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Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere

THE JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM

Peter Tudebode (Petrus Tudebodus)

SOURCE-FAITHFUL TRANSLATION

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

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Source

Base text: British Library, Harley MS 3904, ff. 1r–65r

(crusade narrative through f. 63v; Holy Places appendix through f. 65r).

Comparison witness: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 4892, ff. 212r–236r.

Source-faithful reading translation from these witnesses; not a diplomatic transcription and not a critical edition of the Latin.

- British Library — Harley MS 3904 (catalogue / viewer as available)
- Gallica / BnF — search Latin 4892

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

Translated from the Latin witnesses listed above with AI assistance; edited and verified by Paul McMurry. This is a source-faithful reading translation, not a critical edition of the Latin.

Produced from the Latin manuscripts without using the 1974 English translation by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill as a source text. A post hoc comparison with Hill & Hill is documented separately on openchronicles.org; that translation remains under copyright and is not reproduced here.

Limitations

Not a critical edition of the Latin. A small number of readings remain uncertain (see textual notes). Harley is the base; BnF supplies are labeled where adopted. Hill & Hill (1974) used a different base-manuscript priority and is not reproduced. The Latin orthography of names is normalized in the English per the glossary.

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[Harley rubric, partly illegible: Here begin the deeds of the Franks ...]

Now when that appointed time drew near which the Lord daily reveals to his faithful, and of which he speaks especially in the Gospel, saying, “If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me.”

[supplied from BnF 4892] A movement therefore arose among all the peoples of Gaul: if anyone earnestly desired the Lord with a pure heart and mind, and wished faithfully to carry the cross after him, he should not hesitate to take up the road to the Holy Sepulchre at once. The pope of the Roman see went as quickly as possible into the regions among the mountains with his archbishops, bishops, and priests. He began to discourse and preach carefully, saying that if anyone wished to save his soul, he should not hesitate to take up the Lord’s road; and if he lacked a supply of money, divine mercy would provide him with enough. For Lord Pope Urban said: “Brothers, we must suffer many things for the name of Christ—namely, the miseries of poverty, persecutions, privations, illnesses, nakedness, hunger and thirst, and other things of this sort—just as the Lord himself said to his disciples:”

“And you must suffer many things for my name. Do not be ashamed to speak before the faces of men; I shall give you utterance and eloquence, and afterward a generous reward will follow you.” When this message had gradually begun to spread through all the regions and lands of the Gauls, the Franks heard these words and at once fastened crosses on the right side of their shoulders, declaring with one accord that they would follow in the footsteps by which they had been redeemed from the hand of hell.

Now the Gauls departed from their homes and formed two divisions. One division entered the land of Hungary: Peter the Hermit; Duke Godfrey; and Baldwin, his brother, a wise champion of Christ, whom may God protect and preserve. These most prudent knights, and others whom I do not know at all, for I have no guide, came by the road which

Charles the Great, the renowned king of France, had long ago caused to be prepared as far as Constantinople. Peter the Hermit was the first to reach Constantinople, on the Kalends of August, and with him came a very great host of Germans. There he found Lombards and Longobards and many others assembled. The emperor had ordered that they be given a market as in the city, and he told them: "Do not cross the Arm until the great multitude of Christians arrives, for you are not numerous enough to be able to fight the Turks." But these Christians behaved wickedly: they demolished and burned the city's palaces, stripped the lead with which the churches were roofed, and sold it to the Greeks. This made Emperor Alexius still angrier. The emperor soon ordered them to cross the Arm. After they had crossed, they did not cease committing every kind of evil. They burned and laid waste houses and churches.

At length they reached Nicomedia. There the Lombards, Longobards, and Germans separated from the French, because the French were swollen with pride. The Lombards and Longobards chose a leader over themselves named Rainald, and the Germans did likewise. They entered Romania and marched for four days beyond the city of Nicaea.

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They found a certain fortress named Exerogorgo, which had no inhabitants, and seized it. In it they found ample grain, wine, meat, and every good thing. When the Turks heard that Christians were in the fortress, they came at once to besiege it. Before the fortress gate there was a well, and at the foot of the fortress there was a spring. Rainald went out beside it to keep watch against the Turks. The Turks came on the feast of the dedication of Saint Michael, found Rainald and all who were with him, and killed many of them. Those who remained alive fled into the fortress, which the Turks immediately besieged, cutting off their water entirely. Our men suffered such torment from thirst that they had their horses and donkeys bleed and drank their blood. Others lowered cloths into the cistern and afterward pressed them into their mouths. Some urinated into another man's cupped hands, and so he drank. Others dug up damp earth, lay on their backs, and put it over their breasts or bodies because of the terrible dryness of their thirst.

The bishop and the priests who were present encouraged and admonished our men, saying: “Be strong everywhere in the faith of Christ. Do not fear those who persecute you. As the Lord says, ‘Do not fear those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul.’” This ordeal lasted eight days. The lord of the Germans conspired with the Turks over how he might betray all the others. Pretending to go out to battle, he fled to them, and many of the others went with him. Those who refused to deny God received the sentence of beheading. The Turks seized the others and divided them among themselves as a man divides sheep. They set some up as targets and shot arrows at them; others they sold or gave away like animals. Each man led his captives to his own home—some to Khurasan, some to Antioch, some to Aleppo, or wherever they themselves lived.

These were the first to receive blessed martyrdom for the name of Christ. When the Turks heard that Peter the Hermit and Walter were in the fortress of Civitot, which is above the city of Nicaea, they came there

with great joy to kill them. As they came rejoicing, they encountered Walter and his knights, all of whom the Turks killed at once. Not long before this, Peter the Hermit had gone to Constantinople because he could not restrain that mixed host, which would neither obey him nor listen to his words. The Turks fell upon them and killed many. They found some asleep, some lying down, and some naked. They also found a priest celebrating Mass at the altar and immediately made a martyr of him. Those who could escape alive fled to Civitot. Some cast themselves into the sea, while others fled into the woods or through the mountains. The Turks pursued them into the fortress and piled up wood with which to burn them together with it. The Christians in the fort set fire to the gathered wood; the fire turned back against the Turks, because God did not wish to abandon the Christians. The Turks divided those whom they took alive, just as they had the others before, and scattered them throughout all their lands—some in Khurasan and others in Persia. All this happened

in the month of October. When the emperor heard that the Turks had scattered our men in this way, he was glad and rejoiced. He sent for the survivors and had them cross the Arm; once they were across, he purchased all their weapons.

The second division entered through the lands of Slavonia: Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, and with him the honorable bishop of Le Puy. The third division came by the ancient road to Rome. In this division were the count of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Hugh the Great, and many others. Then, as they approached the ports of Brindisi, Bari, or Otranto, Hugh the Great and William, the son of the Marquis, immediately put to sea from the port of Bari. Crossing over, they landed at Dyrrachium. When the duke of that city heard that these most prudent men had landed, an evil thought immediately arose in his heart. He ordered them arrested and cautiously taken to the wretched emperor at Constantinople so that they might swear fidelity to him.

Duke Godfrey was the first to reach Constantinople with his great army, two days

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before the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ. He lodged near Constantinople and remained there until the wicked emperor ordered that he be honorably quartered in the suburb. Once he was securely lodged, the duke selected his squires each day to go outside and carry back straw and other necessities. They now confidently believed they could go wherever they wished. The wicked emperor, whose name was Alexius, craftily had them watched and commanded his Turcopoles and Pincenates to attack and kill them. When Baldwin, the duke's brother, heard what the treacherous emperor had ordered his men to do, he immediately set out with the greatest determination, hoping he might find them. At length he found them killing his people. He attacked them wholeheartedly and, with God's help, defeated them. He captured sixty, killed some, and brought the rest before the duke. When the emperor saw this he became very angry. The duke, seeing that the emperor was angry, therefore

FOL. 5R

ordered his knights to leave the suburb and lodge where they had previously camped outside the city. When evening came, the wretched emperor sent his armies and had them attack the duke together with Christ's people. The unconquered duke pursued them with Christ's knights, killed seven of them, and chased the others as far as the city gate. The duke returned to his tents and remained in that field for nearly five days, until he reached an agreement with the emperor. The emperor told him to cross the Arm of Saint George. There he promised that the duke would have a full market, just as at Constantinople, and that alms would be distributed to the poor so that they could live.

Bohemond, who was at the siege of Amalfi, at the place called Scaphardus Pontius, heard that an innumerable host of Franks had come to wrest the road to the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the most wicked pagans, so that it might henceforth be free and stand open to all Christians everywhere. He immediately began, with great wisdom and care, to

— FOL. 5V

inquire what weapons this people carried for fighting, what emblem of Christ it bore on the journey, and what cry it sounded in battle. Everything was reported to him in order: "They continually carry weapons suited for war. They bear the cross of Christ on the right shoulder or between both shoulders, and all together cry with one voice, 'God wills it! God wills it! God wills it!'" At once, moved by the Holy Spirit, he ordered a most precious mantle in his possession to be brought out. He had it cut up and immediately distributed the whole of it as crosses.

The greater part of the knights who were at that siege began to flock eagerly to him, so remarkably that Count Roger was left almost alone. He barely returned to Sicily, grieving and mourning that he had at last lost his people. Bohemond then returned once more to his own land. He equipped himself on every side to begin the journey to the Holy Sepulchre. At length he crossed the sea with his army; with him were the most prudent Tancred, the son of the Marquis, and many others. They crossed and landed

— FOL. 6R

in the lands of Bulgaria. There they found a great abundance of grain, wine, and food for the body. They next descended into the valley of Adrianople and camped there, waiting for their people until all had crossed together.

Then they set out and passed through a land of great abundance, from village to village, fortress to fortress, and city to city, until they reached Kastoria. There they solemnly celebrated the Nativity of the Lord. Leaving Kastoria, they entered Pelagonia, where there was a fortress of heretics. They attacked it on every side, in the lake where it had been built, and it immediately fell under their power. After taking it, they burned that fortress together with its inhabitants, namely the congregation of heretics.

Afterward they reached the River Vardar. Bohemond crossed with one part of his people. The other part remained with the count of Rossignol and his brother, the bishop. The accursed emperor's army came and attacked the count, his brother, and all the others.

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When the prudent Tancred heard this, he turned back, plunged into the river, and reached them by swimming. Two thousand soldiers entered the river after Tancred. At last they found the Turcoples and Pincenates fighting our men. They immediately attacked them with force, wisely defeated them, captured many, and brought them bound before Lord Bohemond. Bohemond addressed them: "Why, wretches, are you killing Christ's people and mine? I have no dispute with your emperor." They answered: "We can do nothing else. We are in the pay of the godless emperor, and whatever he commands us, we must carry out." Lord Bohemond allowed them to depart without any punishment. This battle took place on Wednesday, at the beginning of Lent. Therefore may God be blessed in all things, for ever and ever. Amen.

FOL. 7R

The emperor sent one of his soldiers, a man whom he greatly loved and called Corpolasius, to conduct the Franks safely through his territory until they reached Constantinople. When they came before his cities, he ordered the townspeople to bring them a market safely, just as they did for him. Yet he feared

Bohemond's army so much that they allowed none of them to enter within a city's walls. Thus they reached the city of Rusa and remained there. The learned Bohemond left his army behind and went on to Constantinople to speak with the emperor. He ordered his men: "Approach the city in an orderly way. I shall go ahead with a few knights."

When the emperor learned that Bohemond had come to him, he ordered that he be honorably received and lodged very cautiously outside the city. Once Bohemond had been comfortably lodged, the emperor sent for him to speak with him privately. The two came to an agreement: the emperor granted Bohemond land in Romania extending fifteen days' journey in length and eight in width. Bohemond

— FOL. 7V

gave him a pledge concerning his land that he would neither take it from him nor consent to its being taken.

Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, together with the bishop of Le Puy, came out of Slavonia. There he had suffered many things for the name of Christ and on the road to the Holy Sepulchre which he ought by no means to have suffered, and there he had lost many most honorable knights. From there he reached Dyrrachium, a city belonging to the emperor. While longing now to be in his own land, he was attacked by a band of the most wicked enemies. The Greeks, lying in wait for these most prudent knights of Christ, never ceased by day or night from secretly and covertly doing whatever harm or injury they could. The duke of that city was there, and gladly promised them safe conduct for as long as they remained in his territory. Under the very safe conduct he had granted them as a gift, his men treacherously killed one of our distinguished knights, named Pontius Rainald, and gravely wounded his brother. Meanwhile our men immediately took up their journey and encountered letters from the emperor concerning peace

— FOL. 8R

and brotherhood, in which he promised to treat the count as he did his own sons.

While these things were being read aloud, Turks, Pincenates, Clavi, Cumans, Uzes, and Athanasians were lying in wait for them on every side, seeking some place where they could harm them. One day, while the bishop of Le Puy was lodged apart, he happened to be captured by Pincenates. They immediately threw him from the mule on which he was sitting, stripped him, and wounded him on the crown of his head. But because so great a bishop was still necessary to the people of God, he was preserved alive by God's mercy. A cry was heard in the tents. Everyone ran to him and at once rescued him from their hands. Advancing in this fashion, they reached a fortress called Buchinat. The count was told that Pincenates were lying in wait for him in the narrow road of a mountain. He remained behind with many knights and found them; he killed one part and pursued the other.

Meanwhile the emperor was sending them peaceful letters, while on the other side his enemies were lying in wait for them everywhere. At length

————— FOL. 8V

they reached a city named Rusa. The inhabitants openly did against them whatever harm their ingenuity could devise. When the count saw this, he became very angry, ordered his men to take up arms and sound his signals, and attacked the city. They defeated it in remarkable fashion. They next reached another city called Rodosto. That day the emperor's soldiers attacked them from behind, at the rear of the column. The count fought them, killed thirty, and captured sixty horses.

Their envoys, whom they had previously sent to Constantinople, came to them there. They said that the emperor promised carefully to restore all their losses once they reached Constantinople, and that Duke Godfrey, Bohemond, the count of Flanders, and all the other princes begged Raymond to leave behind the greater part of his army and hasten to Constantinople with a few unarmed knights. The emperor, they said, had taken up the cross and declared that he would come with us on the journey to Jerusalem and would be our leader and our head.

————— FOL. 9R

When the count heard this, he left his army behind and approached Constantinople to speak with the emperor. The emperor told him to become his man and give him the same pledge that Bohemond and the other princes had given. The count replied: "Far be it from me! On this journey I shall certainly acknowledge no lord except the one I already have, for love of whom I have come this far. But if you wish earnestly to bear the cross and come with us to Jerusalem, I, my men, and everything I possess by God's mercy shall be freely at your disposal."

While the count was at Constantinople, the emperor's army came in ambush, found the count's army alone, and attacked it fiercely, inflicting all the harm it could. When the count heard that the emperor's army had injured his host, he groaned and was deeply grieved. He immediately summoned Bohemond and the other princes and sent to ask the emperor why he had caused him to come to Constantinople as an act of treachery and had permitted his army

— FOL. 9V

to be harmed. The emperor denied it altogether and said to them: "In truth, this was not done on my advice, and, to my knowledge, no injury occurred between them. But I know this well: your army acted against me, breaking castles and cities in my land. I faithfully offer you satisfaction, and I give Bohemond to you as surety." When they came to judgment, the count first discharged his pledge; and after the pledge had been discharged, his army came to Constantinople.

As stated above, the emperor sent word to the count that he should do him homage and give him a pledge, just as the others had done. While the emperor was demanding this, the count was considering how he might take vengeance on the emperor's army. But Duke Godfrey, the count of Flanders, and the other princes told him that it was unjust to fight against Christians. Bohemond said that if the count did any wrong to the emperor and refused to give him the pledge, he himself would take the emperor's side.

The count therefore accepted his men's counsel and

— FOL. IOR

swore to uphold Alexius's life and honor, and that neither by himself nor through another would he take away the emperor's land. When he was called upon to do homage, he answered that he would not do so even at the peril of his head. The emperor spoke to the mighty Bohemond, whom he greatly feared in his heart because Bohemond had already driven him from the field many times with his army. He said that if Bohemond would willingly swear to him, he would give him territory extending backward from Antioch for fifteen days' journey in length and eight in width. Bohemond swore to him on these terms: if the emperor faithfully observed that oath, Bohemond would never violate his own.

Then Bohemond's army approached Constantinople. All this was accomplished. Everyone assembled together and came to the harbor. They all crossed the Arm together, made a common landing, and reached Nicomedia, where they remained for three days. Duke Godfrey and the count of Flanders were the first to besiege Nicaea, the capital of all Romania, with their armies. Bohemond came beside them and took up the siege on the north. On the sixth day in May they made camp there.

————— FOL. IOV

On the day of the Lord's Ascension they began to attack the city on every side and to build wooden siege engines and towers with which they might overthrow the towers on the walls. For two days they attacked the city together with such strength and ferocity that they even had its wall undermined. The Turks—the barbarous people inside the city—sent messengers to those who had come to relieve it. The message told them to approach boldly and safely and enter through the southern gate, since no one would meet or oppose them on that side. But on that very day Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the bishop of Le Puy had swiftly occupied that gate.

The count came from the other side, protected by divine power and shining in earthly armor amid his most valiant army. There he encountered the Turks advancing against us. Armed on every side with the sign of the cross, he fell upon them with force. They were defeated and put to flight, and the greater

part of them was killed. The others came on again, rejoicing and exulting at their companions' report and eager for a decisive battle. They carried ropes with which to bind us and lead us captive to Khurasan. They came joyfully and began to descend little by little from the mountain summit. Every one of them who descended into that valley was beheaded by the hands of the Franks, and their heads were kept before the city. After cutting off their heads, the Franks put them in the sling of a siege engine and hurled them into the city, so that those within might suffer still greater anguish.

The count of Saint-Gilles and the bishop of Le Puy took counsel together about how they might undermine a tower that stood before their tents. Men were assigned to dig beneath it, with crossbowmen and archers to defend them on every side. They dug to the foundations of the wall, placed posts and timber beneath it, and then set fire to them. When evening came, the tower happened to collapse during the night. Because it was night, they could not fight the defenders. But that very night the Turks

rose quickly and rebuilt the wall so strongly and cleanly that when day came no one could harm them from that side.

When the Turks saw that they could obtain no help at all from their armies, they sent an embassy to the emperor, offering to surrender the city freely to him if he would permit them to depart alive with their wives, children, and all their possessions. Then the emperor, filled with vain and wicked thoughts, ordered that they be allowed to depart unharmed and without fear and be brought safely to him at Constantinople. For friendship with the emperor, the pilgrims agreed. They remained at that siege for seven weeks. Many of our men faithfully received martyrdom there, joyfully and gladly rendering their blessed souls to God. Many of the poorest people died of hunger, and died blessedly for the name of Christ, who is blessed and praiseworthy for ever and ever. Amen.

Meanwhile, after the city had been surrendered and the Turks taken to Constantinople, the emperor

rejoiced more and more because the city had been restored to his power, and ordered very great alms to be distributed to our poor. On the first day after we left the city, we came to a bridge and remained there for two days. On the third day, before the light began to dawn, our men arose. Because it was night, they could not keep to one road; they divided into two columns and traveled separately for two days. In one column were Bohemond, Robert of Normandy, the prudent Tancred, and many others. In the other were Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles; Duke Godfrey; the bishop of Le Puy; Hugh the Great; the count of Flanders; and many others. On the third day the Turks attacked Bohemond and those with him with great force. As soon as our enemies and God's—the Turks—saw our men, they began to shriek, chatter, and shout loudly, uttering a diabolical cry in some foreign tongue unknown to me.

The wise Bohemond immediately saw the innumerable Turks in the distance, shrieking and shouting with demonic voices. He ordered every knight to dismount and the tents to be pitched quickly. Before the tents had been

pitched, he again addressed all the knights: "Lords and most valiant knights of Christ, a close-pressed battle now surrounds us on every side. Let all the knights therefore go out manfully to meet them, while the foot soldiers prudently and swiftly pitch the tents." When all this had been done, the Turks were already surrounding us on every side, fighting, hurling javelins, casting darts, and shooting arrows with extraordinary range in every direction. Although we could neither withstand them nor bear the weight of so many enemies, we nevertheless held our ground there with one accord. Our women were a very great help to us that day. They brought water for our fighters to drink, continually encouraged them, fought bravely, and defended them.

The wise Bohemond immediately sent word to the others—the distinguished count of Saint-Gilles, the renowned Duke Godfrey, Hugh the Great, the most honorable bishop of Le Puy, and all the other most prudent knights—that they should make haste and approach the battle quickly, saying:

“And if they wish to fight today, let them come manfully.” But our men rejected and mocked the messengers in every way, saying: “In truth, all this is false.” For we no longer believed that they were so resourceful that they would dare to rise again and fight us. Nevertheless the bold and valiant Duke Godfrey and Hugh the Great arrived first with their armies. The bishop of Le Puy followed them with his army, and Raymond, the most valiant count of Saint-Gilles, was close beside them with a great host.

Our men were greatly astonished at the source of so vast a multitude of Turks, Arabs, Saracens, and others whom I cannot number, for almost all the mountains, hills, valleys, and plains everywhere were covered with that excommunicate race. We spoke privately among ourselves, encouraging and advising one another: “Be entirely united in the faith of Christ and armed for victory with the standard of the holy Cross, for today, if it pleases God, you shall all be made rich.” The battle lines were immediately drawn up. On the left were Bohemond

and Robert of Normandy, the wise Tancred, Robert of Ansa, and Richard of the Principate. The bishop of Le Puy came by another mountain, encircling the unbelieving Turks from that side. On the right were the most prudent knight Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles; the honorable Duke Godfrey; the very fierce knight, the count of Flanders; Hugh the Great; and many others whose names I do not know. As soon as our knights came forward, the Turks, Arabs, Saracens, Angulani, and all the barbarous nations swiftly fled by shortcuts across the mountain and over the plains. The number of Turks, Saracens, Publicani, Persians, Angulani, and other pagans was 360,000, besides the Arabs, whose number no one knows except God alone. They fled very swiftly as far as their tents, but they were not allowed to remain there long. They took flight once more, and we pursued and killed them throughout the whole day. We took much plunder: gold and silver, horses, asses, camels, sheep, cattle, and many other things unknown to us. At that moment, if

the Lord had not been with us in the battle and had not quickly sent another battle line, none of us would have escaped at all. This battle lasted from the third hour until the ninth. But almighty God, loving and merciful, who did not permit his knights to perish or fall into the hands of their enemies, swiftly sent us aid.

Two honorable knights of ours were killed there: Goffred of Monte Scabioso and William, the marquis's son and Tancred's brother, as well as other knights and foot soldiers whose names I do not know. What wise or learned man could ever dare to describe or even conceive the skill, military prowess, and courage of the Turks? They thought they could terrify the Frankish people with the threat of their arrows, just as they had terrified the Arabs, Saracens, Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks. But, if it pleases God, it shall never be seen, done, said, or imagined that they can prevail so greatly. Nevertheless, they say that they are of Frankish descent, and they say that no one by nature

————— FOL. 14V

ought to be a knight except the Franks and themselves. I shall also tell the full truth, which no one will dare deny. Certainly, if they had always stood firm in the faith of Christ and in Christianity, and had believed with right understanding and faith in the one who abides in the Trinity, who was born of the Virgin Mother, suffered and rose again, then sent fully the consolation of the Holy Spirit, and reigns equally in heaven and on earth, no one could have found men more prudent, more courageous, or more ingenious in war. This battle took place on the first day of July. Therefore may God be blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

After the enemies of God and holy Christianity had been utterly defeated and had fled here and there for four days and nights, it happened that Soliman, their leader and the son of Soliman the Elder, was fleeing from the city of Nicaea. One day he encountered 10,000 Arabs, who said to him: "O most wretched and miserable of all pagans, why do you still flee in terror?" Soliman answered them tearfully: "In truth,

————— FOL. 15R

when I had earlier defeated all the Franks and thought that I already held them bound in captivity, I intended little by little to bind them together. Then I looked back and saw so innumerable a host of them that, if you or anyone else had been there, you would have thought every mountain, hill, valley, and plain was filled with their multitude. As soon as we saw them, we began a sudden flight. We were so extraordinarily afraid that we scarcely escaped their hands, and we are still in very great terror. If you are willing to believe me and my words, get away from here, because if they merely learn where you are, scarcely one of you will remain alive.” When they heard this, they began to turn their backs and scatter throughout Romania. We then came in pursuit of the most wicked Turks, who fled before us every day. Whenever they came to any fortress or city, they deceived and

— FOL. 15V

mocked its inhabitants, saying: “We have defeated and overcome all the Christians, so that none of them will ever again dare to rise against us. Only allow us to enter.” Once inside, they plundered the churches, houses, and everything else. They took away horses, asses, mules, gold, silver, and whatever they could find. They also carried off the children of Christians, and they burned and destroyed everything suitable or useful, fleeing in great fear before us. We pursued them through a deserted, waterless, and uninhabitable land from which we barely emerged alive. Hunger and thirst pressed us on every side, and we had nothing at all to eat unless, perhaps, we plucked ears of grain and rubbed them in our hands. We lived most wretchedly on such food. There the greater part of our cavalry died, so that many of our knights were left on foot. Because horses were so scarce, we had

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oxen in place of horses; and under the pressure of great necessity, a goat, rams, and dogs served us to carry our belongings. Meanwhile we began to enter an excellent land, full of bodily nourishment, delicacies, and every good thing.

Afterward we approached Iconium. The inhabitants of that country advised and warned us to carry waterskins full of water with us, because on the road

there was a very great lack of water for one day's journey. We followed their advice until we reached a river, where we camped for two days. Our scouts began to go ahead until they reached Heraclea. A great multitude of Turks was there, waiting in ambush for an opportunity to harm Christ's knights. When the knights of almighty God found these Turks, they attacked them boldly. With God's favor, our enemies were defeated that day and turned their backs in flight. Our men immediately entered the city and remained there for four

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days. There Tancred—the honorable and most valiant knight, son of the marquis—and Baldwin, the distinguished count and brother of Duke Godfrey, separated themselves from the others and together entered the valley of Botrentoth. Tancred then parted from Baldwin and came to Tarsus with only his own knights. The Turks came out of the city to meet them, gathered together, and prepared to fight the Christians. When our men approached and engaged them, all our enemies took flight and swiftly returned to the city. Tancred, a prudent man and honorable knight of Christ, came up at full gallop and made camp before the city gate. The renowned and very wise Count Baldwin came from the other direction with his army. He asked and entreated the valiant Tancred to admit him as a friend into partnership in the city. Tancred answered him: "I refuse you any share in this partnership." When night came,

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all the Turks were terrified and fled together. Under cover of the night, the inhabitants came out of the city, crying in a loud voice: "Hurry, unconquered Franks, hurry! The Turks, roused by fear of you, are all departing together."

As the night withdrew and daylight gradually began to rise, the leading citizens came and surrendered the city of their own accord. They said to the men who were quarreling with one another: "Stop now, lords, stop now, for we demand and ask that the man who fought so bravely against the Turks yesterday rule and reign over us." The remarkable Count Baldwin, disputing and quarreling with the very prudent Tancred, said: "Let us enter together and plunder the city. Whoever can obtain more shall have it, and whoever can seize something shall

take it.” Tancred opposed him, saying: “Far be that from me. I do not wish to plunder Christians. The people of this city choose me as their lord and desire to have me.”

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In the end Tancred could not contend for long with the learned Count Baldwin, because Baldwin had the larger army. Willingly or unwillingly, Tancred yielded the city and withdrew manfully with his army. Two excellent cities—Athena and Mamistra—and many fortresses were then surrendered to him.

The main army—namely Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles; Bohemond; Duke Godfrey; and many other princes—entered the land of the Armenians, thirsting and burning for Turkish blood. At last they reached a fortress so strong that they could do nothing against it. A man named Simeon was there, a native of that region. He asked for this land so that he could defend it from the hands of the Turkish enemy. They willingly gave it to him, and he remained there with his people. Leaving that place, we

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reached Caesarea in Cappadocia safely. After leaving Cappadocia, we came to an exceedingly beautiful and fertile city. The Turks had besieged it for three weeks shortly before our arrival but had been unable to overcome it. As soon as we arrived, it immediately surrendered into our hands with great joy. A knight named Peter of Alipha then asked all the lords for the city, so that he might defend it in fealty to God, the Holy Sepulchre, the lords, and the emperor. They freely granted it to him with great affection. As day withdrew and night approached, Bohemond heard that the men who had been besieging the city were repeatedly advancing toward us. He immediately prepared to fight them on every side with only his knights, but he could not find them.

Next we came to a city named Coxon, which was extremely fertile and stocked with all the goods we needed. The Christians—that is, the natives of that

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city—immediately surrendered themselves, and we lived there very well for three days. Our men recovered their strength greatly there. When Raymond, count of

Saint-Gilles, heard that the Turks charged with guarding Antioch had departed, he and his men decided in council to send some of his knights there to guard it carefully. At length he chose the men he wished to send: Peter of Castillon the viscount, William of Monte Pisierio, Aralius the viscount, Peter of Roaix, and Peter Raymond of Dalphor, with 500 knights. They came into the valley near Antioch, to a fortress belonging to the Publicani, and there heard that the Turks were still in the city and were preparing to defend it strongly. Peter of Roaix separated from the others, passed close by Antioch the following night, and safely entered the valley of Rugia. He encountered Turks and Saracens and fought them,

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killing many and vigorously pursuing the others. He sent Count Raymond a spear covered with the lips and noses of Turks. When the Armenians—the inhabitants of that land—saw that he had decisively defeated the pagans, they immediately surrendered to him. He at once took the city of Rursa and many fortresses.

Those of us who had remained behind left that place and entered a diabolical mountain region. It was so exceedingly high and narrow that none of us dared to go ahead of another along its track or the path that lay open on the mountain. Horses plunged over the edge there, and one pack animal knocked another down. The knights stood everywhere in sorrow, beating their hands in their great grief and pain, uncertain what they should do with themselves and their arms. They sold their shields, their finest mail coats, and their helmets for only three or five denarii, or for whatever

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more they could obtain. Those who could not sell them cast them away freely, without payment, and went on. Leaving that accursed mountain region, we reached a city called Marash. Its inhabitants came out joyfully to meet us, bringing a great market. We had a full abundance of everything there while waiting for Bohemond to arrive. Our knights then came and approached the valley in which the royal city of Antioch stands. It is the capital of all Syria,

which the Lord Jesus Christ entrusted to blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, so that he might recall it to the worship of the holy faith. He lives and reigns, God three and one, for ever and ever. Amen.

As we began to approach the Iron Port, our scouts, who customarily went ahead of us, encountered an innumerable host of Turks assembled against them and hastening to bring aid to Antioch. Our men wisely fell upon them with one heart and mind, and the Turks were utterly defeated.

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All the barbarians were thrown into confusion and quickly fled, and many of them were killed in that encounter. With God's help, our men defeated them and took much plunder: horses, camels, mules, and asses laden with grain and wine. On returning, our men pitched camp on the riverbank. Bohemond at once rode out with 4,000 knights and came to keep watch before the city gate, in case anyone should secretly leave or enter the city at night.

The next day, a Wednesday, they reached Antioch at midday, on the twelfth day before the Kalends of November. We laid siege in remarkable fashion to three of the city's gates. On the other side we had no place from which to besiege it because a high and exceedingly narrow mountain confined us. For almost fifteen days the Turks, our enemies within the city, feared us so greatly on every side that none of them dared attack any of our men. As soon as we had encamped around Antioch,

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we found abundant provision there from the dew of heaven: vineyards, pits everywhere filled with grain, trees laden with delightful fruit to eat, and many other good things useful for bodily nourishment. The Armenians and Syrians within the city would come out and pretend to be fleeing. They were with us each day, although their wives remained inside the city. They cunningly investigated our presence, our resources, and our strength, and reported everything they saw being done outside to the excommunicate people shut up within.

Once the Turks had been instructed about our condition and actions, they began gradually to come out of the city and hem in our pilgrims on every side. They did not lie in wait against us from only one direction, but everywhere, toward the sea and the mountain. Not far from the host there was a fortress named Aregh, where many very valiant Turks—not a few but a great number—had gathered. They frequently harassed our men.

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When our lords heard that the Turks had so often torn apart and killed our pilgrims, they grieved deeply and sent some knights to search carefully for the place where the Turks were. After finding the place where they lay hidden, the knights searching for them encountered them. As our men slowly withdrew toward the rear, where they knew Bohemond lay concealed with his army, many of our knights were killed there. When Bohemond heard this, he immediately rose like a most valiant champion of Christ. The barbarians rushed against them because our men were few, but our men joined together and entered battle. Many of our enemies were killed. Those captured were led before the city gate and beheaded there, so that the people within the city might be made still more sorrowful.

Others came out of the city, climbed a mountain above us, and shot arrows, so that their arrows fell into the open space in Bohemond's camp. One day a woman

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was killed by the blow of a swift arrow. All our leaders therefore gathered and held a council, saying: "Let us build a fortress on the summit of the mountain that stands above Bohemond's camp, so that we may remain safe and secure from fear of the Turks." After the fortress had been built and fortified, all the leaders diligently took turns guarding it. Even before the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, grain and all bodily provisions had already begun to be exceedingly expensive. We did not dare go outside at all and could find nothing to eat in Christian territory. No one dared enter the land of the Saracens except with a very great force.

At length our lords convened a council to determine how they might properly govern these people. It was decided that one part of our army should go out diligently to obtain provisions and guard the army wherever it went, while the other part should remain confidently behind to keep watch on the enemy. Bohemond then

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spoke first: “Lords and most prudent knights, if you wish it and it seems good and honorable to you, I shall go with the most prudent count of Flanders.” After they had most gloriously celebrated the solemnities of the Nativity, they and more than 20,000 other knights and foot soldiers set out on a Monday, the second day of the week. Safe and unharmed, they entered the land of the Saracens. Innumerable Turks, Arabs, and Saracens from Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, and the surrounding regions had assembled to strengthen Antioch. When they heard that a Christian force had been led into their country, they immediately prepared to fight the Christians and came at first light to the place where our people were gathered together. The barbarians at once divided themselves into two battle lines, one in front and the other behind, intending to encircle us on every side. The distinguished count of Flanders, armed on every side with the protection of faith and with the sign of the cross that he faithfully bears each day, went to meet them together with the most prudent Bohemond.

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Our men fell upon them with one accord. They immediately took flight and hurriedly turned their backs. Many of them were killed, and our men captured many horses and other spoils. Those who remained alive fled swiftly and went then and there into the wrath of perdition. We returned with great rejoicing, praising and magnifying the Lord, three and one, who lives and reigns now and always for ever. Amen.

The Turks—the enemies of God and holy Christianity—who were guarding the city of Antioch learned that Bohemond and the count of Flanders were absent from the siege. They came out of the city and boldly advanced to fight us. Knowing that those most prudent knights were away, they sought on every side

the place where the siege was weakest. They discovered that on a certain Tuesday they could harm and oppose us. The most wicked barbarians came stealthily and fell upon us while we were unaware and unsuspecting of battle, killing many

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of our knights and foot soldiers. On that bitter day the bishop of Saint Mary of Le Puy lost his seneschal, who carried and directed his banner. If the river had not lain between us and them, they would have attacked us repeatedly and often inflicted very great harm upon our people; they would even have charged with loosened reins into our tents.

Meanwhile the wise Bohemond was returning with his army from the land of the Saracens. He came into Tancred's mountain country, wondering whether he might find anything there that could be carried away, but they had exhausted the whole country. Some found provisions, while others returned empty-handed. Those who could find nothing immediately hastened back. Bohemond rebuked them severely: "O wretched and most miserable people, O basest and most sorrowful of all Christians, why do you wish to leave so quickly? Wait now, wait until we have all gathered together. Do not wander like sheep without a shepherd. If our enemy finds you wandering—for day

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and night he watches and keeps vigil so that he may find you separated or alone, without any leader, and he labors daily to kill us and lead us into captivity—what will you wretches do?" When he had finished speaking, he looked before and behind and found himself almost entirely alone. Nevertheless, he returned to his army with those he could find, more empty-handed than laden.

When the Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks saw that our men had returned entirely empty-handed and brought nothing with them, they took counsel together and went away through the mountains and places known to them. They searched carefully and bought grain and bodily provisions, which they brought back to the army, where hunger was immense. They sold one ass-load for eight purpurati, valued at 120 denarii in solidi. Many of our knights died

there because they lacked the money with which they could buy provisions at so high a price.

William the Carpenter and Peter the Hermit, because of the extreme hardship and misery that

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they knew was upon them, took counsel together and secretly departed. Tancred pursued and captured them, bringing them back with great disgrace. William gave him his word that he would willingly return to the army and make satisfaction to the lords. Throughout that entire night he lay in Bohemond's tent like some evil thing. At first light the next day he came shamefaced into Bohemond's presence. Bohemond addressed him: "O wretch and disgrace of all France! O shame and crime of the province of Gaul! O most wicked of all men whom the earth supports! Why did you flee so shamefully? Was it perhaps for this wicked purpose—that you wished to betray these knights and the army of Christ, just as you betrayed others in Spain?" William remained completely silent, and not a word left his mouth. All the Franks gathered and humbly begged Bohemond, Christ's knight, not to permit anything worse to be done to him. Bohemond said: "For your sake I shall readily consent, provided that he now swears with his whole heart and mind that he will never again depart from the journey to the Holy Sepulchre,

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whether things go well or badly, and provided that Tancred agrees neither personally nor through any of his friends to do him harm." On hearing these words, they immediately and willingly accepted the terms, and Bohemond released William at once. Yet not long afterward William the Carpenter, overcome by the greatest shame, secretly departed. God allowed us to suffer this poverty and misery because of our sins. In the whole army no one could find even 1,000 knights who had excellent horses.

Meanwhile Tatikios, a noble and wealthy knight from the emperor's army, had been entrusted by the emperor to the Franks so that he might guide them properly and receive in fealty to the emperor the land liberated from the hands

of the Turks. When this wretch heard that a Turkish army had come against us, he groaned and, believing that we had all perished and fallen into the enemy's hands, invented and composed every lie he could continually sow. He said to them: "Lords and most prudent men, consider: we are

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constrained here by extreme necessity, and aid reaches us from no direction. Now allow me to return to the country of Romania, and without any doubt I shall return to you. I shall have many ships come here by sea, laden with grain, wine, barley, meat, flour, cheese, and all the good provisions we need. I shall also have horses brought here for sale, and I shall quickly cause a market to come here through the emperor's territory. I shall faithfully swear to see that all these things are carried out. My servants and my tent will remain continually in the camp. Do not be unbelieving in any way, but firmly believe that I shall return to you as quickly as possible." That enemy departed and left all his possessions in camp; by this act, then, now, and forever, he will be a perjurer.

In this way the greatest necessity had come upon us. The Turks pressed us on every side, and none of our men now dared leave the tents, so great was their fear of the Turks.

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They pressed us on one side, while the torment of hunger hemmed us in on the other. We were deeply sad and distressed. Our leaders too were in great fear. We had no relief or aid at all. The lesser and poorest people were fleeing—some to Cyprus, some to Romania, and some into the mountains. We did not dare go to the sea because of our extreme fear of the most wicked Turks. No road whatsoever lay open to us.

When our leaders heard that an innumerable Turkish host had come against us, they took counsel, saying: "Look, an innumerable Turkish army is coming against us. What shall we do? We are not so numerous that we can fight them on two fronts. Let us therefore divide ourselves into two parts. One body of foot soldiers shall remain continually to guard our tents and resist those who are in

the city. The other body of knights shall ride out together against our enemies, who are encamped near us in the fortress called Areght,

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beyond the Iron Bridge.”

When evening came, they went out from the tents across the river and held a council, saying: “Let us all go against our enemies, who number 25,000, as we are told. But the bishop of Le Puy, Robert of Normandy, and Count Eustace shall remain to guard the tents from those who are in the city.” At first light they sent some of their knights out to see the Turkish army, where its men were, and what exactly they were doing. These men went out and began carefully to seek and investigate where the Turkish battle lines were concealed.

They saw the Turks coming in separate groups from the direction of the river, divided into two battle lines, while their main force came behind. Our men quickly returned, saying: “Look! Look! They are coming now! All of you, be ready on every side, for they are already near us. You can see them from here.” Our men divided their forces so that each of the leaders would arrange his own battle line. Six battle lines were soon formed. Five of them advanced

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together to attack the enemy. The count of Flanders was at the head of the first. Bohemond advanced slowly behind with his battle line.

When our men successfully joined battle with the Turks, each man struck down another. Their shouting resounded to heaven, and showers of missiles darkened the air. When the enemy’s main force, which had been behind, arrived, it attacked our men so fiercely that they began to give a little ground. When Bohemond saw this, he groaned. He commanded his constable, Robert son of Gerard: “Remember the wise men of old and our valiant forefathers—what sort of men they were and what battles they fought.” That man then went forth, armed on every side with the sign of the cross like a most valiant athlete of Christ. Like a wise and prudent man, he attacked them while carrying Bohemond’s standard.

When the other battle lines saw Bohemond's standard borne so skillfully before the rest, they turned back and attacked the enemy with one accord. Our men numbered 700, while the Turks numbered 25,000. But by God's grace they were all struck with dismay and took

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flight, immediately turning their backs. Our men pursued, overcame, and cut them down. The Turks who remained alive hurried back into their fortress. They took everything they could find there, stripped the whole fortress, set it on fire, and fled. The Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks, knowing that the Turks had completely lost the battle, went out and kept watch at the narrow passes, where they killed and captured many of them. Thus, with God's favor, our enemies were defeated that day. Our men were well replenished with horses and many other things they badly needed. They brought some of the living away with them and carried many heads of the dead before the city gate. There the envoys of the emir of Babylon were encamped; they were being sent to the count of Saint-Gilles and the other leaders.

The Franks who remained in the tents fought all day against those from the city before its three gates. This battle took place on a Tuesday, at the beginning of the fast, on the fifth day before the Ides of February, with the favor of our Lord Jesus Christ,

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who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit through the immortal ages of ages. Amen.

Our men returned

By God's doing, our men returned triumphant and rejoicing in the victory they had gained that day over their defeated enemies—enemies who are always defeated in every way. They fled, wandering and straying here and there: some into Khurasan, while others entered the land of the Saracens. Our leaders and lords saw that our enemies in the city were grievously harassing and constraining us. Day and night they kept constant watch and lay in ambush, seeking some way to harm and distress us. Our leaders therefore assembled and sought

counsel together, saying: “Before we lose God’s people and our own, let us build a fortress at Machomaria, which stands before the city gate where the bridge is. There perhaps we shall be able to constrain our enemies.” They all readily praised this counsel as a good course of action. The count of Saint-Gilles spoke first: “Give me your aid in building

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the fortress, and I shall fortify and guard it.” Bohemond replied: “If you and the other leaders approve, I shall go with you to the port of Saint Symeon to escort carefully the men who are there and who will faithfully carry out this work. Those who remain must fortify themselves on every side for defense, in case our enemies and God’s enemies leave the city; let them all assemble in the place we shall point out.” So it was done. The count and Bohemond went to the port of Saint Symeon. Those of us who remained gathered together so that we might begin the fortress. When the Turks saw this, they immediately prepared themselves and came out of the city to meet us in battle. They fell upon us, put us to flight, and killed many of our knights, so that we were deeply sad and distressed.

On the next day the Turks saw that our leaders were absent from the siege and had marched to the port the day before. All the commanders of the Turkish army prepared themselves and rode out to meet them as they returned from the port. When they saw the count and Bohemond

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approaching with the people they were escorting from the port, they at once began to shriek, chatter, and shout with an immense clamor. They surrounded our men on every side, shooting arrows, wounding them, and cruelly cutting them down everywhere with their swords. They attacked so fiercely that our men fled through the nearest mountain country and wherever a path lay open. Whoever could escape at a swift pace survived; whoever could not flee received martyrdom for Christ’s name. More than 1,000 of our knights and foot soldiers were martyred that day. Rejoicing, they ascended into heaven, clothed in white and bearing the robe of the martyrdom they had received. Glorifying and

praising our triune and one Lord God, in whom they triumphed joyfully, they said with one voice: "Why do you not defend our blood, our God, which has been shed today for your name?"

Bohemond did not take the road followed by the others. Instead, he came more swiftly with a few knights, giving their horses free rein until he reached us, who were gathered together

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beyond the river Farfar. Fired with anger at the slaughter of our men, invoking Christ's name, and trusting in the journey to the Holy Sepulchre, we joined together and came against them in battle, attacking them with one heart and mind. Our enemies and God's enemies, the Turks, stood everywhere astonished and deeply terrified. They thought they would defeat and kill our men just as they had done to the men of Count Raymond and Bohemond. But almighty God was wholly unwilling to permit them to do this.

The knights of the true God, protected on every side by the sign of the cross, fell upon them with tremendous force and attacked them fiercely. The Turks took swift flight through the middle of the narrow bridge toward its entrance. Those who could not cross the bridge alive because of the immense throng of men and horses met eternal destruction there and surrendered their wretched souls to the devil and Satan's ministers. As we overcame them, we drove them into the river with our deadly lances. Everywhere the current of the swift river appeared to run red with Turkish blood. If any of them tried to creep along the bridge supports, or, though wounded, attempted to swim ashore, we stood all along the riverbank, thrust them back, and killed them in the rushing stream. The clamor and shouting of our men and theirs resounded to heaven.

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Showers of missiles and arrows covered the sky and obscured the light of day. Loud voices sounded both inside and outside the city. The Christian women of the city came to the windows in the wall. As they watched the Turks' miserable fate, they secretly clapped their hands, as was their custom. Under the orders of

the great Turkish tyrants, the Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks daily shot swift arrows out at us, whether unwillingly or willingly.

Twelve emirs from the Turkish host died in that battle in both soul and body, as did the wisest and bravest of their other knights, who had been the city's ablest defenders in battle; these numbered 1,500. Those who remained alive no longer dared shout or chatter by day or night as they had done before. Nothing separated us from them except night alone. Night divided both sides as they fought, hurled javelins and darts, and shot arrows. Thus, by the power of God and the Holy Sepulchre, our enemies were defeated so completely that they could no longer display the same strength in either word or deed as before. That day we were greatly replenished with their horses and with other things that we badly needed.

At first light the next day, other Turks came out of the city and collected all the stinking bodies of the Turkish dead that they could find on the riverbank, except those concealed in the riverbed. They had them buried at Machomaria, which is beyond the bridge before the city gate. Together

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with them they buried garments, gold bezants, bows, arrows, and many other implements that we cannot name. When our men heard that they had buried the Turkish dead, they all immediately prepared themselves, hurried to that diabolical burial ground, and ordered the bodies properly disinterred, their tombs broken open, and the dead dragged from their graves. They cast all their bodies into a pit and carried the severed heads to our tents so that their number might be known exactly, apart from the heads loaded on four horses and carried to the sea for the envoys of the emir of Babylon. At this sight the Turks were sorrowful and grieved almost to death. Weeping every day, they could do nothing but weep and wail.

When the third day came, we joined together in joy and exultation and built that same day the fortress already mentioned, using the stones we had removed from above the buried Turkish bodies. As soon as the fortress was completed, we began prudently to constrain our enemies on every side, and their swollen

pride had now been reduced to nothing. Each of our leaders built his section of the fortress with a vast rampart and wall, and they built two towers there at Machomaria. We, meanwhile, went about safely

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here and there, to the port and into the mountains, praising and glorifying our Lord God together in joyful and glad voice. To him belong honor and glory through all ages of ages. Amen.

All our lords

All our lords and princes entrusted that fortress to Raymond of Saint-Gilles to guard, because he had more knights in his household than the others and could spend more. He guarded the fortress with his army. With him were Gastos of Bearn and his men; Peter, viscount of Castello; Raymond, viscount of Torena; William of Monspeslerio; Golferius of the Towers; Peter Raymond Dalpoz; and William of Sabra. All these and many others were there with their men. Raymond of Saint-Gilles also retained by agreement, to guard the fortress, whatever knights or retainers he could hire for pay.

One day the Turks came out of the city and advanced upon the fortress. They surrounded it on every side, shouting and shooting arrows, wounding and killing our men, so that even our tents were covered with embedded arrows. Had aid not come from the other army, they would have inflicted very great losses upon them. When our men saw this, they immediately ordered a great siege-engine built with which they could break through

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the bridge, and they did so. One day they fought on the bridge and brought up the siege-engine. Many Turks were killed and the bridge was breached. But when night came and our men were asleep, the Turks came out of the city, burned the siege-engine, and repaired the bridge. At this the army of Christ was exceedingly angry.

On another day the Turks brought onto the city wall one of our noble knights, named Rainald Porchet, whom they had long held in harsh prisons. They told

him to speak with the Christians so that they might ransom him for a great price before he lost his head. When he was on the wall, he addressed our leaders: “Lords, it is all the same as if I were already dead. I therefore beg you as my brothers to offer no payment for me. Be secure in your faith in Christ and the Holy Sepulchre, for God is with you and always will be. You have killed all the greater and bolder men of this city—namely, twelve emirs and 500 nobles. No one remains who can fight you or defend the city.”

The Turks asked the interpreter what Rainald was saying. He told them, “He is saying nothing good about you.” Then Cassian the emir immediately ordered Rainald brought down from the wall and said to him through the interpreter: “Rainald, do you wish

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to live honorably with us and rejoice?” Rainald replied: “How could I live honorably with you without sinning?” The emir said to him: “Renounce your God, in whom you believe and whom you worship, and believe in Muhammad and our other gods. If you do this, we shall give you gold and silver, horses and mules, and whatever other rich possessions you desire, together with wives and inheritances, and we shall enrich you with the highest honor.” Rainald answered him: “Give me time so that I may take counsel with myself.” The emir willingly granted it.

Rainald then cast himself down in prayer, joined his hands, turned toward the east, and humbly asked God to aid him and graciously receive his soul into Abraham’s bosom. When the emir saw this, he called the interpreter and asked, “What is Rainald saying?” The interpreter answered: “He will by no means renounce his God. He rejects all your treasures and your gods.” When the emir heard this, he became extremely angry. He immediately ordered Rainald beheaded, and the Turks beheaded him with great rejoicing. Angels at once received his soul and, rejoicing and singing psalms, carried it before God, for whose love he had accepted martyrdom.

The emir was furious because he had been unable to convert Rainald to his gods. He immediately ordered all the pilgrims in the city brought before him

with their hands tied behind their backs. When they came before him, he ordered them all stripped naked. Once they had been stripped, he had them tightly

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gathered in one group and bound all around with a rope. He had dry wood, straw, and hay arranged around them and then, like an enemy of God, ordered the fire lit. The Christians, the knights of Christ, shrieked and cried aloud. Their voices resounded to heaven, to God, for love of whom their flesh and bones were burned in the fire. Thus they were all martyred on one day, bearing white robes up to heaven, to the Lord for whom they faithfully suffered these things, while our Lord Jesus Christ reigns, to whom belong honor and glory now and forever, through ages of ages. Amen.

Now all the paths

Now all the paths were everywhere barred and cut off from the Turks, except on the far side of the river, where there was a fortress in a monastery. If it were thoroughly fortified, none of them would any longer dare leave the city gate. Our men therefore took faithful counsel together, speaking with one voice: "Let us choose one of our number to hold that fortress strongly and manfully deny our enemies access to the mountains and the plain, as well as entry into and departure from the city." Many of them refused to occupy it unless a large company were assembled there. Tancred was the first to come forward, saying: "If I knew what advantage would come to me, I alone, with my men, would diligently fortify the fortress and would bravely bar against them the road by which our enemies are accustomed to make frequent attacks,

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in every way." They immediately promised him 400 marks of silver. Tancred now agreed. Although he was alone, he went with his most honorable knights and servants and immediately cut off every road and path from the Turks. Terrified of him, none of them dared leave the city gate for grass, wood, or any other necessity.

Tancred remained there with his men and began to constrain the city severely on every side. That very day a great many Armenians and Syrians came safely from the mountains carrying provisions to the Turks for the city's relief. Tancred met them, immediately captured both them and everything they carried—grain, wine, barley, oil, and other such things. Tancred conducted himself prosperously and vigorously. He now had every path barred and cut off from the Turks until Antioch was captured. I cannot recount everything we did before Antioch was taken. I wish to explain a little of the deeds that were done and of what happened afterward. I say only “a little” because no one in these parts, whether cleric or layman, can relate in speech or writing everything just as it happened.

There was an emir of Turkish birth named Pirus who had formed a close friendship with Bohemond. Bohemond often approached him through messengers passing between them, urging him to receive Bohemond within the city as a close friend. He freely

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promised him Christianity and sent word that he would make him very rich and highly honored. Pirus agreed to these words and promises, saying: “I carefully guard three towers. I freely promise them to him, and whenever he wishes, I shall willingly receive him into them.” Bohemond was now certain that he could enter the city.

Rejoicing, with a cheerful face and serene mind, he went to all the other leaders and addressed them with pleasing words: “Most prudent men and knights, see how all of us, great and small, have been cast into extreme poverty and misery, and we have no idea from which quarter relief might best reach us. If it seems good and honorable to you all, choose whichever one of us you wish to stand before the rest. If by any means or stratagem he can take the city, or contrive its capture either by himself or through others, let us grant it to him with one voice as a gift.” They flatly refused and denied this, saying: “This city will never be surrendered to any one man. We shall all possess it equally. Since we share

equally in the labor, we shall share equally in the honor.” On hearing these words, Bohemond withdrew at once with something less than a smile.

Not long afterward, all our leaders heard reports of an army of our enemies—Turks, Publicani, Agulani, Azymites, and many other heathen peoples whom I do not know how to name or number. All the leaders immediately gathered and held a council, saying:

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“If Bohemond can take the city either by himself or through others, we freely grant it to him with willing hearts, on this condition: if the emperor comes to our aid and wishes to fulfill every agreement with us just as he promised and swore, we shall duly return the city to him. Otherwise, Bohemond shall hold it in his power forever.”

Bohemond then began day after day to entreat his friend humbly, addressing his petition to him with the most humble and pleasing words: “Now we truly have a suitable time in which to accomplish whatever good we desire. Let my friend Pirus therefore help me now.” Delighted by this message, Pirus said that he would help him in every way, just as he ought. When night next approached, he cautiously sent his son to Bohemond as a hostage so that Bohemond would feel more secure about entering the city. Then he sent him this message: “Tomorrow have the entire Frankish host summoned and instructed to make a feigned plundering expedition into the Saracens’ land, and afterward let it return swiftly by the mountain on the left. I shall keep vigilant watch for those columns and receive them gladly into the towers under my guard.”

Bohemond immediately summoned one of his servants, named Mala Corona, and ordered him to proclaim throughout the great Frankish host that they should faithfully prepare to enter the Saracens’

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land. So it was done.

Bohemond entrusted this plan to Duke Godfrey, the count of Flanders, the count of Saint-Gilles, and the bishop of Le Puy: “If it pleases God, Antioch will

be delivered to us tonight.” Everything was arranged: the knights occupied the plain and the foot soldiers the mountain. They marched and rode throughout the night until near daybreak; then they began to approach the towers Pirus guarded. Bohemond immediately dismounted and commanded them all: “Go with confidence and in joyful harmony, and climb the ladder into Antioch. If it pleases God, we shall soon hold the city in our power.”

They reached the ladder, which had already been raised and securely fastened to the city walls. Nearly sixty of our men climbed it and were divided among the towers Pirus guarded. When Pirus saw that so few of our men had climbed, he immediately began to fear. Afraid that both he and our men might fall into Turkish hands, he cried, “Micro Francos echome”—that is, “We have few Franks.” “Where is Bohemond? Where is that unconquered knight?” Meanwhile a Lombard servant climbed down and ran as quickly as possible to Bohemond, saying: “Why are you standing here, prudent man? Why did you come here? Look, we already hold three towers.” Bohemond set out with the others, and all of them reached the ladder together in joy and gladness.

Those already in the towers began

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to cry with one voice: “God wills it! God wills it!” We said the same. They immediately began to climb in astonishing numbers, ascended the tower, and ran quickly to the other towers. Whoever they found there they at once sentenced to death. They also killed Pirus’s brother.

Meanwhile the ladder by which we had climbed suddenly broke. Immense anguish and sorrow arose among us, and we were all immediately stunned and distressed. Although the ladder had broken, there was a closed gate near us on the left that remained unknown to some. It was night, but by feeling our way and searching carefully we found where it lay. We all ran to it, broke it open, and entered through it. An immense uproar now echoed astonishingly throughout the entire city.

Bohemond did not remain idle. He immediately ordered his honorable standard carried up before the citadel on a certain hill. Everyone in the city was shouting

together at the top of his voice. At first light those outside by the tents heard a tremendous uproar sounding in the city. They hurried out and saw Bohemond's standard standing apart on the hill. They all ran swiftly, each hastening to his own gate. They entered the city and killed the Turks and Saracens they found there, except those who fled up into the citadel. Other Turkish knights escaped through the middle gates and, fleeing,

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survived.

Cassian, their lord, was greatly terrified by the Frankish host and fled in every possible way with many others who were with him. In his flight he reached Tancred's territory not far from the city. Their horses were exhausted, so they entered a village and went into a house. The inhabitants of that mountain region, namely Syrians and Armenians, recognized him. They immediately seized him, cut off his head, and brought it before Bohemond so that they might receive their full freedom. His belt and scabbard were valued at sixty bezants.

Every street of the city was now filled on all sides with bodies of the dead, so that scarcely anyone could endure being there because of the terrible stench. No one could pass along a city street without treading upon Turkish corpses. All these events took place on the third day of June, a Thursday. May God therefore be blessed through all ages of ages. Amen.

Kerbogha, commander of the army

Kerbogha, commander of the army of the sultan of Persia, was still in Khurasan when the aforementioned Cassian, emir of Antioch, repeatedly sent envoys to him asking that he come to his aid at the right time, because the very strong and powerful Frankish people had him trapped and were gravely besieging him in Antioch. If Kerbogha faithfully furnished aid, Cassian would place the city of Antioch in his hands or enrich him with a very great gift. Kerbogha had already assembled an immense Turkish army over a long period and had received from the caliph, their pope, permission to kill; immediately he

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began the long journey to Antioch. The emir of Jerusalem and his army were with him. The king of Damascus also came there with a very great host. Kerbogha gathered innumerable pagan peoples from every quarter: Turks, Arabs, Saracens, Publicani, Azymites, Kurds, Persians, Agulani, and many other peoples whom no one could name or number. There were 3,000 Agulani. They feared neither lances nor arrows nor any weapons, for they and their horses were completely covered with iron; they would carry no weapons into battle except swords. All these came to besiege Antioch and disperse the Frankish host.

When they approached the city, Sanzedola, son of Cassian, the emir of Antioch, came to meet them. He at once ran weeping to Kerbogha, implored him, and said: "O most unconquered prince, I entreat you as a suppliant. With humble devotion I appeal to your wisdom: aid me now, for the Franks are besieging me on every side in the fortress of Antioch. They hold the city under their rule and seek to drive us from the region of Romania and Syria; they even lay claim to Khurasan. They have accomplished everything they desire. They have also killed my father. Nothing remains but for them to put me, you, and all the rest of our people to the sword. I have long waited faithfully for your arrival, but I do not know whether you will aid me in this peril."

Kerbogha answered him: "If you wish me to serve your interests with my whole heart and faithfully

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aid you in this peril, first place that fortress in my hands. Then you will see how I shall serve your interests. I shall have my men guard it."

Sanzedola said: "If you can kill and behead all the Franks and carefully deliver their heads to me, I shall faithfully give you the fortress. From then on I shall everywhere be your vassal, and I shall guard this fortress in fealty to you."

Kerbogha said to him: "It will not be as you think and suppose. Place that citadel in my hands at once." Willing or unwilling, he immediately surrendered the citadel.

On the third day after we entered the city, their advance guard rode ahead of the army before the city. Their army encamped by the river before the Iron Bridge. The Turks attacked the tower and killed everyone they found there. No one escaped alive except their lord, whom we later found bound in iron chains after the greater battle, on the vigil of the apostle Peter. The next day the pagan army moved, approached the city, and encamped between two rivers, where it remained for two days.

After receiving the citadel, Kerbogha immediately summoned one of his emirs, a man he knew to be truthful and mild, and said to him peaceably: “I wish you to enter my allegiance and guard this citadel, because I have long known you to be extremely faithful. I therefore ask you to hold this fortress with the greatest care. Since I know you to be exceptionally prudent in action, I can find no one here more truthful and brave.”

The emir answered: “I would never wish to obey you in such a duty.

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But before you compel me with your goad, I shall do this on the condition that, if the Franks drive you from the deadly battle, I shall immediately surrender this citadel to them.”

Kerbogha said to him: “I know you to be so honorable and prudent that I consent to every good thing you wish to do.”

Kerbogha hurried back to his army in the valley where he had encamped. The Turks, mocking the Frankish host, carried before Kerbogha a worthless sword covered with rust, a thoroughly wretched wooden bow, and an utterly useless lance that they had recently taken from poor pilgrims. They said: “Here are the weapons the Franks have brought to fight us.”

When Kerbogha saw these weapons, he began to laugh openly and said to everyone in that assembly: “These are the splendid weapons of war that the Christians, born in the western land—in Europe, the third part of the world—have brought against us in Asia. With these they think and trust that they can drive and thrust us beyond the borders of Khurasan and erase all our names

beyond the Amazon River. These are the men who drove all our kinsmen from Romania and from the royal city of Antioch, the honorable capital of all Syria.”

He immediately summoned his faithful secretary and said: “Quickly write several letters to be read in Khurasan, as follows: ‘To our caliph and pope, to our king and sultan, the most valiant knight, and to all the most prudent knights of Khurasan: greetings and boundless honor. Let them be joyful and glad in happy harmony,

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and let them fill their bellies. Let them command their pleasure and talk of it throughout that whole region. Let them give themselves entirely to wanton lust, so that they may rejoice in begetting many sons able to fight bravely against the Christians. Let them gladly receive these three weapons that we once took from a company of Franks, and now learn what sort of weapons the Frankish people have brought against us and how fine and perfect they are. Alas! They wish to contend against our weapons, which have been worked and purified two, three, or even four times like the purest silver or gold.

“Let them further know that I have all the Franks shut inside Antioch, while I hold the citadel at my free disposal. They are below in the city. I now have them all in my hand. I shall either condemn them to death or carry them into Khurasan in harsh captivity, because they threaten to drive us with their weapons beyond the borders of Khurasan, to erase all our names beyond the Amazon River, or to expel us beyond upper India, just as they expelled all our kinsmen from all Romania and Syria.

“I now swear to you by Muhammad and by the names of all the gods that I shall not return to your presence until I have conquered with my mighty right hand royal Antioch, all Syria and Romania, and Bulgaria as far as Apulia, to the honor of the gods, of you, and of all our Turks.” Thus he ended his words.

Kerbogha’s mother

Kerbogha’s mother, who was in the city of Aleppo, immediately

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came to him in tears and said: "My son, are the things I hear true?" He answered: "What things?" She said: "I have heard that you intend to fight the Frankish people." He replied: "Know that it is entirely true."

She said: "My son, I adjure you by the names of the gods and by your courage and goodness not to choose to fight the Franks. You are unconquered, and I have never heard of any imprudence on the part of you or your army. No one has ever found you fleeing from the field before any victor. Your prowess is renowned from east to west, and all prudent knights tremble merely on hearing your name. We know well, my son, that you are mighty and brave in war and ingenious in the arts of battle. No Christian or pagan people has ever been able to show any strength in your presence. They flee merely on hearing your name, as sheep flee before the fury of a lion. I now beg you, dearest and most beloved son, to accept my counsel and never let the thought or plan of beginning battle with the Christian host enter your mind."

Hearing his mother's warning, Kerbogha replied at length in a fierce voice: "What is this you are telling me, Mother? I think you are mad or filled with fury. I have more emirs with me than there are Christians altogether, great or small."

His mother answered him: "O dearest son, the Christians cannot fight you. I know well that they are unable to wage battle against you. But their

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God fights for them every day. Day and night he defends them by his protection and watches over them as a shepherd watches over his flock. He does not permit any people to harm or disturb them. Whenever anyone wishes to resist them, their God immediately confounds those people, as he says through the mouth of the prophet David: 'Scatter the nations that have not called upon your name.'

"Before the Christians are ready to begin battle, their almighty and warlike God, together with his saints, has already defeated all their enemies. How much more will he do so now against you, who are his enemies and are preparing to resist them with all your strength? Know this as the truth, dearest son: these Christians are called the sons of Christ and of God; through the mouths of the prophets they are called sons of adoption and promise, and through the apostle

they are heirs of Christ. Christ has already given them the inheritances promised to them, saying: ‘Your boundaries shall extend from the rising of the sun to the west,’ so that no bold man will stand against you. Who can contradict or oppose these words?

“Certainly, if you begin this battle against them, it will bring you the greatest loss and disgrace. You will lose many of your faithful men and knights and all the spoils you have with you, and you will end by fleeing in great terror. You yourself will not die in this battle now, but you will lose everything you possess in it. I say you will not die now because their God does not immediately judge one who offends him in open wrath, but punishes him with manifest vengeance when he wills. I fear that he will take vengeance on you with grievous punishment. I tell you now that you will die this year.”

Deeply grieved within himself after hearing his mother’s words, Kerbogha replied:

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“Dearest mother, I ask you, who told you these things about the Christian people: that their God loves them so greatly; that he possesses the greatest power in fighting; that these Christians will defeat us in the battle at Antioch; that they will capture our spoils in this battle and pursue us with an immense victory; and that I shall die a sudden death this year?”

His mother answered him sorrowfully: “Dearest son, it has stood written for more than a hundred years in our book and in the volumes of all the gentiles that the Christian people would come against us, defeat us everywhere, and rule over the pagans, and that our people would everywhere be subject to them. But I do not know whether this is that people or whether it is still to come afterward. In my grief I followed you without cease to the beautiful city of Aleppo. There, observing and searching with skill, I examined the stars of heaven; studying shrewdly and scrutinizing the heavenly planets with an attentive mind, the twelve signs of the celestial sphere, and innumerable lots, I found in them all that the Christian people would defeat us everywhere. I therefore fear, in the greatest sorrow and grief, that I shall unhappily be bereaved of you.”

Kerbogha said to her: “Dearest mother, tell me everything in my heart that I cannot believe.” She answered: “I shall gladly do so, dearest son, if I know the things unknown to you.” He said: “Are not Bohemond and Tancred the gods of the Franks? Do they not deliver them from every persecution by their enemies? And do they not eat 2,000 cattle and 4,000 pigs at each meal?”

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His mother answered him: “Dearest son, Bohemond and Tancred are mortal, just like all other men, except that their God loves them greatly above all others and gives them greater strength in battle each day than he gives to others. Their God is almighty. His name belongs to him who made heaven and earth, established the seas, and made all things that breathe in them; his throne is prepared forever in heaven, and his power is to be feared everywhere.”

Her son said to her: “If that is so, I shall not cease to fight them.” When his mother heard that he would in no way accept her counsel, she withdrew in great sorrow to the city of Aleppo, taking with her all the spoils she could carry.

On the third day Kerbogha armed himself, and a very large part of the Turks came with him to the city from the side where the citadel stood. Our men prepared to resist them and arrayed themselves for battle. But their strength was so great that we could not withstand them, and, willing or unwilling, we entered the city. For some the gate was so extraordinarily narrow and confined that many died there, crushed by others. Some fought outside the city and others within. On Thursday they likewise fought throughout the day until evening. On Friday they again fought all day and killed many of our men.

That day a most valiant knight named Arvedus Tudebovis was wounded, and his companions carried him down into the city.

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He remained alive there until Saturday and departed from this world between the ninth and sixth hours, living in Christ. A priest named Peter, his brother, buried his body before the western gate of the blessed apostle Peter, though he and everyone else in the city were in the greatest fear of losing their heads. We

ask all who read and hear this account to give alms and say prayers for his soul and for the souls of all the dead who died on the road to Jerusalem.

On another day William of Grentamasnil, his brother Alberic, Yvo of Grentamasnil, William of Bernevilla, Guy Trosellus, William son of Richard, and Lambert the Poor—all of them terrified by the previous day's battle, which had lasted until evening—secretly lowered themselves from the wall at night and fled on foot toward the sea. Nothing remained on their hands or feet but the bones alone. Many others whom I cannot name fled with them.

When they came to the ships in the port of Saint Symeon, they said to the sailors: "Why are you wretches standing here? All our men are dead, and we have barely escaped death, for the Turkish army has surrounded us on every side in the city." When the sailors heard this, they stood astonished and terrified. They immediately ran to the ships and put out to sea. When the Turks later arrived, they killed those they found, burned the ships left in the river channel, and seized their goods.

We who remained in the city could not withstand the weight or the weapons of those in the citadel. We built a wall between ourselves and them and guarded it day and night. At times

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we suffered such oppression that we ate horses and asses. On the other side we were in the greatest terror of the Turks, so that many of our leaders wished to flee by night as the others had done.

On a certain day

On a certain day, while our leaders stood on the mountain before the citadel, sorrowful and grieving and not knowing what they should do, a priest named Stephen came before them and said: "Lords, if it pleases you, hear something that I saw. While I was lying that night in the church of Saint Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Savior of the world appeared before me together with his mother Mary and the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles. The Lord stood before me and said: 'Stephen, do you know me?' I answered: 'No.' As he spoke,

a complete cross appeared on his head. The Lord asked me again: ‘Stephen, do you know me now?’ I answered: ‘I recognize you in no other way than that I see a cross on your head, as on our Savior.’ The Lord said to me: ‘I am he.’

“I immediately fell weeping at his feet and humbly begged him to aid us against the oppression of the accursed people who held us shut in the city. The Lord answered me: ‘I have aided you well, and I shall aid you well. I permitted you to possess the city of Nicaea and to win every battle. I led you as far as this place and had compassion on the suffering you endured during the siege of Antioch. At the right moment I brought you, safe and sound, into the city with the greatest relief. But many Christians commit a very wicked deed by lying with pagan women, from which an immense stench

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risers to heaven.’

“Then the gracious Virgin Mary and the blessed apostle Peter fell at his feet, begging and imploring him to aid his people who remained in this distress. They said: ‘Lord, for a long time the pagan people held our churches and committed many unspeakable evils in them. Now the Christians have expelled their enemies, at which the angels rejoice in heaven.’

“The Lord again said to me: ‘Stephen, go and tell my people to return to me, and I shall return to them. Within five days I shall send them the greatest aid. Let them sing “Congregati sunt” every day throughout the army, receive penances, make processions barefoot through the churches, give alms to the poor, have priests sing masses, and receive the body and blood of Christ. Then let them begin battle, and I shall give them as aid the blessed George, Theodore, and Demetrius, together with all the pilgrims who have died on this road to Jerusalem.’ The Lord told me these things.

“Lords, if you do not believe this is true, allow me to climb this greater tower now, and I shall cast myself down. If I remain safe and unhurt, believe that this is true; but if I suffer any injury, behead me or cast me into the fire.”

The bishop of Le Puy forbade this. He ordered the Gospels and a cross brought, and made Stephen swear that it was true.

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Our leaders then took counsel at that very hour and swore that none of them would flee the city for as long as they lived, whether through death or through life. Bohemond is said to have sworn first, then Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, Robert of Normandy, Duke Godfrey, Robert, count of Flanders, and many other leaders. Tancred swore and promised that, so long as he had forty knights with him, he would turn back neither from that city nor from the journey to Jerusalem. The whole Christian army greatly rejoiced on hearing this oath.

There was a pilgrim in the army

There was a pilgrim in our army named Peter Bartholomew. Before we entered the city, the apostle Saint Andrew appeared to him and said: “What are you doing, good man?” Peter answered: “Who are you?” The apostle said: “I am the apostle Andrew. Know, my son, that when you have entered the town, go to the church of the blessed apostle Peter. There you will find the lance of our Savior Jesus Christ, with which he was wounded while hanging on the gibbet of the cross.”

When the apostle had said all this, he immediately departed. Peter, however, was afraid to reveal the apostle’s message and would not tell our men, the pilgrims. He thought that he had seen a vision. Saint Andrew came to him a second time and said: “Why did you not tell the pilgrims what we commanded you?” Peter answered him: “Lord, who would believe this?”

At that very hour Saint Andrew took him and carried him into the city, to the place where the lance lay hidden in the earth. As Peter watched, the apostle Andrew drew the lance from the ground and placed it in his hands, saying: “This is the lance of our Lord Jesus Christ, which I and my brother, the apostle Peter, placed here.” As Peter watched, he put it back in the same place.

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He then said to Peter: "Return to the army." Peter answered: "Lord, how can I go? The Turks are on the city walls and will kill me as soon as they see me." The apostle replied: "Go, and do not be afraid." Peter then began to leave the city in full view of the Turks, but they said nothing to him.

The Turks who were apart in the citadel constrained our men so severely that on one day they trapped three of our knights in a tower before the citadel. The gentiles came out and attacked them so fiercely that they could no longer withstand their force. Two of the knights came wounded from the tower. The third defended himself against the Turkish attack so bravely and skillfully all day that he struck down two Turks on the approach to the wall with a broken lance. That day they broke three lances in his hands. His name was Hugh Lo Forsenes, of the army of Godfrey of Monte Scabioso.

When Bohemond and Tancred saw that they could not induce the people to go up the mountain before the citadel for battle, because they remained shut in their houses, some fearing hunger and others the Turks, they became very angry. Bohemond immediately ordered fire set to the part of the city containing the palace of Cassian the emir. When the people in the city saw the flames burning and the wind rising, they abandoned their houses and fled with their possessions—some to the mountain before the citadel, some to the gate of the count of Saint-Gilles, and others to Duke Godfrey's gate.

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Thus each went to his own people. Bohemond became deeply distressed, fearing that the churches of Saint Peter and Saint Mary would burn, for the fire lasted from the third hour until midnight. Nevertheless, 2,000 churches and houses were burned. At midnight the wind ceased and the fire fell.

The Turks living in the citadel inside the city fought us day and night, so that nothing but weapons separated us. Sometimes four emirs came out with them. The emirs were entirely covered in gold, as were their horses down to the joints of their knees, and they led the Turks. Our men saw that they could not endure this for long, because one who had bread was not free to eat and one who had water was not free to drink. They therefore built a wall between the enemy on

the mountain and themselves, and constructed something like a fortress and a siege engine so that they might be secure.

Another part of the Turkish army was quartered around the city in a valley on the other side. When night came, fire appeared in the sky from the west and fell among the Turkish armies. Both the Turks and our men marveled greatly. In the morning the Turks were terrified and fled here and there for fear of the fire. Nevertheless, they besieged us so closely around the city that none of our men dared leave or enter except secretly at night. Thus we were besieged and oppressed

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by those pagans, enemies of God and holy Christianity. They numbered 365,000, apart from the emir of Jerusalem, who was there with his people, the king of Damascus, who came with his people, and the king of Aleppo as well.

These profane enemies of God held us so closely confined in the city of Antioch that many of our men died of hunger. A small loaf of bread sold for one gold bezant. I shall not speak of the wine: *uquen grasin*, that is, “no wine.” A single hen sold for fifteen solidi, one egg for two solidi, one nut for one denarius, three or four beans for one denarius, a small she-goat for sixty solidi, the stomach of one she-goat for five solidi, a ram’s tail for three solidi and nine denarii, and the small tongue of a camel for four solidi.

They ate and sold the flesh of horses and asses. They boiled the leaves of fig trees, vines, and other trees in water and ate them. Others soaked in water for two nights and one day the dried hides of horses, asses, camels, oxen, and buffaloes that were five or six years old; then they cooked and ate them. For the name of Christ and to free the road to the Holy Sepulchre, we endured these torments and many other hardships that I cannot name.

The servants of God endured such tribulation, hunger, and fear for twenty-six days. May God therefore be blessed through all ages of ages. Amen.

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The foolish Stephen

The foolish Stephen, count of Chartres, was our head, chosen by all our leaders to be our commander. Pretending to be gravely ill, he shamefully withdrew to another fortress called Alexandretta before Antioch was captured. We who were confined in the city and deprived of saving aid waited for him every day to come to our assistance.

But when he heard that the Turkish people had encircled and besieged us in the city, he secretly climbed a nearby mountain that overlooked all the hills around it and stood close to Antioch. When he saw the innumerable tents, he withdrew in great terror. Overcome by this immense fear, he shamefully fled in great haste with his army. Reaching his camp, he stripped it, then foolishly hurried back along his road.

When he met the emperor at Philomena, he approached him secretly, drew him aside, and said: "Know truly that Antioch has been captured, but the citadel has not yet been taken. All our men are besieged in grave distress and, as I believe, have now been killed by the Turks. Turn back as quickly as you can, lest they also find you and the people you are leading."

Terrified, the emperor secretly summoned Guy, brother of Lord Bohemond, and all the others, and said to them: "Lords, what shall we do? All our men are caught in a close siege,

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and perhaps at this very hour they have all been killed by the Turks or led into captivity, just as this wretched count, who fled so foolishly, reports. If you wish, let us turn back quickly, lest we too die a sudden death as they have died."

When Guy, a most honorable knight, heard these false reports, he and all the others immediately began to weep and wail with the most violent lamentation. They all cried with one voice: "O true God, three and one, why have you permitted this to happen? Why have you allowed the people who follow you to fall into the hands of their Turkish enemies? Why have you so quickly allowed those who were freeing the road of your journey and of your Holy Sepulchre to die? Surely, if what we have heard from these most wicked men and now report

is true, we and all other Christians will abandon you and no longer remember you. Not one of us will dare call upon your name again.”

This exceedingly sorrowful speech spread through the whole army, so that for several days none of them—neither archbishop, bishop, abbot, priest, cleric, nor any layman—dared call upon the name of Christ.

No one could console Guy as he wept, beat his hands, broke his fingers, and said: “Alas, Bohemond, honor and glory of the whole world, whom the entire world feared and loved! Alas for me in my grief! I did not deserve to see your most honorable face, although there was nothing I desired more to see. Who will grant me to die for you, my dearest friend and lord? Why did I not die the moment I came from my mother’s womb? Why have I lived to see this

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mournful day? Why was I not killed at sea? Why did I not fall from my horse, break my neck, and meet a sudden end? If only I had received a blessed martyrdom with you and seen you meet your most glorious end!”

When they all gathered around and consoled him so that he might finally end his lament, he recovered himself and said: “Do you perhaps believe this half-gray, foolish knight? Have I ever truly heard anyone speak of a feat of arms that he performed? He has withdrawn shamefully and dishonorably like a most wicked and wretched man. Know that everything this miserable man reports is entirely false.”

Meanwhile the emperor commanded his men: “Go, lead all the inhabitants of this land into Bulgaria, and strip and devastate every place here so that the Turks will find nothing when they come.” Willing or unwilling, our men turned back, grieving and bitterly sorrowful almost to death. Many pilgrims who were gravely ill died. Those who lacked the strength to follow the army remained dying on the road, while all the others returned to Constantinople.

When we in the city of Antioch heard the words of the aforementioned Peter Bartholomew—how the blessed apostle Andrew had come and shown him the lance of Jesus Christ and its location—we were filled with the greatest joy. Peter

then came to the count of Saint-Gilles and told him to go to the church of Saint Peter, where the lance lay. Hearing this, the count came to the church with great rejoicing, and Peter showed him the place before the choir doors on the right. Twelve men dug there from morning until evening. When the pit had become extremely deep, Peter himself found the lance of Jesus Christ, as the blessed Andrew had shown him, on the fourteenth day after the beginning of June. They took it up with great joy, singing *Te Deum laudamus*, and carried it

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with praise to the altar. The whole city was filled with the greatest joy. When the Frankish army heard this, they came joyfully to the church of Saint Peter to see the lance. The Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians came likewise, singing *Kyrie eleison* in loud voices and saying: “Kalo Frangia exi condari Christo.” This means: “The Franks are good, for they have the lance of Christ.”

They then all took counsel about how to begin battle with the Turks. First they all agreed to send a messenger to Kerbogha and the other Turks, enemies of God, to ask them: “Why have you entered the land of the Christians?”

They sent Peter the Hermit and Arluin the interpreter, telling them: “Go to the accursed Turkish army, speak to them wisely, and ask why they have so boldly and arrogantly entered the land of the Christians, which is our land.”

When the envoys came to them, they said: “Know that our men greatly wonder why you have come here. We think that perhaps you have come because you wish to become Christians and believe in the one true God, born of the Virgin Mary, in whom we believe. But if you have not come for this purpose, all our people, great and small, humbly ask you to depart quickly from the land of God and the Christians. Long ago the blessed apostle Peter preached in this land, brought it to the worship of Christ, and was chosen as its first bishop. If you do so, they will allow you to take away all your possessions with you: horses, mules, asses, camels, sheep, cattle, and every other treasure.”

Then Kerbogha, commander of the army of the sultan of Persia, and all his emirs, swollen with pride,

answered fiercely: "We neither seek nor desire your God or your Christianity, and we reject you altogether with them. We have come this far because we greatly wonder why the lords and leaders, great and small, whom you mention, call their own the land that we took with the greatest force from effeminate peoples.

"Do you wish to know what we say to you? Return immediately and tell your leaders that, if they desire to become Turks in every respect and will renounce your God whom you worship with bowed heads, we shall give them this land and much more, together with cities, fortresses, wives, and the greatest inheritances. Not one of your men will remain on foot; all will become knights as we are, and we shall always hold them in our dearest friendship. But if they refuse, let them know that they will all suffer a sentence of death or be carried in chains to Khurasan in perpetual captivity, and they will serve us and our children forever."

Our envoys promptly returned to the Franks and reported all these things and the answer this most cruel people had given them.

Meanwhile our army, terrified on both sides, did not know what to do. Deadly hunger constrained them on one side, and fear of the Turks on the other. Nevertheless, they did as the Lord Jesus Christ had commanded them through the priest Stephen: they kept three-day fasts, confessed their sins, made processions from one church to another, received absolution and faithfully partook of the body and blood of Christ, gave alms to the poor, and had masses sung.

They then formed six battle lines inside the city. In the first was Hugh the Great with

the French and the count of Flanders. In the second was Duke Godfrey with his army. In the third was Robert of Normandy with his men. In the fourth was Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, carrying the lance of our Savior Jesus Christ with his own people and the army of Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles. Raymond

remained above at the citadel to guard the mountain for fear that the Turks might defend the city. In the fifth was Tancred, the marquis's son, with his people, Gastos of Bearn with his people, and the men of the count of Poitiers. In the sixth was Bohemond with his army.

Our bishops, priests, clerics, and monks, dressed in sacred vestments, went out of the city with them carrying crosses in their hands. They prayed and begged God to save and protect them and deliver them from every danger and evil. Others stood above the city gate holding sacred crosses, making the sign of the cross over the troops and blessing them. Thus arrayed and protected by the sign of the cross, they began to leave the city through the gate before Machomaria.

When Kerbogha saw the Frankish lines come out so beautifully arrayed one after another, he said: "Let them all come out now, so that we may take their heads more easily." First came the foot soldiers of Hugh the Great and the count of Flanders, and then each force in its order. Once they had left the city, Kerbogha saw the vast Frankish host and became very afraid. He immediately ordered the emir who had charge of everything that, if he saw fire kindled at the head of the enemy, he should have the retreat proclaimed to his army and return, knowing that the Turks had lost the field. Kerbogha immediately began to withdraw slowly toward the mountain, while our men gradually pursued them.

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The Turks then divided. One part went toward the sea while others remained there, thinking to enclose our men between them. When our men saw this, they formed a seventh battle line from the forces of Duke Godfrey and the count of Normandy, with Count Rainard at its head. They sent it against the Turks coming from the sea. The Turks fought them and killed many of our men with arrows.

Our other companies arrayed themselves from the river to the mountain, a distance of two miles. Turkish squadrons began to emerge on both sides, surrounding our men everywhere, casting javelins, shooting arrows, and wounding them.

Innumerable armies also came out of the mountains. They led white horses, and all their standards were white. When our men saw this army, they had no idea who they were until they recognized it as the aid of Christ, just as he had promised them through the priest Stephen. Its leaders were Saint George, the blessed Demetrius, and the blessed Theodore. These words are to be believed, for several of our men saw this.

When the Turks stationed toward the sea saw that they could endure no longer, they set fire to the grass so that those at the tents would see it and begin to flee. Recognizing the signal, the men at the tents seized all the precious treasures and plunder and fled.

Our men gradually advanced to where the enemy was strongest, namely toward their tents. Duke Godfrey, the count of Flanders, and Hugh the Great rode beside the water, where the enemy's strength was greatest. Protected by the sign of the cross, they attacked them together. When the other battle lines saw this, they likewise attacked.

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The Turks and the other pagans shouted diabolical cries in a foreign tongue and began to flee. Calling upon the one true God, our men rode against them. Thus in the name of Jesus Christ and the Holy Sepulchre they began the battle and, with God's aid, defeated them.

The terrified Turks took flight, and our men pursued them among their tents. The knights of Christ preferred to pursue them rather than seek any plunder. They chased them as far as the Iron Bridge and then to Tancred's fortress. The Turks left behind their tents, gold, silver, and many treasures, sheep, cattle, horses, mules, asses, camels, grain, wine, flour, and many other things that we needed.

The Armenians and Syrians living in that region heard that the Turks had been defeated and ran to the mountain to meet them. They killed as many as they could capture. Our men returned to the city with great joy, praising and blessing God, who had given victory to his people.

When the emir guarding the citadel saw Kerbogha and all the other pagans fleeing from the field before the Frankish army, he became very angry and felt the greatest fear in his heart. He immediately began urgently asking for the Frankish standards. The count of Saint-Gilles, who stood on the mountain before the citadel, ordered that his standard be carried to him. The emir received it joyfully and carefully placed it in the highest tower. He then asked for Bohemond's standard, which Bohemond gave him after the battle. The emir received

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it with the greatest joy and gladness. He made an agreement with Bohemond that those pagans who wished to become Christians would remain with Bohemond, while those who wished to go to Khurasan would be allowed to depart safely and without injury. Bohemond granted everything the emir asked and immediately sent his men into the citadel.

Not many days later, the emir was baptized together with those who chose to acknowledge Christ. Bohemond had those who refused to abandon their laws escorted as far as Saracen territory.

This battle took place on the fourth day before the Kalends of July, on the vigil of the apostles Peter and Paul, while our Lord Jesus Christ reigns, to whom belong honor and glory through everlasting ages. Amen.

And when all our enemies had now been defeated

And when all our enemies had now been defeated, we offered fitting thanks to the most high and true God and to the Holy Sepulchre. As they fled this way and that, some half-dead and others wounded, they fell dead in valleys, woods, fields, and roads, because the Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, knowing that they had been defeated in battle, ambushed them in narrow places, wounding and killing them.

Our pilgrims returned to the city, rejoicing and exulting in a great and happy triumph after the enemies of God and holy Christianity had been defeated. Then all our leaders assembled and held a council in the church of Saint Peter

about how they might successfully govern and lead the people until they could begin the journey to the Holy Sepulchre, for which they had faithfully suffered many hardships. It was also determined in the council that at that time they could not enter

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the land of the Saracens, because in summer it is exceedingly dry and waterless. They did not dare travel by this route or govern and lead Christ's people through it. They therefore fixed the Kalends of November—that is, the feast of All Saints—as the appointed time when everyone should assemble from all directions at Antioch and then begin the journey to the Holy Sepulchre with the greatest joy. They all approved this plan together, for it was good and honorable to carry out.

Afterward each of our leaders departed for his own territory, namely its cities and castles, until the appointed time drew near. All the leaders had it proclaimed throughout the city that if any needy man were there who lacked some gold or silver and wished to enter an agreement with them, he should not hesitate to remain faithfully with them, for they would gladly give whatever had been agreed.

There was a knight there from the army of Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, whose name was Raymond Pilet. He retained many knights and retainers with him. He left the city with them and entered the land of the Saracens, passing beyond two pagan cities, and came to a castle called Thelemanit. Its inhabitants, who were Syrians, immediately surrendered it to him of their own accord. When they had remained there for eight days, messengers came to him and said, "Nearby is a castle of the Saracens filled with a pagan population." Christ's knights immediately went to that castle and attacked it on every side. With the help of God and the Holy Sepulchre, they quickly captured it.

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They seized all the pagans there. They kept alive those who wished to acknowledge Christ and desired holy baptism; but those who wholly refused to

accept Christianity they immediately condemned to death. Our men then returned to the aforementioned castle with great joy.

On the third day they left the castle and came to a nearby city called Ma'arrat, where a great host of Turks, Arabs, Saracens, and other pagans had gathered from Aleppo, Damascus, and the surrounding strongholds. The barbarians came out against them for battle. When our men prepared to fight them, they immediately began to flee; then they turned back and fought our men throughout the day until evening. By then our men could no longer endure such thirst because of the intense heat, since no spring could be found there to refresh them. They wished to return safely to their castle, but could not. Because of their sins or offenses, the Syrians and common people, terrified on one side by extreme thirst and on the other by great fear, at once began to flee back to their castle. When the Turks saw them retreating, they immediately began to attack them with a great uproar. No wonder: victory was lending them strength. There, among many others who happily surrendered their souls to God, for whose love they had assembled there, an excellent knight named Arnald Tudebovis was killed. When the battle was over, those of our men who remained alive returned to their castle and stayed there for several days.

The others who had remained in the city of Antioch felt the greatest joy and happiness because they

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did not know that this had happened to their brothers. Their shepherd and guide was Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy. By God's will he was seized by a grave illness, and by God's will he departed from this world and, resting in peace, fell asleep in the Lord, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, on the feast of Saint Peter in Chains. His most holy soul rejoices with the angels. The whole army of Christ was therefore filled with the greatest anguish and distress and immeasurable grief, because he had been the support of the poor and the counselor of the rich.

He ordained clerics and preached to and admonished the knights and other wealthy men, saying: "None of you can be saved unless he honors and sustains

poor clerics. You cannot be saved without them, and they cannot live without you. They must therefore entreat God in daily prayer for your sins, by which you have offended him greatly, as should never have happened; and you must guide and support them, because they do not know how to seek and obtain what they need as you do. I therefore ask you personally, for the love of God, to cherish them and sustain them as far as you can.”

Not long afterward the venerable Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, entered the land of the Saracens and came to a city called Albara. He attacked it with his army and, by God’s will, immediately captured it. He killed every Saracen he could find there—men and women, adults and children—

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and brought it under his rule. He restored it to the faith of Christ and immediately consulted his wisest men about devoutly choosing a bishop for that city, who would faithfully convert it to the worship of God and consecrate the former house of the devil as a temple to the living and true God and as shrines of the saints with a pure heart. He then chose a cleric, took him to Antioch to be consecrated, and this man later presided over councils in place of Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy.

As the appointed time, the feast of All Saints, drew near, our leaders returned to the city of Antioch, except Bohemond, who had been stricken with a grave illness in the region of Romania and therefore could not arrive at the appointed time. When the time came that he was able to serve in arms, he quickly came to Antioch, where the others had assembled. All the leaders then gathered and began to ask how they might undertake the journey to the Holy Sepulchre, saying, “This is a good and excellent time; why delay any longer?” But Bohemond daily demanded the agreement that all the other leaders had made with him concerning the surrender of the city. He complained especially about Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, because Raymond would not bind himself to any agreement with Bohemond, fearing that he would perjure himself against the emperor. Bohemond and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Duke Godfrey, Robert

of Normandy, and the other leaders, great and lesser, therefore often assembled in the church of Saint Peter to reach a just settlement with one another

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and reconcile the two men. Bohemond recited his agreement in everyone's hearing; the count of Saint-Gilles likewise related his own words and the oath that, on Bohemond's advice, he had sworn to the emperor. The bishops, Duke Godfrey, Robert, count of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Count Eustace, and the other leaders withdrew from the rest and entered the place where Saint Peter's chair stood, so that in that church they might give judgment between the two. Yet because they feared that the journey to the Holy Sepulchre might be abandoned, they were unwilling to declare their judgment openly.

When Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, saw this, he said, "Rather than let the journey to the Holy Sepulchre be abandoned, if Bohemond is willing to come with us, I will gladly carry out whatever the bishops, Duke Godfrey, Robert of Normandy, Robert, count of Flanders, and the other leaders approve, while preserving my fidelity to the emperor." Bohemond approved and assented. The two then gave their promises into the bishops' hands, before the pilgrims, that the journey to the Holy Sepulchre would in no way be obstructed.

Bohemond then consulted his men about how to provision the castle on the high mountain with good weapons and food that would not fail for a long time. Raymond of Saint-Gilles likewise provisioned Cassian's palace and the tower above the bridge gate, on the side toward the port of Saint Symeon.

On the site of Antioch

This city is very large, beautiful, and distinguished, for within its walls stand four exceedingly great and lofty mountains. On the highest is a castle, very strong

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and exceedingly high. Below lies the noble and well-situated city, adorned with every distinction, for within it are most beautiful waters that issue in springs from the mountains. Twelve hundred churches were built there, and it

contained 360 monasteries of monks. The patriarch holds 153 bishops under his authority. Two walls enclose the city. The larger is exceedingly high and wonderfully broad, constructed from great stones, with 450 towers arranged upon it. The city is beautiful in every respect. Four great mountains bound it on the east; on the west, beside its walls, flows a great river called the Pharphar.

Because it is so fine and beautiful, they were unwilling foolishly to abandon the royal city of Antioch. Its authority was so great that seventy-five kings had previously established it, whose names are these: Mirgulus, Ebramdon, Lamurafres, Rademons, Helias, Calarfines, Brumandus, Margories, Pharaoh, Brumandus, Prelion, Laidus, Rudandus, Judas Maccabeus, Nubles, Samson, David the heretic, Solomon, Pilate, Herod, Helidius, Gafermus, Rudandus, Galderius, Morfirius, Fortis Eustras, Maraon, Argolas, Ordotius, Fortis Lamusteoc, Emir Alapres, Morabilis, Orgilandus, Morlionus, Organdus the impious of Semarzana, Bracerandus, King Morus, Pulcher, Clarandus, Ariandon, King Thanas, Escanius, Duras, Dormandus, King Vission, Sathanus, Tobus, Lintion, Malardus, Dairamornus, Mordandus, Orahonus, Brumories, Apparandus, Effremion, Noirandus,

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Fortis Bruas, Gornandus, Utionus the impious, Thelandus, Pelufres, Troanandus, King Gandeios, Rabulandus, Gazani, Mirmon, Oringes, Brulion, Mardrolienus, Deriandus, Daribonus, Gazianus, Bromirus, and Antiochus, who was leader of the others and from whom Antioch takes its name.

As you heard above, the pilgrims of the Holy Sepulchre kept this city under siege for eight months and one day. Afterward they were shut inside it for twenty-six days by the Turks and other pagans. Yet with the help of God and the Holy Sepulchre they defeated them, and the pilgrims rested at Antioch with great joy and happiness for five and a half months.

Then, on the eighth day before the end of November, Raymond of Saint-Gilles left Antioch with his army, passing through one city called Rubea and another called Albaria. On the fourth day before the end of November he reached the city called Ma'arrat, where a very great host of Saracens, Turks, Arabs, and many

other pagans had gathered. Count Raymond attacked it with his men the next day, but could not capture it, because God's will had not yet come. Not long afterward Bohemond followed Raymond with his army and encamped around the city on Sunday. On Monday they attacked the city with such force from every side that, if ladders had been raised to its wall, the city would have been in their power. There they fought at close quarters with lances and swords. But the strength of the pagans was so great that on that day they could do them no

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harm. Instead they suffered many hardships there. Food was failing because they did not dare go anywhere to seek it, so great was the pagan host surrounding them.

Saint Andrew, who does not sleep but always watches over Christians in distress, saw this and revealed to Peter Bartholomew that if the Christians repented of their misdeeds, kept good faith with one another as the Lord commanded when he said, "Love your brothers as yourselves," and returned the portion that God reserved for himself when he created this world and everything in it—namely, a tenth of all that they possessed—he would give them the city in a short time and fulfill all their desire. He ordered that tithe to be divided into four portions: one for the bishop, another for the priests, another for the churches, and another for the poor. When this was recited before the council, everyone assented.

Not long afterward Raymond of Saint-Gilles had a very strong and lofty wooden siege tower constructed. It was skillfully designed and built upon four wheels. Several knights stood upon it; Ebrard the Huntsman sounded the trumpets loudly, while splendid standards waved before him, a most beautiful sight. Beneath the tower were more than a hundred armed knights who brought it close to the city wall beside a tower. When the pagan people saw it, they immediately made many engines with which they hurled huge stones upon the siege tower,

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almost killing our knights. They also pierced the standards above with arrows and stones, while others cast Greek fire upon the tower because they hoped to

burn it. But the merciful and compassionate God did not allow it to burn.

That siege tower overlooked all the walls and towers of the city. Our knights in its upper gallery, including William of Monspeslerio and many others, hurled huge stones upon the Saracens standing on the city walls. They struck the Saracens' shields so hard that shield and pagan together fell dead into the city below. Others held standards on their spears, and with lances and iron weapons the pilgrims tried to draw the pagans toward themselves.

Thus the knights and retainers fought. Priests and clerics, dressed in sacred vestments, stood behind the siege tower, praying and beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to defend his people, grant victory to the Christian knights, exalt his holy Christianity, and destroy paganism. They fought in this way until evening.

Then Golferius de Turribus, a most distinguished knight, was the first to climb the wall by a ladder, which immediately broke under the number of the others. Once Golferius was on the wall, he began fighting them with his lance and killing them. The others found another ladder, quickly raised it against the wall, and many knights and foot soldiers climbed it—so many that the wall could scarcely hold them. The Saracens then attacked

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them fiercely both along the city wall and from the ground within, shooting arrows and thrusting at close quarters with their lances. Many of our men, terrified, lowered themselves down the wall. The valiant men who remained on it endured the Saracens' assault, while others beneath the siege tower dug down under the city wall. When the Saracens standing on the wall saw that our men had undermined it, they immediately fled into the city in terror.

All this happened late on Saturday, as the sun was setting, on the eleventh day of December. Bohemond had an interpreter tell the leading Saracens that they should gather with their wives, children, and other possessions in a palace above the gate, and that he would protect them from a sentence of death. All our men entered the city, and each took as his own whatever valuables he could find in its houses and pits.

The next day, wherever they found any of the inhabitants, male or female, they immediately put them to death. No corner of the city was free of Saracen corpses, and a person could scarcely pass through its streets without treading upon them. Bohemond seized those whom he had ordered into the palace and took everything they possessed—gold, silver, and their other valuables. He had some killed and ordered others taken to Antioch to be sold.

Many of our men found in the city whatever they needed, while many found nothing to take. Their stay there then became so prolonged that many were constricted by famine: they did not dare go far out into the land of the Saracens, and nearby they could find nothing to seize. The Christians of that land brought nothing to sell. Our poor pilgrims began cutting open the pagans' bodies because they found bezants hidden in their bellies. Others, driven by hunger, cut flesh from the bodies in pieces, cooked it, and ate it.

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When our leaders saw this, they had the pagans' bodies dragged outside the city to the gates, where they made what were almost heaps of them and then burned them.

Bohemond could not be reconciled with Raymond of Saint-Gilles and returned to Antioch. Not many days later Raymond sent messengers to Antioch summoning Duke Godfrey, the count of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, and Bohemond to come speak with him at the city of Rusa. All those leaders came there and held a council on how they might begin the journey to the Holy Sepulchre, for which they had set out and come this far. Yet they could not reconcile Bohemond with Count Raymond unless Raymond surrendered Antioch to him. Raymond refused because of the pledge he had made to Emperor Alexius. Duke Godfrey and the other counts therefore returned to Antioch.

Raymond, Christ's champion, returned to Ma'arrat, where the pilgrims of the Holy Sepulchre were staying, and sent his men to provision and guard the palace of Emir Cassian, which he held, and the tower above the bridge gate facing the mosque. In that city the wise bishop of Orange died, and the pilgrims remained

there for one month and three days. Bohemond, wishing to possess the city of Antioch by his own power, expelled all Raymond of Saint-Gilles's men. When

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Raymond, Christ's champion, heard this, he made light of it. As a servant of our Lord Jesus Christ he began the journey to the Holy Sepulchre and left the city barefoot. On January 13 he reached the fortress of Capharda, eight miles away, and remained there for three days. Robert of Normandy joined him there.

The king of Caesarea had often sent messengers to Raymond at Ma'arrat and Capharda, saying that he wished to make an agreement with him and become his friend, and that he would give him as much of his revenue as Raymond pleased. He was very eager to show favor to the Christians and wished to give his assurance that throughout his realm the pilgrims would be safe and free from every fear. He also promised to provide a market for horses and food. The pilgrims departed and camped beside the river called Pharphar near Caesarea. The king, however, ordered the market forbidden unless they moved away from the city. The next day he sent two Turks with them to show them the river ford and guide them until they could find something to take.

They finally entered a valley beneath a fortress. There they found more than 5,000 animals, ample grain, and other goods, from which the whole army of Christ was greatly restored. Nevertheless, the lord of that fortress reached an agreement with Raymond, gave him horses and other things, and swore by his own law that he would do the pilgrims no further harm. Raymond and his army remained there for six days.

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Leaving there, Christ's pilgrims reached another Arab fortress, whose lord likewise made an agreement with Raymond. They then entered a valley and came to a city named Caphalia, exceedingly beautiful and furnished with every good thing. When its inhabitants heard that the Christian pilgrims were coming, they left the city empty, with its gardens full of vegetables and its houses full of abundant food.

On the third day they left that city, crossed a high and immense mountain, and entered the valley of Desem, where there was a great abundance of grain and livestock. They remained there for fifteen days. There they found another fortress empty; the Saracens had set it on fire and fled. Beside it stood another fortress in which a very great host of pagans had assembled. Our pilgrims attacked it so fiercely that they would have taken it into their power had the Saracens not driven immense herds of animals outside. Our men returned to their tents bringing many animals with them. At first light they gathered up their tents and came to besiege the same fortress, intending to pitch camp there. Yet around midnight the pagan people fled completely and left the fortress empty for the pilgrims of the Holy Sepulchre. Entering it, the pilgrims found an abundance “from the dew of heaven”: grain, wine, flour, oil, chickens, and everything they needed.

There they celebrated the feast of the Purification of Saint Mary with great devotion on February 2. Messengers came there from the city of Camela, bringing horses and gold sent to Raymond of Saint-Gilles by the city’s king, who wished to make an agreement with him,

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promising to show favor to Christians in every way and honor them diligently wherever they went. The king of Tripoli likewise sent messengers to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, wishing to have peace with him if Raymond agreed, and sent him ten horses, four mules, and many bezants. The count said that he would make no peace with him unless he became a Christian. The king promised and agreed to do so.

Our men left that excellent valley and on a Monday in mid-February came to a fortress called Arqa, around which they pitched their tents. It was filled with an innumerable pagan host—Turks, Saracens, Arabs, Publicani, and other pagans—who had fortified it remarkably and defended themselves stoutly. The fortress was exceedingly strong and stood high upon a mountain, enclosed by two walls.

One day fourteen of our knights rode toward the city of Tripoli, eight miles from the fortress. They included Raymond, viscount of Torenas; Peter, viscount

of Castelion; Amanevus of Lobene; Sicardus; Bego de la Ribere; William Botinus; and others whose names I do not know. These fourteen knights of Christ encountered sixty Turks, Saracens, Arabs, and Kurds, who were driving before them our people and 1,500 animals. Our men attacked them, fortified by the sign of the cross, and with God's help overcame them. They killed six and captured six horses.

On another day Raymond Pilet and Raymond, viscount of Torena, left the army of Christ with their knights and came before the city of Tortosa. They attacked it very fiercely, for it was defended by a great pagan host. When evening came, our men withdrew to a corner beside a wood and camped there, making innumerable fires as though the entire Christian army were present. Seeing this, the pagans were terrified and fled by night.

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They left the city full of many goods, situated above an excellent harbor. The next day our knights came intending to attack it from every side, but found it empty of people. They entered and lived there for as long as the siege of Arqa continued. Nearby is another city called Maraclea. The emir who ruled it made terms with our men and admitted our men and their standards into the city.

The other leaders who had remained at Antioch—Duke Godfrey, Robert, count of Flanders, and Bohemond—followed Raymond of Saint-Gilles as far as the city of Lichia. There Bohemond separated from the others and returned to Antioch. Duke Godfrey and the count of Flanders continued after Raymond and came to a city called Gibellum, which they besieged and attacked fiercely.

Raymond was then besieging Arqa when messengers came to tell him that the pagans were gathering to fight him. He sent the bishop of Albara to Duke Godfrey and Robert, count of Flanders, asking them to come to Arqa because the pagans were assembling from every direction to fight him and his people. When Duke Godfrey and the count of Flanders heard this, they made terms with the emir. He gave them horses and bezants and promised that he would no longer cause harm to pilgrims of the Holy Sepulchre. Duke Godfrey and Robert, count of Flanders, hurried to help Raymond of Saint-Gilles and

camped beside the fortress across the river. They besieged it, but the pagans reported above never came to fight.

Not many days later our men rode toward Tripoli and outside the city found Arabs and Turks, together with

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Saracens. They attacked at once, put them to flight, and killed the greater part of the city's nobles. So great was the slaughter of the pagans and the shedding of their blood that even the water flowing into the city seemed to run red with their blood as it poured into their cisterns. Those who remained alive in the city were consequently exceedingly sad and grief-stricken. There was now such fear among the people that scarcely any of them dared go outside the city gate.

A great controversy arose among many in the army of Christ, for they did not believe that the lance held by Raymond of Saint-Gilles was the Lance of our Lord Jesus Christ. Many pilgrims were deeply angered by this, and Peter Bartholomew, who had found it, was grieved above all. Many resolved to test by fire whether it was the same Lance that Saint Andrew the Apostle had shown him in Antioch in the church of Saint Peter the Apostle. Many approved this proposal. They determined to carry out the ordeal on Friday, the day on which our Lord Jesus Christ was suspended upon the cross and wounded with a lance.

On that day men from the army gathered green and dry wood, both small and finely cut, into a pile fourteen feet long and three and a half feet high. The bishop of Albara and the army's priests came barefoot, dressed in sacred vestments and carrying crosses in their hands. They circled the wood three times with psalms and a litany. The bishop alone then set it on fire. They again circled the fire three times with holy water, while the whole pilgrim army of Christ prayed and sang to the Lord Jesus Christ, asking him to reveal whether this was the same Lance with which Christ had been wounded while hanging upon the cross, and also to forgive their sins.

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Peter Bartholomew went to the western end of the fire, stripped off his clothes, put on a single black tunic, and took the Lance, wrapped in a linen cloth, in his

hands. Kneeling, he prayed three times to the Lord Jesus Christ. Peter the Hermit then said for all to hear: “This Christian intends to enter this fire on the condition that this Lance is the very one that Andrew the Apostle showed to his brother Peter the Apostle there in Antioch, with which our Lord Jesus Christ was wounded while hanging upon the cross. If it is not that Lance, let neither the man nor the Lance come out of the fire.” Thus the compassionate Lord Jesus Christ, wishing to reveal his miracle through Peter, allowed him to emerge unharmed from the blaze. The Lance likewise passed through the fire in the sight of everyone.

On another day our men rode beyond the valley of Desem and found cattle, asses, sheep, and innumerable other animals. Sixty separated from the others and found 3,000 camels. They brought all these animals back to the army of Christ, and the whole host of Christ rejoiced greatly.

Our ships also came near us to a harbor while we were engaged in that siege, bringing a very large market of grain, wine, meat, oil, and barley. The entire army thereby enjoyed great abundance. During that siege several of our men happily received martyrdom: Pontius de Balaun, Anselm of Ribemont, William Picard, and others whom I cannot name. They kept the fortress mentioned above under siege

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for three months less one day. There they celebrated the Lord’s Easter on April 10. The king of Tripoli repeatedly sent messengers to Raymond of Saint-Gilles asking him to abandon the fortress, saying that if he did so the king would make an agreement with him. When our leaders—Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Duke Godfrey, Robert, count of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, and the other pilgrims—heard this, they also saw that the new crops were approaching, for they were eating fresh beans in mid-March and new grain by mid-April. Leaders and common men therefore took counsel together and said that it would be good to begin the journey to Jerusalem with the new harvest. They all approved making terms with the king.

They left the fortress and reached Tripoli on Friday, May 13, where they remained for three days. The king of Tripoli made terms with Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the other leaders and immediately released more than 300 pilgrims who had been captured in the city during the earlier battle. He gave Raymond 15,000 bezants and fifteen horses of great value, and established for them a great market in horses, asses, bread, cheese, and every kind of good. The whole army of Christ was thereby greatly enriched. He agreed that if they could win the battle the emir was preparing against them and capture Jerusalem, he would become a Christian and receive his land from them. On these terms the agreement was declared and concluded.

They left the city on the Monday in mid-May and traveled by a narrow and difficult road all day and night, reaching a fortress called Bethelon. They then approached the seaside city called Gibelon, where they suffered severe thirst. Exhausted, they reached the river

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called Braim. On the day and night of the Lord's Ascension they crossed a mountain on which the road was extremely narrow and confined. They expected to find their enemies there, but by God's favor none had prepared to oppose them. They came in turn to Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, and Acre. From Acre they passed beside the fortress called Haifa and came near the city of Caesarea, where they celebrated Pentecost on May 29.

From there they came to the city called Ramla, which the Saracens had abandoned for fear of the Franks. Nearby stood a venerable church containing the precious body of Saint George, who had faithfully suffered martyrdom there at the hands of faithless pagans for the name of Christ. Our leaders immediately took counsel and devoutly elected a bishop to guard and govern the church. They gave him their tithes of gold, silver, livestock, and horses so that he could live honorably together with those who remained with him. The bishop remained there in great joy.

The others, however—namely Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Duke Godfrey—rejoiced and came exultantly with the other pilgrims as far as the city of

Jerusalem on Tuesday, June 7. They laid a most vigorous siege close to the city walls. Robert of Normandy besieged it from the north beside Saint Stephen the First Martyr's

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church, where Saint Stephen joyfully received stones for Christ's name; the count of Flanders was beside him. Duke Godfrey besieged it from the west, with Tancred beside him. Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, besieged it from the south on Mount Zion beside the church of Saint Mary, Mother of the Lord, where she departed from this world, where the Lord ate with his disciples, and where the Holy Spirit descended into the disciples' hearts.

On the third day, some of our knights from the army of the Holy Sepulchre went out to raid—namely Raymond Pilet, Raymond of Torena, and others with them—and encountered 200 Arabs. Christ's knights fought those pagans and, with the aid of God and the Holy Sepulchre, defeated them. They killed many of them and captured thirty horses.

When Monday came, they attacked the city so fiercely that, if their ladders had been ready, the city would have fallen into their power. Nevertheless, they leveled the lower wall and raised one ladder against the higher wall. Our knights climbed it and fought the city's pagans at close quarters with swords and lances. Rainald, Hugh of Lusignan's seneschal, was killed there, as were many others, but more of the enemy died. During that siege they could find no bread to eat for ten days, until a messenger arrived from our ships that had put into the port of Jaffa. After news of the ships arrived, our leaders took counsel together and decided to send knights and retainers to provide faithful protection for the men and ships that had come to Jaffa.

At first light 100 knights left Raymond of Saint-Gilles's army—namely Raymond Pilet, Gaudemar Carpinel, Achard of Montemerlo, William of Sabra, and others whose names I do not know. While they

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were riding toward the port, thirty of Christ's knights, including Gaudemar and Achard, separated from the others and encountered 700 Arabs, Turks, and

Saracens. Christ's knights attacked them fiercely, but the strength of those pagans was so great against our men that they surrounded them on every side. They killed Achard of Montemerlo and the poor men who were on foot. When they had enclosed our men so completely that all expected to die, another messenger came to Raymond Pilet and said: "Why are you standing here with these knights? Look—our men are all in the direst straits among the Arabs, Turks, and Saracens; perhaps every one of them is already dead. Help them, then! Help them!"

When our men heard the messenger's words, they immediately raced to them as swiftly as possible and found them still fighting. When the pagans saw the Jerusalem knights, they at once divided and formed two companies. Invoking Christ's name and the Holy Sepulchre, our men attacked so fiercely that every man felled his opponent. When the pagans saw that they could no longer stand against the Christians' strength, they were terrified by extreme fear, turned their backs, and fled. Our men pursued them for almost four miles and killed many. They captured one alive so that he could give them a full account of the news, and they took 103 horses.

During the siege of Jerusalem they were so crushed by thirst that they sewed together hides of oxen, buffalo, and goats, in which they carried water for six miles. Thus they drank foul and stinking water from those little vessels. Each day we endured the greatest privation and distress, living only on foul water and barley bread. The spring of Siloam at the foot of Mount Zion sustained us a little. Yet water was sold so dearly

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among the Christians of God and the Holy Sepulchre that one man could not quench his thirst for a single penny. Saracens lay hidden at every spring and well, ambushing our people. They killed whomever they could find and drove their animals away with them into their caverns, caves, and mountain retreats. Elsewhere they killed those who went out to gather grapes.

When our leaders saw this, they became exceedingly angry and held a council. In it the bishops and priests advised them to conduct a procession around the city.

Accordingly, the bishops and priests came from the church of Saint Mary on Mount Zion to the church of Saint Stephen the First Martyr, barefoot, dressed in sacred vestments, and carrying crosses in their hands. They sang psalms and prayed that the Lord Jesus Christ would deliver his holy city and the Holy Sepulchre from the pagan people and grant it into Christian hands for the performance of his holy service. The clerics were dressed in the same manner, while the knights and retainers walked armed beside them.

When the Saracens saw this, they likewise went along the city walls carrying Muhammad on a spear, covered with a cloth. When the Christians reached the church of Saint Stephen the First Martyr and made a station there, as is customary in our processions, the Saracens standing above on the walls shouted, howled with trumpets, and devised every kind of mockery they could. Moreover, in the sight of all the Christians, they made a wooden cross in the likeness of that upon which merciful Christ shed his blood to redeem humankind, and beat it with a piece of wood. Then, to inflict still greater pain upon the Christians, they broke it against the wall, shouting:

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“Frangia, git salip,” which in our language means: “Franks, it is a good cross.”

When the Christians saw this, they were moved by great sorrow but did not cease their prayers. With their procession they ascended to the church on the Mount of Olives, from which Christ ascended into heaven. There a most honorable cleric named Arnulf preached a sermon, declaring the mercy that God had shown the Christians who followed him as far as the stone from which he ascended into heaven. When the Saracens saw the Christians standing there, in a place from which they could be seen very clearly between the Temple of the Lord and the Temple of Solomon, they ran to and fro with swords and clubs, threatening the Christians.

The Christians then continued in the same procession to the monastery of Saint Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, from which her most holy body was taken up into heaven. From there they returned once more to Mount Zion. As they wished to enter the church there, a cleric walking at the head of the procession

was struck in the middle of the forehead by an arrow at the monastery door and died there. His soul, I believe, will reign with Christ for ever and ever. Amen.

The man who first wrote this should be believed, because he was in the procession and saw it with his bodily eyes—namely Peter the priest, Tudebode of Civray.

Our leaders immediately arranged how they might use siegecraft against the city and enter our Savior's Sepulchre in prayer. They made two wooden siege towers and several other engines. Duke Godfrey made his tower with its engines, and Raymond of Saint-Gilles did likewise. Men from distant

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lands brought timber, which fifty or sixty Saracens who were in Christian custody carried upon their shoulders. Thus the Christians used the Saracens themselves to confound the Saracens. When the Saracens saw our men making these engines, they fortified the city remarkably, and its towers grew higher by night.

One day the Saracens sent one of their own to see what kind of engines the Christians were making. When the Syrians and Greeks saw that he was a Saracen, they pointed him out to the Christians, saying, "Ma te Christo caco Sarrazin!" This means in our language, "By Christ, here is a cowardly Saracen!" The Christians seized him and asked through an interpreter why he had come. He answered: "The Saracens sent me here because they wanted to know what kind of engines you have." The Christians replied that this was good. They bound his hands and feet and placed him in the sling of an engine called a stone-thrower. They tried with all their strength to cast him into the city, but could not. He was propelled with such force that his bonds broke and he was torn apart before he reached the city wall.

When the leaders saw which side of the city was weakest, they moved our engines and wooden siege towers there on a Saturday night. At first light they raised them, fitted them out, and arrayed the towers on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, by night and by day.

On Wednesday until Prime, and on Thursday, they assaulted the city with extraordinary force from every side until night. At first light on Friday they attacked the holy city of Jerusalem, but could do no harm to the pagans dwelling inside until the hour came at which our Lord Jesus Christ deigned to suffer his Passion upon the cross for our sins. Then the knights of the Holy Sepulchre—Duke Godfrey and his brother Count Eustace—fought fiercely from the duke's siege tower.

The first man to climb upon Jerusalem's city wall was a knight named Lethot. Count Eustace and his brother Duke Godfrey followed him at once. When the pagans defending that part of the city saw them, they immediately came down from the wall and fled. Our men pursued them, killing and hacking them apart.

Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, brought his siege tower from the south to a position close to the wall, but between the tower and the wall was an exceedingly deep ditch. Raymond then decided to have the ditch filled. He caused a proclamation to be made that anyone who carried stones into it would be paid one penny for every three stones. Filling the ditch took three days and two nights. They then moved the siege tower next to the city beside a tower. Those inside the city and its tower fought our men fiercely with fire and stones, to such effect that they broke the upper part of Raymond of Saint-Gilles's siege tower and set it burning. Thus Raymond and his knights were angry and dismayed because the pagans had already broken the upper part of his tower and he saw it

burning. Suddenly he saw three knights from Duke Godfrey's army coming over the Mount of Olives and shouting that Duke Godfrey and his men were already inside the city. When Raymond of Saint-Gilles heard that the Franks were already within it, he said to his men: "Why are you delaying? Look, all the Franks are already in the holy city of Jerusalem." Hearing this, they took ladders, raised them against the wall, and fought their way into the city.

The emir who was in the Tower of David surrendered to Raymond of Saint-Gilles and opened for him the gate through which pilgrims customarily paid

their tolls. He did so on the condition that Raymond would have him and the others with him in the tower conducted safe and unharmed as far as the city of Ascalon. Raymond gladly fulfilled this condition.

Our pilgrims entered the holy city of Jerusalem, pursuing and killing Saracens and other pagans as far as the Temple of Solomon and the Temple of the Lord. The pagans gathered there gave our men a very great battle until evening. Our men killed so many that blood flowed throughout the Temple of Solomon and across the square surrounding the Temple of the Lord. When the pagans had finally been overcome, our men seized many men and women in the Temple. They killed those they wished and kept alive those they did not wish to kill.

A very great company of pagans of both sexes was upon the Temple of Solomon, and Tancred and Gastos of Bearn gave them their standards. Our men then ran throughout the city, seizing gold and silver, horses and mules, and houses filled with every kind of wealth. Afterward they all came to our Savior's Holy Sepulchre, rejoicing and weeping for excessive joy. When morning came, Tancred caused a proclamation to be made that everyone should go to the Temple of Solomon

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to kill the Saracens. When they reached the Temple, every man began shooting with his bow and killed many. Others climbed onto the roof of the Temple from another side and attacked the Saracens, both men and women, beheading them with naked swords. Some threw themselves headlong from the Temple, while others died upon its roof.

The next day they held a council before the Temple of the Lord. They said that everyone should pray, give alms, and fast, so that God might choose whomever he wished to rule over the others, govern the holy city of Jerusalem, and fight the pagans. But the bishops and priests advised that they first cast all the dead Saracens outside, lest the great stench there harm them, for the whole city of Jerusalem was filled with their corpses. They therefore made living Saracens drag the dead outside the city gates. They piled them into mounds as large as houses

and afterward burned them all with fire. Who has ever seen or heard of such slaughter among the pagan people? No one but God alone knew their number.

On the eighth day after the city was captured, they celebrated a festival throughout Jerusalem. That same day they held a council in which they elected Duke Godfrey prince of the city, to fight the pagans and protect the Christians. They likewise elected in place of the patriarch a most wise and honorable cleric named Arnulf, on the feast of Saint Peter in Chains. This city was captured by God's Christians on Friday, July 15, in the year 1099 from the Lord's Incarnation, with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom belong honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

After Jerusalem was captured by the Christians, they fought the emir of Babylon near Ascalon.

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Meanwhile a messenger came to Tancred and Count Eustace telling them to prepare themselves and go take possession of the city of Neapolis. They departed and led knights and foot soldiers as far as the city, whose inhabitants immediately surrendered to them. Duke Godfrey then sent another message to Tancred and his brother Eustace ordering them to come to him quickly. He had heard that the emir of Babylon was at the city of Ascalon preparing to attack Jerusalem. The emir had brought chains and other iron bonds with which to bind young Christians, who were to be kept in perpetual servitude to them and their people, and had commanded that all the elderly Franks of both sexes be killed.

When Count Eustace and Tancred heard this, they came with great joy through the mountains, seeking battle with the Saracens. Armed for war, they reached the city of Caesarea and from there traveled beside the sea as far as a city called Ramla. There they found many Arabs who were scouts for the emir's army. They pursued and captured several, who, whether they wished to or not, gave them a full account of the army's position, number, and intended place of battle against the Christians.

When Count Eustace and Tancred heard this, they immediately sent a messenger to Jerusalem to Duke Godfrey, Patriarch Arnulf, and all the leaders, saying: "Know that battle has been prepared for us at the city of Ascalon. Therefore come swiftly with all the force you can muster."

The duke then caused a proclamation to be made throughout Jerusalem that they should faithfully prepare for war and go to Ascalon to meet the enemies of God. On Tuesday he left Jerusalem together with Patriarch Arnulf, Robert, count of Flanders, and the bishop of Martorano. Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Robert of Normandy said:

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"We will not go under any circumstances unless we know for certain that there will be a battle." They therefore ordered their knights to go and see whether the report was true, saying: "If it is true, return as quickly as possible, and we shall be ready to go at once." The knights went, saw the army, and quickly returned, saying: "It is certainly true, just as we saw with our own eyes."

Duke Godfrey then sent the bishop of Martorano to Jerusalem, to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Robert of Normandy, and the other leaders, telling them to come to him quickly if they wished to fight the pagans. After delivering the words of Patriarch Arnulf and Duke Godfrey, the bishop of Martorano encountered Saracens on his return. They captured him and took him away with them to a place unknown to us.

Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the other leaders left Jerusalem on Wednesday and marched to Duke Godfrey, armed for war and fortified with the sign of the cross. Peter the Hermit remained in Jerusalem, arranging and preaching that the Greeks and Latins should faithfully make a procession to God, offer prayers, and distribute alms to the poor so that God would grant victory to his people. The clerics therefore made a procession from the Holy Sepulchre to the Temple of the Lord, barefoot, dressed in sacred vestments, carrying crosses in their hands, and singing a litany and other prayers.

Duke Godfrey, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, the patriarch, Robert of Normandy, the bishop of Albara, Robert, count of Flanders, and all the other leaders came

to the river on the side toward Ascalon and assembled there. They found innumerable animals—cattle, camels, sheep, asses, and other livestock—which the Saracens had sent as a stratagem. But for the sake of the Holy Sepulchre, God was not yet willing to abandon them. Christ's knights and the Holy Sepulchre's retainers seized all those animals. When evening came, Patriarch Arnulf was carrying with him the portion of our Lord Jesus Christ's

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Cross that the pilgrims of the Holy Sepulchre had found in Jerusalem. Raymond of Saint-Gilles's chaplain was likewise carrying the lance of our Lord Jesus Christ. By the authority of God, the Holy Sepulchre, the most precious Lance, and the most holy Cross, the patriarch began to pronounce excommunication against anyone who turned his attention to any spoils before the battle had been fought and God's enemies defeated. Afterward they were to return in glad rejoicing and complete victory and take whatever the Lord had predestined for them.

When the pilgrims of the Holy Sepulchre and Christ's knights heard this, they went out at first light on Friday into a very beautiful valley beside the seashore and arrayed their battle lines there.

Duke Godfrey, who had now been elected king in Jerusalem, drew up his battle line; Raymond of Saint-Gilles his; Robert of Normandy likewise his; Robert, count of Flanders his; Count Eustace his; and Tancred and Gastos of Bearn theirs. Thus six battle lines began to advance. Archers went before them, while all the animals mentioned above—camels and the rest—walked without a driver beside them on both the right and the left. This was a very great miracle of God.

They immediately began to advance in the name of Jesus Christ and the Holy Sepulchre, carrying our Savior's Lance and a portion of our Lord's Cross, which the patriarch himself bore. Duke Godfrey and his battle line were on the left. Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles rode beside the sea on the right. The count of Normandy, the count of Flanders, Count Eustace, Tancred, Gastos of Bearn, and all the others rode in the center. Our men then began to advance slowly toward battle. The pagans stood ready for war. Each had a vessel hanging from

his neck from which he could drink while fighting the Christians. Robert, count of Flanders, attacked them most

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fiercely, and Tancred and all the others did likewise. When the pagans saw this, they immediately fled. That battle was immense, for the pagan multitude was innumerable: it was said to contain 660,000. Yet no one but God alone knew their number. Divine power accompanied our men, and it was so great and strong that they regarded the enemy's multitude as nothing.

The enemies of God stood blinded and stupefied. Although their eyes were open and they saw the Jerusalem knights of Christ, they perceived nothing, nor did they dare rise against the Christians, for they were made to tremble by God's power. In their extreme fear they climbed trees and hid among the branches. Our men shot them with arrows and killed them with lances, making them fall from the trees like birds. They then hacked them to pieces with swords and other blades. Other pagans threw themselves on the ground, not daring to rise against the Christians. Our men cut them apart as one butchers animals in a slaughterhouse.

Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, killed innumerable pagans beside the sea. Those who could not flee plunged into the sea or fled into the city.

The emir came before the city of Ascalon grieving, mourning, and weeping, and said: "O Muhammad and our gods, who has ever seen or heard such things? So great a force, strength, courage, and army, which no people, Christian or pagan, has ever overcome, has now been defeated by a people so tiny that a person could enclose it in his fist. Alas for me in my grief and sorrow! What more shall I say? Why have I been defeated by a beggarly, unarmed, and utterly impoverished people who possess nothing but a sack and a traveling pouch? And now they pursue our

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Egyptian people, who often gave them alms when they once begged throughout our whole country. I brought here an innumerable multitude of knights and foot soldiers—Turks, Saracens, Arabs, Agulani, Kurds, Acupatores, and other

pagans. I now see them all fleeing shamefully with loosened reins along the Babylonian road, not daring to turn back against so frail a people.

“I now swear by Muhammad and all the divine powers of the gods that I shall never again retain knights under any contract, since I have been defeated by this utterly powerless people. I brought here every kind of weapon, every instrument and engine, and many iron bonds with which I expected either to take them bound to Babylon or to besiege them in Jerusalem. Yet they came against me to battle from two days’ journey away. What would have become of me if I had led my people to Jerusalem? This, surely: neither I nor one of my men, I believe, could have escaped from there. What more shall I say? I shall always be disgraced throughout Babylon.” Thus he ended his speech.

One of our men took the emir’s *stantarum*. It had a golden knob at its top, while its entire shaft was covered with silver. What is called *stantarum* is called a standard among us. Robert, count of Normandy, bought it for twenty marks of silver and gave it to the monastery of the Sepulchre in honor of God and the Holy Sepulchre. A pilgrim likewise bought the emir’s sword for sixty bezants.

All our enemies were overcome so completely that they no longer had any strength against our men. Ships from every pagan land were present there, but when their sailors saw the emir fleeing with his army, they immediately raised sail, received the emir aboard their ships, and put out to the open sea. Our men returned to the enemy tents and took

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innumerable spoils: gold, silver, rich cloths, and heaps of many goods, including horses, mules, camels, sheep, cattle, asses, and many other animals. Every mountain and hill and all the level ground stood covered with that multitude of animals. They found heaps of weapons and carried away those they wanted. The rest they gathered into one place and set on fire.

Our men returned rejoicing and exultant to the holy city of Jerusalem after defeating all the pagans. They brought many goods with them, including camels and asses laden with hard-baked bread, flour, wheat, cheese, cloth, oil, and everything else they needed. Such abundance consequently arose among the

Christians that an ox could be had for eight pennies, a measure of wheat for twelve, and a measure of barley for eight.

Finally, lest this remain unknown to any Christian, let them know that this battle was fought on August 12, by the bounty of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom belong honor and glory now and always, for ever and ever. Amen.

[Appended description of the Holy Places]

If anyone wishes to travel to Jerusalem from the western regions, let him always keep toward the rising sun; he will find the shrines of Jerusalem as they are noted here. In Jerusalem is a chamber covered by a single stone, where Solomon wrote Wisdom. There, between the Temple and the altar, Zechariah's blood was shed upon the marble before the sanctuary. Not far from there is a place to which the Jews come every year; they anoint it, lament, and then depart groaning.

There is the ruin of King Hezekiah, to whose life God added three times five years. Next are the house of Caiaphas and the column to which Christ was bound and scourged. At the Neapolitan Gate is Pilate's praetorium, where Christ was judged by the chief priests. Not far from there is the place Golgotha, which means the Place of the Skull, where Christ the Son of God was crucified

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and where Adam, the first man, was buried; there Abraham offered sacrifice to God. About a large stone's throw westward from there is the place where Joseph of Arimathea committed the venerable body of our Lord Jesus Christ to burial. King Constantine built a splendid church there.

From Mount Calvary it is thirteen feet westward to the center of the world. On the left is the prison where Christ was confined. Between the prison and Mount Calvary stands the column to which Christ was bound when he was led away to be crucified.

Near the Sepulchre on the right is a Latin monastery in honor of Saint Mary the Virgin, where that Virgin's house stood. An altar has been placed in the same monastery. There stood the glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of the Lord, together with Mary of Clopas and Mary Magdalene, weeping, grieving, and looking

upon him placed upon the cross. There Jesus said to his mother, “Woman, behold your son,” and to the disciple, “Behold your mother.”

East of this place, at a distance of two bowshots, [Harley omits the name of the place in which Christ] was presented. To the right of this temple Solomon built or established his own temple, and between the two temples he built the famous portico of marble columns. On the left is found the Sheep Pool, which is mentioned in the Gospel.

From there, in the same direction toward the east, the Mount of Olives appears about 1,000 paces away. There the Lord prayed to his Father before he suffered, saying, “Father, if it is possible”; there he wrote the *Our Father* upon a single stone; and from there he ascended into heaven, saying to his disciples, “Go and teach all nations.”

Between the Temple of the Lord and the Mount of Olives lies the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where the Virgin Mary was buried by the apostles. He will come into that valley to judge the world.

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Nearby is the village called Gethsemane, where the Lord left the apostles, saying: “Pray that you may not enter into temptation.” Nearby, across the Brook Kidron, is the garden where Judas Iscariot betrayed Christ to the Jews, to whom he had said: “The one I kiss is he.”

Not far from there is the palm tree from which the children took branches and spread them beside the road before the Lord as he came to Jerusalem, crying out: “Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!” Nearby is the tomb of the prophet Isaiah. Bethany is 1,000 paces from there, the town of Lazarus, whom the Lord raised after he had been dead for four days.

Toward Jericho, twenty miles away, is the sycamore tree that Zacchaeus climbed to see the Lord. The Devil tempted [Christ], saying: “If you are the Son of God, command these stones to become bread.” On the other side, 1,000 paces away, is

Elisha's spring at Jericho. The water of that spring first received a blessing from the prophet Elisha when he cast in salt.

Five miles from there is the River Jordan, where Christ was baptized by John; it is eight leagues from Jerusalem. Not far from there is the mountain from which Elijah was taken up into heaven. From the Jordan it is a journey of eighteen days to Mount Sinai, where God appeared to Moses in the fire of the bush and gave him the Law. There is a great jar in the monastery there that brings forth oil without being exhausted.

There is another mountain called Tabor, a journey of three days from Jerusalem, where the Lord was transfigured before his disciples. At the foot of this mountain Galilee and the Sea of Tiberias are said to lie; it is not a sea but

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a lake from which the River Jordan flows. [Harley's reading is uncertain: "Sodom and Gomorrah lie as though in a bottomless abyss and are washed by its waters"?]

On the right side of the city of Jerusalem—that is, toward the south—outside the wall at the distance a man can throw a spear once, stands Mount Zion. There is a beautiful church upon it that Solomon built. In this place Christ ate with his disciples on the day before his Passion; afterward he filled them there with the Holy Spirit; and there the glorious Virgin Mary died, departed from the world, and surrendered her spirit to heaven. From there the apostles carried her most holy body with hymns and songs to the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

At the southern foot of this mountain is the spring called Siloam, which bursts suddenly from the earth. Not far from there is Mount Shechem, where Joseph, coming from the Valley of Hebron, sought his brothers. There is the estate that [Jacob] gave to his son Joseph, and Joseph's body rests there. Sychar, the place where the Samaritan woman spoke with the Lord, is 1,000 paces from there. Not far away is the place where the angel wrestled with Jacob.

There is Bethlehem, the city of David, where Christ was born, four miles south of Jerusalem. There is a church built of marble columns, containing the place

where Christ was born. At some distance from it on the right is found the manger in which Christ was laid.

Twelve miles from there is Abraham's fortress, called Tocar, where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are buried with their wives. On the left is the Mount of "The Lord Saw," and there is the place where Abraham wished to sacrifice his son.

Here ends the text.

Textual Notes

Only unresolved readings, substantive witness differences, BnF supplies, possible corruption, and translation decisions affecting meaning are recorded here. Routine spelling differences and equivalent abbreviation expansions are omitted.

Harley 1r–12v

- **Harley 1r:** The leaf is severely abraded and much of the text after the opening Gospel quotation is physically unreadable. The lost wording is supplied openly from BnF Latin 4892, f. 212r, with Harley's surviving wording retained wherever it can still be read.
- **Harley 1r, opening rubric:** Only *Incipit gesta Francorum* and fragments of the remaining rubric are secure. No reconstruction of the lost title has been imposed.
- **Harley 1v, *os et eloquium*:** BnF 4892 reads *os et sapientiam*. Harley's meaningful but less scriptural wording is retained and translated "utterance and eloquence."
- **Harley 1v, *fecerunt Galli duas partes*:** The text says that the Gauls formed "two divisions," but then enumerates three routes. BnF 4892 also appears to transmit *duas*; the internal inconsistency is therefore retained rather than emended to *tres*.
- **Harley 2r, *Lombardos et Longobardos*:** BnF 4892 has *Italicos et Langobardos*. Harley's apparently redundant pair is retained because it changes the named composition of Peter the Hermit's company.
- **Harley 2v, *cinciclas*:** The rare or corrupt noun is not securely identifiable; BnF 4892 has the similarly difficult form *cincidas*. The context requires absorbent pieces of material dipped in the pool and squeezed into the mouth, hence the restrained English "cloths."
- **Harley 5r, *Scaphardi Pontii*:** Both words are difficult in the image and the place-name is uncertain. BnF 4892 instead reads *Caphardi pontis*. Harley's probable form is retained with an uncertainty marker; the English treats it cautiously as a place at the siege of Amalfi.
- **Harley 6r, Pelagonia:** Harley's syntax—*quod undique aggrediuntur, in lacu ... quod continuo illorum succubuit imperio. Accepto itaque ...*—is rough. BnF 4892 has a smoother participial construction and *accenso ... igne*. The translation follows the defensible sense of Harley ("they attacked it ... after taking it") and does not silently import the BnF wording.

- **Harley 7r, *Misit unum ex suis militibus*:** The grammatical subject is left unstated at the folio's opening. BnF 4892 explicitly names the emperor, and the preceding narrative makes the same subject necessary; the English therefore supplies "The emperor" without altering the Latin.
- **Harley 7v, Raymond's arrival in imperial territory:** *cupiensque iam esse in terra sua, quandoque inimicorum invasus est pessimorum manu* is syntactically awkward. BnF 4892 reads more clearly that Raymond thought himself in his own land because he had escaped his enemies. Harley is retained and translated closely rather than replaced.
- **Harley 8r, hostile peoples and Buchinat:** Harley reads *Clavi* where BnF 4892 has *Sclavi*, and *Buchinat* where BnF has *Buinath*. The base forms are preserved. "Clavi" is probably a scribal loss of initial *S*- ("Slavs"), but it is not silently corrected.
- **Harley 9v, Alexius's speech:** *exercitus tuus mihi operatus est et castella et civitates in mea fregerunt terra* is grammatically defective. BnF 4892 gives the clearer sense that Raymond's army inflicted great damage by laying waste the emperor's castles and cities. The English renders the minimum sense recoverable from Harley: "your army acted against me, breaking castles and cities in my land."
- **Harley 10r, reciprocal oath:** In *si ille fideliter tenuisset illud sacramentum, iste numquam suum praeteriret*, the demonstratives change reference abruptly. Context identifies *ille* as Alexius and *iste* as Bohemond; the English makes those referents explicit.
- **Harley 12r, second division:** BnF 4892 omits Hugh the Great from the initial list of Raymond's division, although it names him later among the leaders summoned to the battle. Harley includes him in both places; Harley's list is retained.
- **Harley 12v, women in the battle:** Harley's feminine participles *confortantes ... pugnantes et defendentes* make the women the grammatical agents. BnF 4892 confirms this explicitly with *fortiter pugnantes, et viros protegentes*. The English therefore states that the women encouraged, fought, and defended the men.
- **Harley 12v–13r boundary:** The batch ends after *dicens*; Bohemond's quoted message begins on 13r. The colon and open sense are intentional, not evidence of omitted text.

Harley 13r–25r

- **Harley 13r, opening challenge:** Harley preserves Bohemond's direct challenge, *Et si hodie luctari volunt, viriliter veniant*, followed by the Franks' mockery of the report. BnF 4892, ff. 215v–216r, compresses and recasts this exchange before rejoining the account at the leaders' arrival. Harley's fuller form remains the base.
- **Harley 13v, enemy total:** The figure of 360,000 excludes the Arabs, whose number the narrator declares known only to God. This is the manuscript's explicit claim and has not been reduced or rationalized in the translation.

- **Harley 15v, *maxima pars nostrorum equitum*:** Harley says that “the greater part of our horsemen/cavalry” died, although the following sentence explains a shortage of horses and many knights being left on foot. BnF 4892, f. 216v, reads *equorum* (“horses”), which produces the expected sense. Because Harley is clear, its reading is retained and translated “the greater part of our cavalry died”; the contextual difficulty is not silently emended.
- **Harley 16r, pack animals:** The striking *caprem et arietes et canes* names a goat, rams, and dogs as makeshift pack animals. BnF 4892 has substantially the same list. The unusual statement is therefore translated directly rather than treated as a corrupt simile.
- **Harley 16v, *Botrenthot*:** BnF 4892 reads *Borentot*. The place-name is not securely identified; Harley’s form is preserved in Latin and English.
- **Harley 18r, *in oppressione civitatis*:** BnF 4892 has the more ordinary *in obsidione civitatis*. In context the men are the Turks who had been besieging the city. Harley’s noun is retained, while the English conveys that contextual sense without claiming a BnF supply.
- **Harley 18v–19r, names in Raymond’s detachment:** The Harley forms *Monte Pisierio*, *Roeis*, and *Dalphor* differ from BnF 4892’s approximate *Montepislerio*, *Roiias*, and *d’Alphul*. The handwriting and unstable transmission make exact modern identifications uncertain. The English uses cautious conventionalized forms—Monte Pisierio, Roaix, and Dalphor—without merging the witnesses.
- **Harley 19v, *Portum Ferreum*:** Harley clearly reads “Iron Port,” whereas BnF 4892, f. 218r, reads *Pontem Ferreum* (“Iron Bridge”), the historically expected toponym. Harley’s substantive form is retained and translated “Iron Port”; the BnF reading is not silently adopted.
- **Harley 20r, siege date:** The manuscript dates the arrival at Antioch to Wednesday, *duodecimo kalendas Novembris*. The English retains the Roman date formula. On the normal inclusive reckoning it corresponds to 21 October 1097.
- **Harley 20v, *nostrum esse, nostramque essentiam aut aequalitatem*:** BnF 4892 transmits the same difficult wording. The phrase describes the informants investigating the crusaders’ presence, condition, and capacity; “our presence, our resources, and our strength” gives the contextual sense, but the last two Latin nouns are unusually chosen.
- **Harley 22v, *ex tunc et nunc in iram perditionis*:** The formula is syntactically and rhetorically compressed. The English “then and there into the wrath of perdition” deliberately preserves its condemnatory force rather than replacing it with a neutral statement that the survivors fled.
- **Harley 23r, *totamque terram in expendio miserunt*:** The phrase means in context that the foragers had consumed or exhausted the region’s available provisions. BnF 4892 offers

no materially clearer reading. The English therefore renders the contextual result, “they had exhausted the whole country.”

- **Harley 23r–23v, singular enemy:** Harley consistently has *inimicus noster ... vigilat ... inueniat ... laborat*, personifying the enemy in the singular. BnF 4892, f. 219r, uses plural forms. The singular sequence is retained in both Latin and English.
- **Harley 23v, price in *purpurati*:** The text prices one ass-load at eight *purpurati* and then gives the awkward valuation *centum viginti denariorum solidis*. BnF 4892 is equally difficult. The monetary relationship cannot be made fully unambiguous, so the translation keeps both transmitted figures instead of converting them into a modern total.
- **Harley 24r–24v, conditions of William’s release:** The syntax coordinates William’s oath not to abandon the pilgrimage with Tancred’s agreement not to harm him personally or through friends. The shifting pronouns are not explicit, but this division of referents best fits Tancred’s capture of William and Bohemond’s arbitration.
- **Harley 24v, *Tatinus*:** Harley names the imperial guide *Tatinus*; BnF 4892, f. 219v, calls him only “a certain wealthy and noble knight” and omits the name. The figure is the Byzantine commander Tatikios. The Latin preserves Harley’s form, while the English uses the conventional historical form “Tatikios.”
- **Harley 25r, *iurabo attendendum*:** The construction is grammatically rough (BnF 4892 has the slightly fuller *iurabo ad attendendum*). In context Tatikios promises under oath to arrange the supplies and market just enumerated; the English renders “I shall faithfully swear to see that all these things are carried out.”
- **Use of BnF in this batch:** No physically unreadable Harley wording required supply from BnF 4892 in ff. 13r–25r. BnF was used to test the meaningful variants and difficult constructions listed above.

Harley 25v–35r

- **Harley 25v, book division in BnF:** BnF 4892, f. 220r, places *Explicit liber II. Incipit III* and the rubric *Item Christiani pugnaverunt cum Turcis* between the famine and the leaders’ response to the approaching army. Harley continues without a rubric or book boundary. The Harley structure remains the base; the BnF division is recorded here rather than inserted into the continuous text.
- **Harley 25v, *cruciatus famis*:** Harley says that “the torment of hunger” constrained the army. BnF 4892 reads the more conventional *crudelis fames* (“cruel hunger”). Harley is clear and has been retained.
- **Harley 25v–26r, *Areght*:** BnF 4892 has *Areght*. The fortress has not been securely identified; Harley’s spelling is retained in both texts.

- **Harley 27r, battle date:** Harley dates the engagement to Tuesday *in capite ieiunii*, “at the beginning of the fast,” whereas BnF 4892, f. 220v, reads *ante caput ieiunii*, “before the beginning of the fast.” The base reading is retained; the witnesses therefore differ by more than spelling in their calendrical description.
- **Harley 28v, the martyrs’ speech:** The question *Quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum?* is transmitted as a speech by those killed in the ambush as they ascend to heaven. Its unusual claim and present-tense dramatic framing are preserved rather than recast as narrator’s commentary.
- **Harley 29r, major BnF addition:** After God prevents the Turks from defeating the Franks, BnF 4892, f. 221r, adds a long combat episode absent from Harley. Duke Godfrey cleaves one exceptionally fierce opponent from the head down to the saddle, cuts another through the middle, spreads terror, and pursues the fugitives; Hugh the Great, Raymond, Bohemond, the count of Flanders, and the other leaders then join the slaughter and drive men into the river. Because Harley has no physical loss at this point, this passage has not been merged into its text or translated as Harley narrative.
- **Harley 29v, women at the wall:** Harley explicitly identifies the women watching from the windows as Christian women and says that they secretly applauded the Turks’ miserable fate. BnF 4892 transmits substantially the same report. The agency and religious identification of the women are therefore preserved.
- **Harley 30r, excepto quatuor equis:** The case construction is defective, but the sense is that the severed heads used for the count were brought to camp except for those loaded on four horses and sent to the sea for the Babylonian emir’s envoys. The Latin is not silently regularized.
- **Harley 30v, garrison names:** Harley has *Gastos de Bearn*, *Petrus ... de Castello*, *Willelmus de Monspeslerio*, *Golfierius de Turribus*, and *Petrus Raimundus Dalpoz*. BnF 4892, f. 221v, offers *Gastos de Biart*, *de Castellon*, *de Montepeslerio*, a shortened *Goffredus*, and *d’Alpoz*. Harley’s forms remain the base; several exact modern identifications remain uncertain.
- **Harley 31r, defenders killed:** Rainald says that the crusaders have killed twelve emirs and 500 nobles (*quingentos nobilium*). BnF 4892, f. 222r, reads 1,500 (*mille quingentos*). The clearly legible Harley total is retained in Latin and English.
- **Harley 31v, conversion demand:** The emir orders Rainald to believe in Muhammad and “our other gods.” The account’s presentation of Islam as polytheistic is historically polemical and inaccurate, but it is Tudebode’s substantive wording and has not been softened or corrected in translation.
- **Harley 32r–32v, Tancred’s decision:** Harley reads *Nunc adquevievit Tancredus* (“Tancred now agreed”) after the promise of 400 silver marks. BnF 4892, f. 222v, reads the opposite,

Non adquevit Tancredus (“Tancred did not agree”), even though it then also has him proceed to the post. Harley’s positive reading is followed.

- **Harley 32v, narrator’s transition:** *Quanta facta sunt et quomodo fiunt, sed ea postea aliquantulum volo explicare* shifts awkwardly between past and present and is syntactically loose. The English conveys the stated contrast between deeds before Antioch’s capture and the events to be related afterward without classicizing the Latin.
- **Harley 33r, Bohemond’s proposal:** The sequence *eligat se ... utrum si ille ... potuerit* is grammatically rough. In context Bohemond asks the leaders to choose one of their number and to award the city to him if he can obtain it by his own ingenuity or through others. That defensible sense is translated, while the Latin remains unrepaired.
- **Harley 34r, *Micro Francos echome*:** The manuscript itself immediately glosses this non-Latin phrase as *paucos Francos habemus*. The English therefore gives “We have few Franks” without attempting to normalize the transmitted Greek-form phrase.
- **Harley 34r, *accensi*:** Harley clearly reads *quod tam pauci fuissent accensi ex nostris*, which is corrupt in context; the expected word is *ascensi*, referring to the nearly sixty men who had climbed the ladder. The normalized Latin preserves Harley’s substantive form, while the English renders the required contextual sense, “so few of our men had climbed.”
- **Harley 34v, acclamation:** Harley repeats *Deus vult, Deus vult*; BnF 4892, f. 223r, has the singular form *Deus hoc vult*. The repeated Harley formula is retained as “God wills it! God wills it!”
- **Harley 34v, signal on the hill:** Harley says that the men in camp saw *vexillum Boamundi* —Bohemond’s standard—standing apart on the hill. BnF 4892, f. 223r, instead says that they saw Bohemond himself there. The standard is integral to Harley’s preceding command and is retained.
- **Harley 35r, date and BnF boundary:** Both witnesses date Antioch’s capture to the third day of June, a Thursday. BnF 4892, f. 223v, then marks *Explicit liber III* and *Incipit IV* before Kerbogha’s story; Harley begins the next unit with a decorated initial but no written book title. Batch 3 ends at this shared narrative boundary.
- **Use of BnF in this batch:** No physically unreadable Harley wording in ff. 25v–35r required a BnF supply. BnF 4892, ff. 219v–223v, was checked throughout; its major added battle episode, contrary Tancred reading, numerical disagreement, structural divisions, and other substantive differences are recorded above.

Harley 35r–47r

- **Source recovery for Harley 40v–47r:** The supplied Harley PDF has blank image pages throughout its larger pp. 81–117 gap, beginning at f. 40v. The manuscript leaves themselves are not blank or missing. Official British Library IIF images were recovered

and checked directly for every Batch 4 side from f. 40v onward. No wording was supplied from another textual witness merely because of the defective local PDF.

- **Harley 35r, book boundary in BnF:** BnF 4892, f. 223v, writes *Hic incipit quartus* before Kerbogha's account. Harley marks the new unit only with a decorated initial. The BnF book title is therefore recorded but not inserted into the Harley base text.
- **Harley 35r–35v, *Curbaan/Curbalan*:** The opening form is *Curbaan*; the manuscript thereafter normally writes *Curbalan*. The variation is retained in Latin. English consistently uses the conventional historical form “Kerbogha.”
- **Harley 36r, the citadel emir's condition:** The clear but awkward *Tibi umquam de tali nollem obedire officium* literally says that he “would never wish to obey” Kerbogha in such a duty, before stating the condition under which he will accept it. The negative has not been silently reversed; the literal force is kept in English and the following condition supplies the narrative logic.
- **Harley 37r, eastern geography:** Kerbogha's boast threatens to drive the Christians—or, in context, to avoid being driven—beyond *superiorem Indiam*, “upper India.” BnF 4892 reads *superiorem Iudaeam*, “upper Judaea.” Harley's more remote and rhetorically extravagant geography is retained.
- **Harley 38r, polemical theology:** Kerbogha's mother describes the Christians as sons of Christ and God, heirs of Christ, and recipients of divinely promised territory. These claims belong to the narrative speech and are translated without rationalizing the biblical allusions or converting the passage into indirect discourse.
- **Harley 38v, major BnF omission:** Harley has Kerbogha ask whether Bohemond and Tancred are Frankish gods who eat 2,000 cattle and 4,000 pigs at every meal. BnF 4892 omits the entire extravagant consumption claim. Because the Harley text is clear, it remains in both base text and translation.
- **Harley 39r–39v, *Arvedus Tudebovis*:** Harley's personal name is clear. BnF 4892 has approximately *Arveus Tudebodus*. The Harley form is retained; this is the narrator's brother, whose body the priest Peter, also identified as his brother, buries.
- **Harley 39v, hour of Arvedus's death:** The manuscript says *inter nonam et sextam horam*, placing the ninth hour before the sixth in a chronologically reversed expression. BnF preserves substantially the same wording. The normalized Latin is not reordered, and the English keeps “between the ninth and sixth hours.”
- **Harley 40v, *Congregati sunt*:** Christ commands the army to sing *Congregati sunt* daily. The words function as the incipit of a chant or psalm rather than as part of the surrounding syntax. They are retained as an untranslated incipit; no fuller liturgical text has been conjecturally supplied.

- **Harley 42r, defensive wall:** Harley reads *fecerunt murum inter illos in montanea*, omitting an explicit counterpart to *illos*. The English makes only the contextual relation explicit—“between the enemy on the mountain and themselves”—without repairing the Latin.
- **Harley 42v, enemy contingents:** Harley includes the king of Damascus and his people in addition to the emir of Jerusalem and the king of Aleppo. BnF 4892 omits the Damascus contingent at this point. Harley’s three-part enumeration is retained.
- **Harley 42v, famine price list:** Harley separately prices a small she-goat at 60 solidi, its stomach at five solidi, and a ram’s tail at three solidi and nine denarii. BnF 4892 instead attaches nine denarii to its she-goat price and omits the separate stomach and tail entries. The fuller, clearly legible Harley list is retained without harmonization.
- **Harley 42v, *uquen grasin*:** This non-Latin phrase is immediately glossed by the manuscript as *non vinum*. Its exact linguistic form is uncertain, but the authorial gloss makes the intended sense clear. The phrase is retained and the English gives the gloss “no wine.”
- **Harley 43r, *Philomena*:** The emperor is met at a place written *Philomena*. The place is often identified with Philomelium, but the running text does not silently substitute that identification.
- **Harley 43v, *semicano*:** Guy dismisses Stephen of Chartres as a *semicanus* or “half-gray” foolish knight. The unusual insult is translated literally rather than replaced with a conjectural age description.
- **Harley 44r, Lance diggers:** Harley clearly numbers **twelve** men digging from morning until evening. BnF 4892, f. 227r, reads **thirteen**. Harley’s number is retained.
- **Harley 44v, Greek acclamation:** The manuscript’s Latin-script phrase is read provisionally as *Kalo Frangia exi condari Christo*. The immediately following Latin explains it as “The Franks are good, for they have the lance of Christ.” The transmitted phrase is retained without attempting to impose a fully normalized Greek spelling.
- **Harley 45v, count of Flanders:** Harley identifies the commander by title, *Flandrensis comes*, without adding a personal name in this passage. BnF 4892 explicitly supplies *Robertus*. The English therefore keeps “the count of Flanders” rather than silently importing the BnF name.
- **Harley 46r, heavenly army:** Harley names the leaders of the white-mounted heavenly force as George, Demetrius, and Theodore. BnF 4892 gives George, Theodore, and Demetrius. The difference is only their order, but the Harley sequence is preserved because the list is part of the miracle narrative.
- **Harley 46v, *Pons Farreus*:** Harley’s spelling of the Iron Bridge differs from the more usual *Ferreus*. This routine spelling variation is normalized only in English, not treated as

a separate place.

- **Harley 47r, battle date:** *Quarto kalendas Iulii* is the fourth day before the Kalends of July, 28 June by inclusive Roman reckoning. The manuscript also identifies it as the vigil of Saints Peter and Paul. The English preserves the Roman date formula.
- **Use of BnF in this batch:** No physically unreadable Harley text in ff. 35r–47r required supply from BnF 4892. BnF was used to test the difficult readings and substantive differences above; no BnF wording has been silently merged into the base text.

Harley 47r–56v

- **Source recovery for Harley 47r–56v:** Every side in this batch falls within the blank-frame run of the supplied Harley PDF. The manuscript leaves themselves are present and legible. Official British Library IIF images were therefore used as the direct Harley source throughout; BnF wording was not substituted merely because the local derivative PDF is defective.
- **BnF 4892 textual order:** The comparison witness is physically/textually displaced in this section. The continuous narrative order for the relevant BnF PDF pages is 34 → 45 → 46 → 35 → 36 → 47, not numerical PDF order. Page 34 breaks during the Ma'arrat assault, page 45 resumes it; page 46 then reaches the valley of Desem, page 35 resumes there; page 36 reaches the approach to Ramla, and page 47 resumes that sentence. Alignment and collation were made by wording rather than by folio sequence.
- **Harley 47v, Arnald Tudebovis:** Harley names the knight killed in Raymond Pilet's defeat *Arnaldus Tudebovis*. BnF and the Latin collation scaffold vary the second element between forms approximately equivalent to *Tudebodus/Tudebovis*. Harley's form is retained; the name is not silently assimilated to the author's.
- **Harley 49r–50v, Antioch's legendary statistics and kings:** Harley gives 1,200 churches, 360 monasteries, 153 subject bishops, and 450 towers. BnF gives 150 bishops while agreeing in the other principal totals. The two witnesses also differ substantially in many forms and several positions within the legendary list of seventy-five kings. Harley's entire list is retained without attempting to create a composite roster; the once doubtful *Daribonus* is recoverable from the image and its immediate sequence.
- **Harley 50v, route to Ma'arrat:** Harley sends Raymond through *Rubea* and Albara; BnF instead has *Lica* and Albara. Harley also dates the arrival with *quarto die exeunte Novembrio*, while the comparison tradition has a one-day variant. Both base details are preserved.
- **Harley 52v, Oriensis episcopus:** The title is textually secure but geographically opaque. The bishop is rendered “bishop of Orange,” the defensible historical identification in this

crusade context, rather than the misleading literal “eastern bishop.” Because the Latin does not itself write *Arausicensis*, the interpretive identification is recorded here.

- **Harley 53r, length of stay:** Harley clearly reads *per sex dies* (“for six days”). BnF 4892, in the displaced text on PDF p. 46, reads *per quinque dies*. Harley’s six-day stay is retained.
- **Harley 55r–55v, ordeal of the Holy Lance:** Harley supplies a full account of the dispute, the fourteen-foot fire, the barefoot liturgical procession, Peter Bartholomew’s black tunic and linen-wrapped Lance, Peter the Hermit’s declaration, and the claimed unharmed passage through the flames. BnF compresses the entire event to the notice *Ibique fuit iudicium factum de lancea Domini, VIII kalendas Aprilis* (25 March). The witnesses therefore differ both in narrative extent and in the explicit dating; BnF’s short notice has not replaced Harley’s account.
- **Harley 56r–56v, calendrical renderings:** *Quarto Idus Aprilis* is rendered April 10; *tertio decimo die intrante Maio* is May 13; and *tertia die exeunte Maio* is May 29. These conversions clarify the Roman formulas without changing their sequence.
- **Use of BnF in this batch:** No Harley wording in ff. 47r–56v required supply from BnF 4892. BnF was used to resolve comparison points and expose the displaced page sequence, numerical variation, route difference, and compressed Lance ordeal described above.

Harley 56v–65r

- **Source recovery and comparison order:** The supplied Harley PDF remains blank through f. 58v; those sides were read from the official British Library IIF images. Its visible sequence resumes at f. 59r. The corresponding BnF narrative must be followed in the content order PDF pp. 47 → 48 → 37 → 38 → 39 → 40 (ff. 235r–235v, then 230r–231v), not in numerical PDF order.
- **Harley 57r, *Rainaldus, dapifer Hugonis Liziniacensis*:** *Dapifer* is rendered “seneschal,” and *Liziniacensis* as Lusignan. The transmitted wording identifies Rainald by his office under Hugh; it does not call Hugh himself the seneschal.
- **Harley 58r–58v, *Frangia, git salip*:** The Latin-script non-Latin phrase is retained exactly as read. The manuscript itself immediately gives the sense *Franci, est bona crux*, translated “Franks, it is a good cross.” No conjectural normalization to Arabic, Greek, or another language has been imposed.
- **Harley 58v, authorial eyewitness statement:** *Petrus sacerdos Tudebovis Sivracensis* is rendered “Peter the priest, Tudebode of Civray.” The byname and place-adjective are transmitted in an inflectionally awkward sequence, but the clause explicitly identifies the first writer as a priest who witnessed the procession.
- **Harley 59r, *Ma te Christo caco Sarrazin*:** This second Latin-script non-Latin phrase is likewise preserved and followed by the manuscript’s own gloss, *Per Christum, hic est*

ignavus Sarracenus (“By Christ, here is a cowardly Saracen”). Its underlying linguistic form remains uncertain.

- **Harley 60r–60v, capture and killing in Jerusalem:** The text first reports that Tancred and Gastos of Bearn gave their standards to the people gathered upon the Temple of Solomon, then reports Tancred’s next-morning proclamation that everyone should go there to kill the Saracens. Both statements, including the killing of men and women and the disposal of corpses, are translated without harmonization or euphemism.
- **Harley 60v, election chronology:** The city is dated to Friday, 15 July 1099. The following notice associates Arnulf’s election with the feast of Saint Peter in Chains (1 August), although its syntax follows directly after the council held on the eighth day after the capture. The English preserves both notices without forcing them into a single date.
- **Harley 61v, one BnF supply:** Harley’s clause after the animals sent as a stratagem is grammatically corrupt and appears to read approximately *sed Deus adhuc noluit neque Sanctum Sepulchrum*. BnF 4892 supplies the coherent wording *deserere propter*, yielding *sed Deus adhuc noluit deserere propter Sanctum Sepulchrum*. The adoption is labeled in the Latin; the understood object (“them,” the Christian army) is supplied only in the English syntax.
- **Harley 62r, Godfrey’s title:** After calling Godfrey *princeps civitatis* at his election, the manuscript here says that he had been elected *ad regem*. The English therefore reads “elected king”; the apparent change of title is not silently regularized.
- **Harley 62v, army total:** The reported pagan force of 660,000 is the manuscript’s explicit figure. It is retained as a narrative claim and not reduced to a historically plausible estimate.
- **Harley 63r, *Acupatores* and *stantarum*:** *Acupatores* is an uncertain ethnonym and is preserved rather than conjecturally identified. The captured object called *stantarum* is explicitly glossed by the manuscript as *vexillum*; the translation retains the unusual word and then gives “standard,” matching the authorial gloss.
- **Major ending difference after Harley 63r:** BnF 4892 ends or becomes lacunose after the paragraph about the emir’s standard. It does not preserve Harley’s following notice of the emir’s sword, the flight by ship, the spoils, the market prices, or the Ascalon date and doxology on ff. 63r–63v. Those passages are clear in Harley and remain part of the base text.
- **Harley 63v, boundary of Tudebode’s narrative:** The Ascalon doxology ends the crusade narrative proper. Harley then appends, without a new authorial attribution, a short description of routes and Holy Places extending through f. 65r. Because the requested manuscript span includes ff. 1r–65r, the appendix is transcribed and translated

in full under an explicit editorial heading; it is not represented as a continuation of Tudebode's battle narrative.

- **BnF 4892, ff. 232r–233v (PDF pp. 41–44), Holy Places material:** BnF has a much longer and materially different Holy Places compilation at this codicological position. It is not a page-for-page witness to Harley's short appendix and has not been merged into it. Shared subject matter was used only as a check where direct verbal correspondence was defensible.
- **Harley 64r, defective presentation clause:** After giving a distance of two bowshots eastward, Harley continues only with *praesentatus fuit* and lacks a securely recoverable place-name or antecedent. A parallel itinerary would identify the Temple of the Lord as the place where Christ was presented, but that wording is not safely recoverable from Harley's line and has not been silently supplied. The defect is marked in both texts.
- **Harley 64v, temptation clause:** *Diabolus tentavit* lacks an expressed object. Context makes Christ the necessary referent, which is shown in brackets in English rather than inserted into the normalized Latin.
- **Harley 64v–65r, Sodom and Gomorrah:** The reading after the Sea of Tiberias is difficult and probably corrupt. It appears approximately to be *Sodoma et Gomorra quasi in abyssu non habentia fundum allabuntur*. The provisional English, explicitly marked uncertain, understands the cities as lying in a bottomless abyss and being washed by the lake's waters.
- **Harley 65r, Joseph's estate:** *Ibi est villa quam dedit filio suo Ioseph* omits the father's name. The biblical context requires Jacob, which is supplied in brackets in English; the Latin omission is retained.
- **Use of BnF in this batch:** BnF 4892 supplied one short corrupt Harley clause on f. 61v. Elsewhere it served for alignment and substantive comparison. Its major truncation at the end of the Ascalon account and its independent Holy Places compilation are recorded rather than conflated with Harley.

Glossary and Continuity Register

Editorial conventions

- Latin normalization: consonantal `v`, vocalic `u`; `i` rather than manuscript `j` except where a conventional modern proper name requires `j` in English.
- English prose is moderately formal and does not reproduce Latin word order mechanically.
- *apostolicus* (as a noun for the pope): **the pope**; retain **apostolic lord** only where the rhetoric itself matters.
- *via Domini* / *via Sancti Sepulchri*: **the Lord's journey** / **the road to the Holy Sepulchre**, according to context.
- *milites Christi*: **soldiers of Christ**.
- *pagani*: **pagans**; do not soften or modernize the narrator's confessional terminology.
- *Turci*: **Turks**; *Saraceni*: **Saracens**; *Arabes*: **Arabs**; preserve distinctions when the Latin makes them.
- *Brachium Sancti Georgii*: **the Arm of Saint George** (the Bosphorus), with explanation at first occurrence if needed.
- *Franci* / *Francigeni*: **Franks** / **French**, according to whether the passage emphasizes the wider people or the contingent contrasted with Germans and Italians; do not homogenize *Galli* when "Gauls" is rhetorically deliberate.
- *Alamanni*: **Germans**.
- *Pincinati*: **Pincenates** in the running translation; identify them here as Pechenegs, but retain Tudebode's form rather than silently replacing the ethnonym.
- *Turcopoli*: **Turcoples**.
- *senior*: **lord, leader**, or **commander** according to the social and military context, never automatically "elder."
- *miles*: **knight** where mounted aristocratic warriors are meant; **soldier** in collective or devotional formulas such as *milites Christi* when rank is not the point.
- *pedites*: **foot soldiers**.
- *mercatum dare* / *apportare*: **provide a market** / **bring provisions for sale**; the term denotes controlled access to supplies, not merely a physical marketplace.

- *fiducia*: **pledge, assurance, safe-conduct**, or **surety** according to its object. Preserve the feudal and legal force instead of forcing one English equivalent everywhere.
- *hominium facere*: **do homage / become someone's man**.
- *obsessio*: **siege**; *castrum*: **fortress** or **fortified settlement**, according to context.
- *acies*: **battle line**; use “division” only where the narrative is describing a marching rather than a fighting formation.
- *curritores*: **scouts** in military contexts, not literally “runners.”
- *saumerius*: **pack animal**; the noun commonly denotes a packhorse, but do not specify a horse where the immediate text distinguishes it from *equi*.
- *senescalcus*: **seneschal**; retain the office rather than flattening it to “servant.”
- *papilio*: **tent** in a military camp.
- *purpuratus* (plural *purpurati*): retain **purpuratus / purpurati** as the name of a Byzantine gold coin when the transmitted conversion is uncertain; explain the figures in the textual notes.
- *bisantius*: **bezant**; retain the medieval monetary unit rather than supplying a modern value.
- *solidus / denarius*: retain **solidus / denarius** (plural **solidi / denarii**) in price lists; do not force uncertain medieval exchange relationships into modern values.
- *marca argenti*: **mark of silver**.
- *amiralius*: **emir** in narrative prose; retain the title rather than modernizing it to a specific office not stated by the witness.
- *soldanus*: **sultan**.
- *calipha, illorum apostolicus*: **the caliph, their pope**. The second phrase is Tudebode's polemical analogy to Christian office, not a historically accurate Islamic title; preserve it without endorsing it.
- *drogomanus*: **interpreter**.
- *clientes*: **retainers** in military households; do not flatten the term to generic “servants.”
- *castrum ligneum / castellum* in the Jerusalem siege: **wooden siege tower**; the context is a mobile assault structure, not a fortress.
- *petraria*: **stone-thrower**; use the functional medieval engine-name rather than choosing a more specific modern artillery type.
- *stantarum*: retain **stantarum** at its first occurrence and follow it with the manuscript's own gloss, **standard**.

- *Probatina piscina*: **the Sheep Pool**; the site is conventionally identified with the Pool of Bethesda, but the running translation follows the transmitted descriptive name.
- *ruda*: **ruin**.
- *leuca*: **league**; do not convert the uncertain medieval distance to modern units.
- *modius*: **measure** in the running English; no modern volume is implied.
- *panis bis coctus*: **hard-baked bread**; the military provision is comparable to biscuit, but the broader literal rendering avoids anachronistic specificity.
- *conestabilis*: **constable**.
- *talpa* in the bridge fighting: **siege-engine**; the burnable covered device is used to breach or undermine the bridge, so the literal “mole” would mislead.
- *Maphumet*: **Muhammad** in English. Preserve the narrator’s polemical association of Muhammad with “other gods” without endorsing or silently correcting it.
- *Deus vult*: **God wills it**; preserve repetitions.
- *Congregati sunt*: retain as a Latin chant or psalm incipit unless a later manuscript passage supplies more of the text.
- *Christi athleta*: **Christ’s champion**; retain the devotional-military formula.
- *machomaria*: **mosque** when the word denotes an Islamic place of worship; do not reproduce the polemical medieval form as though it were a proper name.
- *lancea Domini*: **the Holy Lance / the Lance of the Lord** according to context; capitalize **Lance** in the relic narrative.
- *de rore caeli abundantia*: **an abundance “from the dew of heaven”**; preserve the biblical coloring rather than reducing it simply to provisions.
- *Kalo Frangia exi condari Christo*: retain the Harley Latin-script form, followed by the manuscript’s own sense, **The Franks are good, for they have the lance of Christ**.
- *excommunicatus / excommunicata generatio*: **excommunicate / excommunicate race**. Preserve the narrator’s hostile confessional language.
- Recurring doxology *qui est benedictus ... in saecula saeculorum*: retain fully as **who is blessed ... for ever and ever**, without abridgment.

Names and places

LATIN BASE FORM	PREFERRED ENGLISH	NOTE
Urbanus	Urban	Pope Urban II

LATIN BASE FORM	PREFERRED ENGLISH	NOTE
Petrus Heremita	Peter the Hermit	Normalize <i>Heremita/Eremita</i> consistently in English
Godefridus	Godfrey	Godfrey of Bouillon
Balduinus / Baudoinus	Baldwin	Godfrey's brother
Raimundus Sancti Aegidii	Raymond of Saint-Gilles	Count of Toulouse
episcopus Podiensis	the bishop of Le Puy	Adhemar; use title unless named
Boamundus	Bohemond	Preserve Harley form in Latin; conventional form in English
Alexius	Alexius	Byzantine emperor Alexius I Komnenos; do not substitute "Alexios" mid-translation
Tancredus	Tancred	
Rotbertus Normannus	Robert of Normandy	
Flandrensis comes	the count of Flanders	Robert II; use the title unless the manuscript supplies a name
Hugo Magnus	Hugh the Great	
Rotbertus de Ansa	Robert of Ansa	
Richardus de Principatu	Richard of the Principate	Do not expand the territorial identification without manuscript support
Goffredus de Monte Scabioso	Goffred of Monte Scabioso	Knight killed at Dorylaeum
Solimanus / Solimanus Vetus	Soliman / Soliman the Elder	Preserve the manuscript's distinction between son and father
Rainaldus	Rainald	Leader at Exerogorgo; distinguish from Pontius Rainaldus
Pontius Rainaldus	Pontius Rainald	Knight killed under the safe-conduct near Dyrhachium
Willelmus, Marchisi filius	William, the marquis's son	William son of Marquis Odo; avoid adding identification in the running text
Corpolasius	Corpolasius	Imperial escort or official; retain the manuscript name
Constantinopolis	Constantinople	
Nicaea / Nicena civitas	Nicaea	

LATIN BASE FORM	PREFERRED ENGLISH	NOTE
Nicomedia / Nicomia	Nicomedia	
Corosanum	Khurasan	Conventional English geographical form
Aleph	Aleppo	Use conventional English in translation
Damasco	Damascus	
Civitot	Civitot	
Exerogorgo	Exerogorgo	Do not silently regularize to Xerigordon
Sclavania	Slavonia	Conventional English regional form
Durachium	Dyrrachium	Conventional English historical form
Brundusium / Brundusi	Brindisi	
Ortrentum	Otranto	Harley spelling retained in Latin
Melfis / Malfi	Melfi / Amalfi	Preserve the manuscript's distinction where it appears; the siege reference at 5r is translated "Amalfi" provisionally
Castoria	Kastoria	
Palagonia	Pelagonia	
Bardarius	the Vardar	
Rusa / Reusa	Rusa	Do not conflate automatically with Rodosto
Rodosto	Rodosto	
Buchinat	Buchinat	BnF <i>Buinath</i> ; identification uncertain
Scaphardi Pontii	Scaphardus Pontius	Uncertain Harley reading; BnF <i>Caphardi pontis</i>
Romania	Romania	Byzantine territory, not the modern state; retain the medieval name
Iconium	Iconium	
Erachlia	Heraclea	Conventional English historical form
Botrenthot	Botrenthot	BnF <i>Borentot</i> ; identification uncertain
Tarsus / Tarso	Tarsus	
Athena	Athena	Cilician city in this narrative; do not assume the Greek Athens
Mamistra	Mamistra	

LATIN BASE FORM	PREFERRED ENGLISH	NOTE
Simeon	Simeon	Armenian native entrusted with a fortress and its territory
Caesarea Cappadociae	Caesarea in Cappadocia	
Petrus de Aliphi	Peter of Alipha	BnF spelling varies
Coxon	Coxon	Do not silently modernize to Göksun in the running translation
Petrus de Castellione	Peter of Castillon	Viscount in Raymond's detachment
Willelmus de Monte Pisierio	William of Monte Pisierio	BnF approximately <i>Montepislerio</i> ; identification uncertain
Aralius vicecomes	Aralius the viscount	
Petrus de Roeis	Peter of Roaix	BnF <i>Roiias</i> ; use the cautious conventionalized English form consistently
Petrus Raimundus Dalphor	Peter Raymond of Dalphor	BnF approximately <i>d'Alphul</i> ; identification uncertain
Rugia	Rugia	Valley near Antioch
Rursa	Rursa	BnF <i>Rursia</i>
Marasim	Marash	Conventional English historical form
Antiochia	Antioch	
Portus Ferreus	the Iron Port	Harley reading; BnF <i>Pons Ferreus</i> ("Iron Bridge") is historically expected but is not adopted in the base translation
Areght	Areght	Fortress near the siege camp; BnF <i>Aregb</i> ; identification uncertain
Pons Ferreus	the Iron Bridge	Keep distinct from Harley's earlier <i>Portus Ferreus</i> ("Iron Port")
Farfar	Farfar	River near Antioch; preserve manuscript form
Machomaria	Machomaria	Site of the bridge fortress and Turkish burial ground outside Antioch
portus Sancti Simeonis	the port of Saint Symeon	

LATIN BASE FORM	PREFERRED ENGLISH	NOTE
Babylon / Babylonia	Babylon	In this crusade context, the designation belongs to Fatimid Egypt; retain Tudebode's geographical label in the running text
Willelmus Carpentarius	William the Carpenter	
Tatinus	Tatikios	Preserve <i>Tatinus</i> in Latin; use the conventional historical name in English. BnF omits the name
Rotbertus filius Girardi	Robert son of Gerard	Bohemond's constable in the battle beyond the Iron Bridge
Gastos de Bearn	Gastos of Bearn	BnF <i>Gastos de Biart</i>
Petrus vicecomes de Castello	Peter, viscount of Castello	BnF <i>de Castellon</i> ; exact identification uncertain
Raimundus vicecomes de Torena	Raymond, viscount of Torena	
Willelmus de Monspeslerio	William of Monspeslerio	BnF <i>de Montepeslerio</i> ; exact identification uncertain
Golferius de Turribus	Golferius of the Towers	BnF shortens the name to <i>Goffredus</i>
Petrus Raimundus Dalpoz	Peter Raymond Dalpoz	BnF <i>d'Alpoz</i>
Willelmus de Sabra	William of Sabra	
Rainaldus Porchetus	Rainald Porchet	Captive and martyr at Antioch; distinguish from earlier men named Rainald
Cassianus	Cassian	Lord/emir of Antioch; preserve Tudebode's name rather than replacing it with a modern historical identification
Pirus	Pirus	Turkish emir who arranges Bohemond's entry into Antioch; do not silently replace with Firuz
Mala Corona	Mala Corona	Bohemond's servant and herald
Curbaan / Curbalan	Kerbogha	Retain the opening <i>Curbaan</i> and subsequent <i>Curbalan</i> in Latin; use one conventional English form
Sanzedola	Sanzedola	Son of Cassian; BnF spelling varies only slightly

LATIN BASE FORM	PREFERRED ENGLISH	NOTE
Arvedus Tudebovis	Arvedus Tudebovis	Narrator's brother, wounded during Kerbogha's assault; BnF approximately <i>Arveus Tudebodus</i>
Stephanus sacerdos	the priest Stephen	Visionary inside besieged Antioch; distinguish from the count of Chartres
Stephanus Carnotensis comes	Stephen, count of Chartres	Use Stephen of Chartres where the title is not syntactically prominent
Guido, frater Boamundi	Guy, Bohemond's brother	Preserve Guy , not witness spelling <i>Wido</i>
Petrus Bartholomeus	Peter Bartholomew	Recipient of Saint Andrew's Lance revelations
Arluinus	Arluin	Interpreter sent with Peter the Hermit to Kerbogha
Hugo Lo Forsenes	Hugh Lo Forsenes	Knight who defends the tower before Antioch's citadel; exact byname uncertain
Willelmus de Grentamasnil	William of Grentamasnil	Deserter during Kerbogha's siege
Albericus	Alberic	William of Grentamasnil's brother in this episode
Yvo de Grentamasnil	Yvo of Grentamasnil	Preserve Harley's personal-name form
Willelmus de Bernevilla	William of Bernevilla	BnF spelling differs
Guido Trosellus	Guy Trosellus	Deserter during Kerbogha's siege
Lambertus Pauper	Lambert the Poor	
Rainardus comes	Count Rainard	Commander of the seventh battle line; do not conflate automatically with earlier Rainalds
Alexandreta	Alexandretta	Fortress to which Stephen of Chartres withdraws
Philomena	Philomena	Often identified with Philomelium; retain the manuscript form in the running translation
Pons Farreus	the Iron Bridge	Same site as <i>Pons Ferreus</i> ; spelling variation only
Arnaldus Tudebovis	Arnald Tudebovis	Knight killed in Raymond Pilet's expedition; preserve Harley's byname

LATIN BASE FORM	PREFERRED ENGLISH	NOTE
Ademarus Podiensis	Adhemar of Le Puy	Use “the bishop of Le Puy” where the office is foregrounded
Oriensis episcopus	the bishop of Orange	Historical identification adopted cautiously; the transmitted adjective is not the regular Latin place-name
Albaria	Albara	
Marra	Ma’arrat	Use this conventional English form consistently
Rubea	Rubea	Harley route-name; BnF has <i>Lica</i>
Capharda	Capharda	Fortress on Raymond’s southward route
Caesarea	Caesarea	Retain the manuscript name; do not conflate automatically with Caesarea in Cappadocia
Pharphar	Pharphar	River beside Caesarea; keep distinct from the earlier Antioch form <i>Farfar</i> unless context proves identity
Caphalia	Caphalia	BnF and Latin witnesses vary between <i>Caphalia</i> / <i>Cephalia</i>
vallis Desem / Dessem	the valley of Desem	Normalize the doubled consonant only in English
Camela	Camela	Do not silently replace with the proposed identification Emesa
Archas / Archæ	Arqa	Conventional historical form in English
Tripulis	Tripoli	
Tortosa	Tortosa	
Maraclea	Maraclea	Retain the medieval form
Lichia	Lichia	Identification uncertain
Gibellum	Gibellum	Retain the medieval form; distinguish from <i>Gibelon</i>
Amanevus de Lobene	Amanevus of Lobene	BnF spelling varies
Bego de la Ribere	Bego de la Ribere	
Willelmus Botinus	William Botinus	
Bethelon	Bethelon	Medieval route-name, often identified with Batroun; do not insert that identification into the running text

LATIN BASE FORM	PREFERRED ENGLISH	NOTE
Gibelon	Gibelon	Medieval route-name, often identified with Byblos; keep distinct from <i>Gibellum</i>
Braim	the river Braim	
Baruth	Beirut	
Sagitta	Sidon	
Sur	Tyre	
Acra	Acre	
Caiphas	Haifa	
Rama	Ramla	
Raimundus Piletus	Raymond Pilet	Commander in the Jerusalem-period raiding episodes
Raimundus de Torena	Raymond of Torena	Same transmitted place-bynome as the earlier viscount; Harley omits the title in this passage
Gaudemarus Carpinellus	Gaudemar Carpinel	
Achardus de Montemerlo	Achard of Montemerlo	Killed during the expedition toward Jaffa
Hugo Liziniacensis	Hugh of Lusignan	
Rainaldus, dapifer Hugonis Liziniacensis	Rainald, Hugh of Lusignan's seneschal	Preserve the office and its relation to Hugh
Arnulfus	Arnulf	Procession preacher and subsequently elected patriarch
Lethot	Lethot	First knight said to climb Jerusalem's wall; exact identification uncertain
Iafi	Jaffa	
Siloe	Siloam	Spring at the foot of Mount Zion
Sion	Zion	
Neopolis / Neopolitana civitas	Neapolis	Often identified with Nablus; retain the manuscript's city-name in the running translation
Scalonia / Scalone	Ascalon	

LATIN BASE FORM	PREFERRED ENGLISH	NOTE
Martoranensis episcopus	the bishop of Martorano	Captured during the Ascalon mobilization
Amiravissus Babyloniae	the emir of Babylon	Title-form for the Fatimid commander; do not treat <i>Amiravissus</i> as a personal name
vallis Iosaphat	the Valley of Jehoshaphat	
Gethsemani	Gethsemane	
Cedron	the Brook Kidron	
Probatica piscina	the Sheep Pool	Traditionally the Pool of Bethesda
Iericho	Jericho	
mons Tabor	Mount Tabor	
Sichem	Shechem	
Sicar	Sychar	
Tocor	Tocor	Holy Places appendix; exact identification remains uncertain
mons Domini Vedit	the Mount of “The Lord Saw”	Preserve the manuscript’s biblical place-name rather than silently substituting Moriah

Peoples requiring witness-sensitive handling

HARLEY LATIN	PREFERRED ENGLISH	CONTINUITY NOTE
Lombardi et Longobardi	Lombards and Longobards	Preserve Harley’s two labels; BnF instead has Italians and Langobards
Pincinati	Pincenates	Pechenegs
Clavi	Clavi	Probably <i>Sclavi</i> (“Slavs”); preserve because Harley lacks initial <i>S</i> -
Comani	Cumans	
Usi	Uzes	
Athenasi	Athasians	Identification uncertain; do not conjecturally replace
Hermenii	Armenians	Normalize the ethnonym in English
Suriani	Syrians	

HARLEY LATIN	PREFERRED ENGLISH	CONTINUITY NOTE
Angulani	Angulani	Identification uncertain; preserve rather than conjecturally equating them with another people
Publicani	Publicani	Identification uncertain; preserve the manuscript ethnonym
Agulani	Agulani	Preserve Harley's form; do not merge with <i>Angulani</i> without explicit witness evidence
Azimitae	Azymites	Preserve the polemical ethnonym
Persae	Persians	
Curti	Kurds	Conventional English ethnonym
Acupatores	Acupatores	Uncertain ethnonym in the emir's Ascalon speech; preserve without conjectural identification