men went; and they saw the war, and quickly they reported that they had seen it with their own eyes. Immediately the duke, having seized the bishop of Martirano, sent word to Jerusalem that the knights who were there should prepare themselves and come to the war. But on the fourth feria those princes went out and fought at the war. But the bishop of Martirano returned, reporting the words sent to the patriarch and to the duke; and the Saracens went out to meet him, and, having seized him,

led him with them. But Peter the Hermit remained at Jerusalem, ordering and commanding the Greeks and Latins and the clergy that they should faithfully celebrate a procession to God, and should make prayers and alms, that God might give victory to his people. The clergy and priests, having put on the sacred vestments, led a procession to the Temple of the Lord, chanting masses and prayers, that he might defend his people. And again the patriarch and the bishops and the other elders gathered at a certain river which is on this side of Ascalon. There many animals—of oxen, of camels, of sheep—and of all goods were plundered. But there came Arabs

FOL. 63R

nearly three hundred; and our men rushed upon them, and seized two of them, pursuing the others as far as their army. But when evening had been made, the patriarch caused it to be proclaimed through the whole host that at first morning tomorrow all should be ready for battle, excommunicating any lest any man should turn his mind to any spoils until the battle should have been made. But when that had been done they should return with happy joy to seize whatever had been predestined for them by the Lord. But at first dawn on the sixth feria they entered into a valley too beautiful, along the shore of the sea, in which they ordered their battle-lines. The duke arranged his battle-line, and the count of Normandy his, the count of Saint-Gilles his, the count of Flanders his, count Eustace his, Tancred and Gaston theirs. They also ordered the foot-soldiers and archers who should go before the knights, and so they ordered all things; and at once they began to fight in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. But on the left side was duke Godfrey with his battle-line, and the count of Saint-Gilles was however next to the sea; on the right side the count of Normandy and the count of Flanders and Tancred and all the others were standing in the middle. Then our men began to walk little by little. But the pagans were standing ready for battle.

FOL. 63V

Each one had his flask hanging on his neck, from which they might drink while pursuing us. But it was not permitted to them to rejoice. But the count of Normandy, seeing the standard of the amirauissus having a certain golden apple

on the top of a spear which was covered with silver, rushed violently upon that man, and wounded him unto death. From another side the count of Flanders attacked those men too sharply. Tancred therefore made a charge through the middle of their tents. The pagans, seeing this, at once entered into flight. The multitude of the pagans was innumerable, and no one knows their number except God alone. But the battles were immense; but divine virtue was accompanying us, so great, so strong, that it at once overcame those men. But the enemies of God were standing blinded and stupefied, and, seeing the soldiers of Christ, with open eyes they were seeing nothing, and they did not dare to raise themselves against the Christians, and having been made to tremble by the virtue of God. From too great fear they were climbing into trees, in which they thought to hide themselves; but our men, by shooting arrows and with lances and with swords by killing them, were casting them headlong to the ground. But others were casting themselves upon the ground, not daring to raise themselves against us. Our men therefore were cutting those men down, just as they cut down

FOL. 64R

animals for the slaughter-market. The count of Saint-Gilles next to the sea killed beyond measure in number. Others were casting themselves headlong into the sea; others were fleeing hither and thither. The amirauissus therefore, fearing before the city, grieving and mourning, said weeping: O spirit of the gods, who ever saw as he heard such things? So great power, so great virtue, so great soldiery, which never was overcome by any people, now is conquered by so small a people of the Christians. Woe is me, sad and grieving—what more shall I say? I am overcome by a beggar people, unarmed and most poor, which has nothing except a sack and a wallet. They themselves pursue me, the Egyptian people, which often bestowed its alms upon them when once they used to beg through all our country. Hither I led to the gathering two hundred thousand knights, and I see those men themselves fleeing with loose reins along the Babylonian road, and they do not dare to turn back against the Frankish-born people. I swear by Machumet and by all the divinities of the gods that further I will not retain knights by any compact—I who have been driven out by a foreign people.

I led all kinds of arms and all engines that I might besiege them in Jerusalem, and they themselves got ahead of me to hold battle by two days. Woe is me—

— FOL. 64V

what more shall I say? I shall be forever dishonoured in the Babylonian land. But our men took that standard, which the count of Normandy bought for twenty marks of silver, and gave it to the patriarch as honour of the holy Sepulchre. But a certain man bought the sword for sixty bezants. Our enemies therefore were overcome, God granting it. All the ships of the lands of the pagans were present there. But the men who were among them, seeing the amirauissus fleeing with his army, at once hung out the sails and drove themselves into the high seas. Our men returned to their tents, and took innumerable spoils of gold, of silver, and of all goods, and kinds of all animals, and all instruments of arms. What they wished to carry away they took; the rest they burned with fire. Our men returned with joy to Jerusalem, carrying with them all goods which were necessary for them. This war was done on the second day before the ides of August. The Lord our Jesus Christ granting these things, to whom is honour and glory now and always and unto ages of ages. Let every spirit say amen.

[End of the Gesta Francorum on 64v at the doxology. The following red rubric Incipit descriptio sanctorum locorum hierosolimitanorum and the Descriptio text are out of scope for this translation.]

Textual notes

Reader-facing notes for the Open Chronicles volume of the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* from **Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 572**. These notes support the source-faithful Latin and English; they are not a transcription workflow log. For the full residual dagger inventory see ``notes/UNRESOLVED_READINGS.md``. For MS vs print comparison see ``notes/DIVERGENCES.md``. Editorial voice is neutral: the notes record what the witness shows, not moral judgments on persons or parties named in the narrative.

A. Witness and method

This edition presents a **single-witness** diplomatic reading of Reg. lat. 572 for the continuous Gesta text from **1v** through mid-**64v** (*Dicat omnis spiritus. amen.*), with derived normalized Latin and English. All **127** inventory sides are READ. Expansions follow the project's normalization policy; where letter-forms or sense remain uncertain after re-image against band crops, the normalized text retains †**daggers**† rather than silent conjecture. Printed editions (chiefly Hill 1962) are used for orientation and divergence logging only: **the manuscript image remains default**, and no raw reading was changed from print alone. Residual opens after the 2026-07-29 re-image pass are frozen for edition **1.0.0** (see ``notes/UNRESOLVED_READINGS.md``, ``LIMITATIONS.md``).

B. Book structure

Printed editions commonly divide the *Gesta* into **ten books** (Hill I–X). This manuscript marks only **four** Libri with red Explicit/Incipit:

MS LIBER	FOLIOS	RUBRIC ON IMAGE
1	1v → mid-7v	<i>Explicit Lib. 1; Incipit Liber scdūs.</i>
2	mid-7v → mid-12v	<i>Lib. ii Explicit; Incip. Lib. iii. Amen.</i>
3	mid-12v → mid-15v	<i>Exp̄t lib. iii; Inc̄. iiiī. (after primo die iulii)</i>
4	mid-15v → mid-64v	No further Liber Explicit/Incipit

MS Liber 4 therefore corresponds roughly to Hill books **IV–X undivided**. Section structure in that stretch is by red initials and occasional special rubrics (e.g. *Stat urbs* on 51r), not by Liber numbers. Full map and catchword notes: ``notes/BOOK_BOUNDARIES.md``.

C. Principal residual loci

Each note is brief. Image detail: `transcription/_bands_<folio>/' where crops exist.

†suboliť† (1v)

Opening of the papal exhortation after *Coepitque*. Letters are legible (i/l minims); traditional print expansion is *subtiliter*, and *subito* is also conceivable. Neither is forced from the image alone. Crop: `\_bands\_1v/\_subolit.jpg`.

†psulstura† (8r, twice)

Near the market / *perfiducia* passage after the imperial escort narrative. The p-abbreviation and following letters are clear; sense and dictionary form remain open (not silently *pro-/per-*). Hill's text is smoother; MS form is retained with daggers. Crops: `\_bands\_8r/\_psul1.jpg`, `\_psul2.jpg`.

†alisequerant† (9v)

In the sequence of Bohemond's oath terms (*tali modo iuravi...*). Letters are clear; the intended verb or construction is not settled. Crop: `\_bands\_9v/\_aliseq.jpg`.

†imiam† / †puiam† (10v)

In the Nicaea approach, with *apuirent hanc uiam*. Neighbouring *ubertas* was closed by re-image from *ubtas*; these two forms stay open. Crops: `\_bands\_10v/\_imia.jpg`, `\_puia.jpg`.

†placum† (12r)

Before *properantes*, as the army presses the siege works. Letters *placum* are clear; sense open. Crop: `\_bands\_12r/\_placum.jpg`.

†cumita† / †laudabit† (12v)

At the close of Liber 2, in the martyrs' prayer (*qui es benedictus et †laudabit† in secula...*). Print editions often read *laudabilis. omnino* on the same side was closed by re-image; these two remain. Crops: `\_bands\_12v/\_cumita.jpg`, `\_laudabit.jpg`.

†cernentab;† (15r); †cape† / †tantes† (15v)

Line-break form on 15r; residual pair on 15v after *Quoniam olim* was closed. Liber 3 Explicit / Liber 4 Incipit stand on 15v.

†Generunt† (18v, 19v)

Twice in the Coxon / Antioch-approach stretch. Letters are clear; sense open. Not emended from print.

†Sacsum† (26r)

After the lake-battle spoils sequence (*recuperati sunt nostri de equis*). Letters S-a-c-s-ū with macron; *Statim* is attractive but not forced. Crop: `\_bands\_26r/L03\_sac.jpg`.

†Reusus / Reuersus† and stamp damage (34r)

In Curban’s charge over the castrum. *Reusus* may be *Reuersus* or *Recessus*. A library stamp over L13–14 damages *continuo* / *protinus* / *ta delu[...]*es (damage class). Crop: `\_bands\_34r/L13\_15\_tight.jpg`.

Catchword bridges (45r, 47r, 55v–56r)

- 44v → 45r: catchword *fantib*; expects *infantibus*; the word is not distinctly visible at 45r L1 (daggered from catchword only).
- 46v → 47r: catchword *tibus* expects *partibus*; same pattern.
- 55v → 56r: catchword *Ibi* does **not** match 56r L1 *Pagani* — an open folio bridge, not a book break.

Working catchwords elsewhere (*bant*, *bolum*, *plene*, *In quā*, *bes*) join cleanly and are not residual opens.

Selected later forms

LOCUS	FORM	NOTE
26v	†ptertia†	<i>p̄tertia</i> die — <i>praeterita</i> ? / <i>per tertia</i> ?
31v	†obrem†	Sense open in Pirrus / ladder episode
33v	†persicuo / presidio†	Protection sense; expansion ambig.
40v	†insitaque combusti†	Letters clear; awkward sense
49r	†sancto†	<i>s̄cto</i> vs expected <i>seculo</i> in death formula

LOCUS	FORM	NOTE
52r	†puilario†	<i>monte puilario</i> ; place open
53v	†oriens sept†	Identity open
54v	†confinito†	Form/sense open at Capharda approach
56v	†defem†	Place-name open
57r	†riboatmost†	Anselm's place-form open
61r	†peregrinu†	Form/sense open at Jerusalem entry
63v	†inmīa†	Letters clear; <i>nimīa</i> ? not forced

Full table: `notes/UNRESOLVED\_READINGS.md`.

D. Selected MS vs Hill 1962 divergences (sense-affecting)

The complete Phase 5 log (49 entries) is in `notes/DIVERGENCES.md`. Orthographic modernization in print is ignored unless sense or structure differs. **MS image remains default.** A short selection follows.

1. **1v** — MS *sanctum sepulchri uiam* vs Hill *Sancti Sepulchri uiam* (case construction). 2. **1v** — MS †subolīt† vs Hill *subtiliter* (print resolves; we do not). 3. **1v–2r** — *At / Ait; nos / uos*; MS *delicet* (undaggered MS form of *uidelicet*) vs print *uidelicet*. 4. **2r** — *ita* vs *iam* (*Cumque ita/iam hic sermo*); real lexical variant. 5. **2r** — MS line without explicit *crucem* where print supplies it in *dextra ... scapula*. 6. **8r** — *apportarent* vs *asportarent*; following clause wording differs. 7. **12v** — Liber 3 opens MS *Iamque reddita...* vs Hill *Interea reddita...*; place-form *constananopoli* vs *Constantinopolim*. 8. **12v–13r** — *Deusque* vs *Denique* (not corrected without letter proof). 9. **15v** — Close of Dorylaeum: MS *Et tam grandi, uictis turcis...* vs Hill *Et tamen gratia Dei uicti sunt a nostris...*; date *primo die iulii* agrees. 10. **15v** — *Postquam ecce... cogit ut solimanus* vs Hill *Postquam uero Turci... contigit ut Solimanus; gentibus* vs *gentilibus*. 11. **20r** — Arrival at Antioch: MS *iii feria* vs Hill *quarta feria* (same *xii kal. nou.* formula) — chronological variant. 12. **21r** — *Castrum marest* vs Hill *Maregart* (Malregard). 13. **23v–24r** — **Major**: MS *inimici nostri... amisisse* vs Hill *inimicus Tetigus... timuisse* (Taticius named only in print tradition here). 14. **32v** — Curban cycle opens MS *Turbatus princeps militię soldanus...* then *curbanus* vs Hill *Curbaram* as subject from the start. 15. **26r / 28v / 47v** — Print book VII / VIII / IX starts align narratively with MS mid-points but **have no MS Liber rubrics**. 16. **61v** — MS *scalonom* (often without initial *A-*) vs print *Ascalonom* (apparatus notes D always *Ascalonom*). 17. **64v** — Battle date formula MS *·ii· idus augusti* vs Hill extract *pridie idus / idus*; final doxology *Dicat omnis spiritus. amen.* agrees in substance. 18. **Book structure** — MS four Libri vs Hill I–X (see §B); MS Liber 4 = print IV–X continuous.

E. What was not done

- **Multi-witness critical apparatus / stemma** — out of scope; this is a single-codex edition.
- **Descriptio sanctorum locorum** — begins on 64v after the Gesta amen; not transcribed or translated here.
- **Hagenmeyer 1890 as working base** — PDF obtained; scan OCR is not usable for systematic collation. Hagenmeyer notes a four-book division in some witnesses, closer to this MS's rubrics than to Hill's ten books.
- **Silent correction from print** — Phase 5 logged divergences only; raw files were not altered from print alone.
- **Full word-level collational apparatus** — optional future work if a clean digital Hagenmeyer (or other) Latin becomes available.
- **Certainty where daggers remain** — readers should not treat residual †...† forms as closed; see 'LIMITATIONS.md' and 'notes/UNRESOLVED_READINGS.md'.

Quick pointers

RESOURCE	CONTENT
`notes/UNRESOLVED_READINGS.md`	Full U-001–U-115 table + structural opens
`notes/BOOK_BOUNDARIES.md`	MS Liber map; Hill I–X correlation
`notes/DIVERGENCES.md`	All 49 Phase 5 MS vs Hill entries
`latin_normalized/EDITORIAL_DECISIONS.md`	Raw → normalized decisions
`LIMITATIONS.md` / `REPORT.md`	Coverage, method limits, open-reading log
`transcription/_bands_<folio>`	Hard-spot and full-half crops
`manuscript/reg_lat_572_*.jpg`	Full folio images

Glossary of persons and places

English forms used in the Open Chronicles translation of the *Gesta Francorum* from BAV Reg. lat. 572. MS spellings are given where they differ markedly from the English form.

ENGLISH FORM	MS / LATIN FORMS (SELECTED)	NOTES
the Apostolic / lord Apostolic (Urban II)	Apostolicus / domnus apostolicus	1v
Franks	Franci / francorum	2r
Gauls / of the Gauls / Gaul	galli / galliarum / galliae	1v / 2r
Peter the Hermit	petrus heremita	2r
Duke Godfrey	dux godefridus / Godefridus	2r / 5r
Baldwin	balduinus / Balduinus	2r / 5r
Baldwin count of Mons	balduinus comes de monte	2r
Charles the Great	karolus magnus	2v
Constantinople	constantinopoli	2v
Alamanni	alamanni / alamannorum	2v / 3r
Lombards / Longobards	lombardi / lumbardi / longobardi	2v / 3r
Turks	turci	2v
Greeks	greci / grecis	2v
Nicomedia	nicomedia	2v
Rainold / Rainald	Rainoldus / Rainaldus	3r
Romania (Asia Minor)	romania / romeniam	3r / 4v
Nicaea	nicena urbs / nicensam	3r
Exerogorgo	exerogorgo	3r
Saint Michael	sancti michaelis	3r
Corosanum (Khorasan)	corosanum	3v
Antioch	antiochiam	3v

ENGLISH FORM	MS / LATIN FORMS (SELECTED)	NOTES
Aleph (Aleppo; residence of Curbanus's mother; she returns there 37v with spoils)	aleph	3v / 35r / 37r–37v (cf. 21v)
Walter Sansavoir	gualterius sine habere	4r
Civitot	cyuito / cȳuito	4r
Persia	persidem	4v
Sclavonia	sclauonie	4v
Raymond count of Saint-Gilles	comes de sancto egidio Raimundus	4v
bishop of Le Puy	podiensis episcopus	4v
Bohemond	Boamundus / boamundus	4v / 5v
Richard of the Principate	Richardus de principatu	4v
Robert count of Flanders	Rotbertus comes Flandrensis	4v
Robert the Norman	Rotbertus nortmannus	4v
Hugh the Great	Hugo magnus	4v
Everard of Puisat	euerardus de puisatto	4v
Achard of Montmerle	Achardus de monte merloi	4v
Isnard of Nulsone	isnardus de nulsone	4v
Brandoli (Brindisi?)	brandoli	4v
Bari	bari	4v
Otranto	otrentum	4v
William son of the marquis	willelmus marchisi filius	4v
Durazzo	durachium	5r
Alexius	alexius	5r
Turcoples	turcopolis	5r
Pechenegs (Pinzinaci)	pinzinacis	5r
arm of Saint George (Bosphorus)	brachium sancti georgii	5v
Malh. Scafardi pontis (uncertain)	malh. scafardi pontis	5v

ENGLISH FORM	MS / LATIN FORMS (SELECTED)	NOTES
Sepulchre	sepulcrum / sepulchri	1v / 5v
Count Roger	Rogerus comes	6r
Tancred	tancredus	6r
Rainulf	rainulfus	6r
Robert of Ansa	robertus de ansa	6v
Hermann of Canni	hermannus de canni	6v
Robert of Sourdeval	robertus de surda ualle	6v
Robert son of Tostain	robertus filius tostani	6v
Humphrey son of Radulf	humfredus filius radulfi	6v
count of Russinolo (Roussillon)	comes de russinolo / roussignolo	6v / 7r
Boello of Chartres	boello carnotensis	6v
Alberedus of Cagnano (MS suspension)	alberer' de cagnano	6v
Humphrey of Monte Scabioso	humfredus de monte scabioso	6v
Bulgaria	bulgarię / bulgariae	6v
Andronopolis	andronopoli	6v
Castoria	castoria / castorā	6v / 7r
Pelagonia	palagoniā	7r
river Bardarum (Vardar)	flumen bardarum	7r
curopalates	cor palatiū / Curopalates	7v
curopalatae (two officers)	corpalatiis	8r
head of the fast (Ash Wednesday)	caput ieiunii	7v
Serra	serra	8r
Rusa	rusa / rusam ciuitatem	8v
Segrua (valley)	segrua / segruam	8v
the Lord's Supper (Maundy Thursday)	cena domini	8v
the Lord's Easter	pascha domini	8v
nones of May	nonas maii	10v

ENGLISH FORM	MS / LATIN FORMS (SELECTED)	NOTES
the Lord's Ascension	ascensio domini / ascensionis domini	10v / 11r
southern gate (of Nicaea)	meridianam portam	11r
the count of Normandy	comes de nortmannia	11v
count Stephen	comes stephanus	11v
Roger of Barneville	rogerus de barnauilla	11v
count Robert the Norman	comes Rotbertus nortmannus	11v (siege station; cf. 4v)
the count of Flanders	comes flandrensis	11v (siege station; cf. Rotbertus Flandrensis)
crossbowmen (arbalisters)	arbaliste	11v
lake (beside Nicaea)	lacus (ex una parte urbis)	12r
weeks (hebdomads)	ebdomadas	12v
a certain bridge (after Nicaea)	pons (quendam pontem)	13r
two columns / battle-lines	duo agmina	13r
demonic voice (MS spelling)	doemoniaca uoce	13r
Agulani	agulani / agulanorum	14v
Persians	persarum	14v
Publicani	publicanorum	14v
Godfrey of Monte Scabioso	goffredus de montescabioso	15r
William son of the marquis, brother of Tancred	willelmus marchisi filius frater tancredi	15r (cf. 4v willelmus marchisi filius)
Armenians (MS <i>hermenios</i>)	hermenios	15r
Syrians	surianos	15r
Soliman / Soliman the duke / old Soliman	solimanus / solimanus dux / solimani ueteris	15v
the first day of July	primo die iulii	15v
Arabs (ten thousand)	arabum (x milia)	15v
Romania (Asia Minor; again)	romania / romaniām (uniuersam)	16r (cf. 3r / 4v)

ENGLISH FORM	MS / LATIN FORMS (SELECTED)	NOTES
Iconium	yconio	16v
Heraclea (MS <i>erachia</i>)	erachia	16v
valley of Botrenthrot	uallem de botrenthrot / botrenthrot	17r
Tarsus	tharsum / tharsū	17r
Tancred son of the marquis	tancredus marchisi filius	17r (cf. 6r tancredus; 15r willelmus marchisi filius)
Baldwin the count, brother of duke Godfrey	balduinus comes frater ducis godefridi	17r (cf. 2r / 5r balduinus)
Athena (Adana region; MS form)	athena	18r
Manuftra (Mamistra / Mopsuestia region; MS form)	manuftra	18r
Armenians (MS <i>hermen-</i>)	hermeniorum / hermenii	18r / 19r (cf. 15r hermenios)
Symeon	symeon	18r
Caesarea of Cappadocia / Cappadocia	cesaream cappadocie / cappadocia	18r
Peter of the Alps	petrus de alpibus	18r
Coxon (Coxon / Göksun)	coxon	18v
Aluni (MS ethnonym; local Christians of Coxon)	aluni	18v
Peter of Castellione the viscount	petrus de castellione uicecomes	18v
William of Monte Pisslero	willelmus de monte pisslero	18v
Peter of Roasa	petrus de roasa	18v / 19r
Peter Raymond of Pul (suspension)	petrus raimundus de pul	18v
Publicani (castle of the Publicani)	publicanorum (castrum)	18v (cf. 14v publicanorum)
valley of Rugia / Rugia	uallis de rugia / rugia	19r
Saracens	saracenos	19r (cf. 15r context)
Marasi (Marash / Kahramanmaraş; MS form)	marasi	19r–19v

ENGLISH FORM	MS / LATIN FORMS (SELECTED)	NOTES
the iron bridge (near Antioch)	pontem ferreum	19v

Full working register: glossary/GLOSSARY.md in the project corpus.