A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE 12TH CENTURY LATIN EPIC POEM

HISTORIA VIE HIEROSOLIMITANE

BY GILO OF PARIS AND A SECOND, ANONYMOUS, POET

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND INDEXES

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Abstract

This edition of the *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane*, a 12th century Latin epic poem by Gilo of Paris and a second, anonymous, poet, is based on a critical examination of the text as it is found in all the known MSS which contain the work, the relations of which are discussed and a stemma established. All variants found in the MSS are listed in an *apparatus criticus* at the foot of each page of the text. A survey of the orthographical variants of the MSS is also included.

Notes on linguistic, literary and historical features found in the poem are detailed, together with maps and indexes. Stylistic features of the poem are examined in a preparatory essay, and earlier works which may have influenced the poets are noted in an *apparatus fontium*.

An examination is made of the authorship and date of the work, together with a study of the life of the known poet, Gilo of Paris.

There is a tentative survey of the inter-relationships of the various primary sources of information on the First Crusade, both Latin and vernacular, and note has been taken of critical work done in this field. Special emphasis is placed on the position of Gilo and of the Charleville poet in the relationships of the different sources, and their debt to them.

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Authorship and Date

The first place from which we learn about the authorship of the poem Historia Vie Hierosolimitane is the poem itself. In the final two verses of Book IX (Book V in the MSS ABCDF), IX.375 - 376, we read the following:

hec ego composui, Gilo nomine, Parisiensis
incola, Tutiaci non inficiandus alumnus.

In addition to this, we gain some extra detail about the author from the prologue to the poem which is found in BCF: we might infer from what we are told here that the author was not a young man, since he refers to his youth as a time well in the past, in which he wrote what might best be thought of as light verse (vv. 4 - 8) and unsuccessfully attempted an epic poem (vv. 9 - 12). He also refers to himself explicitly as one approximating middle age (v. 13). We can see also from the prologue that the religious and even the theological aspect of his subject-matter was of great importance for him (vv. 25 - 26), and this might lead us to suppose a clerical, if not monastic, background for him.

These details corroborated by the incipit which we find in MS C: 'Historia Gilonis Cardinalis Episcopi de Via Hierosolimitana', and by the explicits in MSS B, C and F. F reads 'explicit historia Iherosololomitana (sic) edita a domno Gilone, Thasculanensi episcope'. BC share the same explicit, which reads 'explicit libellus Gilonis, Parisien-
So then, Gilo was at some stage a clericus in Paris, and later spent some time in the renowned monastery of Cluny, before reaching high office in the church as bishop and cardinal. The detail about his being a clericus in Paris is of course reinforced by his own testimony at the end of the poem where he refers to himself as Gilo Parisiensis. It ties in well with what is known of the position of clerici and their freedom to write: 'many medieval writers were tonsured "clerks" and therefore in a position to hold livings in the church without necessarily being ordained priests. Thus the Catholic church became willy-nilly a patron of secular literature'. The reference to him as domnus in the explicit of F is also borne out by the use of this term by the other poet who concerns us in our discussion, namely the composer of the additional material whose sole source is MS G. At the end of the third book of the text in this MS, immediately prior to the part composed by Gilo, this writer closes with the words:

haec de principiis callis Hierosolimitani scripsimus ut nostrae permissum rusticitati.
cetera describit domnus Gilo Parisiensis,
cuius turpatur nostris elegantia nugis.

This term 'domnus' was a mark of respect shown to one in higher rank or office than oneself, and was used of both feud-
al (secular) and clerical persons; in the letters of Fulbert of Chartres for example, we find Fulbert addressing King Robert of France as his *dilectissimus domnus* (e.g. 53, 59, 78) while abbot Odilo of Cluny uses the term when he is addressing Fulbert (50), and in an earlier letter Fulbert uses the title when writing to an abbot William (11). It may therefore suggest that the writers of the MSS were aware of Gilo's high office, and were studious to pay it all due respect. It might also suggest, since it is indicative of a present relationship, that the noble *domnus* was still alive at the time when the scribes responsible for these words penned them.

The information purely from the MSS of the poem therefore gives the following outline for Gilo's life: he was born at Toucy (Auxerre); he spent some time as a *clericus* in Paris, then went to the monastery of Cluny, and emerged to take up a position as cardinal and bishop of Tusculum (*Tusculanensis episcopus*)

This basic framework is that which we find in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* under the heading *Gilo Tusculanus Episcopus*, which itself appears under the year AD MCXLII. His title *Gilo Parisiensis* is here attributed to the long period he spent there, and it is affirmed that he joined an order, thus becoming a *clericus*. Moreri's claim that Gilo was a teacher at Paris is dismissed, as he confused this Gilo with a Giles of Paris who lived over a century later. Less substantial is the claim that Gilo's entry into the monastery at Cluny can be dated with certainty to 1119. This conclusion is arrived at from the statement that Gilo himself makes in IX.375 - 376 that he was a resident of Paris at the time of the poem's composition, and also the supposed fact
that Gilo refers to Baldwin II of Jerusalem 'comme d'un prince dont le gouvernement était expiré'. Baldwin died in 1118, 'ce qui prouve avec quel fondement nous avons retardé la profession religieuse de Gilon jusqu'à l'an 1119'. This is without a doubt a reference to Book VI of the present edition, vv. 94 - 95. Here Godfrey de Bouillon has been asked by an embassy from Edessa to come to their aid in person. Instead he sends his brother Baldwin, later Baldwin II of Jerusalem:

\[
iste minor natu fuit eius denique frater, \\
qui post se rexit Solimorum sceptra decenter.
\]

However, as is apparent from the MS tradition, Book VI is not from the pen of Gilo, but is part of the additional material found only in MS G. The editors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* were no doubt misled by the fact that Martene's edition, as reproduced in Migne PL CLV, consists of six books, all of which are attributed to Gilo. This is also apparent from their later statement that Gilo's poem 'est un poème historique de la première croisade, en six livres'. Since the reference to Baldwin is not in fact from a part of Gilo's work, the poem he wrote can be dated to any time after the Crusade itself (i.e. 1100) even if the late date given to Gilo's entering Cluny can be upheld from other sources; none however are offered by the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*.

Regrettably the date of 1119 for the date of the composition of Gilo's poem has been accepted without question by all literary historians of the First Crusade, and has consequently led to many misleading conclusions being drawn.

The next details provided by the *Histoire Littéraire de*
Pope Calixtus II is asserted to have made the acquaintance of Gilo on a visit to Cluny, and brought him shortly afterwards to Rome, where he made him cardinal and bishop of Tusculum. This bland statement does not do justice to the importance of the circumstances surrounding Calixtus' visit. Calixtus' real name was Guy of Burgundy: he was the son of William I, Count of Burgundy, and had come to Cluny to canvass support for his claim to the papacy. His predecessor Gelasius II was in fact staying at Cluny when he died, and Guy was elected as Pope there on February 2, 1119 in succession to Gelasius and in opposition to the antipope Gregory VIII. It appears that having found strong support at Cluny, he chose some of the more prominent members of the community at Cluny to be his trusted ministers. Gilo would have been one of these, and probably made the journey to Rome as a member of Calixtus' entourage when the latter returned there early in 1120. The date of Gilo's election to the position of cardinal and bishop is given by Louis de Mas-Latrie as some time between 10 November and 28 December 1121.

Calixtus' successor was Honorius II (15 December 1124 - 13 February 1130). He had helped Calixtus to strengthen his position as Pope at the Council of Worms in 1122. Gilo continued to play an active part in church politics, and in 1125 was a signatory to a 'privilegium' for Cluny, given by Honorius. Honorius made Gilo a papal legate and in 1127 sent him to the Holy Land to defuse a complex situation which had arisen as a result of rivalry between Latin and Syrian clergy, and which was especially due to the actions of Bernard, Patriarch of Antioch, to whom Honorius wrote letters of recommendation for Gilo. William of Tyre records Gilo's visit in
his Historia Rerum In Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum, thus:

'Misit etiam et cum eodem archiepiscopo (sc. Willelmo de Tyr) dominum Egidium Tusculanum episcopum, apostolicae sedis legatum, virum eloquentem et litteratum admodum, cuius usque hodie extant ad Antiochenos epistulae ulteriores: per quem Antiocheno patriarchae Bernardo epistolam scripsit monens ut domino Tyrensi suos, quos detinebat, restitueret suffraganeos, ait enim inter cetera: "unde per apostolica scripta et venerabilem fratrem nostrum Egidium, Tusculanum episcopum, apostolicae sedis legatum tibi mandamus, quatenus suffraganeos Tyrensis ecclesiae sibi restituas; quod nisi infra XL dies post earum inspectionem litterarum quas ad eos dir- eximus, debitam eis subjectionem exhibuerint, nos ex tunc eos ab officio episcopi suspendimus"."¹¹

This mission, which evidently proved very successful¹², is said by the Histoire Littéraire de la France to have been followed by another, supposedly of a similar nature to the first, but this time to Poland. DuChesne however says that the Polish mission involved evangelism and church-planting, not reconciliation¹³. The attribution of this mission to Gilo is however erroneous, as Ughelli points out: 'errat hic Ciaconius, cum tanquam pro uero narrat hunc Aegidium apud Polonos functumuisse legationem, ut eos populos in Christiana pietate firmaret. Siquidem hunc Aegidium cum altero Aegidio Episcopo Tusculano confundit, quem an. 964 Provinciam illam ad Christi fidem perduxisse ex Baronio ad illum annum historiaeque Poloniae paulo ante docuimus (supra I col.229ⅳ),¹⁴.

The next detail given in the Histoire Littéraire de la
France concerns Gilo's involvement in the papal schism that occurred following the death of Honorius, but like the rest of the account it is bare, lacking in precise detail, and the picture it presents needs much clarification. Honorius II died on 13 February 1130, and on the same evening there was a meeting of the Sacred College. A minority elected Gregorio Paparesci dei Guidoni to the Papal chair as Innocent II, but a majority of the cardinals, Gilo among them, preferred Petrus Leonis, or Pierleoni, a rival candidate, whom they named Anacletus II. Innocent alleged that the cardinals had been intimidated, and fled Rome, leaving Anacletus in possession of the papacy. Innocent rallied the support of Bernard of Clairvaux, the clergy of Germany, Henry I of England, and Lothair, the (un-crowned) emperor of Germany, to his cause. Lothair invaded Italy in August 1132, investing Rome early in 1133, but refused to relinquish the right of investiture to Innocent, who was again forced to flee. Anacletus remained in possession of the basilica of St. Peter, but it seems that most of his support disappeared at this time, and those who continued to support him (Gilo included) were removed from office. The quarrel between Innocent and Lothair continued until 1138, when Anacletus died in the January of that year, and the Lateran Council of 1139 restored peace to the church. Innocent himself died on 22 September 1143.

During this period of turmoil in the church, Gilo remained firm in his loyalty to Anacletus, and in 1134 was acting as his legate in Aquitaine, along with the famous bishop of Angoulême, Gérard. Ernaldus in his Vita S. Bernardi Lib.II.6, with reference to the Count of Aquitaine, says Gérard 'libenter ei etiam in adstipulationem erroris
Gilonem Tusculanum cardinalem episcopum qui solus de Romanis cum Petro Portuensi episcopo ei adhaeserat, celeriter delergedavit. By Romanus Ernaldus probably mean a Frenchman: Latham attests this meaning from c.1130. Ernaldus is supported in his information by Joannes Parisiensis, Memor. Historia ad an. MCMXXXVI.16

Peter the Venerable attempted to persuade Gilo to join Innocent's party and leave the cause of Anacletus, since it seemed even as early as 1133 that the latter's political strength was much less than that of his rival, even if the former's claim to the papacy was less valid. Two letters from Peter to Gilo survive, both urging him to give up his support of the Antipope and to rejoin the main body of the church.17 It appears however that Gilo was unshakeable in his allegiance to Anacletus, even after the latter's death in 1138; this we can infer from the second of Peter's surviving letters to Gilo, which refers to both Anacletus and the one other cardinal who had supported him, Petrus Portuensis, as being no longer alive. The letter can in addition be dated roughly from Peter's statement in it 'fere per decennium exulasti', which by implication gives a date of c.1139. The words of address which begin this letter speak very expressively of Peter's longing for Gilo to return to the fold, as it were: 'Frater Petrus humilis Cluniacensium abbas, Giloni, utinam fratri, spiritum consilii et timoris Domini'.

Mabillon thought that Gilo lived on until 1142, and further claimed that he was eventually persuaded to be reconciled to the church through the influence of St. Bernard, following Ughelli, but 'ni l'un ni l'autre écrivain ne donne aucune preuve de ce fait'. Ughelli does in fact put forward some evidence which shows that Gilo's case was being
dealt with: 'Gilo nuncupatur in actis Concilli Lateranensis sub Innocento II ann. 1139 decretis ex Chronico Mauriniacensi apud Herduinum in noviss. Concil. editione tom.6, and Gilo's death is presumed to have occurred in 1142, since after his reinstatement as Cardinal-Bishop of Tusculum no successor was appointed until that year, when a certain Ymarus or Imarus took up the position. However, Mabillon makes an unsubstantiated claim (he merely says quidam opinantur) that a certain Hugh, a regular canon of the abbey of St. Victor in Paris, was elected to the bishopric of Tusculum, but died in his own monastery. Ymarus was then elected to succeed him. Thus the date of Gilo's death could be placed a year or two earlier, to 1141 or 1140. Since Ughelli does not say in what context Gilo was named by the Lateran Council in 1139, it might even be supposed that this council was occupied with electing a successor to him. There is no reference to the part Gilo played in the schism of the 1130s, nor to his defrocking, in the notitiae which introduce or conclude his poem in any of the MSS, which might suggest either that his repentance did take place, and that he returned to the main body of opinion in the church before his death, or that these notitiae are copied from MSS written before the schism took place.

In the end all that can be said for certain is that Gilo was born in Toucy, in the county of Auxerre, and spent some time in Paris, possibly as a student and then definitely as a clericus, possibly holding some small benefice. While at Paris, he wrote the poem Historia Viae Hierosolimitanae. He later entered the monastery of Cluny, but left at the instigation of Calixtus II early in 1120 and went to Rome, where he was elected Cardinal and Bishop of Tusculum, probably in
late November or December 1121. His second extant work, the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Abbatis Cluniacensis* \(^{24}\), comes from this period. The *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, together with others, notes that the tone of the dedicatory epistle with which he prefaces the work \(^{25}\) and in which he laments his return to the world seems to suggest that his departure from the monastery was quite recent, and not altogether to his liking. On the other hand, such statements are very common in prefaces to medieval works, and it is all too easy to place too great an emphasis upon them. What has not been stated before is that a post-1119 date must be attributed to the work, as Hugh of Cluny was only canonised by Calixtus II during his stay at Cluny in 1119 - 1120. Robert \(^{26}\) quotes the *Chronica Cluniacensis* \(^{27}\), which gives the precise day of the canonisation as the Festival of the Circumcision (that is, 1st January). This must have been 1st January 1120, as this was the only 1st January that Calixtus was at Cluny, and thus gives an unshakeable *terminus post quem* for the beginning of composition of this work. There are no personal reminiscences in it which might suggest that Gilo had known Hugh personally; such evidence would give a pre-1109 date for Gilo's entering the monastery, as that was the year in which Hugh died. All that can be said for certain is that Gilo must have been deeply impressed by the holy life led by Hugh as he heard it spoken of in the monastery. The final proof of the post-journey-to-Rome date for this work is given in the dedicatory letter itself, though this appears to have gone completely without notice:

*Dignum profecto fuit ut uita illius Romae particulatim scribetur, qui, dum uixit,*
Gilo himself tells us that he writes at Rome, and this is certain proof for a post-1120 date. The date for the letter given in Migne is totally without foundation. But it is quite understandable why Gilo, a very lettered man, should have undertaken the writing at the prompting of his former abbot to write a life of St. Hugh so soon after the latter's canonisation. Mas-Latrie states that the Vita was written soon after Gilo's elevation to the rank of cardinal and before Pons de Melgueuil, abbot of Cluny, resigned his post in the spring of 1122. The latter statement seems perfectly reasonable, but there is no positive evidence for the former; indeed, Gilo makes no mention at all of his promotion in his dedicatory letter, and this might suggest that the work was written before this event, i.e. between the spring of 1120 and November 1121.

Gilo then visited the Holy Land as a papal legate, in 1127, performing a successful mission of reconciliation. After 1130, in the schism between Innocent II and Anacletus II, he sided with the latter, and acted in Aquitaine as his legate in 1134 - 1136, though he was discredited and removed from office. Despite the pleading of his friends, such as Peter the Venerable, he refused to be reconciled, at least until 1139, after which date there is some flimsy evidence to support the suggestion that he bowed to pressure and was reinstated in his post before his death, supposedly in 1142.

Turning to the author (or authors) of those parts of the work found only in the Charleville MS, we immediately en-
counter a problem. All previous editions of the poem attribute these additions to a certain Fulco; the first person to mention this name, indeed, appears to have been Jacques Sirmond, or Sirmondeus, to whom is credited the transcription from an unspecified MS of the text of the poem that is found in the editio princeps\(^3\). The headings at the introduction to the poem itself\(^3\) and also on the title-page are identical, reading as follows: 'Historia gestorum uiae nostri temporis Hierosolimitanae cuius libri tres priores a Fulcone quodam (quondam on title-page's contents list) reliqui a Gilone Parisiensi editi sunt, ex MS exemplari eruditissimi uiri Iacobi Sirmondi Societatis Jesu Regia Confessionibus (sic)'. That the MS used by Sirmond was the Charleville MS cannot be doubted and not only does the title 'Historia Gestorum Viae Nostri Temporis Hierosolimitanae' recall the incipit of this MS (Incipit libellus uiae nostri temporis Hierosolimitanae), but the lacunae in the text of Sirmond match exactly the illegible passages in the Charleville MS. His text also breaks off at the same point as that at which the Charleville MS text terminates. The problem arises from Sirmond's (or possibly DuChesne's) naming of the author: the name 'Fulco' does not appear anywhere in the Charleville MS, and since this is the sole source for these parts of the poem, there seems to be no reason for supposing that this was in fact the author's name. The Charleville MS does not name him: therefore it seems better to regard its additions to Gilo's poem as anonymous, and their author is referred to as the 'Charleville poet' in this study.

The second edition of the poem, that of Martène\(^3\), prints only the five books by Gilo with the addition of Book VI from DuChesne's edition, all under the authorship of Gilo.
No mention is made in it of a Fulco. Riant, in his edition\textsuperscript{34}, accepts the name 'Fulco' unquestioningly, as does Mas-Latrie in his introduction to the poem. Indeed the heading in the Riant edition is identical to that found in DuChesne's edition of the text supplied to his by Sirmond, and it would appear that this error (if error it is) must be attributed to the latter. The poem cannot have been considered particularly important by Sirmond, as no further mention is made of it in his work\textsuperscript{35}. In the history of the study of this poem (prior to the present one) only one scholar has placed a question-mark against the name 'Fulco'. This was Berthereau, who was prevented by his death from finishing a projected edition of the work, but who left in his papers several interesting observations on various questions raised by it\textsuperscript{36}. He too assumes the dual authorship of 'Fulco' and Gilo, as proposed by Sirmond-DuChesne, but makes the pertinent remark 'quis et unde fuerit Fulco nusquam apparent'. As has already been stated, the absence of any positive evidence for this name should make us question its authenticity, and it is more sensible to regard these sections of the poem previously attributed to 'Fulco' as anonymous. As recently as 1964, however, the authorship by 'Fulco' has been unreservedly accepted, and this name has been associated, albeit tenuously, with that of a \textit{magister} or schoolmaster at Rheims cathedral school, who first appears in 1129 and who died in 1176\textsuperscript{37}. This link appears even more tenuous if the name 'Fulco' is dissociated from the poem.

Even though we cannot certainly say who the author was, there are various details which can be inferred about him. He was obviously an accomplished poet, as is apparent from
his verse, though occasionally his expressions are obscure and his rhymes are weak from time to time. The other works in the MS from Charleville might suggest that he was a teacher of some kind (assuming that the volume belonged to him and not to a library) or that he was associated with this profession, possibly having links with a monastic school; Avitus, Proba and the Eclogae Theoduli were texts in very common use in such schools, as they contained sound Christian teaching as well as being acceptable for the purposes of teaching grammar and metre. The form of the MS itself might suggest that it was the personal possession of an individual rather than a part of a communal library; it is written in a single hand, and its small size, coarse binding (which is said to be original) and the poor quality of the palimpsesting might all suggest this. The decorations in the text suppose a provenance from the Champagne area, which fits perfectly with its present location. The possibility that the Charleville MS is the autograph of the additions to Gilo cannot be ruled out.

A date for the writing of the MS may be inferred from both the hand and the decorations of c.1150. One for the poem may be established from the way in which the Charleville author refers to Gilo. His use of the term domnus in writing of Gilo suggests that the latter is still living and still holds a position of high ecclesiastical rank; this would give us a date for the composition of these additions of c. 1122 - c.1132, the approximate period when Gilo was Cardinal-Bishop of Tusculum. If the additions to Gilo's poem had been written after this, one might expect their author to have referred to his source in less honorific terms, or even to have made some reference to his (recent) downfall. It is just possible, but far less likely, that the additions were
composed after Gilo's (supposed) restoration, i.e. c.1141 - 1142.

An approximate date of c.1128 - 1130 may therefore be put against the work of the Charleville author, and the provenance of the MS may be regarded as fairly certainly from the Charleville region. M. Martin, bibliothécaire of the Bibliothèque Municipale at Charleville-Mézières, has stated that the exact provenance of the MS is unknown, but that most of the MSS now at Charleville come from nearby religious houses, and especially Belval, Signy, and la Chartreuse de Mont-Dieu. This information accords well with that given by Williams. However, what is significant about the provenance and contents of the Charleville MS is not so much its links with Rheims and the great interest displayed there in the First Crusade (though it is interesting to note that there are very clear links between Gilo and Robert the Monk of Rheims - see infra, 'Relationship to Other Crusade Narratives') as its proximity to Lower Lorraine and to Bouillon, the ancestral seat of the real hero of the Charleville MS additions, Godfrey de Bouillon. It has been previously noted that the Charleville MS text has links with the history of the First Crusade written by Albert of Aix, though it is not entirely dependent on it, as some have suggested. In fact it contains many unique details for which no literary equivalents may be found. It may therefore be the case the Charleville poet is the recipient of an oral tradition about Godfrey of Bouillon, the existence and nature of which has been much discussed in relation to the vernacular Chansons de Croisade, but without any real reference to the quasi-legendary material found in Albert of Aix and also in the Charleville author. Bouillon being only 15 miles due east of Charleville, the Charleville poet in
particular would have been ideally situated to know about and to draw from such a tradition, which one might expect to have sprung up first and to have been most popular in Godfrey's own lands. The suggested date of the poem also fits in with this hypothesis; Albert of Aix is generally thought to have composed his history c.1125, and would thus have been equally able to draw on these traditions. This accounts for the differences in detail between Albert and the Charleville poet when they present similar material (such as Baldwin's exploits in Edessa in Book VI), and also gives a possible explanation why the Charleville poet sometimes presents information found nowhere else. The Charleville author's aim may be regarded as twofold: he may have deliberately set out to glorify the figure of Godfrey of Bouillon by adding to Gilo's poem from an oral source known to him, and he may also have thought it right to add extra details to what he considered to be an incomplete account of the events of the Crusade. The unique MS from Charleville preserves otherwise unknown myth about Godfrey of Bouillon and the story of the First Crusade, which makes a fascinating contrast with the comparatively stark account of events given by Gilo, whose account may be dated to the early years of the 12th century, and was almost certainly written before 1107 (see infra, 'Relationship to Other Crusade Narratives').

There remains one final problem: is all the additional work found in the Charleville MS the work of one poet, or was a multiplicity of writers involved? Mas-Latrie lays great store on the conclusion to book III, where 'Fulco' (as Mas-Latrie calls the Charleville poet) says that he leaves all the rest of the telling of the story to Gilo. He claims
that although the additions to IV and V (as well as the complete Book VI) are clearly not the work of Gilo, 'ils ne doivent pas, très vraisemblablement, être davantage attribués à Foulques... ces morceaux intercalaires seraient donc d'un troisième auteur, écrivant postérieurement à Albert d'Aix et, très probablement, postérieurement à Foulques'. Mas-Latrie also notes that some typographical means ought to be employed to differentiate the work of Gilo and the work of the intercalator in the text, but that Riant makes no attempt to do so in his edition.

The problem pivots on the veracity of the Charleville poet's statement at the end of Book III, where he says that he leaves all the remainder of the work to Gilo. On stylistic grounds it is apparent that the additions are not the work of Gilo, but their content and style both provide similarities to Books I - III, the work which is without doubt by the Charleville poet: these similarities include lists of data, an interest in geographical matters, long digressions, a marked concentration on Godfrey de Bouillon as the central character of the Crusade, and a characteristic use of the Bible. His statement at the end of Book III can be explained by the possible method of working used by the Charleville poet: having filled the most obvious gap in Gilo's story of the Crusades (The Council of Clermont, the journey through Europe to Constantinople, the 'Peasant's Crusade') with three complete books, he might assume his task was complete; but reading on, he would realise that he had access to some fascinating episodes (e.g. the fight of the bear with Godfrey de Bouillon) which he could not bear to leave out: these were therefore added as intercalated episodes. In all consideration of the authorship of these portions of text, it is very important to
realise that modern notions of authorship, respect for a written text, and plagiarism, let alone preserving a work intact, barely existed in the Middle Ages.

In conclusion, it seems likely that, despite the claim made at the end of Book III, all additional material contained in the Charleville MS is the work of a single author. Statistical analysis of the various parts of the poem tend to bear this out, though the figures do not point to a totally clear conclusion. In the tables below, some of the figures are distorted because of the small number of lines which can be considered (especially the case with the additions to Book V). The figures quoted for Walter of Châtillon and for Joseph of Exeter are based on sampling, following the principles laid down in Duckworth, *Vergil And Classical Hexameter Poetry: A Study In Metrical Variety*. 
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tg. = taken together

The figures given for Walter of Châtillon and Joseph of Exeter are based on random samples of 200 lines, and are therefore more rounded than those given for Gilo.
Notes


2) ed. and trans. F. Behrends, Oxford 1976


4) *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XII, pp.81 - 82

5) ibid.

6) *Vide infra*, 'Previous editions'


9) *Receuil des Historiens des Croisades*, H.0cc.V. pp.cxl - cxlviii


11) William of Tyre, *Historia I.*73 (Lib. XIII chapter 23), Migne *PL* CCI col. 572

12) Gilo's letter is printed in Migne, *PL* CLXXIII col. 1389


15) Printed in Migne, *PL* CLXXXV col. 286

16) ibid.

17) *Ep. Lib.II.*4, II.30, both printed in Migne *PL* CLXXXIX


19) ibid., *VI*. p.297, *LXXVII*, 4


21) *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XII, p.82


24) Paris, Bib. Nat. MSS Lat. 12607, 13090; extracts printed in Migne, PL CLIX cols. 909 - 918
27) Paris, Bib. Nat. MS Lat. 9875
28) Migne, PL CLXXIII, col. 1386
29) c.1110
30) In the Receuil des Historiens des Croisades, Hist.Occ. V (pref.) pp.cxl - cxlviii
32) ibid. tom. iv., p.890
33) Edmond Martene, Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, Paris 1717
34) Receuil des Historiens des Croisades, H. Occ.t.V, Paris 1895
35) Jacques Sirmond, Opera Varia Nunc Primum Collecta, 5 tom., Paris 1696
37) John R. Williams, 'The Cathedral School of Reims in the Time of Master Alberic, 1118 - 1136', Traditio XX (1964). Note 23: "Was Fulco perhaps the author of the poem on the First Crusade in the Receuil des Historiens Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux V (Paris 1895) 697 - 720? The poet was a contemporary of Fulco of Reims and he lived in N-E France. Reims had a special interest in the First Crusade, as Urban II had formerly been a canon of its cathedral. Note too the history of the Crusade by Robert, monk of St. Remi of Reims. The provenance of the sole MS of the poem, Charleville MS 97, (12 century) has not been established. It may, however, be significant that of the 305 MSS in the Charleville collection, 110 come from Signy and 69 from Mont-Dieu, monasteries in the diocese of Reims having close ties with the clergy of that city. See Cat. Gen. des MSS des Bibliothèques Publques des Départements, Quarto Series 5 (1879) 539 - 541, 591 - 592".
38) Vide above, note 5
39) E.g. Mas-Latrie, in the preface to Riant's edition, RHC H.Occ. t.V: 'dans les additions, y compris le livre intercalaire...c'est Albert d'Aix qui, semble-t-il, est la source principale'.
40) E.g. by Kugler, Wolff, Waeger, etc.

41) M. Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, Munich 1911, bd.III, p.1058 "Zeittafel".

42) In Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Hist. Occ. V, cxxl - cxxliii

poets whose combined work marks up the style and influence of Charlemagne are noticeably different as regards their general style. tile writes in a restrained, measured manner for the most part, writing sentences structured periodically, and leaping on occasion to tear away from redundancy towards extremes. Examples of this feature of tile's style may be noted at I.152, I.351, I.364, VII.151; this tendency may be accentuated to some extent by the use in the early part of his work of the Latin rhyming scheme, which militates againstFilling sentences such as are found in the Chartes de la charte. Other features of tile's style are the employment of caesura on many occasions (e.g. VII.35) and of the atelic absolute.

The Chartes de la charte, on the other hand, writes in a linear, non-periodic style, with a large number of main verbs joined by 'et' and other conjunctions, and has a tendency not to employ subordination. In this his style recalls some of the chief features of vernacular epic (cf. I.35ff., I.42ff.). This poet also resists redundancy and 'padding' to make up the metre, as at II.262, 'quoniam orates non ad tenebras illumin';

The two poets also vary in their use of imagery. The Chartes de la charte tends to employ single-line images, which recall the imagery found in such vernacular epics as the Chanson de Roland: examples of these are found at I.23, 'confirmat neglectas potiusque curvae ferris' and I.150, 'et alii nocturnis eis ad somniarum dulciae'. Other examples occur at
Stylistic and Metrical Features

The two poets whose combined work makes up the Historia Vie Hierosolimitane are noticeably different as regards their general style. Gilo writes in a restrained, careful manner for the most part, writing sentences structured periodically, and tending on occasion to veer away from redundance towards epigram. Examples of this feature of Gilo's style may be noted at V.132, V.231, V.368, VII.151; this tendency may be encouraged to some extent by the use in the early part of his work of the leonine rhyme-scheme, which militates against flowing sentences such as are found in the Charleville poet. Other features of Gilo's style are the employment of zeugma on many occasions (e.g. VIII.35) and of the ablative absolute.

The Charleville poet, on the other hand, writes in a linear, non-periodic style, with a large number of main verbs joined by 'et' and other conjunctions, and has a tendency not to employ subordination. In this his style recalls some of the linear features of vernacular epic (cf. I.35ff., I.42ff.). This poet also resorts to redundance and 'padding' to make up the metre, as at VI.262, 'tunc oratores mox ad tentoria mittunt'.

The two poets also vary in their use of imagery. The Charleville poet tends to employ single-line images, which recall the imagery found in such vernacular epics as the Chanson de Roland; examples of these are found at I.52, 'confixam segetem potuisses cernere ferri' and I.190, 'ac si concuterent elisa tonitrua fulmen'. Other examples occur at
II.214 (which owes much to Vergil), II.217, 275, III.376, and IV.79. Another similarity to the Roland is found at III.387. Images spanning more than one line in the Charleville poet are found at II.156 - 7 and III.41 - 42, and a lengthier series of biblical images occurs at III.97 - 100. Gilo also makes use of one-line images, such as IV.29, 'Hugo comes Magnus, leo seuis, mitibus agnus', which also illustrates Gilo's compressed style. Other occurrences of these are IV.55, 340, V.277, 303, VII.473, and VIII.99. Gilo differs from the Charleville poet, however, in his inclusion of some very finely-written similes, varying in length between three and six lines, which owe much in their style to those found in Vergil, but do not follow that author slavishly. These occur at IV.234 - 6, 262 - 4, V.156 - 9, 341 - 4, and IX.325 - 330. The last of these in particular is crafted very carefully, the first two lines setting the scene of a storm in the mountains ('in plano velut a summis cum montibus ingens/ grando cadit mixtisque simul tonat imbribus ether'), the next two describing the effects of the swollen rivers, each more devastating than the one before ('tunc collecta petunt demissas flumina ualles/ saxa trahunt siluasque ferunt totaque uagantur/agri planitie'), and culminating finally with the despairing groan of the rustic observing the scene ('gemitus dat rusticus imo/ pectore').

The two poets are very different in their representation of speeches. Gilo is quite classical in his inclusion of sometimes lengthy speeches in oratio recta; the lament of Humberga, V.437 - 458, is written in elegiacs, as is fitting in this case; the rest of the speeches are all in hexameters, and recall those of Vergil and Lucan. Especially
noteworthy are the lengthy pre-battle speeches attributed to Bohemond in VII.45 - 59 and to Adhemar of le Puy in VII.378 - 399. Another long speech is attributed to Peter the Hermit in VII.343 - 356, and shorter speeches are found at VII.85 - 86, 358 - 360, 405 - 409, 437 - 439, and IX.204 - 206. As has already been stated, all these are couched in oratio recta. The Charleville poet, on the other hand, puts all of the speeches in his part of the work in oratio obliqua, even though many of them are very lengthy. Examples of this rather unusual practice (oratio recta does not occur anywhere in the Charleville poet's work) are at III.75 - 108, 115 - 122, 295 - 308, and VI.448 - 469.

A notable feature of the style of the Charleville poet is his frequent use of lists. In this he is now followed by Gilo, but lengthy lists of various kinds are found from time to time in vernacular epic. The lists occur at I.59ff., 159ff. (rivers), 165ff. (nations), 184ff. (peoples), 195ff. (participants in the Crusade), 260ff. (ports in Italy), III.181ff. (areas of Greece), and IV.404ff. (biblical writers on Antioch). The nearest Gilo comes to this practice is at V.221 - 2. Repetitions of words are found in the Charleville poet at I.27 - 8 (in proprias.../in propriis...) and at III.335 - 6, an example of polyptoton which owes much to Statius T VIII.398 - 399. Gilo also employs repetition (alterutrum.../alterutrumque...) at V.284 - 5. Stock phrases occur in both poets: in the Charleville poet, millia densa mouet at I.197 and 230; sancti sub honore sepulchri at I.230, II.139, III.126 and (with slight variation) at III.271; peditumque equitumque at II.4 and IV.368; and finally concursus ad aulum at VI.129 and 258. There is one occurr-
ence of this in Gilo, uenerat illa dies being found at both IX.119 and 272.

'Interiectio ex persona poetae' is a feature of medieval poetry both in Latin and in the vernacular, and it occurs in both poets, in the Charleville poet at I.249 and III.1-8, where he carefully explains and 'signposts' his intentions, and in Gilo at V.80 - 82, V.190, VII.203 - 6, 389, VIII.121, 173, 265 and IX.56. A variant of this phenomenon is to be found in the concluding verses to the books of the Charleville poet, I.306ff., II.303 -4, III.445 - 449, and VI.482 - 483, where the poet again carefully explains that a book is coming to an end. This feature has its origins in oral poetry, where an audience needed to be told exactly what was going on.

There are some differences between the poets in the names they use to denote some peoples and places. In referring to the Franks, the Charleville poet uses both Galli and Franci, whereas Gilo uses only Franci or Francigenae. Similarly, the Charleville poet refers to the English as Brytannii (I.168), and Gilo as Angli (V.129, 130, 229). Turci is found only in Gilo. The people of Venice are called Veneti by the Charleville poet (I.167, 261, 264) but Venetici by Gilo at VII.91. Another difference may be noticed in the use of abstract terms to refer to God, a practice used by the Charleville poet at I.7, 75, III.153, and to refer to other entities at I.35 and VI.150. Gilo does not use such abstract terms, but both Gilo and the Charleville poet use the more usual terms deus, etc.

Both poets display a knowledge of classical mythology, though the Charleville poet seems on the whole to be freer in
his use of classical stories and images. His opening rejection of the pagan Muses (I.15ff.) is a commonplace in medieval literature, and is discussed in the notes on these verses; but this rejection is belied by the references to Phlegrae certamina at I.64, the reminiscence of Caesar, Gallic Wars, at I.106, and the mention of Acheron (II.186), Herculis Arma (III.170), the story of Hero and Leander (III.191), the 'horn of plenty' (III.325), breuibus Gyaris (III.380) and Semiramis (VI.18). Gilo tends to be less adventurous in his use of classical epithets, but still includes references to Homerus, using stock phraseology, (V.23), and to Bellona (V.295), Tideus and other heroes of classical times (V.353-4), non Maro non Macer (V.374), Tempe (V.426), the recherché Matuta (VII.83) and finally to Erebus (VIII.270). In so far as poets may be said to have contributed to the style of these authors, the influence of Vergil, Lucan, Statius and Ovid's Metamorphoses is apparent in both; the Charleville poet also has some reminiscences of Juvenal, and Gilo has some of Claudian, and of Ovid's elegiac poetry, especially in the prologue.

The two poets vary in their metrical practice as much as in any other matter; Gilo is careful to avoid ellision and hiatus, and occasional metrical abberations in the first version (ADG) are corrected in the second, polished, version (BCF); the Charleville poet, on the other hand, admits ellision frequently (e.g. at I.20, 22, 23, 28, etc.) and permits hiatus at the caesura at, for example, II.140, 150. Both poets permit the ablative gerund to stand where the final -o- must be scanned short (cf. note on VII.9); the Charleville poet also allows impie (adv.) with a short final -e- at III.
An interesting feature of the Charleville poet's metrical practice is the use of the spondaic fifth foot, for example at II.113, III.235, 287. One verse in the Charleville poet has no caesura (VI.81), but this is probably due to corruption in the text. Other metrical features may be noted in the statistical tables above, p.22, in 'Authorship and Date', and in the note on V.268.

Finally, the different types of rhyme used by the poets are worthy of note. The Charleville poet employs rhyming couplets (caudati) consistently, except at IV.39-40, 60 - 63, 88 - 89, 134 - 139, 188 - 189, where leonines are employed to 'blend in' with the verses by Gilo. Two verses in the Charleville poet, IV.64 and 150, are unrhymed. Gilo's practice is by comparison very complex. Book IV is almost entirely in leonine rhyme; Book V is a mixture of sections of leonines and caudati, with some trinini salientes; by the end of Book V, caudati are in the ascendant. Book VII likewise begins with a mixture of leonines and caudati, but from VII.118 onwards caudati are employed with only minor exceptions. Caudati and catenati only are used in Book VIII, and finally in Book IX, the rhyme-schemes are abandoned altogether; Gilo himself warns his audience that he intends to do this in an example of 'interiectio ex persona poetae' in IX. 5 - 8.

These differences in the style and metrical technique of the two poets are reinforced by their different interests in the events of the Crusade, and also in the material on which they draw; Gilo is straightforward and precise in both his language and in the story he has to tell, whereas the
Charleville poet leans much more towards folk-tale and vernacular epic in his manner of telling his tale and in the material on which he draws. Together, these poets provide a particularly varied and fascinating source of the history of, and attitudes towards, the First Crusade.
Relationships To Other Crusade Narratives

SIGLA

AA Albert of Aachen, Historia Hierosolimitana
BD Baudri of Bourgeuil, Bishop of Dol, Historia Hierosolimitana
BN Bartolf of Nangis (or Anonymous), Gesta Francorum Hierusalem Expugnantium
CA La Chanson d'Antioche
CAP La Chanson d'Antioche en Provençal
FC Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolimitana
GF Anonymous, Gesta Francorum
GN Guibert of Nogent, Gesta Dei Per Francos
HG Historia Gotefridi
HN Balduini III Historia Nicaeana uel Antiochena
PT Peter Tudebod, Historia de Hierosolimitano Itinere
RA Raymond of Aguilhers, Liber
RC Radulf of Caen, Gesta Tancredi
RM Robertus Monachus, Historia Hierosolimitana
TIC Tudebodus Imitatus et Continuatus
WT William of Tyre
The fullest attempt at tracing the relations of the different Crusade Narratives is to be found in Heinrich Hagenmeyer's introduction to his edition of FC\(^1\). Hagenmeyer concluded that FC had been written in three 'editions', the first covering the period up to 1105, the second extending the narrative up to 1124, and the third and last recording the history of the Holy Land up to 1127. He also concluded that GN, writing c.1110 (L. and J. Riley-Smith, The Crusades, Idea and Reality, p.45, say that GN was writing before 1108), and BN, writing c.1109, derived much of their material from FC. The sources for FC itself were the classics, the bible, patristic writers, and, most importantly, contemporary accounts and documents relating to the Crusade: 'Ohne Zweifel war es auch eine der in Jerusalem befindlichen Bibliotheken, in der die genannten Bücher vorhanden waren, wo auch vor ihm Raimund der Aguilers, Tudebod von Sivrai und Ekkehard von Aura die Gesta Francorum des Anonymous vorgefunden und benutzt haben, sei es, dass es die Bibliothek des Hospital oder die auf dem Berge Zion oder die eines andern Klosters gewesen ist'.\(^2\)

Hagenmeyer's schema for all the Crusade narratives was as follows:

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FC
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This family tree forms a basis from which to begin, but it is far from accurate, and many closer links between the different accounts have been discerned, notably by the editors of the *Receuil des Historiens des Croisades*. HG and HN both bear a close resemblance to HM, and reproduce some of its verses verbatim, but as they are both later in date than it, they should be regarded as its derivations. HN also draws on FC for information about the later period not contained in HM. HM itself shows marked similarities to GF in places, and probably derives some of its content from it.

HN is either an abbreviated version of FC, with the narrative continuing up to 1116 only, or else an earlier version of FC.

GF and PT are for the most part identical, and there has been much discussion as to which is primary: on the whole, French scholars have opted for PT, Anglo-Saxons and Germans for GF. BD is a re-written and re-styled GF, dated c.1108 by Riley-Smith. TIC is derived from PT, with additional material of its own, and itself provided a source for FC.

FC, as Hagenmeyer pointed out, drew on various sources in writing his history (cf. above). GN drew on an early version of FC; as Hagenmeyer notes Guibert actually mentions Fulcher by name as the source for some of his information. The editor of the *Receuil des Historiens des Croisades*, however, interprets GN differently: 'les additions de Guibert au récit de l'Anonyme, auteur des GF, sont assez considérables. Il a puisé les unes dans sa propre érudition, les autres dans les témoignages de personnages revenus de la Croisade.' He also cites GN VI.5, where Guibert says he obtained information at first-hand from Robert of Flanders.
There thus seems to be some doubt as to the exact origin of GN; it may well, of course, draw on GF, FC and oral sources too.

In spite of frequent attempts to link it with surviving vernacular sources, it seems clear that AA stands alone. Von Sybel regarded it as 'ein Konglomerat verschiedenartigster mündlicher und schriftliche Berichte'. This conclusion was broadly accepted by von Kugler, who said of the sources of AA, 'Ich habe die Herkunft dieses Materials in einer vortrefflichen lotharingischen Chronik gesucht, die im Ganzen gleichzeitig mit den Ereignissen entstanden sei'. Kugler attributed much more historical reliability to AA's sources than did von Sybel. Theodor Wolff departed from these views, claiming that AA I. 6-22 was from a prose source, written c.1118 - 1121, and that AA I. 1-5 is from either the Chanson des Chétifs or from a work related to it, from the period 1140 - 1144. He in fact draws on the thesis of François Vercruysse that AA I.1-5 and CA are closely related, but disagrees with Vercruysse's theory that CA was secondary to AA. More recently Peter Knoch has supposed a common, now lost, vernacular source for AA and WT; he maintains the lost-chronicle theory for the majority of the material found in AA: 'seine Hauptquelle war eine lotharingische Kreuzzugschronik'. He also maintains that AA is independent of any other surviving account: 'Andere der Überlieferten Schriftquelle des ersten Kreuzzugs hat Albert nicht benutzt'. This conclusion has also been reached, in a slightly modified form, by Susan Edgington: 'I have come to believe that Albert did not work from any known written source, or 'lost Lotharingian Chronicle', but from oral accounts culled from eyewitnesses and oral material.
such as the Chansons*. Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, in the most recent handling of the problem, thinks that AA had access to a primitive CA: 'Car pour nous AA a connu une CA dans son premier état et l'a utilisée, non pas servilement comme Graindor de Douai a copié RM, mais en juxtaposant ses renseignements avec ceux d’autres sources. Les concordances avec AA permettent donc de penser que nous sommes en présence de passages de l'ancienne chanson conservés par Graindor'. A.A. Beau- mont thought that the likenesses between the CA and AA were very few**, but this is strongly disputed by Knoch: 'Zwischen der CA und Albert finden sich eine Reihe von Parallelen, die sich am ehesten durch eine Benutzung des Albertschen Werkes durch Graindor de Douay (in Flandern) erklären lassen'. On the whole, Knoch's view seems more reasonable than that of Duparc-Quioc. Recent scholars such as Sumberg** and Duparc-Quioc regard the primitive CA of Richard le Pelerin as an eye-witness account. Pigeonneau's thesis that CA is derived from PT (though he in fact meant GF, since Bongars, whose edition he used, confused the two) and from AA has now been abandoned, and the opinion of Paulin Paris that CA is the original of all the latin narratives of the Crusade is now totally discredited.18 The Chevalier au Cygne cycle, the other vernacular group of poems (the Chanson de Jerusalem and the Chanson des Chetifs form a separate cycle with CA) is totally independent; Pigeonneau attributed it to the 'trouvères de Liège et de Namur'.

From all this detail, a rough 'family tree' may be drawn up; this is by no means entirely accurate, but does afford a possible insight into the ways in which the different versions may be related. No chronological relationships are intended by the relative positions of each account, but only
It therefore remains to try to examine how the work of Gilo and of the Charleville poet might be fitted into this schema. Several attempts have been made in the past, but no one theory has prevailed. Von Sybel, the first scholar to treat the problem, supposed that the poets drew on GF and 'sehr unbrauchbare mündliche Mitteilungen'. Bernhard von Kugler supposed not that the poets drew on AA and FC, which was the opinion communicated to him orally by Hagenmeyer, but rather that they drew on sources now lost: 'nun vielleicht gar die lotharingische Chronik, an Stelle Alberts eine Quelle des Epos bilde'. However, Kugler's view is complicated by the fact that he regarded Gilo as the continuator of 'Fulco'.

probable derivations.
Theodor Wolff pointed out that there were more similarities between Gilo and RM than between Gilo and AA. Unfortunately his views on the relationship between Gilo and other sources are plagued by the error perpetuated by Berthereau and followed by all the 19th century critics, that 'Fulco' is responsible for only the work contained in books I to III, and that Gilo was the author of the rest, including the intercalated Book VI and the additions to Books IV and V. Even Mas-Latrie, in the Receuil, takes the Charleville poet's statement at the end of Book III at its face value, and attributes Book VI to a possible third author. Wolff's error in this respect is clearly shown by his attempt to trace possible sources for Book IV as it stands, without separating the parts added by the Charleville poet:\textsuperscript{22}

\begin{align*}
\text{vv. 1 - 13} & \quad \text{Einleitung} \\
14 - 60 & \quad \text{RM 756 - 759} \\
82 - 116 & \quad \text{AA II.25-26} \\
117 - 154 & \quad \text{RM 757 - 758} \\
155 - 160 & \quad \text{AA II.29, 37} \\
161 - 287 & \quad \text{RM 759 - 763} \\
288 - 310 & \quad \text{AA II.42} \\
311 - 351 & \quad \text{RM 762 - 764} \\
352 - 401 & \quad \text{AA III.1-4} \\
402 - 439 & \quad \text{RM 771}
\end{align*}

As will be made clear below, the similarities between RM and AA on the one hand and Gilo on the other are far from being as clear-cut as this.

As is apparent from the notes on the text, the poem by
Gilo has many similarities with the Crusade narratives GF, PT and RA, which set the pattern for all (or most of) the other versions. However, Gilo's poem differs from them in two very important respects: firstly, Gilo's account begins in mediis rebus: he says nothing of the journeys that the different groups of Crusaders took to Constantinople, nor of any event that took place before the siege of Nicaea, which is where his narrative begins. Importantly, he also completely omits to mention the Council of Clermont, which took place in 1095, and at which the Pope preached the sermon which really set the whole Crusade in motion. Secondly, Gilo's poem ends with the coronation of Godfrey de Bouillon at Jerusalem; all the other versions go on to recount at least the battle of Ascalon, and many of course go much further than this. The abrupt ending of the poem may simply be an aesthetic consideration, with Gilo terminating his work at what seemed the fitting climax of the story, but the abrupt beginning is unusual, and gives a strong link with RM, as will be demonstrated below.

There are additionally several small episodes which seem to link Gilo's poem very closely with RM. According to von Sybel this was first noted by Michaud. Some of these close parallels are as follows, though the list is not exhaustive:

1) The description of the fighting outside Nicaea in IV.120 - 133 (RM III.3 and also AA II.27);

2) The names given to the leaders of the column after it divided while en route to Antioch (Gilo IV.151 and RM say that the two halves were led by Bohemond and Hugh;
GF, PT, RA, FC, TIC and BN all say that the second column was led not by Hugh, but by Raymond;

3) Detail about an attack on the Christian camp, relieved by Bohemond (Gilo IV.195 - 211, found elsewhere only in RM III.9);

4) The description of the battle between Turks and Crusaders following this attack (Gilo IV.272 - 330; RM III.12);

5) The Christians bury their dead (Gilo IV.331ff.; RM III.15. After this point, RM digresses about Solimannus and the Franks' journey through Lycaonia and Iconium, as well as telling the story of Baldwin and Tancred's quarrel at Tarsus);

6) The capture of a fort by the Christians (Gilo V.194 - 204, RM IV.16: this may be a doublet of Gilo V.395ff., as only Gilo and RM place it here);

7) The mention of a truce of some kind at Antioch, during which terms of surrender were to be discussed (Gilo V.415 - 422, RM V.5, its derivative HG II.11, and CA V.3);

8) The breaking of the treaty when Gualo is killed, and the grief of his fiancée Humberga (Gilo V.423 - 460, RM V.6 - 7, BN 34, HG II.12. That this is a historical event seems to be shown by the letter of Anselm de Ribemont, cited in the notes ad.loc.);

9) Specific detail about the fighting during the capture of Antioch, during which Bohemond is wounded in the thigh, and one Apulian displays heroic behaviour (Gilo VII.159-206, RM VI.3 - 6).

From this point on, the accounts in Gilo, RM and GF converge to a remarkable degree, save for one stretch of Gilo's
poem where there is a remarkable similarity to CA as well as to RM. This is Gilo VII.400 - 497, where Corbana's troops are vanquished by the Christians in a 'do-or-die' battle. The similarities are as follows:

1) Corbana offers to decide the battle by combat of a few from each side (CA VIII.25-26, CA VIII.245-247);
2) Bohemond refuses (CA says Robert of Normandy does so);
3) Hugh leads the attack (RM VII.11; CA VIII.33);
4) Eurardus de Pusiaco is involved (CA VIII.33);
5) Bohemond calls Hugh back (CA VIII.33);
6) Godfrey fights with them (OF IX.xxxxix p.70; BN XXII; CA VIII.33);
7) Lucas of Damascus and other kings fight against the Franks (many kings listed in CA);
8) Odo de Beaugency the standard-bearer dies (RM VIII.12, HN 34, HG II.23, CA VIII.34);
9) William Beniensis takes over from him (RM VIII.12, HG II.23, CA VIII.34);
10) The Turks set fire to the grass (OF IX.xxxxix p.69, PT p.112, TFC LXXXII, RM VII.14, AA IV.49, CA VIII.52);
11) Rainaldus Belvacensis is there (RM VII.15, CA VIII.48);
12) with Paganus (CA VIII.53);
13) Thomas (RM VII.15, CA VIII.53);
14) Drogo (CA VIII.48, 53);
15) Clarebaldus (CA VIII.48, 53);
16) The Turks attack again (RM VII.15, CA VIII.53);
17) Geraldus de Melione, an old man, dies (RM VII.15, CA VIII.53).

Other similarities with CA may be noted. Firstly,
there is the emphasis in Gilo on the campaign at Antioch itself: in Gilo's poem this occupies two whole books (though a similar emphasis is to be found in GF, for example; the siege of Antioch was the most lengthy and costly enterprise that the Crusaders undertook, and proved far more difficult, for example, than the siege of Jerusalem). Secondly, there is the fact, already noted above, that Gilo's poem omits all events prior to the siege of Nicaea; like the CA, it begins its account with the Crusade already under way. To these two structural points a third may be added, that Gilo treats the person of Statinus, the Byzantine general, in exactly the same way that CA treats Estatins l’Esnasé; the other accounts consider this character to have been hostile to the Franks. Both Gilo and CA also stress his facial disfigurement. Thus far, Gilo seems closely linked to RM and to CA for Books IV, V and VII, and to RM and GF for Books VIII and IX. This is supported by Tiádau, who sees a primitive CA as the source for many details in AA, Gilo, RM and other versions.

The nature of the relationship between RM and Gilo may be clarified by an examination of RM's prologue. It has always been assumed that Gilo drew on RM, since he was supposed to have written after 1119. As has been shown above, 'Authorship and Date', this dating derives from a passage in Book VI which is not by Gilo at all, and this date can therefore be discarded. Robert's prologue in fact gives some information about his source which implies a modification of the usually-accepted derivation of Gilo from RM, and it therefore merits being quoted in full:
Incipit Apologeticus Sermo

Uniuersis qui hanc historiam legerint, siue legere audierint et auditam intellezerint, deprecor ut cum in ea aliquid inurbanum inuenierint, concedant ueniam, quia hanc scribere compulsus sum per oboedientiam; quidam etenim abbas nomine Bernardus, litterarum scientia et morum probitate praeditus, ostendit mihi unam historiam secundum hanc materiam, sed ei admodum displicebat, partim quia initium suum, quod in Clari Montis concilio constitutum fuit, non habebat, partim quia series tam pulchrae materiei inculta iacebat, et litteralium compositio dictionum inculta vacillabat. Praeposuit igitur mihi ut, qui Clari Montis concilio interfui, acephala materiei caput praeponerem et lecturis eam accuratiori stilo componerem. Ego vero, quia notarium non habui alium nisi me, et dictai et scripsi, sic quod continuatio paruit menti manus, et manui penna, et pennae pagina, et fidem satis praestare potest et leuitas carminis et minime phalerata compositio dictionis. Unde si cui academicis studiis innutrito displicet haec nostra editio, ob hoc forsit quia pede se rerum incerte plus iusto in ea rusticaue rimus, notificare ei volumus quia apud nos probabilius est abscendita rusticando elucidare quam aperta philosophando obscurabire. Sermo enim semper exactus semper est ingratus, quia, quod difficilis intellectu percipitur, auri surdiore hauritur. Nos uero plebilem incessu sic volumus progre di sermonem nostrum, ut quiuus, cum audierit, speret idem; et si fortassis idem tentauerit esse, longe separetur ab eodem. Si quis affectat scire locum quo haec historia composita fuerit, sciat esse claustrum cuiusdam cellae Sancti Remigi in episcopatu Remensi. Si nomen auctoris exigitur qui eam composuit, Robertus appellatur.

From this it is clear that Robert's source was lacking in any discussion of the Council of Clermont (though whether this was because the narrative from which he was working began after this event and made no mention of it, or whether it was simply due to a MS which lacked the first few folia, is impossible to say from the details that Robert gives us). The original from which he was working was not necessarily in prose (historia could be used to mean simply 'a story' at this period, though Robert uses the word to describe his own account later on). The use of the word carmen must be a reference to the snatches of verse which occur in his work: in Medieval Latin this word always refers to some kind of poetry
The date for Robert's work can be roughly established from the information Robert himself gives us about the abbot who ordered him to write: according to the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, X.p.326 'Bernardus abbas, dictus de Sancto Venantio, tunc Maius Monasterium Turonense (Gallice Marmoutier-lez-Tours) regebat', and Krey further states that this Bernardus died in 1107. This is therefore a firm terminus ante quem at least for FM's source.

It is unlikely that Robert was drawing on Gilo himself in writing his own history of the Crusade. He calls his source inculta on two counts, firstly because the series tam pulchrae materiei was apparently disjointed (and presumably therefore needed restoring), secondly because its litteralium compositio dictionum was offensive to abbot Bernard, and the style needed polishing. This could hardly be said of Gilo, who, if by no means a genius, was at least accomplished as a poet and latinist by medieval standards.

However, many of the hexameters inserted into his work by Robert closely resemble lines of Gilo, and one verse, 'partim predati partimque fuere necati', is found verbatim in FM IV.1 (697D), whence it made its way into HG II.11 and HN 22. Assuming that Robert is drawing on Gilo and not vice-versa, reasons for which are set out below, this means either that Gilo is the inculta work to which Robert refers in his preface, or that in writing his history, Robert draws on all the resources available to him, one of which would be a copy of Gilo's poem. In view of the unpolished nature Robert claims for his source, the latter explanation seems more convincing. Robert's connexion with oral tradition has been noticed before: cf. H. Glaesner, 'La Prise d'Antioche en
'Robert le Moine, un des chroniqueurs les moins doués d'esprit critique, mais bien au courant des traditions orales ...'

What makes it unlikely that Gilo copied from RM is the host of passages found in the latter which Gilo does not include: if he did copy from RM then he was peculiarly eclectic in his handling of the material. On the whole, the evidence suggests that Gilo and RM both drew on a common source which lacked any information about the early part of the Crusade, and especially the Council of Clermont (which would have been very dear to Robert as he had actually been there, as he himself tells us). The relationship of RM and Gilo would therefore appear to be as follows:

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          Common Source
           /   \
        /     \      
      RM   Gilo
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RM, as has already been said, contains numerous events not found in Gilo: these comprise the whole of RM I, II.6, 9, 11-14, III.17-22, IV.12-13, V.1, 2, 9, VI.9-12, 15-16, VII.1, 7, 9, 13, 16, 20, and IX.11-26. Many of these chapters contain episodes which closely resemble GF or PT. It is therefore possible that Robert drew on one of these narratives for some of his episodes. RM's link with CA probably derives
from the common source, which seems to have had close affinities with it; in the passage cited above, where Gilo comes unquestionably closer to CA than does RM, Gilo may be drawing on his own knowledge of CA or a similar related work which is now lost. The common source itself seems to have been related to GF or PT in the latter part of its narrative, where both Gilo (Books VIII and IX) and RM come close to GF/PT. In addition, RM may incorporate some oral traditions of its own. The number of works extant, stories or chansons told about the Crusade at the time, and on which authors such as Gilo or Robert could draw, remains a mystery: occasional phrases in Gilo's poem hint at a use by him of eye-witness account or oral traditions: cf. VIII.331, 'utque ferunt quibus illa fuit predatio certa'. CA and CAP are only two survivors of the many suggested by such remarks as that of the Chronicon S. Andreae Castri Cameracensii, c.21 (MGSS 7, 545): 'praesertim cum de eis et cantica ubique diffusa et carmina quaedam descripta habeantur' (Quoted by Knoch, Studien zu Albert von Aachen p.72, and Wolff, Bauernkreuzzüge p.19). The relationship of RM, GF, Gilo and CA would therefore appear to be as follows:
Turning to the Charleville Poet, the scant parallels with *AA*, *FC* and *WT* suggest that, like them, the poet was drawing on an oral tradition of 'lotharingische Kreuzzugschronik', to use Knoch's phrase. The location of the MS of this part of the poem so near to Bouillon suggests that this is the case: if the poet himself was from the Charleville area, he would have been ideally situated to gather his material from such stories. As in the case of Gilo, there are certain verses in the Charleville poet's work that suggest that the origin of his material lay in oral reports, e.g. IV.418, 'quod nunc accipimus a nostra gente'. Wolff (cited above) claimed that both poets were related to *AA*; Knoch dismisses this theory and expresses a preference for the idea of Manitius that the poet shares a common source with *AA*.²⁶ Considering the complex nature of the traditions behind most oral poetry, it is likely that each author is drawing on a different strand of related material, which would account for their similarities in subject-matter and also for their sharp divergences in the detail of their stories.

This may all be incorporated into the stemma proposed above for other Crusade narratives to produce the following outline, which clearly illustrates the complexity of the tradition behind them; again it must be stressed that this outline makes no claim to be entirely accurate, but is based on such views as are expressed by the previous editors of the various texts and on first-hand observation.
\section*{Notes}

1) H. Hagenmeyer, \textit{Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolimitana}, Heidelberg 1913

2) ibid. p.70

3) op. cit. pp.59, 78

4) \textit{RHC H.Occ.} IV, p.xvii

5) ibid. p.205c


7) Bernhard von Kugler, \textit{Analekten zur Kritik Alberts von Aachen}, Stuttgart 1888, p.4

8) \textit{Annales de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles}, I, 1889, pp.50ff.


10) ibid. p.67

11) ibid.

12) Views expressed in a private letter dated 10th January 1982


14) A.A. Beaumont, 'Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa' in \textit{The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented To D.C. Munro}, New York 1928, p.103


17) H. Pigeonneau, \textit{Le Cycle de la Croisade}, Saint-Cloud 1877

18) in \textit{Histoire Littéraire de la France}, t.XXII


20) Quoted by Kugler in \textit{Albert von Aachen}, Stuttgart 1885, p.421

21) ibid.


23) H. von Sybel (Trans. Lady Duff Gordon), \textit{The History and
24) Quoted by Sumberg, op. cit. p. 15


The Manuscripts

On page 722 of the fifth volume of the Historiens Occidentaux in the collection Recueil Des Historiens Des Croisades, Ernest le comte Riant gives the following list of MSS which he uses in his edition, the most recent of all, of the poem by Gilo and the Charleville poet. This list is as follows:

A Parisiensis (olim S. Germani a Pratis n° 1080; Hodie Latin. 12945. XIII saec. ff. 113 - 136)
B Duacensis 882 (olim Marchionnensis) XII saec. ff. 112 - 125
C Parisiensis 5129 (olim Tellier) XII saec. ff. 71v° - 86
D Bruxellensis 10707
E Bruxellensis 7575
F Vallicellanensis n° 33
G Carovillanus 97, XII saec. palimps., ff. 78 - 109.

In addition to these MSS recorded in Riant's list, the following are mentioned as containing a text of the poem in the monumental Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, abs. IV., bd. III pp. 667 - 670, of Max Manitius:

s.XII. zu St. Amand (Delisle, le cabinet des mss. 2, 458, 315; ist heute Paris 5129)
s.XII. Bruxell. 629
s.XII. Bruxell. 10615
s.XII. Duacensis 838
s.XII. Paris 5129
s.XIII. Paris St. Germ. 460
Résidu St. Germ 97, 4, 12
Valentian. 219

Of these entries, the first and fifth are obvious duplicates, but taken with the MSS mentioned by Riant, they appear to give a total of thirteen MSS: four from Paris (5129, 12945, St. Germain 460, and Résidu St. Germain 97, 4, 12); four from Brussels (629, 7575, 10615, 10707); two from Douai (838, 882); and one each from the Vallicelliana library in Rome, from Charleville, and from Valenciennes (if this is meant by Valentian by Manitius).

On consulting the library catalogues it soon becomes apparent that this list of thirteen MSS still contains a number of duplicates. Manitius' 'Douai 838' is now Douai 882, 838 being its old number. However, in a letter sent to me on 14th January 1980, the Centre Nationale de Recherche Scientifique of Paris' Institut de Recherche et d'histoire des Textes still listed both MSS separately in a list of MSS of this work. The present Douai 838 is a XIIIth century MS containing 'Vitae et Passiones Sanctorum'.

Similarly, Brussels 10707 is part of the same MS as 10615; its full number is 10615 - 10729, and 10707 is the part which contains Gilo's work. Although these all appear to be old numbers, none of them are listed in the 'Tables de Concordance' of the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles. Brussels 7575 was formerly designated 7575 - 7585, and that part which contained Gilo's poem was numbered 7576. It is now numbered 7442. The present 7576 contains the epitaphs of three nobles from Flanders. Brussels 629 is a gradual; the former 629 is now a part of 1125, which contains works by St. Augustine. According to M. Georges Dogaer,
Head of the MSS section of the Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, '629 est une cote qui a été donnée au début du XIXe siècle avant l'inventaire générale actuellement utilisé (Marchal)', and it is now the MS. 10615 - 10729.

Of the four Paris MSS, 5129 and 12945 are indeed MSS which contain Gilo's poem; but the other two, listed by Manitius, do not contain this work. According to H. Omont, Concordances des nos. anciens et des nos. actuels des MSS latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale, St. Germain became St. Petersburg F.1.11. This contains (MSS latins...conservés à la Bibliothèque Imperiale de S. Petersbourg, Dom. A.Staerk) the Tripartite History of Cassiodorus and the Life of St. Lupus. It was formerly Corbie no. 292 and 177 (Delisle, Cabinet des MSS...II.432, 437). Even so, it is also included in the list given by the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. To find a connection with Gilo, we have to go back to an earlier St. Germain 460 which is also listed in the catalogue of the library of St. Germain (1677) under the number 796. The concordances of the MSS from St. Germain (Bibliothèque Nationale MS nouv.acq.fr. 5799) give the later number of this as 505 or 460. St. Germain 505 became the present MS Lat. 12607, which contains on ff. 197v - 224 the Vita Hugonis Abbatia Cluniacensis of Gilo. I owe this last piece of information to Mme Denise Bloch, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Again using Omont's Concordance we can trace the path of Résidu St. Germain 97.4.12 as it became MS Lat.13090. Like 12607 this also contains the Vita Hugonis of Gilo. Another MS Résidu St. Germain became MS Lat.11944, which contains the Book of Deuteronomy with glosses, and a treatise on the Mass.
By the reference 'Valentinian 219' Manitius would appear to have in mind the Bibliothèque Municipale of Valenciennes; this MS is also listed as a MS of Gilo's poem by the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (like those above, it is presumably included on the strength of Manitius' evidence), but it does not contain this work. The old 219, now 228, is a 'Mélange de Théologie et de Sermons'; the present 219 (ancien 210) was formerly Saint-Amand Index Major XXV.; ancien S.190, Sanderus 184, and is a XIIIth century MS of sermons.

The final two MSS, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B.33 and Charleville 97, do contain the text of Gilo's poem. The latter is also the sole repository of the additions to Gilo's work written by the Charleville poet.

So the, from all these references, seven MSS alone actually contain the text of the Historia Viae Hierosolimitanae of Gilo. These correspond to Riant's seven MSS, and accordingly I retain his designation of them. Correspondence with the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er in Brussels, as well as a thorough search of continental and English library catalogues, have failed to reveal the existence of further MSS of this work. Manitius seems to have been (in part at least) confused by Gilo's other work, the Vita Sancti Hugonis Abbatis Cluniacensis, though it seems peculiar why he should on the one hand have ignored Riant's list of MSS (it antedates his own work by several years), and on the other hand why he should have consistently put forward references which can only be termed archaic.

The seven MSS may then be listed as follows:

B Douai. Bibliothèque Municipale MS Lat. 382. XIIth century.


D Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er MS Lat. 10615 - 10729. XIIth century.

E Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er MS Lat. 7442. Late XVIIth century.


Description of the Manuscripts

A Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 12945. Parchment, probably mid-XIIIth century. Ancien St. Germain 1080. Written in double columns, with 36 or 37 lines to a column. This contains Gilo's poem on ff. 113 to 136, under the title Textus Gestorum Memorandum Christricolarum. It also contains the histories of the First Crusade by Guibert of Nogent (ff. 1 - 64) and by Fulcher of Chartres (ff. 65 - 112), as well as the Apologeticus of Saint Bernard, a document relating the divisions of parishes at Corbie, extracts of St. Jerome, and Guillaume le Breton's vocabulary of Biblical words. This was the MS used by Dom Martène in his edition of the poem.

B Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 382, former 338 and G.629. Parchment, late XIIth century. This MS originally belonged to the abbey of Marchiennes, where it carried the
number 10. It is written in various hands in double columns with 40 or 41 lines to a column. As well as the poem by Gilo, which is found on ff. 113 to 125, this MS contains poems by Marbod of Rennes and Hildebert of Lavardin, a collection of proverbs and *versus de contemptu mundi*; the History of the Crusade by Bartolf of Nangis; a rhythmical poem on the Crusade and various historical documents relating to it; Jeromе's *De Viris Illustribus*; the history of the Crusade by Fulcher of Chartres; excerpts of Quintus Curtius; poems by Hildebert on the Virgin Mary and on Mohammed; Pseudo-Dares' *Historia Troianorum*; more documents on the Crusade; and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. This MS was known to Martène (*Ampliss. Coll. t.V, col. 507*) but he did not discover it before his own edition had gone to press.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 5129, formerly Tellier 274 and Regius 3855A. Parchment. According to C. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des MSS en écriture latine*, II, p.261, this MS was written during the papacy of Eugenius III (1145 - 1153). It is written in double columns with 35 lines to a column. It contains Gilo's poem on ff. 71 - 86, under the title *Historia Gilonis Cardinalis Episcopi de Via Hierosolimitana*. It also contains the *Historia Hierosolimitana* of Robert the Monk, an elegiac poem on the capture of Jerusalem, and a work on the topography of the Holy City; poems of Hildebert of Lavardin, the *Carmen de Opere Sex Dierum* and the *Carmen Elegiacum de Nummo*; a list of the names of popes and cardinals of Rome; poems on St. Victor and St. Maurice; the *Expositio in Symbolum* of Goscelin of Soissons; a poem on famous
places in the world; Threni De Excidio Troiae; and finally Hildebert's poem De Mahumete. P.T. Eden (Theobaldii
Physiologus, p.10) claims that this MS and Douai 782
even on a superficial examination, show 'unmistakeable
signs of the closest relationship', and that the text they
contain of the Physiologus descends from a common exemplar,
'which represents what is virtually a new recension of the
poem made during the great revival of interest in learning
and letters in the twelfth century in Northern France'.

D Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er 10615 - 10729.
Parchment, XIlth century, written in double columns with
between 68 and 71 lines per column. This manuscript con­tains Gilo's poem on ff. 165 r° - 172 v°, under the title
Textus Gestorum Memorandae Christicolarum (the same as A).
According to the Brussels Library Card Catalogue, this MS
was written c.1150, and came originally from Cues, S. Nicolas,
from the Bollandists of Anvers, and from Paris,
Bibliothèque Nationale. As well as Gilo's poem, it also
contains a host of sermons, works on law and grammar, and
many classical and late Christian works. Other notable
medieval works it contains are the Ecbasis Captiui and
Guil d'Amiens' Carmen de Hastingae Proelio.

E Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er 7442, formerly
7575 - 7585. Paper, late XVIIth century, written in a
single hand in single columns with between 41 and 44 lines
to a column. This contains Gilo's poem, bibliographical
notes, the Historia Hierosolimitana of Robert the Monk,
and anonymous letters to the King of Egypt and to the
Egyptians.
F Rome. Biblioteca Vallicelliana MS B.33. Parchment, XIth century, written in double columns with 39 lines per column. Gilo's poem is found on ff.44 r. to 54 v., and is introduced by the words incipit Historia Gilonis Parisiensis. It also contains the Historia Hierosolimitana of Baudri of Dol (ff.1 - 43 v.) and the Legenda et Passio St. Matthaei Apostoli.

G Charleville-Mézières. Bibliothèque Municipale MS 97. A palimpsested parchment MS of the mid-XIIth century, written in single columns with 30 lines to a column. This MS, only 18cm by 12cm in size, is the sole source of the additions to Gilo's poem by the Charleville poet, and was the MS used by Sirmond in the editio princeps which appeared in DuChesne's Historiae Francorum Scriptores. The MS was originally at least twice its present size, as can be seen from the original lining, which shows through in many places; after being palimpsested, the leaves were cut in half and re-bound, so that the original text now shows through as vertical lines. The first text seems to have been a lectionary, probably dating from the 10th century; on f.109 v., for example, the following words can be read: 'Dominum nostrum...ficate in cordibus uestris', and on f.111 v., 'In natalem S. Pauli. Lectio Actuum Apostolorum. Saulus autem spirans minarum..' (Acts 91, etc.).

The text superimposed above this is itself in a very poor state, having apparently suffered water-damage at some time. Much of the writing is smudged, and the parchment itself is swollen and cracked, rendering the MS
illegible in many places where the ink has flaked off or disintegrated. Thus there are many lacunae in the text of the Charleville poet, and even after examination under ultra-violet light at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, parts of the text remain illegible. Sample trial photographs using ultra-violet and infra-red processes showed no sign whatsoever of making these readings any clearer.

In addition to the work of the Charleville poet and of Gilo, this MS contains the following poems and works:

Avitus Alcimius Ecdidius, Bishop of Vienne, lib.II (incomplete), lib.III, lib.IV, lib.V, lib.VI (ff. 1 - 40 v°); excerptum de chronico de viris illustribus Isidori junioris Hyspalensis episcopi; Proba Falcona, Cento Vergiliiana (ff. 42 - 52 v°); Ecloga Theoduli (ff. 53 - 60).

The poem by the Charleville poet begins on f. 60 r° with the rubricated title Historia Gestorum Viae Nostri Temporis Hierosolimitanae, and Book III of the work ends on f.78, with the rubric incipit quartus (sc. liber) a domno Giloni Parisiensi cum ceteris sequentibus eleganter editus. As shall be made clear, there is good reason to question the truth of this last statement. Gilo's poem, together with additions to Book IV and to Book V, and the intercalated Book VI, follow directly, until of f.109 v° the text breaks off at the verse .t rapido cursu belli robur patiere (VII.471). Only 6 lines of this page have been written, and the initial letters in red at the start of each line are missing. However the rest of the MS is ready palimpsested, showing that work could have gone ahead. Why the text should break off so suddenly must remain a mystery.

The MS is written in a single hand in brown (pos-
ibly faded black) with highly decorated capital letters in red to mark the beginning of each new book. The initial letters to each line are also in red ink. A member of the staff of the Manuscript Section of the Bibliothèque Nationale kindly identified the decoration in this MS as being typical of the late 11th and 12th centuries in the Champagne region, which fits in very well with the present location of the MS. The hand itself is irregular and many of the letters are poorly formed. In view of the date and provenance of the MS, as well as its contents, it may be regarded as a possible autograph of the Charleville poet (cf. below, 'Authorship and Date').
The first point to be noted in considering the relations of the MSS ABCDEFG is that E, the 17th century Brussels MS, is a codex eliminandus. E reproduces all of the errors, transpositions and omissions that occur in D, the other Brussels MS, as well as introducing many of its own. Their identical location, together with the relative date of these two MSS, suggests strongly that E is a direct copy from D. It can therefore be eliminated. For the sake of completeness, however, its variants from D are listed in an appendix.

The most important feature of the relations of the MSS is their contents. ABCDF contain only the poem by Gilo, which comprises five books and is complete in itself. G alone contains the work of the Charleville poet, and the arrangement of its contents shows that these additions do not constitute a separate work, but are a revision and expansion of Gilo's earlier composition. In G, three books precede Gilo's poem (the arrangement found in G is followed in this edition, and these books are numbered I, II and III). There then follows Gilo's poem, with lengthy additions to Book IV (Gilo I) and a shorter addition to Book V (Gilo II), as well as an entire book (VI) between Gilo II and Gilo III. This intercalated book is, like the first three, unique to G, and represents the work of the interpolating Charleville poet. The work then proceeds in G exactly as in the other MSS until at VII.471 the text breaks off abruptly; Gilo's poem is complete in the other MSS. It is obvious that G stands apart from the rest of the MSS, being the sole repository of the Charleville poet's work. This produces at the outset a
division which may be represented thus:

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A B C D F
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Turning next to the variant readings found in the six MSS, the most striking divergence occurs between ADG on the one hand and BCF on the other; this represents by far the largest single group of variants (163 all told). The deep division between these two groupings is made starker by the presence of the author's prologue, written in the first person in elegiac couplets, in BCF only, and the presence only in AD of a verse epilogue written about Gilo in the third person (G is of course an incomplete text and therefore cannot be taken into account as far as the latter part of the argument is concerned, though it may be considered likely that, in view of its close affinities with A and D, it too would have contained this verse epilogue). The verse epilogue found in AD is not the work of Gilo; the style recalls his, but is clumsy by comparison, and the writing in the third person suggests that it is the work of a copyist, probably at an early stage of the dissemination of the text. This stage is represented in the stemma below by $\beta$. 
The stemma above assumes that the variant readings were introduced at the \( \beta \) stage, where the verse prologue would have been lost and the verse epilogue added. An examination of the variants shows however that it is not possible to say of either grouping, BCF or ADG, that it is always 'right' or 'wrong', and on some occasions neither side of the tradition is 'in error'. The readings on the BCF side of the tradition are more preferable on the whole, and there are some unmetrical readings on the ADG side (though these seem to be corrected independently by the Charleville poet). But it seems odd that a scribe should interpolate so many variants, many of which seem to be deliberate alterations, and which are on some occasions visibly inferior to the readings in BCF which they replace; BCF's text is on the whole more preferable. It is also odd that the ADG side should omit the author's own preface, unless the exemplar from which they all descend had lost the leaf containing the prologue and nothing more.
It is the presence on one side only of the tradition of the author's own verse prologue which provides an alternative explanation, and a rather more illuminating one, of so many variants between BCF and ADG. The absence of the prologue in ADG, together with the fact that this side of the tradition presents a rather less polished text, suggests that the MS tradition presents not one, but two stages in the composition of Gilo's work. ADG represent the first stage; after composition, this version would no doubt have been circulated among Gilo's friends, or read to them, so that they could make constructive criticisms of it and suggest improvements. This was a common practice in the Middle Ages; it was enjoined by Horace in his Ars Poetica, and is referred to by Walter of Châtillon in the preface to his Alexandreis. Similarly, Geoffrey of Monmouth addresses Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent, his dedicatees, as though they were to correct or improve upon his work, and John of Salisbury would appear to have been called upon by Peter of Celle to comment on a copy of the latter's work De Panibus, which John discusses in his thirty-third letter. It would have been at this stage that a copy or copies were made of Gilo's poem, and this is the text preserved in ADG. At this stage the text would be anonymous, as the author would not have appended his own prologue; hence the addition by an unknown hand (☎) of the verse epilogue stating the author's name, found only on the ADG side of the MSS tradition.

After receiving criticism and suggestions for improving his poem, Gilo would then have prepared a final version, incorporating more polished and more felicitous expressions, and correcting any faults in the metre. He may even have
incorporated alternative readings, perhaps in the form of glosses: cf. the notes to the text on V.386 and the complex tradition which appears to lie behind it. To this final draft of the poem Gilo would have prefixed his own prologue, so typical of medieval literature, and the work would have been finally finished. It is this version that has been preserved in BCF. This explanation takes account both of the overall superiority of the readings in the BCF side of the tradition, of the 'acceptibility' of the vast majority of the variants found in ADG, and of the presence of the author's own prologue on only one side of the tradition. BCF also contain brief prose notes at the end of the poem, giving a few details of the author's life; these are obviously not by Gilo himself, and entered the tradition at a point shown below by α.

The two stages of the development of the text are represented by 'Gilo I' for the first stage and by 'Gilo II' for the final stage. This may be represented thus:

The second most numerous group of variants occurs where
BC agree together against the other MSS. On these occasions BC are frequently, though not always, in error. This suggests a common parentage for BC. Some of their readings may be glosses from the final stage of the text, and erroneously incorporated as corrections; this is almost certainly the case at V.386, and may be true elsewhere.

The parent of BC is designated γ in the stemma below.

In the same way DG agree together, usually in error, against ABCF. The parent MS of DG is designated δ in the stemma below.

Finally, a few occasions where G agrees with BCF against AD should be noted (IV.41, 59, 207, 315, VII.204). This is possibly the result of contamination from the BCF side of the MS tradition; but in this case it is rather hard to understand why contamination has not occurred more often. Since G is an inveterate interpolator, and on other occasions (for example at IV.252, where G reads saxis against caveis in BCF and the unmetrical rupibus in AD) corrects AD independently of BCF, as well as introducing new readings of its own, these occasions where G agrees with BCF against AD are better regarded as being the result of independent corrections by G of faults in the AD tradition; these are probably the work of the Charleville poet.

The text as found in each MS shows that the scribe of each MS had introduced errors of his own, as the apparatus criticus makes clear. The final stemma may be drawn up as follows:
Orthographical Notes

There seems to be no hard-and-fast rule when it comes to establishing what orthographical 'sense' any writer should take even presenting a particular Medieval Latin text. In view of the considerable variety of spelling found in medieval MSS, it might be more helpful to treat each case according to its merits. While attitude seems to have you showed every word end, where a text is found in a later manuscript the word ends are often given to be of printing and arrangement and should be treated as such. In the case of the forms in Latin English, ed. 1926, ed. and Notes, of Anne's Lists is therefore the one form that is accepted here. The main advantage of these issues is that they tend to provide a dictionary of "classical" spelling more accurately preserved or words in the text. Different forms are provided by different in the 'classical' and 1973 at Cantor's of Chaucer, but I will treat as given by and their forms as: the on and 1974, and 1975. In their editions of the Crusades, works of 1976 of 1978 and 1979, 1971, early and very thorough.
Orthographical Notes

There seems to be no hard-and-fast rule when it comes to establishing what orthographical stance any editor should take when presenting a particular Medieval Latin text. In view of the bewildering variety of spelling found in medieval MSS, it might be thought more prudent to treat each one according to its merits, and this attitude seems to have won widespread favour among editors. Where a text is found in a codex unique, the most common policy seems to be that of printing the spellings contained in that MS, as is the case of the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, ed. Morton and Muntz, or Abbo's *Libri Bellorum Parisiacae Urbis*, ed. Waquet. This is therefore the course I have decided to follow in that part of the poem found only in the Charleville MS, and in the presentation of the glosses found in MS F.

Editors presenting works found in more than one MS have varied much in their treatment of orthography. The diphthongs -ae- and -oe-, for example, are contracted to plain -e- by Monfrin in his edition of Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum*. Colker, in his edition of the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon, claims to 'represent regularly caudate -e- by the diphthong' (p.xxxi), though many forms requiring a diphthong in 'classical' orthography are presented as plain -e- in the text. Full diphthongs are retained by Behrends in the *Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, but contracted to plain -e- by Gompf, *Joseph Iscanus Werke und Briefe*. J.H. and L.L. Hill, in their editions of the Crusade histories of Raymond of Agiles and Peter Tudebod, retain caudate -e- throughout.
Clarke, in the *Vita Merlini*, believes the forms with 'v' and 'j' to be the modern convention (p. 48); 'j' is also used by Monfrin, and 'v' is used alongside 'u' by Suchomski and Willumat, *Lateinische Comedie des 12. Jahrhunderts*, by Dronke in Bernardus Silvestris' *Cosmographia*, and by Gompf.

a) Capital Letters

As is common in MSS of the medieval period, there is great variation among the six early MSS of Gilo as regards their treatment of proper names (in the treatment of the orthographical problems which follows, I have ignored the readings of the 17th century MS E). In general, proper names are not spelled with a capital except where they commence a line of verse, since the initial letter of each line is invariably capitalised. However, in the case of MSS A and C, the names Godefridus, Raimundus and Boimundus are frequently written with initial capitals, as perhaps befits the three major 'heroes' of the poem, and the names of other characters are also occasionally written with capitals. Similarly MS G occasionally capitalises the proper names of persons. In the case of names of towns, rivers, hills, and so forth, the MSS are all but unanimous and do not capitalise these names. In ABF at IX. 375 the author's name is begun with a capital, and is written entirely in capitals at this point in CD.

I have restored initial capitals to all proper names in the text in order to prevent confusions which might otherwise arise. Where proper names are used in a transferred sense, as for example *ioue* or *marte*, I have retained the lowercase initial.
b) Treatment of Diphthongs -ae and -oe-

The six MSS ABCDFG show an even greater variety in their treatment of diphthongs that in that of proper names. Full diphthongisation (-ae-, -oe-), contraction to caudate -e- (§) and full contraction all occur. There is a general tendency towards contraction in all six MSS, though each shows a reasonably consistent practice within itself, except for B. Their individual practice is as follows:

A  Full contraction of -ae- and -oe- to plain -e- at both beginnings and ends of words;

B  Full contraction to plain -e- at beginnings of words, and partial use of caudate -e- at ends of words, though some full contraction occurs here also. This MS is visibly the work of many different hands, which appear to have varied in their practice;

C  Full contraction to plain -e- at beginnings of words, and partial contraction to caudate -e- for terminations;

D  Full contraction to plain -e- at beginnings of words; sporadic full contraction for terminations, otherwise partial contraction to caudate -e- at word-endings;

F  Full contraction to plain -e- throughout, with minor exceptions;

G  Contraction to caudate -e- at both beginnings and ends of words, with occasionally -ae- and -oe- written in full. It is interesting to note that this MS is unique of all the MSS in that caudate -e- is sometimes used where no diphthong would as a rule be expected, as for example cecidere for cecidere, eoum for eoum, and so on.

In that part of the text contained in all the MSS I have adopted what seems to be the majority practice, and have contracted both diphthongs, -ae- and -oe-, to plain -e-.

This adoption brings the added advantage of clarifying certain instances of end-rhyme where -e- and -ae- are freely rhymed, as at V.146, 148, 164 et al. It would appear from this that -ae- and -e- were assimilated in both spoken and written Latin in this period of the Middle Ages.
In those verses found only in MS G, I follow the orthography of that MS.

c) -u/-v- and -i/-j-

As regards the consonant-vowels -u/-v- and -i/-j-, I have used in the text the form -u- for the lower case and -V- for the upper case of this letter, and the form -i/-I- for both consonant- and vowel-i.

d) Abbreviations

All abbreviations, including dns for dominus, or Ihs and Ihc for Jesus, as well as the usual scribal contractions, are fully expanded in the text.

e) Assimilation

Siguinus, Ars Lectoria pp.16 - 17, lists many examples of assimilation, and regards it as normative.

(i) adc-/acc- At IX.255, F alone reads ad crescere, the other MSS assimilating to accrescere.

(ii) adf-/aff- At IX.287, AF read adfuit against BCD, which assimilate.

(iii) adg-/agg- adg- is always assimilated to agg-, except in F, which retains adg- always, and A at VIII.406, where adgraduntur is read.

(iv) adp-/app- adp- is always assimilated to app-, except in F, which retains adp- at VII.229 and at IX.18; D, which reads adp- at VII.157 and IX.18; and G, which has adplaudendo at VII.157.
(v) **ads-/ass-** ads- is assimilated to ass-, except at IV.5, ad
dis BCDF, VII.174 adda
milanda F, VIII.229 ad-
stabant AD, VIII.243 ad
tat ADG (where this reading is
retained), and in A at VIII.403, IX.120, and IX.17.

(vi) **adt-/att-** adt- is always assimilated to att-, except
in D at V.101 and VIII.161 ad
tonitos, and in A at IX.
104 adtingere.

(vii) **conl-/coll-** Cf. Siguinus, Ars. Lect. p.17. conl-
is assimilated to coll- in a majority of instances;
there are exceptions at IV.227 conlacrimabant, C, and
at VIII.320, conlaterale AF.

(viii) **exs-/ex-** Verbs beginning with exs-, such as exspec-
to, exsto, etc., are generally contracted to expecto,
exto, though ABC read exstupuere at IX.254, AG have
exsequitur at VII.150, and D has exs- at VIII.66 and IX.
29; A also has it at V.178, and C has it at VIII.262.
Siguinus (Ars Lect. p.44) reports Priscian as saying
'quosdam post x noluisse admittere'.

(ix) **inl-/ill-** Cf. Siguinus, Ars Lect. p.17. inl-
is always assimilated to ill-, except in F at VIII.278,
inlicitum.

(x) **inr-/irr-** inr- is always assimilated to irr-, except
in A, VII.436, inrupit.

(xi) **subm-/summ-** subm- is only assimilated at two places
in the text, at VIII.435, where A has summittene, and
IX.299, where AD have summissae.

(xii) **subp-/supp-** subp- is always assimilated to supp-,
save for one instance in B, at VII.397.

In the text I have followed the practice of the majority
of the MSS, and have assimilated all the above prefixes save
subm-, the one example which a clear majority of the MSS do not assimilate; indeed, those readings where subm- is not assimilated far outnumber those where it is.

f) Double- and single-consonants

There is considerable confusion among the MSS as to the treatment of double-consonants, these often being shortened to single-consonants; the opposite also occurs, and many readings show double-consonants where a single would be expected. These occur as follows:

i) Single- for double-consonants  In the word sagitta, -tt- is shortened to -t- throughout in F, which also shortens -tt- at V.142, VII.447, and VIII.161. D shortens -tt- to -t- at V.142, 148, VII.359, and in quattuor at VIII.370. A shortens -tt- at VIII.364 and 370, and C does so in quattuor at VII.370. D shortens -pp- at IV.201, 228, V.58; F does so at IV.201, 228, VII.263, and in both oppressit and opprimet at VII.383.

-ll- is shortened by AF at V.15, and by D at IX.162.

-rr- is shortened by F at V.139, by A at VII.11, and by D at VIII.216.

-mm- is shortened by A at VIII.410 and IX.53.

-cc- is shortened by F at IX.246, and by A at IX.255.

-ss- is abbreviated to -s- by F at VIII.227, and by D at IX.385.

-gg- is shortened by F at VII.282, by DF at VIII.309, and by BF at VIII.360.

D reads redit for reddit at VIII.312.
Out of a total of 46 instances of single- for double-consonants in 40 places in the text, 25 are found in F, 12 in D, 7 in A, 2 in B; this phenomenon does not occur in G.

(ii) Double- for single-consonants -p- is reduplicated by B in dupplici at V.201 and IX.281, and in clippeos at VII.108; by F in Appulus at VII.202, and reppit, VIII.227; by A in supperare, VII.380, and by BD in supprema at IX.305.

-s- is doubled by F at VII.172 and IX.45; by CD at IX.17 and by D alone at IX.294, nesscius.

-r- is doubled by D, territ, at V.299, and by F in frrena, VIII.140.

-c- becomes -cc- in occulus, etc., pr.m.D VII.271, and F VIII.45 at IX.149.

-m- is doubled by pr.m.G at VII.64, commeta, and by G at VII.170, ammentant.

-f- is doubled by D at V.171 and VII.216, and by BD at IX.300. D reads allii for ali at IX.352.

Of 23 examples of this phenomenon found in 20 places in the text, D has 8, F 7, B 5, and ACG one apiece.

g) Proper names

Proper names, especially those of a rare pedigree, were always apt to confuse the medieval scribe, who had only his own wits to help him, unless a list of glosses etc. were available. It is perhaps fortunate that the work of Gilo and the Charleville poet contains few names from classical mythology; the characters in the poem had lived only a generation before the poem was written, and one might have expected that their
names would have been reasonably well known, but some confusion does occur, as follows:

Boimundus is spelled Boymundus consistently by B, save at V. 163, 169, 185, 205, 212, and VII. 115; as with the varying practice shown in the treatment of diphthongs (above, (b), 'Treatment of diphthongs -ae- and -oe-'), this may be the result of more than one scribe working on the MS. F also reads Boymundus at VII. 115. B reads Boamundus in the first hand at IV. 158; this reading is corrected to Boimundus by a second hand.

Casianus is spelled Cassianus at V. 382 BDF, VII. 152 F, and VII. 109 B, pr.m.D, F.

Corbana is rendered Corbara in VII. 333 A and IX. 79 ACD. The Gesta Francorum and other early prose chronicles render this name with an -r- always; some confusion has evidently crept in at an early stage.

Guillelmus is spelt Willelmus by ABF at VII. 439, A VIII. 170, and DF at IX. 195, where C reads Gillelmus. C reads Villelmus at VII. 439, and at IX. 85/86, A reads Guillelmus and F has Willelmus and Warinus.

Iherusalem is rendered thus 17 times by the MSS, Jerusalem 8 times, and Hierusalem 12 times. I have adopted Iherusalem in the text. Iherusalem occurs in AB always, in G at V. 111 and in F at IV. 10 and IX. 267, 282, 374. Hierusalem is the ubiquitous reading of G, and of D save at IV. 10 and IX. 147; it is also the reading of F at VIII. 101, IX. 232, 374. Cf. Siguinus, Ars Lect. p. 24, 'Vitium enim agunt qui h in Iherusalem, Iesum, Ieremias ponunt'.

Raimundus is rendered Remundus in all places except IV. 28 in A, and in that verse BD render it Raymundus.

Tancretius is spelled variously Thancretius, G V. 261, C V. 374
and V.408; Tancretus D V.374; Tancrecius in ACD at IX.145 and in A IX.337; Tancretus by D at IX.334.

Orthographical variants of other, less common, proper names will be found in the apparatus criticus ad loc.

h) Various

(i) -b/-p- confusion obtinerunt is spelled with initial op- by ABCDG at V.127 and by ABCD at V.203, and this is therefore the form adopted in the text. optatum has initial ob- in G, V.170, and in BC, VIII.435. G renders subtillis with -p- for -b- twice in V.434. D has babtisma for baptisma at VIII.20; it also reads pleps at VIII.202, VIII.309, and (pr.m.) VIII.288. G also reads babtizatus at VI.35 and babtismatis at IV.111.

(ii) con-/cum- confusion All MSS read cumpariter at V.444, where there is a strong word-play with cum cadere. AD has cumstricti for constricti at IV.121. F has cum- for con- at V.46, 88, 248, 273, VIII.306, IX.38, and IX.100. BC read incombite for incumbite at VII.438.

(iii) duces/dulces D reads Dulces for duces at V.210, 223, VII.125, VII.181, 185, VIII.112.

(iv) -f/-ph- confusion This occurs in profanum at IV.177, where AF read prophanum, and at VIII.16, where BD have propha. In addition, AD read faretra against ECFG pharetra at IV.301, and A reads faretras at V.188.

(v) -h/-ch- confusion In the case of mihi/michi, G has mihi throughout; AF read michi only at V.438 and VII.358; C has it at V.438 and 445, and B only at V.438. D reads michi always.

In the case of nihil/nichil, all MSS read nichil always,
save G, which reads nihil always.
In the text I have preferred the forms nichil and mihi,
since these are the forms most common in the MSS. In
those lines found only in G I reproduce its practice.

(vi) -i-/y- confusion
There is widespread variation in
the treatment of words containing vowel -i-. imber is
the reading throughout AD, and is also found in BCF at
V.65, in F at VIII.147, and in B at IX.326. G always
has the form ymber. Siguinus, Ars. Lect. p. 35 etc.,
always has himber.
At V.63, hiemps is rendered hyemps by D, and at VIII.
94 by BC; at the latter place AF reads hiems. At VIII.
145 B alone reads hyemps, AF again reading hiems. At
VIII.343 B alone renders hiemali with -y- for -i-.
sydus is spelled sidus by F at IV.260 and by ADF at IX.
262; these MSS also read Licea for Lycea at V.126, and
Simeonis at V.70. A renders imago with -y- for -i- at
VII.318 and IX.191; C does likewise with hiatus at V.
158 and 327; F with eia at VII.71; D with cibus at VII.
316; FG with hilaratque at VII.322; and BC with his-
toriam at IX.4.
Cayphas is spelled with -i- for -y- by AD at IX.125, and
Syloe with -i- by A alone at IX.186. -i- also replaces
-y- in martyr in A at VIII.65, and in tyrannos, AF
IX.365.
In the text I have used the forms imber, hiemps, sydus,
Lycea, Simeonis, imago, hiatus, eia, Cayphas, Syloe, as
these are the readings of the MSS in the majority of
places. Where G is the unique source of the text, I
follow its practices.
(vii) -m/-n- confusion There is a great deal of confusion between -m- and -n- in all the MSS in words such as membra, impediunt, utrimque, etc.; cf. the discussion in Siguinus, Ars Lect. p.15. In many cases abbreviation makes it impossible to tell whether the scribe intended -m- or -n-, but the following are cases where the intention seems reasonably clear:

Membra is spelled membra by BDG at V.321, by BDF at VIII.5, IX.211,322; by BFG at VII.272, 286, 375; by DF at IV.330, V.388, VII.95, 106, IX.61; by BD at V.321; and by F alone at VIII.192 and IX.330.

Verbs compounded in imm-, imp- etc., and other words containing this sequence of letters, are rendered -in- by DFG at V.306; by DG at V.1; by FG at V.181; ADF at VIII.351, 425; by AD at VIII.163; BF at VII.335; DF at V.19, VII.358, VIII.261, IX.71; by A at IV.332, VIII.126 (sonnum), 156 (sumno), IX.223; by D at V.318, 350, VII.465, VIII.14, 53, VIII.259, 403, IX.50, 174; by F at V.384 (imitata), 424, VII.62, 104, 316 (enptus), IX.257 (compositores). In addition B reads circundans at IV.234.

Utrinque is rendered utrimque at V.232 AFG; V.405 CFG; VII.334 ACDP; VII.404 ACF.

Quemdam, quamdam are spelt with -n- for -m- at VII.336 DFG; VII.480 CDF, VIII.327 CD.

Quicunque, etc. is spelt with -m- for -n- at V.76 C; VII.61 CG; VII.149 ABCG; and VII.198 CD.

-m- is also found for -n- in umguibus, B V.431; imquit B V.436; incumbebat, A VII.169, vicime A VIII.251.

In the text I have retained -m- in membra, quemdam, and verbs compounded in imm-, imp- etc. I have
retained -n- in utrinque and quicunque, as it is the form found in a majority of instances in the MSS. In verses found only in MS G, I have followed the practice of that MS.

(viii) -m/-mp- confusion This occurs in only a few words such as damna/dampna, sollemnia/sollemnia, etc. dampna is the reading throughout F, A save at IX.114, D save at IV.190, 215, and IX.114, and G save at V.400. B reads dampna at IV.190, 206, 215, and V.400; the presence of this variant in just this part of the MS is probably the result of several scribes' having had a hand in its writing; see above, (b). C reads damna throughout. Siguinus (ArE Lect. p.14) comments 'Vitium faciunt qui p in....damnum, sollemnis interserunt'. sollemnia etc. is the reading of BF at V.59, and of AF at IX.39. columnna is read in BF in V.380, and at IX.278 F reads contempta for contenta.

For hiems/hiemps, see above, paragraph (vi).

In the text I have retained dampna and hiemps, but preferred -m- for -mp- in other cases. Where the text is from G alone, the spelling of that MS is followed.

(ix) onus/honus, etc. There is a great divergence in the ways the different MSS treat these words. A reads honus, etc., throughout; F does so save at VIII.197 and IX.4, and D does so except at IV.251, V.387, VIII.197 and IX.4. G reads onus etc. always, as do B (save for one instance at VII.180, honeratur) and C (save at V.387, VII.180, and pr.m.C VIII.197, honus).

The compound exhonerabat is spelled exonerabat by ECG at VII.284; in the text I have followed AF at this
point, however, in order to keep in line with honor, which is the reading found in a majority of places.

In the case of ymnis at V.259, only D spells with an initial -h-.

(x) protinus/proptinus  The variant protinus is read in A at IV.132, 208, 294, V.50, VII.131, 200, VIII.116, IX.171, 217. A also reads sonipnes at IV.321.

(xi) pugnare/pungnare  D reads pungnare for pugnare at IV.240, and also adds an extra -n- to cognatos, making congnatos, at IV.332.

(xii) sequuntur/secuntur  secuntur is the reading of BCD at V.117 and VII.157; of ABC at VIII.105; of ABCD at VIII.355; and of all MSS bar G at V.343. It is therefore the form adopted in the text. In addition to the above, sequite occurs for secute in F at VII.366.

(xiii) -t/-c- confusion.  This occurs with very great frequency indeed in all MSS, especially in the case of -ti/-ci-, except for G. It may derive from the softening of -ti- in medieval pronunciation, and indeed from its partial aspiration, as in modern French. Some editors ignore this variant, so widespread is it (e.g. Colker, Alexandreis p.xxxi). Cf. Siguinus, Ars Lect. p.13, where -ci- is regarded as normative in some cases.

Substitution of -ci- for -ti- occurs in ABCF at V.237; ADF, VII.350, 396; ACF V.378; ADF VII.412, 431, IX.97; CDF VII.307, 308, VIII.12; AF VIII.294, 306, 381, IX.7, 66, 197, 302, 329, 336, 376; DF V.322, IX.204; AD IX.127, 162; BC VII.247, IX.184; A VII.452, 483, VIII.99, 110, 163, 295, 383, IX.10, 42, 67, 96, 204, 337, 337; B VII.243; G IV.220; D V.134, 287, VII.232, 256, VIII.163, 274, 387, IX.34, 46; F IV.197, V.410, 417, VII.326, 357, 394, 412, VII.416, VIII.100, 297, 297, VIII.331, 359, IX.71, 115, 201.

It is interesting to note that no occurrences of this kind are to be found in the readings of G; this could
be due to a careful scribe, or to a date and provenance
which might rule out the occurrence of such variants.

Out of 105 occurrences of this phenomenon in 67
places in the text, F has 38, A 34, D 19, C 8, B 6, and
G 0. The higher figures for AF might suggest that these
MSS show increasing confusion because of their date or
provenance, but in such a long text and with comparatively
small figures, such a conclusion is impossible to sub-
stantiate.

Conversely, -ti-/ci- confusion results in -ti-
replacing -ci- in several places:
AB at VII.108, in A at V.345, B VII.198, 263 (defitiebat),
271, 286; in C at IX.323; in D at IV.297, V.334, VII.
313, IX.42; in F at IV.286; and in G at V.63. There is
far less substitution or -ti- for -ci- than vice versa,
only 13 cases in all, occurring at 12 places in the text.

(xiv) -t-/-d- confusion As in the case of -ti-/ci- con-
fusion, this may be the result of the scribe’s pronuncia-
tion to himself, or of dictation to an amanuensis by a
reader (for examples of oral confusion arising in the
copying of medieval texts, cf. H.J. Chaytor, From Script
To Print, pp.18 - 20).
uelut is rendered uelud by BD at IV.274, VII.383, 500, IX.
312; by B at IV.296; by D at V.341.
Terminal -t- is replaced by -d- in DF, nequid for nequit,
V.313; by D at v.72, at; by A in reliquid at v.435; by
D in nequid for nequit at VII.219; in F at VII.357, in-
quid for inquit, VII.407, 433; in A at IX.62, and in B
at IX.135.
Conversely, haud is spelled haut by BCD at VIII.62, 133,
408; by BDF at VII.200; by ABD at VII.394; by BF at V.
152, and by F at V.345. B also substitutes -t- for -d- in aliquod at VIII.70. caput/capud also causes problems in the MSS; ABCG all read caput consistently, F has capud at VII.275, 284, 337; D reads capud throughout, save at V.360, VII.157, 284, 337, where it reads caput. In the text I have used the forms uelut, haud, caput. F also substitutes -d- for -c- in quidquid for quicquid at VIII.389.

(xv) -t-/th- confusion Antiochenis is spelled Anthiochenis in D at IV.355, VII.161, 344, VIII.72, 98, and IX.80. D also has matheria for materia at IX.1 and IX.251, and adds an -h- to musearum at IX.50, making muscharum. A reads thela for tela at IV.259 and 282. Ether is contracted to eter by D at V.291, VII.451, IX.25, 119, 326.

(xvi) tempora/timpora The variant timpora occurs only in the sense of 'temples of the head' at the following places: VII.190 in CDF, VII.195 in ABCD, VII.433 in ABCDF, VIII.87 in D, VIII.259 in ADF, and IX.82 in ACD. Timpora occurs 19 times as against 14 examples of tempora in the sense specified above, and I therefore follow the majority and use it in the text where the meaning is 'temples of the head'. This form is attested by Latham, though it is not supported by any of the latin glossographers. Timpora in the sense specified above is found in Walter of Châtillon, Alexandreis, X.494, and Siguinus, Ars Lect. p.59, suggests that this differentiation was deliberate, done in order to distinguish the two senses of tempus: 'tempus' spacium
diei et pars capitis. delirant enim bruti qui per י ad differentiam "timpus" dicunt'.

Again, the practice of ג is followed in verses found in that MS only.

(xvii) -ו- This graphic variant occurs only in A, and replaces -uu- in wilners, etc., at IV.286, VII.457, and IX.54, and in wltum at VII.340. It is only found in the other MSS in such proper names as Eurardus, Euurardus, Ewurdus, etc.
Previous Editions


The editio princeps of the Historia Viae Hierosolimitanae was printed in the Historiae Francorum Scriptores series, which appeared over several years early in the 17th century, the first volume appearing in 1636 and the fourth and last, which contains the text of the poem, was published in 1649. The DuChesnes, André (the father) and François (the son) were well-known antiquarians, and were aided in their endeavours by many acquaintances of like mind, in particular Jesuits, and it is to one such, Jacques Sirmond, that François DuChesne owed the text of the Historia Viae Hierosolimitanae. Sirmond appears to be the source of the name 'Fulco' given to the author of the additions to Gilo's work (see supra, 'Authorship and Date'); the text he sent to DuChesne is evidently a transcription of the damaged Charleville MS (designated G in this edition), although it is nowhere specified as such, being referred to simply as Sirmond's exemplar. That this was the Charleville MS is unquestionable; Sirmond's text contains numerous lacunae at precisely those places where the text of the Charleville MS is illegible; it contains precisely those additions found uniquely there; and finally the text terminates at VII.471, where the text of MS G stops abruptly short. Sirmond obviously found the task of transcribing a MS of such poor quality a difficult one, and the text he presented is fragmented and disjointed.
to such an extent that Martène, the next editor of the poem, judged it to be 'tot lacunis foedatum, ut Gilonem in ipso Gilone quaeras'.


The text contained in the DuChesne collection remained all that was known of the poem until 1717, when there appeared another collection of recondite works and memorabilia, the *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, edited by Edmond Martène. In his text of the *Historia Viae Hierosolimitanae* in tom. III p.211ff., Martène had one major advantage over his precursor, as he himself says in his prologue to Gilo's poem: 'Cum vero nostrae Parisiensis S. Germ. bibliothecae codices manuscriptos evolverem, incidit in manus meas idem Gilonis Parisiensis opus cum hac epigraphe Acherrii nostri manu exarata: "sequens historia edita est in fine tom. IV Hist Franc. SS. Andreae du Chesne at maxima parte differt. Praeterea edita est plena lacunis: ea de causa haec MS digna prelo submitti". Hanc cum legissem, statim rapuit me desiderium editum cum MS conferendi, ex cuius collatione reperi non solum ducentas circa lacunas sarciri posse, pluresque locos vitiatos emendari, sed partem libri quarti cum quinto et sexto integro in editis desiderari...'. It is clear from the information that Martène gives about the location of the MS he had found that this is the Paris St. Germain MS designated in the present edition as A (now Paris Bib. Nat. MS Lat. 12945): this is also corroborated by the readings found in Martène's edition, and, as he himself says, he was able by judicious use of the Paris MS, to fill in all the lacunae
in the text of Gilo. It is interesting to note that another worthy savant of that period, Luc d'Achery, had also discovered the St. Germain MS. The text Martène presented, however, was irrationally eclectic; he ignored the first three books printed in DuChesne and there ascribed to 'Fulco', printing six books only, namely the five books actually by Gilo and the intercalated Book VI, together with some (but not all) of the other additional material from the Sirmond-DuChesne edition, and assuming that all this was the work of Gilo alone; no mention is made anywhere of 'Fulco'. Furthermore, Martène does not discuss the issue raised by the different contents of these MSS, how one comes to contain material not in the other, which should be considered to have priority over the other, or the sources for the extra portions of text. In addition, the information he supplies about the actual contents of the Sirmond-DuChesne edition and the St. Germain MS is incomplete, and he does not include all the additions provided by the former. In his Book I (Book IV of the present edition) he includes the following interpolations from his editio (i.e. the Sirmond-DuChesne text):

vv. 40 - 41 (quas Caesar....tunc auxiliandi)

vv. 60 - 119 (ergo plorantes....ingrediantur)

He also notes at the foot of the page that at vv. 120ff. the editio has four verses, where the St. Germain MS has only two. But he totally ignores the addition at the end of this book (IV.357 - 435 in the present edition), not even mentioning its existence in the editio. Elsewhere he is scrupulous in noting variant readings found in the editio, and verses missing in it but found in his MS
(or vice versa), remarking on them in the footnotes. However, what is really misleading about Martène's edition is his printing of Book III of his edition (Book VI of the present) without any suggestion that it is missing from the St. Germain MS, and therefore might not be by Gilo. In this he follows DuChesne, who printed only the first three books under the name 'Fulco' and attributes the remainder to Gilo. This error is even more widespread since Martène's is the text of Gilo reproduced in Migne, Patrologia Latina, CLV, cols. 943 - 994, published in 1854. It also accounts for the erroneous date for so long ascribed to the poem by Gilo (see supra, 'Authorship and Date'). The error is further compounded by Manitius, who in this case is inexcusable, since Riant's edition had been available for over thirty years by the time Bd.III of his Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters went to press. The authorship of the intercalated book is rightly questioned by Louis de Mas-Latrie in the preface to Riant's edition. The latin paragraph headings which further subdivide the six books in both the Martène and Migne editions are not to be found in any of the extant MSS, and must therefore be the work of Martène himself.

3. Dom Berthereau

The work of Berthereau is worthy of inclusion at this point, since he planned to produce an edition of the poem by Gilo and the Charleville poet, although he died before this project could be completed. His papers were, however, collected together, and those concerning the
First Crusade are now bound together in Bib.Nat.MS Fr. 9080 (Ancien Supp.Fr. 25031610), under the heading 'Recueil des Croisades X'. Those parts which have a direct bearing on the Crusade were collected by Riant, and published for the Société de l'Orient Latin of Paris in tom. 2 of Archives de l'Orient Latin in 1884. In his 'Observatio Praevia' Berthereau summarizes the earlier work of DuChesne and Martène, noting in addition that the latter had stated that he had also discovered the poem by Gilo in a 'codex Marchianensis', now Douai 882, which was once the property of the abbey of Marchiennes (MS B in the present edition). Berthereau makes it clear that he took the Charleville author (whose nomenclature he unreservedly accepts from Sirmond's work, while admitting that the name 'Fulco' does not appear anywhere) at his word, since he comments on the final four lines of book III 'quibus verbis non solum huius historiae duplex auctor, sed etiam ab alterutro planius innotescit', thus assuming the intercalated book VI and the other additions to the poem to have come from the pen of Gilo. This becomes yet clearer when we read later 'ducor ad suspicandum Cheenianum exemplar primigenium opus esse Gilonis; Martenianum vero opus idem esse ab ipso Gilone correctum et emendatum'. In view of the contents of the Charleville MS and its similarity to the legendary stories found in Albert of Aix, the priority of the five books of Gilo over the rest is quite certain. Berthereau left among his papers printed texts of the Historia Viae Hierosolimitanae by Sirmond-DuChesne and by Martène, with summaries, notes and corrections, and a list of variants of
Gilo from the Paris MS Bib. Nat. MS Lat. 5129 (MS C in the present edition). He also left a further copy of Martène's text with other collations and philological notes.  


This edition, the latest prior to the present one, was the first to take account of all known MSS of the text: Riant's sigla are therefore adopted in this study (see supra, 'The Manuscripts'). However, Riant's use of the MSS was far from methodical or scientific; he made no attempt to discover their relationships, and adopted readings in a haphazard fashion from now one side of the tradition, now from the other. In addition his reporting of the MSS readings is not always accurate, BCF on the one hand and ADG on the other agreeing with far more frequency than is apparent from his footnotes, and DE agreeing (as one might expect, since E is but a direct copy of D) on far more occasions than he observes.

Riant also perpetuates the error of attributing the intercalated Book VI to Gilo, as Mas-Latrie, writing in the preface to the poem in the introduction of the volume, makes clear. Moreover, Riant's reporting of the more difficult readings of the Charleville MS are not always trustworthy: this MS was already in a very poor state when Sirmond read it in the 17th century, and its damage must therefore be ascribed to an earlier period than this. Moreover, readings brought to light by the use of the ultra-violet lamp show that Riant frequently relies on Sirmond in the DuChesne edition for his text of the work of the Charleville poet. There are many occasions
where Riant follows Sirmond and reports no difficulty in deciphering the MS, but where even under ultra-violet and infra-red light, the text can only just be picked out. On other occasions, where the use of the ultra-violet lamp has revealed the true reading, Riant shows by his lacunae that he found the reading impossible to decipher. Such inconsistencies cast a shadow of doubt over several passages in Riant's text, and where his readings of the Charleville MS differ from the truth, they are noted in the *apparatus criticus* of this edition. The prologue to Riant's text, by Louis de Mas-Latrie, is discussed at length under 'Authorship and Date', above.

Notes:

1) *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum* III p.211 pref.; Migne *PL CLV*
2) *ibid.*
3) Printed in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, Paris 1884, II p.130, and in *RHC* V. pp.695-696 p.13
4) *Amplissima Collectio*, V col.507 (Paris 1724 - 1733)
5) *RHC H.Occ*. V pp.695-696
6) *ibid.*
7) *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II p.130
8) *RHC H. Occ*. V pp.cxl - cxlviii
A Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms Lat. 17945
B Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms Lat. 382
C Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms Lat. 5729
D Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er
Ms Lat. 10615 - 10729
E Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Ms B.31
F Charleville-Mézières, Bibliothèque Municipale
Ms 97

Histomand, editio in P. Duchesne, Historiae Fraterum
Scriptorum, tom. IV, p.690ff., Paris 1669

Billant, editio in Nauert des Historien des Croisades
Historicorum Occidentum tom. V, Paris 1693
SIGLA

A  Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 12945
B  Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale MS Lat. 882
C  Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 5129
D  Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er MS Lat. 10615 - 10729
F  Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS B.33
G  Charleville-Mézières, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 97

Sirmond       editio in F. DuChesne, Historiae Francorum Scriptores, tom. IV, p.390ff., Paris 1649

Riant         editio in Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Historiens Occidentaux tom. V, Paris 1895
LIBER I

Incipit libellus uiae nostri temporis Hierosolimitanae

Inclyta gesta ducum perscribere magnanimorum fert animus, patrum qui fortia facta suorum non solum magnis successibus aequiperare sed maiore fide certarunt exsuperare. ardor inest, inquam, sententia fixaque menti, uersibus et numeris transmittere posteritati qualiter instinctu deitatis et auspice nutu est aggressa uia memorando nobilis actu, qua sacrosancti violantes iura sepulchri digna recuperunt meriti commercia praui, inque suis Francis antiqua resurgere Troia coept et edomuit Christo contraria regna. ista nihil factum, nil tegmine-fraudis amictum, sed puri ueri referet narratio fructum.

non hic Pegasei gestimus pocula fontis, nec Parnasiaci spelea loquacia montis, nec libet Aonio deducere uertice Musas, quae sibi ter ternas finxit mendosa vetustas,

2 Ovid M I.1; Persius IV.7; Ovid M XII.575; Maxim. El. V.36; Sid. App. C VII.197 5 Claudian In Ruf. I.1 11 Verg. A I.206 15 cf. Persius Prol 1 17 = Proba VC 14 = Verg. C III.11

7 nutu cod.: cultu Sirmond, Riant
sed petimus trina uirtus deiitatis et una
rore suae lucis nostra arida colluat ora,
clarificet pingues tersa caligine uisus,
exacuatque hebetes subtili indagine sensus
materie ut tanta ualeamus promere digna,
dictaque cum factis sint uel uicina uel sequa;
quique uel infantum linguas facit esse disertas,
mutisque et brutis uoces dedit articulatas,
auferat a nobis puerilia brutaque sensa,
conferat et nobis matura et congrua pensa;
quique dedit ducibus magnis euincere posse,
concedat nobis gratanter dicere nosse,
ut bene gesta patrum reminiscens emula uirtus
euolet ad similes per flammam pectoris actus.

sedit cod.m.alt. : dicere cod.m.pr.  
artisulatas cod.m.pr.  
satis Sirmond. Riant :  
sates cod.  
aggregietur scripsi : aggregiatur cod.  
Paschale cod.m.pr.
expectabatur super affore cēlicus ignis,
tum uice flammicome ferrata lucerna papyri
aptabatur, auens diuno obstare nitori.
cum tamen omnipotens sua per miracula numen
ferro ceu stuppe clarum darem ëedere lumen,
hostis deuictus, sed non compunctus in istis,
temptabat stolidis célestia dona sagittis,
ut circu sacri laquearia fulgida tecti
confixam segetem potuisses cernere ferri.
sin uero hæc tarde miracula proveniebant,
tempore nec solito sacra lumina se referebant,
tum gladii circum sacra limina triste micabant,
atque pios caput discrimine terrificabant
ni precibus celarem impetrarent affore lucem.
nec cita nec tarda sedabant signa furorem.
sic Arabes, Persae, Moedi simul atque Elamitē,
Assyrii, Allophyli, Parthi quoque Cōspiadaeque
et quæ mille colunt gentes Babylonia regna,
quas Nilus, Eufrates, quas Tigrīdis alluit unda,
aduersus cēlum coniurata arma ferebant,
et ueluti Phlegrae certamina restituebant.
sic ut et omne sacrum penitus ne dirueretur,
multa Dei seruis auraria praeciperetur,

51 Verg. A VIII.25, Sil. VII.142  63 Ovid M XV.763
64 Ovid M X.151, Statius A I.484

58 sēdabant cod.m.pr.  65 ne cod. : tunc Sirmond, Riant
præsulis Euthymii quod epistola significauit
dum sua per Gallos legatio peruolitauiit,
 nec column sperans armorum exercituumque
quesitum potius auri solamen oemque.
cuius ad egregium querimonia tunc Godefridum
nomine scripta tenus lacrimarum mouit abussum,
dum gentile nefas, dum blasphemantia uerba
replicat, inque pios minitantia dicta uel acta.
talibus et tantis Deitas permota procellis,
sanctorumque etiam gruibus pulsata querelis
mouit belligeras per plurima regna cateruas,
ut super his iustas inflammarentur in iras,
et pro uindicata pietatis suscienda

corpora cum uita ferrent in aperta pericla.
qualiter hoc autem uel quo sit tempore gestum
ordo sequens operis non differet inreseratum.

anno milleno sexto deciesque noueno
a Patris Verbo uelamine carnis amicto,
cum rex eximius Francorum scçptra Phylippus
ferret, et Heinricus regeret Lotharingica quartus,
contigit Urbanum Romanis pontificantem
Gallorum fines inuisere iura dicantem,
ecclesiis Christi sua commoda prospicientem,

84 cf. Prudentius Apoth.333

86 Heinricus cod. : Henricus Sirmond, Riant
pro meritis poenas et præmia constituentem.
hic postquam primum gelidas pertransit Alpes
famaque præcessit discurrens per regiones,
undique conueniunt diversis agmina uotis,
diversi cultus, diversæ conditionis,

multa super multis passim rogitantia causis,
plurimaque ex uariis responsa petentia curis,
pars auscultandi studio nova siue uidendi,
pars quoque discendi nihil minus atque docendi.
qui, quia non cunctis per singula sufficiebat,
sepius atque eadem repeti non suppeditabat,
concilium statuit generale indicere cunctis,

urbs Aruernorum Clarmontis nominem dicta
huius concilii locus exstitit; hac reuocata

agmina concurrunt quæ misit Gallia tota
(nam tres in partes ea noscit esse dirempta,
hinc Belgis Celtisque colentibus, hinc Aquitanis,
legibus et studiis distantibus atque loquelis)
quo postquam uentum et de pluribus est agitatum,
et uice concordi finita negotia centum,
inspirante Deo se questio maxima iecit
et memorata satis querimonia pectora mouit
de domibus, Christo carnis gestante, sacratiss

93 conueniunt cod. : concurrunt Sirmond, Riant 97
parrs cod. 99 cunctis cod., Sirmond : cunctos Riant
et modo paganis male ritibus obtenebratis,
urbem Hierusalem, primum caput ecclesiarum,
matrem ac nutricem sanctorum discipulorum
atque inspectricem signorum uinificorum,
sanguine sacratam primorum martyriorum,
nunc fore speluncam protectricemque latronum,
perque eius caveam lacerari membra piorum
et blasphemari nomen super omnia sanctum
calcarique Dei templum spernique sepulchrum;
 ergo laborandum quo convertatur et ad se
iam tandem rediens ipsam se queritet in se
ac nihilum spernens ad uerum se trahat, esse;
admodo namque sui miserendi tempus adesse.
prospiceret domnus sapienti pectore Papa
quid facto sit opus, quo sint loca sacra recepta,
agmina namque sua concorditer esse parata
ad subeunda Dei pro laude pericula cuncta;
non ignes uel aquas, sibi non obstiere ferrum
quin paribus uotis agmen uolet inreuocatum,
si tutela Dei sibi propitiabilis assit,
si non pontificum fauor et benedictio desit.
talibus atque alis conuentio pertonat orantibus,
ut sic uelle Deum bene posset credere quiuis.
tum uir apostolicus peruo luens singula queque
cum uidet in cunctis unum fore foedus idemque,
usus consilio primatum pontificumque,
cumque ipsis fundens Domino pia uota precesque,
tunc super orando cunctos a crimine soluit.
inde voluntati deuotę frena remisit
et pro culparum uenia tolerare labores
iussit, et illatos patienter ferre dolores,
atque illis præsens ne consolatio deesset,
immo prompta satis benedictio semper adesset,
pontificem Podii quem dicimus Aniciensem
militi, sacra stabiliuit præcipientem,
ac ne ferre minus solus sua pondera possit
collegam posuit quem clara Aurengia misit.
his ducibus freta diuinitus agmina sacra
insumunt contra cuncta aspera pectora digna.
non urbes, castra retinent, non praedia larga,
non thalami, nati, non sollicitudo paterna,
quin pro laude Dei concorditer arma capescant
iuratisque animis in cuncta pericula currant.
ergo parant sese fidei, ferrique nitore
stipantur passim pedites equitumque cateruę,
quas Liger atque Elaber, Matrona et Sequana mittit,
quas Arar et Rhodanus, Durentia et Isara promit.
Exona et Esia quos agitat magnusque Garumna, quos Scaldes, Mosa, Rhenus pariterque Mosella, quos Athesis pulcher præterfluit Heridanusque, quos Tyberis, Macra, Vulturnus Crustumiumque. concurrunt Itali, Galli, pariterque Alemanni, Noricii, Sueui, tum Saxones atque Boemii. Pisani ac Veneti propulsant εqūra remis, oceanus flavis distendit uela Brytannis. procedunt alacres diversis partibus, atque condicunt ubi se socient terraque marique.

nunc libet ex parte populos memorare ducesque quorum uirtute uiguit uia sacra fidesque. inclitus ille ducum Godfredus culmen homosque, omnibus exemplum bonitatis militiisque, siue hasta iaculans έquaret Parthica tela, comminus aut feriens terebraret ferrea suta, seu gladio pugnans carnēs resecaret et ossa, siue eques atque pedes propellēret agmina densa, hic, inimictiis cunctis sibi conciliatis, cunctis possessis pro Christi pace relictis arripuit callem Christum sectando uocantem quem iuxta gemini fratres comitantur euntem, stipantur circūm proceres equites petītesque, utraque Belgica quos Transrhenanique dedere,

161 Tibullus I.vii.11 168 Lucan III.78 170 Lucan I.201

162 Renus cod.m.pr. 169 pprocedunt (sic) cod.m.pr. 176 suta cod., Sirmond : scuta Riant
namque Alemannorum quicquid uel Vindelicorum
siue Sueuorum petil utale sepulchrum
illius elegit sua iungere coetibus arma,
nosse minus nihil uocalia mutaque signa.
eius enim resonans turbat gentilia nomen
ac si concuterent elisa tonitra fulmen,
eius uexillis uolitantibus intremit hostis,
ipsius gladio socius defenditur omnis,
ipsius populos currentes undique ad arma
conperimus creuisse ad milia septuaginta.

ex hinc Rotbertus, Morinorum uiuida uirtus,
quos nunc Flandrenses appellat temporis usus,
milia densa mouet, cuius memorabile dextra
promeruit nomen Parthorum ce de probata.
post hunc magnifice Rotbertus claruit alter,
qui Normannorum ductor praesignis et acer
propulit egregias in Christi bella cohortes
cum quibus anthideas alacer uolat in legiones.

et comes eximius Hugo cognomine Magnus,
Phylippi regis uterinus frater et unus,
agmina nobilium comitantia Francigenarum
duxit in exitium memorabile Nilicolarum.

Proba VC 664 = Verg. A V.754
rector Montensis, populus quem nomine prisco
Neruius assequitur, Heinodariusque moderno,
cui patrui tulerat Morinos dampnabile crimen,
Arnulfum perimens dominum pariterque nepotem,
proruit, instructis in Christi prælia turmis,
coniuge cum natis, domibus, castrisque relictis.
hinc Stephanus comitis Tetbaldi clara propago
calcat iter sacrum, circumdatus agmine denso,
se spre siue metu media inter prælia uictus
effectu gemino sociis fit inutile pignus,
cum primo regis Constantinopolitani
diuitiis captus ceruicem flecteret ipsi,
ac post desperans Dominum fore cunctipotentem
exiit Antiochi foedis egressibus urbem,
atque, fuga turpi retrogradus absque pudore,
consimiles secum traxit, stimulante pauore,
quin et subsidio conclusis aduennentem
armorum et uictus stipendia multa ferentem
prædictum regem retro celerare coçgit
dum socios omnes falso periisse rexit.
ista tamen longo post tempore gesta fuere,
quæ nunc hic breuiter suffecerit inseruisse.
hinc comes Egidii discernens iura beati

208 Heinodariusque Cod., Sirmond : Heinodatiusque
Plant
milia densa mouet sancti sub honore sepulchri,
què sibi dat magnis opibus Provinciarum florens,
quèque ministrauit populose Gothias pollens.

at trans aerias diversis tractibus Alpes,
quas diversiuoce compellant circa habitantes -
nam Gothias, Graias, Penninas Iuliadasque
appellare solent positi propliusque proculque -
qui Rutuli, Marsi, Samnites atque Peligni,
qui Ligures, Itali, Tusci pariterque Sabini,
Umbri, Lucani, Calabri simul atque Sabelli,
Aurunci, Volsci uel qui memorantur Etrusci,
quèque etiam gentes sparguntur in Apula rura,
quis conferre manus uisum est in prèlia dura,
sub iuga Tancradi et Boimundi corripuere
et contra fidei refugas patria arma tulere.

multi praeterea comites proceresque minores
inter primores quos enumerauimus omnes
adiunxere suas collato robore uires,
Galli siue Itali, uel quos dat pagina plures,
quos, ne lecturis (siqui tamen esse ualebunt
quos positis curis hæc usia nostra tenebunt)
rusticitas calami pariat fastidia longa,
non est consilium per nomina promere cuncta.

230 I.197 233 Verg. G III.474; Ovid M II.226

231 Provincia cod. : Provincia Sirmond, Riant 234
quas Riant, recte ut opinor : quos cod., Sirmond
237 hunc v.om. Sirmond, Riant
omnibus his pastor bene prouidus ac moderator preōsil Haimarus Podii fuit atque sacrator, cumque sodale suo quem clara Aurengia misit ut pater in natos curam conferre satēgit, quod uelut anterior iam pagina commemorauit domnus Papa sibi diuinitus imperitauit.

impensis igitur cum strenuiteate paratis diuersos portus adeunt exercitus omnis. quidam per Venetos trans Adriacosque Liburnos, quidam Brundisium, nonnulli molle Tarentum, quidam piscosi tenerunt moenia Bari, qua Veneti fortes, felici merce beati, torpentes Lycios furto populante fidelī, deportauerunt Nicholai pignora Sancti, atque per hos omnes portus feliciter acti

iuxta condictum sunt agmina in una redacti, per maria et fluctus optata ad litora uecti. at uero insignis Godefridus iam memoratus ordinibus densis armato milite septus castellis, terris, uillis, domibus spoliatus, argenti atque auri summa multiplice fartus, omnibus impensis plene atque deceter onustus, expetiit Rhenum, qua se Maguntia pollens

255 I.150 262 Horace S II.iv.34 271 Ilias Latina 173

272 uallis cod.
iuxtaque Vormatia reserat, naualia praebens;
quo preteruectus tentoria candida figit
et memoratorum uenientia milia iungit.
agmine multiplici tunc metans ulteriora
atque in processu socium crescente chorea
hinc Reganeiburgi famosum permeat Hystrum,
hunc quoque Danubium (uerax est fama) uocatum.
annibus hic multis magnisque et nauibus aptis,
nam deties senis, spatiose uentre receptis,
in mare prorumpit Scythicum quod Thracia censet,
tanta mole fluens ut amara in dulcia mutet,
quod prope Cholcorum fines septemfluus intrat,
obuius ac undis aurati Phasidos extat.
haic etiam ripa ulcina est silua sinistra
quam uocat Herquiniam scriptorum pagina multa.
ista uia septem memoratur lata dierum,
porro tricenorum bis tenditur agmine longum.
nutrit et alarum volucres fulgore suarum
noctibus obscuris pandentes strata viarum;
nutrit et externis animalia plura figuris:
unis nomen inest alces, comitantibus uris.
alciibus haud ulla sunt internodia cruris,
uris cornua sunt immensae concavitas

280 cf. Horace, S II.1.36 287 Ovid M XV.753 294
Verg. A I.421; Charleville Poet II.205

282 quo scripsi : quem cod., Sirmond, Riant
280 pr cessu cod. ubi hae litterae abrasae esse uidentur
281 Reganeiburgi cod. : Reganetburgi Sirmond : Reg-
niciburgii Riant 282 hic om. cod.m.pr. 289 est cod.
Sirmond : et Riant
ex quibus ampla satis et leuia pocula fiunt,
ditibus et mensis et honora et commoda prosunt,
seu docti artifices ea quadrificata rotundent,
integra siue sinant et fissa caloribus aptent.
digrediens ergo generousus ductor ab Hystro
versus Pannonias iter arripit agmine toto.

quod quali fuerit ratione uel ordine gestum,
quæ causa excitum potuit sædare tumultum,
ad praesens refugit mens dicere, lassaque multum
palpitat, inque alium gestit differre libellum.

explicit liber primus. incipit secundus
ante uiam ceptam ducis in Domini famulatum, 
cum primum proceres niti coepere paratum, 
pars quaedam stolide reliquos processerat ante, 
agmen agens magnum, pariter peditumque equitumque.

hos heremita Petrus quidam, sic nomine dictus, 
ducere ceparat, sed numquam ad talia doctus. 
cuius in hoc socius quidam Vualterius ibat, 
qui Sine Merce superpositum cognomen habebat. 

his ducibus dicti gestantes arma manipli 
ibant securi, nullo moderamine cauti, 
credentes proprii gratisque existere iuris 
omnia quæ cupidis demonstrarentur ocellis, 
 nec per iter cep tum quicquam sibi iure negandum 
quin potius ferro quouis prohibente petendum. 

nam neque curarant stipendia multa parare 
quœ sibi sperarent stipendia ubique patere, 
seque, evangelii prœones discipulosque, 
ex euangelio capere indumenta cibosque. 
talia dum sperant, sperataque mente recursant, 
et iam deficere sibi parce parte retractant, 
Pannonias ueniunt, crucis ante insignia monstrant 
uestibus insuta, nullisque instantibus intrant. 
ingressi gratis quæ sibi uisa requirunt; 
non data diripiunt, hostiliter ostia frangunt.

8 Sine Merce cod. : sine habere Sirmond : sine auere 
Flant 22 nullis (om. -que) cod.m.pr.
horrea frumentis, uino cellaria fraudant.
siqui uestis egent, indutos tegmine nudant.
in proprias escas aliena animalia mactant,
in proprios usus aliena negotia captant,
instituunt festas alieno ex iure tabernas,
dant mercaturas alieno ex foenore largas.
qui ueluti ciues intrarant hospita tecta,
ipsis in tectis peragunt hostilia cuncta.
quid moror in multis? non ulla exempla malorum
disconuenerunt plus genti Christicolarum.

his irritantur uetscanis motibus Huni.
fama uolans patrio facit omnia cognita regi:
undique conueniunt, conclusos undique mactant,
hic fugit, hic pugnat, cuncti moriendo laborant;
maxima pars gladiis, pars fluminibus periere,
pauci cum ducibus se morti subripuere.
cumque fuga medium regionis iam tenuissent
et solitos iterum raptus agere instituissent,
rex iterum accitus fama uolitante recurrat
et circumducta medios indagine claudit.

conseritur bellum, uirtus fortunaque certat,
comminus obturcant se quos strictura coartat.
aniceps pugna diu populi morientis utrimque,

33 Verg. A XI.102; Ovid M XIII.517 44 Lucan VI.42
47 Verg. A X.359

46 se quos cod. : si quos Sirmond, Riant
dum desperanter pugnant audensque pauensque,
donec externi concursibus indigenarum

turbati fugiunt metuentes tela sequentum.
forte fuit iuxta Christi venerabile templum
pignoribus multis sanctorum nobilitatum:
huc bello pulsi, gens inomulta, manipli
intendere fugam, spe morti se eripiendi.

sed gens barbaricis assueta furoribus uti

nil reuerens sanctae seruarunt religioni;
namque locum sacrum uallantes obsidione
allexere aliquos male fida deditione;
quos tamen egressos contra fas decapitantes

expauefecerunt reliquos, ne progredientes

more trucidati pecorum sine laude perirent,
ast ibi quicquid eis ferret fortuna subirent.
quapropter, rursus furiis immanibus acti,
igne supefecto circum fastigia templi,

non dubitauerunt ipsosque domumque cremare

atque Deo non suaue fragrantia thura adolere:

sed, quia non fuerat penes omnes culpa malorum,
cumque malis pariter fuit obruta uita bonorum,
ac simul almifici periit reuerentia templi,
nec cuiquam menti insedit miseratio Christi,
ostendit Dominus sibi talia non placuisse,
dum per signa locum sacra contullit enituuisse:
namque ibi per triduum fons sanguinis emanuit,
atque locum cedis condigno horrore notauerit.
praeterea dignis loca percrebescere signis
ex tunc affirmat discurrens fama celebris,
dum cecis, claudis uarioque dolore grauatis
omnipotens uirtus ibi præstat dona salutis.

his ita transactis, quoniam ille exercitus omnis
agmine non uno nec eisdem incedere castris
ob numerum poterat, non parua sede capacem
atque ideo inter se non magna parte sequacem,
quædam pars istas præcesserat hic residentes,
iamque uidebatur regionis tangere fines,

sed sibi præclusum castello et flumine magno
inuenit egressum, nec posse excedere claustro.

egressu ....... castellum prendere ceptant,
donec ....... castrenses coepta remittant:
dantque locum, claustris reseratis, egrediendi,
sic ex Pannoniis laceri exessere manipli.

hinc iter aggressi per fines Vulgariorum,
quos uocitant Thracas, ut habent monimenta priorum,
deuenere Gnidon, urbem sic nomine dictam,
calle perangusto ceu carceris ore patentem,
cuius pacificam poscentes transitionem

unus post unum quasi transiuere fenestram.
postquam progressi campo potiuntur aperto,

93 Sid.App. C V.376; Gilo VII.508

83 istas cod. : istos Sirmond, Riant 87 ...... ]

utito Riant: cod. non legi potest 88 ...... ]
exigu Riant: cod. non legi potest 89 dantque cod..
Sirmond : dentque Riant, fortasse recte
clamauere forum, famis instimulante magistro;
agmine uendentum sollemniter adueniente
monstrantur species, sed censu deficiente
ciperunt rapere quod mercari cupiebant,
et mandante fame cupide raptis inhiabant.
protinus excita concurrunt agmina ad arma.
propulsant, abigunt iaciendo hastilia dense.
corpora et arma simul consternunt strata uiarum,
nec fuga cessauit ternorum fine dierum.
his depulsa locis acies male consiliata,
imperio nullo, nullo moderamine ducta,
dum sibi cuncta forent contraria, prospera nulla,
duratis animis tendebat ad ulteriora:
ergo male expertam fugere exoptans Europam,
finibus inque Asiae fortunam querere blandam,
qua breuis est iuxta Byzantion Hellespontus,
cuius ab hoc artus dirimit Chalcedona cursus,
transiit atque urbem Nichomedis nomine dictam
inter et egregiam stabiluit castra Niccæam.
hos fuerant inter modica non parte Alemanni,
ante ducem dictum proprio sub nomine moti,
qui naturali nimium feritate tumentes
indignabantur reliquis fore consociales.

105 Verg. A I.421; Charleville poet I.293
Charleville poet II.93

98 magistro cod.m.pr. 108 mod ramine cod. ubi haec
littera 'e' abrassa esse uidetur 114 ab hoc scripsi:
ab hac cod.
at postquam fines quos diximus applicuerunt,
cuncta suis per se titulis agere instituerunt.

ergo Bythinorum castellum repperientes
incustoditum, moxque illud præcipientes
muniuere satis muris, custodibus, armis;
saxa, sudes, tormenta locant in turribus altis,
ordine disposito statuunt qui mœnia servent,
qui uero utilia residentibus omnia curen.

inde per extentæ fines regionis oberrant,
comportant prædas et rapto uiuere certant,
et, licet in patria sint omnimodis aliena,
sic agitant ueluti sua sit prouintia tota.
hoc ubi fama tulit per compita tot regionum,
quo iam nullus erat manifestus Christiolarum,
undique barbarice properant concurrere gentes,
undique multiplices protendunt obsidiones:
nam quia compererant ductores Francigenarum
(quorum nomen erat per totum nobile mundum)
coniurasse uiam sancti sub honore sepulchri,
et uiolatorum animatos cedibus uti,
si præcursores habuissent mortificatos
a reliquis sese sperabant iam fore tulos.
hoc igitur usto se totis uribus aptant,
artibus, ingeniis quæ ducent commoda curant,
aggeribus, pluteis, onagris quoque, fustibalisque

126 Verg. A XI.473 130 Verg. A VII.749 139
Charleville poet I.230

133 telit cod.
assultus ineunt cunctis utensilibusque.
nube sagittarum tenebrosus redditur aer,
uocibus atque tubis ululantibus obstrepit ether:
succedunt aliis aliis, uel uulnere tardis
vel diurnarum operarum pondere lassis.
obsessi porro feritate et robore freti
et, si deficiant, nusquam se uiuere certi,
omni telorum genere oppugnantibus instant,
ossaque corporaque et uitalia tota terebrant.

nec solum pereunt quos duro uulnere quassword,
quos sude quos ferro quos igne uel assere mactant,
quos uelut hylla terunt muralis pondera saxi,
quos quasi transiliunt uelamen acumina teli,
sed rabidos oculos uultusque uidendo minaces
exanimante metu fugiunt in terga furentes.
sipius hoc igitur temptantes, sepe repulsi,
nullo conatu castro ualuere potiri.
postquam nulla uiam uirtus ad talia confert,
protinus ad fraudem se contio barbara transfert.

mittitur extemplo legatio non bene cautis,
alliciens stolidos affatibus insidiosis:
cur maneant illic ubi uexet inedia lassos,
et mors, serra licet, rerum consumat egenos?
si uellent sanctum properanter adire sepulchrum,

148 cf. Statius T XI.247

152 nusquam cod. : nunquam Sirmond, Riant
158 uelamen acumina cod. : ...la. acumina Sirmond :
letalia acumina Riant 160 furentes suggesti :
...entes cod. : ruentes suppl. Riant 167 lassos
cod. : clausos Sirmond, Riant
170 cuius proposito uacuassent tecta parentum,  
ex facili posse uotis gaudere peractis  
si cum pace uelint castris exire relictis;  
denique se uotis concordibus esse paratos  
usque in Hierusalem cunctos deducere sanos,  
hoc quoque iurando sibi se promittere ferre,  
si non credendi teneantur...epp erione††  
talibus atque alis rationibus amplificatis  
inf lex e mentes populi non certa pa uentis,  
nam, si fortun e præsens ostensio blanda,  
175 ignorabatur quid haberet ferre futura.  
uestigatur ab his quæ sit fiducia coepti:  
iurant legati penitus nihil esse pericli;  
ductores etenim iam dudum stare paratos  
ducere qui ualeant iterumque reducere tutos.  
180 hoc se per legem cupide firmare paternam,  
per superos et si qua fides apud est Acherontem,  
sic tamen ut positis se pacifica agmina tellis  
credere non dubitent sibi iungi foedere certis.  
sic affirmatis mediante interprete dictis  
et male percussis ......acis imagine pactis,  
credita res miseris, legatio quam male suada  
pertulit, et pepgit iuratio plus male fida.  
excedunt castris et tradunt hostibus arma  
185 hoc se per legem cupide firmare paternam,  
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excedunt castris et tradunt hostibus arma

181 Verg. A II.75 186 Verg. A VI.459

174 sanos cod. : uivos Sirmond. Riant  
176††...epp erione† cod. : perdizione sugg. Hall :  
conditione Sirmond. Riant 181 uestigatur cod.  
189 affirmatis cod. : confirmatis Sirmond : affirm-  
atis Riant 190 ......acis cod. : sub pacis Riant
agmina capta dolis et prodizione subacta.

195 excipiunt ipsos ductores assimulati,
deduct sunt aliquot spatiis sub nomine pacti,
donec in exsām uenientes undique uallem,
uailli Hierusalem studuerunt ponere nomen:
quo facto medios densa statione coronant,

200 hos in Hierusalem iam se statuisse perorant;
quicquid promissum fuerit compleasse recursant,
nil illis post hac iam se debere recensent.
undique conclamant; gladiatorum spicula nudant,
armati nudos cœdent feriuntque, truncant,
nil prohibente metu, circumque infraque uagantur;
hinc etenim iugulis, hinc ferro bella geruntur.

205 nuda perit uirtus nec quo se ostendere possit
inuenit, et quid agat nulla ratione capescit.
cœdentur pauci media inter milia pressi,
et quod erat grauius, armis ac tegmine nudi
sic detruncantur, media sic cœde rotantur,
sic illi faciunt, sic isti perpetiuntur,

210 ut morti addicti medios clauduntur in enses,
ut dibachantur pecora inter inertia tygres.
tali fine ruit uirtus temeraria, frustra
dum sine consilio sperat sibi cœdere cuncta,
et uelut in messe succisi disperiere,
dum se non ualuit uirtus compressa mouere.

214 Verg. A IV.158

194 capta dolis Riant, recte ut opinor: ?captan dolis
cod. 195 excipiunt cod.: decipiunt Sirmond, Riant
196 aliquoti cod.m.pr. 203 gladiatorum cod.: gladios
& (sic) Sirmond: gladios et Riant
ex hac clade ferunt non euasisse uel unum
alterius partis qui detinuere recessum.
nam meminisse decet, siqui sunt ista legentes,
nos dixisse supra diuisas tunc legiones
quando Alemanni isti per se caput instituerunt
ac sese a reliquis secernere non timuerunt.
qui postquam per se statuerunt castra mouere
et male conducti ceu diximus interiere,
illi quos dictum est moetatos pone Nicœam
non minus aggressi stolida leuitate rapinam,
lance pari timidum periterque lacesere fortem,
pène paris dampni meruere incurrere sortem:
namque acie sparsa mox discurrendo per arua
oppida prædari primum cœpere minora;
ex hinc paulatim longe lateque uagari,
insignes uillas castellaque depopulari,
donec aspirans primo fortuna labori
suasit eos ausum ceco præbere furori.
urbs etenim clara bis iam memorata Nycea
olim ter centum patribus ter sexque sacrata,
dum per concilium, omni memorabile terra,
dogmata sunt Arrii penes ipsam mortificata,
haec erat et pollens opibus, tum robore firma
natura atque manu, populisque inmane referta;
qua dominabatur uenerans tamen idola turba

235 Verg. A II. 385

225 mouer cod. ubi haec littera 'e' abrasa esse uidetur
239 memorabile Sirmond. Riant, recte ut opinor : memo....t cod. 240 ipsa cod.
et famulabatur diuiino fonte renata;

245 hanc primum prēdis temptatam necne rapinis, post etiam uexant discursibus anteforanis. creuit inexplicitus processu temporis ausus. iam quatitur murus, nisi qua lacus imminet altus:
im quasi capturi crebris assultibus urbem comminus incursant plus quam sit causa timentem: nam quis mirari populum male desipientem, quis queat indocilem digne incusare cohortem? urbanos etenim, quos Christi fonte nitentes diximus, inque urbe non primos sed famulantes, uiderunt calamos sine ferro conicientes, et manuum gestu se significando cientes, ut prope congressi muris portisque recepti urbe potirentur, socio conamine freti; sed neque id obtunsus ualuit perpendere sensus aut intercipere uoluit male credulus ausus. sic igitur cēptum medio tenus intermissum, sic opere infecto est iter ad tentoria uersum.
tunc gemini proceres fuerant hēc regna tenentes, incertum nobis an fratres siue nepotes (uni Sultannus, alli nomen Solimannus), diues uterque satis et opimo milite cinctus; fama relatarum ueniens his nuntia rerum ammonuit tantum non dissimulare tumultum. cogunt militiam, ueniunt properando Nyceam,

244 cf. Arator AA II.600
inueniunt prædis compluribus exspoliatam. 
quê gesta inquirunt. multi conspecta renarrant, 
multi comperta, cuncti ulciscenda perorant. 
procêdunt contra, sed non opus est uia longa: 
inueniunt prope se quibus est pœnuria amara, 
namque lupos matrem solita extra pellere siluam 
non sinit hos placidam menbris dare cura quietem. 
ad prímos uísus acies statuuntur utrimque, 
sed non consímilis constantia perstat utrisque: 
primo congressu metuens fugit aduena turma, 
solaque pugna fuit fugientum cêdere terga. 
nulli spes cordi, nulli constantia menti 
pectora uel facies histi obiectare sequenti; 
nudatis manibus, proiectis turpiter armis 
in pedibus tota fiducia mansit inermis. 
nec prius absistit patientia commoriendi 
quam saties tenuit uictores interimendi: 
namque retro pulsos atque in sua terga regressos 
fines usque suos proculcauere supremos. 
hac in clade ruit Vualterius, unus eorum 
diximus istorum quos assumpsisse ducatum. 
alter, id est Petrus, retro fugiendo relatus, 
cum relíquis uius torrente Propontidis actus 
circa Byzantii latebras confinia fuit, 

Verg. A IV.5
donec se ducibus uenientibus associavit.

talia diversis stolidus comitatus in oris
aspera sustinuit, qui laxis fusus habenis
quicquid sperauit se posse explere putauit,
nec ducis impriō moderarier utile duxit.
has de se poenas gentilibus exhibuerunt

ac fidei nostrā spennendae exempla dederunt,
quamuis non longum fuerint hac laude hylarati
aut impune diu tulerint hac codi potiri.
sed quia iam rauca uult respirare camena
tercius ista thomus referet uirture resumpta.

explicit liber secundus. incipit tertius.

296 Verg. G II.364

298 moderarier cod.: moderantis Sirmond, Riant utile
cod.: uiuere Sirmond, Riant 302 potiri cod.,
Sirmond: potiti Riant
post ea quæ primo sunt enumerata libello
a diuerticulo repetedum est ordine terno.
quo diuerticulo docuit liber iste secundus
qualiter excitus fuerit malus ille tumultus,
quo fuerat sancti uia pæne relicta sepulchri,
ni uirtute foret procerum reparata potenti.
præmisso satis est iam dicta uolumine plaga.
nunc isto superest dicenda sequente medela.

postquam dux rapidum Godefridus transiit Hystrum
disposuitque suas turmas, per aperta uiarum
Norycios fines iam præteruectus abibat.
Pannonias uersus iter indefessus agebat

.............rumor nil tale timentibus asper
a............inque animos leuium pauor obruit acer;
agmina ........ bellum fugientia uulgi
quod sibi in introitu terræ sua culpa mereri
fecerat in prædis grassantibus atque rapinis
(quod memorasse sat est libri sermone prioris)
occurrunt stupidis et acerbant funera dictis.

orant retrogradis celerent uuestigia plantis,
uulnera demonstrant putri insiccata cruore,

20 Verg. A VI.159, Alcimius Avitus I.130
quicquid perpessi digno deflente dolore
deplorant structos capitum miseranter aceruos,
congeminant multos fluuiorum uortice mersos,
deflent innumerous cinerem tenus igne perustos,
sanguinis errantes sacra circa altaria rivos,
omnigenum mota populorum comminus arma,
nullum sufficere numerum ad gentilia monstra:
quin potius dum spes fugiendi percelerarent
ne conquestati insatiata clade perirent.
talia cuncta phalanx grauioraque comperientes;
non solum timidi, turbantur denique fortes.
exoptantur equi multis ........... longi
quot processissent ultra confinia Rheni,
seque super frontes illorum ..............
ne nece cogantur grau......................
consilium fractis angusto .................
electum multis agitant cum singula........
circumstare ducem durosque............... 
implorare fidem summæ Deitatis...........
ne quasi se uiles animas...................
neu uelit ut pecudes addicere perditioni.
sat sibi sufficere debere exempla priorum:
nec positos facile fines transcenderre patrum;
non sapere optandum plus quam sit copia nosse,
nec facere audendum plus quam foret utile posse:
multa per extentos pollere sacraria Gallos,
multos esse locos crandi iure dicatos,
siue Coloniaci subeant oracula Petri
siue genetricis ueneranda palatia Christi
seu loca sanctorum per plurima regna piorum
quorum sit precibus moles subiecta malorum.
posse ubicumque pias diuē bonitatis ad aures
illacrimando preces transmittere spirituales,
ipsum namque Deum nullatenus esse localem
sed totum totis in partibus esse potentem,
nec pretiosarum gazarum querere tempula
sed pia, sed pura, sed amare innoxia corda.
desinerent igitur temptare impossibiles res
frustraque incertas adamare superfluitates,
et si non possent euincere quod uoluissent,
id demum uellent insumere quod potuisissent.
talibus atque aliis grauioribus ingeminatis
pene retro uersis inflectebantur habenis:
at ductor ualidis angoribus intima pressus
atque hamo duplici circumb præcordia fixus,
ex uno profugos cernens graue passa gementes,
ex alio timidos bello grauiora pauentes -
nam fortes animo timidis agitantibus ista
nutabant inter Thersitis et Herculis arma,

70 Juvenal VIII.269-271, XI.31
spemque metumque inter, non belli munia poscunt,
non indigna fugae quærenda latibula promunt -
his, inquam, graulibus uir maximus undique septus
nunc prece nuncque minis nunc uero hortatibus usus
increpit "quænam sit eis mutatio tanta
qui deouissent Domino sese et sua cuncta,
qui se martyrrio pro Christi nomine promptos
usque uel in mortem iurassent subiciendos?
cur necdum positos in belli limine primo
cogat eos retro fugiendi dira cupidio?
cur quos terrírfici necdum canor increpet óris,
nec moueant pulsis uexilla uolantia uentis,
rumor iners agitet generosa relinquque coepta
et nondum usa dare terga fugacia pugna?
quid mirum si pacifica stations recçpti
in prædam uersi fuerint bellando repulsi?
hoc se facturos siquid sibi tale ueniret:
et mala quisquam illis propter benefacta referret?
on debere uiam rapto feruere beatam,
sed dare quam rapere plebem pia uota professam.
quì uenit ut ciuis et mox grassatur ut hostis,
non mirum sua si patiatur sequa tyrannis.
nequid forte sibi possit contingere tale,

71 Proba VC 542 = A. I.218; Alcimius Avitus VI.72
73 Prud. Apoth.708  74 Lucan V.480-481  77 Prud.
Psych.775; Gilo VII.197  79 Statius A II.34

72 quærenda Sirmond. Riant : ...renda cod.
?minis cod.
se curaturum non sanguine sed ratione,

namque manus meritis quæ dat sua iura superbis
mitibus hæc eadem dat munera prosperitatis.
denique splendiferum quæ fornav comprobat aurum,
hæc eadem reprobat uelut ad nihil utile plumbum.
quæ moto paleas exeterminat area uento,
hæc eadem puro suerat loca congrua grano.
nosse decere ommes, constantes mentis in actu,
non sine diuino hæc susæpta pericula nutu,
quæ sic per cuncti placuissent clymata mundi,
in quibus accipitur nomen uenerabile Christi.
et siquos fidei modicæ ferus atterat hostis,
nil hoc officere fidei integritate probatis,
quæ montes etiam Deitate fauente moveret,
talia si poscens nullatenus addubitaret".
talibus ammoniti redeunt in fortiæ cuncti,
et timidos etiam piguit uoluisse reuerti;
ut reuocantur apes post tædia mellificandi,
dum recreant animos Æris commenta sonori.
tunc ad rumigeros versus profugosque maniplos
increpat atque minis prope territat examinitos:
quid turbare rudes ipsis conuenerit aures
atque enuerandæ animi conquerere uires?

102 Charleville poet I.7  105 Sid. App.C VII.285

108 poscens cod. : noscens Sirmond, Riant
cetera si pergant, non hos sibi perpetiendos, stigmatibus sedemim cendentibus inficiendos; discendant potius melioribus atque locum dent ne sibi coniunctos ueluti contagia ledant; unumquemque suis satis est fore inutile membrum, nemo sepositis morbum inculcare nocium.

mittitur interea rectori Pannoniarum dicta ferens legum legatio pacificarum:

ductorem regni stipatum milite Christi deuoisse uiam sancti sub honore sepulchri, uelle iter inpavidum sua per confinia ferre, exorare sibi blande sua claustra patere; mercaturarum precio ... munia iusto

commutare uelit, pacis præbente ministro; uelle etiam stabili se conditione pacisci ne sibi quis noceret Pannon neque quis suus ulli; quod commississent male qui commissa luissent, ne quis speraret, firma ratione cauerent,

obsidibus namque firmaret protinus ipse, et non externis sed germano obside fratre, quod nihil aduersi per se accideret regioni; hoc et idemque sibi per eos debere rependi, hoc et ab ingressu regionis continuari donec in egressu contingueret exspatiari.

127 Charleville poet I.230

123 rectori cod. Sirmond : praetori Riant 129
... munia cod. : sibi munia Riant : communia apposui
132 noceret cod. : noceat Sirmond, Riant
talia dum passim legatio docta perorat,
rex cum consilio seriatim singula tractat.
omnia rimantes dum disceptando trahuntur,
nil fore quod possit reprehendi iure fatentur.

145 censent mandatis responsa decentia reddi:
ut bene sit uenienst ducori notificari,
officiis onerant legatos muneribusque.
aduentus statuunt signando diemque locumque.
gaudent non modice regiones Pannoniarum

150 quod digne exceptae legiones Francigenarum
sufficerent sese purgare a crimine cedis,
unde supra cessae est descripta tragœdia gentis.
dicta dies uenit, locus alma Sabaria fulsit,
qua, Martine, tuus sacer ortus in orbe relaxit.

155 huc rex deuotus cum coetu pontificali,
cum ducibus, populo, sacri sed et agmine cleri,
cumque faris, crucibus, librisque evangeliorum,
reliquis sacris et honoribus ecclesiarum,
obius accurrat, uenientibus oscula figit;
cum iubilo ac ymnis intra sacraria ducit,
hospicio celebri regaliter amplificavit,
obsidibus pactum sumptisque datisque sacravit.
per totum regnum uenalia multiplicari
ac per iter totum gradientibus associari

165 iussit et emensis propriæ regionibus orae
munera cum uadibus regalia contulit, atque
auxilio tutos, opibusque et honoribus auctos,

153 fulsit cod. : cessit Sirmond, Riant
157 faris
cod., Sirmond : facis Riant
159 oscula supp. Riant.
recte ut opinor, ubi cod. legi non potest
iusset abire Dei cum pace beatificandos.

hinc prætergressi uestigia longaque mensi,
per quæ pertulerant memorata pericula primi,
discunt quid ualeat moderatio consiliumque,
contra quid noceat temeraria causa furorque,
cum modo servitio sibi sint et subdicioni
qui fuerant illis inhonestae perditioni.

inde per extentas regiones multimasque
ire viam Domini properans exercitus ille,
leua dexter habet Mytridatis Pontica regna,
dextra conspiciens Danaos et Achaica rura,
nomine quæ tellus generali Grecia dicta
scinditur in multa specialia nomina ducta:
namque est Epyrus, Pelopis tunc insula et Hellas,
Archadía atque Argi, tunc quæ temet ora Laconas,
Attica, Boeti, Locrisque et Thessalia acris;
hinc Macedum regio, Dodona Etholia, Phocis,
qua quondam rabie Persarum mortificata
Massyliæ est profugis a ciuibus edificata.
ex hinc longarum post interiecta viarum
ad solis rutilum semper tendentibus ortum,
est regio gemini sortita vocabula mundi,

181 Servius Verg. G.III.7; Hyginus Fab.83, 84

180 specialia Hall: specialiter cod. 183 Boeti
cod.: Boetis Sirmond, Riant 188 semper tendentibus
scripsi: se pertendentibus cod., Sirmond: pertendentibus (se non habet) Riant
190 Seston uicini dirimens a litore Abydi,
qua iuuenis ualidis strictum mare dum secat ulnis
pertulit iratis miserabile funus ab undis,
qua fugiens socia Phryxus patria arma sorore
perpetuum ponto dat ab ipsa nomen habere,
195 qua Constantini Chalcedone diuidit urbem
stringens se fluctus stadia in uelocia septem,
sic a se dirimens simul Europen Asiamque,
ultr a Zephyro atque Euro sit terminus unus utrisque.

ultra non magnis distantibus interuallis
200 arua iacent Frygię maioris itemque minoris,
in quibus effulsit præclaro nomine Troia,
icl yta per bella longe per saecula nota,
quæ quia non umquam nisi prodita uicta fuisset, 74rο
prodita uero etiam capta atque excisa flagrasset;
205 eius dispersi per mundi clymata ciues
multas struxerunt uariis regionibus urbes,
ut Bataui sedes, ut menia iuncta Timauc,
ut Salamina potens in opima condita Cypro,
ut Capua atque Alba, necnon pulcherrima Roma,
210 Ostia quin etiam Tyberina uel Apula Troia,
ut fera uicino constructa Sycambria Rheno,
quæ post deuicto circum Mętida Halano
Francorum nomen meruit uirtute fidei,
mixtaque cum Gallis sumpsit sibi culmina regni.
215 sed quia ab incepto diussessio facta remorit

191 ualidis scripsi : ...lidis cod. : calidis Sirmond.
Riant 211 Sycambri cod. 215 remorit cod.
propositum, calamus repetat qua forte reliquit.

progrediens ductor memoratus in ulteriora
Constantinopolis tendebat ad anteriora;
quod tumatur, dum sollicitus spaciatur,
dum de non certis eventibus immeditatur,
uenit ei rumor quoniam proceres memorati
portus Brundisii, Bari, uel adisse Tarenti,
transgressi maria, residentes Dalmatiae aruis,
Epyro et medii posuissent castra Lyburnis.

complacuit fines non urbis adire superbae,
non, quoniam tumido, cum Cæsare participare,
se socios inibi committer opperendos,
ipsos consilio concorditer associandos,
et quicquid fieri bello uel pace sederet
cunctorum concors consensus conciliaret:
et quoniam magna peditum se turba secura
longius hinc aberat, retro sua terga relicta,
nec breuis horror erat præcedere longius illos, 74v°
hostilesque manus inter se linquere et ipsos,
hos sibi mandavit celeri succedere passu.
ipse autem tardo mouit tentoria gressu,
castrorumque usus breuioribus internuallis,

222 cf. Charleville poet I.262-263

216 propositum Riant, recte ut opinor: ?propositum
cod. Calamus repetat cod. : repetat calamus Sirmond,
Riant 220 immeditatur scripsi : immeditatur cod.
221 ?memoratis cod. pr. 222 uel adisse Tarenti
cod. : uel...... Sirmond : uel (?Hydrunti) (sic)
Riant 226 quoniam cod. : quicquam Sirmond, Riant
228 ipsos cod. : ipsis Sirmond, Riant
prœbebat tempus legionibus opperiendis,
quatinus et socias posset coniungere uires
et tardos faceret comprehendere prœuenientes.
perœueniens igitur citra quam diximus urbem
castellum Karoli quod dicitur in stationem
deligit, interea ut socii fierent propiores
atque urbanorum posset perdiscere mores.
sic aliquid autorum functis statione dierum,
dum sollemne forum sibi plurima fert specierum,
monstra palatina dominoque simillima prœuo
rumores uarios confingunt more profano
quid sibi tanta uelit mora, quid portendere possit
maxima quæ uulgo pretiorum copia prosit,
quidnam concursus hic spondeat atque recursus,
quidnam sollicitans popularia corda tumultus;
talia credendum celebrari non sine causa,
quod sic alliceret manus extera patria regna;
non uerisimilem speciem debere uideri
hos in seruitium Domini potuisse moueri
et nunc incœptis cessantibus hic remorari
ac uelut expletis affectibus inspadiari.
tales regia mens, solita est quae cuncta pauere,
rumores captans, monita est sua facta cauere,
upote qui Dominum famulus diademate cassum
fecerat et super hunc peruaerat impie sceptrum.
inde sibi merito male conscius atque pauescens
uerbaque adulantium cum sollicitudine uersans

246 plurim cod.m.pr.
ductori mandat quæ sese intentio ducat,
quid struat aut quidnam sua præstolatio nectat:
non sibi uel tutum uel honestum posse uideri
hos alienigenas intra sua tecta morari
nec uelut hospitium mutandaque claustra tueri,
sed quasi mansores inter possessa foueri.
ille refert sancti sese sub honore sepulchri
has agitare uias et spe loca sacra uidendi,
sed, ne gentili succumberet impietati,
nolle minus caute externæ se credere genti,
ne, uelut infaustis accesserat ante maniplis,
accideret sanctae lues et despectio plebis;
iccirco istorum spatio cessare dierum
quo sibi iungatur sociorum turma sequentum;
hoc ut pace sua fiat deposcere, namque
cuncta sui iuris a se fore tuta suisque.
talia maiores acuerunt dicta timores
atque ex consiliis exortae suspiciones
non alia mente tota agmina iungere uelle
quam peruadendi bello sua regna locosque.
dirigitur maior numerus mandata ferentum;
acciapiat gazas, geminorum pondus equorum;
transeat abductis legionibus Hellespontum
inque Asiat expectet parte explementa suorum:
ni faciat non iam patienter se tolerare

271 Charleville poet I.230, III.126
XIII.407, Avienus DOT 34 et freq.

272 loca sacra scripsi: sacra loca cod.
quin prohibere forum studeat uictumque negare,
et prius adductis quam crescent agmina turmis
pellere collectis extra sua castra maniplis.
haec audita duci dum sunt, nil flectitur heros,
sed responsa refert fastus spernentia uanos:
fallere ait cunctos se talia uelle putantes
nec famulos Domini tales dare suspiciones;
se famulum Domini, peregrinum exsistere Christi,
nec nisi paganis debere piacula belli;
siqvis Christicolum sibi tale quid inferat ultro,
se præ se posito debere resistere Christo;
si sponderet opes guminorum pondus equorum,
se sponderere trium, liceat modo currere cep tum;
esse sibi fixum socios adiungere cunctos,
uiribus ut iunctis pulsarent Christi inimicos;

his irritatur furiosi Cæsaris ira.
infremit ac primo prohibet uenalia cuncta;
hinc iubet extrudi ....entibus omnia clastra.
post, apices mittens, bello parat agmina tota.

Charleville poet III.286

298 debere cod. : deferre Sirmond, Riant

311 ....entibus cod. : exceedentibus Sirmond, Riant

pergentibus uel uenientibus proposui
dux quid ad hæc faceret? uictum perquirere primo
censuit et post hoc uenienti occurrere bello.
discurrunt celeres per pascua plena manipli,
abducuntque pecus uarium, numerabile nulli,
et quia tempus erat referens pia gaudia festi
quo fuit æterni facta incarnatio Verbi,
uenit ei rumor proponens munera magna:

bis binos proceres, socia comitante caterua,
affore ducentes porcorum milia plura,
unde pararentur suicidia Cesariana.
oblatum credit divinitus emolumentum,
occunensque capit proceresque pecusque coactum.
sic exercitibus data pleno copia cornu

diuino cunctos animauit fidere nutu.

his gestis bellum fert nuntius esse paratum
atque sequente die dubio sine conficiendum.
exoritur multus per Gallica castra tumultus,
feruor adhortantum magno clamore relatus
territat hostiles socias acuitque cohortes,
monstrans quam leue sit pigris concurrere fortes.
procedunt castris, uolitant uexilla iubque.
itur in aduersos, resonant lituique tubeque.
non clypei clypeis, non telis tela repulsa,

325 Horace C.Saec.59ff.; Boethius Cons.Phil.2 met.2.6
335 Statius T VIII.398-399

313 faceret cod. : faciat Sirmond, Riant 328
sequentes cod.m.pr. 332 pigris scripsi : pigr s cod.
ubi haec littera abrasa esse uidetur : pigras Sirmond,
Riant fortæ cod. : gentes Sirmond, Riant 333
iubque cod. : (?trahuntque) (sic) Riant : tr.....
Sirmond 334 lituique Sirmond, Riant, recte ut
opinor : ?lituique cod.
non gladii gladiis, non ossibus ossa relisa,
  sed ferit hæc acies, sed corruit ictibus illa,
  bella sed ista gerit, patit tur sed comminus illa.
  non retinent ictus nostrorum scuta calpesque,
  totum transadigit quod percutit hasta, sudesque,
  per galeas, gladii cerebrorum aspergine manant,
  plura superque humeros capita huc illucque supinant.
  non arcus, iaculum, non hic valuere sagittae,
  lancea sed totum socio diiudicat ense.
  armis corporibus campus consternitur omnis.
  fit fuga cum gemitu, portis mactantur in ipsis.
  usque palatinas arces fugientia nostri
  agmina sectantur dextra feriente minaci.
  sic ope divina nostris victoria plena
  claruit, ast illis patuit miseranda ruina.
  qui tamen infausto potuere euadere bello
  occurrunt populo redeuntes in sua nostro:
  nam supra dictum peditum superesse cateruam
  et post terga ducis longa statione relic tam,
  ipse quibus Cæsar clastrum præcluserat omne,
  iuss erat et pulsos retro in sua terga redire.
  sed Phylipopolleos Andronopolisque recéptu
  iam pulsi fuerant spoliatio ne undique censu.

336 Ovid M XI.707; Gilo VII.298  345 Ilias Lat. 356
349 Gilo IV.1  356 Charleville poet II.287

339 nostrorum cod. : quorum Riant : lacunam hab. Sirmond
  calpesque cod. : lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant  340 sudes-
  que cod. : lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant  342 supinant
  cod. : recursant Sirmond, Riant  357 Phylipopolleos
  scripsi : Phylippoleos cod.
cum male sic habitu peterent tamen ulteriora,
occurre re sibi quē diximus agmina uicta.
his se conspectis, magno quatiente pauore
(nam male dispersi fuerant uix milia quinquē)
hortantes alios fuerant, qui pectore forti
ut non sic facile cuncti morerentur inulti,
conspiciumt iuxta saxosi culmina montis,
quò pertendentes onerant sua pallia saxis.
hoc uiso facti timidi nihilominus hostes,
non presumentes peruadere sic agitantes,
sollicitant placidis sub pacis nomine dictis
ut ...... secum transcense mēnia ad urbēs
et fore mercatum pretii solamen habentēs,
panem uero dari nil quod mutaret habentēs.
credunt .......... nil suspicionis habentēs
atque iter ad pontem retro petierent ruentēs.
mox circumfusi media inter milia pauci
undique uallantur uelut uno carcere clausi.
diuiditur rumor per multas suspiciones
et uarios fingunt sibi credula corda timores:
quidam namque omnes dicebant decapitandos,
exilio quidam breuibus Gyaris religandos,
quidam diversis damnandos quaque metallis,
et quidam grauibus luituros prēlia poenis.

380 Juvenal I.73

363 fuerunt cod.: sociant Sirmond, Riant: aderant
sugg. Hall 370 ...... cod. ubi hoc verbum legi non
potest: redeant Riant: ueniant suggesti: remeent
sugg. Hall 373 ...... cod. ubi hoc verbum legi
non potest: auditis Riant: promissis suggesti 374
atque iter scripti: et qua iter cod., Sirmond, Riant
quid miseri facerent? tanto quatiente pauore
optabant citius quam praestolando perire.
nacti cursorem noctuque dieque ulolcem,
mandauere duci quam ferrent asperitatem.
protinus exeuntis percussu pectore pugnis
ingemit et grauibus dampnat sua facta querelis,
et nisi succurrat se causam mortis eorum
deputat atque reum proclamat sanguinis horum.
et quia forte aderant astan................
non bene pugnati quesint.f.q.et............... 
sumit materiem, properat.............adesse
condere se pacem, belli prê.................
Constantinopolim vacuare .r.c........an....
transmissisque fretis securam.........ç..m
finibus inque Asie procerum ..........ertam
quçque mali fuerat subuertere ..ua..e..ll...m
si domini pauper resolutus carcere miles
amissisque datis sequetur preuenientes,
et si, uenali repetita condicione,
copia proposita reddatur digna monetae.
talibus auditis nihil esse libentius illi
clamauere suo magis aut optabile regi,
nec distare moram quin augustalia sacra
circumquaque uolent ad talia conficienda.

383 Verg. G IV.504; Charleville poet III.361

391 astan..........cod. : astantes Caesariani Sirmond,
Riant  392 pugnati cod.,Sirmond : prognati Riant :
pugnanti sugg. Hall  405 ?sacra cod.
sic igitur cunctis quæ conuenere peractis
foederibusque etiam iusta uice conciliatis,
deserit obtenta dux et freta transmeat alta,
atque in deserta statuit Chalcedone castra.
sarcit semiruta, dat lapsis culmina muris,
et reparat fossas, ponitque repagula portis.
hic hyemis ueniens decernit ducere tempus
expectans procerum sparsos in Achaide coetus.

ut primum placidi flatus caluere Fauoni
uerque nouum coepit glaciali obstare rigori,
iam dicti procerum mouerunt castra magistri,
iungere se cupidi ductori prœquenti,
praesul Haimarus, Boimundus, Tancradiusque,
Hugo comes, Stephanus nec non Rotbertus uterque
et reliqui quos non per singula dixerunt
est opus aut totiens eadem repetendo referre,
moenibus egressi Constantinopolitanis,
420 mox ................f...propris. asciti Cesarianis,
qui....ras duxtor quæ bello uincere possent,
quæ sibi non iuste gentilia bella tulissent,
ut sibi gratanter sub pacis pignore reddant,
quæ sua consilia simul auxiliumque capescant
(hœc fore Nycenam urbem sed et Antiochenam
et circumpositam quoquouersus regionem).
declaraturum super his quæ digna fuissent,

415 Fauonii cod. 422 aut cod. : et Sirmond : ac
Riant 424 prœris uel forte d.oris cod. asciti
uel forte asserti cod. : asciri Riant 425 qui....
ras uel forte qualis cod. 430 quo quo uersus cod.
utilia ut cuncta sibi nusquam defore possent.
insuper et tantum terræ omni parte daturum,
quatuor ut spatio peragraret mula dierum.

haec sibi iurando firmari denique iure
per bis septenos proceres sine fraude iubere.
illi nil contra refragari, nam sibi certe
aut fore parendum norant aut morte perire.
iurauere tamen quia sic sua pacta ualerent,
inviolata sibi si regia sponsa manerent.

his actis abeunt fretaque Hellepsontica calcant,
adjectique duci pariter socia agmina miscent,
militique instructo pergunt Nychomedis ad urbem,
quam prætergressi simul obsedere Nyceam.

haec de principiis callis Hierosolymitani
scripsimus, ut nostrae permissum rusticitati.
cetera desabit domnus Gilo Parisiensi,
cuius turpatur nostris elegantia nugis.

explicit liber tercius. incipit quartus a domno Giloni Parisiensi cum ceteris sequentibus
eleganter conditus.

433 insuper et cod. : lacunam habent Sirmond, Riant
GILONIS PARISIENSIS HISTORIA VIE HIEROSOLIMITANE

Prologus

hactenus intentus leuibus puerilia dixi
materia puero conveniente leui.
nec Turno dedimus carmen, nec carmen Achilli,
    sed iuuenis iuueni carmina multa dedi,
materiamque grauem penitus mens nostra refugit
    et leuibus nugis dedita tota fuit.
etas mollis erat teneris et lusibus apta,
    queque grauant mentem ferre nequibat ea.
ausus eram, memini, de bellis scribere: sed ne
    materia premerer, Musa reliquit opus;
    nam quamuis modicas mea ludere cymba per undas
    non dubitet, magnas horret adire tamen.
nunc anni surgunt et surgere carmina debent;
tempora cum numeris convenienter eunt.

iam, positis remis, uelo concussa per equor
    euolet ex humili littore pulsa ratis.

Prologus: BGF

ante v.1 historia vie nostri temporis Jherosolimitana
E : historia Gilonis cardinalis episcopi de utia Ierosolimitana G : incipit proemium in historia hierosolimitana F Prologum non habet ADG 4 plura dedi BC 16 ex humili littora BC : littore ex humili F
errat ut ille rotam qui per decliviam motam
nitetur ut teneat cum rota missa ruat,
sic miser inmundum qui non uult perdere mundum
errat; dum sequitur quod ruit, obruitur.
ergo quisque moram, quia mundus habetur ad horam,
pellat, et hoc querat quod mora nulla terat.
detineat fundus nullum, domus optima, mundus,
quin querat lucem suscipiendu crucem.

Christus precessit, Christo uictoria cessit:
crux quam sustinuit nostra medula fuit.
ergo lege pari qui Christum uult imitari
subdat ceruicem, suscipiatque vicem.
securi pugnant qui sub tali duce pugnant;
huic qui pugnabit, dux bonus era dabit.
ueere securi pugnant quia sunt habituri
eternam requiem perpetuamque diem.

Prologus: BCF

26 Prudentius Cath. 10.83; Fulgentius Aet.Mund.13.23 p.172

17 'comp' habent in marg.BC post v.17 'incipit exhortatio in historia iherosolimitana' habet F 24
suscipiendu scripsi : suspiciendo B C m.alt. F :
suscipiendu C m. pr. 28 suspiciatque scripsi :
suspiciatque codd.
LIBER IV (GILONIS LIBER I)

est ope diuina Turcorum facta ruina:
hoc pro laude Dei, licet impar materiei,
carmine perstringo facili nec ludicra fingo.
Christe, mee menti tua bella referre uolenti
adsis, laus cuius series est carminis huius,
ute bene proueniant et te duce carmina fiunt.

Christicole gentes, gladioque fideque nitentes,
ut sacra purgarent a sordibus et superarent
Turcos insanos, fedantes fana, profanos,
conjurauerunt et Iherusalem petierunt.
ast ubi iam lassus, iam multa pericula passus,
equoreum litus tetigit chorus ille beatus,
transiit equoream rabiem petiitque Niceam,
in qua ter centum ter quinque triumque potentum
conuentus mores struxit docuitque minores.
se male mutata Christique fide uacuata
Christum spernebat, gentilia monstra colebat,
et, quoniam Christum prius hec coluisse putatur,
ad Christum corrupta prius merito reuocatur.

1 - 19 ABCDFG

ante v.l textus gestorum memorandus christicolarum AD :
incipit argumentum F : incipit quartus a domno Gilone
Parisiensi cum ceteris sequentibus eleganter conditus
G 3 carminis A m.pr. 7 incipit historia
Gilonis hab. F in marg. 9 faça D prohans A
11 perassus D 12 letus D 13 rabiem petiitque
Niceam) rabiem rabiem petiitque A 14 parentum A
15 ?finxit D
ergo disponunt acies, tentoria ponunt,
undique conueniunt et bello congrua fiunt.
partem quam mundus uocat occasum Boimundus
occupat et contra muros statuit sua castra;
qui locus est plaustro iunctus contrarius austro,
ille tue forti datus est, Godefride, cohorti.
in loca succedunt alii que congrua credunt.
cunctorum portus uertuntur solis ad ortus.
militibus densi Raimundus cum Podiensi,
Hugo comes Magnus, leo seuis, mitibus agnis,
et satís expertus per prelia dira Robertus,
dux quoque Flandrensis, cuius non fallitur ensis,
et Stephanus muros expugnabant ruituros.
tuta sed a turbis pars una remanserat urbis,
nec timet assaltus pars quem sol respicit altus,
am lacus immensus, multaque putredine densus,
hos defensabat, nostros transire negabat.
sed tamen hanc partem nostri tetigere per artem:
namque superiectis ratibus multis quoque tectis,
quas Caesar dictus iunctis per terrea tobus
fecerat adduci uoto tunc auxiliandi,

20 - 38 ABCDFG : 39 - 40 G

37 Verg. G I.79; Iuvencus Pref.6; Ovid A II 13(14) 5
39 Ovid M XIV.3

23 contar D m.pr. 24 plaustro] aratro G 26 sust-
cedunt A : succendunt DG congrua cedunt A 27
hunc v. post v.32 poner e voluim Riant 29 militibus
A 30 ?dura D m.pr. 32 pugnabant F m.pr. 34
assultus ADG 35 multa BC putredine] uligine A :
hirundine B : hirudine C 36 defensabat A : defend-
ebat DG 39 Caesare G
sic quasi per pontes potuerunt tangere santes.
frustra securos potierunt demique muros:
acriter insistunt nostri, Turcique resistunt,
acriter impellunt illos, illique repellunt.

seua uenenatas gens mittit ab urbe sagittas,
cuique sagitta dabat leue uulnus, eum perimebat,
et, dum successit, per turpia dicta lacescit
Christi cultores, cane dicens deteriores.
uocibus ingratis nostris satis exagitatis,
altior ad duros portatur machina muros.
gentiles miseri tandem cepere uereri:
nostri non segnes lapides iaculantur et ignes,
turres impellunt, affixaque tela reuellunt
a clipeis, hostes proprio telo ferientes.

utque cadit spissus imber cum grandine missus,
sic non uitate mittuntur ubique sagitte.
tela cadunt, miserique gemunt, moriuntur utrinque,
hic gladiis, alii baculis pugnant sudibusque.
magnus erat turbe clamor trepidantis in urbe.

(ergo plorantes manibus quoque significent
orarunt pacem, clamarunt deditionem,

41 pontos D m.pr. tangere fontes AD 42 hunc V.
post 34 habent ADG 44 illos illosque D m.pr. 45
sana A 47 uerba ADG 50 altior ad muros D m.alt.
FG machina duros D m.alt. F m.alt. G 51 uerere
D m.pr. telo proprio ADG 55 'comp' habet in marg. C
57 ubique G 58 alii gladiis F m.pr. 59 trepid-
antes AD
expediunt dextras uaduntque recludere portas.
exultant nostri, laudant magnalia Christi.
primum purgari censent a sordibus urbem
et consignari per aquam prece sanctificatam;
cumque ymnis crucibusque intrant reconciliatam.
mittuntur sacri portantes sacra ministri,
lustrant securos benedicta aspergine muros,
cantantes modulos divinis ritibus aptos.
talia dum ciues uisu audituque capescunt,
protinus irati in gentilia monstra recurrunt:
cuncta profanari magica uertigine dicunt,
et profanantes extra sacra agmina trudunt.
sic irritantur legiones Christicolarum,
et delusa dolent mysteria ccelicolarum.
acrius insurgunt, celeres et in arma recurrunt,
deque profanatis poenas cum sanguine poscunt.
acrius incumbunt: balistas, fundibula aptant,
prœfodiunt portas, miseris quasi carcere uallant.
excubias statuunt noctuque dieque cauentes
nequis colloquio exterior iuuet interiores,
dumque instant uigiles sibi succedendo per horas
repperiunt quendam per nigras ire tenebras
querentemque locum uel portas ingrediendi
uel per foramina cum clausis sermocinandi.
illi ...... grauiter manicisque ligatum
cogunt aut citius quæ nosset cuncta profari
aut duræ mortis grauia experimenta lucrari.
ille metu uictus nimi nec longa moratus
dicere seruata se deuouet omnia uita.
hinc ubi fecit eum pia conuenientia fidum
exponit missum se ciuibus insinuatum
ne desperarent, sed se in uirtute tenerent:
namque sequente die plenum solamen haberent,
 quando obsessores obsessi mortificare
possent atque opibus cum libertate uacare.
milia nam propius plus consedisse trecenta
Sultanno ducibus Solimannoque coacta,
quæ sic de propriis se uiribus exhylararent,
et quasi uictores iam facti glorificarent,
agmina Christicolum quo iam deleta putarent,
solaque de spoliis inter se bella pararent.
mane etiam primo statuissent castra mouere,
illa quoque ante urbem uacua statione locare,
quæ fuerat tibi, dux Raimunde, tuisque relictæ
quando ibi prima duces coeperunt figere castra;
qui retrorsus adhuc aberant ad milia bina,
pro quibus est missum citius iussique uenire,
ipsa in planitie tentoria disposuere.

110 legatus porro iam factus sponte fidelis

86 - 110 G

86 ubi cod. legi non potest correetum suppl. Sirmond,
Riant 91 fidum cod. m. alt. 95 se in cod. : rem
Sirmond, Riant 95 obsessores cod. : ...... et
Sirmond, Riant
purgari sese expetiit baptismatis undis.
quod dum fit citius concursu presbiterorum
egregius fulsit ur in ordine Christicolarum.
mane igitur primo nostri uertuntur ad arma
urbis perfidiam punitum sorte suprema.

fit clamor multus, uariatur in urbe tumultus
istinc pugnantum atque illinc extrema gementum.
tortentis, iaculis, gladiis quoque bella geruntur,
haud multum distat quin protinus ingrediantur

115
dum sic instarent nostri, miseri trepidarent,
et iam constricti sua uellent reddere uicti,
en sexaginta Turcorum milia structa
ensibus et clipeis ad opem uenere Niceis.
gens tua, Christe, nimis metuens, suspirat ab imis

120
pecorisubus: clari bello cepere precari
supplice uoce Deum, quod eis daret ipse tropheum.
ut conspexerunt Turci nostros, fremuerunt.
mox, ubi fecerunt tres turmas, disposuerunt
quod pars introget muros inopesque iuuaret

111 - 119 G : 120 - 129 ABCDFG

111 Arator I. 626

111 undis cod. : unda Sirmond, Riant 114 ad cod. : in Sirmond, Riant 116 in urbe tumultus cod. : ....
ultus Sirmond, Riant 120 instabant F 121 etiam
iam D cum stricti A : cum strati D constrati G
122 ens A 123 temere D 122-123 non habet G, sed
pro eis habet sequentes versus: ecce repentino clamo
ululante Nyceae/ milibus auditis montana uidentur operta/
quç dum desilunt hinc per decliuia montis/ altera
contigu propeper per concaua uallis 124 nimis
metuens] satis memens G 125 preclari A m.pr. 126
claret A 128 struxerunt G 129 par F intrarit?
D inoresque A
uiribus et telis, et opem prestaret anhelis;
ipsi munirent portas, nostrosque ferirent.
a gemina parte, comperta protinus arte,
noster in hostiles multo ruit impete miles.
(pugnatur dure, sed non par actus utrimque,
sed perimunt nostri, per sunt enormiter illi.
franguntur rigide ualidis impulsibus hastæ,
pectora rupta sonant riuosque cruoris inundant,
trunca uolant capita tremula uelut arbore poma,
nec qui descendit montem post hac repetiuit)
et quod de nostris stolide predixerat hostis,
hoc patitur uictus, nec duros sustinet ictus,
sed celeres fugiunt et tardi funera fiunt.
dimissa parma fugit hic: sua dum capit arma
alter, prostratus cadit, in capiendo moratus.
singula quid dico? nullus succurrit amico.
his pietate Dei uictis timuere Nicei,
atque metu tacti tandem cessere coacti,
perque duos menses obsesse gentis habene,
dux, tibi traduntur, Constantinopolitane.

(ducuntur plena Pictum quoque milia nau.)
his ita deuictis, uictis sub rege relictis, 
successu leti nostri, nec cedere certi, 
castra mouent Dominoque uouent ieuniua, cuius 
auxilio uicere pio gentis scelus huius. 

sed, quoniam per dura uiam fuerant habituri, 
ne populi laetuore siti caderent perituri, 
in turmas cessere duas. tibi traditur una, 
dux Boimunde, tibi, comes Hugo, traditur una, 
sicque graues colles nostri, licet ad mala molles, 
transiuere tribus non absque labore diebus, 
inque die quarta, postquam uiia fa fac i per arta, 
illi securi, quasi gens ignara futuri, 
quos sibi commissos Boimundus ab agmine scissos 
duxit, letantes, graue nil restare putantes. 

dum male se iactant et dum bene fa faci retractant, 
Turcis insultant, ter centum milia spectant 
Turcorum; mesti tanteque resistere pesti 
on non ausi dubitant. prius ergo prelia uitant. 
sed nullam mortem metuens, Boimunde, cohortem 
instruis, ut uiles depellat cuspides miles, 
et ponis iuxta riuos ex ordine castra, 
quos nimis exosos uocat incola turba lutosos. 
sed nondum nostri fuerant ad bella parati, 
cum quinquaginta centum ferrugine tincta 

milia Turcorum curse portantur equorum,
et non paulatim ueniebant siue gradatim,
sed cito, more canum quiddam grassando profanum,
sece commiscent nostris et prelia miscent.
noster commixtus miles ferit eminus istos,
et fidei parae protectus non timet arma.
Turci uallabant nostros, cursuque uolabant,
et nunc instabant, nunc Christicolas fugiebant:
dumque fugit Turcus, sinuatus soluitur arcus
(arcu quippe magis pugnant et non sine plagis).
dum graue cum Turcis bellum Boimundus haberet,
inque uicem Turcus nostros fugiendo fugaret,
in fugiendo quidem uulnus facit et fugit idem.
\(<nam modo qui Turci ueteri sunt nomine Parthi,
fidere quis uersis mos est fugiendo sagittis.>\)
magna cohors Magni non huius conscia dampni
gente sub ignota quasi milibus octo remota
colles girabat, nec tam prope bella putabant
sed per legatum bellum scit adesse paratum,
consilio nitidus quem misit ei Boimundus.
at dum pugnatur, dum turba uocata moratur,
pars ea Turcorum quos altera ripa tenebat,
ut faceret cedem de nostris quam sitiebat,
per loca nota parae tentoria Christicularum

176 - 187 ABCDFG : 188 - 189 G : 190 - 198 ABCDFG

attigit et cedes facit hostis et occupat edes,
datque neci lassos et plurima uulnera passos,
oppida seruantes nec martem ferre ualentes,
qui, si marte mori possent, mors esset honori.
matribus herentes illic truncare uideres
infantes, gladioque dari miseram mulieres.
hoc ubi cognouit Boimundus, castra petiuit,
sub duce Normanno dimittens prelia dampno,
hosque iuuare parat quos gens mala pene necarat.
protinus elegit paucos paucisque subegit
hanc gentem fedam, recipit tentoria, predam,
armatosque uiros circum tentoria ponit,
castraque terribili pro uallo milite munit.
dum dupleces pugnent acies, illic Boimundus,
ex hac parte comes Normannus in arma timendus,
Francigene tacti nimio, terrore coacti,
cum duce Normanno fugiunt, sed non sine dampno,
marte, calore, siti crudeliter excruciati.
et nisi, dum fugerent, dum palmam pene tenerent
Turci, uincentes se conviitisset in hostes
dux Normannorum, signum clamando suorum,
lux ea plena malis nostris foret exitialis.

199 - 220 ABCDFG

208 Ovid M I.128

199 hostis facit D m.pr. 200 neci passos D 202 quis F mos D m.pr. 204 hunc v. ponit post 230 A 205 hec BC 206 normanno F 207 hos (om. -que) AD 210 uiros om. F m.pr. tentoria predam D m.pr. 212 illinc BC 214 nimique timore ADG 215 sed] et ADG sine] sic A 218 conuestisset D m.pr.
nec mora, Francigene ducti spe sedis amene, despiciendo mori bene pro uita meliori, ad sua conversi, circa tentoria sparsi, facti castellum permiscent denuo bellum. dum nimis insistunt Turci, nostrique resistunt, tela legunt pueri, cantant ex ordine cleri, fortes pugnabunt, mulieres collacrimabunt. altera prostratum portabat in oppida natum, altera de ruis tendebat pocula uius. est aliquid quod quisque facit: tegit alter amicum, hic fugit, hic sequitur, captum rapit hic inimicum. pene triumphantes nostros, te, Christe, vocantes, Turci prosternunt, et eorum prelia spernunt. utque lupus, villas circumdans, querit ouillas, et, quas deceptas stabulis non esse receptas aspicit. has fundit miseras et in ora recondit, sic quoque uallantes Turci nostros trepidantes hunc quem spectabant extra castella necabant. nostri quid facerent nisi tanta pericula flerent? non poterant dorsum dare, nec pugnare seorsum. quod fuerant clausi nostri, pugnare nec ausi, non satis est genti de palma non dubitanti, sed monuit mille Turcos dux prouidus ille 221 - 243 ABCDFG

221 Ovid M I.717  236 Ovid M XII.17

221 spe ducti ADG  222 respiciendo G  223 sua] se F m.pr. circum ADG  225 Turcique nostri D : nostri Turcique G  229 hunc v. non habet G  230 aliquis D  231 raptum capi ADG  234 'comp' hab. in marg. C 236 fundas D m.pr.  237 nostros Turci ADG  238 castra B  241 post 242 nonunt ADG  243 ille Turcos D m.pr. grex prouidus AC
ut que transierant nostri montana requirant.

hac etenim de re dubia suspecta fuere:
quod tegerent aliquos montana mouebat iniquos.
aest eques armatus nichil ad precepta moratus
montes lustravit, crudeliter ense necavit
mille uiros ferme, mulieres, uulgus inerme,
exanimes factos, nimioque metu stupefactos,
multum tardatos rebusque suis oneratos,
qui, male sub causa latitantes non latuerunt
exploratores, sed turpiter interierunt.

ecce nichil timidus comes Hugo, dux Godefridus,
hortati fortem precibusque minisque cohortem
cursu certabant sociosque iuuare parabant.
ute uident flentes socios iam deficientes,
dimittuntur equi; quamuis non uiribus equi
essent, non dubitant, nec tela volantia uitant.
ergo ducum sydus cum paucis dux Godefridus
in medium dense gentis stricto uolat ense
et, ueluti diram sus postquam colligit iram
dente canis leusus, baculo uel arundine cesus,
dente canes angit, ruit, et uenabula frangit,
hus ita conculcat Godefridus et agmina sulcat.
at comites comitis dant multis Tartara Ditis

244 - 266 ABCDFG

255 Lucan V.480-481  266 Ovid M XI.670; Anth.Lat.
VI.1 (I.1 p.11 ed. Thiese)

244 utque A : atque F  245 hec ACF  dubii timidique
fuere DG  247 armatos D  nihil DG  250 facti DG
stupefactus D m.pr.: stupefacti G  252 causi]
ruptibus AD : saxis G  262 diramen sus D  263
v.om.B m.pr.
trans ripam riui pugnantibus, in pede cliui.

istis prostratis, de cliuo precipitatis,

ascendit cliuum comes, implet sanguine riium:

milia nam quinque morti dedit ipse, decemque

si quod iuncta manus fecit comiti referamus.

omnibus accensis ad pugnandum, Podiensis

atque comes fortis Raimundus duxque cohortis

audacesque uiri, uelut ad bellum solet iri,

paulatim ueniunt, et ab his noua prelia fiunt.

hi cornu dextrum cedunt, aliique sinistrum

qui prius inclusi fuerant, formidine fusii.

fit strepitus multus, fit magnus utrinque tumultus,

nec sonitu minimo dissoluitur arcus equino

neruo constrictus, sine quo satis est leuis ictus

horum, spes quorum non est nisi cursus equorum.

cum serpentine iaculatur tela ueneno

ut uulnus geminum iactum det Turcus in unum.

dum sic pugnatur, nostri ter ab hoste fugantur,

terque fuge dantur gentiles, sed reuocantur,

et solitos cursus faciunt et uulnera rursus.

sed puto cessissent nec bella pati potuissent

ni circa montes quidam Turci latitantes

267 - 288 ABCDFG

282 Lucan VIII.304; Arator AA I.361

267 pugnabant G in pede cliui pugnantibus B

illis G 269 sanguine murum G 271 sed quod DG
cofecit comiti F: comiti fecit ADG 275 abis D m.
pr. 278 trepitus F 282 ponunt post 283 ADG

283 iactu ADG uno ADG 284 nostri tibi ab A

285 hunc v. non habet A dantur sed D m.pr. 287

pressissent DG
acriter artarent nostros pluresque necarent:

quos ubi senserunt nostri comites, statuerunt
ut magis audaces, committere bella sagaces,
ad latebras irent, necopino marte ferirent
hos qui pugnabant furtim multosque necabant.
protinus ingentes animis annisque uigentes

mille uiri laudis cupidi, sub tegmine fraudis
bella reliquentes, uelut e bello fugientes,
ascendunt taciti montem, sed monte potiti
non tacuit Christi miles, fugit hostis: at isti
ensibus hos angunt, arcus et spicula frangunt.

non prodest domino neruo constrictus equino
arcus, non pharetra de cruda condita pelle,
on equus aut cursus, non illita spicula felle,
sed male turbantur, moriuntur, precipitantur.

his ita dispersis, multis in Tartara mersis,
attoniti, belli subiti formidine tacti,
post illos reliqui fugiunt, dare terga coacti.

ergo resumentes animos nostri fugientes

turbant: funduntur Turci, fugiunt, moriuntur;
tardius egressi uel belli turbine fessi

acrius insurgent et equos calcaribus angunt;
Francigene pronos faciunt ad pectora conos,

289 - 311 ABCDFG
295 Alcimius Avit. V.507 300 cf. Gilo IV (I) 279

291 audacter D 292 nec opinio B m.pr. : nec primo
A : inopino DG 293 furtis ADG 294 animisque
ugentes B : animisque uigentes C 295 tuctmine D
296 reliquentes bello D m.pr. 297 montes ADG
sunt monte C petiti D 311 pectore A
cornipedes spumant, aspersi sanguine fumant, 
frena terunt, dominosque ferunt non impete paruo, 
dumque ruunt stratos feriunt; nam multus in aruo 
Turcus erat stratus, iaculis aut ense necatus. 
exuperare pares certant, flant non leue nares, 
albet et intinctus tabo cum puluere rictus. 
hostem quisque premit, sed nox obscura diremit 
gaudia nostrorum tristemque fugam miserorum, 
et, quod non poterat leuis arcus et inresolutus, 
nec sonipes uelox et longis cursibus aptus, 
hoc importuna potuit nox turpis et una. 
quippe per exosam noctem, diram, tenebrosam, 
gens inimica Deo, Christi subdenda trophoeo, 
inuenit latebras: fugit ergo secuta tenebras, 
atque per hanc noctem gens Christi perdidit hostem, 
et tandem tutus sub eadem nocte secutus 
seuos gentiles redit ad tentoria miles 
uestibus et telis diues multisque camelis. 
mox proceres leti sua membra dedere quieti. 
solares ortus ubi lucifer attulit ortus, 
surgunt. cognatos quondam, modo funera, natos 
euertunt; fundunt gemitus, sua pectora tundunt, 
quisque breui fossa cognati collocat ossa. 

312 - 334 ABCDFG
328 Lucan III.496 330 Proba VC 124 = A I.691, IV.5

312 sanguine spumant D 313 frena ferunt D dominosque ferunt nam multus in aruo D m.pr. 314 nam multus in aruo om. D m.pr. 315 gladiis aut ense AD 316 exsuperares D m.pr. 317 albit? G non puluere A 318 obsura F m.pr. 320 poterat om. F m.pr. suppl. m.alt. potuit A 321 sonipes A legis cursibus D 323 noxtem D m.pr. 327 etandem F 328 readiat A m.pr. 332 cognatos D 334 colligit ADG
sepe dabant aliqui tumulo caput hostis iniqui, esse caput notum sperantes inde remotum; uulnera contractant, infixaque spicula spectant uulneribus, plorant, et de pietate laborant, aspiciuntque bonos equites in pulvere pronos, qui dum uiesabant super aurea strata iacabant, inque die tota non sunt tentoria mota.

interea lassi recreantur uulnera passi. cure traduntur medicorum, tela leguntur et iunt plene pharetre, solidantur habene.

\(\text{cuncta reformantur quorum monet usus egere.}\)

altera lux oriens ubi noctis depulit astra, castra mouens miles sequitur gentilia castra. miles at ille Dei cuiusdam planicie dum loca transiret et tutus ab hostibus iret, peste, calore, siti moriuntur in agmine multi. inde recedentes securi, nil metuentes, omine felici loca uastabant inimici.

hostis iter tutum dabat illis, tela tributum. sicque metu mota patuit Romania tota, nec sensit penam quis donec ad Antiochenam urbem, famosam muris, opibus speciosam.

335-344 ABCDFG : 345 G : 346-356 ABCDFG

350 cf. Gilo IV (I) 216

337 spicla B 345 monet scripsi : manet cod. 348 atille G 354 metu meta D 355 sentit
D m.pr. 356 formosam D : fec... (fecundam?) A m.pr. spaciosam C
denique tam rite caruit uia cetera lite
ut quidam proceres paucis comitantibus irent,
egregiasque urbes et fortia castra subirent:
sicque per extentas terrae Pamphylidos oras
et Cyclicum fuit his spatiandi tuta uoluptas.
sicque metus gentes perterruit exanimatas,
ut, cum Tharsenses nostrorum paucas uiderent,
agmina de muris se in cor..en.....reportant;
sed quodam magni intercessu omina pericli
egregioque duci fors aspera †signat ab hosti †
nam dum per quodam carecta cacumine celsa
mixtim transiret peditumque equitumque caterua,
quidam monstrorum molis uel roboris ursus
pandebat rabidos in funera plurima rictus,
dumque intercoemptum peditem laceraret acerbe,
nullus et auderet pesti obuius ire maligne,
ucit iter durum pietas ad cuncta parata,
ire uel in cladem properat, succurrere certa:
desilit alipede, procurrit et obuius hosti
ductor, et extemplo prefulgurat ense potenti. 84v₀
ille uidens contra prædam dimittit inermem

357 - 377 G

367 Prudentius Apoth. 346 368 Sid.App. C II.90,
Charleville poet II.4

357 cetera lite cod. : lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant
360 extentas cod. : extensas Sirmond, Riant
365 intercessu cod. : intercessit Sirmond, Riant
omnia pericli cod. : lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant
366 signat ab hosti? cod. : lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant
376 extemplo scripsi : extemplo cod.
377 uidens cod. : autem Sirmond, Riant
erigiturque super partem stans posteriorem.
dux celer aduerso mucrone pectore figit,
non tam...o.....per..i.spina timente recondit.
ille ducem ..................amplectitur ulnis.
dux nihilominus.....acrius artando lacertis
sub se prosternit atque innodatus inhesit,
et dum b....et......e....utrimque tenentur,
dum timuit................ante timente iuuuatut.
exterior..................pars uulnerat ensis,
oso......................super edita cruris.
tandem nobilium concursibus hoste perempto
aegre subingrato........catas..uulnere duro

haec dedit interea............arum per castra cohortem,
merorem nimium........nium quoque causa timorem.
nam quidam..................ductori affore mortem,
quidam p..ptissent...........metuebant debilitatem.
quorum utrum.............integro de culmine cunctos

deiceret ta..........drium....tati....lumine cassos.
namque in...............gestauit uectus equorum
per menses aliquot ductum dedit omnibus unum.

378 - 397 G

381 Ilias Lat.571; Ovid M VIII.818, XI.63  395
Prudentius Apoth.125; Verg. A II.85
tandem diuinam............per medicinam
cum sociis urbe pertendit ad Antiochenam,
de qua nobilium complures hystoricorum
multa reliquerunt dictorum scripta suorum,
se neque se scriptis digna potuisset profari
quae dicenda forent sunt interdicta professi.
huius nam meminit Moyses, rex hystoriarum,
quart in fine libri, cui nomen dat Numerorum,
dum Dominum narrat tribus præcepta ferentem,
quod sibi promissam discernant ordine terram.
huius et insignis Hieremias cum Sedechiam
narrat ibi ductum poenam dare iudicialem,
quando suis natis sese inspectante necatis
luminibus petiit Babylonis mencia fossis.
huius Hieremoel, cum templum spirituale
scribit, quod reputant Iudaei materiale.
hanc Machabæorum liber asserit...per..uisse
quando seco Daphnen uat..............isse:
Daphnes quippe fuit nemus......suauibus herbis,
fontibus egregius, lauris simul ac cyparissis,

398 - 417 G

Verg. G IV.200

398 ubi cod. hab lacunam recreatus ponunt Sirmond, Riant
sanatus sugessi. 404 hystoriarum cod. : hystori-
corum Sirmond, Riant 414 asserit...per...uisse cod. :
lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant 415 uat......isse cod. :
uatem Oniam perisse sugessi : uatem dolet.........
Sirmond, Riant 416 nemus ..... cod. : nemus halans
Sirmond, Riant
quod nunc accipimus a nostra gente........
propter discursus ibi..................t.

420 alluit hanc fluvius cui priscum nomen Orontis,
qui modo uulgatur uocitari........men.....eti
imminet huic quoque mons equus...pro....ans
unde ferunt solem specie.............as
illius populus qui sit tamen.......... 

425 dicitur ex scripto reliquis..............
illius atque locos reliquis...plu.....f....
dicunt ob Zephyros circum spirando frequentes.
tercia maiores inter prius hoc fuit urbes
quam res acciperet Byzantica..........uires

430 haec etiam Christi in primis insignia sumpsit
Christicolum nomen quando hic primordia coepit.
hic et apostolica Petro resident cathedra
floruit ante foret quam pra...........a Roma.

435 ergo profanatam male Christi turma dolentes
ad recoaptandum Christo uenere frequentes.

explicit liber quartus. incipit quintus

418 - 435 : G 

418 a nostra gente cod. : lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant
422 equus.....ans cod. : lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant
423 specie cod. : lacunam hab. Sirmond
424 tamen cod. : tam...Riant : lacunam hab. Sirmond
433 a Roma cod. : lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant
LIBER V (GILONIS LIBER II)

urbis ut immense tetigerunt menia mense
Octobris, turbis pars maxima congitur urbis.
pons tamen in Ferro fit peruius antea ferro,
multaque predati licet et multis honerati
essent, disponunt acies, tentoria ponunt
inter inexhaustum fluuium murumque levatum,
et, quia munite genti belli perite
si contendissent per uires nil nocuissent,
ingeni querunt quod per uim non potuerunt,
ingeniique fugant quecumque uident nocitura:
accelerat que proficuo scit quisque futura.
ergo super flumen pontem Christi facit agmen,
per quem transisset, si grex malus inualuisset.
fiunt res plures, fiunt ex ere secures,
fiunt balliste, plumbata, phalarica, talpe,
falces, tela, faces, aries fundeque minaces;
multa per artifices celsas equantur ad arcæ.

utque parauerunt quecumque paranda fuerunt,
muros impugnant frustra Turcique repugnant,
queque parare uident nostros ut inania rident.
nam quis speraret quod gens hec exuperaret

6 exhaustum B m.pr. 10 hunc v.om. A m.pr. : add.
A m.alt. post v.77 11 accelerant AD 19 moros
D m.pr. expugnant frustra C Turcique resistunt F
21 sperarte D
LIBER V (GIONIS LIBER II)

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Octobris, turbis pars maxima congitur urbis.
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essent, disponunt acies, tentoria ponunt
inter inexhaustum fluuium murumque leuatum,
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1 - 21: ABCDFG

6 exhaustum B m.pr. 10 hunc v.om. A m.pr. : add.
A m.alt. post v.?? 11 accelerant AD 19 moros
D m.pr. expugnant frustra C Turcique resistunt F
21 sperarte D
uictum querentes, nil per montana timentes.
ad uictus igitur querendos ut prius itur;
cum duce Flandrensi Boimundus consociatur,
armigeris - res armigeris predicta dabatur -
premissis mille sequitur dux prouidus ille.
hos ubi predantes uiderunt insidiantes,
protinus e latebris salientes undique crebris
uoicibus insultant et equorum pectora multant,
armigeros feriunt. dum talia prelia fiunt,
cum parua gente Boimundus bella repente
turbauit, multos perimit, socios nec inultos
amplius esse sinit gemitusque suos ibi finit.
hic quoque Flandrensis plures necat horridus ensis.
sic Turci telis populi cessere fidelis.
oppida uictores repetunt, priscosque dolores
ponere precipiunt. ponunt, sollemnia fiunt.
tempora tranquilla uictoria prebuit illa.
uictus de uillis non insidiantibus uillis
portabant gentes ad castra, nichil metuentes.

ast ubi plena malis aduenit hiemps glacialis,
uenit tempestas, nostros afflixit egestas.

44 - 64 ABCDFG

50 Gilo IV (I) 208

46 cum sociatur F  47 armigeros res F  56 multos
necat ADG 59 finut D  61 de illis D
imbribus et multis niuibus montana tumebant,
Armeniique cibo qui castra iuuare solebant
per nimios fluctus nimios extinguere luctus
non poterant. flebat populus quem grando premebat.
non inopes tantum glacies sed tela premebant.
non aliqui portum Sancti Symeonis adibant,
qui nauale forum dabat omni merce decorum.
at fidei pugiles nimias penas fore uiles
corporeasque putant, nec penis gaudia mutant,
nec bona tormentis titubat constantia mentis,
quamuis pressuras patiuntur corpora duras:
sed quicunque pati potuerunt arma parati,
parum nec fortem uix extruxere cohortem,
atque manu parua predam rapuere per arua.
quos tuit euentus Gallorum clara iuuentus
enumerare licet: sed quis tot acerrima dicet
prelia, pressuras, ieiunia, frigora, curas?
pauca quidem dico tristis, nec lumine sicco.
milia ter centum fuerant: tunc, estimo, centum
in bello clari uix possent annumerari.
sepe quidem leti sua membra dedere quieti

65 - 85 ABCDFG

82 Lucan IX.1044; Stat. S V.3.35; Arator I.356
85 Gilo IV (I).330
et nil solliciti gaudebant aere miti;

sed sub momento surgente per aera uento

aeris ingrati commotu precipitati

ux subite pesti poterant obsistere mesti,
cunctaque lustrabant imbres et castra natabant.

quiique locarat equum nocturno tempore secum

flebat eum mane corpusque trahebat inane;
militibus mille qui cinctus erat prius, ille

pro nimia peste nec nomen habebat honeste

militis, atque pedes factus plorabat in edes.
turpe quidem dictu, sed miles inops sine uictu

armigerum flentem flensa ipse fame pereuntem

a se pellabat, quia nec sibi sufficiebat.

proh dolor! ipse pater nato, fratri quoque frater

quos sibi servabat uictus in morte negabat.
attonitis ducibus quos miserat undique mundus,
cum duce Flandrensi solatur eos Boimundus

et bellatores iubet armari meliores;
ter decies mille pedites dux eligit ille,

armatique fere galeati mille fuere,
hique suos enes conviertunt ad Syrienses:

oppida predantur Syrie, nostri recreantur.
telluris grate dum gaudet fertilitate
diripiendu sata Syrie gens illa beata,
tres ammirati (sic reges quippe uocati
Iherusalem, Scalapi ductores atque Damasci)
ipsos inuadunt, sed et hi nostris sua tradunt.
quippe recesserunt uicti, plures perierunt.
hac palma freti repetunt tentoria leti.
dantur opes, gaudent inopes, meliusque futurum
esse putant, credunt non posse resistere murum.
optima creduntur bona que mala prima secuntur.
his ita transactis mons extans menibus altis
desuper equatur et castello decoratur
de quo spectaret specular, si qua pararet
urbs armata dolis, de culmina peruia molis.
hic consumpserunt uim multam, nec potuerunt
castrum natura munitum uellere plura
agmina, nam nati Christi satis exagitati
pellebant contis ciues de culmine montis.
uribus interea fractis ex urbe Lycea
auxilium querunt, quod non tamen optimuerunt.
Normanno comiti dederant hanc, urbe potiti,

108 - 128 : ABCDFG

114 Lucan III.496 125 Ovid M XII.337

108 gaudent DG 110 admirati AD : ammiraldi G
111 Iherusalem om.F Calapi ADG 115 meliusque D
118 transsactis F.m.pr. 120 spectaret et D 121
culmine A 124 nam fidi Christi DG 125 comptis
F 127 auxilia e G 128 non manno A : Hermanno BC
Angli uictores paribusque suis meliores; 

130 nec gens Anglorum gessit pugnas aliorum, 

marte sed equoreo fuit illa potita tropheo. 

hoc genus oratum non est his participatum 

mentis turma bone que gessit in obsidione: 

nam grex Turcorum, diuortia nota locorum 

135 obseruans, nostris castella propinqua tenebat, 

e quibus auxilium dare Christicolis prohibebat. 

auxilii postquam fiducia non fuit usquam, 

hos inuaserunt metus et pudor, obriguerunt 

audaces animi, trepidant et in agmine primi; 

140 penitet auctores rerum tot inisse labores, 

penitet incepti. mox in sua castra recepti, 

dum perscrutantur quid agant, magis attenuantur 

illorum mentes mala queque futura putantes 

que poterant fieri. sed mens est inscia ueri, 

145 mens sapit humanum. proceres dant denique uanum 

consilium turbe quod quisque recedat ab urbe, 

et se tutetur ne turpi morte necetur. 

dum sunt attonite tot gentes, fama repente 

rem docet ingratam, pugnam prope castra paratam. 

150 nam tres predicti primo certamine uicti, 

turba collecta, castrorum soluere tecta

129 - 151 ABCDFG

144 Ovid M I.614

130 glus Anglorum A 132 ornatum BC 137 auxilium
D A m.pr. unquam A 139 et om. A 143 futura
esperantes F m.pr. : futura timentes G 144 nescia
BC 146 ?quo quisque G 148 fame A
haud diffidebant, et ad hec taciti uemiebant.
hec ubi torpentes, quasi de somno redeuntes,
auribus hauserunt, alios alii monuerunt.

albescunt uultus, auditur ubique tumultus,
et ueluti uentus cum fit subito violentus,
murmura parua freti, sed non omnio quieti,
turbat, at inflatum resonat mare, reddit hiatum,
res referens subitas, sic aspera fama iacentes

attollit mentes, animos agit ira furentes.
protinus e castris acies procedit equestris,
que quadringentis armata simulque trecentis
quatuor, exemptis paucis in castra retentis,
examen dire gentis non horret adire.

deinde uigens dextris, pede prompta caterua pedestris,
in numero paruo renitens exponitur aruo,
in qua quingenti pedites ibant numerati.
nec simul incedunt, sed in agmina quinque recedunt,
emensisque tribus leugis allisque duabus,
eminus optatos hostes uidere paratos
ad pontem Ferri: nequeunt numerando referri
agmina Turcorum, nec uis capit hec oculorum.
hostes absque mora sub eadem scilicet hora
nostros uiderunt, et in ipsos se rapuerunt.

152 - 174 ABCDFG

154 Verg. A IV.359; Ovid M XIII.787 161 Gilo IV (I).
spicula mittuntur, clamares tela sequuntur.

instant pagani, lactu frustrantur inani.

Turcus equo gaudens nec prelia comminus audens

expectare, tonat uerbis nostrosque coronat.

nostri uallati stant in medio glomerati,

et Turcis obstant: clipeis galeeque resultant

ictibus immensis, ensemque reverberat ensis.

iamque fatigati Turci lateque necati

non spe uincendi contendunt sed fugiendi.

mox uersis scutis petitur fuga causa salutis.

Turcus equum frenis indulgens urget habenis.

precept ille fugit, tellus pede concita mugit.

in campo lentus lacet arcus puluerulentus.

iste iacet pictas pharetras, capit ille relictas,

alter currendo se liberat orbe rotundo.

singula quid dicam? gentem superant inimicam,

uix euaserunt aliqui, plures perierunt,

qui, dum luctantur superare uadum, superantur.

in bello strati pauci sunt ense necati.

hanc stragem quidam gentiles prospiciebant,

quoddam castellum qui non procul inde tenebant;

illi fugerunt et castrum deseruerunt.
huic proceres nostri custodes imposuerunt
qui custodirent pontem. post hec redierunt
auxilio fulti divino, fortiter ulti.

hos exceperunt socii letique fuerunt
conflictu duplici quod conciderant inimici;
nam dum predicti pugnant ad castra relictii
insignem palmam de ciubus optinuerunt,
et multi uirtute Dei paucos timuerunt.

hos exceperunt socii letique fuerunt
conflictu duplici quod conciderant inimici;
nam dum predicti pugnant ad castra relictii
insignem palmam de ciubus optinuerunt,
et multi uirtute Dei paucos timuerunt.

200 nec tamen audaci populo fiducia cessit,
nec sociis aduersa suis fortuna repressit.

205 ergo repente cauus de turribus egredientes
Turci turbabunt uictus ad castra ferentes.
neue dolo tali paterentur sepe ruinam

210 inuenere duces nostri super hoc medicinam,
atque super montem, preter fluuium, prope pontem,
castellum fieri statuunt pontemque tueri.

215 sed res difficilis non perficeretur ab illis
bello quassatis et uiribus attenuatis;

mox Boimundus equo celer insilit et quasi preco
euocat e castris aliquos surgentibus astris;

216 Verg. G I.440

Egidii Sancti comes associatur eunti.
ensibus ergo bonis fisi Sancti Symeonis

197 - 218 : ABCDFG

199 freti diuino BC 201 quia CF 202 pugnant predicti F 205 non tamen ADG 211 iuxta fluuium ADG 213 si res BC ne perficeretur DG : ne conficeretur ADG 216 euolat BC : convocat ADG aliquot BC uergentibus ADG
ad portum properant ut ab his suffragia querant
qui sua uendebant illic nostrisque faeabant:
hi sunt Genuenses, Angli, Venetumque colentes,
Pisani, cuncti nauali marte periti.
dumque duces aberant, reliqui torpescere sperant,
si non impeterent ciues urbique nocerent.
protinus afflatis animis uento leuitatis
urbanum temere pontem nostri petiere.
sic inconsulte gentis facto grege stulte
proucitat hostiles Turcos prope menia miles.
funduntur portis subito clamoribus ortis
nudati pedites, quorum uix spicula uites,
prosiliuntque citi iuuenes uittis redimiti
et procul exerts iaculantur utrimque lacertis.
ille sudes iacit, hic lapides, hic tela: sed ille
dum trahitur gemit, hic petitur per spicula mille.
lumina nostrorum nubes hebetant iaculorum,
atque coartati crudeli cedere marti
qui tot uicerunt totiens prius hic didicerunt.
laxatis loris fugiunt multumque cruoris
amittunt; Parthus contractos proterit artus.
hic pedis, hic oris uulnus gemit, ille cruoris
exactas uenas dum respicit inter habenas

219 - 241 : ABCDFG

219 ab his uires sibi querant BC 223 cumque F
225 ?annuis A 225 excertis D m.pr. iaculant A
iaciantur D 234 ?trabitur D 235 hebetant nubes
A hebebat D m.pr. 237 post hic G 239 omittunt
F : emittunt G Parthos fugientes G preterit D
241 exhaustas ADG
labitur et plenam defunctis mordet harenam.
nullus equi frontem uertit donec fuga pontem
repperit, ut dixi quem dudum nauibus ipsi
struxerunt. sed ibi restant animi melioris
agmina que nondum fuerant oblita decoris,
et se defendunt clipeis hostesque retardant.
plures dum trepidi pontem conscendere tardant
turpiter oppressi moriuntur flumine mersi.

Turci letantur, flent nostri, castra petuntur.
nec sic lassatur ferus hostis, at insidiatur
dum succedit ei, male callidus, huic aciei,
que ducis hortatu ernoebat cum comitatu
forti, multiplici. sed et hunc superant inimici
atque necant peditum tria milia. turma quiritur
euasit latitans per colles, prelia uitans.
nec mora, gaudentes de turribus illa uidentes
Perse ridebant nostri qui castra tenebant
remque docent signis, strepitu, clamoribus, ymnis.

ergo uir intrepidus Flandrensis, dux Godefridus,
Robertus, Stephanus, Tancretius, Hugo, Statinus
(qui dum uiuebat naso, non laude, carebat)
et reliqui fortes armantur, et ecce cohortes

242 - 263 : ABCDFG

251 Ovid M I.185; Tr. II.77; Arator I.360
procedunt, plorant quia frustra sepe laborant.

optat quisque mori nisi bellum cedat honoris:
mors ingrata, grauis, foret illis grata, suauis.

integrat illorum mentes solator eorum
et rogat intensis precibus presul Podiensis
ne desperarent, quia credentes superarent,
ceruicesque gregis signat summis cruce regis.
pluribus hortati mortemque subire parati
aut superare, boni proceres fideique patroni
illuc accelerant, ubi se concurrere sperant
hostibus, et tacite graditur prior et sine lite

corripit ignarum Hugo ductor Francigenarum,

amotique parum cursores Christicolarum

stantia summa ducum uexilla uident quasi lucum.
nec mora per scalas Godefridus segregat alas.
en modo deuictus dux et de strage relictus

emersit subito de montibus, et repetito

milite signa gerens demissa, fugam sibi querens,
uius recognouit uexilla metumque remouit.
precipit et stare sua signa tubisque sonare.
alterutrum gaudent sociorum scuta uidere,
alterutrumque uiris resides animi rediere.
exacuit Persas victoria parta recenter,

264 - 286 : ABCDFG
erigitur sonipes, dominum gerit impatienter.
arcus lunantur, clipei galeeque parantur,
iam resonant nerui, iam Turci tela proterui
interquinet, iam cornipedes saliunt quasi cerui,
iam tubicen teter lituis sonat, obstrepet ether,
iam caua saxa datas uoces reddunt geminatas:
undique pugnatur, belli fortuna uagatur.
nam modo terga dabant hostes, modo nostra fugabant
agmina; per bellum uersat Bellona flagellum.
diversum iacitur nec eisdem missile uotis:
destinat hic iaculum presentibus, ille remotis.
cedere crinitus iuuenis non pellere doctus;
funditur in plano, iactu terit aera uano.
neue petat palmam gens conspicienda capillis
libertate fuge, libertas clauditur illis.
ergo Dei proceres, umnibus ordine iunctis,
sic cinxere uiros ut silua cacumina montis.
undique stant turbe; Godefridus pugnat ab urbe,
imminet a tergo Boimundus. comminus ergo
pugna fit immitis, tanto minus apta sagittis.
flectit equum Parthus, nusquam uetat hoc locus artus:

287 - 307: ABCDFG
tinguit Persarum crur enses Francigenarum.
enesis inexperti studio conantur inerti

310 Turci per minimam campo se reddere rimam.
ut pateant aditus et possint tangere litus
se satis exercent, sed eos stipata cohercent
agmina, constrictus nequit hostis cedere uictus.
stat stupidus furor eous, uia nulla saluti,

315 non iaculis licet aut solitis anfractibus uti.
audax et timidus pereunt simul: hic prohibetur
in pugna pugnare, sed huic fuga fida negatur.
on modice turbe modico capiuntur ab orbe.

Turcus in oppositum dum sepius erigit ictum
confossis costis socii partem iuuat hostis.
pectora pectoribus et membris membra teruntur.
soli bella gerunt nostri, Turci patiuntur.

Parthus, Arabs proni succumbunt ultimo mucroni,
 nec nostri tantum possunt prostrernere, quantum
agmina densa mori. claudit madefacta cruori
terra uiam, rimas quia iam compleuerat imas
sanguis cognatus, nec habet quos pandat hiatus.
puluis ubi cessit quem sanguinis unda repressit,
vincendi certum signum campum per apertum

308 - 329 : ABCDFG

328 Alcimius Avitus I.167

308 tingit A 309 inexpertis? G inheri A 310
ripam ADG 311 aditus rimam possit A 313 nequit
hos procedere A 314 nulla uia A 315 anfratibus A
316 probetur D m.pr. : prohibetur D m.alt. hic scripsi:
hius codd. 318 immodice ADG capuntur B 320
confessis A 322 sola bella ADPG 323 partus DF
Araps D succubunt B 324 prostrernunt D quantis A
325 moret D m.pr. cadit F malefacta D 326 qui C
327 conatus D m.pr. pandet C 328 unda recessit A
conspiciunt nostri factos de sanguine riuos
et sustentantes erecta cadauera uiuos.
et quoniam tantum licuit pro strage nocentum
se stolide gentes reputabant esse nocentes.

miles ut eoo uidet arua cruore naturae
cessit et exactas uoluit uires renouare.

rupit ut ille chorum, nubes glomerata uirorum
conuersis frenis in se ruit, urget habenis
lassos cornipedes, caruitque modo noua cedes.
hic fratrem terit, ille patrem; ciuilia bella

exercent dominumque premit super obruta sella.
et, uelut in stagnis, cum sepe recluditur amnis,
unde detente disrupto fonte repente
prosiliunt, prime fugiunt relisque secuntur,
impedunt alias alie, certare uidentur,

haud secus ad planum properat uulgus male sanum
et fugit ad pontem. calcans dux Bullicus hostem
occupat ingressum pontis prohibetque regressum
ense cruentato populo grauiter superato.

ira, locus, gladius pugnant, uim quoque duci dat:

hec subigit uires, hic impedit, ille trucidat.

330 - 350: ABCDFG

339 Lucan I.1
dux, spes nostrorum, Turcis confusio, luctus,
truncat equos, equites, recipitque cadauera fluctus.
quod non de Tideo legitur nec de Capaneo,
quod non Eacides, non Hector, non Diomedes,
dux potuit, neque nos latuit res digna relatu:
mole sua terrens proceres multoque paratu
dirus Arabs gladium uoluens radiante rotatu
precipiti portatus equo celeriue uolatu
constitit ante ducem, putat hanc extinguere lucem,
et super inuictum caput erigit altius ictum.
precauet iratus dux sub clipeo replicatus,
moxque chorustantem gladium leuat et ferit hostem:
oss, caput illidit, uitalia tota cecidit,
spargit et aruinam, rupit cum pectore spinam;
sic homo prostratus cadit in duo dimidiatus
atque super scutum partes in mille minutum
pars cecidit, pars heret equo trahiturque supina,
estque sui moderator equi non iusta rapina.
ictu sic uno fit magna nec una ruina.
dicere succincte si uellem funera uicte
gentis, quas mortes sunt passe mille cohortes,

355 371 ABCDFG


353 Tudeo G : Thideo BC Canapeo BC 354 Eutides D
non Hector siue Tittides BC 355 digne A 359 constuit
A 360 altius erigit ADG 362 mox G m.pr. leuat
et ferit[1] fecit se leua A 363 cecidit scripsi :
cicidit codd. 364 rumpit ADG spectore A 365
homo truncatus ADG 366 atque scutum gladio partes BC
367 traditurque D 369 post 367 D m.pr. : post 366 D
m.alt. 370 uite A m.pr. D
aut quid Normannus comes egerit aut Hugo Magnus
Flandrensisue manus, essem me iudice uanus:
non Maro, non Macer quid ibi Tancretius acer
fecerit exprimerent et uerbis facta carerent.

hic decus eoum cecidit, nullumque tropeum
hoc magis afflxit ciues. hic dextra reuixit
mortua nostrorum, satiata cruore uirorum,
hic ammirati primates sunt iugulati,
hic urbis magne fracte cecidere columne,
hic quoque consilio rex designatus inani
fillius occubuit magni regis Casiani.
corporibus plenum flumen stetit Antiochenum
undaque pallorem mutans imitata ruborem.

in pontis strata sunt milia quinque necata,
dextraque cedentum deforme facit pauimentum.

iamque fatigati, multis apollis onerati,
nocte duces leti redeunt, dant membra quieti,
sed uigilant sensus, hostesque fugare uidentur
quiique suos, capuloque manus absente mouetur.

postquam clara dies nituit nostri nituere
uestibus, era suis uictores distribuere.

372 - 392 : ABCDFG
388 Proba VC 124, 599 = A II.691; cf. Gilo IV (I).330
372 at quid A 373 ensem BC 374 nam Maro D
Tancretius cacer D m.pr. 375 fecerint D 376 hic

c,cecus D m.pr.: hic deatus A euum D m.pr. 379
admirati ABCD principes B m.pr. 380 columbe A
382 Cassiani BDF 383 Antiochenu B m.pr. 384 mutata
ruborem A : imitata cruorem D ruborem est B m.pr.
386 fitque pauimentum de corporibus morientum ADG :
de iugulis flentum miserabile fit pauimentum F 388
leti non habent BC sua reddunt membra BC 390
scapuloque F 391 post ubi clara G
tunc capti numeratur equi, septemque fuere mília, tunc equites totidem proceres statuere.

his ita transactis castellum turribus altis et solido fundo stabilitum dant Raimundo.

dum bene succedit, dum sepius alea fati mergit gentiles, sunt extra castra uocati a ducibus magnis audaces meliusque parati.

quilibet hostili gaudens occurrere dampno ducitur in predam, sed non hortamine magno, qui festinantes fluuiumque sub urbe uadantes mulas et mulos capiunt multosque camelos et subito rapiunt animalia mília quinque cum totidem, licet urbani iaculentur utrimque.

huc quoque quo iuuenes predam cepere nouatur quoddam castellum uallumque uetus reparator.

illud Tancreto committitur omine leto, nam premonstrabat minimi custodia muri urbis custodem, prenuntia facta futuri.

iam timet obsessus ciuis, clamorque repressus est insulantis populi de se meditantis.
pluribus afflictus dolet, at penuria uictus acrius angebat quia uix exire licebat.

post hec inter se statuerunt talia Perse
ut pax ad tempus cum Christicolis habeatur,
qualiter interea se reddant discutiatur.
sic igitur coram pax confirmatur ad horam.
porte celate sunt interea reserate,
muros hostiles posita formidine miles

circuit et tuto Parthi tandemque soluto
arcu ridebant nostris et castra petebant.

at Gualo uir fortis, dum lumina pascit in hortis,
perfidie gentis nimis immemor hec simulantis
dum delectatur, male fida fides uiolatur:
occupuit nempe loca dum uidet emula Tempe.
iura fidesque data sunt morte uiri temerata,
quem simul elusit se ciuis in urbe retransit.

audiit ut funus Humberga decens et Hugonis

filia, nupta prius comitis, tunc nupta Gualonis,
palluit atque genas secat unguibus illa proteruis
et sustentatur matrum stipata cateruis.
dextra comas lacerat; sed que lacerat lacerat,

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413 - 433 : ABCDFG

413 afflictu D m.pr. : afflictis D m.alt. 414 acrius?
F urgebat F 417 discucuatur F 419 celate F
421 Pathi A parti C m.pr. F solutos D 423 Galo
CF pacit D m.pr. 425 -428 hos vy. om. A m.pr. :
\textit{eos ponit post 460 A m.alt. cum rub. 'questio uxoris
Galonis uito scriptoris pretermisa. hac xiiii
cartum (sic) 428 cuius A ab urbe F m.pr. : in
orbe D m.pr. post hunc v. habet D 'Planctus Huncberge
super Galone coniuge' 429 Huncberga D : Huncberga Ç :
Umberta A 430 nunc AD Galonis CF 432 sustentatur
neruis D m.pr.
subtilisque manus subtili crine secatur.

exanimemque diu uox pressa dolore relinquit,

sed tandem uoci uia uix laxatur et inquit:

"tantane sustinuit Deus infortunia genti

occurrisset sue, plus inimica mihi?

occurritque decus Francorum, maximus hostis

hostibus, ille meus, spesque salusque suis?

languet morte graui bello non languida dextra,

languet et occubuit uir Gualo, uita mea.

me miseram! non obsequium miserabile feci

uir, tibi; cum caderes, compariter cecidi.

hei mihi! non foui, non clausi, non ego laui

os, oculos, uulnus, ueste, manu, lacrimis.

lux mea, cui moriens morituram deservisti?

ut tecum morerer dignior ipsa fui.

tu mihi tu, certe memini, iurare solebas

te uitaturum cautius insidias.

sed quod non poterat gens perfida demere bello

est sublata tibi uita beata dolo.

an sine te uiuam patris a patria procul absens?

434 - 453 : ABCDFG

449 Ovid A II.10 (11).1 453 Verg. E X.46
absque uiro uiuet femina castra sequens?

figite me quibus est pietas, opponite telis

Parthorum miseram, mors mihi pena leuis,
mors mihi pena leuis si iungar morte Gualoni,
si non sim Turco preda futura truci."
hos leuat Eurardus frater solamine questus

et reprimit blanda uoce graues gemitus.

(sic apud hostilem uariis euentibus urbe
ducebant longam nostrates obsidionem.
inter Christicolas et Christi nominis hostes
pugna trahebatur prope denos aspera menses:

instabant isti fisi uirtute superna,
obstabant illi nitentes fraude paterna,
sperabant siquidem nostros uel deficientes
deserere in medio frustratos sepe labores,
uel sibi myriadas Persarum gentis adesse,

more locustarumque obstantia cuncta uorare.
tali comperto rumore beata caterua
in conspectu urbis producit pignora sacra:
illic obsidio septem iuratur in annos,
rursus et in totidem nisi uirtus celica muros

panderet ante sibi, quæ spem ressecuit inanem
ciuibus immodicumque incussit causa timorem.)

454 - 460 : ABCDFG  :  461 - 476 G

456 Ovid M X.698

454 non habent DG : habet A quid faciet fragilis femina
castra sequens 455 fugite A : apponite telis D :
opponite partis A m.pr. hunc v. ponit post 456 D m.pr.
457 mors mors pena A Galoni AD : Galonis BC 458
si non sum B : si non si A 459 Buurardus F : Euardus A
talía apud Syriam uaria dum sorte geruntur
nuncque hinc nunc illinc mala uel bona distribuuntur,
uenit ad heroas supplex legatio nostros
consilii poscens simul auxilliique ministros,
précipueque ducis compellat nobile nomen
uulgatum fama terram uolitante per omnem.
unde tamen uel cur legatio uenerit ista
restât ut expeditat narratio suppeditata.

terra inter geminos ditissima clauditur amnes,
Tygrin et Eufraten, populos famosa per omnes,
in greco retinens quç Mesopothamia nomen
ex habitu causa conseruat nominis omen.
a fluuiio ad fluuium tantum distare uidetur
quantum †ac† pedibus septena luce meatur.

haec inter plures gremio quas continet urbes,
urbs antiqua, potens, speciosa et diuite uëna
eminet antiquë Babyloni nempe coëua;
nam quo Chaldeam pharetrata Semyramis arcem
tempore construxit, simul héc quoque condita fulsit,

16 Verg. A I.531 18 Juvenal II,108; Priscian Perieg. 930 - 932

causæ cod.: terrae (?) (sic) Riant : lacunam hab.
Sirmond 14 †ac† cod.: lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant
nomine corrupto quœ nunc Rohasia dicta,
temporis antiqui possedit nomen Edyssa.
haec secus Assyrias iacet ad sex milia Charras
Romanis ducibus Crassorum morte perosas,
in quibus antiquus degebat Abram patriarcha
cum de Chaldaica diuino numine flamma
erutus euasit, fuerit qua frater adustus,
unde et uoce Dei mox est excedere iussus.
se{ iam prœmissæ textus repetatur Edyssæ,
in qua regna tenens fuit Abgaerus ille beatus
ex Domini Christi rescripto magnificatus
ac morbi ueteris cruciatibus exoneratus.
haec ibi temporibus permansit epistola multis
atque ea ab adversis tutauit mœnia cunctis.
nam si barbaricus furor illuc adueniebat,
baptizatus eam puer alta in arce legebat,
mo{que uel in pacem gens ex feritate redibat
aut terrore fugam diuino tacta petebat.
hic quoque Thaddeus in septuaginta probatus
et fidei normam contradidit et requieuit,
hic etiam Thomæ, qui Christi uulnera sensit
et dubitan{ nobis dubitandi crimen ademit,
corpus ab Indorum regionibus esse relatum
creditur et magnis hic honoribus accumulatum.
haec semel in Christi postquam direxit amorem,

22 Lucan I.105
numquam sustinuit frigescere religionem
sed neque scismaticis patiens concedere ad horam
catholicici tenuit moderaminis integritatem,
unde et gentilis mala plurima conditionis
et tulit hereticø feritates impietatis.

maxima sed fuit hæc odiorum primaque causa
quæ super hanc grauius commouit finitima arma,
quod Syriq ueniens Christi chorus in regionem
Antiochi quateret uariis conflictibus urbem,
et nec eos magno ualuissent uincere bello
sed nec ab obsesso saltem depellere muro;
inde graues irae contra genus omne piorum
et desiderium delendi nomen eorum.
propterea celsam circa concursus Eddyam
uastabat totam regionis fertilitatem.

illuc uicini cuncta de parte gregati,
illuc longinqui fama stimulante uocati
oppida, rura, casas, castellaque concutiebant.
matres, prata, uiros, animalia diripiebant.
nonnumquam portis quoque pugnabatur in ipsis.

mutua coniectis feruebant uulnera telis,
ciuius ...ior... fessis non futile uisum
auxilium contra perquirere Christicolarum.
hac igitur causa legatio iam memorata

57 cf. Claudian In Ruf. II.233

52 in cod.: ad Sirmond, Riant 64 ipsis scripsi : istsis cod.: 65 coniectis cod.: lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant 66 ...ior... cod.: obsidio sugg. Hall: a bello supposui
missa superueniens penetrauit Gallica castra.

70 monstrant et socios in Christi religione, et conservata semper fidei integritate, et, quia .... grauia hæc sibi proveniebant, auxilium per eos sibi dandum iure ferebant. praecipueque ducis personam sollicitabat, namque ....ni... plus formidabile norant.

talia mouerunt procerum miserantia corda, quid sit opus facto tractant indagine multa. credunt proficuum sibi deinceps esse futurum si per se column præstatur rebus eorum; hinc sibi iuncturos sociāia foedera multos quos fors †ab hilaratis †non paterentur inultos. magnam uero sibi super hoc accrescere laudem spargendumque suum longe lateque timorem si, cum præsentem retinerent obsidionem, largirentur opem longinquis auxiliarem.

80 his aliisque modis dicta ratione probata, ardor inest cunctis citius gnauare precata. sed quia presentis domitandi fulmina gentis maior cura ducem socialibus abstrahit armis, quod pignus pro se dare carius esse probauit, fratrem quippe suum, poscentibus associavit,

87 Charleville poet I.5

72 et quia cod. : lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant 75 ....ni... cod. : lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant : illo nihilum sugger. Hall. : alium nullum supposui 81 hunc v. om. Sirmond, Riant
cum quo militi partem quam mittere dignum credidit, emisit populatis suppetiatum.
iste minor natu fuit eius denique frater,
qui post se rexit Solimorum sceptrum decenter.
tunc proficiscentes longarum strata uiaram,
nempe decem spatiis interdiuisa dierum,
tandem perueniunt memoratam sepius urbem.
conficiunt stragem de uastatoribus acrem.

Arsacide uicti neque comminus arma ferentes
diffugiunt, arcus ut inutile reicientes,
dum non expertam nequeunt ...tendere ...iem,
in pedibusque citis totam posuere salutem.
nec nisi qui latuit Francorum uulnera fugit,
nec qui desiluit sella post hanc repetiuit,
nec ueniens uulnus cutis exteriora peregit
sed cæsim punctimque animæ uitalia adegit.
non fuit his mirum Gallorum tela pauere,
et collisa nimis post pectora terga fouere,
dum, quorum fuerant uirtutibus omnia prona
solaque habebatur gentilis gloria pugna,
cum Gallis sueti pro sola bella salute
ducere, sēpe fugam sibi pro uictoria habere;
quos a se Crassi meminissent funere uictos

96 Charleville poet I.293; Verg. A I.421 100 Lucan
I.105 105 Gilo IV (I) 139

101 ...tendere cod. : contendere suggessi : protendere
Sirmond, Riant 106 peregit scripsi : pepegit cod. :
lacunam hab. Sirmond, Riant 107 uitalia scripsi :
Sirmond, Riant adegit cod. : lacunam hab. Sirmond,
Riant
sublatisque etiam signis sua sub iuga missos, cum Romanorum per plurima nomina gentis obruit Eufrates et multa cadauera Tygris detulit in terras ac reddidit. ergo repulsis hostibus et cæcis condentibus ora cauernis, omni pacata regione et constabilita, nulla se lētis specie miscente maligna, urbis regnator fratre fructum ductoris adoptat, utque pater natum penitus sibi nectere certat. delegat terram, regionem subiugat omnem, in sua pacta manus facit ipsam iungere plebem. lēta coronatur facies et concinit urbis. diversis modulis iubilatio consonat astris. cotidie celsam feruet concursus ad aulam, unanimes nostram certant addiscere legem. funditur in cunctos pax et concordia ciues. iura docent nostri, componunt undique lites. militiam exercet sub certo iudice tyro. hinc eques hincque pedes recto mouet agmina gyro. pellitur atra fames, opulentia regnat in omnes, non aliquos patitur bonitas communis egentes. ductoris nostri nimio plebe ardet amore, nec satis explorati uisu ualet alloquioque. felices sese reputant fore iudice tali, in quo non nisi pax poterat bonitasque uideri, in quo militiæ decor et uirtutis honestæ omnibus .......... communiter esse.

iura docent nostri cod. : iur.......Sirmond, Riant
in hoc versu lacunosus est codex : exemplo poterat suppl. Sirmond, Riant
nam ueluti Paulus sic omnibus omnia factus,
sic erat in cunctos moderanter morigeratus,
fortibus ut fortis, infirmis poene sodalis,
gauderet letis et compateretur amaris,
largus erat largis, quasi parcus denique parcis,
mitibus et mitis, feritate tumentibus aspis,
sic se conformans cunctis moderamine uiro
ut uelut in speculo se quisque uideret in illo.

hoc inspectanti diuini plasmatis hosti,
inuidiæ patri, non esse ualebat amori,
unde sibi ingeniti liuoris fomite moto
collectoque sua impietatis in arma ueneno,
regnatorem urbis, prius hoc se letificantem,
mouit in inuidiam mentis nimiumque dolorem.
crescere quicquid huic cernit de plebis amore
diminui sibimet sperat, dictante timore,
unde in dogma cadens peruersum Herodis iniqui
et metuens ab eo de regni culmine pelli,
hunc quem summissis precibus sibi muneribusque
ad succurrendum rogitauerat ante uenire,
cuique sibi patriam penitus tutore carentem
poene et ab hoste malo ferro flammaque ruentem,
cedibus et prædis omni de parte gementem,

153 cf. Lucan VIII.304; Arator I.361; Gilo IV (I)
282

147 aspis cod.: asper Sirmond, Riant
158 Herodis
cod. : haeredis Sirmond, Riant
reddiderat, summo conamine nil metuentem, querit quo genere specieque modoque uel arte possit ad interitus casum foueamque rotare. si faciat sceptri fructum putat esse retenti, si non, desperat utœ momenta lucrari, et tam peruerse mentis fuit inuidiaeque ut, cum Christicolam se dici uellet et esse, duxerit indignum se Christicolas adisse, et tristaretur per eos sua tuta fuisse, optans idolatris potius sine honore subesse quam Christi famulis foedus sociale dedisse. 

sed quia plebis amor nimio feruore fauebat, illi cui malus hic placitum loetale parabat demonstrare palara timuit quod mente gerebat. ergo legatos similes sibi nactus iniquos, hostes uicinos, a Christi milite pulsos, inuitat proprios ueniant ut rursus in agros: poeniteat quod se socios cepisse alienos, hos se missurum bellandi nomine ad illos iussurumque suis ut primo limine belli destituant illos fugiendo in terga regressi; hos permansuros fugiendi obstante pudore; sic omnes posse simul una morte perire. exultant Parthi capientes quod cupiebant, et celeres assunt, ut uota maligna capescant.

184 cf. Statius A II.34

182 coepisse cod.
ille acuit nostros penitus nil tale cauentes,
donat eis comites sibi proditione sodales.
non tamen associat saltem de ciuibus unum
ne pateat coeptum pacto quocumque nefandum.
extra quesiti subeunt ea castra manipli

indigenis ducibus concedere ad omnia iussi.
procedunt alacres consueta ad ludicra nostri,
occurrent contra structis legionibus illi.
primo congressu penetrant media agmina Galli,
cedunt, prosternunt, uia fit calcaribus et ui,

sed postquam infestis terebrarunt obuia telis
inque eadem uersis referuntur prèlia frenis,
ecce uident socios manifesta proditione
diffugere et retro dare nemine terga fugante.
tunc intellecta per signa patentia fraude,
mutua adhortati in manibusque animas posuere: 97r0
amplexi clypeos stringunt animosius enses,
dant ualidos ictus in comminus atque secentes.
norunt in manibus uitam consistere et armis,
in pedibus uero stipendia mortis inermis.

malunt nobiliter pugnando occumbere plagis
quam paganorum trucibus dare colla catenis.
non parcunt dextris, non parcunt denique telis:
nullus hic est iaculis leuibus locus atque sagittis.
aspiciunt Parthi circum iaculando uagantes

pro tutela anime nostros rem rite gerentes.

207 secentes scripsi: sedentes cod.
percipierunt quod erat, quia laus sibi nulla canatur
si morientibus his ipsi quoque commoriantur.
uncere quod nequeunt, dimittunt au fugientes,
dimittuntque uiros dampnata luce feroces.

desperata salus sic est pugnando redacta
at spes nequitiae in nihilum ster cusque reducta.
egregius ductor fortes affatur amicos
de fousa mortis propria uirtute reversos:
non bene barbaricis umquam permixta cateruis
agmina quæ fidei sint enutrita tropheis;
esse sibi tutum comitatum liniere gentis
quæ specie blanda propinet pocula mortis.
monstrari tamen hæc collectis foedera turmis
ut nosci ualeant, placeant si talia cunctis.
cum dicto factum celeratur, contio tota
cogitur, et fit eis mox hæc querimonia nota:
ob quæ sint missi se compleuisse perorant.
tempus adesse sibi ut castra Antiochena reuisant.
post hac auxilia si poscant, nec mereantur,
hoc sibi pro meritis fieri non diffiteantur:
propter opem, nece tractata, se poene perisse.
his quod adhuc uiuant se nullam gratiam habere:
per Christum et dextras restare superstite uita.
ergo recedere se melioraque querere pacta.
his dictis onerant quæ deportanda fuerunt, quæque graui bello per se sua facta fuerunt. dispositi in turmas dant agmina bellica retro et male mercato celerant abscedere regno. protinus in tota fit lamentatio plebe utpote quæ fuerat non huius conscia culpæ. se miseros clamant, inopes, rationis egenos et uice crudeli sine defensore relictos. postquam dicta satis quæ dici digna fuerunt, quæ dolor atque timor comites dicenda dederunt, protinus in belli rationem questio transit, quæ sibi causa fugæ fereuens querimonia poscit; ac primo tacitis gladium mortemque minantur ni responsa sibi ueracia mox referantur. nemo sponte luit peccata aliena silenter: regem sic fieri memorant iussisse potenter. tunc quæcunque mali istius commenta fuerunt et qua de causa concorditer edocuerunt. nec mora, fit celsam populi concursus ad aulam et cum rege agitant rationem iudicialem. non bene purganti facinus crimenque resectum mox est purpurea caput a ceruice resectum. tunc oratores mox ad tentoria mittunt,
ut sibi consultum redeant lacrimando reposcunt.
quamuis inuitus, duce multa prece uictus
consilii causa est ad meìa celsa reductus.
utque fuit primum portum murisque receptus,
omnis eum propere circumstatur turma senatus.
omnes se purgant de crimine pröditionis,
omnes deplorant mala pravæ suspirationis
quæ sibi ductoris animum per cuncta benignum
abstulerat, cum nil foret a se perpere gestum.
omnes poscere se precibus lacerisque profusi
ne se dedecoret post hæc infamia turpis,
ne se destituat tutela suæ pietatis,
neu se mortiferis uelit obiectare periclis.
eius primatum super omnia uelle et amare.
non indignetur secum regnando manere.
ille negat sese super illum preffore posse
quo se contigerat urbem inuitante petisse.
quod se purgarent satis illis gratiam habere;
illius porro consortia nolle tenere.
ilius continuo monstrant quæ gesta fuissent,
quæ pro perfidiæ sibi crimine dona tulissent.
ostendunt caput, hocque sui dant pignus amoris,
quod fidei læsæ tulerat uindicta fidelis.
hinc uotis uota iungunt precibusque precata,
uimque parant nisi flectatur sententia fixa.

276 uelle et cod. : uellet Sirmond, Riant
obstupuit ductor tanto se foedere queri
in dominum populi pro se hac feritate seueri.
quid sit opus facto sociorum consulit agmen;
collaudant omnes oblatum scandere culmen.
ingreditur celsam cunctis letantibus arcem.
iuris iurandi capit undique conditionem.
in sua sic totam componit foedera gentem
defensamque regit propriis uirtutibus urbem.

his ita compositis et fama notificante
nostros obsidio dum detinet urbis amoen₃,
altera ad heroas legatio de Babylonis
arcibus aduenit, non expers proditionis.
hec autem Babylon, quæ nunc habitabilis exstat,
longe a Chaldaicœ Babylonis climate distat:
illa etenim versus Aquilonem ducitur, 1sta
Euronothum spectans tangit Memphytica regna.
alluit Eufrates illum torrentibus undis,
fertilis hanc Nilus nigris fecundat harenis.
illam post Nemroth fundamina præiicientem
inque polos turrim sustolle percupientem
struxit Semyramis, quadro latera qua tenentem,
perque latus quodque sex denaque milia habentem,
milia circuitus sic sexagena ferentem
atque quaterna simul tota ambitione replentem.
undique coctilibus forma hæc circumpdata muris

290 Charleville poet VI.77 312 Ovid M IV.58

302 dueitur cod.
atque gyganteis pedibus fuit alta ducentis,
et cum uicenis pariter spissata tricenis.

praetera portis tantum stridebat aenis
in medio turrim gremio complexa superbam,
quam scriptura refert gentem struxisse proteruam
cum post diluuium ueniens orientis ab axe
repperit hunc campum medio telluris apertae,
cuius planitie mox delectata capaci
hanc statuit turrim facere usque ad culmina celii.
cumque euasisset iam milia ad usque quaterna
atque foret totidem spatiosius undique lata,
hanc ita stulticiam pietas divina recidit:
uniloquam linguam per multas extenuauit.
sic intermissa est operum presumptio cassa,
non intellecta alterutrum currente loquela.
taliter exstructa uiguit per tempora multa
regibus ac populis compluribus imperiosa,
multa mala exercens, crudelia cuncta frequentans,
reges excicans, proceres populosque cathenans,
templa Dei uiolans, sacra ussa per idola foedans,
ignibus atque feris sanctorum corpora dedens,
donec sub Cyro Moedos Persasque regente
summo regna Deo sibi plurima subiciente
capta et destructa quod fecerat est quoque passa,
prehans prædata, captiuanexiliata,

315 Verg. A I.449

323 spatiosius scripsi : spatiosus cod. 331 excicans cod.
atque, prophetarum iuxta prædicta sacrorum, monstrorum facta est habitatio multimodorum.

at postquam Cyrus Scytico fuit ense necatus, filius ipsius Cambyses patrem imitatus quæ nunc incolitur Babylonem condidit, atque Iudæos Arabes sibi subsidit Æthiopaque. sic ex tunc et nunc Babylon Ægyptia regnat et circum circa famulantia regna coartat.

huius regnator nostris apud Antiochenam insignes misit legatos perfidus urbem.

horum primus erat qui tunc fuit alter ab illo, uir bonus et prudens, non ingenioque maligno. nescius ergo doli neque conscius insidiarum simpliciter dixit sibi quod fuit imperitatum: regem namque suum nostrorum gesta legentem exposuit multam nostris mandare salutem; urbem Hierusalem sibi nunc ditione subactam, huius causa istos tantum sumpeisse laborem.

uelle aliquos sibi nostrorum properanter adesse uisu, colloquio, uictu sibi participare: si sibi uel ratio uel honestas religionis suadeat ut fauceat sua conversatio nostris, iam fieri posse ut gentilia monstra refutet, ut posito Christum diademate pronus adoret. tunc sibi Hierusalem fieri per cuncta patemtem, tunc sacrum tumulum, cunctum quoque cædere honorem, tunc palmeta suis insontes suggerere hastas, inque Dei laudes habiles concedere spicas.
exultant nostri, nihil hic hostile cauentes,
sed nomen Domini hinc celebrari suspicientes:
ille etiam princeps aliorum mente benigna
perstat, et hortatur, spondens fore prospera cuncta:
370
hos etenim incolumes deducere se fore certum,
rursus honorifice reduces dare pectore fixum.
ergo inter primos bellorum laude laude potentes
interque eximios insignia clara ferentes
ductores uocitant complures, digniter ornant,
cunctis militi, simul utilitatis armant
375
et cum legatis legatos pergere mandant,
dicere uel facere quæ sint se digna perorant.
quid multis opus est? sociali foedere iuncti
nostri et non nostri subeunt naualia cuncti,
perque maris magni divortia plurima uecti
tandem sunt proplius Babylonica menia ducti.
princeps officii quosdam premittere curat,
atque suo regi quæ gesserat ordine narrat:
ille dolos uersans præceptum tale remandat:
380
ne lucente die Francos in menia ducat,
neue situs urbis cernens manus extera noscat,
sicque animos in se gens bellia aspera tollat.
ille dolum metuens paret, sed pectore tristi,
inducitque uiros in menia nocte silenti,
390
nec malus hos princeps patiens assistere coram
omnes in quandam deduci præcipit aulam:

369 perstt cod. : constat Sirmond, Rican
illuc inclusos et nusquam progredientes
tempore non modico tenuit, suspiria dantes.
iussit habendantem tamen illis affore uictum,
sic cœlare uolens infandi pectoris astum.
tandem conductor, questu pulsatus ab illis
et grauiter motus pro crimine suspicionis,
regnatorem adiit, querit quæ causa sit ista
quod se legatum Francorum accedere castra

iusserit atque uiros illinc deducere claros,
quos a conspectu proprio uelit esse remotos;
siquid forte mali contrudere cogitetur illis,
non se posse pati consortia proditionis,
seu conaturum toto discrimine uite
ut sua procédât penitus legatio rite;
aut det magnificos coram se stare quirites
et patria dignos illis concedat honores,
aut se de proprio donatos ac renitentes
efficere ut repetant sociorum castra canentes.
talia per socios illo monstrante potentes
obstupuit rector, metuens offendere pluris:
imperat acciri personas, colloquioque
participans illos (interprete sed mediate)
querit de sociis quæ sint, quæ nomina gestent,
quidue potestatis propria in regione retentent.

illi responsa digna et ueracia reddunt,
et pauidæ menti crementa timoris inurunt.
ille metum cœlans, uultu fictoque renidens,

402 contrudere cod. : contradere Sirmond, Riant
fictuque cod.
et gestus habitusque uirum spectando pererrans
suadet ut armati campis potiantur apertis,
et sua demonstrent quid Gallia possit in armis.
paretur; capiunt celeres insignia et acres
scandentes in equos geminas statuere cohortes:
aspectus galeis, loricis corpora tecti,

ardentes clypeos et spicula lucida nacti,
aspera corripiunt imitantem prelia martem,
et uariis monstrant patriam discursibus artem.
configunt dociles relegi docilesque relinqui:
nunc procul absentes a se, nunc uero propinqui,
et nunc terga fugē dantes, nunc versa fugantes,
impediunt cursus concursibus, orbibus orbes.
nunc uelut infestis in mutua funera telis
itur, at in rerum sunt omnia tuta peritis.
spectant Nilicolq, spectat rex ipse malignus,
atque hebetantur eis gelida formidine sensus
sollicitus, quia si gens talis Francigenarum
Hierusalem capta fines peruadat eorum,
nil fore uirtuti quod eorum obsistere possit,
cum uehemens bellum quasi quidam ludus eis sit.
tunc sibi dissimilem post se loca summa tenentem
conuocat, et gestit facere ex ratione furentem;

428 Valerius Flaccus VI.237

432 funera cod. : uulnera Sirmond. Riant 433 peritis
cod. : potitis Sirmond. Riant
orat ut hos Francos, quos iussus duxerat ad se, quos perpendebat sensu sua cuncta notasse, ne reduces facti socios huc affore cunctos procurent, sibi clam procuret decapitandos.  
ille uelut gladii per pectus acumine fixus pessima mandantem tali mox uoce secutus: quãnam uæsani compellat causa furoris ut sanctum nomen populis per secula cunctis nomine sub pacis legatos euocet ad se, quos mactare uelit sub operta priditione? nusquam tuta fides post hac, nil gentibus ãquum, hoc si contingat fieri damnable iussum. pacis in hoc equidem se processisse ministrum, nequitiae nunquam consortem se fore uiuum. si sic complaceat quo Franci decapitentur, ceruiæ ante sua gladio grassante sectur, sed perpendendum, quocumque hocu fama uolaret, incurabiliter se infamia tanta notaret. esse quidem damnum probitatis militæque si paucos istos contingeret oppetiisse. sed tamen amissis inter tot milia paucis, non multum Gallos sensuros debilitatis, sed tamen inmenso dolituros esse dolore, atque in uindictam maiore calere furore.

452 Verg. A IV.375

448 compellant cod. 450 pacisu cod.m.pr. quo cod., Sirmond: quo(d) (sic) Riant 456
non iam gentilem legatio sumpta iuuaret,
dum res facti huius exempla sequenda probaret.
quin potius tales magno cumularat honore,
ditatosque opibus permitteret in sua abire.

talibus inflexus rationibus ille tyrannus
consilium mutat, sequitur quæ dictat amicus.
sic post immensum, miles generose, timorem
in tua terga redis, claro duce fretus eodem,
ac per Iordanem redeuntes Hierusalemque

accipitis palmas, petitis loca sancta domosque: 101v°
omnia lustratis, pascentes lumina uiu, 
discitis ignota, referentes digna relatu;
et bonus ille comes non uobis defuit, usque
dum uos secures sociis dedit incolumesque.
sic igitur celeri repetentes castra recursu
letantes comites proprio fecere regressu.

sed quia iam textus capiendg textur urbis,
hoc melius referet libri textura sequentis.

explicit liber sextus. incipit septimus

477 Sid. App. G VII.221; Gilo V (II) 355
LIBER VII (GILONIS LIBER III)
nunc age, uirtutera solitam, rex Christe, reuela, quam neque uis hominum tibi dant nec plurima tela. nunc age, Christe, tuis da sepe datum Machabeis divinum munus, tot milla uincat ut unus, milia famose gentis, ciues populose urbis. Christe, faue, uim turbe comprime praue.

ergo Dei pietas, per pondera tanta malorum inspiciens animos non defecisse suorum, inspirat cuidam Turco, miserata laborum, ut nostris urbem tradat murumque decorum turribus et capiat pro munere culmen honorum. ista diu secum uir uersans iudicat equum ut prius hic pandat Boimundo. nec mora, mandat illi quanta paret. sed, ne quicquam dubitaret, precipit ut capiat missum dum res ea fiat, neue parando moram producant. tempus et horam hic designauit. sed in hoc dux participauit consilio procerum; comitum pars maxima uerum missum ferre putat, dubitans pars altera nutat.

2 neque plurima tela BC 6 faue ui turbe B : faue uim gentis ADG 9 miserendo laborum A : miserendo suorum DG 10 nostris tradat urbem BC 16 tempus ad horam D
dicta nocte tamen Boimundus colligit agmen pulcrius armatum, belli sudore probatum.
dux animo flagrat, diuortia nota peragrat.
quisque pari uoto suspirat pectore toto.
per tenebras dux carpit iter galeaque nitenti
deposita silet et graditur sub nocte silenti.
est uia militibus timidis, iuga deuia, ualles,
queque per occultos lucebat semita calles.
ne male res caderet ducor licet ipse timeret,
quod tamen angebat mentem frome leta tegebat,
dat spem tardanti, tristemque seriavat quanti
uultu, uirtutem stimulat, populoque salutem
hactenus optatam nunc innuit esse paratam.
utque locum uotis multoque labore petitum
prospicient, hostemque uident uigilare peritum,
stant procul et latebris tuti noctisque tenebris
collucere faces spectant arcusque minaces,
et discurrentes per propagacu Turcos,
purpleos cristas, gladios uersare choruscos,
qui loca mutantes commissa, uices variantes,
excubias noctis succedenter faciebant,
uocibus assuetis terrores incutiebant

38 cf. Verg. A II.333; Statius T I.614
militibus clamando 'quis es?' nec adesse sciebant.
nec mora, dat dux magnanimus dignas duce uoces,
instimulando uiros uerbis animosque feroces:
"pluribus optatum uotis, satis inuigilatum,
tempus adest, proceres, Domini pietate paratum.
tempus in hoc protracta fuit uictoria sera,
perque nouem menses Domini uindicata seuera
nos castigauit. sed sunt prope gaudia uera.

45 ergo, uiri fortes, forti persistite mente.
uosque, citi uiuenes, muros superate repente.
vincite sed celeres - pudeat uos uincere lente.
ille locus (monstratque locum) prius aggregatur;
uos ibi palma sedens uocat et prius inde petatur.

dona manent omnes, sed non mea dona uocabo
quod sibi quisque dabit: uictori nulla negabo.
sed moror. ite uiri! cum paucis hic ego stabo.
accelerate boni proceres! ego tardius ibo:
si sit opus, pedes ipse prior certamen inibo."

finierat dubiusque silet dux, atque uagantur
per totam mentem quecunque futura putantur.
accelerant iuuenes, Fulcherius imminet ante;
per tenebras legit ille uias gressu titubante.
illis temporibus radios ducente cometa

42 - 64 ABCDFG

42 quid es B 44 uiros hortans BC 47 prostrata DP
48 serena F m.pr. 51 murum superate B 52
sceleres D m.pr. 53 hunc v. om. F m.pr. 54 palma
sedes D putatur D m.pr. 55 hunc v. habet post 51
D m.pr. : post 59 D m.alt. 56 quod si quisque D m.
pr. 59 opus pedester pedes D 63 per latebras BC
ipse uias D
premonstrabatur regni mutatio leta:
astra polusque nouo sunt obfuscata rubore,
cordaque sunt hominum nimio percussa timore.
noctis erat medium cum miles ad illa paratus
constitit ad turrem quam traditor ille beatus
servabat, stupuitque nimis de turre uocatus.
"eia" clamabat Turcus, "conscendite muros.
summa petat uirtus, premat hostes iam ruituros,
scalarumque modo funes Huckabee plicatos."
mouit eoe tandem latitantes, sepe rogatos;
denique calcata formidine, ui reuocata,
uepribus extracti uix uincentesque coacti
sese confortant, scalas ad menia portant;
dantque retro gressus iterum, turpesque recessus
frutectis mersi repetunt, ad tuta reuersi;
et, licet instaret Turcus, lux appropriat,
nil tamen audebant sed corda gelata stupebant.
increpat e muris uir uocibus agmina duris.
iamque recedebat nox et Matuta rubebat
cum stans in medio reliquorum iunior unus
sic ait: "oblatum, iuuenes, ne spernite munus.
surgite! primus ero." parent, Fulcherius ille
natus Carnoti proceres precedere mille

65 - 87 ABCDFG

66 astra polaque D m.pr. 67 percursa ADG 69
turrim A : turres DG 70 stupuitque minus C 72
uirta G m.pr. 75 ui renouata BC 79 mersi refer-
unt AD : mersi redeunt G 80 licen D m.pr. 82
increpat A 83 recedebant F m.pr. Matura gl. Aurora
F : matutina BCDG 84 tum stans F 85 perdite
munus D 87 procedere D
non timet inuicte properans ad menia uille.
non hunc tardat honus clipei sed ad ardua pronus
euolat arma gerens scaleque uiriliter herens.
illum Veneticus sequitur. stupet hostis iniquus
ut stetit in muris Fulcherius: esse necantur
fulmineo uigiles et ad infima precipitantur.
exultat uictor laniataque proterit ora.

corpora truncata cadunt, lacerantur membra decora.
aspirat fortuna uiro, plebemque solutam
turbat, que requiem trahit inter pocula tutam.
evellit postes turreaque subinrat et hostes
opprimit incautos, prospectus occupat altos,
tresque capit turres propria uirtute Boellus
(hunc natiua uocat tali cognomine tellus).
germanos hic forte tuos, bone traditor urbis,
sternit, quos nollet morientibus addere turbis
et fratres geminos impellit ab arce supinos.

iamque uiri fortis pendebant undique scalis
nec dubitat quisquam niti per membra sodalis,
ascensu superant muros, fastigia dextris
prenent, obiciunt clipeos ad tela sinistris.

88 - 108 ABCDFG

98 cf. Verg. A II.480

88 num timet A propans G 89 et ardua F 90 arma
herens D m.pr. 92 esse necantur A 95 corporea D
truncata D 96 spirat F 97 turbant A m.pr.
picula? G 99 prospectos D occupat hostes D m.pr.
101 natura A m.pr. 103 sternit A m.alt. morientibus
addere turbis impellit ab arce supinos D m.pr.
104 fratres suos geminos D m.pr. impellit ab arce supinos
morientibus addere turbis D m.pr. hunc v. post 101
habent BC
frustra luctantur trepidaque manu iaculantur.
fratrum fata dolens Turcus sed de nece nolens
sumere uindictam pacemque resolueru fictam
frena dat huic ire, properat portas aperire,
educensque graues gemitus de pectore, clauces
porte porrexit Boimundo, duxque reflexit
supplex ante uiurum corpus uultumque seuerum.
diffugiunt miseru ciues ubi morte teneri
cuncta uident. telis sternuntur menia tota,
et sunt de muris Parthi rubra signa remota,
albaque pro rubeis illic uexilla locantur.
ad commune bonum sic agmina fida uocantur,
clangoremque tube tulit ad tentoria uentus,
impediuntur equi frenis, fremit arma iuuentus.
nec mora, prosiliunt de castris agmina densa,
deseruere duces campis tentoria tensa.
dum sine lege ruunt ex urbe uiros fugientes
excipiunt terreque premunt hos sponte cadentes:
sponte cadunt quibus exciderant cum corpore mentes.

110 - 128 ABCDFG

114 Gilo V (II) 460 116 Ovid A III.4.43 123
Alcimius Avitus V.501 128 Claudian DEP III.127

111 ?se de nece G de nece dolens D m.pr.
113 freno D 114 producensque F 115 dux quoque flexit
G 119 parti rubra AF : partim rubra BCDG 123
impeiiuntur (sic) D 125 tentoria densa F 128
hos non sponte cadunt quibus et cum corpore mentes G
agmina per portas mox irrupere patentes,
et pressere uiri primorum terga sequentes.
protinus inuadunt urbem, dant uulnera multa,
passim turba perit uino somnoque sepulta.
signa canunt, matresque gemunt, est luctus ubique,
perque uias omnes gentis cruor errat inique.

infans et fedant nutricem sordida sputa.
ad matres tendunt captiue lumina nate -
lumina, namque manus rigido sunt fune ligate;
flent herentque senes templis auro spoliatis
duraque percutiunt loca frontibus inueteratis.

emicat ante uolans Godefridus, inertia spernit
corpora, quosque uidet torquentes spicula sternit.
loricas clipesque simul secat ense nitenti,
territat instantes hoc, obicit hoc fugienti;
a nece uix gladium dux ipse potest inhibere,
quosque mori nollet gladio multi periere.

uulneram si quem modico perstringere captat,
hunc rapide mucrone manus licet inscia mactat;
da quecunque suis suadet victoria leta

gens leuis exequitur licitis miscens inhonesta.

129 - 150 ABCDFG
celauit pannis regem rex obsitus annis,
uictorumque manus sic euasit Casianus.
non tamen est fatis ereptus, sed bene notus
Armenio cuidam fugiens et ab urbe remotus
perdidit annosis cinctum caput undique uillis
atque reportatur ceruix suspenda capillis.
per uicos urbis caput applaudendo secuntur
Armenii, Turcique suo pro rege queruntur.

urbi contiguus mons est montisque cacumen
non leuiter ualet humanum comprehendere lumen.
stat super hoc castrum, de quo patet Antiochena
pulchra nimis regio cum lux solet esse serena.
illuc euadunt Perse, nostrosque sagittis
inde premunt, nec tota uenit uictoria mitis.
cum legione sua Boimundus suscipit ictus
illorum, petit hostis eum per menia uictus.
cumque super murum turrem dux fortis haberet
que munita parum castro uicinius heret,
incumbebat ei seuissima turba resumptis
uiribus, amentant Arabes de culmine montis.
ast alii conantur eum depellere contis,
perque globos densant cuneos et culmina prensant.
prelia committunt, uix primi spicula mittunt
assimilanda niui, calcantque cadauera uiui.

dux equitesque ducis consistunt, et morientes
turribus evoluunt, ciuesque necant subeuntes,
nunc instant sude, nunc saxo, per tela ruentes
hos fugiunt, hos deliciunt. dux summa tenentes
amputat ense manus clipeoque sonante furentes
sustinet, hortatur proceres, telis honeratur.

dum certant acies, iaculum femori ducis hesit
atque uirile femur grauiter uulnus leue lesit.
dux igitur reprimens fugientis sanguinis undam
deseruit primam turrem petitique secundam.

utque sui uidere ducis procumbere mentem,
Apulus et Calaber fugiunt uictam modo gentem.
sed tamen amissa uir solus in arce remansit,
cuius honesta satis Boimundus funera planxit.
hostibus hic mediis ubi se uidet esse relictum
exagitans clipeum circum sua tempora pictum
territat instantes turbas sub turre uagantes.
obruit elapsis de summo culmine saxis,
mille manus lassat manus una, uiros sude quassat,
frustaque cementi decrustans ungue trementi

stantibus infligit, ferro caua tempora figit.
hunc sub pace uocant ciues, succurrit at isti
quam pulchrum sit marte mori pro nomine Christi.
iamque superficiem clipei densauerat hostis
missilibus, iacet orbis iners, pondus graue costis.

protinus haud timide sese super agmina iecit,
tormentumque nouum proprio de corpore fecit,
et fractus fregit multos. hec Apulus egit.
sed quis id expediet uerbis? que lingua notare
funera tot poterit, tot captiuos numerare?
ne turbare quidem quest amplificatio uerum,
sufficiat mihi summa sequi uestigia rerum.

urbs antiqua, potens, Petri cathedra decorata,
ecclesie sedes post Romam iure uocata,
urbibus innumeris urbs assidue dominata

muris, delubris felix, iocunda, salubris,
ignorantis erat populi demersa tenebris.
inde sed erupit, noua facta, magisque celebfile.
uestes gemmatas auroque domos laqueatas
agmen habet nostrum, peregrinum possidet ostrum,

urbs et unius expleuit copia gentes,
pauperibusque nichil possunt auferre potentes.
seruus in hac seruos habet urbe, cliensque clientes;
illam luce Louis tuus intrat, Christe, satelles,
sed castellanos nequid exuperare rebelles.

ergo die tota pugnat, noctique laborem
continuat nullumque caput sub nocte soporem.
ast ubi mane datur Venerisque dies reseratur,
stans eques in muris dum sustentatur ab hasta
sortitusque locum loca lustrat lumine uasta,
puluerisque obscuram prospexit in aere nubem;
tristia mox reliquam uocat ad spectacula pubem.
suspendis animis per propugnacula stabant,
diversique uiri diversa uidere putabant.
appropriare quidem Turcos pars uaticinatur,
pars Bizantinos fore credit quos speculatur.
ardentes clipeos sol lumine percutiebat
paulatimque frequens exercitus adueniebat.
consedere tamen procul, expectando sequentes.
Corbana militie princeps reliquique potentes.
sed quidam Perse iam menia spe capientes
urbis in aspectu campos petiere patentes,
diversisque modis gaudent ibi luxuriare,
turpia non cessant speculantibus improperare.
spumantes per gramen equos dimittere certant,

216 - 239 ABCDFG
nudatos enses iaciunt iterumque receptant,
exululant, passim uolitant clausisque minantur,
telaque per uacuas auras temere iaculantur.
tutius esse putant nostri loca certa fouere
quam casus incerta sequi bellumque mouere.

sed cum iam Turci remearent uociferantes,
de Barna Villa sequitur Rogerus ouantes
cum tribus armatis, quos postquam gens remorata
respexit, facit insidias sub rupe cauada.
dumque lacesentes aliquos nostri sequerentur,
e latebris fures saliunt iuuenesque tenantur
inclusi, uersique stupent, animisque receptis
uallantes penetrant clipeis ad terga reiectis.
ut fit ubi canibus post cerui crura solutis
hi pedibus predam, portum petit ille salutis,
his alas addit spes, fit celer ille timore,
mox uoti compos ceruus canis exit ab ore.
hos ita Parthus agit preceps, in uerbera pendens,
sic fugit ista cohors ad uite premia tendens.
instigat socios Rogerus et excipit ictus.
hunc tardare facit probitas et conscia uirtus.

240 - 260 ABCDFG

259 Ovid M XII.375; Arator AA II.562 260 Alcimius
Avitus III.321, IV.173
telorum siluam uix sustinet horrida parma,
labentem sustentat equum, tinguit crur arma.

oppressis fortuna nocet. iam deficiebant
instantes, Rogere, tui iam tuta tenebant,
cum te precipitat sonipes male precipitatus,
nec releuaris equi resoluti mole grauatus.
qui non parcebas hosti fedaris in alto
puluere, nec uoluit Turcus tibi parere capto.
estuat in muris confusa pudore iuuentus

dum premitur iaculis uir fortis ab hoste retentus.
auertunt oculos proceras qui prospiciebant
cum per saxa canes insignia membra trahent,
raptatoque uiro tandem caput amputat ensis.
tum uero resonant clamoribus agmina densis.

Parthus ouat digitisque premit caput ille cruentum
prefigensque sudi madefactum sanguine mentum
ora refert ad castra nigro rotantia tabo.

urbis ad euentus nunc ingenium reuocabo.
urbi quaque die Turci sua castra propinquant,
marte, minis clausis suadent ut adepta relinquant,
et castrum plures ex illis ingrediuntur:
intus et exterius ita nostros aggregiuntur.
non igitur positis telis manus ulla uacabat,
nec galea quisquam pressum caput exonerabat.
nocte cubant tecti clipeis in puluere uili,
membraque deficiunt ipso cruciata cubili.
urbis turbabat loca discursus iaculorum:
turre indi rigent hirsutaque tecta domorum.
se quoque gentiles in aperta pericula mittunt,
et prope decertant gladiis, arcusque remittunt
hostes, et nostri minimum discrimen habeant.
omnes quaque die sub castra conveniebant.

iamque opibus minimis a pluribus attenuatis
uix aliquid uictus restabat in urbe beatis.

ergo fames crudelis adest, crudelior omni
peste. uiri uigilant, fugiunt ieunia somni.
deformat macies uultus, nigriora sepultis
ossibus ossa micant, apparent uiscera multis.
uulgus iners herbas dubias letumque minantes
uellit et in duro franguntur cespite dentes.
frondibus hi gaudent arbusta suis spoliare:
illi more fere radices, prata uorare.
multa quidem comedunt hominum non cognita mensis.
arida facta manus uix pondera sustinet ensis.

283 - 304 ABCDFG

288 Lucretius II.191 298 Ovid M XI.707 299
Claudian DRP I.21 300 Statius A I.719

284 capud F 288 tela domorum BC 291 modicum
discrimen ADG 292 castra F 294 urbe beatis D m.
pr. 298 ossebus G m.pr. 299 loetumque G 300
duro luctantur ADG 303 cognit F
o referenda Deo uirtus! circumdata peste
noura cohors saturo ieiuna timetur ab hoste.
res noua, crus asini libris tribus appretiatur,
quisque dedit pretium non prodigus inde putatur.
ora mouent pueri matresque uocant morientes,
aera pro solitis epulis aurasque terentes.
cursor equus quem uix nuper carcer retinebat
nunc auido morsu uacuum presepe petebat
et tandem posita feritate, furore remoto,
labitur infelix singultans corpore teto.
deurorat hunc etiam prestans uirtute luuentus,
et cibus iste placet populis, care licet emptus.
dum peruent, dum qui poterat perseverare fortis
uiuit, si uiuit quisquam sub imagine mortis,
uir quidam data noxte sibi solacia sancta
in commune refert - fidei fiducia tanta est! -
ille refert palmam nostris post quinque paratam
esse dies, hilaratque uiros plebemque vocatam.
preterea mentes nostrorum lefificauit
lancea que Domini latus innocuum penetrauit.
hanc Sancti Andree reserauit uisio certa,
cuiusdamque fuit precognitione reperta.

305 - 326 ABCDFG

309 cf. Ovid M VIII 825 314 Verg. G III 498 318
Ovid M VIII 824; Prudentius Apoth. 48; Statius A I 560

306 satiro F 310 aera per pro D m.pr. solites F
m.pr. tenentes F 314 pectore toto BC 316 quare
licet F: caro licet ADD 317 quis poterat resistere
F 318 quisque F 324 innocium A penetruuit D m.
D m.pr.
post hec congressum castellanis uetuere,
et murum nostri gentilibus opposuere.
pluribus exemplis ubi spes est reddita uite,
tertio ieiunant omnes sicut Niniuite.

330
tunc heremita ducem Turcorum Petrus adiuit,
qui procerum portans mandata petenda petiuit.
Corbana dux sublimis equo se forte ferebat
ad portum, lasciua cohors utrinque fremebat,
cum subito Petrus turbam subit impedientem.

335
nec timuit quemdam Turcum sibi precipientem
ut caput inflectat, uultumque potentis adoret,
pectore sic placido demissa uoce peroret.
dum negat hic homini deitatis reddere cultum,
illius incuruat gentilis dextera uultum,
illius a stolidis dona deridetur egestas,
sed tamen est illi fundi concessa potestas.
"maxime dux" uir paruus ait, "nos non aliena
querimus, ad nostros urbs pertinet Antiochena.

340
cur igitur nos a propria uis pellere sede?
si censura mouet te iuris, ab urbe recede,
aut, si credere uis, erroris lege remota,
sit regno transcripta tuo Romania tota:
(fies rex Syrie, rex istius regionis,

327 - 349 ABCDFG

328 at murum A  330 ieiunant omnes triduo sicut Niniu
ite G  334 portam BC  336 Turcum quemdam B sibi
om. G m.pr.  337 petentis A  339 cum negat G  341
egestas codd. : honestas Riant  344 urs pertinet F
342 uis erroris erroris lege F  348 regno om. F
tuque potens multum multis onerabere donis);
aut, si mente sedet pugnandi tanta voluntas,
si mausis spectare manus ad prelia iunctas,
in paribus sortem reliquorum precipe poni,
quique pari bello cedent, cedant regioni;
pugnent cum totidem ter deni uel duodeni;
discedant, si forte ualent discedere, uicti."
inquit ad hec ensem quatiens dux Corbana nudum
"tune putas impune mihi talem dare ludum?
hoc gladio caput amittes, truncabitur isto
gens que nescio cui studet obsequium dare Christo."
discedit Petrus dictis commotus acerbis.
arma parant proceres auditis ordine uerbis,
illa nocte duces uigilant, errata fatentur,
turba gemens aras tenet, ecclesieque replentur.
luce data ter tres de tota gente statute
sunt acies, propriumque ducem sunt quaque secute:
quas habeant in fronte manus iti disposuere,
quas medium uel quas cupiant extrema tenere.
sistitur Hugo prior, medium robur tenuere
magnanimi septem, Boimundo deseruere
ultima, custodes per muros instituere.
hic ducis officium presul Podiensis habebat

350 - 372 ABCDFG
et populos egri Raimundi rite regebat;
lancea sancta Dei preuecta uiros animabat,
membraque pontificis lucens lorica grauabat.
hic populi uoces ubi uoce manuque repressit,
dixit (eo dicente solo gens prona silescit),
"rebus in extremis uires effundite totas,
o proceres, renouate manus Turcis bene notas,
iste per ignauos, gladiis disrumpite gentes
quas primi iactus exarmant deficientes.
mittet in auxilium Deus angelicam legionem,
opprimet hunc populum uelut oppressit Pharaonem.
o quanto rapitur gens insensata furore!
hec emit infernum proprio malesana cruore,
penaque lucratur penam, caro bis cruciatur,
atque per hanc mortem mortem sine fine meretur.
at nobis sit siue pati postrema necessit,
siue Deus superat gentiles, quod precor esse,
exitus est felix: orietur morte corona,
militibus diversa dabit victoria dona.
uincetis: uirtutis erit uestre monimentum,
Parthorum cedes iam conspicio morientum.
ne dubitate, suos equites Deus haud patietur
plura pati quam ferre queant, ut glorificetur.

letitie stimulis agitari sentio gentem:
supportate, uiri, me gaudia uestra trahentem.
sint rata, Christe, precor, nostris gratissima uota
ut uincamus." "amen!" respondit gens prece mota.

interea mandat Persarum dux Boimundo
primo suos equites duci, nostrosque secundo,
nomen et a reliqua iubet hoc abradere gente;
neue decus mundi mittatur in arma repente
precaueant, numeroque pari pugnetur utrinque.

tunc ita legatum dux increpat "ista reliquie!
desine uana loqui, nos ad maiora uocamur.

uincamus simul, o comites, simul aut moriamur
(respexitque suos comites) bona uel mala uere
proveniunt sanctis." nichil interea timuere

nostri, sed portas egressi distribuere
per loca certa uiros, dum tutus ab urbe recessit
nuntius. ists, Deus, tua dispensatio fecit.

presbiteri turres rara cinxere corona,
illorum iacet in muro pars maxima prona,
ornatique stolis quas sumunt tempore misse
altius hi psallunt, hi flent orantque remisse.
at sonuere tube, populos prior Hugo fercoces
inuadit, solitas emittunt undique uoces,
Francorumque cohors longo distenta recessu
in seriem coniuncta pari petit agmina gressu.
stant infra iactum teli totoque uigore,
inflectunt arcus Turci neruo meliore
intensos: stridendo uolant per inane sagitte.
instat eis oblita breuis gens Gallica uite.
paulatim dant pressa retro uestigia Parthi,
uicinoque timent dextras committere marti.
spicula Turcorum diuertit ab agmine uentus.
Eurardus de Puteolo feruensque iuuentus
in bello querunt bellum, gladiosque leuabant
percussi, quos percuteront non inueniebant.
nuntius ecce celer missus uenit a Boimundo,
qui, dum pauca refert, sua preterradit harundo
timpora, sed tamen hec inquit: "Boimundus utrinque
hostibus urgetur: fugitiuos, Hugo, relinque!"

414 - 434 ABCDFG

423 Lucan I.527-528; Ovid M IX.223

414 in muris ADG 415 stolis pars per quas F m.pr.
418 inuasit BC : inuadit et A inuadunt undique DG
419 recurso BC 423 hunc v. om. BC 428 de Pusiaco
ADG 429 in bellum F 432 perterradit A
conversus mox Hugo suis Arabes speculatur
hastatos circa Boimundum. tunc ita fatur:
"quod iuuenes optatis adest! huc ferreus hastis
horret ager, uertamur ad hos, incumbite uastis
uiribus!" ergo manus iungunt comes et Boimundus.

hic etiam dux ille ducum stabat Godefridus.
at contra tendunt Arabes regesque potentes
et rex Damaeci Lucas; illicque furentes
stant amici duo (namque duos sic turba uocabat):
dux Boimundus adhuc, Godefridus et ipse uocabat.
bellum primus init Magnus frenumque furenti
laxat equo cuidamque uiros in marte montem
hasta disrupt ut guttur, uitamque loquentis
abstulit et uoces. hastilis lancea lenti
frangitur: ille gemens petit ore solum morienti.

concurrunt Arabes et Francigene uiolenter.
pugna grauis surgit, iaculis obtexitur ether.
hic Balgentiacus Odo primus ubique ruebat
uexillumque tenens se non retinere ualebat;
cum degustasset latus huic non uisa sagitta,
stridula signiferum priuauit lancea uita.

435 - 455 ABCDFG

448 Ovid _M_ VIII.28
lapsus at ille cadens humectat sanguine signum
et quo considerat traxit de uulnere lignum.
mox succedit ei signumque leuat Beniensis
Guillelmus, fecitque uiam iuueni suus ensis.

non procul hinc ibat nostrorum parua caterua,
quos nimis urgebant Turcorum turba proterua,
turbaque fraude nocens ignes per gramina sparsit,
quos aluit uentus, et sic ager aridus arsit,
ardor at ille dedit fumum tenebrasque creauit,
fumus in aduersos impulsus eos hobetauit,
perque cauam nubem campo trahit hostis in equo
atque necat pedites ter centum uulnere ceco.
tunc cum Pagano Beluacensis Rainaldus,
cumque Drogone Thomas et bellipotens Clarebaldus
et reliqui subitis se mortibus eripuere,
et rapido cursu belli robur petiere.
fortis ut ista cohors se Magno iunxit Hugoni,
immenso ueluti cedunt armenta leoni,
sic Arabes illis: uertuntur scuta reiecta,
dorsum quisque tegit pudibunda fronte reecta.

459 Ovid H XVIII.158  471 Verg. A V.291, 676

456 ad ille A  467 taxit A m.pr.  458 Bemensis D :
Boemensis A  458 post 459 ponit D m.pr.  459
iuuenique uiam fecit ADG  460 catrua G m.pr.  461
angebat BC  463 aer aridus D  464 dedit flamma
fumumque F  466 perque causim? A  468 Taialdus BC
469 drogene D  470 subiti G mortibus D  471 e
trapidu A : et rapidu BC post hunc v. in media
pagina desinit G, reliquo codice nihil continente
473 C habet 'comp' in marg.  cedant D  474 nic
Arabes F  475 hunc v. om A m.pr. add. in ima pag. A
m.alt.
"ucisti Deus omnipotens!" clamat Godefridus, instat ui patria primusque uolat Boimundus. corrigiis agit hostis equos, insibilat ether, puluis ad astra uolat morientum sanguine teter. contigerant collem quemdam populi fugientes. tunc Parthi latus in leuum sese replicantes post longam restare fugam fortes uoluerunt, arcu conuerso nostros iterum petierunt. impiger ergo senex Geraldus de Melione tempore qui longo fuit eger in obsidione, sicut inermis erat, medios irrupit in hostes et meruit pulchram mortem confossus. in hostes de nostri aliqui tribus inuasere diebus, sed tantis non sufficiet mea pagina rebus. quinque camelorum capiunt et milia dena. pluribus inueniunt spoliis tentoria plena. de Turcis equites decies sunt mille necati, cum totidem pedites miserì non sunt numerati. preterea qui castellum ciuile tenebant castellum nostris reddunt quia mira uidebant.

476 - 495 ABCDF

477 Verg. A II.491 493 Gilo V (II).405

478 ether D m.alt. 479 morientium B m.pr. sangne D m.pr. : sangine D m.alt. 482 uoluere ADG 483 petiere ADG 484 Giraldus BC : Girardus F 488 manubias nostri tribus D 490 camalorum A 493 miserì pedites BC
regius inter eos iuuenis de Perside natus
est cum ter centum sacro de fonte leuatus.
deleo de nostro, de qualicunque libello
hos quos non puduit sese subducere bello:
hec miseranda cohors uelut ad uomitum reuocata
pretulit exilium patrie, mundo sociata.
pretereo quare nostros timuere iuuare
consilio Stephani Constantinopolitani.

prima cohors primique duces loca prima tuentur;
uulgus in urbe tenet medium murique replentur.
tunc regalis Hugo qui Magnus iure uocatur,
nomen dote replens, communi uoce rogatur
ut Constantini petat urbem nomine dictam.
imperii domino regionem reddere uictam

cura fuit: lex, iura, fides data, pignora, pactum,
uox populi iusteque preces misere coactum.

496 – 511 ABCDF
LIBER VIII (GILONIS LIBER IV)

ast alii proceres uoto iam mente propinqui
utiliter statuunt ad tempus bella relinqui;
estus enim populos siccataque terra grauaret,
eret estus eos, potum dare terra negaret.
est igitur requies lassorum reddita membris,
dimittenda breui sub prima luce nouembris.
turba partita, loca sunt diversa petita,
et quisquis lucro gaudebat in urbe manebat.
obsequii erat hic studiosus et era merebat:
ex illis plures Raimundus miles alebat,
quam cognomento Piletum gens nostra vocabat.
otia cum multis hic non ignaua secutus
prouidet ut nequeat gentilis uiuere tutus.
nero duas urbes pertransit et ad Thalamana

improvisus est ad castrum gens Surianna
seruabat, que sponte uirum recipit bene sana.
itur et ad castrum quoddam, sed turba profana
obstitit hic nostris intorquens spicula uana:

sed tamen hoc Domini manus obruit, et peregrini

illic gentiles sunt ad baptisma uocati,
quique reiecerunt illud periere necati.
captiuatuer ibi puer; at quicumque senescit
occidit: ignotis regnum breue parcerere nescit.
hostibus euereis, auro, spoliis honerati
ad castrum redeunt cui iam fuerant dominati.
nec requie detenta diu uirtus animosa
hostis ad interitum manet assidue studiosa,
gentilisque legens uestigia sparsa per orbem
aggregitum Marram, plenam gentilibus urbem.
fluxerat ad Marram, duce fama, turba remota,
fortis Aleph, Roboam rex et uicinia tota.
gens ea non humili terrore repressa decenter
disposito bello ruit in nostros uiolenter.
ferrea silua cadit passim campumque cruentum
asperat, astra petit fragor et gemitus morientum.
concurrunt per inane suedes, hi spicula iactant,
illi proterunt hastas iterumque receptant;
fortius incursant ipsis cadauera portis
affigunt nostri. iam stabat in aggere fortis
miles, inundabant fosse, cum forte retortis

21 - 40 ABCDF

40 cf. Verg. A X.24, XI.382

21 illic periere D  22 ac quicumque F  23 breue
regnum A: brebe regnum D  25 qui iam A  26 requiem
D: contemta diu AD  27 manus D  30 fruxerat F m.
pr.: duxerat A. 31 fortis Alep BC: urbis Aleph AD
33 disposit bellum AD  34 ferrea turba cadi: D
spassim F m.pr.: sparsim BC  37 retentant BC  39
affligunt F  hunc v.om. A m.pr. add. A m.alt. In ima
pag.: om. D m.pr. add. D m.alt in summa pag.
uertitur agmen equis. quam perfida gratia sortis!
Christicole dant terga retro formidine mortis.
turbat eos inimica cohors, agiturque furore.
tinnitum reddunt clipei galeeque sonore,
obtenebrant oculos lapsi de uertice coni,
loricas odiant iuuenes ad uerbera proni.
scindit labra sitis, non sufficit umbo sagittis.
45 ut Raimundus eos uidit rarescere, primus
"respirate, uiri!" clamat, "quo, proh pudor, imus?"
taliter a trepido cursu proba gens reuocata
gentiles agit ad muros, simul agglomerata.
sed non uertuntur Suriani deficientes
nec socios iuueres suis sitis impatientes;
aeris illa sui gens emollita tepore,
50 non est marte, sed est martis superata calore.
ut dare terga uident nostrorum castra secutos
Turci, Christicolas iam magna parte minitos
inuadunt, dat eis uires animosque sequendi
gens fugitiua, monet timidos fortuna nocendi.
ordine non habito fugit agmen Christicolarum,
non expectata reuocantum uoce tubarum.
segnius haud fugiunt equites peditumque caterua

41 - 62 ABCDF

44 Verg. G III.83

41 uertuitur D : utitur BC 43 agitata furore AD
44 clipei reddunt AD 45 oculos F 46 odiant codd.:
47 uerbo sagittis D m.pr. : uerbo
sagittis D m.alt. 49 respirare D quod proh D m.pr.
52 Suriatii BC 53 sicitis A m.pr. 54 ille B m.
pr. 57 manga D m.pr. minutas A : munitos BC 62
figiunt D
quam fugit ante canes latratu territa cerua.

sterminit heu felix populus per opaca uiarum,
expositusque ioui fit martyr et esca ferarum.

expirant animas multi, nec eos meus edet
uersus, uix equidem recolo que dicere tedet.
ad castrum rediit Raimundus et inrequieta
perfruitur requie cum gente dolore repleta.

hic aliquod tempus exegit ad omne paratus
utile uir fortis, per multa pericla probatus.

interea nimius dolor accidit Antiochenis:
urbis enim rector, moderatus ad omnia, lenis
presul obit, patremque suum dolet urbs obiisse:
hanc cum capta fuit non credo magis genuisse.
dum calet Augusti dictus de nomine mensis
non sibi sed populo moritur presul Podiensis.
pro Petro tracto de carcere dum tibi, Christe,
urbs canit, est tractus de carcere corporis iste,
quaque die recolunt soluentem uincula Petrum,
illa luce uiri deplorauere feretrum.

post nimos luctus, post infortunia plura,
stans comes Egidii Sancti per tempora dura
iuit ad Albariam, quam multo milite cingens
cepit, et huic urbi murus non profuit ingens.
sensibus his incurua senum sunt colla secata,
ne minus infantum rumpuntur tempora gratia,
nec uetulas reuerenda iuuat rugosaque pellis,
nec facies prodest non ledi digna puellis,
nec simplex uia mortis erat, quia mille necantur
dista modis, meriti meri salute lacerantur.
Albarie sic ad Domini cultum reuocate
preficitur presul, uite persona probate.

iamque uocabat hiems proceres, noua bella mouendi
tempus erat ceptique dabat spem perficiendi.
omnia ergo bonis dum festum fit generale,
congregat absentes edictum spirituale;
tam uarius populus confluxit in Antiochena
menia quam uarui pisces in retia plena,
dissimilique placet similis sententia genti.
Iherusalem loca sancta uident animo cupiendi,
uis secura uirum iubet ipsos esse paratos,
deque suis abolent animis conubia, natos.

83 - 103 ABCDF

91 Ovid A III.14.24  99 Ovid M XIII.922  102 Verg.
A VI.553

86 resecta A D m.pr. : reserta D m.alt.  88 uetulos D
rugosaque persis A  91 meri que homines D : meriti-
que nec um A  95 ceptique A proficiendi BD 2G  96
omnibus hinc sanctis AD : bonis gl. sanctis BCF  98
iam uarius A : tunc uarius FC  102 his secura F
103 coniugia AD
urbis ad ignotos tractus iam marte feruntur
Parthorumque pedes iam martis amore secuntur.
conueniens comites dux interea Boimundus
pactam querit ab his urbem. negat hoc Raimundus,
regis et aduentum Constantinopolitani
expectare iubet, munitque domum Casiani.
110 sic duce turbato comes impatiens Rugiosam
transit et Albariam, Marramque petit populosam.
ne dolor irati ducis ad communia damna
forte redundaret, procerum discretio magna
consulit hunc: mens alta uiri multa prece mota
preposuit uoto privato publica uota.
protinus educens acies populi modo mesti
ad Marram properat respectu uictus honesti.
lux Domini specialis erat cum signa replerunt
urbis circuitus et castra duces posuerunt.
120 externos homines ubi uidit gens stupefacta,
quis referet quanta fuerit formidine tacta?
omnis in urbe locus feruet properante tumultu,
discurrunt matres timideque nurus sine cultu.
hostes plus iusto fore rumor publicus edit,
compluresque timor, nec mens sua lumina credit.
si quisquam somnum recipit, somno cruciatur:
uxeat et insomnem res uana diemque minatur.
stant ad opus seruile duces cum gente minore,
nec pudor est seruire, carent extrema pudore.

exuit ut Phæbus terras caligine nigra,
surgit nostra cohors sub pigro tempore pigra,
excitique probi iuuenes clangore tubarum,
corporis immemores, haud immemores animarum
ad muros properant. iam circumfusus adaptat
neruo pila pedes, iam letus ad ardua iactat.
iactant saxa, faces flammam per inane ferentes,
quas herere uolunt ad culmina suspiciens.
desudant alii fossas implere patentes.
per prerupta ruunt equites: transcurrere montes
non sinit horror equos in frena retro redeuntes.
iamque caua latitans testudine firma cauabat
menia leta cohors, iam scalas turba leuabat,
cum subito coeunt Arabes, graubusque lacertis

123 - 143 ABCDF

130 Maximianus El. I.149  132 Verg. A II.312, XI.192

123 timideque matres D  124 publicu D  125 cedit B
129 ne pudor D  131 cohos D m.pr.  134 ad martem
AD adeptat D m.pr.  137 quos B volunt BC suffici-
entes D m.pr. : suscipientes F  139 pre A preruta
D m.pr.  140 non sunt A frrena F  143 com A
saxa rotant et uulneribus dant proxima certis;
et, ueluti nimbos cum torquet hiemps odiosa,
aera grando secat, uis austri seuit aquosa,
imbribus insultant crepitantia tecta domorum,
uerberat unda sequens fugientia terga uirorum,
sic miseri, quibus una salus imimica saluti
pellere tela, sudes iaciunt, clipeique minuti
dant sonitum, fugiunt equites sub eis male tuti.

ut uidet ex equo Raimundus bella parari,
altum de lignis castrum iubet edificari;
illud montis habens instar trabibus fit acernis;
huius ductores imis latuere cauernis,
in summo Venator erat cornuque strepebat
Eurardus, delecta cohors in fronte fremebat.
ergo uiri pedibusque suis pedibusque rotarum
adnixi, licet impediant loca stricta uiarum,
adiungunt alte turri castrum magis altum,
ate parant super attonitos subito dare saltum.
tunc et ab urbanis fit machina que iaciebat
immensos lapides et castrum concutiebat,

146 - 163 ABCDF

Verg. A II.15; A II.12; A IX.87
Grecorum piceos ignes rotat insuper illa,
et uolat ante uiros fetens et nigra fauilla.
servat in igne suos diuina potentia uiuos,
et dedit ardores non posse nocere nociuos.
murorum iaciunt per propugnacula fortes
Christicole, castrique cadunt de culmine mortes;
Pislerio de Monte furit Guillelmus ibidem,
roborae, saxa, sudes certatim mittit et idem
oppositus telis rubet et lustratur ab igne.
huius ego nequeo uirtutes dicere digne.
illum non retinet frangendis congrua muris
machina, sed gaudet, gaudet patientia duris.
non retro mollitus uite dulcedine cedit,
nec, quamuis decuisset ibi fugisse, recedit:
hos necat, hos quassat, se circuit, arma repellit,
nunc muros nunc scuta ferit nunc spicula uellit.
non procul a Castro nec ab adiuncta procul arce
turba sacerdotum clamabat "rex pie, parce,
parce, Deus, fugiatque tuum gentilis ouile,
qui nomen Christi conatur reddere ouile."

164 - 183 ABCDF

166 cf. Ecloga Theoduli 113 169 cf. Gilo V(II).125
171 Verg. A XI.473 183 Claudian In Ruf. I.233

164 Gregorum F m.pr. ignes om. D : lapides F 165
fecens D 166 potentia suos D m.pr. 170 Pillerio?
F : Biserio C de mote D 172 tedit F m.pr. : telis
BC 174 illis A num retinet F 176 uite cedit F
m.pr. 177 decuisset A 180 ab om. A 182
metuatque tuum AD 183 Christi nomen AD conantur AD
ex alia iuuenes certant irritmpere parte,
nec bello defessa manus, nec profuit arte.
si quis forte parat compagem soluere muri,
illius excussa dampnatur dextra securi.
hec indignatus uir de Da Turre uocatus
Gulferius, pulchrumque diu facinus meditatus,
turbidus arripuit erecte robora scale,
quam uix sustulerant humeris sudantibus ale,
perque gradus trahit ipse suis sua membra lacertis,
solus et in medium populi portatur inertis;
hunc sequitur quem pellit ad hoc manus omnipotentis:
quippe modum nostre transcendunt talia mentis.

185-206 ABCDF

184-185 hos vv. non habent AD : add. A m.rec. 185 proficit F 188 hoc C de Daturre BCF : deda turre D : de la Turre A 189 Gulforius BC pulchrique A farinus D m.pr. 190 erecta B 191 sustulerant A 192 trait F ille BC 193 hunc v. om. A inermis BC 194 nunc A quem ducit A 195 transcendunt CDF gaudia mentis D 198 at uir scripsai : et uir ABCF : aut uir D 199 tolerat A m.pr. : contulerat BC 203 nec equa D 204 adculo A 205 tutela socio F uenienti F m.pr. 206 nec posterior C figienti D
nunc propriis telis populo nocet ille stipenti,
nunc gladios, nunc pila fugit, nunc mille molares.
iam fumant artus, iam spumant sanguine nares:
contra tot pestes manet unius integra uita,
missilibus, iaculis, sude, fustibus, ense petita.
dum quantum deprensa potest gens turma resistit,
ifica cohors iterum scalas ad menia sistit:
mox oblita sui sed non oblita suorum
conscendit muros properans ad opem sociorum.
nec mora, per turres sonitu concurritur orto:
non riget his arcus contentus fune retorto,
res agitur gladiis: de menibus ordine fixa
saxa trahunt, mureisque suis urbs frangitur ipsa.
terga dedere prius nostri, numeroque furentum
cesserunt, pressitque sonum gemitus morientum.
ad terram missi plerique necem fugiebant,
quam tamen ad terram contracti repperiebant.
soluitur interea murus, quem nostra iuuentus
castro tecta subit, solida nec rupe retentus

207 - 225 ABCDF

214 Ovid M X.171
est eques: ingrediens artata foramine stricto
gens repit, tuba signa dedit tristissima uicto.

ut uidere suis hostes in menibus isti
qui super adstabant, nec eis iam posse resisti,
per muros rapuere fugam, clipeisque reiectis
merguntur subito diuersis agmina tectis.

pars solo terrore perit, plebique cadenti
mors ignaua uenit non ense uocata rubenti:
maxima turba ruit uenientum turbine pulsa,
muris fixa rubent miserorum membra reuulsa.
urbis ad excelsas turres ita dum properatur,
diuersis mors una modis hos depopulatur.
uesper erat nostris minus illo tempore gratus,
paganisque dedit latebras ninium properatus:

noctem pro lucro penas in luce daturus
ciuis habet, multoque rubet iam sanguine murus.
at dum leta cohors urbem sine uindice uastat,
ad miseras turres gentilis pallidus adstat.
tunc monuit Boimundus eos interpretis ore

ut sua lenirent mala consilio meliore,
et subeant turrem que presidet ardua porte;
hos equidem teget in misera sua dextera morte,
uictorem uictumque facit mox inrequietum

226 - 248 ABCDF

226 equus BC 227 repit F tristisima F 229 cui
super A 233 ignaua A p.uenit F m.pr. 234 turba
perit AD 235 rulent A 237 hos una modis mors BC
238 uesperat D 239 niniumque A m.pr. 241 iam om.
B 242 et dum AD lecta D cohors F 243 astat BD
244 tum monuit F: post monuit add. eos F m.pr. 246
ut subeant F 248 uictorem uictum uictumque A
uiicta rapit uictor, uidet hic accurrere letum.
iamque diem luctusque nouos aurora uocabat,
ulcini morti se ciuis in urbe parabat.
Christianole stringunt enses et tecta cruentis
corporibus complent populiique crure cadentis.
hic etiam uirtutis opus gladiis iniere
corpore qui tenui modicas uires habuere,
dantque senes decollandi penam grauiorem
quam iuuenes: producit enim uis parua dolore,
et ueluti minimum potuiscent ense nocere,
timpora quorundam laqueis sic implicuere
ut laqueum baculus constringat, et interiora
perforet ossa rigens funis, crure impet ora:
tunc educta suis extabant orbibus horum
lumina, fedabat sanies barbas miserorum.
talia fingebat auri sitis effodiendi;

nam quid non suadet amor immoderatus habendi?
uiiscera morte grau iam frigida dextra cruenta
scindit, et ex ipsis manus haurit auara talenta.
ast alios, quos cura ducis seruare uolebat,
inreucabile uulgus ad impia fata trahebat.

249 - 269 ABCDF

265 Proba VC 201 = A VIII.327; Verg. G IV.177; Ovid
M I.131; Prudentius Psych.478 268 Priscian Perieg.
28 269 Lucan I.509

249 rapit hic D m.pr. 251 ulcinie uel uicime A
253 cadentes D m.pr. 255 uires modicas AD 256
decollandi sugg. Hall : decollandis ABCDF 257
iuiuenes sed producit D 258 nimium D esse A 261
funus F m.pr. 262 nunc F orum A 263 fulmina F
fedebat F : fedenbat A : fedebant BC sanguis barbas D
265 nam qui F 267 haurit auara manus F 268
seruare ducis quos cura AD
270 ima senes Herebi repetunt, uenduntur epheli.
detinuit nostros in finibus his mora mensis;
mortuus interea presul fuit hic Oriensis.
nostra cohors paucis consumpsit multa diebus:
nescit enim partis victoria parcere rebus.

illic ergo famem gens pertulit immoderatam,
et susceperunt mortem plerique uocatam,
et, quia non habuit populus quod habere licebat,
tendit in illicitum, facit hoc quod ius prohibebat.
proh pudor! heu facinus! ueribus posuere recentes

Turctorum carnes, lassantque cadauere dentes.

tunc perscrutatur Boiumdi causa secundo,
nec concordari potuit dux cum Raimundo:
regem non recipi Constantinopolitanum
nec dare iuratum comes asserit esse profanum.

ergo uie curam sancte ducis ira reiecit;
ira ducem, dux agmen iter postponere fecit.
ille quidem cum principibus repetiuit amata
menia, plebsque dolet tantis patribus uiuata.
at comes Egidii Sancti manet inrequietus,

270 - 289 ABCDF

283 cf. Gilo VII(III).503
anxius in multis, curarum mole repletus:
sit modo salua fides, placet ut descendet ad ima quelibet, et procerum summetur res ea lima,
mandavitque uiris absentibus ut Rugiosam iuris amore petant, rem discutiant odiosam.
conueniant, rem discutiant, sed fraus ibi dira
demonis insedit, nec finem repperit ira.
tunc Marram petiit comes, expectatio turbe,
collegitque sua comites Boimundus in urbe.

ut comes a cunctis se conspicit esse relictum
et Marram populis minimum iam reddere uictum,
plus fidei fisus quam uiribus, omnia Christo committit, fatique uices duce non timet isto.
tunc pedibus nudis, solito cessante paratu,
egreditur Marram cum plebeio comitatu.
quelibet huic populo cessura pericula iurat,
nec secura fides regum consortia curat.
cedere pauperibus fortis putat ille fidelis,
audet et ipse ratem laceris committere uelis.
plebs aggressa uiam propter ieiunia tarda,
et comites comitis primum uenere Capharda.

290 - 310 ABCDF

299 Sid.App. C II.293
consul Normannus Normannorumque cohortes,
quos reddit sua terra pigros, incognita fortes,
hic animis et corporibus nostris sociantur,
nec fidei zelo mala quaque subire morantur.

rex quoque Cesaree nostris pretendit amorem,
et specie pacis male palliat ille timorem.
denique Cesaream serie firmata malorum
turba petit, quia longa quies labor esset eorum,
inseditque super fluuium Farfar, quia tale
nomen habet flumen huic urbi conlaterale.

ut muris admota nimirum tentoria uidit
rex urbis, uetuit commercia, pacta recidit.
nocete sed exacta, populo iam progradiente,
his occurrerunt duo Turci, rege iubente,
hostibus obsequium, licet hostes, exhibuerunt,
et uada quos nollet euadere predocuerunt.

uenit et ad uallem quamdam gens nostra duorum
conductu, cepitque boves multos et equorum
predam (nempe boves et equi per graminea late
ibant graminea gaudentes fertilitate,
utque ferunt quibus illa fuit predatio certa,
depredatorum sunt milia quinque reperta).

aggere munitum forti ualloque rotundo

311 - 333 ABCDF

312 redit D turba BC 313 corporis BC satiantur D
m.pr. : sotiantur D m.alt. 314 ne fidei D : de fidei
A 315 cesarie D m.pr. : cesarie D m.alt. 316 at
specie BC 317 cesariam D 319 Pharphear CD 322
uetuit tertia D m.pr. 324 occurrerunt AD 327
uallam D m.pr. 328 multos om. AD 329 predia BC
331 predatio tenta A 332 muroque rotundo AD
stabat ibi castrum sed redditur hoc Raimundo.

hostibus in medias per quinque dies habitare

profuit et spoliis iumenta datis honere.

tunc gens illa fide firmat se fedus habere

perpetuum cum Christicollis, nullique nocere;

nec tamen huic fidei foret uilla fides adhibenda

nec leuis illorum promissio suscipienta.

post Arabum petitur castrum, quod mox aperitur.

proximus hos labor ad uallem perduxit amenam,

fructibus innumeris hiemali tempore plenam.

urbs ibi grata situ manet alto splendida muro,

que quasi gemma micat auro circumdata puro;

incola Caphaliam uocat hanc, qui tunc fugiebat,

certius ut uidit quos iam rumore uidebat.

civibus egressis uictores ingrediuntur,

tres et in urbe dies compleunt opibusque fruuntur.

nescia gens herere dehinc montes superauit

immensos, in ualle de Sem sua castra locauit.

hic quoque larga Dei pietas dedit huic aciei

fructus, frumentum uel sufficiens alimentum.

sed que proveniunt ad nutum despiciuntur,

interdicta placent magis, interdicta secuntur,
et castrum confine petunt. tunc hostis hianti
proiecit populo predas, et res ea tanti
extitit ut castrum victores fraude subacti
deserent mentis uitio, non ense coacti,
et tamen aggressi castellum luce sequenti,
defensore suo vacuum patet aggregent.
annua festa Dei genetricis ibi celebrantur,
hec que candelis specialius irradiantur.

munera tunc ducibus mittuntur ab urbe Camela,
sureus arcus, equi, uestes et lucida tela,
legatique sui regis mandata ferentes
exorant pacem; quos Christicole sapientes
incertos faciunt, certum nichil instituentes.
rex etiam Tripolis formidine tactus ut isti
septem mittit equos et mulas quattuor hosti.
donduces capiunt, sed et hec suspecta fuere,
cumque uiris feedus quesitum non iniere.
post requiem letam castellum desuerunt,
quindecimaque die proceres iter arripuerunt.

inde petunt Archas, castrum uetus equiparandum
urbibus et populo non absque labore uiandum.

356 - 376 ABCDF
hoc Arabes, Turci, Publicanique coronant,
turres, arma, locus, muri munimina donant.

sed tamen hec nostri clauserunt obsidione,
que superare putant uel ui uel proditione.
precipi cursum muros nostri petiere,
precipitem cursum gentiles sustinuere.

percutiunt clausos grauiusque repercutiuntur,
nam grauius ledunt que desuper eiciuntur;
arcu, balista, tormento gens furit ista,
torrento lapis impulsus magnisque uirorum
uiribus adiutus terit artus oppositorum,
funestum sibi pandit iter per scuta uolando,
seminat ille neces quicquid petit examinando.

hic procerum decus, Anselmus de Monte Riballo,
lustrat anhelanti dum menia leta caballo
mortiferum uulnus recipit, uir uiribus Hector,
uir Cato consilio, uir primus in agmine rector.
sepius aggressi muros sunt sepe reiecti.

post hec ad Tripolim sunt quinque nouemque prefecti
ut predam caperent; sexagintaque repente
inueniunt Turcos, quos, Christo subueniente, inuadunt et sex perimunt, armentaque plura
dum leti redeunt cepere per hostica rura.

400 non procul urbs aberat, ripe uicina marine,
fertilitate sua promittens multa rapine,
nomine que celebris ipso Tortosa uocatur.
impetit hanc Piletus Raimundus, et associatur Tentorie proconsul ei, qui par paritate

405 nominis, huic non impar erat mentis probitate.
hi duo Tortosam cum paucis aggrediuntur,
frustranturque diu nec prosperitate fruuntur.
sed tamen haud longe iam nocte superueniente
castra locant nimium populo strepitum faciente,

410 accenduntque uiri non ad sua commoda segnes
per iuga, per campos, plures uigilantibus ignes;
quos postquam cives lucere procul speculantur,
quod metuunt sperant, quod sperant uaticinantur:
Christicolas castri procinctum deseruisse,
urbis ad excidium tentoria iam posuisse.
ergo metu solo superati deseruerunt
menia, terga fuge nullo cogente dederunt.

397 - 418 ABCDF

399 dum leti reti redeunt F m.pr. : dum leti leti
redeunt F m.alt. 400 haut procul D 401 sue D
multa promittens F 402 ipsa F 405 hominis F erat
haud impar AD 408 tamen om. F iam om. F 412
cives om. F luere D 413 metuunt superant D 414
procinctum F 416 solo metu AD 418 at ubi F
lumine maiori, nostris ignota retexit

gaudia, quos subitum regnum, non pugna uocabat
expectata diu, quibus urbs seruire parabat.
Parthe fugax, ubi magna magis miracula queres?
adaena sero tuus hostis modo fit tuus heres.
sufficit hec acies multis non multa ruinis,
est et ab Archois tibi mors immissa pruinis.
urbe uiri fortes insperata potiuntur,
hostiles portas quasi clues ingrediuntur.
bella Deus pro gente sua secreta mouebat,
militibusque uiam dux preuius expediebat

datque suis aurum telluris ad ima retrusum:
nec cumularat opes nostrorum Parthus ad usum.
dum castrum tenet obsidio, proceres tenuerunt
hanc urbem portumque rates illic habuerunt.
rex quoque Maraclee nostris obstare nequiuit,
collaque submittens optatum fedus iniuit.

419 - 435 ABCDF

421 Ovid M XIII.183; Juvenal VIII.87  422 Ovid RA 155
LIBER IX (GILONIS LIBER V)

iam duce materia cuius pars magna peracta est
inspicimus propius portum, finemque laboris.
obscurat, fateor, puerilis pagina grandem
historiam uersusque leues onus aggrauat ipsum.
5 quod tamen incepi, sed non quo tramite cepi
aggrediar, sensumque sequar, non uerba sonora,
nec patiar caudas sibi respondere uicissim,
pruriet et nulli modulatio carminis auri,
quodque coartabant humilis stilus et rude metrum,
10 latius effundet prolixa relatio rerum:
sic collum luctantis equi frenumque uolentis
contrahit egrediens primum de carcere cursor,
ast, ubi proximus est mete, mox laxat habenas;
iamque meas ego laxau, nam proxima meta est.
15 cum Deus abiectis ducibus populique columnis
pauperibus dat regna suis paucisque triumphat,
ne sua que Domino sunt ascribenda potenti
applaudens humana sibi natura uocaret,

1 - 18 ABCDF

12 - 13 cf. Statius T VI.522-524

1 est om. A 2 proprius F fineque A 3 obsurat D
4 uerusque A aggregat D 7 non patiar B fines sibi
A : fines sibi gl. caudas D 9 coartabant D 11
si collum B : his collum F uolentes A 12 contrhit
F primus de AD 13 est om. F 14 mea A laxai ego
B m.pr. 15 dum Deus A m.pr. 16 thiumphat F m.pr.
17 cum Domino D asscribendo D m.pr.
Flandrensis comes atque duces uenere Liceam,
20 sed Boimundus ibi consortia leta reliquit,
emensumque remensus iter reedit ad sua tristis.
magnus at ille ducum Godefridus liber ad arma
euolat et patriam moto pater ense salutat.
iam sordent terrena duci, iam concipit ipsum
ethera, nec meruit certus de munere fatum.
eret ei studioque pari Flandrensis anhelat,
miratorque ducis meritum uirtutis honorat
in duce, quem merito magni precellit honoris.
hi licet exultent de successu Raimundi,
30 se tamen alterius non inseruere labori,
sed, dedignantes obsistere uiribus urbem,
urbem Gibellum cinxerunt obsidione;
huius precipites cingebant menia fosse.
nuntiat interea Raimundo fama sinistros
rumores, ad bella suis occurrere Parthos.
tunc et legatos et uerba precantia consul
dirigit ad proceres quos urbs obsessa tenebat,
qui, pro communi dampno commune uocantes
concilium, nec bella timent, nec ferre recusant

19 - 39 ABCDF

36 Ovid M IX.159, XIV.365  39 Horace AP 39
auxilium, pulsatque uiros spes leta triumphi.

nec mora, cum clausis pepigerunt fedus et emptā
pax a ciue fuit, sociosque suos petierunt.
spe belli decepta cohors spem uertit ad Archas,
atque tegit castris fluuii Castrensis harenas.

neue diu, Godfriede, tuus frigesceret ensis,
ad Tripolim ducis proceres ut certior inde
preda tibi quasi de pleno contingat oullī.
hostibus occurrunt hostes, leuibusque sagittis
stulta graues animos fuit ausa lacessere turba,
et, uelut improbitas muscarum ledere tantum
nuda potest abigique solet crepitante flagello
oppositeque rei morsus infigit inherens,
taliter instantes uentis commisse, sagitta
infestans, citraque necem dans uulnerea, cedit
ensibus et fit ei clipei pretensio murus.
sed quid demoror hic ubi non est palma morata?
armorum iam Parthus ope post terga reiecta
querit oem pedibus desperamque salutem.
instans miles equos calcaribus, ensibus hostes

40 - 59 ABCDF

56 cf. Verg. A II.102, XI.175; Ovid M XIII.517

40 auxilium D thriumphi F m.pr. 41 emta F m.pr.
42 sotios (om. -que) D 43 spe A 44 tegunt AD
fluidum F harenis B m.pr. 45 tutus A 46 ducis
actes ut D 48 leuibus (om. -que) A 49 lacescere
BC 51 flagelle A 52 herens B 54 hifestans A
55 lusibus? uel insibus? A 56 sed cur demoror AD
57 Parthus ope iam BC reiecta F m.pr. 58 desperata
A: desperantamque F salute A 59 onsibus? A
urget et in multa versatur cede cruentus.
obtundunt acies gladiorum membra reuulsa,
queque secare nequitt tepidus mucro conterit ossa.
ciuibus extinctis ingressus inhorruit urbis,
testificans cedem fluuius trahit inde ruborem,
haurit et in fluuiio perterrita turba cruorem.
cede duces nimium predaque parum satiati
uexatam petiere de Sem, predataque rursus
reliquiasque suas exquirunt inrequitiet.
hanc uallem sicut intactam mirantur ab omni
parte boues, asinos educere, postque rapinas
raptori totiens immiter quod rapiatur.
mox trahit in predam quicquid uidet impiger hostis,
hostilesque manus replet indulgentia uallis:
quippe camelorum tria milia prebuit illis.
castra replet, uulgus reficit predatio, dantque
dampna moras, animos externis obsidioni
Christicolis, et alunt inimici res inimicum.

sed nec pugna ualet clausos, nec machina muros
frangere, quasque manus Persarum Corbana ductor,
quas opus Antiochi timuit, populus premit ultor.
Christicole socios perdunt et temporae cara.

60 - 81 ABCDF

78 Claudian In Ruf. I.219

62 nequid A  63 quibus extinctis A : ciuibus ex
cunctis D  67 petiere desen A : petiere dense
russus A  68 querunt F.m.pr.  69 hunc D  uallam F
74 quiculpe A  75 dantque scripsi : datque codd.
76 hostilesque manus damna replet moras D.m.pr.
Poncius hic cecidit Balonensis, timpora cuius transabiit lapis ingenti conamine missus. occubuit Guillelmus ibi Picardus, et una de Petramora Guarinus, at ille sagitta, hic iaculo, uenitque modis mors una duobus. inter tot luctus paschalis in obsidione lux celebratur et in castris festum fuit hospes, temporibusque suis caruit sollemne serenum. 

90 neue die natura loci uirtusque uirorum illic decertent et inexpugnabile castrum expugnare uolens labor expendatur inanis, mensibus obsessum tribus Archas deseruerunt, atque petunt Tripolin, ubi cum primatibus urbis dextris iungentes dubiis sua credere muris audent, seque ferunt ad celsa palatia regis; dant pacem iam multotiens a rege petitam; firmauere duces ut fratrum uincla resoluant. tunc rex ter centum captuus Christicolarum compedibus uinclusisque graues ab utroque resoluit, datque uiris uir dona, uiros dat dignius auro, addit equos, aurum, populoque stipendia mittit,

82 - 97 ABCDF : 98 AD : 99 - 102 ABCDF

86 cf. Gilo VIII(III).237

82 multus ibi populus prostratur timpora cuius F 85 Garinus C : Warinus F 86 sic iaculo F mors omnibus F m.pr. 88 castro BC festum facit hostis D 91 decertant A 94 Tripolin? D 95 ingentes? F se credere AD 97 et pacem AD petita A 98 hunc v. non habent BCF 100 cum pedibus F 101 ponit post post 102 D m.pr.
et se Christicolam fieri rex asserit ultro
si sua Christicole ualeant attingere uota.

iam tunc reddebat ematurata calore,
arbor, messis, ager, fructus, frumenta, fabasque.
fertilitas igitur rerum nouitasque recentis
temporis ad solitum trahit agmina leta laborem.
mensis erat maii cum fortes urbe relict

ad castrum Bethelon uenere, diemque dieta
transcendens uix nocte graui fuit exuperata.
inde maris litus uexata calore iuuentus
radit et ad Zebarim ueniens sitis immoderate
dampna tuit, nec in urbe uidet quas hauriet undas,
sed labor alterius lucis duxit sitientes
ad uada magna Braim, populusque currit ad amnes,
quos super incumbens uix flatu sufficiente
turba, parum uasi credens, auido rapit ore.

uenerat illa dies qua uictor ad ethera Christus

ascendens exempla suis se prebuit astris,
sed graue nostra cohors iter emetitur in illa,

103 - 121 ABCDF

119 Gilo V (II). 272  121 Verg. A IX. 241

104 attinguere C B m.alt.  105 cruore D m.pr.  106
eger A m.pr. famasque B m.pr.  108 temporibus A
solitos D : solutos A labores AD  109 maius AD
110 Bethelon DF dieque A clieta? A transcendunt D
fui B 113 cadit F :116 Braym A : Barim B annes
DF : agnes A : fontes gl. amnes B  117 incombens A
118 tuba A 119 ille AD quo AD etera D  120
adscendens A 121 ementur D
et locat ante Baruch posteam iuxta mare castra.
post hec transactis Sagitta Surque duabus urbibus, applicuit se predo beatus ad Acram.

125 hinc adeunt castrum Cayphas, castroque relecto iuxta Cesaream fugunt sua castra cohortes.
ilic letitie festum, si tempore leto occurrisset eis, observauere fideles,
in quo discipulis Dominus dedit omnia posse,
usus iure suo, mundo noua dona stupente.
exceptit tandem peregrinos Ramula ciues,
ciue suo uacuata, nouos qui fugerat hostes,
ecclesieque tibi sacrate, Sancte Georgi,
que speciosa satis uicine presidet urbi,
pontifice decimasque suas gens sancta reliquit.

hactenus armorum grauitate, calore repulsa,
paupertate, siti, nocturno frigore, pugna
excruciata cohors optatam uenit ad urbem
quam Salomon opibus ditauit, Christus honore.
iunius ardebat et sol ardebat in armis
quando suis texere duces loca congrua castris.

122 - 141 ABCDF
136 Verg. G III.1  139 Arator AA I.1012

122 Baruc A D m.tert. : Brauc D m.pr. : Buarc D m.sec. :
Baruhc F m.alt. posita A 123 siuque? vel suiue? A
124 Achrhm F : Acra A  125 Caiphas AD  126 iusta F
fugunt? A  128 occurrisses D m.pr. observare A
131 Romela CF : Randula D  132 fugera D  135
reliquid B : reliquid C : reliquid F  137 nocturno
tempore AD
pars ea cui superest septentrio castra receptit
Normanni comitis, et ei Flandrensis adhesit.
145
solis ab occasu tendit Godefridus in hostem,
solis ab occasu terret Tancretius urbem.
e media, Raimunde, die tua classica clangunt.
postquam Iherusalem nostrorum cincta corona est,
eduxit leuitate pares Piletus Raimundus:
proxima dum lustrantur equis oculisque remota,
150
bis centum casus Arabes predonibus offert,
quos neque facta sui cultoris prodiga virtus
nec manus eripuit numerosior, aut fuga turpis:
hos fuga, sed plures ex illis precipitatos
nec fuga nec gladius saluauit, quos spoliauit
uita nostra cohors, et equos ad castra reduxit.
pluribus aptatis que sunt aptanda ruine
festinant ad uota uiri, murumque priorem
inuadunt magnisque uocant clamoribus hostem.
mox gentilis adest, Judeus, Turcus Arabasque;
160
missilibus, iaculis opponunt pectora nuda,
proque flagellato patiuntur dura flagella,
perque graues aditus, per tela, per arma ruentes

144 Verg. G III.336 146 cf. Verg. A II.312, VII.637
147 Verg. A XI.475 158 Verg. G IV.76
muri precipitant irritamenta prioris.
165 disiecti fugiunt ad menia tuta manipli,
at dum quisque timens certat prior esse, prioris
 turba sequens inimica suis in limine porte
 conterit, hicque suum Pilades prostermit Horestem.
 maxima pars exclusa gemit, natique parentes
orantes non excipiunt, pietate stupente.
protinus ingenti conatu scala leuata
prebet ad alta uiam, cui nostra iuuentus adherens
<Rambaudus Criminum castri Dunensis alumpnus>
decertat gladiis et comminus impetit hostem.
175 copia scalarum si forte parata fuisset,
innumerii labor ille mali labor ultimus esset.
obstitit hoc solum nostris, fortunaque belli
 iuuit ad extremum ductos, alterna reuisens.
tandem castra cohors petit et respirat ab armis.
180 fercula qui quondam noua fastidire solebat
 atque uocare famem dulcedine deliciarum
 irritando gulam, nunc sicco pane repletur,
et mentitur eis pigmenti limpha saporem,
quam sitiens miles precioso comparat auro.

164 - 172 ABCDF : 173 A : 174 - 184 ABCDF

169 cf. Claudian In Ruf. I.68 174 cf. Ovid M XII. 129

165 meniam D 166 et dum AD prioris D 167 lumine
E 172 cui fortis miles adherens AD 173 hunc v.
habet solus A 175 copio D 178 iuuit D reuisens
D m.pr. 180 uastidire D 181 fame D m.pr. 183
mentitur ei AD picmentum D m.pr. 184 preciosa A m.
pr.
montis quippe Syon fons a radice citatus, 
  fons Syloe, potu minimo longeque petito 
innumeratos reficit populos, et uenditur una 
quam natura potens gratis concessit habendam.

  dum uario premitur gens nostra labor, secute 
Christicolas uenere rates, quas Iaphia portu 
  excipit optato nunc, urbs, tunc urbis imago. 
ergo uiri centum mittuntur ab obsidione, 
qui servare rates Turcosque repellere possint. 
prefuit Acardus Merulo de Monte cohorti,
atque Sabratensis Guillelmus cum Raimundo: 
  sed probus Acardus cum triginta prior iuit, 
impulsus leuitate sua plus quam ratione.  
hic septingentos Arabes in ualle profunda 
repperiens irrupit in hos, hastaque reiecta. 
fulmineo scindit gladio quem respicit hostem. 
tandem succubuit non pigritie, sed honesti 
  funeris exemplo, per quod monet ille sodales, 
e quibus elapsus unus crudele cohorti 
nuntiat exitium, clamans crudeler "ecce 
exequias, proceres, sociis date quos dare uite

185 - 205 ABCDF

188 cf. Claudian DRP I.250
non licet, at mortem licet hostis morte piare!"
talibus hortati Piletus Piletique sodales
quos magis hortantur uirtus, uindicta suorum,
uera fides, alternum amor, requiesque laborum,
terius mentes armis celestibus ornant,
exterius sua membra tegunt et uilibus armant.
inde repentino uisu turbantur, et hostes
digressi uidere suos spoliare necatos,
et licet innumerous uideant hi qui numerari
mox poterant, tamen occurrunt, legitque uirum uir,
prosternitque suum congressu quisque priori.
protinus horribilis miscetur in agmine pugna:
amittunt galee cristas, clipei sua signa,
euertunt gladii facies, hominesque recisis
naribus expauit tyro de cognitione
iam dubius, hos non homines sed monstra putauit.
hastis nostra cohors istos petit, ensibus illos,
impulit hos currens casque peremit amaro,
illos morte timor subita prosternit inertes.
casibus afflicti vauris gentilis Arabique
dant facili sua terga fuge, multisque necatis
uni uictor ouans dilata morte pepercit,
per quem Persarum secreta dolosa paterent.
tres quoque miles equos et centum duxit ab hoste.

dum vacat in castris populus, sitis immoderata
excrucliauit eum. gladiis tellure cauata
miles in antra caput mergesbat, luce r elicta,
pinguis ut humectet tellus arentia labra.
hic quod ab utre cadit resupino suscipit ore,
marmora lambebat alius sudantia rore.
aspiceres pestem languentem cuncta per ossa
iam rabiem traxisse suam, nutare subactis
uiribus incessum, lingueque retundier usum.
si mactat quandoque bouem librata securis,
carnibus abiectis, sorbetur ab agmine sanguis.
esuiriem tolerare llibet, dolor ille dolorem
hunc minuit. prodesse famem quis credere posset?
clau serat occultos laticum gens sua meatus,
inuentosque lacus observuans, insidiatur
Christicolis, mortemque dabat querentibus undas.
cum gens letifero siccata calore calorem
uitalem perdit, nulloque liquore rigata
intestina bonis nature destituuntur,
construitur studio Godefridi machina, formam
castelli retinens multoque labore reperta.
materiam dant ligna fabris, urbique timorem.
par quoque castellum Raimundi prouida cura
erigit, et contra turres turrita parantur.
exitupere nouas miseri consurgere moles
gentiles, ipsique suas accrescere turres
nocte laborabunt, studio fallente laborem;
ne minus ingenti castelli compositores,
quos ducis urgebat presentia sollicitantis,
nocturnam requiem uigilant, uariasque per artes
intempestium ducunt sub nocte laborem.
nox que Judeis requiem transacta reliquit,
lucida uelabat tenebrosa sidera palla,
cum ducis artifices ad muros applicuerunt
robora castelli mimitanta, solis ab ortu
(nam leuis poterant irrumpere solis ab ortu).
multiplicando preces, lacrimas, ieiunia, uota,
circa Iherusalem portant insignia Christi
Christicole, uexilla, cruces, altaria sancta.
dicere longa mihi mora finem prospicienti
quotque quibusque modis breue tempus comparat hostis,
cuius Parca necans iam rumpere fila parabat.

250 - 271 ABCDF

270 Ovid A II.8.28
uenerat illa dies qua mortificare magistrum
gens Iudea Ihesum cupiens se mortificauit.
hac in luce duces ad muros agmina ducunt.
275 stans comes Eustachius in castro cum Godefrido
susceptos ictus reddit cum fenore duro.
ilia Turcorum transuerberat a duce missa,
non unum contenta latus transire, sagitta.
dux ducis exequitur curam fortisque laborem
280 militis, hortatur pugnantes, pugnat et ipse,
pugnat pro duplci regno, quia querit utramque
Iherusalem, decertat in hac ut uiuat in illa.
saxa super crates uemientia uimina frangunt,
robora, scuta, uiros de castri culmine uoluunt.
285 mortis in articulo uirtus non defuit hosti,
donec, qua Christum crux sanctificata recepit,
aduit hora, diem minuens ciuisque uigorem.
hac hora quidam de castro fortiuent instans,
nomine Letoldus, muro prior insilit urbis:
290 illum qui nimia secuit uirtute leonem
Guicherius sequitur. iam dux super alta choruscat
menia, iam gladius late per iniqua uagatur
pectora, fulmineis iam murus ab ensibus ardet.

272 - 293 ABCDF

272 cf. Gilo IX(V).119

273 Iudea Deum? D 278 nuntium contenta A : non unum
contempta F 280 multis hortatur A 281 hunc v. om.
D m.pr. utrumque ABCD 283 nimina A 284 volunt
D : volunt A 288 infans D 289 Letoldus BC :
Letaldus A 291 Wicherius BC 292 gladiis D late
om. D per unquam uagatur D 293 fulmineis F
nescius istorum Raimundus mobile castrum
conducebat adhuc, sed uoces auribus hausit
insolitas, turremque David celer ipse petuit;
nece mora, Turcorum princeps, custodia turris
cui commissa fuit, demissa uoce, roganti
uultu, submissis oculis, a consule uitam
postulat: auferret quis inertis premia uicto?
ecce pauens Turcus aperit sine munere portam
hostibus, a nostris totiens maioribus emptam.
turbidus optatam prorumpit uictor in urbem,
precipitesque uiros grauiter suus impetus urget.
occurret suprema dies gentilibus, illi
de bello fugiunt in bellum, lapsus ubique est,
a nullo ferrum reuocatur, Turcus Arabique
Iudeique cadunt, horum de funere pugna est.
sanguinea iuuat ire manu, gladiosque nitentes
ferre pudet, qui non desudent sanguinis haustum.
inconsulta ruit gens ad templum Salomonis
quam mortis timor exagitat, uelut esset ab illo
unica danda salus, talique tegantur asilo.
implerant plerique domum quam diximus: illis

294 - 314 ABCDF

295 Verg. A IV.359 301 Ovid M IX.390

294 nescius D 297 princeps D 300 auferret B :
aufereb D inert AD 301 murmure portam AD 303
turbib D 306 laupsus F ubi (om. -que) F est om.
AD 308 est om.A 309 gladiumque nitentem AD :
gladiosque nitente F 310 desudet AD 311 fuit gens
D : gens tuit F 313 teguntur BC absilo D m.pr.
314 impleuerant D
uictorum manus incumbens per lubrica strage
marmora se rapuit. numerum quis scire cadentum,
milia uel ualeat, passim cum frusta per omnes
sint dispersa gradus? longe ceruice reuulsum
rore caput rubeo commixa strage natabat.

abscisas aliena manus ad corpora iungi
aspiceres, truncos gemino sine poplite ferri,
cuncta membra loco uel cesa carere priore,
saucia uel remanere suo. tantusque cauernis
sanguis iit plenis, ut flumen adire putares.
in plano uelut a summis cum montibus ingens
grando cadit mixtisque simul tonat imbribus ether,
tunc collecta petunt demissas flumina ualles,
saxa trahunt siluasque ferunt totaque uagantur
agri planitie, gemitus dat rusticus imo
pectore, non aliter cesorum membra feruntur
sanguine rapta suo, totidemque necantur in urbe.

sed tamen illorum pauci fastigia templi
ascensu superant, et eis sua signa dederunt
Tancretius Gastonque, piis affectibus acti.
hinc ad opes properant effrenes, tecta subintrant.
uestes, diuitias, et quod satis esset auaro
inuemint, si diuitiis satietur auarus.

315 - 337 ABCDF
non perdit quod quisque rapit, nec uendicat alter,
quamuis nobilior, quod computat in sua pauper.

340 his ita completis, mundata taliter urbe,
ad sua felices uenerunt gaudia turbe,
prostratique duces, aspersi fletibus ora,
pro Domino Domini uenerantur rite sepulchrum.
hicque suum capitale Deo dat quisque fidelis.

345 mane dato non plenus adhuc tot cladibus ultor
miles id exiguum quod adhuc superesse sciebat
sanguinis in paucis furatur, et ardua templi
ascendens tacite subito turbait inertes:
illi precipites sese iaculantur ab alto,
et que dat uitam relíquis animantibus, illos
terra repercusiens morientes mittit ad umbras.
occurrent alii gladiis animoque uirili:
supposta ceruice moras in morte queruntur.
hi sese cedunt, mortesque suas inimicis
eripuere suis, isti pugnando secantur.
naufragium dum quisque facit sibi, quisque necatur,
corpora cesorum caudis religantur equorum,
atque foras iuxta muros glomerantur inusta.
plura quidem diuisa locis in frusta iacebant

338 - 359 ABCDF
perdiderantque notas humani corporis: illa
gentiles nondum dampnati flendo legebant
et congesta simul ducabant montis ad instar.
queritur interea cui regni cura regendi
conueniat, quis digne sciat dare premia Christi
militibus qui marte sciunt superare tyrannos,
Melchisedech exempla sequens, qui iusta fideli
uictorique seni data porrexisse refertur.
diuino tandem nutu procerumque salubri
consilio regnum sortitur dux Godefridus,
octaua qui regna die suscepit ab urbe
capta, uir regno dignus, cum rege beato
uiuat in octaua.
anno milleno de centeno minus uno
Iherusalem capitur iulii cum dicitur idus.
hec ego composui, Gilo nomine, Parisiensis
incola, Tutiaci non inficiandus alumnus.

360 - 376 ABCDF

375 Ovid A III.15.3
horum scriptorem laurum meruisse Gilonem
et cedro uia censemus carmina digna,
que nobis clare referunt et sub breuitate

tam uarios casus, tot prelia totque tumultus,
ictus tam ualidos, tot cedes, totque triumphos.
dum Gilo tanta refert, dum tantis laudibus effert
Christicolas proceres, heroas ad omnia fortes,
laus antiquorum iam laudi cedat eorum,

385
Argus Titides et Larisseus Achilles,
Aiax et Thideus, Polinices et Capaneus
Hugonii Magno cedant et utrique Roberto
inuictoque duci Goderido uel Raimundi
uiribus inuictis; potior Boimundus Atridis.

377 - 389 AD

378 cf. Persius I.42  385 Verg. A II.197

378 it cedro uina A  383 heroes D  384 lauda D
m.pr.  385 Argus scrips! : Arpus codd. Lariseus
D  386 Aias D  Capaneus scrips! : Canapeus codd.
387 Hugoio? D  Ruberto D  388 Raimundo D
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OLD  Oxford Latin Dictionary
OMLD Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources
(ed. R.E. Latham)
OV Ordericus Vitalis
PT Peter Tudebod
RA Raymond of Aguilhers
RC Radulf of Caen
RM Robertus Monachus
Souter A. Souter, A Glossary of Later Latin
TIC Tudebodus Imitatus et Continuatus
TLL Thesaurus Latinae Linguae
TP Theodori Palidensis narratio profectionis Godefridi ducis ad Jerusalem
WM William of Malmesbury, Historia Regum
WT William of Tyre
For notes on medieval prologue-like material such as this, cf. below on Gilo's Prologue (prefatory to Book IV). The Charleville poet's prologue material, like many of the examples there cited, does not stand apart from the main body of the work, but forms an integral part of it. It draws on Ovid, Persius and Vergil (including a verse taken without alteration from Proba's Cento Vergiliana).

2 fert animus: cf. Ovid M I.1-2, 'In noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas/ corpora...'

fortia facta: a common phrase in Ovid and other poets. Cf. app. font. to this verse.

3 aequiperare: 'equalled the brave deeds of their ancestors'.

4 maiore fide: 'with deeper faith'; this is a reference to the religious aspect of the Crusade. Many of the later historians of the Crusade have a highly-developed theological attitude to the events of 1096 - 1100, and regarded the victories obtained by the Christians as due to faith in God and divine intervention, not by military strength alone.

6 versibus et numeris: in classical times, versibus would refer to the lines of the poem, numeris to their metre: cf. OLD numerus 14, Ovid Am I.1.27, RA 381. Thus the phrase is a hendiadys for 'metrical verse'. Blatt, numerus IV, gives a further sense to the word, from Ps. HUCBALD ton. p.228: 'que canendi equitas rhythmus grece, latine dicitur numerus', but it is unlikely that this
meaning is intended here.

7 instinctu...nutu: once again, the divine origin of the Crusade is stressed.

10 commercia: here in the sense 'reward', 'wages': cf. Romans 6 for a similar idea, 'stipendia enim peccati, mors: gratia autem Dei, vita aeterna'.

11 Cf. Vergil A I.206, 'illic fas regna resurgere Troiae'. This is a very interesting line in that it provides evidence for a widespread dissemination of the belief that from the Trojan race were descended not only the Romans (through Aeneas), but the British (through Brutus) and the Franks (through Francus). This legend can be traced back to the Chronicle of Fredegar, II.5:

Nam et illa alia pars quae de Frigia progressa est, ab Olexo per fraudem decepti, tamen non captivi, nisi exinde ejecti, per multis regionibus perucantis cum uxores et liberos, electum a se regi Francione nomen, per quem Franci vocantur.

Cf. also Fredegar II.6:

Pompegius in Spaniam contra gentes demicos plurimus moretur. Post haec nulla gens usque in praeuentem diem Francos potuit superare, qui tamen eos suae dicione potuisse subjugare. Ad ipsum instar et Macedonias, qui ex eodem generatione fuerunt, quamuis grauia bella fuissent adriti, tamen semper liberi ab externa dominatione uiuere conati sunt.

These passages are cited and discussed in Faral, La Légende Arthurienne, I p.262. The British side of the legend is made much of by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Regum Britanniae I.3ff., and the French side finds one of its final exponents in Rabelais, Quart Livre Prologue (line 117 ed. Marichal, Geneva 1947).

13 - 14 The truth of the narrative which is to follow is a common topic in medieval prologues; in the case of the Charleville poet it can safely be ignored.
15 - 16 Cf. Persius, Prol. 1-2, 'nec fonte labra prolui caballino/ nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso'. On the impact of these lines in the Middle Ages, cf. Curtius, European Literature p.233, who also (p.235) notes some early Christian poems from the late Imperial period, which stress a rejection of the Pagan Muses and a turning for inspiration to Christ; Paulinus of Nola (X.21) 'negant Camenis nec patent Apollini/ dicata Christo pectora' is an example of this.

17 This verse is taken from Proba, V.C., almost verbatim: 'nec libet Aonio de vertice ducere Musas'. Schenkl's apparatus criticus does not list the reading found in G as a variant in the tradition of Proba, but it could easily have been corrupted from her original to the variant reported by the Charleville poet, or may be due to a trick of his own memory. The Cento Vergiliana was very commonly read in the Middle Ages, being treasured for its Christian content as well as its Vergilian heredity.

19 petimus: understand ut.

21 'may (God) sharpen our dulled sight, having wiped away the darkness'.

23 materia: here as in Gilo (cf. infra, note on IX.1) this probably means simply the poet's subject-matter, though it could also refer to a composition which the poet is using.

25 For this idea cf. Psalm 8, 'ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos' (repeated in Matthew 21).

26 cf. Matthew 15, 'ita ut turbae mirarentur, uidentes
mutos loquentes, claudos ambulantes, caecos uidentes', and Mark 7:37, 'et eo amplius admirabantur, dicentes: bene omnia fecit, et surdos fecit audire et mutos loqui'.

31 *patrum*: this refers not to the Crusaders, but to their notable ancestors; cf. above on v.2.

33 *praebatum*: 'the above', cf. *Niermeyer* praebatus - a-um = 'aforesaid'.

34 *aggredietur*: the subjunctive seems necessary to complete the passive sense intended here; it also restores the fairly-consistent double-rhyme found in the Charleville additions.

35 - 32 This narrative is unique, finding no parallels except for minor details also found in *EH* I.5 p.49, *TIC* CII p.214, *BD* I.iv, and *WM* IV.367, who quotes one 'Bernardus Monachus' for his source on the story of the miracle of the Holy Fire. Other parallels are noted ad. loc.

37 *Hierusalem* 'Vitium agunt qui h in Jerusalem, Iesus, Ieremia ponunt' says Siguinus, *Ars Lectoria* p.24, but G's practice is to write the name of the city with an h always, and I have preferred to follow its own orthographical practices. In Book IV.408 and 412, below, the forms Hieremias and Hiezechihel are also found. For the methods followed when the text is supplied by all 5 or 6 MSS, see above, 'Orthographical Notes'.

40 I.e. the route to Jerusalem had been effectively closed to pilgrims from Western Europe during the years immediately before the Crusade. 'The pilgrim traffic had never entirely ceased, but the journey was now very difficult...The pilgrims that succeeded in overcoming all the difficulties returned to the West weary and impover-
ished, with a dreadful tale to tell' (Runciman, Hist. Crus. I, pp.78 - 79).

42 merces: i.e. bribery. Cf. Latham, 'reward'; Niermeyer, 'goodwill, favour, pity', and ibid. 7, 'a pious gift'; the word is here used ironically.

43ff. The narrative here is very hard to follow, since much prior knowledge about the circumstances of the miracle of the Holy Fire seems assumed by the poet on the part of his audience. The syntax is also rather forced in places, and the subject of the whole must be understood to be an individual Turk (hostis deuictus, v.49) or possibly a more general term, such as feritas pagana in v.35.

Translate: 'And when at the Easter celebration, with hymns ringing out, the heavenly fire was expected to come down (super = desuper, 'from above' or 'be present in addition', 'over and above all else that was going on') then an iron wick (ferrata lucerna) was put in the place of the flame-bearing papyrus, with the intention of (auens) standing in the way of the divine splendour (i.e. the Holy Fire itself). But when the almighty Spirit working his miracles (sua per miracula) made the iron give a bright light like that of tow, the thwarted enemy still did not repent of these deeds (non compunctus in istis) and attacked the heavenly gifts with their stubborn arrows, so that around the glittering panelled roof of the holy shrine one could see a whole harvest of iron fixed there. But if ever these miracles happened later (than usual), and the holy light did not appear at the usual time, then swords glistened sadly around the Holy Shrine, striking the devout Christians (pios) with fear of losing their heads (capitum discrimine) if by their prayers they
did not successfully make the light appear (impetrarent affore lucem). Whether early or late, these signs did nothing to abate the fury (of the Turks)

The story of the Holy Fire at Jerusalem, by which the lamps in the Holy Sepulchre were supposed to be lit miraculously every Easter, is found also in PP I.i.v:

Neque siquidem ibi Deus anuum pretermittit facere miraculum: cum in diebus Passionis suae, extinctis omnibus et in Sepulcro et in ecclesia circa luminibus, iubare diuinno lampades extinctae reaccenduntur'.

Much fuller than this, however, is the story in TIC CII about William the Hermit: this is worth quoting in full, as it offers many parallels to the Charleville poet's story, and also many differences, which help us to see how the oral traditions on which these accounts are both almost certainly based developed in different ways:

Erat enim tunc Quadragesimalis ieiunii tempus. Deinde cum solemnitatias paschalis dies approinquasset rex (sc. Babylonis) prae dictos captiuous aduocans, ait illis 'non possum credere quod sabbato uigilarum Paschae ignis ille, ut fertur, apud Sepulchrum dominicum per semetipsum in lampadibus accendatur'. Ad haec Guillelmus eremita, socii eius, aliquo indigenae Christiani, urerum esse illud firmiter asserebant. At rex 'si uerum est' inquit 'quod dicitis, uolo ut rei ipsius probatione, me astante atque cernente, uerum esse monstretur...cumque Guilelmus ac socii eius, cer etique penitus opere probatores pollicerentur, rex, approinquanti sollemni die Paschalis, lynchos tenues, de ferri acie fabrefactos, in lampadibus, quas ipsae ante se aptari oleoque replei fecerat, sabbato mittus; ceterum Christiani cnoscentes quod lynchos ferreos in lampadibus rex poni iussisset, in infidelitatem quamdam modice demerguntur. At Guilelma eremita, uir fide plenus, Deoque deuotus, intuens eos in fide paululum hesitare, in ipsius firmitate fidei illorum animum uerbis exhortatorius consolidauit. Cumque omnes plus solito Domino precarentur ut solitus ignis in lampadibus preparatis ad gloriam nominis sui accenderetur, repente hora nona coelitus ignis aduen lens per omnes lampades in lynchis ferreis accensus est, atque ita in eius clarsissime ardere coepit ac si papyri depilati fuissent. Tanto itaque miraculo diunitus ostensu, et rex ingento stupore atque ammiratione excipitur, et omnis plebs Christiana, ut uidit, dedit laudem Deo.

45 **lucerna:** here, a wick. Cf. Blatt I.a) = lampe, luminaire (la mèche même, AYNARD gloss p. 621, MEGINH. Alex. 5).

**papyri:** here feminine, to be taken with flammicome.

49 **compunctus:** used here in its Christian sense, 'to feel remorse', as in Lactantius IV. 18, 14.

51 **laquearia tecti:** cf. Vergil, A VIII. 25, 'summique ferit laquearia tecti'.

52 **segetem:** i.e. standing corn: the image suggests the number of arrows shot at the ceiling.

59ff. This list is a typical feature of the Charleville poet and of medieval poetry as a whole.

**Elamite:** cf. Ezra 47, (I Esdras 47), 'Dieui et AElamitae' and the list in Acts 27, from which the phrase is taken: 'Parthi et Medi, et Aelamitae, et qui habitant Mesopotamiam, Judeam et Cappadociam, etc.'

64 **Phlegrae certamina:** cf. Statius, T II. 595ff., 'Geticae si fas est credere Phlegrae'; A I. 484, 'sic cum pallentes Phlegraee in castra coirent'; Ovid M X. 151, 'sparsaque Phlegraeis uictricia fulmina campis'. The gloss on the passage in Statius' Achilleid (ed. Clogan) is also revealing, 'Phlegra locus est ubi contra deos pugnauerunt celicoles'.

66 **auraria:** 'gold', possibly confused from its usual sense 'the art of refining gold'; but cf. TLL (Hey) b. 'sc. pensitatio uel functio, i.q. collatis lustratis, pecunia
per contributionem a mercatoribus et negotiatoribus exigenda'.

Prelis Euthymii: there is no reference to this person or a parallel to his mission anywhere in Crusade history. 

EH V.2. p.80 hints at it: 'per legationes tamen frequentissimas et epistolas etiam a nobis uisas, universalem ecclesiam Hierosolimitanæ in presidium lugubriter inclamantes....' CA I, 10-11 (vv.266ff. in Duparc-Quioc's ed.) tells of Peter the Hermit's conversation with the Patriarch of Jerusalem and his visions in the Holy Sepulchre. Peter's adventures in Jerusalem are also told in AA, but although a Euthymius had been a patriarch of Jerusalem, he died before 1095. The Cambridge Medieval History (vol.IV p.329, 1927) mentions that Euthymius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, led negotiations between Alexis and Bohemond in 1083; Runciman (Hist.Crus. I p.76 note) implies that Euthymius had been succeeded by a certain Symeon in 1086. No other works even mention a Euthymius. There do seem to have been appeals sent to Pope Urban II via Byzantium from the churches in the East - cf. Runciman (Hist. Crus. I pp.107-108) and the accounts of the speech of Pope Urban at the Council of Clermont in The Crusades: Idea and Reality 1095 - 1274, ed. L. and J. Riley-Smith.

The only other Euthymius mentioned anywhere is a Greek patriarch of Antioch, who was expelled from that city c. 1263, and received aid from the Mongol court, where he seems to have been a welcome guest (Grousset, Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jerusalem, III, 516, 584, 633), but that this could be the person
to whom reference is made here is clearly out of the question. This story may have its origins in the legations sent by the Emperor Alexis I to the Council of Piacenza in 1095.

71 **Godefridum**: Godfrey de Bouillon is the obvious hero of the Charleville poet's work, and it is therefore only natural that it should be he who reacts in this emotional way. Godfrey was in point of fact a sensitive and deeply devout man (cf. Andresson, *The Life And Ancestry Of Godfrey De Bouillon*, Indiana 1947).

72 **nomine scripta**: 'addressed to him by name'. Throughout the Charleville poet's work, Godfrey is made to stand out as the heroic leader of the Crusade.

73 This evidently refers to the **epistola** of v.67.

74 **replicat**: 'goes over in his mind'.

75 Here again the theological motif comes to the fore, and the Charleville poet goes further than Gilo in actually picturing God in action, much as a classical poet could depict a 'council of the Gods'. The Crusade is clearly God-inspired.

78 **super his**: this is probably a general phrase, embracing all the events described thus far; none of them seems to be specifically intended.

82 **inreseratum**: i.e. not lying open, undisclosed (from *resero*). The phrase is awkward, but the sense is 'will not leave unmentioned'. Translate: 'however, the following plan (ordo) of the work will not leave unmentioned how or at what time this happened'. For *defero* in this sense, cf. LS *defero* I.B.2. For *inreseratum* cf. TLL (Hiltbrunner) 'ab in et reseratus, i.e. non resectus.'
... seminali clauso utero concepit'. These two lines form an _interiectio ex persona poetae_ of sorts: 'as I tell the story I shall not forget to mention...'

83 - 150 For this historical setting cf. FC I.i p.119, EH 2.1 p.54, _FN_ I, _HM_ I, _GN_ II.2, _AA_ I.6.

84 This line is simply a periphrasis for the incarnation.

86 _Lotharingica_: this is a very interesting term for the poet to use. Henry IV was in fact the Emperor of Germany but here his domain has been localised in Lorraine. This usage lends further support to the thesis of Knoch that the Charleville poet, like _AA_ and some others, was drawing on oral traditions about Godfrey de Bouillon which trace their source back to Lorraine, his own land. _AA_ says that Henry IV was the Emperor of Germany, and does not limit his reign in this way.

100 _suppediatabat_: 'was not at hand to repeat the same things more often' (i.e. the Pope's visit was of a limited duration).

103 _urbs Aruernorum Clarmontis_: Clermont, in the Auvergne.

This part of the Charleville poet's narrative is based on fact, and is supported by _GF_ I.1, _PT_ p.31, _FN_ I, _GN_ II.2, _HM_ I.1, _FC_ I.i p.12, _EH_ 6.1, _TIC_ pref., _CC_ 2, _AA_ I.5.

106 - 108 The reminiscence of Caesar _BG_ I.1.1-2 is evident:

> Gallia est omnis diuisa in partis tris, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celti, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se different'.

110 _centum_: here this simply implies an unspecific large number.

112 _memorata satis_: this could refer to other written accounts, 'much-written-of', or simply to the fact that the Council of Clermont was 'very memorable'. 
domibus sacratis: i.e. churches.

Christo carnem gestante: 'which display the holy sacrament'. It was the medieval practice (as it is nowadays in Roman Catholic Churches, e.g. the Sacré-Coeur in Paris) to have the elements of the mass displayed on the altar of a church.

It seems obvious enough that the urbs Hierusalem cannot be regarded as a spelunca: the reference is to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, but the poet has failed to introduce the change of subject before the verb with which it must be taken: it is finally introduced in v.122.

nomen super omnia sanctum: cf. Philippians 2:9 'et Deus exaltavit illum, et donauit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen'.

123ff. 'Therefore they must labour that it (Jerusalem) should seek itself in itself, and turning away from empty falsehood (nihilum) it should return (se trahat) to the true being (uerum esse).

ipsam se queritet in se: this peculiar phrase may owe something to John 7:34, 'quaeritis me, et non inuenitis'. The idea seems to be that Jerusalem should seek herself (her true identity?) in herself, i.e. in the presence of the Holy Sepulchre, the symbol of the truth of Christianity lying within the city precincts.

esse: in its medieval sense, 'being'; here uerum esse seems to stand for the Christian God. It also contrasts powerfully with its opposite, nihilum, which refers to the pagan religion Jerusalem was then steeped in. Jerusalem is to be exhorted to turn from 'that which is not' to 'that which is'. It is barely possible to take esse as an auxiliary infinitive with laborandum in v.123, as
it is such a long way from that word. It could also be translated 'state' or 'situation' (DuCange esse I): 'restored to its true (i.e. proper) state'.

126 admodo: this is a medieval variant for amodo according to the Mitt. Wörter.

127 domnus: this form is widely attested throughout the Middle Ages, to designate one who was higher in rank than oneself, or else was used as an honorific title, particularly for ecclesiastics. The more classical form, dominum, is found below in v.210.

128 quo: here this stands for ut, as above in v. 123. It refers back to opus, 'work...by which...'

130 - 131 The ethic put forward here and above, v.80, is very close to that found in the vernacular epics roughly contemporary with this poem. Cf. especially the Chanson de Roland, laisse LXXIX vv.1010 - 1012:

1010 Pur sun seignor deit hom susfrir destreiz
E endurer e granz chalz et granz freiz,
Si.n deit hom perdre e del quir e del pel.

The idea here is similar, though the 'seignor' in v.1010 is an earthly lord or baron, not the Lord God: 'For his lord a man must suffer distress, and go through great heat and cold - so must a man risk losing life and limb'. This also illustrates the essentially feudal concept of devotion to God prevalent at this time.

136uelle Deum: this is an obvious hint at the well-known reply of Adhemar's audience to his speech at Clermont: 'Urban spoke with fervour and with all the art of a great orator. The response was immediate and tremendous. Cries of "Deus le volt!" - "God wills it!" interrupted the speech' (Runciman, Hist. Crus. I p.108). GF regards it as the rallying-cry of the Crusaders: cf. his account.
of the report of the Crusade brought to Bohemond: 'Deferunt arma ad bellum congrua, in dextra uel intra utrasque scapulas crucem Christi baiulant: sonum uero 'Deus uult, Deus uult, Deus uult!' una uoce con clamant' (I.iiii p.7).

**foedus:** i.e. a law (LS 2 foedus II.B., TLL (Vollmer) B5 = amicitiae, hospitii, collegii, societatis sim.). The phrase has the force 'they were all of one mind'.

**super orando:** either 'during his prayers', 'over and above praying for them', or 'praying out loud over them'. The latter is the most vivid interpretation and is probably the one the poet had in mind: the Pope would have performed this absolution 'over them' in a loud voice, accompanying it with the sign of the cross.

**143 - 144** I.e. the Crusaders were to count the sufferings of their pilgrimage to Jerusalem as a penance for their sins, which would replace the penances normally imposed by the church; cf. Runciman, *Hist. Crus.* I p.109: 'The Council (i.e. of Clermont) had probably already at (the Pope's) request passed a general decree giving remission from temporal penalties for the sins of all that took part with pious intentions in the holy war'. Other medieval writers developed a different theological reaction to the Crusade; Guibert of Nogent, for example, thought that 'God had instituted a holy war precisely in order to give knights and laymen a path to salvation that did not entail entering a monastery and could be taken following their normal profession' (L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality* 1095 - 1274, pp.9-10).

**deesset:** this is to be scanned as a disyllable.

**147** Podii...Aniciensem: i.e. Adhemar of Monteuil, bishop of Le Puy (Podium). He had already been on a pilgrim-
age to Jerusalem, and therefore had first-hand knowledge of conditions in the Middle East. Moreover his family background (he came from the line of the counts of Valentinois) would have made him acceptable to the noble leaders Urban II wished to recruit for the Crusade. His appointment to the leadership of the Crusade at Clermont is recorded in RM I.4, FC I.iv.1, BN ii, BN 4, NDL I, which latter calls him 'Podiensis vel Aniciensis'. Aniciensis = Le-Puy-en-Velay (Haute-Loire), according to Benedict-Graesse-Plechl, OL.

150 collegam...quem Clara Aurengia misit: William, first of the name, bishop of Orange and papal vice-legate to the Crusading forces, who died on 2nd December 1098 at Marra (cf. below, VIII.272).

On the whole, the work of the Charleville poet tends to drift off into the realms of fancy; but on the details of the Council of Clermont, over which Urban II presided, he shows considerable accuracy. These parts of his narrative no doubt derive from oral tradition, but embody original reports whose truth has not been obliterated or obscured by later accretions of myth.

151 - 170 There are no proper parallels to this part of MS G's narrative, but a few similarities may be noted in FC I.iv.5, EH I.5 p.48, and PT p.32.

151 freta: on the short syllable permitted before the caesura, see note infra on IV.16.

153 - 154 For this idea, see below in Gilo's Prologus vv.23-24.

159ff. There follows here another list. Lists are one of the hallmarks of the Charleville poet's style, and occur with great frequency, embracing rivers (as here), geo-
graphical names (the Alps, I.235ff., and parts of Greece, III.180ff.) and nations (I.165ff.). These lists may also reflect on the poet's occupation; he is entirely unknown to us apart from his poem, but the interest he shows in it in geography and ethnography, together with the wide spread of his knowledge in these fields, and the many reminiscences from the classical authors which are to be found in his work, suggest that he may have been a teacher in some monastic school. His lists, indeed, and the tedious biblical references in which he occasionally indulges (and which distract from the narrative he purports to relate) are redolent of a schoolmaster-ish pedantry of the worst kind.

This list of rivers may well be a conscious imitation of that found in Lucan I.419ff.; like it, this one is followed by a further list, this time of nations (as is also the case here); but there are no exact reminiscences of Lucan's list in the account of the Charleville poet.

There are some parallels to the list here in Sidonius Apollinaris C V.207ff.:

rigidis hunc abluit undis
Rhenus, Arar, Rhodanus, Mosa, Matrona, Sequana, Ledus Clitus, Elaris, Alax, Vacalis: Ligerimque bipenni...

Cf. also Caesar MG I.1.2: 'Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana diuidit'.

Liger: i.e. the Loire.

Elaber: i.e. the Elaver, a tributary of the Loire now known as the Allier.

Matrona: the Marne.

Sequana: i.e. the Seine.
There is a possible reminiscence here of Tibullus I. vii. 11-12, 'testis Arar Rhodanusque celer magnusque Garunna, Carnutis et Flau, caerula limpha Liger'.

Cf. also Pliny, HN III. 33: 'fertilissimus Rhadanus annis ...segnemque deferens Ararem nec minus se ipso torrente Isaram et Druantiam'.

Arar: i.e. the Saône.

Rhodanus: i.e. the Rhône.

Durentia: according to OL (1972 ed.) Durentia = Druentia = the Durance, a tributary of the Rhône near Avignon.

Isara: i.e. the Isère, another tributary of the Rhône.

Exona: i.e. Essona, the Essonne, a tributary of the Seine.

Esia: i.e. Oesia, the Oise, a tributary of the Seine.

Garumna: i.e. the Garonne.

Scaldes: i.e. the classical Scaldis, the Scheldt.

Mosa: i.e. the Meuse.

Rhenus: i.e. the Rhine.

Mosella: i.e. the Moselle.

Athesis: i.e. the Adige, in Italy.

Heridanus: i.e. the Po.

Tyberis: i.e. the Tiber.

Macra: i.e. the Magra.

Vulturnus: i.e. the Volturno.

Crustumium: i.e. the Corica.

On this list of peoples, cf. Lucan I. 429ff., and Sidonius Apollinaris C. V. 474ff.:

'Bastarna, Suebus Pannonius, Nerusus, Chunus, Geta, Dacus, Halanus, Bellonotus, Rugus, Burgubio, Vesus, Alites Bisalta, Ostrogothus, Procrustes, Sarmata, Moschus'.

This line's attention to the Germanic peoples might suggest that the poet had a peculiar interest in them, or a greater knowledge of their geography than of other areas,
but it is more probably suggestive of the fragmentary state of the Germanic peoples at the time, despite the unifying force of the Empire. The poet is referring not to political but to ethnic groupings. He is probably influenced by the classical epithets found in Sidonius Apollinaris, etc., limited by his bookish knowledge. In the list of rivers, for example, some of the items he lists are very obscure (the Isère, the Conca) but they are spread too thinly for them to suggest personal knowledge on the part of the writer, and they are best seen as gleanings from his reading.

168 Brytannis: it is true that some Angles did play a somewhat minor role in the Crusade (cf. below, V.129-130 and notes thereon), but the poet is here influenced by his desire to embrace all parts of Europe, to stress the universality of the Crusade, and by a reminiscence of Lucan III.76-78:

\[
\text{ut uinacula Rheno}
\]
\[
\text{Oceanoque daret celsos ut Gallia currus}
\]
\[
\text{nobilis et flavis sequetur mixta Britannis'.}
\]

The Englishmen who did go on the Crusade, such as the exile Ralph Guader, Earl of Norfolk (cf. Runciman, Hist. Crus. I.p.165), did so as members of foreign parties of knights.

171 - 194 This list of the leaders of the Crusade, each reviewed in his turn, finds some parallels in TIC pref., except that Robert of Flanders is placed before Raymond. Each character is summed up in a few words. GF I.ii p.5, PT pp.33-37, FN II.1, TP I.1, GN II.14-15 and AA II.19-21 also list the major figures of the Crusade, but do so in an order and manner unrelated to that found in the Charleville poet's account.
Godefridus: Duke of Lower Lorraine, and from Bouillon, Godfrey became in later myth associated with the Swan-knight legend (cf. *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, the epic cycle in Old French). As hero of this poem, it is fitting that he should head the list of leaders of the Crusade. He was born in about 1060, and had distinguished himself as a warrior in the service of the Emperor Henry IV in Germany and Italy in 1082.

*ferrea suta*: i.e. a coat of mail.

*siue eques atque pedes*: i.e. whether on horseback or on foot.

Godfrey does the proper Christian thing and makes his peace with any who hold grudges against him (cf. the precepts in Matthew 5:23-24).

*Christum sectando uocantem*: 'following Christ who called him on'.

*gemini fratres*: GF and PT only mention Godfrey's brother Baldwin; RN, TP, GN, and EH mention both Baldwin and Geoffrey's other brother, Eustace III Count of Boulogne.

*utraque Belgica*: 'both Belgiums'.

*elegit*: the subject of this is *quicquid* in vv. 185: 'whatever (troops) from the Alemanni, the Vindelici or the Swabians sought the life-giving sepulchre, chose to join their arms to his (i.e. Godfrey's) band.' Translate: 'and to recognise no less his call-signs (or recognition-cries, *vocalia signa*) and the marks (of his weapons and banner: *mutaque signa* must refer to the distinguishing marks of his shield and helm)'. *nosse* is dependent on *elegit*, as is *iungere*. The line is explained by vv. 189 - 191. The *vocalia signa* are picked up in v. 189 by mention of his name (perhaps the troops
used this as a battle-cry, like 'muntjoie' in the *Chanson de Roland*. *muta signa* is picked up by *uxella* in v.191.

Many of the persons mentioned here are also found in the lists in GF I.i p.5, PT p.37, FM II.1, TP I.1, and GN II.14-16. Close parallels are noted as they occur.

Robertus: i.e Robert II, count of Flanders.

temporis usus: 'the use of time', i.e. with the passage of time they had come to be known as the people of Flanders.

Robertus alter: Robert II Curthose, Duke of Normandy and eldest son of William the Conqueror; his sister Adela was married to Stephen of Blois, and he was also cousin to Robert of Flanders.

anthiedas: the only attestation for this form, but in the singular, antidea, listed by LS, TLL and Forcellini, is as an equivalent to antea. A form antitheus, a masculine noun, is attested by DuCange: 'quinam fuerint docet Arnobius aduersos Gentes lib.4: "magi haruspicum fratres memorant suis in accitionibus Antitheos saepius obrepere pro accitis"'; and also Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin*, who cites Lactantius 2.9.13, 'a being hostile to God; the devil'. The adjectival form found here must be derived from this, but appears to be unparalleled even in medieval usage, at least in so far as the lexica are concerned.

et: the MS reading is *at*, but no qualification of what has gone before seems intended.

Magnus: Hugh, Count of Vermundois, *le Maisné*, or younger; his second name was consistently corrupted by Latin writers into Magnus. He was, as the poet states, the brother
of Philip of France.

uterinus et unus: this is not mere padding, but accurate historical writing. Philip and Hugh were Henry I of France's only sons, both by Henry's second wife, Anne, the Russian princess and daughter of Yaroslav I, grand duke of Kiev. Henry's first wife, Maud, died childless in 1044 after only one year of marriage (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., vol.XVII p.291).

Nilicolarum: this epithet is probably used for the sake of the rhyme-scheme, but it is accurate if taken to mean the opponents the Crusaders met at Jerusalem and Ascalon, who were in fact Fatimid Egyptians.

207ff. This little passage is more revelatory about the anonymous poet of the Charleville MS additions than any other. None at all of the other Crusade narratives mention this person in this way, nor the dampnabile crimen which led to the death of Arnulf and this person's gaining the Morini. The poet is however faithfully following the true historical events. The rector Montensis, or count of Mons, was Baldwin II of Hainault (Heinodarius populus); he disappeared during the Crusade after a skirmish in Asia Minor with some Turks, whilst accompanying Hugh the Great on his embassy to Alexius I, following the capture of Antioch (Runciman, Hist.Crus. I p.250). The history of the counties of Flanders and Hainault from 1070 onwards is very complex. Baldwin VI of Flanders married Richilde, heiress to the County of Hainault, in 1051, thus uniting the two counties under one ruler. On his death on 21 July 1070, Baldwin left one county each to his two sons; to the elder, Arnoul or Arnulf, he left Flanders (Morini: cf. above, vv.195-196), and to the younger,
Baldwin, he left Hainault (Heinodarius); the widow Richilde was to be guardian of Baldwin, and Baldwin VI's brother Robert le Frison was to take charge of his nephew Arnulf. The struggle which broke out between Robert and Richilde was backed by racial rivalries between the Flemings and the Walloons, and by Richilde's personal ambition. She first took Arnulf from Robert, and took over as regent of both Counties; Robert, who had strong popular support, met her troops in a battle at Bavinkhove, near Kassel, on 21 February 1071, during which Arnulf was killed. Richilde retired to Hainault, leaving Flanders to Robert, and made Hainault a vassal-state of the bishopric of Liege. Robert defeated the Bishop's own troops in battle, and peace was only finally brought about by the intervention of Gregory VII, as a result of which Robert kept Flanders and Baldwin VII became Baldwin II of Hainault, his castle being at Mons (Montensis). The Robert of Flanders who took part in the Crusade was the cousin of this Baldwin and son of Robert le Frison; he took the title Count of Flanders on his father's death in 1093. (C.N.L. Brooke, Europe 911-1198; M.L.C. LaLanne, Dictionnaire Historique de la France; Achille Luchaire, Histoire de France t.II; P.J. Blok, A History of the People of the Netherlands; H. Pirenne, Histoire de Belgique).

209 - 210 Translate: 'He lost the Morini by the dastardly crime of his uncle, who killed Arnulf, at once his liege-lord and his nephew'. cui is an ethic dative, dependent on tulerat and looking back to rector Montensis; patrui is genitive, qualifying dampnabile crimen. The writing here is very loose.

213 Stephanus: Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, was the
son of Theobald III (comitis Tethbaldi clara propago), and became count of Blois in 1089.

216 effectu gemino: 'with a double effect', i.e. on two occasions. The two times when Stephen, regarded by most historians of the time as a coward, a blaggard and a traitor, is supposed to have betrayed the Christians' cause are mentioned by the poet in vv.217-226.

218 ipsi: i.e. the rex Constantinopolitanus, Alexis I Comnenus.

219 cunctipotentem: a neologism from the Christian poets of the late imperial period. Cf. Prudentius, Perist. 7.56, 'Iesu cunctipotens'.

223 subsidio: predicative dative, 'to assist them', 'as a relief force'.

225 retexit: i.e. revealed, made clear. The rhyme here is not perfect, but the poet does mix double- and single-rhyme freely; cf. above, turmis/ relictis, vv.211 - 212.

The poet's damnation of Stephen of Blois is much more open than that found in Gilo's version (infra, VII.498-503), and is more detailed. It is corroborated by the other versions, but they place it in its chronological sequence, as does Gilo, during or after the final battle at Antioch.

229 Egidii beati, 'the blessed Aegidius', i.e. St. Gilles; Raymond, Count of Toulouse and leader of the Provençal forces (Prouintia, v.231) was normally referred to as 'Sancti Egidii comes', from the name of his favourite possession at Saint-Gilles.

230 sancti sub honore sepulchri: this phrase is found repeated in III.126, below.
232 Gothia: in classical times, this was the name given to the country of the Goths, i.e. northern Germany; here the reference is clearly to the marquisate of Gothia, which lay on the coast of France between the Counties of Toulouse and Provence, and stretched from Narbonne in the south to the banks of the Rhône at Orange.

235 There are vague similarities here to Pliny, *HN* III.38.

237ff. Again, the list is a typical feature of the style of this poet.

240 *uel qui memorantur*: these words are merely padding to fill out the verse.

243 Tancradi et Boimundi: Bohemond was trying to establish himself in Apulia when the Crusade began, and set off for the East with the hope of finding a principality for himself there; Tancred, his nephew, was also a member of his force.

244 *corripuere*: this verb has as its object *patris arma* in v.245, 'took up the weapons of their fatherland and bore them against those runaways of the faith'.

248 *uel quos dat pagina*: this remark is very significant indeed; it almost without doubt implies that the poet is following a written source: *pagina* can hardly mean anything other than this. It normally means a 'deed' or 'written document'. Whether this means that the poet had access to a written document in Latin or the vernacular is not clear; it may even be the case (and this is
probably more likely, in view of the parallels with other narratives in some parts of the poet's account, and his uniqueness elsewhere) that he had access to several sources, and produces a synthesis from them. Thus the reference may be to one of the surviving written works, AA for example, which has several passages where minor characters are mentioned. It may be from one of these that the poet has taken his list. If we are to take seriously the poet's own statements in vv.249-251, then he had access to more names than he gives us here. Alternatively, he could be referring by pagina to a part of his own poem which has gone before; he uses it in this sense below in I.257. The reference would then be to the list immediately above. Lists were a stock feature of vernacular epic at this time; it is possible therefore that the poet is explaining why he does not repeat his list.

249 lecturis In the Middle Ages, lego always meant 'read out loud' (cf. Chaytor, From Script To Print, p.12). It is interesting therefore that the poet should stress the reader and not his hearers; this is obviously due to the requirements of the metre, but also suggests a monastic setting where an individual might read aloud to himself.

siqui tamen esse ualebunt: this is a clumsy construction, and the sense intended seems to be 'if there be any'.

ualeo has lost all its usual force, and is acting as an auxiliary verb, to form a compound future tense. These compound tenses are common enough in Vulgar Latin such as that of the Peregrinatio Aetheriae, are rarer in the more classicizing Latin of the 12th century. (Cf. Strecker, Introduction to Medieval Latin, trans. R.B. Palmer p.67).

Here the construction is probably due to sloppy writing
298.

and the desire of the poet to maintain the rhyme-scheme (ualebunt/ tenebunt), though it may reflect a vulgar-latin form he had come across in his reading.

251 rusticitas calami: cf. below, III.446. This topic is very common in medieval literature: 'such "modesty formulas" achieve an immense diffusion, first in pagan and Christian late Antiquity and then in the latin and vernacular literature of the Middle Ages. Now the author protests his inadequacy in general, now bemoans his uneducated and rude speech (rusticitas)'(Curtius, European Literature p.83). Cf. also Corippus, Ioh.pref.37, 'rustica Romanis dum certat Musa Camenis'.

252 Again, the construction here is clumsy. promere has for its subject quos in v.249, the words in between being a parenthesis. per nomina cuncta is added to clarify the sense of the verses, but the phrase is only loosely related to the rest of the sentence syntactically.

254 Haimarus Podii: i.e. Adhemar of le Puy.

255 clara Aurengia: cf. above, I.150 and note. quem clara Aurengia misit is evidently a stock epithet.

258 domnus: cf. note above on v.127.

259 - 269 This list of Italian ports finds some parallels in PT I.v; TIC V; RM II.v (which lists Barim, Otrentum, Brundisium) and TP III (which lists Bari and Brundisium).

262 molle Tarentum: this is a reminiscence from Horace S 2.4.34.

263ff. This little story about moving the remains of Saint Nicholas is, as it stands, unique to the Charleville poet. It is however partially borne out by the account of Nicholaus de Porta, III (RHC H.Occ.V, p.243BC), who says that the people of Bari removed the remains of St.
Nicholas to Bari from Marrah in 1080. The Anonymus Littorensis (RHC H.Occ. V, p. 284 sqq.) says that the tomb was found by Venetians (the full title of this work is in fact Monachi Anonymi Littorensis Historia de Translatione Sanctorum Magni Nicolai...6 Dec. 1100) and was then taken to the monastery of St. Nicholas de littore Venetiarum. Both these accounts seem to derive from sources whose intent was to support rival claims as to the true whereabouts of the saint's relics; the Charleville poet, more detached from such motives, presents a hybrid of the two accounts: needless to say, this probably derives more from an oral account than from a scholarly synthesis of these other reports.

270 - 308 This section is unparalleled in the other accounts of the Crusade. Godfrey de Bouillon comes to the fore here as the hero of the Charleville poet's work. The only parallel is from GF I.i.ii p. 5, which mentions Godfrey gathering his forces together (cf. vv. 270 - 274).

270ff. These 5 lines are in tiradenreim or catenati, not couplets.

272 uallis: this is obviously preferable to the MS uallis, and the corruption would easily be made.

spoliatus: i.e. 'having given up his lands, castles, etc.' The word is very strong indeed, chosen partly to stress the cost of Godfrey's sacrifice and partly to meet the rhyme-scheme. spolio regularly takes an ablative of the object lost.

275 Maguntia: i.e. the classical Magontiacum, Mayence or Mainz.

276 Vormatia: i.e. Worms. Mention of these two cities recalls two of the most celebrated literary works of the
Middle Ages, namely the Old French cycle of *Doon de Mavence*, and the *Nibelungenlied*, much of whose action is centred in Worms. Godfrey and his troops moved eastward, either via Trèves, or following the course of the Moselle and then down from Koblenz to Mainz.

279 metans ulteriora: presumably this means that there were more troops than could be accommodated on one bank, and the camp spread to the opposite side of the river as well. *metans* is incorrectly diphthongised by the scribe.

280 Reganenburgi: i.e. Regensburg, or Ratisbon. The army continues its march virtually due East, to the Danube. From this point the army takes ship (vv.283ff.) and continue down the river to the kingdom of Hungary.

284 deties senis: this number is unspecific, and may not be taken as an accurate representation of an eye-witness account.

285 Scythicum: i.e. 'into the sea which Thrace calls Scythian'.

287 septemfluus: cf. Ovid M XV,753, 'septemfluia flumina Nili'.

288 aurati Phasidos: cf. Pomponius Mela, I.108: 'Hic sunt Colchi, huc Phasis erumpit, hic eodem nomine quo annis est a Themistagora Milesio deductam oppidum, hic Phrixi templum et lucus, fabula ueteres pellis aurea nobilis'. The reference is to the legend of the golden fleece, referred to also in Ovid M VII.lff.

290 Herquinianum: the reference here is to the Black Forest. According to OL, *Herquina Silva* = *Hercynia Silva*. The details narrated by the poet here are fascinating, and are drawn from a variety of sources, whose original texts are worth citing in full:
a) Caesar, BG VI.26ff.:  

Sunt item quae appellantur alces. Harum est consimilis capris figura et varietas pelium, sed magnitudine paulo antecedunt, mutiæque sunt cornibus, et crura sine nodis articulisque habent, neque quietis causa procumbunt neque, si quo adfectae casu conciderunt, erigere sese aut subleuare possunt. His sunt arbores pro cubilibus: ad eas se applicant atque ita paulum modo reclinatae quiemem capiunt. Quam ex uectigiiis cum est animaduersum a venatoribus quo se recipere consuerint, omnis eo loco aut ab radicibus subruunt aut accident arbores, tantum ut summa species earum stantium relinquatur. Huc cum se consuetudine reclinauerunt, infirmas arbores pondere adfligunt atque una ipsae concidunt.

Tertium est genus eorum qui uri appellantur. Hi sunt magnitudine paulo infra elephantos, specie et colore et figura tauri....Amplitudo cornum et figura et species multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt. Haec studiose conquisita ab labris argents circumcludunt atque in amplissimis epulis utuntur.

b) Pliny, HN VIII.15. 16.:  

Iubatos bisontes excellentique et ui et velocitate uros, quibus imperitum uulgus bubalorum nomen imponit....Septentrio fert et equorum greges ferorum, sicut asinorum Asia et Africa, praeterea alcem, iuuenco similem ni proceritas aurium et cervicis distinguishet; item natam in Scandinauia insula nec umquam uiam in hac urbe, multis tamen narratis achlin, haur dissimilem illi, sed nullo suffragium flexu ideoque non cubantem sed adclinem arbori in somno, eaque incisa ad insidias capi, alias velocitatis memoratae'.

c) Solinus, Polyhistor p.194 ed. Agnant:  

Saltus Hercynius aues gignit quarum pinnae per obscuros emicant et interlucent, quamuis densa nox denset tenebras. Inde homines plerumque nocturnos excursus sic destinant, ut illis utantur ad praessidium itineris dirigendi, praecisisque per opaca callium rationem uiae moderentur indicio plumarum refugientium...

Sunt et uri, quos imperitum uulgus uocat bubales; cum bubali paene ad ceruinam faciem in Africa procreantur. Istis porro, quos uros dicimus, taurina cornua in tantum modum protenduntur, ut dempta ob insignem capacitatem inter regias mensas potuum gerula flant.

Est et alces, mulis comparanda, adeo propenso labro superiore, ut nisi recedens in posteriora uestigia pasci non queat.

(Solinus the, like Pliny, attributes to another animal 'quale alces' the same characteristics as Caesar gives to the alces. His sources for uri and alces seem to be Caesar and Pliny, but that for the birds is untraced).

d) Priscian, Perieg.275 - 278:
Saltibus Hercynis Germania subiacet atrox: haec tergo similis taurino dicitur esse et pascit ulu lucrues, mirum, fulgentibus alis, quia ducibus noctu cernuntur flexa uiarum. The poet's account can therefore be reckoned to be based on these sources: nutrit et alarum uolucres in v.293 recalls 'et pascit uolucres' in Priscian, and 'fulgore' recalls 'fulgentibus alis'; these details probably come from Priscian, and the rest from Caesar, which it resembles more than Pliny or Solinus; both these last attribute the lack of knees to some other animal than alces or uri. This is also more likely in view of the other reminiscences of Caesar's BG (cf. above, vv. 105 - 107). The inclusion of this detail perhaps shows the bookish origin of the Charleville poet's work: cf. also the reference to pagina multa in v.290.

291 uia: this appears to be an ablative of description. uiam would be required in a classical text.

292 The sense seems to be 'it is 60 days' journey in length'. The subject of tenditur is ipsa in v.291; agmen in classical times can only be used to refer to the actual body of men on the move, but here it seems to designate the journey itself: cf. Mitt.Wort. 3), 'pars exercitus iter facientis'. For corroboration of this detail, cf. again Caesar BG VI.25: 'neque quisquam est huius Germaniae qui se aut adisse ad initium eius siluae dicat, cum diemum iter LX processerit, aut quo ex loco oriatur acceperit...' Pliny, NH IV.12.80, says the wood was 1200 miles long and 396 miles in breadth.

293 nutrit et: cf. the Priscian extract quoted above, on v.290.

300 prosunt: 'they serve as splendid ornaments on wealthy
301 quadrificata: i.e. 'cut in four', 'quadripartite' (so Niermeyer, DuCange).

302 fissa caloribus: 'split by fire' makes little sense following integra siue sinant: perhaps some hardening or shaping (aptent) process is meant.

305 The poet 'signposts' the next part of his story, warning his readers with the stock excuse that his inspiration is all gone, and he requires rest (mens...lassa palpitat). On this topos cf. Curtius, European Literature p.90. The narrative in fact continues in Book III, as Book II deals with the adventures of Peter the Hermit and the Peasants' Crusade.
This book contains a brief, and in many parts corrupt, account of the so-called 'Peasants' Crusade'. On this, see Frederick Duncalf, 'The Peasants' Crusade', in American Historical Review, XXV, 1920 - 1921, pp.440 - 453, who points out that many of the histories of the Crusade lack any detailed mention of it because they were written, as he says, by conservative ecclesiastics. This point gives an insight into the interests of the Charleville poet, and puts his sources, whatever they may have been, in a non-conservative-ecclesiastical field, lending more weight to Knoch's thesis that there was an oral tradition or school, however loosely the latter term may be understood, of Lotharingian chronicles about the First Crusade. Those clerics who did mention the exploits of Walter the Penniless, Peter the Hermit, and other similar characters, generally did so to show that proper leadership was necessary for success, and to make it clear that the undisciplined rabble that made up the 'Peasants' Crusade' were of no help to the real body of the Crusade, led by the nobles. This theme comes across in the Charleville poet's account, too, being made explicit in vv.295 - 302 and book III, 1 - 108.

1 - 78 The 'Peasants' Crusade' is referred to in GF I.ii, PT p.33, GN II.7ff., FC VI.7, which last gives a brief account and mentions Peter and Walter. HN 5 is similar; and an account is found in EH I.7 p.50, and AA I.6-7.

1 in Domini famulatum: 'in the service of the Lord'. fam-
ulatus is a common feudal term for all kinds of service in the Medieval period.

2 cum primum: this clause qualifies ante in v.l: 'before the duke began his journey, when first the nobles began to press on their preparations (paratum), waiting on the Lord...'

3 stolide: the blatant categorising of events or characters by the author, from a moral point of view, and even before any of the action is narrated, is a common feature of medieval poetry in both Latin and the vernaculars, and owes its existence to the essentially oral mode in which the genre of medieval epic had its roots (this being true especially of the vernacular side of the epic tradition of the middle ages). Even in later periods authors retain the marks of oral poetry, accommodating their narrative techniques to the requirements of a listening public; hence, in vernacular works, the frequent repetitions and 'sign-posting' whereby a character is delineated before the story proper begins, so that the audience is prepared for what follows and does not lose the thread of the story.


7 - 8 Vwalterius Sine Merce: this seems to be a translation into Latin of this character's French name, Gauthier Sans-Avoir. Riant's Sine Auere betrays his dependence on Sirmond's transcription in DuChesne, which is the origin of his error; the MS is perfectly legible at this point.
11 The order of the words in this verse is unusual: a transposition to read gratis propriique existere iuris is possibly worth considering, but it is equally likely that in separating proprii and iuris, the poet was striving for some kind of rhetorical effect.

14 The violent nature of this part of the Crusade is stressed from the outset: 'they should go after it sword in hand, no matter who stood in their way'.

17 - 18 The thought here may be derived from Matthew 10:9-10: 'Nolite possidere aurum, neque argentum, neque pecuniam in zonis uestris; non peram in uia, neque duas tunicas, neque calcamentea, neque uirgam; dignus enim est operarius cibo suo'.

20 parce: this governs parta: 'what they had frugally acquired'.

21 Pannonias: i.e. the kingdom of Hungary, which the 'Peasants' Crusade' entered at Odenburg (Runciman, Hist.Crus. I. p.123), taking the route later chosen by Godfrey de Bouillon; the poet gives much more precise geographical detail about the latter's journey, in book III, than he does here.

23 †que†: the metre in this verse is defective, and a word such as ea needs to be added to the MS reading. This addition does not seem to fit easily with sibi uisa, however. A form queque, from quisquis, is unattested; queque from quisque might be possible, since a short syllable might be permitted before a fourth-foot caesura in this line. The sense intended must be something like 'they sought whatever seemed fit to them'.

29 alieno ex iure: the expression is strange, and may be forced to parallel ex foenore in v.30. iure most prob-
ably means 'a custom' rather than 'a law'.

33 quid moror in multis: this is another example of the poet himself entering the narrative, breaking it up and preparing the audience for the next 'scene', where the consequences of the acts just described are set out.

35 Huni: i.e. the Hungarians, the inhabitants of Pannonia. Latham attests a cognate form, Hunni, from c.1142.

36 patrio regi: 'to the king of that land'. The king of Hungary at this time was a certain Coloman.

37 conueniunt: this and the other verbs in vv.36 - 37 assume 'Christicolae' or some similar word for their subject. conclusos: i.e. the local Hungarian population. vv.37 - 40 describe the ravages of the hordes under Peter the Hermit, and the suffering of the Hungarian people at their hands.


41 The 'Peasants' Crusade' proceeds southwards through Hungary.

44 indagine claudit: the phrase is taken from Lucan VI.42; 'he trapped them with an encircling manoeuvre'.

46 se: this presumably means 'their own side' (= suos), rather than 'themselves', though the latter might be envisaged: the image the poet is trying to create seems to be one of warriors getting in one another's way, rather than of men wounding themselves.

47 ancens pugna diu: from Vergil A X.359.

48 pugnant: this verb probably refers back to the singular populi, but collective nouns regularly take plural verbs in Latin of this period, as well as in late Latin: cf. Gospel of Nicodemus (ed.Kim) IX.4, 'facto silentio in populo qui clamabant'.
externi: i.e. the invaders, the rabble of the 'Peasants' Crusade'.

51ff. In AA, the peasants shut up in the church were simply burned to death. The Charleville poet is either drawing on a source which relates the story differently, or else has changed the emphasis of the story. The version recounted here lays more emphasis on the miraculous, stressing the intervention and displeasure of God. This theological approach is evidenced throughout the poem in the work of both poets who contributed to the present epic, though they differ in their approach. It is interesting to note that Hagenmeyer and Runciman (Hist.Crus. I p.123) follow AA in situating this incident at Semlin, just outside Belgrade, on the southern border of Pannonia and the Byzantine Empire; this is presumably what the poet means by medium regionis in v.41, counting Pannonia and the Byzantine province of Bulgaria as one single regio.

nil reuerens: this acts adverbially in the sentence: 'they kept the holy religion but with no reverence, being accustomed to indulge in barbaric frenzy'.

seruarunt: there seems to be a confusion here with servio, which usually takes the dative, unlike servuo. The sense suggests that although the Hungarians were Christian, they had not fully shaken off their pagan past: Hungary became Christian under St. Stephen I (997 - 1038), but more recently than this had become a state held in fief from the Papacy: this latter development only took place under Geza I (1074 - 1077).

All this is proleptic, explained by their action, which is introduced by namque in v.57.

'They enticed some to surrender, but did not keep faith':
male fida is explained by v.59.

fragrantia: the MS flagrantia illustrates a common scribal error. The two words are similar phonetically, and also represent similar ideas, especially in this context: thus they could easily be confused. fragrantia must be intended, explaining non suave, and more accurately describing incense, which does not flame, but smoulders.

contulit: the verb seems to have Dominus as its subject, and governs locum enituisse in an accusative-infinitive construction. In this case, some meaning such as 'demonstrated' is required.

enituisse: 'had shone out (as a shrine, or holy place)'.

The use of spondaic lines is rare but not altogether unknown in some periods of medieval poetry, and derived from the examples found in the classical poets. Some poets, Gilo included, do not permit it, but there are several examples in the work of the Charleville poet. Norberg (La Versification Latine Médiévale, p.64) notes its rarity in IXth century poetry: '...en 2928 hexamètres (de) la vie de saint Germain, nous ne trouvons que 3 cas de versus spondaici, où, dans tous les cas, il s'agit de mots de quatre syllabes à la fin des vers'.

That is to say, the temple became a shrine where miracles took place. Cf. Matthew 11:5: 'Caeci uident, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, surdi audiunt, mortui resurgunt, pauperes evangelizantur'.

This section deals with the adventures of those who escaped the attack by Coloman and his troops and then pressed on towards Byzantium. There are occasional, slight parallels in other accounts, which are noted ad loc.
Apart from one bare outline, however, the Charleville poet's account stands alone. This exception is GN II.8: 'castrum interea habuere peruium cuius nullo modo poterant euitare transitum: is enim terrae situs est, ut in modum angiportum nequaquam ad dexteram uel sinistram pateat diuerticulum'.

82 sequacem: like capacem, this refers back to numerum in v.81; the sense seems to be 'and on that account following on behind (sequacem) at a very short distance (non magna parte) apart (inter se)'. The army was presenting a straggling formation, and in addition the rear party would have difficulty in foraging in a place where the front party had only just camped, hence the decision to leave some days' journey between each column (v.83).

83 hic: this must refer to Semlin or Belgrade; either of these fit the description given in v.84.

85ff. This passage is extremely obscure, and the lacunae only make matters worse. There seems to be a reference here, although it is an oblique one, to an actual historical event, namely the arrival of the final wave of the 'Peasants' Crusade', led by Count Emicho of Lenningen. The gates of Wieselburg (a city in Austria, 48.08N, 15.09E, on the river Erlauf) were closed against him by order of King Coloman of Hungary. 'After unsuccessful negotiations for passage, the Crusaders decided to force this strategic position and thus obtain entrance to the kingdom. This was not easy, as the town was located at the juncture of the Danube and the Letha rivers, and was surrounded by swamps' (Duncalf, 'The Peasants' Crusade'). The army spent six weeks building a bridge and then forced an ent-
rance, but panicked, and was cut down between the town and the river. The Charleville poet has this incident quite out of context, which is a possible reason for his obscurity. In fact, the army which met this obstacle was a part of the final wave, not the front line, as v.83 implies.

87 - 88 There is a small lacuna in each of these lines; Riant's readings are taken from Sirmond, whose text probably contains conjectures, unless the Charleville MS has deteriorated since his transcription of it. Neither possible conjecture is particularly strong. In v.87 the reading may well have been clauso or something similar. exigui in v.88 is excessively weak, and contracti, ad extremum or pugnando or a host of other words might be posited. The sense is clearly 'since their way out was blocked they began to attack the castle until the men in the castle should give up their undertaking (i.e. stopped preventing their journey)'.

88 remittant: this is subjunctive, dependent on donec, 'until such time as they should...'. The verbs in v.89 are not dependent on donec, but refer to the actions of the men in the castle.

91 Vulgariorum: i.e. the Byzantine province of Bulgaria.

92 Thracas: this is not strictly true, since the classical Thrace comprised only the southern part of the province of Bulgaria of medieval times.

93 Gnidon: in medieval MSS this form of Cnidos or Knidos is very common. Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Enzyklopädie (KATOIKI - KOMODIE col.914) gives Latin references to Cnidos in Ovid, M X.531, Horace C I.30.1; III.28.13; Lucan VIII.247. It also defines Gnidon as 'Name für Örtlichkeiten im östlichen
Teil des Mittelmeers - in manchen, namentlich älteren lateinischen Schriftsteller, 'Gnidos', vgl. Gnossus'. None of these references seems to be what the poet had in mind, though the orthographical confusion might account for Gnidos being read here. The town that the poet does seem to envisage is Nish, or Nissas, which might easily be corrupted to the more common Gnidos.

100 censu deficiente: 'being short of money'.

103 agmina: presumably the Bulgarians, since the Peasants are represented in vv.107ff. as fleeing.

105 consternunt: this is constructed with two accusatives, 'they strew bodies and weapons across the roads together' (cf. IS I consterno I(8), and DuCange = diruere, euertere).

108 In PT p.33 and RM I.6, this army is leaderless from the very start.

110 ad ulteriora: i.e. they continue south towards Constantinople.

113 qua: the phrase introduced by this word, in vv.113-114, qualifies transiit in v.115: 'they crossed over in that place where....'

Hellespontus: this poet, like most of the Crusade historians, fails to differentiate between the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; the latter is clearly intended here. See also note below, on III.195-196.

114 ab hoc: this refers back to Byzantion in v.113, and must therefore be neuter in gender: hence the correction from the MS ab hac. This could only be interpreted as a feminine pronoun standing for Europam (which is really too far distant) or as an adverb governed by a preposition.

116 inter governs both urbes Nicomedis and Nyceam. AA says that the army camped at Civetot (Cibotos), a fortified camp
whose location ties in with the poet's detail; it lay on the coast between the two cities mentioned and could easily be reached with supplies from Constantinople by sea.

117-220 The exploits of the Germans are referred to very briefly by GF I.ii p.3; PT p.34; RM I.7; GN II.10; and AA I.15, whose account is followed by Hagenmeyer and Runcinan. According to AA, the Germans went ahead to try and emulate the plundering of some Franks, of whose success in the environs of Nicaea they were jealous. The Frankish action is hinted at below in vv.245-246.

118 ante diem dictum: i.e. before Godfrey set off. The poet has already told us (I.185) that Alemanni accompanied Godfrey on his journey; here and in vv.119-120 he distinguishes between these and Godfrey's men, stressing also the moral difference between them (naturali feritate). proprio sub nomine: i.e. 'under their own authority', 'of their own accord'.

122 suis per se titulis: the poet labours the point that this group had no noble to lead them; the idea of a group of commoners setting up on their own (suis titulis) was tantamount to anarchy for the medieval mind, rebelling as it did against the proper order of society, where each man knew his place and was subject to a lord in the feudal system. Hence the stress laid on this detail, and the heavily-pointed moral at the end of the book.

123 castellum: AA calls this Xerigordon. It is also mentioned by GF I.ii p.3; PT p.34; RM I.7; GN II.10.

124 præripientes: 'occupying it'.

131 patria: here this has no national overtones, but simply means 'country'; cf. below, note on IX.22-23.

133 tot is equivalent merely to 'multa' here; its use is
possibly due to the exigencies of the metre.

140 Hiatus is occasionally found permitted at the caesura in 12th century hexameters, despite Norberg's protestation 'depuis la réforme carolingienne on évitait en général très soigneusement les hiatus dans la poésie quantitative, et ils furent également interdits par les théoriciens du Moyen Age' (La Versification Latine Médiévale, p.33).

Klopsch (Einführung...p.146) also says 'Hiat wird nur für seltene Notfälle konzediert'. The hiatus at the caesura in hexameters may derive from the practice of allowing it at the caesura in pentameters (Norberg, p.69).

violatorum: understand sancti sepulchri from v.139, 'those who desecrated the holy temple'.

141 habuisserent mortificatos is a periphrastic construction for mortificauissent: this sort of construction is common in Vulgar Latin (cf. Palmer, Latin Lang. p.167) and eventually became the compound past tenses in the Romance languages, but it sits very uneasily here.

150 On hiatus at the caesura, cf. note above on v.140.

152 nusquam: 'one might have expected numquam, but the sense seems to be that 'if they gave way, they had no place to run to'.

157 hylla: this makes no sense if any of the Latin forms hilla, illa, ylla, hyle, or yle are intended. DuCange lists ylla = 'insula', and hyle from adv. Arrium I.32 p. 1064D 'anima substantiua est sicuti uel hyle uel corpus; istac enim mundanis duae substantiae'. TLL (Wells) gives hilla = 'paruum intestinum' and illa as a Greek gloss = 'uermis'. Riant capitalises the word, presumably taking it as a proper noun. A more likely explanation of this peculiar word is that it is a transcription of Old German
or an Old French variant meaning 'hail'; cf. SOED, which traces 'hail' from OE 'Hagalian' and O.Teut. Hag(al)lojan'. Cf. also Tobler-Lommatzsch, Altfranz. Wörter. 'gresler' = 'intr. hageln: il grele, Gl. "haylet" = 'hails'.

160 The subject of fugiunt is the Turks who have attacked the Germans. The sense is 'not only do they die whom...(vv. 155 - 158)...but shaking with fear they flee from the wild eyes and threatening faces staring at them (uidendo) and pressing them from behind'. Riant's ruentes fits the sense, but a longer word seems necessary to fill the lacuna. None of this detail is found in AA or the other versions.

161 - 162 This refers to the Turks, and looks back to v.149: they continue to attack, but the Germans drive them off, and the Turks cannot gain hold of their enemy's camp.

165 non bene cautis: i.e. 'haud cautis' or 'non satis cautis': there are hints here of vernacular influence, possibly forced on the poet by the exigencies of the metre.

171 ex facili: adverbial here, 'easily'.

176 upperione Under ultra-violet light, these letters become visible, invalidating Riant's conditionone. perditionone is better, 'let them be kept in damnation'. Something very similar to this is required by v.175, 'in addition they promised on oath (iurando) that they would do this'.

178 inflexq: sunt needs to be supplied. Translate: 'the minds of this people...were not swayed, for...'

181 uvestigatur: the correction from the MS uvestigiatur is a simple one.

188 certis: in its sense 'faithful', 'trustworthy'. This
verse is made up of two phrases in apposition, 'that they would have no doubts about trusting them (sibi), (nor) about being joined by a treaty to trustworthy men'.

190 sub pacis: the MS has a lacuna here, only acis being legible, but the phrase is common in the Charleville poet.

193 There are similarities between the story told here about the Alemanni and the account in AA I.24 of a group led by a certain Godescald, which handed over its weapons to the Bulgars and was betrayed by them.

197 undique: this qualifies exsām, (i.e. exosam), 'the valley which was odious in every part'.

206 jugulis: the poet uses a common 'on the one side...on the other' motif, but here the effect verges on the ridiculous.

207 nuda...virtus: the phrase 'cum adhuc nuda virtus placeret' occurs in Petronius 88, but it is very unlikely that this is the direct source of the phrase in the Charleville poet.

210 et quod erat gravior: the shame of the slaughter is brought home by the phrases following: the Christians were unarmed and were unable to fight back. For any kind of warrior-society (which feudal Europe still was, in a developed form) this was a mark of shame. The structure of the sentence becomes very linear at this point: the two sic-clauses in vv.211 - 212 are answered by the ut-clauses in vv.213 - 214.

214 inertia: inermia might be supposed to fit the context better, 'helpless cattle', but the phrase is taken from Vergil A IV.158 - 159, 'spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia utitis/ optat aprum, aut fuluum descendere monte leonem'.

216 sine consilio: the moral is rammed home again: consilium is a prerequisite of success for any military enterprise,
and lack of it leads to disaster. Once again, one can draw a parallel with the *Chanson de Roland*, where (as in other Old French epics) the consequences of lack of *consilium* are starkly portrayed. Cf. *Roland* vv.1724-:

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kar vasselage par sens nen est fulie,
mielez valt mesure que ne fait estultie,
Francenis sunt morz par vostre legerie
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(For vassaldom acting on good sense is not madness: good counsel is worth more than stupidity. Franks have died through your recklessness).

217 *dispersiere*: plural verbs are frequently found with collective singular nouns in the Middle Ages. Cf. note above on v.48. Here the rhyme-scheme has also influenced the poet.

220 This line explains how, since not one of the *Alemanni* escaped, the story came to be told: 'those of the second group who stayed behind (*detinuere recessum*) say that not a single one escaped this disaster'. It is itself explained by vv.221ff., which serve as a gloss on it and introduce the next stage of the narrative.

222 *supra*: in vv.117 - 120.

223 *per se caput instituerunt*: i.e. 'set up their own leader'.

227 *quos dictum est*: above, in vv.115 - 116. The exploits of this group are mentioned by *GF* I.ii p.4; *PT* p.36; *RM* I.10, 11; *GN* II.2; *AA* I.18.

229 *lance pari*: i.e. 'attacked the timorous and the brave without distinction'.

230 *paris damni*: i.e. the same as the Germans.

231 *discurrendo*: for the short final -o- here, see note below on VII.9.

234 *castellaque*: 'fortified towns'. The distinction between *castrum* and *castellum* in the Middle Ages is disputed: cf. J.F.Verbruggen, in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*,

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XXVIII (1950) pp.147 - 154, who shows that *castrum* and *castellum* can be used to designate the same building or place in one text in the space of a few lines.

This verse is lifted almost bodily from Vergil A II.385, 'sternimus: adspirat primo Fortuna labori'.

235 *suasit*: this is normally constructed with the dative, but is found in classical times with an accusative on rare occasions. Its medieval usage with the accusative, as here, is attested by Niermeyer: 'suadere aliquem' = 'to bring round, win over'.

236 *ausum præbere*: literally, 'to hold out an act of daring-do to blind fury', i.e. 'to attempt an act of madness'.

237 *bis iam memorata*: in vv. 116 and 227.

On the short syllable before the caesura, see note below on IV.16.

238 *ter centum ter sexque patribus*: cf. Gilo's reference to this same council in IV.14, 'in qua ter centum ter quinque triumque potentum', and note on this line.

From v.238 onwards the syntax becomes loose almost to the point of non-existence. The subject up to v.242 is clearly Nyceae: vv.238 - 240 are parenthetical, referring to the Council of Nicaea in 325 where the Arian (Arriii) controversy was discussed, and Arius' teachings were condemned. *haec erat* picks up after this parenthetical remark, re-affirming Nyceae as the subject of the sentence. The structure of this passage is extremely linear, and resembles spoken language in the way that the topic of the sentence, Nicaea, is continually re-introduced in different cases as the writer tries to pick up the threads (*penee ipsam, haec erat, qua, hanc*).

243 - 244 The poet's information here is accurate: Nicaea
had been taken over as his capital by the Seljuk Sultan of Turkey in 1078, and at the time of the Crusade it was the capital of Qilij Arslan ibn-Suleiman (see below, v. 265; Runciman, Hist.Crus. I pp.68-69, 128). So 'by it (i.e. the city) the host that worshipped idols ruled, and the host born again by baptism served'.

necne: this is inexplicable unless this verse is to be intended as appositional to what follows, literally 'attacked or not at first by plundering and pillaging, they even...'; the force intended seems to be 'they paid no heed to earlier plundering or pillaging against the city, but went even further...'. The poet is once again trying to stress the lack of consilium shown by the 'Peasants' Crusade'. The construction in v.245 bears some resemblance to the Old French tag 'ki.n. plurt ki.n. riet', 'like it or not', in the way that it functions in the sentence: 'it hardly mattered that earlier they had indulged in plunder and robbery, for now...'. It might alternatively stand as an equivalent for necnon, 'and also'.

anteforanis: this word is unattested in TLL, LS, any of the Medieval Latin Dictionaries, and is not found in any of the glosses in Goetz. Latham and Niermeyer give foran­eus = foreigner. It may alternatively be a corrupt form from fora = 'door', the adjective having the sense 'in front of the doors' or 'gates', implying that the assailants pressed their attack to 'beneath the very gates'.

ausus: 'deed of daring' (Latham, Niermeyer).

The poet has access to accurate topographical detail; Nicaea was protected on its Western side by the Ascanian lake. According to AA, I.20-21, fighting took place in a wood and on the plain, but not near Nicaea.
plus quam sit causa: i.e. 'heedlessly', 'without just cause'.

male: here 'wickedly stupid', intensifying. Cf. below v.260 for its other qualifying use.

These two verses together form an 'interiectio ex persona poetae', quaeat being understood in v.251 from v. 252, which is ironic: 'for who could be amazed (at the behaviour of) such a stupid people? Who could find any real fault with this headstrong troop?' The poet's criticism is explained additionally by vv.259 - 262, below: although in their frenzy they came close to capturing the city, they gave up half-way.

i.e. the 'Peasants' Crusade' was encouraged by the Christians within the city, who were only pretending to fight alongside the Turks.

ualuit: 'was capable'. There is a play on words with ualuit in v.260.


male: here the sense requires male credulus to equal incredulus.

These statements, like vv.251 - 252, are appositional: 'thus their undertaking was abandoned half-way through, thus they left their task incomplete as they returned to their tents'.

This detail is interesting in that it appears to go back to eye-witness reports; the confusion about Sultan-nus and Solimannus no doubt arose in the Christian camp because of the two names which refer to one man, Qilij Arslan, Sultan of Rum 1092 - 1106. Sultannus was his
title, Solimannus his patronym. Qilij Arslan was the son of Sulayman ben Jutlumish. 'The Latin Chroniclers, who doubtless heard the name with the patronymic "ben Sulayman", found the latter easier to say and write. Nearly all of them call him Soliman' (Babcock and Krey, A History Of Deeds Done Beyond The Sea, I p.107). In AA they are introduced at the very beginning.

268 dissimulare: here in its rarer sense, 'to pay no heed to' (cf. Ls II).

269 properando: for the short final -o- see below on VII.9.

273 procedunt: the subject of this is 'Sultannus et Solimannus'.

contra: i.e. 'against the enemy'.

274 quibus est penuria amara: i.e. the rabble from the 'Peasants' Crusade' who have been plundering.

275 solita: this has as its subject penuria: 'for hunger, which drives wolves from their mother the wood, does not allow these men to lay down their limbs in peace'. The phrase in v.275 is a proverb, which is found in various forms in the Middle Ages: cf. Proverbes français antérieurs au XV° siecle, ed. Morawski, no.1000: 'La fain enchace le louf du bois'; Villon, Testament 167-168, 'Necessite fait gens meaprendre/ et faim saillir le loup du bois'. The proverb also turns up in Rabelais, Tiers Livre XIV, 'Qui fait le loup sortir du bois? Default de carnage'. Clouzot (in LeFranc's ed.) calls this 'un très vieux proverbe qu'on rencontre dès le XIII° siècle sous la forme "La fain enchace le loup du bois" (Leroux de Lincy, t.1,p.181).

279 aduena turma: i.e. the Crusaders. This action is also recorded by GF I.i1i p.4, FT p.35, and is referred to by
absistit: TLL (Vollmer) lists absisto GLOSS. = recedo, discedo. The MS abstitit does not scan correctly, and the correction is therefore necessary.

satus: LS attests this form only from Iuvencus I.637: it is a collateral form of satias, 'abundance'.
in sua terga: this commonly means 'retreated', 'went back' (i.e. to their rear). terga refers to the area behind their battle-line.

Walter's death is found also in GF I.ii p.4 and RM I.ii.
fugiendo: see below on VII.9 for the short final -o- here.
torrente is a substantive here, 'by the fast-flowing tide of the Propontis'. Cf. LS torreo II.B.b.

confina fuit: there is a hint at Peter's cowardice here, in not being present at the battle; 'he cherished the confines of the area around Byzantium', i.e. 'was perfectly happy to stay within Byzantine borders'. GF I.ii p.4 says he had already gone to Constantinople before the fighting began, and other sources agree with this: AA I. 20ff.; PT p.35; RA 4 p.44; RM I.12-13.
laxis fusus habenis: the image conjures up the casual approach and lack of discipline of this part of the Crusade, with which the poet consistently finds fault. The contrast between the slovenliness and madness of the 'Peasants' Crusade' and the consilium shown in book III by Godfrey de Bouillon in heightened thereby. There may also be nationalistic motives for the poet's presentation, as he exalts the Franks and Lorrainers, but paints a dark picture of the Germans.

moderatories: infinitives in this archaic form are rare, but not entirely unknown, in medieval Latin: cf. Walter
of Châtillon, *Alexandrius* I.218 and III.146, *cingier*, IV.123 *nanciscier*, and VIII.393 *exstirparier*. They also occur in *Proba* VC 501, and *Sidonius Apollinaris* C XI.104, both texts which were widely read during the period.

299 *de se*: 'on account of their wanton behaviour'.

301 *quamuis*: this introduces an abrupt change of subject. *hylarati* must refer back to *gentilibus* in v.299: 'although they were not cheered for long by this victory, nor did they keep the spoils gained in this slaughter for long without being avenged (*impune)*'. The sentence is straggling; *hanc cedem* has to be understood with *tulerint*, or *ea quibus*, if *hac cede* is to be understood as an ablative of attendant circumstances. This looks forward not to book III, but to the capture of Nicaea described briefly by Gilo in book IV, and expanded by this poet in IV.60 - 119.

303 - 304 The poet himself intervenes to draw this book to a close, with a stock excuse for so doing (v.303; cf. I.307 - 308) and a promise of what is to come (v.304, *iste*, probably refers to the defeat of the pagans mentioned in vv. 301 - 302. Cf. below, IV.308ff.).
LIBER III

1 - 8 These lines explain the structure which the poet has constructed in order to cover his material; Book II is a parenthetical account of the 'Peasants' Crusade', from which he now returns to his main theme. His own judgement is made plain in these lines on the relative merits of the two movements; as is commonplace in medieval literature the author leaves nothing to the imagination of his audience, but makes it clear how the listeners should react to each event. Thus the 'Peasants' Crusade' is written off as a malus tumultus, but the nobles' forces are praised as being endowed uirtute potenti. Hence the image used in vv. 7 - 8, where the action described in Book II as a plaga which has to be healed (medela) by the good deeds of the proceres. This notion of atonement, and the language used here, is derived from the Christian poets of the late Imperial period: cf. also below, Gilo Prol. 26 and note ad.loc.

9 - 62 Godfrey de Bouillon's journey with his troops through Hungary and down to Constantinople, which is the topic of the book, is found in AA and is also mentioned more briefly in EH and HG, but none of these have the detail about the disheartening effect that the news about Peter the Hermit's debacle had on Godfrey's men. This is unique to the Charleville poet.

11 Noricio: in classical times, Noricia designated the land between the Alps and the Danube. At the time of the First Crusade this area formed the Duchy of Austria.

12 Pannonia: this refers to the medieval kingdom of Hungary,
whose king at the time was Coloman. As Book II relates, Coloman had already had unpleasant experiences with Peter the Hermit's rabble.

13 There is an erasure here in the Charleville MS which remains illegible even on infra-red photographs and under ultra-violet light. Riant's reading *cum subito* is derived from Sirmond.

14 There is another erasure here. *aduenit atque* is put forward by Sirmond and followed by Riant; under the ultra-violet lamp, *a........ique* or *a........inque* alone is legible. Some such verb as *aduenit* or *affUIT* is required by the sense.

15 Here a word is illegible in the MS. *contracti*, referring to the defeated forces of Peter the Hermit, seems appropriate. Riant follows Sirmond and prints *commoti*, which is weaker. The sentence, tortuous though it is, already has a main verb, and a second present participle governing the *quod*-clause beginning in v.16 would make v.15 more tortuous than ever. Some such verb as *referunt* must be understood.

*aegmina*: this is the subject of *occurrunt* in v.19. Translate: 'the bands of the crushed common folk, fleeing the fighting, ran to meet the shocked (troops) and worsened the story of the slaughter in the telling (*acerbant funera dictis*), (telling them) what their guilty behaviour had made them deserve on their entering that land (i.e. Asia Minor or possibly the Byzantine Empire, but more probably the kingdom of Hungary, in view of v.23 and the following verses) through their chasing after booty and plunder, of which sufficient mention is made in the previous book'.

19 *stupidie* probably refers to Godfrey's men, who were 'stu-
pefied’ by the reports they heard; it might alternatively be taken as qualifying dictis, ‘made their defeat seem worse with their stupid words’.

20 orant...celerent: understand ut.

25 cinerem tenus: according to LS 2 tenus, tenus should take the ablative or genitive. OLD tenus² says it is constructed ‘w. abl (usu. sg.); w. gen. (in quotas., pl.); also perh. w. acc. V. Fl. I.538 (dub.): cf. Wüfflin, Arch. Lat. Lex. I.422, cited at this verse by Courtney in his edition of Valerius Flaccus. Both Courtney and Ehlers read an ablative with tenus at this point.

30 Note that there is no caesura in this line; it is possible that the poet wrote ne consectati, with the intention of having the caesura in its normal place after these words, and then unwittingly removed it by the elision with insat-iata.

31 phalanx: i.e. Godfrey’s men.

comperientes: already in Vulgar Latin, collective nouns took plural verbs. Cf. below on VIII.183.

32 denique: this is equivalent to sed etiam here, though this sense is not attested in TLL, Niermeyer, or DuCange. Cf. however a similar sense attested in TLL II.A. Its use here may be a derivation from the temporal use of the word (TLL III): ‘not only the fearful (who would already be scared) but also the brave were frightened (i.e. when the reality of the situation dawned upon them)’. Cf. also LS II.B.2, which cites Gaius Inst. 2.13, ‘aurum, argentum, et denique aliae res’, a usage which may also have contributed to that found here in the Charleville poet.

33 Once again there is an erasure in the MS. Sirmond, followed by Riant, reads miliaria, but tot seems necessary to
balance quot in v.34, hence my suggestion tot millia: 'many men sought as many horses as the miles they had come from the banks of the far-off Rhine'.

\textit{longi}: this either means simply 'the long river Rhine', or, as is more suitable here, 'the far-off Rhine' (cf. LS longus I.B.).

\textit{sibi}: 'for them'. The reflexive is very commonly found in Medieval Latin poetry in place of a non-reflexive pronoun: cf. Ruodlieb I.67, 71.

\textit{priorum}: i.e. their comrades of the Peasants' Crusade who had been killed in Pannonia.

\textit{facile}: adverbial in force, this seems here to have the sense 'with impunity' (cf. LS II.B.1, 'without trouble').

\textit{fines...patrum}: i.e. their homelands.

45 'Wishing for more than an abundance of knowledge was not wise'. \textit{copia} here is a virtual synonym for \textit{satis}. The argument is of the 'better the devil you know...' type.

46 This phrase, balancing v.45, seems also to be dependent on \textit{sapere} in that verse: 'nor (was it wise) to dare to do more than could be useful', i.e. their expedition would be wasted energy. The syntax of this line is awkward, especially at the end, where the considerations of the rhyme-scheme have placed constraints on the poet. \textit{foret posse} is either a very clumsy pleonastic construction, 'which could be' (for \textit{posset esse utile}) or else \textit{posse} must be understood to be functioning as a noun, 'nor (was it wise) to dare a deed greater than their capability could usefully (manage)'.

47 The nub of the runaways' argument here becomes clear: they argue against the necessity at all of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.
sacraria: 'shrines'.

Coloniaci: i.e. Cologne.

diuQ bonitatis: a pleonasm for the divinity: cf. TLL bonitas 1 and Jerome Ep. 124, 2, cited there: 'deum patrem appellant bonum et perfectae bonitatis, filium...imaginem bonitatis'.


Cf. for this idea Matthew 5\(^2\), 'beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum uidebunt'.

superfluitates: 'empty excesses', 'wasted effort'.

Again, the argument runs 'if you can't achieve what you desire, shape your desires to what you can achieve'.

insumere: 'to undertake' (cf. DuCange = incipere, incohare).

In this section, Godfrey de Bouillon is revealed as the true leader of the Crusade, and is portrayed in a very flattering light: he alone appreciates the divine calling behind the Crusade, and urges his men on.

ductor: i.e. Godfrey
circum précordia: the phrase is unusual. fixus must stand for transfixus here, 'pierced around his heart by a double hook', i.e. pulled in two directions at once. The phrase is explained in the lines that follow.

ex uno: this is an adverbial expression here, 'on the one hand', corresponding to ex alio in v.68.
grauioribus: sc. uerbis.
grave: adverbial, qualifying gementes: 'loudly bewailing what they had suffered'.
ex alio: in strictly classical latin ex altero might have been expected here: the metre may have influenced the poet.
As the text indicates, only *...sitis* is legible in this verse, even under the ultra-violet lamp. *Thersitis* is printed by Sirmond, and in this he is followed by Riant. *Thersitis* is found in Juvenal VIII.269-271:

> 'malo pater tibi sit Thersites dummodo tu sis
> Aeacidae simillus Volcanique arma capessas
> quam te Thersitae similem producunt Achilles,'

and also in XI,30-31, 'neque enim loricam poscit Achillis/
Thersites, in qua se traducebat Ulixes'. He is a 'type' of a coward, and thus fits the context here very well.

*spemque metumque inter*: this phrase is from Vergil A I. 218.

*qvQrenda*: the text contains a small erasure here, but the correction is an easy one: the phrase balances *non belli munia*.

*poscunt*: the troops are in two minds, but choose neither course.

*grauidus*: sc. *rebus*.

*mutatio*: 'a change of mind' seems to be the meaning here; cf. Blatt, who attests it meaning 'entry into the religious life', 'change of vassal', and so forth.

This line and the one following are virtually synonymous.

*martyrio*: to be taken with promptos, 'ready for martyrdom'.

*belli limine*: i.e. at the very beginning of the campaign. The phrase 'in limine bellum' is found in Statius A II.34.

*gris*: i.e. of the bronze war-trumpet. Cf. Vergil, G IV. 71, 'Martius aeria rauci canor'.

*pulsus*: strictly this should be *pulsa*, in agreement with *uexilla uolantia*, but such hypallage is not uncommon in medieval Latin verse.

*relinquere*: dependent on *agitet*, with the force *ut relinquant*. 
nondum uisa...pugna: ablative absolute, 'when they had not yet even seen any fighting'.

These lines explain why the 'Peasants' Crusade' suffered in Pannonia: 'was it surprising that if, when they had been received by a peaceful band of men (pacifico statione), they turned to plundering, they were driven off in a warlike way?'

statione: here used in its sense 'guard': cf. Is II.B.1 b.

These are two more rhetorical questions, but their sense is more obscure than those which have gone before. v.87 may be translated: 'they themselves would do this if anything similar had happened to them', i.e. if plundering hordes had attacked them. v.83 is ironic, and may be rendered 'had anyone done them harm on account of their good deeds?' Godfrey makes it clear that the fate of the 'Peasants' Crusade' was due entirely to their own stupid behaviour, and the moral behind this is pointed out clearly in vv. 89 - 90.

sed dare quam rapere: understand magis with quam, which here has the force 'rather than'; cf. also Acts 20:35, 'Beatus est magis dare quam accipere'.

This verse is more peculiarly convoluted than most; its sense must be 'it was not surprising if he (from v.91, hostis) endured his own savage acts (sua squala) through (the actions of) tyrants.' tyrannis must be an instrumental ablative here; in straining for effect, and to meet the requirements of the rhyme-scheme, the poet has forced the words into a very odd syntactical relationship.

sibi here is properly reflexive, referring to Godfrey, the speaker in all this oratio obliqua.
Translate: 'for the hand that lays down the law (dat sua iura) against the proud who deserve this (meritis superbis) also (eadem) gives the gifts of prosperity to the humble'. This seems to be an expansion of the biblical saying 'Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam' (James 4:6, I Peter 5:5).

Both these similes are biblical: cf. for the first, Proverbs 17:3, 'sicut igne probatur argentum et aurum canino, ita corda probat Dominus'; Proverbs 27:21, 'Quomodo probatur in conflatorio argentum et in fornace aurum, sic probatur homo ore laudantis'; and Jeremiah 7:29, 'Deficit sufflatorium, in igne consumptum est plumbum'. For the second simile, cf. Matthew 3:12, 'cuius ventilabrum in manu sua, et permundabit aream suam; et congregabit triticum suum in horreum, paleas autem comburet igni inextinguibili' and Hosea 13:3, 'sicut puluis turbine raptus ex area'.

constantes...actu: literally 'consistent in the impulse of their mind', i.e. with their minds firmly made up.

diuno...nutu: a favourite phrase of this poet. Cf. I.7, 'instinctu deitatis et auspice nutu'.

climata: a late Latin word adopted from Greek, clima normally means 'climate'; here it is a pleonasm for 'the whole world'. Cf. Niermeyer, 3) = zone of the earth, and 5) = geographical area.

Godfrey draws the distinction between the 'weak in faith' (siquos fidei modicè, i.e. the Peasants' Crusade') and the 'strong in faith' (fidei integritate probatis, referring to Godfrey and his men). Harm done to the former can have no effect on the latter.

que: this makes it clear that it is the faith, not the men, that will bring success in the Crusade. Once again
a theological interest is apparent.

107 - 108 Cf. Matthew 17\textsuperscript{20}, 'amen dico uobis, si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis monti huic, Transi hinc illuc, et transibit'; also Matthew 21\textsuperscript{21}, Mark 11\textsuperscript{23}.

This lengthy speech, placed by the poet in the mouth of Godfrey de Bouillon, is very significant for its portrayal of Godfrey. Paramount in it is his religious devotion, both to God and to the Crusade he has undertaken with his men in God's name. This is brought out by the very many biblical reminiscences in the latter part of the speech, reaching a climax with the dominical saying in vv. 107-108 at the very end. This is obviously due to the poet's imagination, and is a literary device, but it reflects the real religious sincerity of the historical Godfrey de Bouillon. According to Andresson (Ancestry And Life of Godfrey of Bouillon, pp.47ff.) this was due to the influence of Godfrey's mother. The 'natural leadership' Godfrey portrays in this speech is also founded on reality, though again the poet has 'worked it up'.

109 - 122 Like the above sections, this part of the poet's narrative is unparalleled in other sources.

109 in fortia: i.e. their courage was restored. Possibly corda is to be understood.

111 The image here clearly derives from Vergil, Georgica IV, as is the case in v.112, whose military imagery is taken from G IV.71-72: 'Martius ille aeris rauci canor increpat, et uox/auditur fractos sonitus imitata tubarum'.

115 ipsis conuenerit: 'what had been the point of their disturbing...'

116 eneruandas: the gerundive is, strictly speaking, out of place here: the sense must be 'to look for strength of
the soul which might be weakened', i.e. 'why have you searched out the weak points in my men's resolve?'

117 *hos perpetiendos* is accusative because of the *oratio obliqua*.

*sibi*: i.e. to Godfrey

119 *discendat potius melioribus*: *discendo* normally takes *ab* with its ablative, but parallels for its use (as here) without a preposition may be found in Ovid *M I*.381, *Tr. I*.3.5, *H.I*.81. As an alternative, *discendat* may be taken absolutely, and *melioribus* taken as an 'ethic dative' after *locum dent*.

120 The rhyme *dent/ ledant* is imperfect, but there are parallels to this elsewhere in the work of the Charleville poet, and in the area from which he came -ent/-ant may have been pronounced in a similar way.

121 The verb here implies that this verse is not a part of Godfrey's speech, but is a gloss by the author; *oratio obliqua* returns in v.122.

122 *sepositis*: either 'the elite', set apart from the rest, in which case it refers to Godfrey's men; or, in a Christian sense, 'the set-apart ones'; cf. I Peter 29, 'uos autem genus electum'.

123 - 174 An account which covers roughly similar ground as this, but with only minor similarities, is found in *AA II. 2 - 6*.

123 Reference is made to a latter sent to king Coloman in *AA II.2*, but it is not similar to this.

126 *sancti sub honore sepulchri*: the same phrase occurs above in *I.230*.

128 *sua claustra*: the term is vague, but has the force 'what is normally shut fast'. The reference is presumably to
the granting of admission to towns in the kingdom, and is possibly explained by the lines following, though this is not entirely certain.

129 The MS contains a small erasure in this verse, only munia being legible. This gap could be filled by sibi, as Riant prints the text, or by communia. sibi would have to be governed by precio...iusto, 'a price fair to himself'. communia mercaturum would mean 'everyday items of merchandise', the object of commutare, 'to purchase' (lit. 'to barter'). Niermeyer lists a multiplicity of senses for communia in both its neuter plural and feminine singular forms, e.g. 3) real property held in joint possession by a religious community; 4) right of common easement. Cf. also Mitt. Würt. = consociatio (cium). The Charleville poet may be using it in this sense to mean 'the privilege of association with the merchants of the city'. Riant's sibi leaves munia unexplained, unless it is taken with claustra and commutare is rendered 'open', which is to force it somewhat: see also note on v.130.

130 pacis ministro: presumably a priest is intended to be present at the transactions. uelit: if the subject is 'rector Pannoniarum', this must be jussive, and Riant's sibi munia could stand, with munia meaning 'contributions'.

132 'Lest any Hungarian should harm him, or any of his men should harm any Hungarian'. noceret is imperfect because of the oratio obliqua (cf. Woodcock, New Latin Syntax para. 273).

133 - 134 The syntax here becomes very loose, and the sense is strained. nequis speraret governs the quod-clause in v.133: 'they were taking care with firm resolve lest any-
one should hope (to do) what those who were now atoning for their misdeeds (commissa) had wickedly done'.

135 - 136 This explains the precautions Godfrey had taken to make sure his men behaved themselves.

136 AA II.4-5 mentions the giving of Baldwin, but not in such terms as this. Cf. also Runciman, Hist. Crus. I p.148.

138 I.e. the terms for Godfrey's passage were acceptable to both sides.

142 cum consilio: i.e. with the advice of his nobles.

143 discéptando: for the scansion of the ablative gerund with short -o-, see below, note on VII.9. Translate: 'while they were engrossed in discussion, considering each point...'

146 The sense of this verse is not entirely clear. The phrase itself seems to be proleptic (hence my punctuation), explaining the gifts given to the envoys; the subject of the whole clause seems to be notificari, taken as a noun: 'so that the announcement might come pleasantly (bene) to the duke'.

147 officiis: 'courtesies'. Presumably the envoys were instructed to be scrupulously polite.

148 signando: cf. LS I.B, 'to mark with a seal'. Both parties affix a visible sign of their agreement, as was the usual medieval practice when a treaty was made. In all this recounting of the marks of courtesy, the poet is drawing a deliberately strong contrast with the behaviour of the 'Peasants' Crusade' described in Book II.

151 sufficienter: this is rather unusual here, having the force of posse, 'were able to' or even 'had resolved to'. cf. O.Fr. 'sufficiency', from Latin sufficientia = suffisance, valeur, capacite (Greimas, Dictionnaire de L'Ancien
Français). It is also attested from classical times: LS II cites Vergil A V. 22-23, 'nec nos obniti contra nec tenter tantum/ sufficimus'.

153 alma Sabaria: in classical times, this was a colony of the emperor Claudius, and bore the name Sabaria (or Savaaria) Claudia. Its modern name is Szombat-hely. It stands on a tributary of the Arrabo river. AA II.4, followed by Andresson and Runciman, says that the meeting took place at Üdenburg (Cyperon in AA: this name is also found in the form Sopron). Üdenburg lies some 30 miles almost due north of Szombat-hely. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed. (1910) this was also called Stein-am-Agger (see note below on v. 154).

154 Martine: St. Martin was born of heathen parents at Sabaria (Stein-am-Agger, Szombat-hely) in Pannonia, about the year 316 (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., art. 'Martin, Saint'). The major source for the life of St. Martin was the account of Sulpicius Severus; Sidonius Apollinaris wrote a metrical biography of him, and Gregory of Tours listed 216 miracles attributed to him. The Confessio Martini, a pseudepigraphic work, was also popular in the Middle Ages.

156 sed et: this is largely padding, for the sake of the metre.

157 faris: this is the reading of the MS, and is found in Sirmond's printed text; Riant's facis could be a typographical error, or a mis-reading of the text at this point: the -r- in the word is very poorly formed, with the usual tail at the top left of the stem missing, and a thicker than usual tail at the base of the stem, giving it some similarity to a -c- in the hand of the Charleville
337.

MS's scribe. *faris* stands for the candlesticks carried in the procession: cf. Latham, *pharus*, 'branched candlestick or chandelier', 793, 90.

All the elements of a full ceremonial procession are listed by the poet. Once again the difference between Coleman's treatment of Godfrey and the fate of the Peasant's Crusade is highlighted.

The MS has an erasure in this verse, but the reading of *Riant* is clearly satisfactory, and is therefore retained.

The major item of Godfrey's proposal is here accepted (cf. above, vv.128 - 130).

*uadibus*: this word is probably related to 'Vadium' or 'Wadium', which DuCange and Latham attest under a variety of forms, but none of them in the 3rd declension. It bears the sense 'uadimonium', 'pignus', 'fideiussio'. A very accurate eye-witness report may lie behind this part of the Charleville poet's account, for DuCange lists under 'Vada' *Itinera*, *uectigalia etiam fluuorum, in iure Hungarico, Sambucus*, and cites a passage from the 'Regest. Olim. ann. 1290, fol. 92'. The reference is oblique as it stands in the poem, but perhaps signifies another part of the concessions of trade granted to the Crusaders in vv.163 - 164.

Here the poet provides the moral for his story: this part at least of the narrative comes very close in its ethos to the medieval saints' life.

-que seems to be postponed here.

The sketchy details found in the poet's account may be compared with the details found in AA II.6. The route there is: *fluuium Hantax (= Hansag), fluuium Drowa (= Drave), Francavilla (= Bubalia, Mangyelos), Maleville,
Sowa (= Save), Belegravae (Belgrade), Nizh (Nis), Sternitz, Phinepopolis. The latter figures in III.357; the poet's account is lengthened by dint not only of additional material unique to him, but also of his characteristic use of lists; from these one may deduce that he had to say the least a keen interest in geography. Godfrey's troops followed the old Roman road from Poetovio through Mursa to Naissus and then through Philippopolis and Hadrianopolis to Byzantium.

175 - 199 Godfrey's men journey down towards Greece.

177 *qua dexter*: this expression is perplexing. *dexter* cannot here mean 'right hand', and must be used in its transferred sense (LS II.2) 'fortunate', and DuCange 1) *dexter* = rectus, aequus, integer, Gallice 'droit', in moralibus'. It qualifies *exercitus* in v.176. The juxtaposition with *qua* may be an effort at 'point' by the poet, done for effect, but it produces a very harsh and clumsy clash.

Mytridatis Pontica Regna: here the poet is not entirely accurate; Pontus (then the Sultanate of Rum, or Romania) lay ahead of Godfrey's troops; the area to their left was Dacia. Their route took them through the old Roman provinces of Pannonia and Moesia, and thence to Thracia.

180ff. The names mentioned here form a list vaguely similar to that found in Pliny, which however does not include Pelops, Hellas, Archadia, Argos or Dodona: it does mention Archania and Argolis. (Pliny, *HN* IV.1).

The metre in this verse is defective, by classical standards, at *specialiter nomina*: Dr. J.B. Hall suggested *specialia* as a possible correction, and in view of the Charleville poet's practice elsewhere, this is adopted in

Poeti: i.e. Boeoti.

*acris:* 'violent': the poet may imply a reference to the battle of Pharsalia.

Massylia: according to Pliny, *HN* 3,5,35, Marseilles was founded by the Greeks of Phocaea: 'at in ora Massilia Graecorum Phocaenensium foederata'.

*semper tendentibus:* the MS reading *se pertendentibus* would be a simple corruption for a scribe to make. None of the dictionaries attest a verb *pertendo* used reflexively: the emendation is simple and restores good sense.

Translate: 'always pressing on towards the rosy rising of the sun'.

'There is a region which has taken its name from two worlds'. The reference is presumably to the Propontis: this at least is implied in the verses which follow.

For the story here, cf. Ovid *H* 17(18)2 dub. (18.127): 'uel tua me Sestus uel te me sumat Abydos', and Sidonius Apollinaris *C*V.451, 'nec tantae Seston iuncturus Abydos/ Xerxes classis erit'.

The reference is to the story of Leander and Hero (Ovid *H* 17 and 18; *Vergil G* III.258ff.; Ovid *AA* II.249, *Tr.*III. 10.41). There is a very small erasure in this verse, which Sirmond and Riant complete to *calidis*, which would be satisfactory if we were here dealing with the story of Icarus; *ulnis* obviously refers to the arms of the swimmer, and *validis* suits the context much better.

The reference here is to Helle. The sources for
her story are Ovid, M IV.450-451 and Hyginus, Fab.2.4.

195 - 196 Translate: 'where the sea (fluctus) divides the city of Constantine from Chalcedon, squeezing itself into seven swift-flowing furlongs'.

*stidia septem:* cf. Solinus, Polyhistor X (p.130 ed. Agnant):

'Omnis Hellespontus stringitur in stadia septem, quibus ab Europa Asiaticam plagam uindicat. Hic quoque urbes dueae, Abydos Asiae est, Sestos Europae'.

Cf. also Pliny, HN 4,11,75:

'Vastum mare praeciacens Asiae et ab Europa porrecta Cheronesi litore expulsum angusto meatu inrumpit in terras, VII stadiorum, ut dictum est, interallo Europam auferens Asiae. Primas angustias Hellespontum uocant...'

The poet has clearly identified the Bosphorus and the Hellespont here; this is a mistake made by all the historians of the Crusade at the time.

199 - 216 This short section is an aside which again shows the poet's interest in geography; here he discussed the city and region of Troy, and the cities founded by the Trojans.

199 Note the spondaic line: these are not admitted by Gilo, but do occur in the Charleville poet, three examples being found in this book and four in book II.

202 *inclyta bella:* cf. I.1, 'inclyta gesta' and Vergil A II.

241 - 242, 'incluta bello/ moenia Dardanidum'.

207 *Bataui:* i.e. Holland.

211 *Sycambria:* the Sycambri were in classical times a tribe living on the banks of the Rhine; according to OL, however, the town referred to here is Buda.

212 *Meotida:* Lake Maeotis was the name given to the expanse

217 - 292 There are no exact parallels to this section anywhere in Crusading Literature, though AA and (to a lesser extent) HG cover roughly similar ground.

220 immeditatur: the MS immediatur makes no sense here, the word being found mainly in a philosophical context. TLL (Haffter) lists RUFIN. Clement.1,20 and BOETH. anal.post. as previous places where it is used.

221 quoniam: here this is the equivalent of quod or quia. It was used increasingly to replace these conjunctions in the late Latin period (cf. L6 III). It is also used below in a more classical sense in vv.226 and 231. Memorati should be taken with adisse, 'said to have reached'.

222 Cf. I.262-263 for a parallel to this line.

223 - 224 Dalmatia...Lyburnis: these words refer to the route taken along the Dalmatian coast by the army of Raymond of Saint-Gilles.

226ff. These lines do not seem to explain v.225 (as they are seemingly intended to do) unless this verse, 226, is supposed to suggest that by staying outside, Godfrey put pressure on the emperor. It is perhaps marginally better to take participare as dependent on complacuit in v.225, and quoniam as qualifying tumido: 'he decided not to approach the area of the haughty city, and not to share (his plans) with the emperor, since the latter was swollen
If the punctuation printed is accepted, then these verses also explain Godfrey's reason for staying outside the city. *Inibi* however is an odd word to use here, if it refers to the action Godfrey contemplates; it more probably refers to and qualifies *socios*: Hugh of Vermundois and others had already arrived and had been well received by the emperor. According to Runciman, *Hist.Crus.* I p.149 (following *AA* II.1-9), 'on 23 December Godfrey's army arrived at Constantinople and encamped, at the request of the emperor, outside the city along the upper waters of the Golden Horn'. The Charleville poet, portraying Godfrey as the heroic leader (and the emperor in a bad light) makes this decision Godfrey's own.

*sederet*: here this governs *fiieri* and must mean 'whatever was decided would happen': for *sedeo* used in this way, but with a noun-object, cf. *LS* II.B ad.fin.

This clause is dependent on v.229: 'And whatever he decided would happen in war or peace, it would harmoniously (*concors*, agreeing with *quicquid*) reconcile the opinions of them all'. *Concors* might be taken with *consensus*, 'harmonious agreement of them all would bring about whatever.....' (for *concilio* in this sense, cf. *IS* II.B.). In this case, v.229 is the clause dependent on v.230. The alliteration in the latter line is remarkable. The stress on harmonious leadership again contrasts sharply with the poet's description of the 'Peasants' Crusade' in Book II.

Godfrey is again portrayed in a sympathetic light: it is consideration for his foot-soldiers that prevents him from advancing too far.
Translate: 'he ordered them to come to him at a quick march'.

I.e. Godfrey travelled only a short distance each day before pitching camp, to give his foot-soldiers time to catch up (v.238). Note again that this poet occasionally admits a spondaic fifth foot in his verse.

quatinus: here, as in some late and Carolingian works (e.g. Aethelwulf De Abbatibus 187 'quatinus ad uitam cupiant properare beatam') this is the equivalent of ut: cf. also Latham.

Translate: 'and might cause the slow-moving (troops) to be joined (to his army) as they moved on in front of them'.

faceret: here used in a construction found in Old French, 'to have sth. done' (Anglade, Grammaire Élémentaire de l'Ancien Français, p.183). Cf. also Mod.Fr. 'faire faire qch.', 'to get sth. done'.

præuenientes: this sense of præuenio is found only in late Latin: cf. 2 Corinthians 9, 'ut præueniant ad uos'.

castellum Karoli: 'Charlemagne's castle' was probably a nickname given by some of the troops to the area where Godfrey camped. It is otherwise unattested, but might suggest that behind the Charleville poet's narrative (possibly at two or three removes) there might be an eye-witness account. The name is also symbolic; by pitching camp here, Godfrey associates himself with the Charlemagne of legend, whose own crusade to Jerusalem and Constantinople was enshrined in the literature of the day (Le Voyage de Charlemagne); Charlemagne was one of Godfrey's ancestors in a direct line, and there might be, in this book by the Charleville poet to regard Godfrey's voyage as a repetition of that attributed to his illustrious ancestor.
sollemne forum: 'the usual facilities for buying provis-
ions'. Godfrey's men bought their food from the estab-
lished sources in the city, if sollemne is to be understood
here in its sense 'wonted, usual' (I.2 II.B). It was this
to-ing and fro-ing between the camp and the city (cf. v.
251) that aroused the suspicions of the Byzantines.

monstra palatina: i.e. the court nobles. The poet's
stance is typical of pre-courtly vernacular literature:
all is black or white, and here the 'enemy' (the Emperor
and his minions) is shown to be as thoroughly despicable
as possible.

i.e. the Byzantines fear that the copious trade generated
by the Crusaders is a means whereby they can ingratiate
themselves with the common people.

pretiorum: here in its original sense, 'wealth'.

celebrari: i.e. 'were done by multitudes'.

non sine causa qualifies credendum.

The use of debere in this line might suggest that it and
the three following are an 'interiectio ex persona poetae'
intended to explain the Emperor's fears, but in view of
the poet's previous treatment of him, this is hardly like-
ly. debere must therefore be a near-equivalent to posse:
'it could hardly seem a probable picture, that they could
have been moved to serve God but now waited here...' In
the poets it is often used with the same force as necesse
sat, and debere might be taken in this way, with non gov-
erning verisimilem: 'it could not but seem highly impr-
obable'. Of the two possibilities this seems more likely.

Translate: 'inasmuch as the servant had robbed his
Lord of his crown (literally, made him empty of his crown:
cf. I.2 cassus B.1) and had raised his own impious sceptre
over him'. The Byzantines could no longer trust the Crusaders, for if they had forsaken God, whom would they not betray?

262 impie: strictly this should be scanned with a long final syllable.

263 sibi: an ethic dative, to be taken with both male consciens and pausescens: 'troubled in mind and fearing for himself'.

265 que...ducat: these and the words in v.266 form the questions put to Godfrey by the Emperor.

mandat is a neutral word, 'send a message (asking)'.


nectat: 'what was the purpose of his delaying?' cf. Blatt necto III = ourdir, tramer (to weave, hatch a plot).

267 sibi is again an ethic dative, as in v.263 above: 'it did not seem either safe or honest to him...'

268 intra sua tecta: since Godfrey and his men were camped outside the city, this must refer to their frequenting the market-place for long periods (morari).

269 - 270 This presumably refers to his city, which he claimed they were regarding not as a hospice (hospitium) or a dwelling for religious (clastrum; cf. DuCange = inhabitation religiosorum) but as their own possession.

271 ille: i.e. Godfrey. He replies that he is merely carrying out his pilgrimage.

sub honore sepulchri: cf. above, v.126, and I.230, where this stock phrase also occurs.

272 The emendation here is forced by the requirements of the metre.

273ff. This line and the three following explain Godfrey's
refusal to advance (presumably across the Bosphorus): he fears the same fate as had befallen the 'Peasants' Crusade' (infaustis maniplis, v.275).

This line is rather confusing. The best sense is arrived at if cuncta sui iuris is taken to mean 'all the emperor's property would be safe' (fore tuta) and a se suisque is understood as referring to Godfrey and his men.

Godfrey's seemingly innocent reply raises more fears in the minds of the treacherous Greeks: they now fear a coup from an enormous army, for the assembling of which Godfrey has delayed (vv.283 - 284). They therefore try to bribe him to cross the Hellespont (vv.283 - 288).

geminorum pondus equorum stands in apposition to gazas: 'let him receive treasures, weighing as much as two horses'.

Hellespontum: again the poet permits a spondaic fifth foot. Hellespontus is found in this position in Ovid M XIII.407 and Avienus DOT 34,466,717,968,979,987.

inque Asiç parte: i.e. in enemy territory, the Sultanate of Rum (Romania).

The Byzantines also give threats: if Godfrey does not cross the Hellespont, they will cease all trading (forum) and drive him off. This detail finds a rough parallel in AA II.10: 'Dux igitur...ad Imperatorem minime introiuit. Quapropter imperator, indignatione uelhementer motus adversus Ducem et omnem eius exercitum, uendendi et emendi licentiam illis interdixit'.

Godfrey's reply to the emperor is firm but polite: the poet is striving to represent him as the paragon of chivalric virtue, a true heros (v.293). These speeches reveal the skill of the poet in portraying his characters psychologically through their reactions and speeches;
this was a departure in medieval literature from the traditions of the *Chansons de Geste*, and is found in such works as the Old French *Tristram* by Beroul. This part of the narrative is much more fully developed and detailed than in AA's account, and may reflect eye-witness reports.

**Existere:** used as a strong expression for *esse*: 'it was perfectly obvious that he was...'

**Peregrinum:** either 'a pilgrim' or 'a crusader' (Latham, c.1142).

**Piacula:** this usage is extremely interesting. A *piaculum* is normally in the classical vocabulary a sin-offering; in the Bible, it can mean a sin itself, one which requires an atonement. The poet can hardly intend the second of these, and must therefore be implying that the Crusade itself was an offering to God, as a form of penance. This poet's theological insight into the Crusade is not so frankly expressed as is Gilo's, but it is nevertheless highly developed, as is here made manifest.

**Christicolum:** i.e. *Christicolarum*: 'if any Christian, however, should do such a thing against him (*sibi tale quid inferat*) of his own accord (*ultro*), then he (i.e. Godfrey) would be duty bound to resist for himself (*pre se*), having laid his Christian obligation to one side (*posito...Christo*). This sentence needs to be interpreted in feudal terms: Godfrey, as a Christian, is bound not to attack other Christians, but should they attack him, the bonds of their relationship as Christians are broken, and he is free to defend himself. There is obvious reference here to the emperor's threat mentioned in vv.291 - 292.

302 This is a peculiar line: the sense of 'se respondere trium'
is clear: 'if the Emperor promised him two horses' weight of riches, he would promise three horses' weight'. The odd phrase *liceat modo currere septum* seems to go with this and qualify it. Strictly, however, *septum* can only agree with *se*, 'although he had only begun to run'. The sense requires that it be taken with the horses, and we seem to have a 'singular for plural' here, probably because of the requirements of the rhyme-scheme: 'he would promise three horses' weight, though they had only just begun to run', i.e. they were foals. This seems to be an example of a peculiar variety of medieval humour, which turns up from time to time in epic: cf. Curtius, *European Literature*, p.429, 'Comic elements in the Epic'. Geoffrey outdoes the Emperor in his boasting, even if he cannot actually match his wealth.

303 *esse sibi fixum*: 'his mind was firmly made up'.

304 *Christi inimicos*: this phrase is double-edged: it ostensibly refers to the Turks, but might also embrace the Byzantines if they tried to oppose the Crusade.

305 - 306 Godfrey spells out the consequences of any withdrawal of trading facilities: he and his men will turn to plundering 'where they are forced to' (*fine coacto*).

307 - 308 This again is a tortuous passage: it explains why Godfrey will plunder what he needs. Translate: 'for on this account it was their habit (*pro consuetudine*) to carry out this course of action (*ceptum tolli*) since an arrangement already begun (lit. things begun, *cepta*) which he had sought (*petita sunt*, understanding *qua*) was (now) denied to him when he asked'. Godfrey makes it clear that in withdrawing facilities, the Emperor is going back on his word.
According to AA II.14, Godfrey sent word not to the Emperor but to Bohemond, who said that if Godfrey would wait, they could together attack and capture the city.

The Emperor's action is hinted at in NN 10, HG V, and possibly FM II.9. AA's account in II.12-13 is not similar to that of the Charleville poet.

There is a small erasure in this line. The syntax makes it clear that extrudi must be taken with claustra, 'order-all the gates to be shut'. ...entibus (all that is legible of this word) might then be an instrumental ablative, such as a gentibus, 'by his people'; the hiatus at the caesura is paralleled in this poet, below, v.429. However, vv.354 - 355 below make it clear that the reference is to the band of foot-soldiers on whose account Godfrey has delayed, and the sense is 'ordered the roads to be barred against them'; ...entibus must therefore be an ethic dative. Riant adopts Sirmond's excedentibus, which is correct in form, but wrong in sense. Those against whom the way was barred were not 'coming out' but 'approaching', and pergentibus, uententibus or (with hiatus at the caesura) urgentibus fit the sense. The Emperor's plan was to prevent Godfrey's men joining forces with the army of foot.

referens pia gaudia festi: this is to be taken with tempus: 'that time, bringing the holy joys of a festival, when...'

guia is explained by v.319. At Christmas-time it was only right that a report of munera magna should reach Godfrey. There is also a clear reminiscence of Matthew 211, 'et intrantes domum, inuenerunt puerum cum Maria matre eius, et procidentes adorauerunt eum; et apertis thes-
auris suis, obtulerunt ei munera, aurum, thus et myrrham'.

322 suicidia: this is a variant form of suicidia. Cf. Du-Cange 2 = excidium, ruina, euersio.

325 pleno copia cornu: cf. Horace, CS 59-60, 'beata pleno/ copia cornu', and Boethius, Cons.Phil.2 met.2.6, 'pleno copia cornu'.

326 diuino nutu: cf. above, note on v.102.

326 quam leue sit: 'how foolish it is'.

326 pigris: the dative makes better sense than Sirmond and Riant's pigras (sc. cohortes, presumably): 'how foolish it is for the slothful to attack the brave'.

335 clipeus clipeis: this sort of phrase is very common in medieval epic: cf. Walter of Châtillon Alex.I.141-142, 'Hic equus opponatur equis, hic ensibus ensis/ his clipeus clipeis, hic obruta casside cassis'. All these stem from Statius, T VIII.398 - 399, 'iam clipeus clipeis, umbone repellitur umbo/ ense minax ensis, pede pes et cusipide cuspis'.

337 hæc acies: i.e. Godfrey's men.

339 calpesque: in spite of the difficulty in scansion, this appears under the ultra-violet lamp to be the reading of the MS. Cf. DuCange 2 calpes = galeae militum apud Isid. in Glossis, and Goetz, Latin Gloss. IV.27 (Vaticani 3321) and IV.315, (Glossae Abavius), 'Calpes Galeae Militum'. Neither Sirmond nor Riant offer suggestions for this word, and the rest of Riant's text also differs in some respects from the MS reading (cf. app.crit. ad.loc.).

341 per galeas: this phrase makes little sense if taken with gladii; it is best understood as qualifying sudesque:
'darts (transfixed) through helmets and swords are wet with the spattering of brains'.
superque: -que here seems to be postponed from plura, linking back to v.341.

lancea: i.e. the lance held at the charge, not thrown. The latter is represented by iaculum in v.343. The tactics here suit the Westerners precisely.

ope diuina: this must surely be a reminiscence from the opening line of Gilo's poem, 'est ope diuina Turcorum facta ruina' (IV.1.).

set illis patuit miseranda ruina: however attractive this battle may have sounded to Lotharingian ears, it is not so reported in any of the other narratives, and in the only skirmishes known to have taken place between Byzantine and Western troops, it was the Byzantines who were successful.

In this section the narrative is again unparalleled, but recounts the reasons why Godfrey eventually did cross the Hellespont. The circumstances of this are so described as to allow him to do so without losing face; indeed, his qualities of chivalry are if anything enhanced.

populo...nostro: these, as the lines immediately following explain, were Godfrey's foot-soldiers.

quibus: this should strictly be singular, referring as it does to cateruam in v.353, but singular collective nouns are frequently found in medieval works with plural verbs or relative pronouns, as here.

Phylipopoleos Andronopolisque: Philippopolis and Hadrianople, cities on the road that led to Byzantium.

receptu: in its military sense, 'in their retreat', to be taken with the cities mentioned in this line. The poet is obscure, but he seems to mean that it was the Byzantines who gave ground, even though they inflicted
losses on the Crusaders as they did so. The order that
the cities are mentioned in suggests that the Crusaders
were following the old Roman road down to Constantin-
ople: hence their meeting the runaway Byzantines from
that city.

358 *censu*: 'possessions' (LS 2 census II.C).

361 *se* seems rather otiose here.

363 *fuerant*: this may be a dittography from *fuerant* in v.

362 *Riant's sociant*, derived from Sirmond, is attrac-
tive, as is *aderant*, suggested by Dr. J.B. Hall, but the
MS reading is defensible, equalling *aderant*: 'there were
some there who encouraged the others...'

364 This line is dependent on *hortantes* in v.363. Both lines
are to be understood parenthetically.

366 Presumably these men were forced to defend themselves in
this way because they had lost all their property (v.
358); they therefore take refuge on high ground and arm
themselves with rocks.

370 *ueniant* seems a suitable word to fill the erasure here.

Riant's *redeant* is equally good, except that the Crus-
adors cannot logically 'return' to Constantinople, having
not yet arrived there, and a more neutral word might be
preferable.

372 *nil quod mutaret habenti*: 'to the man who had nothing he
could give in exchange for it'. For *muto* in this sense
cf. LS 1 muto II.C, and above v.130, *commutare*.

373 *promissis*: again a word such as this, or Riant's *auditis*,
is required to fill the erasure.

374 *atque iter*: the MS has an erasure at this point, only
*a...iter* being legible. Sirmond, followed by Riant,
prints *et qua iter*, which makes little sense: the rel-
ative would have to read *quo* if taken with *iter*. Furthermore they had not trodden the road to Constantinople before: *retro* qualifies *ruentes*, 'they rushed back'. *pontem*: no bridge has been mentioned, though the narrative is loose elsewhere. The word may be corrupted from *pontum*, 'towards the sea', i.e. to Constantinople.  

The line is ominous, and prepares the audience for the treachery to follow.

*breuibus Gyaris*: i.e. thrown into prison; the phrase is lifted from Juvenal I.73, 'aude aliquid breuibus Gyaris et carcere dignum'. Cf. also the scholiast on this line, 'Gyaris: insula, ubi damnati mittebantur'.

*quaque*: adverbial here (cf. I5 *quaque*, where the word is wrongly scanned as a spondee). 'Some said that they would be condemned to some mine or other (diversis metallis) wherever that might be (quaque').

*prelia*: 'they would atone for their fighting'.

*quatiente pauore* is also found above in v.361. The poet seems fond of stock phrases, in a manner that recalls the *Chansons de Geste*.

*cursorem*: 'someone to bear their report'.

- 390 *ingemit*: Godfrey's reaction here is very interesting, not merely because it reveals how much more free medieval heroes could be expected to be in showing their emotions than modern characters, but also in that it recalls the action of the priest in reciting the mass; after taking the host in the dish, the priest confesses his own sins, and beats his breast three times. This is very similar to the action described here. Godfrey strikes his breast (*percusso pectore*) with his fist (*expertis pugnis*, either 'with hard blows' or possibly 'with
his fist clenched') and utters his own guilt in words ('ingemit et grauibus...querelis'). In portraying Godfrey in this priestly way, the poet emphasizes once again Godfrey's religious zeal and the theological significance of the Crusade. There may also be a reminiscence of the figure of Roland in the *Chanson de Roland*, CIXV, vv.2368 and following, where the dying hero does precisely this:

A l'une main si ad sun piz batud:
'Deus, meie culpe vers les tues vertuz!
2370 de mes pechiez, des granz et des menuz...

(With one hand he beats his breast: 'God, my sin against your righteousness! My sins, both great and small...)

391ff. The text in the MS is badly erased at this point; Riant follows Sirmond in claiming to see astantes Caesariani in v.391, where ultra-violet and infra-red light sources only revealed astan... The rest of Riant's text presents the lacunae as they are seen by the naked eye; a few more letters are discernible under ultra-violet light, and they are printed in the present edition.

The sense of these lines can be worked out quite simply: Godfrey's men have been taken hostage, and he secures their release by bargaining with the Emperor. He proposed peace (condere se pacem) and promises to leave the city (Constantinopolim uacuare), waiting across the Bosphorus (transmissisque fretis) in order to await the arrival of the other armies in Asia (finibus inque Asie procerum). Godfrey's crossing the Bosphorus and wintering at Chalcedon is also mentioned by AA II.17; in Albert's account, however, Godfrey agrees to this action of his own accord, and there is no hint of pressure being put on him by the capture of some of his men.
itions for peace: if he is once again allowed to purchase supplies, he will cross into Asia. 'If the poor soldier of the Lord is set free from prison and if he is preceded by men carrying the plunder taken from him...'

403 - 405 The plural forms *preuenientes* in v.400 and *clama-uere* in v.404 suggest that it was Godfrey who proposed to cross the Bosphorus, not the Emperor who threatened him: the Emperor's men reply to Godfrey that their lord could wish for nothing better than that which he has proposed (vv.403 - 404); Godfrey is made to appear the senior partner here, taking the initiative in order to secure the release of his men, and making sure of a treaty whose conditions are favourable to his forces. He argues from a position of strength, as a good Christian hero, even though his men are held hostage.

405 *augustalia sacra*: the *Augustalia* or *ludi Augustales* were celebrated on October 12th; since we have just been told that Christmas was approaching, this cannot be the reference here, and it would be culturally quite out of place in any case. The phrase appears to refer to men whose duty it is to see to it that the situation previously prevailing is restored (v.406). The reference may be to the priests who formed a part of the Emperor's entourage: cf. *Mitt. Wb. Augustalis* l: 'qui augustus est' = 'dignified'.

409 *obtenta*: sc. *loca*. It is more likely to be derived from *obtineo*, 'he left the places he had occupied' than from *obtendo*, 'he left the places he had covered (with his tents)'.

414 *in Achaide*: for the adjective used as a substantive in this form, cf. Ovid *M* V.577, 'pars ego nympharum quae
sunt in Achaide dixit'.

416 uerque nouum: the imagery is typical of spring: cf. Vergil G I.43, 'uere nouo', or Pervigilium Veneris 2, 'uer nouum'.

419 praesul Haimarus: i.e. Adhemar of Le Puy.

424ff. Once again the text is defective: Riant read only asiri Caesarianis, but the ultra-violet lamp has revealed some other letters. The sense of vv.424 - 425 is either that after the other leaders had been received (asciti) the Emperor complained about Godfrey's behaviour, in that he had waged war on him (v.426); or, which is more likely, that these verses refer to the Emperor's conditions for his help and advice (auxilium, consilia: these were the two specific forms of assistance laid down in the feudal contract between lord and vassal): he is to receive from the Crusaders Nicaea and Antioch, and will grant them land in return. In this case, v.425 is proleptic, and v.426 parenthetical, picked up by hce fore Nycenam urbem sed et Antiochenam, v.429. The sense is 'they should render up to him (places) which they could conquer in war, places which the pagans had taken from him in their unjust fighting: these would be the cities of Nicaea and Antioch. In return for this he would offer them consilium and auxilium'. This whole passage is syntactically very loose; furthermore, the classical sequence of tenses has gone by the board, and the pluperfect subjunctive is used throughout.

430 This line and the two following are very confused indeed: some kind of feudal proposal seems intended, and the sense would then be 'he would make a worthy declaration about these matters (super his) so that everything useful to him
would always be in good supply (*nusquam defore possent*). *sibi* may here be used in its looser, non-reflexive sense (common in this period) to refer to the Crusaders. This makes better sense: 'so that they would never run short of provisions'. The phrase then forms a correlative to vv.433 - 434.

431 *declaraturum*: understand *se*.

432 *utilia*: cf. Niermeyer subst. neut. *utile* = 'interest'; 'utili suo nulla id in parte officere' (*Mus. arch. dép.* no.14 p.31, a.967, Metz). The language throughout this section is drawn from the feudal terminology of the period.

435 The oath that the leaders of the Crusade had to take is mentioned by GF II.vi p.12; FT p.48; RA 3 p.42; FC I. ix.2; EH 13.3 p.136; TIC xvii; RC X, XI; RM II.18; AA II.18, which specifies that the leaders became vassals of the Emperor by paying him homage: 'sub fide et sacramento homo eius factus'. GF's account differs markedly from that of the Charleville poet; Godfrey is said to be present along with all the others, and it is Raymond of Saint-Gilles who refuses to do homage to the Emperor; moreover Godfrey crossed the Bosphorus (the Charleville poet, like the other historians, consistently calls it the Hellespont) not alone but with Tancred. The Charleville poet has so shaped the story that Godfrey appears to be the true leader and hero of the Crusade on three counts: first, he arrived in Constantinople before the rest of the leaders; second, he alone did not swear the Emperor's oath (the Emperor in fact agreed to terms Godfrey put forward); and third, he was the first to cross over into enemy-held territory.
per bis septenos: these fourteen are not specified, and the poet has previously named only nine participants other than Godfrey and his brothers: Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Hugh Magnus, Baldwin of Hainault, Stephen of Blois, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Tancred, Bohemond, and Adhemar of le Puy.

sibi: 'by them'. Again, this is a form of ethic dative.

nychomedis ad urbem: the Charleville poet mentions this, the first Moslem-held city to be taken by the Crusaders. Gilo, in the opening to his account, omits mention of it completely.

The poet aptly describes this part of the joint work as being de principiis callis Hierosolymitani: this last word seems to be forced to fit the metre. Gilo's narrative conspicuously omits any mention of events prior to the siege of Nicaea, summing up the pre-Nicean happenings in a few lines. It is this curious beginning in medias rebus which suggests the close link between Gilo's poem and the narrative of Robert the Monk (see above, 'Relationships To Other Crusade Narratives'). The Charleville poet "fills in the gaps", as it were, supplying information chiefly about Godfrey de Bouillon which is not found elsewhere. The nature and style of these three books which preface Gilo's narrative suggest that the same poet is responsible for the fragments added to books IV and V and also for the intercalated book VI, all of which concern Godfrey de Bouillon or his brother, and which seem to share a common origin in Lotharingian chronicles.

domnus: this and the respectful terms in which Gilo is addressed are discussed above, 'Authorship and Date'.
MAP II: FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO ANTIOCH

ROUTE OF THE FIRST CRUSADE
ROUTE OF SALDING OF BOULOGNE, 1097 - 1098
GILO

PROLOGUE

The prologue is a typical feature of medieval literary works, and its absence in three of the MSS of Gilo only, together with other features which make it clear that these three stand together and apart from the other three, leads to the conclusion that the MS tradition shows two final stages of recension, of which BCF, which contain the prologue, is the later and more polished (cf. supra, 'Relations of MSS and Stemma'). Sometimes in works of this period the prologue is set apart from the main body of the text, as here: in this it resembles the Prologus of the classical comic poets Plautus and Terence, and those found in the works of Persius, Claudian, Prudentius, and Sidonius Apollinaris, four poets whose works were widely read in the Middle Ages. Similar prologues are found in medieval literature in both its Latin and vernacular forms. Walter of Châtillon, for example, prefaces his Alexandreis with a prologue which might be considered 'typical', in view of its structure and topos. Walter begins on a generality and then introduces the poem itself with a discussion of the labours he has expended on it, expressing in addition his fears for the poor reception and jealousy it might excite. This prologue differs from the rest of the work, however, in that it is written not in verse, but in prose. From the field of vernacular literature, an example of a medieval prologue may profitably be sought in the work of the Anglo-Norman poetess Marie de France. As in Walter's prologue, the theme of the prologue to Marie's
Lais is an apologia for having written at all, and an explanation of what led her to write. This is only introduced after a vague and generalizing point has begun the prologue. One might also usefully compare with these prologues to verse compositions the letters of dedication or proemia to prose works, such as Bernard Silvestris' Cosmographia, or the Historia Regum Britanniæ of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Other works from the period which have no separate prologue frequently give their opening lines over to either a summary of the plot, or a more general introduction, often with the author offering some justification for having written at all. Such is the case in Joseph of Exeter's epic on the Trojan Wars, where I. 1-29 form an explanatory prologue where the author defends his youthfulness. Again, a parallel may be adduced from the vernacular literature of the twelfth century in the Romances of Chrétien de Troyes (e.g. Erec et Énée), where the opening lines frequently form a brief introduction; in the case of Cligès, the author gives us some autobiographical details and a list of his previous works.

It is notable that all the works so far mentioned are 'literary' in that they purport to present a polished, definitive work. The lack of prologues to such famous medieval works as the Chanson de Roland or the Charroi de Nîmes cannot be adduced as evidence that some medieval works did not possess prefaces, as these are better regarded as transcriptions of oral works, which do not share the same characteristics as primarily written compositions.

In view of the common presence of either prologues or prologue-like material in literary medieval works, it seems odd that the text of Gilo's poem in the MSS ADG should begin...
in medias res, as it were: this fact may have previously
gone un-noticed because of the layout of the DuChesne and
Riant editions, where Gilo's poem follows on directly from
the three books by 'Fulco'.

The prologue as we have it in BCP divides neatly into
two halves of equal length. The first part, vv.1 - 16, is
an apologia for Gilo's having not written serious verse in
his youth, although he says in vv.9-10 that he did once
attempt it, though without success. He admits, in what is
a standard medieval topos on the shallowness of youth, to
having lived a life which avoided serious things, and to
having confined himself also to the writing of lighter kinds
of verse. But now, being more mature, he is embarking on
his epic theme.

The second half of the prologue, vv.17-32, begins with
a general point, as do the prologues of Walter of Châtillon and
Marie de France, which have already been noted. The theolog­
ical theme of Gilo's poem is introduced here, with biblical
parallels brought in. The Crusade as he sees it is a response
to the Christian call to 'take up one's cross and follow
Christ'(cf. Matthew 16\textsuperscript{24}). It is clear from vv. 27-28 that
Gilo interpreted this scripture in military terms, and furth­
more that he regarded the success of the Crusade as a result
of divine providence. This parallels the opening verse of
the poem itself, which states the matter bluntly:

\textit{est ope diuina Turcorum facta ruina.}

1 \textit{Hactenus} This opening is very common in Ovid, and betrays
Gilo's preference for this author immediately. It also
occurs in Vergil \textit{G II.1}
materia conueniente again from Ovid, Am I. i. 2

Presumably the reference here is to love-lyric written earlier in the poet's career.

The boat-image for the poet's genius is found used in antiquity by Ovid (AA iii. 26) and in Quintilian XII.x. 37. Curtius (European Literature, p. 128) notes that such nautical metaphors are common in classical poetry; Vergil G II. 41 speaks of 'uela dare', for example, and Claudian DRP I. pref. provides another good instance. Gilo's point here is that he is going to let his sail carry him where it will on the voyage, though this may entail rough seas (the peculiar expression uelò concussa per equor in v. 16 suggests this. The boat is 'struck' or 'shaken' by the sail as it is propelled along). The poet ceases to rely on his own efforts (positis remis). In the classical scheme of nautical metaphor, modicas undas (v. 11) would mean lyric poetry, and magnas undas epic; cf. Horace, G IV. 15, 1.

The use of the present is curious: presumably Gilo means that his ability is still only average, but that now as an older man he is duty bound (debent, v. 13) to attempt a more serious theme.

concussa refers to ratio in v. 16. These words are found together in Ovid P II. 3. 59 where the meaning is 'shattered'; here however it must mean 'shaken', as ships are when the wind catches their sails (TLL (Gudeman) I. 1) or 'moved' (TLL II. 1).

This couplet is cast in a proverb-like form, but its source is untraced. It has a possible biblical parallel in Eccl. XII. 6, 'et recurrat uitta aurea...et confringitur
rota super cisternam'. There is also a possible classical parallel in Horace C III.10.10.

The general sense here is paralleled by Matthew 16\(^26\), which is a passage Gilo also has in mind a little later on in v. 24: 'Quid enim prodest homini si mundum uniuersum lucretur, animae uero suae detrimentum patiatur?'

This and the verses following recall Matthew 22\(^5\), which forms part of the dominical parable about the invited guests: 'illii autem neglexerunt et abierunt, alius in uillam suam, alius uero ad negotiam suam'. Gilo both applies this verse (fundus, domus optima) and brings out its spiritual significance: for him as for St. Matthew, these are mere symbols of the world, mundus. Gilo's exegesis follows the common medieval twofold pattern: the verse implies not only that one should not be held back from entering the spiritual Kingdom of God by worldly possessions, but also that men should not shrink from embarking on the Crusade. There is also a play on words as Gilo uses mundus in vv. 21 and 23. This double meaning so liked by medieval authors is much stronger in v. 24. The emendation in this verse produces a much better sense: only in mystical theology of a rather later period could 'looking up' at the cross be regarded as a means of grace. It is much simpler to assume that Gilo here refers to Matthew 16\(^24\), 'si quis uult post me uenire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me'. Thus emended, the verse can also be interpreted literally to refer to the Crusaders' habit of sewing crosses onto their garments at the shoulder. As above in vv.17-
20, both spiritual and literal senses appear to be intended by the author. The physical, historical event of the Crusade is throughout equated with the establishing of the spiritual Kingdom of God.

28 suspicatiuque vicem: again the emendation produces a better sense: 'bow his neck and take up his turn of duty'.

29 Many biblical parallels can be adduced for Gilo's statements here and in the verses following, e.g. Revelation 3:21 'qui uicerit, dabo ei sedere mecum in throno meo'. Parallels to v.32 may be found in Revelation 21:23-25 and Daniel 12:13: 'tu autem...requiesces, et stabis in sorte tua in finem dierum', as well of course from the 'requiem' itself.

LIBER IV

1 With this briefest of statements, Gilo sums up what was for him the central message of the historical event he is about to describe in his poem: God has been at work, driving back the heathen and bringing victory to Christendom. This theological aspect of the Crusades has been largely ignored in the past, and only in recent scholarship has attention been drawn to it. It is particularly strong in Gilo, as his frequent apostrophe to the Deity (e.g. IV.124) and his continued insistence that the Christian forces are armed 'pietate Dei' make clear.

2 The affected modesty shown here is a standard medieval topos, and stems from forensic oratory of the classical period: cf. De Inv.I,16,22 and Quintilian IV.1.8. It
was common from then on right through the Middle Ages (Curtius, European Literature pp. 83-85).

3 Carmen facile is a technical term in medieval poetics. Geoffrey de Vinsauf, Poetria Nova 1094, calls it 'sermo leuis'. 'Colours of Rhetoric' were used in this kind of writing, and they derive from 'Cornificius' (= Rhetorica ad Herennium) and from Quintilian. They include the use of puns and alliteration as well as figures of speech, and the application of 'determinatio'. Geoffrey mentions this in v. 1761 of his treatise (cf. Faral, Arts Poétiques p. 97). 'Determinatio' involved the careful selection of suitable adjectives and the use of simile and metaphor. Balanced phrases were also sought after, as in Sidonius Apollinaris' words 'explicat ut Plato, implicat ut Aristoteles, simulat ut Crassus, dissimulat ut Caesar'. From Gilo's work it is apparent that for him, carmen facile was a kind of poetry that did not use tropes for effect, but relied on simple narrative and imagery based on the patterns laid down by the classical poets. He contrasts his own style with the 'ornement difficile' which made great use of these stylistic devices and tropes by the words 'nec ludicra fingo' in the same verse.

4ff. Note here that in the invocation, Christ has usurped the position the Muses would occupy for a pagan poet. In fact, many Christian poets continued to use the Muse-topos, while others preferred an invocation of one or all persons of the Holy Trinity. See also the commentary on vv. 15 and following of Book I, above, where the Charleville poet stresses his dependence on Christ and not
the Muses in much greater detail. As Curtius says, (European Literature p.239), an appeal to Christ was 'one of the most obvious Christian substitutes for the antique invocatio'.

7 - 19 The brief opening of the poem, with its complete lack of any information about the papal mission, the Council of Clermont, the gathering of the Christian forces in Europe, the journey to Constantinople and the trickery of the Byzantine emperor, is totally unparalleled in the rest of the corpus of Latin crusading literature. All these missing episodes figure prominently in the prose versions, and it is this omission by Gilo which has led us to presume his primacy over Robert the Monk (cf. supra, 'Relationships to Other Crusade Narratives'). It is also doubtless why the Charleville poet found it so easy to add extra portions to the poem by Gilo, devoting three whole books to events of the Crusade which preceded the siege of Nicaea. Gilo describes the journey thither in the vaguest of terms. This could be because his source supplied no more details, or because of his theological interest. Gilo may be concerned not to give a complete historical picture but to show how God vanquished his enemies; hence the beginning of the narrative in medias res.

14 318 bishops were traditionally thought to have attended the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D., though in fact there were probably only about 300 present (M.A. Smith, The Church Under Siege, p.41). This is attested by Constantine's letter to the Catholic Church of the Alexandrians in Socrates, Hist. EccI. I.9.17ff. (quoted in Steven-
son, A New Eusebius, p.371): 'While more than three hundred bishops remarkable for their moderation ....'

The scansion here reveals a practice which was not permitted in classical poetry, but which grew up in medieval times, namely that a short syllable was permitted immediately before the caesura where strictly a long syllable was required. This seems to have been especially common with leonine verse such as we have here. The use of leonine also fixed the position of the caesura in the third foot (i.e. penthemimeral: cf. Norberg, La Versification Latine Médievale, pp.65-68). On the short syllable Norberg says (p.68) 'les théoriciens du vers ne sont pas d'accord sur le point de savoir si, à l'époque classique, la coupe correspondait à un véritable arrêt et, si oui, dans quelle mesure elle le faisait. Un fait, cependant, est sûr, c'est que l'importance de la coupe était plus grande au moyen âge qu'elle ne l'avait été auparavant. Gauthier de Chatillon, dans son Alexandreis, emploie une syllable brève au lieu d'une longue plusieurs centaines de fois dans cette position'.

The change from leonines to caudati seems here to denote the end of a paragraph, but this is by no means always the case (though it does occur at vv.149-150 and 210-211). Gilo shows no compunction as he switches back and forth between leonine and caudati, with occasional free verse (i.e. unrhymed).

Parallel accounts of the siege of Nicaea are found in GF II.viii p.14-15; PT p.43; RA 4 p.43; TIC XX,XXI; FC I.ix.4; FM III.1; PN vi; AA II.21. The actual positions taken up by the different leaders varies very
slightly in each case; RA maintains that Robert of Normandy was not present (Normanniç comes nondum erat nobiscum).

27-32 recalls RM 756A: 'A parte orientis, quia expugnabilior et magis munita ciuitas esse uidebatur, applicuerunt sui robur exercitus principes isti: Podiensis episcopus, comes Raimundus...'

27 portus DuCange portus 2 gives the sense 'angustos castrorum aditus'; here it seems to refer to the layout of the camp. In a note on this verse, Riant says that it would be better placed after v.32. It seems however not to go with vv.33-34, which refer to the city, but rather stands alone as a description of the Christian camp.

32 ruituros This future participle expresses neatly the conviction Gilo seems to wish to put across, that the Turks are doomed from the very outset. Similar convictions are expressed in the Chanson de Roland, v.9:

Ne s poet guardar que mals ne l' i atienza
(He cannot prevent evil from overtaking him).

34 assaltus in BCF and assultus in ADG are both well-attested forms, though assaltus may be slightly later, and is preferable in view of the rhyme with altus.

37 The ars versus natura theme common in much medieval Latin poetry seems to be in Gilo's mind here.

39-40 These lines added by the Charleville poet give detail found in most other sources, e.g. GF II.viii p.16, FC I. x.8, RM III.2. It is curious why Gilo should not have known this detail - or, if he did, why he did not include it - unless his source was different from the other narratives that have come down to us. Riant's emendation Caesar from the MS Caesare is derived from Sirmond, and
The construction used here is very rare in classical Latin, though it is instanced in a few places: c.f. LS facio I.A.(γ). It recalls much more strongly the Modern French "faire faire qch.", "to have sth. done", where the subject is the indirect agent of the action. This construction was also a feature of Old French, e.g. 'et me proient que je lor face monstrer le Saint-Roi' (Joinville). Its use here may be a reflection of the vernacular idiom, and may have been prompted by the demands of the leonine rhyme-scheme. For a full discussion of the construction, cf. Norberg, 'Faire Faire Qch. a Qn.' in Sprakvetenskapliga SHilskapets 1 Uppsala FOrhandlingar, 1943-45, 65-106, reprinted in Au Seuil Du Moyen Age, pp.17ff. The verses included by the Chartresville poet have all the air of a gloss.

This verse is found before v.35 in ADG: it fits better in its present position (so BCF) where it refers to the final assault on the walls. In its position in ADG it breaks up the explanation as to why the east side of the city escaped immediate attack.

The use of poisoned arrows is also noted by RM 756C/III.2.

The ADG variant verba seems to have been replaced by dicta in BCF on purely aesthetic grounds.

Siege-machines were brought in the armies' baggage in pieces and assembled on site. The Crusaders employed similar tactics against the fortified towns of the Middle East as were employed in Europe against feudal castles.

proprio telo As in v.47, BCF's order appears to have been substituted for ADG's on aesthetic grounds: BCF's
order changes the pattern DSSS into DSSD, which may have been more pleasing metrically.

55 The image resembles Vergil A XII.284, Il.Lat.359, Lucan II.501-2, IV.776.

59 cf. RM 756E, 'unde fragor turbe clamorque sonabat in urbe'.

60 - 119. There are no exact parallels to the events described in this intercalated episode, which describes the fighting between the Turks and the Crusaders outside Antioch before the Byzantine forces took the city. Only AA II.26 and CA II.15 resemble it in parts (the capture of a spy, told here in vv.83ff.). It is interesting to note that the Charleville poet begins this extra section in leonines, matching Gilo's work (vv.60-63, ?68-9) but soon lapsed into the caudati in sporadic double-rhyme which are typical of books I - III and VI. This episode also picks up an allusion to the suffering of the Turks in Antioch in II.301-302, above.

60 plorantes This picks up turbe trepidantis from v.59, and refers to the inhabitants of Nicaea.

62 expediunt dextras Presumably this is a euphemistic expression for 'drop their weapons'.

63 magnalia Christi 'the mighty works of Christ'. Cf. Acts 211, 'magnalia Dei'.

65 consignari i.e. 'signed with the cross' (Latham).

68 securos 'which they no longer needed to fear'.

69 modulos Cf. Blatt, 10.b. = chant éclésiastique.

71 recurrunt i.e. 'ran back'.

73 agmina i.e. the Christians. The word presumably refers to their procession (sacra belongs with it) not to the armed forces. The Turks may well have 'adopted' some
Christian churches for use as mosques, and would have been appalled by the Christians' sprinkling holy water in the city, and therefore drove out the priests. The Christians (as v.75 makes clear) took the Turks' opposition as an insult, and fought back.

prefodiunt portas is from Vergil, A XI.473. Servius comments on the phrase 'id est ante portas fossas faciunt'.

sibi succedendo: 'relieving one another'.

ire is here equivalent to euntem. The construction resembles the use of the infinitive in modern French, e.g. 'Je le vois sortir'. This is freely used in Old French (Anglade, Grammaire, pp.191-193). There is no doubt that the exigencies of the metre have forced this construction on the poet; he continues with the more usual querentem-que in v.84.

foramina: for the short syllable before the caesura, cf. above on v.16.

In the lacuna here, Riant followed Sirmond and suggested correntum. The sense clearly requires some such word: 'they seized him harshly, bound him with chains...'

se deuouet: used here in the sense in which it is found in the Vulgate, e.g. Acts 23\(^2\) 21, 'qui se deuouerunt nec manducare nec bibere'. Translate: 'he swore he would tell everything (omnia dicere) if his life was spared (servata uita).

pia conuenientia: something like 'pious agreement' seems intended here, though conuenientia has feudal overtones, as Niermeyer 3, and 6 - 10, all of which deal with legal conditions and forms of contract, make clear.
92 insinuatum This is a supine of purpose, 'sent to make his way to the citizens'.

98 For the confusion about the person of Qilij Arslan, Sultan of Rum, in the work of the Charleville poet, cf. supra on II.263ff.

102 'The only fighting they need prepare for would be between themselves, over the spoils'.

107 qui...aberant: this looks back to tibi Raimunde tuisque in v.105.

ad milia bina i.e. two miles away. Raymond's men arrived at Nicaea on 16th May 1097 and occupied the land to the south of the city, completing the siege. Prior to his arrival the Crusaders were of insufficient numbers to surround the city and prevent supplies reaching those inside (Runciman Hist. Crus. I p.178).

110 - 111 In CA II.15 the spy is brutally killed and his body is catapulted into the city. In AA II.26 the narrative is rather confused; the spy appears friendly, but his conversion is not realised.

115 punitum is a supine of purpose; cf. v.92.

120 - 150 Parallels in PT p.49; RA 5 p.45; FC I.xi.1;

RM III.3; AA II.27.

122 structa If this is to be taken with ensibus et clipeis, then Gilo is following a late latin usage; cf. LS struo II.B.3, 'to provide with' and the refs. to Tertullian. Alternatively it can be taken only with sexaginta milia, in the sense 'drawn up in battle-line' (LS struo I.B.2) with ensibus et clipeis regarded as a descriptive ablative.

122 - 123 The arrival of the Turks is placed before the sack of the city in AA.
128 - 130 This action is also recorded in FN. The subjunctives in vv. 129 - 131 are dependent on *quod* at the start of v.129.

130 BCF replace *preberet* in ADG because this word is metrically unsuitable; cf. IA *praebeo*.

135 - 139. This further, short addition by the Charleville poet finds no close parallels in the other accounts.

138 This simile recalls some of those of Gilo for its striking visual imagery and brevity.

140 - 141 Translate: 'And the enemy endured in defeat what he has assuredly predicted about our men....'

142 *funera fiunt* The same idea is found in RM III.4.

149 In GF II.viii.p.17, the sack of the city is not mentioned at all, and the capture of Nicaea is attributed entirely to the Byzantine emperor. PT p.50, RA 4 p.44, EM 14.1 follow GF in this, as do TIC XXIV (=PT), FN vii, RM III. 5, GN III.9-10. Only AA II.37 seems close to Gilo and the Charleville poet here: FN seems to have preferred the account as he found it in GF.

150 Again this verse is an addition by the Charleville poet. The sense of it is far from clear: the only way to make any sense from it, and even this is forced, is to take *Pictum* as an abbreviated genitive plural, and translate: 'innumerable Picts were transported (there) too in a well-laden ship'. The form *milia* for 'innumerable', though rare, is found in Prudentius CS I.516 and in the Vulgate, Revelation 5:11. 'Picts' would presumably refer to the emperor's Varangian guard, who at the time were made up mainly of Vikings and Anglo-Saxons. Although the epithet
Pictum is obviously very strained, it is possible that the Charleville poet, who earlier shows great interest in geography, might intend 'men from the north' by it. 

Quoque cannot be emended to the more obvious quinque because of the metre. The only alternative is to take pictum as a supine of purpose, emend to pactum (a painful syncope of pacatum) and translate 'thousands (of men) were brought in a well-laden ship to pacify (the city).

151 - 189 Parallels in GF III.ix.p.18; PT p.51; HC XX; RM III.7-9; HG XII; EP II.1; AA II.38

151ff. Gilo is alone in implying that the column was already divided into two units, one led by Hugo Magnus, one by Bohemond, when the Crusade got under way again. RM says the division took place at a bridge after 2 days' march; he also gives the same leaders as Gilo. However, GF, PT, RA, FC, TIC and BN all say that the first column was led by Raymond of Agiles, not Hugo, and Raymond must have been considered senior to Hugo both in terms of his age and the fiefs and possessions he held. Gilo's tradition is quite clearly separate from that of the prose sources at this point.

153 - 158 Note in these lines the occurrence of trinini salientes: Gilo rarely uses this form of rhyme for such a long stretch as this (cf. also VII.55-59).

156 siti Although the reading of PC might be preferred, siti can be defended if languore is regarded as an ablative of description: 'in their exhaustion they were to die of thirst'. Alternatively siti and languore may be regarded as causal ablatives in hendiadys, 'through exhaustion and thirst'.
graues colles: 'steep slopes'. cf. Is graues II.A, 'difficult'.

ad mala molles: 'even though our men were not used to hardships'.

GF 'per duos dies'; RM 'trium dierum curriculo'.

arta: 'narrow passes'.

This line refers to the actions of the Christians. se iactant here means 'boasted'. Idle boasting and jesting seems to have formed a stock part of the life of knights in the Middle Ages, in literature if not in fact; cf. the celebrated episode in the Voyage de Charlemagne, vv.448-628, where the knights, in 'house-arrest' at the emperor's palace, vie with one another to 'gaber' or to make boasts. Here the Christians are vaunting their own exploits (dum bene facta retractant), oblivious of the Turks' massive presence.

Alone of all the prose sources, RM 759E/III.8 gives this number of Turks, and agrees with Gilo in saying that the Christians chanced on them after 4 days; RA says it was after 3 days, and GF, PT, FC, EN and RC all say that there was a gap of 2 days.

This position of the camp is also given by RM 760 AB/III.8: 'Boamundus...et Normannus comes...praecipient omnes milites...sudes tentorium infigere. Erat autem ibi quidem riuus currentis aquae praeterfluus, iuxta quem in longum sua tunc tentoria ponunt. The epithet given to the place in v. 172 might suggest a reminiscence of an Arabic name, though there is no actual evidence for this, nor is Gilo's phrase paralleled in any of the other sources. FC I.xi.3 calls it 'harundinetum',...
that is to say, a bed of reeds. Gilo seems rather to refer to a swamp or quicksand. It must have been hard by that the Crusaders pitched their tents, and it would have afforded a measure of protection from attack on that side.

174 ferrugine tincta There is no parallel to this detail in any other account. It may be fancy on Gilo's part, or an exaggerated report in his source material.

177 Like all of Gilo's similes, this is remarkable for its compactness and visual power: grasser normally takes either in + acc., as Statius T 3.570 and TLL (Burckhardt) II.a, or per + acc., as TLL II.b. quiddam profanum might therefore be best understood as a loose accusative of description, and the phrase rendered 'when they are up to no good'.

180 fidei parma The image is from Ephesians 6:16.

183 - 185 This method of fighting by shooting arrows while on horseback seems to have taken the crusaders by surprise at first, and reference is made specifically to it by RA 6 p.50 and FC I.xi.6.

188 - 189 This couplet is a jarring addition by the Charle-ville poet, and is unparalleled in the other sources. It contains a strong reminiscence of Vergil G III.31, 'fidentemque fuga Parthum uersisque sagittis'. The MS quos is meaningless, and quis is a suitable emendation; the dative is required after mos and would have been easily corrupted to guos by the proximity of mos; it is better to take mos as dependent on fideere than vice versa: 'trusting in their arrows when they are running away is their custom'.

190 - 211 Parallels in GF II.ix.p.19; FT p.52, FC I.xi.7, TIC xxvii, BD II.2, AA II.40. vv.205-211 are paralleled only in RM III.9 and in HG, which derives from RM.

190 Note the delight in *jeux de mot* such as *magna...Magni* typical of medieval poetry.

191 *gentes sub ignota* *sub* here has the force 'close to' (LS II.A.2) and the phrase may therefore be translated 'right beside the hordes of whom he was unaware'. RA says of the Saracen forces *'aberant enim per duo miliaria'*.  

194 *consilio* is adverbial (cf. *TLL* (Gudeman) *consilium I*): 'whom the handsome Bohemond had prudently sent'.

195 - 199 cf. RM 760E/III.9:

*dum sic pugnatur, dum sic pars prima necatur,*

*pars ea Turcorum quae riuum transiit, illa*

*protinus inuasit tentoria Christicolarum*'.

These words are reproduced *verbatim* in HG I.xiii.

202 *quis* seems to be required by *mors esset honori* at the end of the verse; otherwise assume *qui* to be attracted into the nominative by the proximity of *possent*, and place the comma after this verb.

202 *mors esset honori* cf. the note on IV.253, *infra*.

206 *dampno* is best understood as a predicative dative, 'as a loss to himself', or as a causal ablative, 'handing over the battle...because of this loss (i.e. to the Christians in the camp)'. One might have expected some preposition to strengthen the phrase in the latter case, and the former therefore seems more likely.

210 - 211 cf. RM 760F/III.9 'pro uallo et munimine in tentoriiis milites dereliquit', followed closely by HG.

212 - 271 The parallels here are not very close, except for RM III.10; where small episodes are also found in other
sources, they are noted *ad loc*.

212 *illac* BCF's reading *illac* can be argued for convincingly to form a parallelism with *ex hac parte*, but *illac*, 'there', is equally likely, and moreover situates the narrator in the thick of the action, on the same side as Robert of Normandy. It might also suggest that an eyewitness account lies behind Gilo's version.

214 BCF's reading is preferable in that it introduces a neat chiastic structure to the verse, and strengthens *tacti*, which is left in a weak position in ADG. Translate: 'The Franks, excessively hurt (and) driven on by fear..'

Dr. J.B. Hall suggested a possible emendation to *fracti*; but in support of *tacti* used in this sense, cf. LS 3, a, and the Old French Touchier (e.g. Roland v.1316, 'el cors ne l'ad tuchiet', 'did not wound his body'). Cf. also below, VIII.121.

215 BCF's *sed* is substituted for *et* to emphasize the fact that by fleeing the Franks did not escape scot free: *et* would introduce a hint of irony that is out place here.

216 Marte calore siti Asyndeton such as this is common in medieval epic; cf. supra, v.56.

219 - 220 This tactic was a favourite one of the Normans, and is highlighted by Wido of Amiens in his *Carmen de Hastinæ Proelio*, vv. 424 - 434:

> Ac si deuicti fraude fugam simulant.  
> Rustica letatur gens, et superasse putabant...  
> Quique fugam simulant instantibus ora retorquent,  
> Constrictos cogunt uertere dorsa neci.

220 Cf. RM 761B/III.10: 'nostris illa dies nimis exitabilis esset'.

221 BCF's alteration produces no change in rhythm or metre, and is presumably due to aesthetic considerations.
facti castellum  This phrase is perhaps the most perplexing of the entire poem. castellum is well attested as a 'stronghold' or 'tower' by Niermeyer, or 'munitiones' by DuCange: it denotes a permanent or semi-permanent physical structure, whereas castra or castrum denote a 'camp' in the usual sense. But what is to be made of facti? To translate 'having built a siege-tower' not only makes Gilo culpable of a grammatical aberration the like of which he nowhere else commits, but also fails to do justice to the dire situation he is describing: there was obviously no time to spend on building a castle. Mitt. Wörterbuch 2 castello only gives instances of this word meaning 'to fortify', but taking facti as passive, as we surely must, entails taking castellum as some kind of military formation such as a defensive square into which the men were marshalled. There is no attestation of this in any of the lexica of medieval Latin, however, and Mr. Randall Rogers, who has conducted exhaustive studies of the Crusaders' military tactics, informs me that to his knowledge there is no such technical term in medieval Latin accounts of warfare. Rosalind Hill, in her edition of GF, interprets that work's account of this episode 'The Crusaders seem to have defended a 'laager' or hollow square in which they had placed their non-combatants' (p. 19 note). This explanation seems the only one. The phrase is best interpreted as a very powerful metaphor: having no fortifications, 'the men themselves became the walls of defence' and from this position were able to rally round and fight back (permiscens denuo bellum).

riuis i.e. the river the camp was pitched by.

fundit here has the sense 'vanquish' or 'cast to the
ground'; cf. TLI (Robbert) 2 fundo III.A. The rhyme fundit/recondit seems weak, but BF both read recundit, and this may reflect a medieval pronunciation.

241 - 242 BCF's rearrangement of the order of these verses makes the syntax a little more disjointed than in ADG, but produces a slightly clearer line of thought by introducing the qualifying clause (v.241) first.

243 dux must refer to the leader of the Saracen forces. vv. 243 - 253 are unparalleled in any other source.

245 dubia is to be taken with re: 'doubts were raised about these suspicious circumstances'.

246 mouebat 'gave cause for concern'; cf. LS moueo 2.B.

249 mille uiros ferme These must be the stragglers from the Crusaders' forces, cut off from the main body of the army by the Saracen attack.

252 caueis is substituted for rupibus by BCF for the obvious reading that AD's reading will not scan. It seems that the Charleville poet noticed this too, emending Gilo's first effort to saxis, presumably understanding caueis.

253 turpiter The ethic of 'an honourable death' is one common to the medieval chivalric code, and is quite common in Gilo: cf. supra on the knights in the camp, v.202.

254 - 259 These verses are paralleled in BM III.11, BN ix.

262 Gilo's imagery is much richer than that of the Charleville poet, and reveals a deep grounding in the classics: this well-ordered example compares well with the wolf simile above in vv. 234 - 236.

265 agmina sulcat Again, a very expressive phrase. Only Lucan IX.668, 'auerso sulcantem regna uolatu' comes close
to it among the classical poets.

266 *Tartara Ditis* Even for a Christian poet like Gilo, standard classical epithets are acceptable, as here. For the hypallage here (one might have expected *dant multos Tartaris Ditis*) cf. the famous Vergilian phrase 'dare classibus Austros'.

271 BCF's rearrangement of the word-order produces an SDSD pattern, as against SDDS in ADG; but it is more probably due to a desire to clarify the sense of the line, separating the two verbs which are juxtaposed in ADG, and placing *fecit* nearer its subject, *iuncta manus*.

*comiti referamus:* 'if we ascribe to the Count...'

272 - 330 Parallels to this section are few in number. RM III.12 is the only one which follows Gilo at all closely. Other parallels are noted *ad loc.*

276 Gilo's topography is unclear at this point.

277 These men are (presumably) to be identified with the *aliique sinistrum* of v.276.

282 - 283 BCF's order yields an easier sense than ADG's.

283 ADG read *iactu...in uno*, which could be accounted for as an attempt to introduce *caudati* at the end of a section, but as has already been remarked, this is by no means a consistent practice in Gilo. ADG's reading must be an ablative of description, and *uulnus geminum...det* would then have to be translated 'deals a double wound in each single blow'; BCF's reading *iactum...in unum* is equally acceptable as an indirect object, altering the sense to 'puts a double wound into each blow'.

286 *cursus faciunt et uulnera* Either to be understood as a zeugma, or to be supplied with a verb such as *inligunt*.

287 sed *puto* This technique of 'interiectio ex persona poet-
ae', though not unknown in classical poetry, is far more common in medieval works, and especially in the vernacular.

' they decided that the more daring warriors, who were skilled in waging war, should go...

necopino This is the text in BCF, and A seems to have corrupted it to nec primo. DG are more Vergilian in their reading inopino (cf. A V.857, VI.104, VIII.476). It seems however to be mainly used in a good or neutral sense, whereas necopus tends to be used in a bad sense, and this, stemmatic arguments apart, strengthens the case for reading it with BCF.

furtim Presumably the adverb commended itself more than the instrumental or descriptive ablative in the final version.

The construction here is very awkward, with potiti plural to accommodate the leonine rhyme-scheme, and the sudden change to singular with tacuit Christi miles. Such singular nouns are found instead of the plural in classical verse, but here the change is very abrupt. isti probably refers to the Christians, hos to the Turks.

Note that here and below, vv.313-314 and 320-321, caudati appear as a single couplet in the middle of leonines: Gilo does not follow a rigid pattern in his rhyme-scheme, and caudati replace leonines by book VII.

cf. above on v.266.

There is a slight fault in the otherwise impeccable scheme of double leonine rhymes here; cf. also above, v.236. The subject of all this must be Francigene in v.311.

conas 'crista iubi, crepitaculum' Glossar.vel.ex.cod. Reg.7641 aliud ex cod. 7613: 'conus est curvatura quae
in galea ponitur, supra quam crista sunt' (DuCange).
Cf. also F's gloss, 'summitates galearum inclinabant'.
The conus is the visor or moving face-mask of the helm.


318 - 330. Here the narrative is picked up by parallels in
GF III.ix.p.20, RA 5 p.45, FC I.xii.4-6, FN ix, RM III.
14, HG xv. None of these describes the fighting in the
same detail as Gilo: this is either due to a separate
strand of the crusade-history tradition which Gilo is
following, or to poetic fancy.


325 secuta tenebras: 'pursued the darkness', i.e. made
for safety in the darkness.

330 sua membra dedere quieti: a stock phrase deriving from
classical epic.

331 - 356 Again the parallels here are scanty: RM III.15
is closest, and other details appear in FT.

332 - 333 natos euertunt: 'they turn over the bodies' as
they search for their relations among the dead.

332 nati can mean (Blatt) 1. homme, 2. fils, 3. enfant, 3.2.
fidèle Chretien. cognati (Niermeyer) can mean 'brother-
in-law', 'nephew' or simply 'relative'. Mitt. Wört.
cognatus 2 = consangueus. This is supported by
Siguinus, Ars Lectoria,p.66, which interprets the Dist-
icha Catonis' injunction 'cognatos cole' as 'omnes con-
sangueinos ama'.

334 collocat makes better sense than colligit in ADG, as this
would mean 'gather together' rather than 'place', which
seems to be required by breui fossa.

336 inde remotum: the bodies were headless, and those bring-
ing the remains to the graves tried to 'match' heads to
bodies. Translate: 'hoping this head was the one they knew (notum) though it had been torn far from the torso'.

This is paralleled closely by RM 7640/III.15: 'sicque die tota non est gens nostra remota'.

This verse is added by the Charleville poet. As it stands in G, the line makes no apparent sense: with manet from the MS corrected to monet, however, it may be rendered 'all those things are put to rights whose use reminds (sc. the Crusaders) that they are lacking' (egere; for its use with the genitive, cf. LS I.b.().).

Usus might be rendered 'worn condition' (LS 2 usus I.A.2). Even so, the sense of this verse is not particularly clear, as is the case with other insertions from the hand of the Charleville poet.

Parallels to this are found in PT p.57, RM III.19, FC I.xii.4-6.

altera lux i.e. dawn the following day.

On such asyndeta see supra v.216, and note.

inimici must refer to the Crusaders, as the 'hostile army' (i.e. hostile to the land through which they were travelling). If it is taken to refer to the Saracens, it is difficult to explain how their action in laying waste the loca could be an omen felix. It is better to take it as referring to the Christians, who, after the hardships of the plain, were able to plunder from towns on the way to Antioch (see also RM, GF, PT, and the Charleville poet's additions in vv. 357 - 435 below). This also explains the zeugma in 353: 'the enemy (the Saracens) gave them a safe journey and their weapons gave them provisions'.

Romania: here as in all the Crusading literature this
refers to the Sultanate of Rum, which occupied most of Asia Minor.

Some such verb as *uenerunt* must be understood, though it is peculiar that the last sentence of a book should lack such an important auxiliary verb. However, the MSS are unanimous in their support of Gilo’s ellipsis. *Donec* continues the text with more detail, but begins a totally new sentence and does not supply a verb. *Donec* is found without the auxiliary *est* in Livy and Tacitus, but there it is merely a stylistic device. The ellipsis here is extremely harsh. Cf. also Vergil A II.100, Stat. B IV.3.160, Sidonius Apollinaris C IV.14.4. Hofmann, *Lateinische Umgangsprache* p.169ff. notes that a verb frequently has to be supplied in Terence and in Cicero’s letters. Lührstedt, *Syntactica* II p.244 says ‘Unter elliptisch veggelassenen Verben sind bekanntlich in erster Linie die Verba dicendi, die Verba agendi und die Verba eundi et veniendi zu nennen’. Professor Giovanni Orlandi notes on this passage ‘l’ellissi di un verbo indicante moto non è impossibile, essendo attestata in testi colloquiali e tardi’ (letter to the author, 22 March 1982).

Note the chiastic structure, a common feature of medieval poetics.

This additional section divides into three parts:

1) The journey of the Crusaders through Pamphylia and Cilicia to Tarsus; 2) An incident where Godfrey de Bouillon has a fight with a wild bear (367 - 397); 3) The Crusaders’ arrival in Antioch, together with some historical information about the city (398 - 435).

There are small lacunae in the first part, and rather more in the third, but it is the central section which is the
most fragmentary, and even with the help of the ultraviolet lamp, the text in this section remains extremely defective. As with the previous long interpolated section, this one begins with a leonine and then continues for the most part with caudati.

357 - 366 There are vague similarities between this part of the narrative and the accounts found in BM III.19-20 and AA III.5; however in these latter it is clear that only that half of the Crusade led by Tancred took the route described. Here, the link between vv. 364 and 366 - 367 appears to intend us to understand that Godfrey formed part of the leadership of this expedition. The poet's aim is clearly to exalt Godfrey, combining the journey through Cilicia with the episode of the bear, which follows it. This corresponds to the Charleville poet's previous elevation of Godfrey to the position of supreme leader of the Crusade, and provides additional reasons for supposing that these additional sections come from the Charleville poet.

360 The geographical detail here has vague similarities to Pliny, BN V.94; there may well be a reminiscence here.

363 Tharsenses: the people of Tarsus. As stated above, Godfrey did not journey via Tarsus, passing north from Tyana to Caesarea Mazacha, and from there proceeding south-east through Coxon to Marash.

365 - 366 The reading at the end of 366 is doubtful, and these verses are hard to construe: the que in v.366 in particular seems superfluous. The sense intended seems to be 'harsh fortune however gave certain omens to the famous duke by the intervention of a great danger'. The story of Godfrey's fight with a bear is found in GN VII.
12, AA III.4 and WT III.17. Guibert’s account in particular is very close to the narrative here, and may perhaps be a source for it (Guibert’s account was written before 1108 according to L. and J. Riley-Smith, The Crusades, Idea and Reality, p.45).

Guibert of Nogent VII.12

Cuius aliud non inferioris gloriae factum, dignum quoque relatu ac omnimoda celebritate subnactendum consumus. Nicaeaeem ceperant, et ad Antiochiam obaidendam, quoniam super Nicaeae res fortuniose processerat, contendebant, cum inter eundum, aliquotiens dum a procinctu solito opportunitas securitatis adesset, progredientes e ubi-urnis contiguis bestias venarentur (saltus namque eius regionis non ea qua nostri grossitie ac proceritate eminent), semel accidit ut immanis admodum corpulentiae ursus e fractectis exiret, quem commodity exercitus circumquaque disciperet. Ursus nempe isdem, praesensa frequentia conclamantum, e quibus emerserat silus extemplo repetitit. Multis ergo uncercumque girantibus, cum nil occurreret, miserocuid contigit ad bestiae lustra pertingere. Quem ubi incatum prosiliens ursus adoritur, brachiis subigit, hominisque iaecentis
corripit mox dente femur.

Et ecce dux, dum a suis euagatus oberrat, solus inter-
uenit: quem miser intuitus, et ex circumstantia doloris
cor timoris illacrimans, ingentis uiro liberalitates
objectans, super opis latione compellat. Nec ille, cui
pene omnis constatab ex uirtute natura, cunctatur aux-
ilium, sed ad caper quo ualuit in istae in uerticem
beluae illisit protinus gladium. Quae, ossis obnicens
duricene, potius irritata quam laesa, in ducem se contulit:
at illus tumen, primo infelicitatis,
quos trux interdenter dentes a crure remiset.

Qui celer excedens, et de uicissitudine duci referenda,
sui uterque curiosus, i a r a  negligens, incepto dimisit
utrumque conflictu. Igitur fera, eo ictu effecerat,
silit, ac unco corripit unce ducem:
dicit ac sub se cohobit crudelibus ulnis,
et rabido rapuit mordicus ore femur:
cuius regia mens

nequaquam subita turbam perpessa ruina,
protractum retinere manu non destitit ensen.

Cum ergo iaceret ellius, et cum carpere cooperat coxam
fera torqueret, dux, suie necessitate non immemor, in ipso
confiio cerucia et armi gladium beluae applicat, aciem-
que mucronis uniuerasee collatione eadem uirtutis imuis-
cerat. Quae persentiscens ferrum ad interrancrum ima
prolabi, tandem quos in femoris pulpa constrinxerat rictus
extulit: dumque a ferali se ore solutum dux inspicit,
sed loco non eam moueritt attendit, iunctis a se pedibus pro-
pulit, sed in ipso repulset, per prominentis a beluae pect-
ore gladii aciem, surae sibi tibiarum lethaliter pene con-
cidit. Ruit itaque multo deterius quam cum premeretur
a bestia, et toto iam corpore inualido ac exsangui, uix aliquando repperitur a suis. Solitudinem suarum poenituit tunc sero ducem, dum per id appendix sibi exercitus et totius sacrae militiae detrimenta contingunt. Usque ad finem plane Antiochiae obsidionis aegre prorsus nisi lectica deueshi potuit...

367 carecta: 'thickets'. The word is rare, but would have been familiar to a medieval from Vergil E 3.20.

369 uel is very weak here, serving merely to link molie and roboris in place of et or atque, neither of which would here be metrically acceptable.

371 dumque This appears to link up with the dum-clause beginning in v. 367; for the imperfect subjunctive with dum meaning 'while', cf. Woodcock, New Latin Syntax, para. 221.iii.

373 pietas: an obvious reminiscence of the pius Aeneas of Vergil. Godfrey's hallmark is pietas in the Christian sense.

374 uel in cladem: 'even if it meant death'.

377 prædam inermem: i.e. the peditem of v. 371.

381 The lacuna here was filled by Riant with the words strictum ualidis, following Sirmond. If the words amplexituir ulnis are a reminiscence from Ovid M 8.318 or Il. Lat. 571, then geminis would be more likely to be correct; hence its adoption.

382 The text is badly defective from here to v.397, though many words or letters have been revealed by the use of the ultra-violet lamp, as the apparatus criticus makes clear. The story is much the same as in GN and AA: Godfrey’s men defeat the bear (vv.387-388) but he himself is badly wounded (v.389), which causes his men to fear for him (vv.390-393). However he continues with the Crusade (vv.394-397) and leads them to Antioch, where he
recover.

398 Riant follows Sirmond and supplies *recreatus* to fill the lacuna here; it, or *sanatus* or some similar word, must obviously be supplied to meet the clearly-intended sense 'eventually, through the effect of divine healing, he recovered'. In both the classical period and the middle ages, *medicina* could mean the medicinal art or the potion itself. What is noteworthy here is the theological aspect: Godfrey's recovery was due to God's intervention.

398 - 435 The second half of this section, like that above, is very defective in places, but the first half clearly reveals the same interest in geography and history that permeates the first three books and the intercalated book VI. The bible is drawn upon more in this section than is the case elsewhere, however.

402 *profari* This is dependent on *professi* in v.403: 'they admitted that they could not do it justice in their writings'.

403 *interdicta*: 'forbidden them' because they were unable to describe the city properly. The verse amplifies the idea already set out in v.402.

405 *Numerorum*: Numbers 34.11. In this and the Jeremiah reference, the poet connects Riblah or Riphath with the city of Antioch, but confuses what may have been two different places: 1) the name of a place in the district of Hamath, on the river Orontes; 2) Riphath at the north-east corner of the boundary of Israel (referred to in Numbers 34). This might be the same place as 1), but the border is generally reckoned to lie farther south (cf. Ezekiel 47.15-18; D.J. Wiseman, article *Riblah*, New Bible Dict-
This is exactly the context of the Numbers passage: 'et de Sephama descendent termini in Rebla, contra fontem Daphnim; inde peruenient contra orientem ad mare Cenereth...' On Daphnim cf. below, vv.415-416.

huius: sc. meminit, as in v.404.

Hieremias: there are two passages from Jeremiah, 39:7 and 52:9-27 which describe the death of King Zedechiah. The latter of these may also be used below, in the intercalated book VI at vv.331ff. cf. 39:6-7: 'et occidit rex Babylonis filios Sedechiae, in Reblatha, in oculis eius, et omnes nobles Juda occidit rex Babylonis. Oculos quoque Sedechiae eruit, et uinxit eum compedibus ut duceretur in Babylonem'.

huius: sc. meminit, as in v. 404. The reference is probably to Ezekiel 47:15-18, which, like the passage from Numbers, sets out the ideal borders of Israel. The poet notes correctly that this occurs in the prophecy about the future temple.

Machabæorum liber: from 2 Maccabees 4:33: 'Quod cum certissime cognouisset Onias, arguebat eum, ipse in loco tuto se continens Antiochiae secus Daphnem'.

Daphnen: in BD (RHC H.Occ. IV p.46) and OV IX.ix, Daphnes is the name given to a tributary of the Orontes, now the Doueir. It is not mentioned by any of the other sources. In the present context the Biblical Daphnes is obviously intended, and it appears to stem from an oral report (v.418). In addition there may be a reminiscence here from Avienus, De Orbe Terrarum 1077ff:

hic nemorosa uiret Daphne loca, celsa cupressa erigitur, ramos innectis laurus odora
crine Dionaeo myrtus diffunditur, altae
consurgunt pinnis, et caelum sibila pulsant
robora, mollicomis tellus insternitur herbis'.

In the passage from 2 Maccabees Daphnes is a fountain,
as it is in Numbers 34 (though not all Vulgate MSS have
it at the latter point, and it may be a gloss by
Jerome, incorporated into the text by a scribe; cf.
Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. Daphnes').

R.K. Harrison (New Bible Dictionary, 'Antioch') says 'close
by the city were the renowned groves of Daphne'.
The conjecture uatem Oniam periisse is suggested by the
murder of Onias in the passage from 2 Maccabees, 433-4,
which took place 'secus Daphnem'.

418 As noted above, this verse suggests that the poet is
drawing on an eye-witness account.

421 The Orontes was usually known as the 'Farfar' or 'Ferreus'
by the Crusaders; the text may have read 'nomine Ferris'
to rhyme with Orontis.

431 The reference is to Acts 1126, 'et annum totum conuersati
sunt ibi in ecclesia, et docuerunt turbam multam; ita
ut cognominarentur primum Antiochiae discipuli, Christ-
iani'.

434 male either qualifies profanatam, 'so shamefully profaned',
or dolentes, 'grieving greatly'.

435 frequentes: 'in great numbers'.
LIBER V

1 - 17 Parallels to this are found in GF V.xii.p.28; PT p.61; RM III.29; TLC 34; FN ix; RC XLVIII; HN 21, BD II.8, AA III.32. Gilo varies greatly from the reports of eye-witnesses such as GF, PT and RA for long stretches in his account of the siege of Antioch, which occupies the whole of books V and VII. AA has many lesser details and stories of minor characters not found elsewhere.

2 The date of the Crusaders' arrival at Antioch is specified by GF as Wednesday 21st October 1097.

3 The 'Ferrus' or, in its less corrupt form, the Pharphar or Farfar, was the name given to the Orontes. 'Ferreus' is a sort of Crusaders' nickname, as Hill (p.28 note) points out, 'like "Wipers" for 'Ypres' in the First World War'. Gilo uses this form to make a rather obvious play on words, with the bridge being repaired or fortified with iron. The detail about the camp being set up before the work on the bridge was begun is unique to Gilo.

6 murumque leuatum: 'the raised-up wall', possibly some kind of earthwork.

7 - 9 cf. RM 775A/III.29, 'Quia...urbs Antiochena...moenibus excelsis turribusque in altum porrectis...praemunita erat, consilium inierunt principes quod contra eam pugnarent non uirtute sed ingenio, arte, non marte, machinamento, non conflictu bellico'. HG II.1 follows RM closely.

10 quaecumque uident nocitura: 'whatever they saw which might be dangerous'. The medieval use of the future participle in this sense is rather freer than that obtaining in classical times.
This bridge was made of boats according to RA, FC and BN; cf. also RC XLIX, RM IV.1, HN 22, AA III.42

13 *si grex malus inualuisset*: *inalesco* is given the meaning 'to become strong' by TLL (Mühmelt-Frei) and LS, but this is the opposite of what Gilo is trying to say. His use of the verb is derived from its cognates *inaletudo* and *inalidus*, and means 'become weak'. Latham lists both these senses, the more classical from 1400, Gilo's sense from c.1250 and c.1380. Translate: 'if the evil herd (sc. of Turks) had grown weaker'.

Turkish resistance across the river prevented the Crusaders from crossing the bridge and foraging without incurring serious losses.

14 - 17 This list is paralleled by RM 775C/IV.1, *'construuntur a Christicolis bellica machinamenta ad oppugnandum congrua, turrese ligneae, balistae, falces, arietes, sues, talpae, tela, sudes et fundae...'*

18 - 62 cf. GF V.xii.p.29, RM IV.1, AA III.43 for parallels.

18 - 19 The report of this first attack is paralleled only in RM.

22 The alteration from ADG's *tam multis* to BCF's *non paucis* must be on stylistic grounds, as it introduces no change in rhythm or metre.

23 The change in the word-order from ADG is again probably due to stylistic considerations; it also makes it possible to take *sapiens* not with *aliquis clericus*, but with *Homerus*, where it fits better. *vel* is postponed, after the Vergilian manner.

23 - 24 *Homerus* The fame of 'Homer', already celebrated in the Ancient World, grew even greater in the Middle Ages, and he was considered the paragon of all poets. For other
uses of his name in the 'topos of inexpressibility',
cf. Curtius, *European Literature* pp.159ff. A similar
topos occurs below in vv.374 - 375. 'Homer' in the
Middle Ages was of course the *Ilias Latina*, which was
a popular school-book in the 12th century.

27 *sed et hostes nocte fuerunt:* 'the enemy were there by
night, too'.

28 Translate: 'and they (illi) with no danger to themselves
(tranquilli) caused great harm (male nocuerunt) to many
of our men (pluribus). The word-order is disjointed by
the poet's efforts to maintain the leonine rhyme-scheme.

30 *nocte...nocte:* presumably 'every night' or 'night after
night', in view of 'nec semel' in v.29.

31 *munite:* the change from *inimice* would be an easy one
to make by accident, *in, m, im* and *un* being easily and
frequently confused, as were *c* and *t*. For *inimice*
referring to the Christians cf. above on IV.352.

32 *non clausis portis* RM says 'nocte ianuis apertis ex-
ibant'.

35 - 36 RM IV.1 reads 'ad quaerendum armigeros et plerosque
milites ob custodiam transmitterent'.

36 *quirites:* Latham attests this word with the meaning 'a
mounted knight' from c.1250. Since all knights were
mounted at this period (Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, p.109),
it may refer to a more distinct group of men. Wido of
Amiens uses it in v. 309 of his *Carmen de Hastinageae
Proelio*, and Morton and Muntz say that it derives from
Isidore of Seville, *Orig.*IX.2.84. Isidore claims that
it derives from the Sabine for 'spear'; certainly in
Adalbert of Leon's *Carmen ad Rotbertum Regem* v.145 it
seems to mean 'spearmen'. The Charleville poet also uses
the word in VI.406.
The subject of misere is quirites, and its object is pedites, as is clear from v.46.
38 cf. Rm IV.1, 'sed qui praedari uoluerunt, partim...'.
More interesting than this is the fact that verse from Gilo is found reproduced verbatim in Rm. This is the only time that a precise quote occurs, but it demonstrates the close link between these two accounts.
39 The change in word-order from ADG's version produces no metrical or rhythmic change, but does yield an easier sense, nauci being taken with illorum and mortem with sociorum. Translate: 'a few of them sadly reporting the death of their comrades...'
41 Bohemond here as always is depicted as a major figure among the leaders of the Crusade: this reflects the position given him in GF, whose author refers to him as dominus, 'my lord'. The Charleville poet only refers to him twice (I.243 and III.449); the 'hero' of his material is Godfrey de Bouillon.
46 - 48 cf. Rm IV.2-3: 'Mille armigeris ut antea praemittunt, quos Boamundus et Flandrensis comes cum electis militibus subsequuntur, praenominata ualle in qua ad ipsos confugerent, si Turci eos insequerentur.
47 armigeri i.e. 'squires'. The armigeri and ecuyers were recorded as foragers, for whom an armed escort was often provided; during the engagement they had charge of the baggage, and did not normally take part in the action' (Smail, Crusading Warfare, pp.108 - 9). It is probable that each knight would have been accompanied on the crusade by at least one squire.
56 BCF's plures was presumably substituted for ADG's multos
on stylistic grounds; cf. the replacement of *tam multis* by *non paucis* above, v.22.

58 **oppida** This word probably signifies the areas surrounding Antioch, as does *ullis* in v.61. It could also mean 'castles' (*Latham*). In a siege such as that of Antioch, the besiegers would move out to nearby villages and live off the land: hence the importance of ensuring that foraging parties were free from attack.

59 **tempora tranquilla:** for the short syllable before the penthemimeral caesura, cf. *supra* on IV.16.

61 **ullis: 'with no-one attacking them'.**

63-78 Parallels in *RM* IV.5; *GF* V.xviii.p.30; *PT* V.v.; *TIC* 38; *FC* LIV; *HN* 23; *AA* III.52

Winter was always the most crucial time to face for an attacking army, far from home and surrounded by hostile peoples. 'Warfare was seasonal. Once the winter rains had set in, the ground became unsuitable for movement. Campaigning was sometimes undertaken in winter, but such enterprises rarely prospered' (*Smail, Crusading Warfare* p.71). As Gilo tells us here, the Crusaders were largely dependent on the Armenians (who being Christians were at first kindly disposed to the Western forces, though a few years of Latin rule altered their disposition) and on the Genoese and other merchants who brought supplies via the ports on the Syrian coast, of which St. Simeon's Port was the closest to Antioch.

63-64 cf. *RM* IV.5: 'Glacialis hiems mercatum afferentes ad ipsos uenire non sinebat'.

65 **montana tumebant** i.e. they were 'swollen' with the clouds which gave them the impression of being larger than they actually were.
Armenii  The Armenians had emigrated south from their homelands during the eleventh century, and formed independent communities in the Taurus and anti-Taurus mountains. As a result of their aiding the Crusaders the Turks were in constant danger of betrayal (cf. the final betrayal at Antioch) and in the cities were faced with a population which, if not openly hostile, acted in a spirit of non-cooperation.

Sancti Symeonis is the modern Suadiye (Runciman, Hist. Crus. I p.216) and lies at the mouth of the Orontes, some 14 miles from Antioch.

nimias penas: the change in word-order produces no metrical or rhythmical difference and must be attributed to stylistic grounds.

arma  This is best taken as an accusative of description with parati, 'with their weapons ready' rather than as the object of pati, 'who could endure fighting'. The force of quicumque seems to be 'all those...scarcely made up', stressing the fact that despite their good mental state the Crusaders had suffered serious physical deprivations. arma may replace tela on stylistic grounds, sounding more smoothly after potuerunt.

This list of hardships is also found in the other narratives of the Crusade, but they place it after the taking of the city, when the Crusaders were hemmed in by Saracen forces (Book VII in Gilo). From v.96 onwards parallels are found in GF V.vii.p.29; PT p.65; RA 6 p. 50; RN IV.11; FC I.xvi.2; RN xii.

acerrima  If scanned according to the classical manner with a long initial -a-, this produces an unmetrical verse. Since other metrical aberrations in Gilo seem
to have been corrected (cf. supra IV.252 and note) it is possible that we have here either an accepted use of *acer* with a short initial -a-, following *acerbus*, *acies*, etc., or a case of brevis brevians, *tot* having influence over the initial -a- following. Below, in v.374, the classical scansion is found, *acer* having long initial -a-. The -a- may alternatively be shortened by -cer- following it having retrospective force.

82 Note again the use of *interiectio ex persona poetae*. 

85 - 88 Translate: 'often indeed they happily lay themselves down to sleep, and without a care they rejoice in the gentle climate; but as the wind stirs suddenly through the air, they are buffeted (precipitati) by the blast of foul weather (*aeris ingrati*). There is a play on words, *aer* being used successively in three different cases.

90 cf. RM IV.5: 'ipsa tentoria innatabant'.

91 *locarat* is used in Tacitus A 14.38 with the sense (LS I.B.2.e.) 'quarter', and a similar sense is needed here, 'tether' or 'stable'.

94 - 95 *nec nomen habebat honeste/militis*: *honeste* is adverb-ial. This form maintains the leonine rhyme-scheme and matches *pestes*. To be a knight in the late 11th century was not merely to be a mounted warrior, but to belong to a social class whose boundaries were carefully limited; a man could be a mounted soldier (*eques*) without being a knight proper (*miles*); and the term *quirites* (above, v. 36) may refer to someone who was merely a mounted soldier. The terms overlapped somewhat: 'generally speaking, the Latin armies were nearly always described in terms of *militae pedesque*, and since during the (12th) century the sense of *miles* was changing, it is not easy to ascen-
tain the meaning attached to each of these words' (Smail, Crusading Warfare pp.107-8). Social status could not have been forfeited through the loss of a horse; Gilo's point is that the knights, accustomed to ride into battle, were reduced to the role of foot-soldiers, and could not honestly claim to be acting as miles.

armigerum i.e. the knight's squire or servant. See supra on v.47.

Once again, as in v. 46, the 'hero' of Gilo's poem, or at least the instigator of all major action, is Bohemond; in addition, he acts alongside Robert of Flanders, a pairing also attested by GF V.xii.p.30.

GF gives the number as 20,000: 'egressi sunt illi et ali plus quam XX milia militum et peditum', but FM agrees with Gilo, 'XXX milia militum equitumque elegerunt' (778A/IV. 6).

galeati i.e. helmeted. Smail notes that during the period of the Crusaders 'armour and therefore the horse required to carry it became heavier and more costly' (Crusading Warfare, p.107). This term may also designate a specific type of mounted soldier, with full armour, as opposed to the miles leuis.

ammirati: this was not in fact the Turkish equivalent for rex. Latham lists a multiplicity of forms for the word from the 11th and 12th centuries, and this only from British and Irish sources. The word denoted one who held an iqtta, land or revenue assigned to an individual from the ruler or Sultan; he was only bound to the central government by the Sultan's power to appoint and dismiss him, by his obligation to include the name of the Sultan in public prayers, and to furnish a contingent to
the Sultan's armies when he was called upon to do so (Smail, Crusading Warfare p.65). Gilo, looking as a Westerner at the situation and not fully understanding the political structure of the Turkish empire, regards the three rulers as independent monarchs.

111 Scalapi i.e. Aleppo. Gilo is closely followed by RM and GF in having these three names. Hill (GF p.30 note) says that these leaders were Duqaq, amir of Damascus, Tughtagin his atabek (= military tutor) and Janah-al-Dawla, amir of Homs. She also points out (p.xxxii) that Yaghi Siyan (latinized to Casianus in the Crusade narratives) was in theory the vassal of Rudwan of Aleppo, but that he had 'recently deserted to the side of Rudwan's brother and rival Duqaq'. The name of the amir of Jerusalem was Suqman ibn Ortuq.

112 This is corroborated by all the other narratives except RA 6 p.50, which claims that the Crusaders were defeated.

118 - 193 Riant in a note on 118-147 says that the details it records 'apud ceteros desunt'. This is not strictly true: the castle built to spy on the city is mentioned by RA p.58, EM 22, BD II.10, and may possibly be referred to in PT p.65, TTC 38, XC XLIX. The confusion arises from there being two forts which were captured and repaired by the Crusaders at Antioch: the second is mentioned below in vv.395-396.

120 speculator i.e. 'a watchman' or 'lookout'. The word is also used to designate the lightly-armed, mounted soldiers used as scouts in the Crusaders' army (Smail, Crusading Warfare, p.111).

121 Is A's reading is adopted, then the translation would read 'impassable from the heights because of stones'.
molis being an instrumental ablative and de governing culmine; for de in this sense cf. LS 2 de A.3. This might imply that the route to the city had been blocked by stones rolled down from the top. BCDFG's culmina is not altogether impossible, (though it must be admitted that de is separated by a great space from molis. This may be due to the demands of the rhyme-scheme, as may the actual use of the word). The whole phrase thus stands in apposition to urbs armata dolis, meaning 'heights made impassable by stones'. Why Gilo should have specified millstones is mysterious, unless his choice of word was dictated by the rhyme and metre. Latham and Niermeyer only give mola meaning millstones, but Blatt gives other senses: 1) masse, poids; 2) pierre de consecration d'un autel; 3) pile d'un pont. It may thus refer to the stone-work in general, and may be confused with molaris, which seems to designate any large stone (cf. below, VIII.208). Furthermore, culmina, plural, suits the physical site of Antioch better than A's singular.

vellere: used in its transferred sense, 'tear down'.

In view of what has gone before, one might have expected it to have been the Turks who inflicted losses on the Christians, but the MSS are unanimous that it was the latter who dislodged the Turks with poles (contis). The verse may be qualified by satis exagitati, to mean 'it was all they could do to repulse the citizens...'

nati Christi. It would have been theologically more correct for Gilo to have described the Christians as fratres Christi or nati Dei: cf. John 1, Phil.2, Romans 8. This may account for DX's variant here.
Lyceae is presumably the Laodicea (LaLiche) on the Syrian coast, some 40 miles south of the mouth of the Orontes. During the siege the different commanders foraged far away from the actual city under attack; this was the case with Stephen of Blois, who was some distance from the main body of the Christian forces when the army of Karbuqa arrived. (Below, VII.207ff.).

Angli There are very few references to English troops in the First Crusade, and few appear to have taken part. These were either Anglo-Saxon exiles in the pay of the Byzantine emperor (his Varangian Guard was made up of many who fled England after the disaster of 1066), or (which is probably the case here) the English fleet commanded by Edgar Atheling (again in the service of Alexis I). David, in Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, says that Edgar was still in Scotland in 1097, and therefore could not have been with the fleet at this time, but Runciman (Hist. Crus. I p.228 note) disputes this. He does however admit (I p.255-6 note) that 'it is doubtful if the English arrived off the Syrian coast before March'. That Gilo is describing naval action is made perfectly clear by v.131. OV X.ii supports Gilo's statement here. It is possible though that his presentation of the various events of the siege of Antioch does not preserve the strict chronological sequence.

A's variant glus is very interesting in that it bears a marked resemblance to the Old French gloz or gluz, 'varlet' or 'scoundrel', which occurs in Roland 3456 and Charroi de Nimes 736, 'he gluz lechierres...'. The scribe of A seems to have amplified Gilo's disparaging remarks about the English somewhat.
genus: either 'race of men' (TLL {hey}) I genus I.A.1) or 'nation' (I.A.4). It is also frequent at all periods with the sense 'species', and might here bear the same sort of disparaging tone as the Modern French 'espèce'.

Translate: 'This race of men, though asked (ora-tum) took no share (non est participatum) in those things (his) which the stout-hearted army (turma bone mentis) did in the siege'.

castella RM IV.11, PT p.70 and GF V.viii p.31 all record the straitened circumstances of the Crusaders, and call the castle Aregh. If this identification is correct, then it is the same castle as is mentioned later in v.194.

Noteworthy here is the stress laid on the uanum consilium given to the people by the proceres who were relying on their own judgement. Gilo's expression recalls Proverbs 169, 'cor hominis disponit uiam suam...' and also Proverbs 212 and Isaiah 558. The Crusade was an 'opus Dei' and purely human judgements had no place in its success. The flight they advised was in any case prevented by the arrival of the Turkish armies with which Bohemond's forces had earlier had a skirmish (v. 111). Their arrival is mentioned by GF VI.xiii-xvii, pp.32-38, RM IV.14 and PT p.71.


Translate: 'so bitter rumour, bringing fresh news, raises up their depressed spirits'.

Gilo specifies the number of knights here; he is supported by PT p.72, 'fuerantque numero septingenti' though RC LW says there were 'VI et CC'. v.163 may have
slipped out of the ADG version by accidental omission, or have been added in the BCF version from fresh information; it is impossible to say which occurred.

165 deinde is disyllabic, as is common in late Latin (and indeed classical) verse.

The action of the pedites is described by GF and PT, but these sources both say that the Christians divided up into six groups, 5 of which attacked the enemy, and one of which lay in reserve.

169 leugis: 'a measure of land, league or mile' (Latham).

171 ad pontem Ferri: GF VI.xvii p.37, PT p.72, TIC L all say the fighting ended up here, but none describe the action in as much detail as Gilo does.

177 The Turks were more used to fighting at a distance with bows and arrows; at close quarters they were no match for the heavier-armoured Western troops.

178 coronat: i.e. surround, borne out by the verse which follows. The Christians' tactic here, as GF and other sources make clear, was to try to hem in the Turks between their own forces and the river, throwing them into a panic and preventing them from gaining any advantage from their superior mobility (Smail, Crusading Warfare, p.79 and p.171).

187 lentus here has its basic, literal sense, 'pliant', 'flexible'.

189 orbe rotundo This is an accurate description of a Turkish shield. 'It appears to have been a small round target' (Smail, Crusading Warfare, p.73).

190 Again, Gilo interrupts the flow of the narrative to add his own interjection.

192 uadum: i.e. the Orontes river, which lay in the path of
the fleeing Turks.

194 - 204 It is possible that here, Gilo's text contains a doublet of an earlier event. EM IV.16 mentions that this castle was called Aregh. GF also mentions this (VI.xvii p.37) and specifies that the Turks ransacked the castle and set fire to it. RM's account is as follows:

'Qui euaserunt ad castrum suum, quod prius nominamus Areth, confugerunt, sed in eo non diu remanserunt; praedatum enim uacuum diraiserunt, et fugientes abierunt. Nostri uero illud acceperunt, et custodes qui illud custodirent et pontem posuerunt.'

ilico in ADG is probably replaced by illi in BCF to give added clarity to the narrative; unlike GF, PT and RM (which here follows GF), the men who abandon the castle-fort in Gilo's account are not fleeing from the battle, but have watched its outcome from the castle itself.

199 auxilio fulti diuno Here and in v.204 the emphasis is theological, on the divine aid God gave to those fighting in his army; the phrase provides a strong contrast with the uanum consilium of vv.144-145, supra.

201 quod: dependent on letique fuerunt, 'rejoicing that their enemies...'

205 - 222 Again, few sources provide exact parallels to Gilo's narrative. PT p.73 and RM IV.16 agree that the Turks were still harrying the Christians, and GF VII. xviii p.39 gives this information in a speech at a council of leaders.

207 caueis de turribus: i.e. from the city of Antioch. The siege was not so complete that no Turks could creep in or out of the city.

211 This building of a castle near the bridge (on the site of a mosque according to GF) is mentioned by almost all
the other sources.

preter presumably replaces iuxta for stylistic reasons.

213 - 214 Translate: 'but this difficult task was not one which should be done (non perficeretur) by men who were weakened by fighting and in a state of exhaustion'. ne perficeretur makes these two verses dependent on 213, 'fearing lest this difficult task...Bohemond leapt to horse...', and necessitates re-punctuation.

215 This phrase stands in apposition to 213 - 214. Lack of conjunctions and juxtaposition of phrases such as this are common in medieval epic.

216 surgentibus astris replaces uergentibus astris not only to change the time of Bohemond's action (not specified in other narratives) but under the influence of Vergil G I 440.

217 Egidii Sancti According to GF, Raymond of Saint-Gilles was in fact the instigator of the action. Bohemond is definitely Gilo's 'hero', and Raymond thus takes second place to him.

218 Sancti Symeonis: cf. above on v.70.

221 - 222 'Genoese fleets, as the Gesta indicates, provided invaluable support during the course of the Crusade, and a little later ships from Venice and Pisa helped in the conquest of other ports in the Levant' (Hill, GF p.xxiii). On the English fleet (under Edgar Atheling) cf. supra, v.129.

223 - 239 As with sections above, there are no exact parallels to this part of Gilo's narrative. The detail about the Christians attacking the Turks (vv.227ff.) is contradicted by GF VII.xviii p.40, PT p.74, RA 6 p.50, TIC LII, and RM IV.17-18, which all say that it was the
Saracens who initiated the fighting when they realised that the Christian army had divided, and Bohemond and Raymond went off to get help from St. Simon's Port. This was the 'Battle of the Bridge' which Hill mentions in her introduction to GF (p.xxxiii).

227 Gilo by no means always praises the Christians' actions; he is swift to castigate them when they act rashly or foolishly, as here.

230 nudati pedites: this must mean 'unprotected', i.e. without defensive armour, in view of the action being described and the rest of v.230, which means 'they had scarcely vine-branches for spears'.

231 This verse has the same force as the previous one: the point about the iuuenes having their heads bound with fillets is that they did not carry the usual protective head-armour, either a metal helm or a leather cap.

233 - 234 The leonine rhyme-scheme is broken here, and two verses in trinini salientes are inserted. These have strong caesurae in the second and fourth feet, and rhyme at these points (tribemineral and heptemineral caesurae) as well as at the end like caudati.

236 marti is a common prosopopoeia found from the classical period onwards for 'war', and by this period it has no pagan connotations of any real force.

237 Here Gilo points to the moral behind the Christians' foolhardy behaviour: as a result they had to learn how to give way in battle (i.e. to lose).

240 - 242 ille cruoris...harenam: 'another, while he looks at his torn veins (for exactas cf. I6 exico I.A) gushing with blood (cruoris), slips down between the reins and bites the sand strewn with corpses (mordet harenam; cf.
perhaps the modern phrase, 'bites the dust'). ADG's 
exhaustas would mean 'drained of blood'.

243 Trapped between the city and the river, the Christians 
make for the bridge they had constructed earlier.

244 -245 Contrary to what Gilo says here, he has not told 
us how the bridge over the Orontes had been built (though 
his source may well have done); he has simply stated 
that a bridge was built (supra, vv.12 - 13).

245 - 249 Once again, the leonine rhyme-scheme gives way to 
a different pattern of rhyme, this time caudati.

251 - 252 The sense of these lines is very convoluted. male 
callidus is to be taken with ferus hostis, although its 
position in v.252 makes it an almost parenthetical inter-
jection. dum succedit ei has hec acies (understood) as 
its subject; huic aciei is dative because it is depen-
dent on insidiatur, whose subject is ferus hostis. Trans-
late: 'nor was the wild enemy wearied by this, but lay 
in wait for that body of troops (how wickedly cunning he 
was!) until it came to him'. This action by the Turks 
is paralleled by WM IV.18, GF VII.xviii p.40, FT p.74, 
RA 6 p.52, TIC XL, BN IX, CC 3, HN 28, and AA III.53.

254 hunc refers back to comitatu in v.253. A emends to hanc 
to refer back to aciei, but the correction is not needed. 
acies and comitatus are not necessarily synonymous.
Mitt.Wört. (Baader) acies = exercitus, ordinatim ad pugnam 
Wört. (Hessler) comitatus I.B.1.b. = agmen, pompa - soci-
etas itinerantium - II)spectat ad comitis munus uel 
districtum. comitatu probably here refers to the nobles 
who formed a mounted escort to the whole column; as they 
 fled, so the pedites were open to attack.
peditum from BCF is to be preferred to ADG's pedites, being grammatically more correct after tria milia.

quiritum: cf. note above on v.36.

260 - 333 Parallels to this account are found in RM IV.14, 17 - 19; GF VII.xviii p.40; PT p.75; AA III.64. RA p.60 attributes the initiation of this action to the Saracens.

261 - 262. Statinus. It is very interesting that in this list of the leaders of the Crusade, this person should be included. He is called Tetigus in GF and Tatice or Estatine l'Ésnasé in CA. Anna Commena calls him Tatikios. He was the envoy of the Emperor Alexius I and commanded the Byzantine forces accompanying the Crusade. He it was who brought the boats used in the blockade of Nicaea. Unfortunately he was involved in the debacle with Stephen of Blois at Antioch, and as a result of this he is viewed with hostility by the majority of the other Crusade narratives: GF pp.34 - 35 says of him 'fuit ille inimicus...et in perjurio manet et manebit'; RA p.54 calls him 'Tatic naribus truncus et omni uirtute'. It is therefore all the more unusual that Gilo should list him along with the other heroes of the Crusade, and his treatment of him comes close to that found in the vernacular CA II.4, where he is well disposed to the Franks, and defends them in their absence against the Emperor. GF and its dependents make no reference to his deformity, presumably a battle-wound, but RA does, and CA uses the epithet esnase (noseless). It is possible that the portrayal of this figure here and in CA was influenced by the character Guillaume as cortes nes in the Old French epic Le Charroi de Nîmes (vv.5, 139-147, 533, 847, 1210).
268ff. It is notable that from this point onwards the metre becomes much more dactylic, matching the pace of the description of the battle. The figures for vv.271 - 322 and for vv.260 - 333 are compared with the statistics for the book as a whole in the table overleaf. It is also true that the favourite patterns, DSDS and DSSD, become much more frequent in the battle-narrative proper (vv.271-322). It is interesting to draw possible inferences from this about the poet's interest in his story and the speed with which he composed (did he relish the action-packed sections more than other parts, and therefore slip into his favourite rhythms, paying less attention to variety?), but it is hard to draw definite conclusions. It is clear, though, that in the more 'exciting' passages such as this the verse patterns become more uniform.

269 quia credentes superarent: cf. I John 5:5 'haec est victoria quae vincit mundum, fides nostra'.

271 hortati A passive sense is intended here. horto is attested by IG hortor 2.11.a, and TLL (Ehlers) also gives examples of this, and hortor used passively, from Cassiodorus Var.10.91 'ab amicis hortaretur' and Ambrose In Psalm. 43,40 p.29,12 'hortatus est (var. oratus est) uoce caelesti Moyses', among others.

275 corripit ignarum: 'caught his enemy unawares'.

276 amotique parum: i.e. who were a short distance from the actual fighting.

cursosces cursor was the normal word in earlier times for a messenger or courrier, but by the time the Crusade histories were written it had acquired the additional sense 'vanguard trooper', which is the meaning required
The figures in column (a) refer to statistics for Book V as a whole.

The figures in column (b) refer to statistics for Book V, vv. 260 - 333.

The figures in column (c) refer to statistics for Book V, vv. 271 - 322.

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here. This usage is also found in GF.

per scalas cf. Niermeyer 1 scala 2, 'batallion':
'disposuitque acies per scalas perque cohortes', CAFFAR.
Ann. ad a.1157, ed Belgrano 1 p.48. cf. also DuCange 7
scala 'manipulus militaris' (= escadron).

devictus dux This is presumably Bohemond or Raymond,
who had fled to the mountains after being ambushed by
the Turks on their journey back from St. Simeon's Port
(above, vv. 251 - 259). This interpretation is borne
out by the fact that Gilo himself tells us that they
got to the hills (per colles) in v.256, and they were
still fleeing (v.281) when they chanced on this action.
Their arrival meant that the Turks were caught from both
sides.

alterutrum: 'mutually' or 'each other' (Latham). The
word is frequent in this sense in the Itala, and also
occurs in the Vulgate, in Genesis 13\textsuperscript{11}, I Reg.20\textsuperscript{41}.
284 - 287 are caudati, and once again the flow of the
leonines is interrupted.

Persas Here and elsewhere BCF appear to be indulging
in hyper-correction of an erroneous nature: the acc.
of Persae (= Perse) must be Persas: BCF seem to offer a
spurious accusative form.

arcus lunatur: i.e. they string their bows ready for
action.

Fu's lituis is to be preferred to lituus, the reading of
ABCD, as an instrumental ablative dependent on sonat.
The epithet teter is transferred to tubicen.

caua saxa is best interpreted as F's gloss has it. equo
suggests that the rocks resounded with the sound of the
horses' hooves. caua buxa, 'a reed pipe', is found in
Ovid M 12.158 and F 6.697, and in Statius T 7.171, but it is an improbable emendation here.

293 BCF replace ADG's bellatur with pugnatur to avoid the repetition bellatur bellique.

294 This verse aptly describes the 'feigned retreat' which was a common tactic in the warfare of both Moslem and Latin armies (Smail, Crusading Warfare p.78-9). Cf. also supra, IV.219 - 220.

295 Bellona flagellum This is from Lucan and is an apt image for the turmoil of the battle at this point.

298 - 300 crinitus, conspicienda capillis There are no references to the Moslems having long hair in any of the other narratives; some of the pagans in the Roland however do have very long hair, and if there is no basis for this in actual fact, then the vernacular traditions may prove to be Gilo's source.

299 terit: probably in the sense 'wear out' (LS tero I.B.3).

301 libertas clauditur illis i.e. the Turks were caught between the two Christian forces, the river, and the city wall. RA p.60 says that the Turks were trapped because those inside the city, fearing that the Franks would surge inside, closed the gates against their own men.

305 - 306 Being hemmed in, the Turkish forces were unable to employ their normal tactics, and were at a considerable disadvantage fighting at close quarters, as they were ensis inexperti (v.314).

314 - 317. Once again, two pairs of caudati break up the leonine pattern.

316 huic prohibetur: prohibeo is not attested as used impersonally in any of the dictionaries, and unless huic is
emended to *hic*, the verb is best taken as governing pugnare in v. 317, with *huic* as an ethic dative. Anglade, *Grammaire Élémentaire de l'Ancien Français* p.181, lists many verbs used impersonally in Old French whose Latin equivalents are never so used, and there might be a hint of vernacular influence here.

*non modice* presumably replaces ADG's *immodice* in BCF to strengthen the play on words with *modico*.

*cf. RM 786C/IV.19*, 'noster tantum pugnabant, illi patiebantur'.

*soli*, the reading of BC, must be adopted instead of ADFG's *sola*. There is no evidence that *solum* was ever applied to the object of a clause, and *soli* is therefore the correct reading. It could easily have been corrupted to *sola* by the close proximity of *bella*.

*cf. RM 786C/IV.19: 'Inter uiros mortui stabant, quia suffulti densitate uirorum cadere non poterant'*.  

*332 - 333 pro: cf. L 1.*pro II.B.6*, 'by virtue of', and translate 'since they were allowed so much (*quoniam tantum licuit, understanding *eis*) with respect to the slaughter of these dangerous troops (*pro strage nocentum*) the stubborn people (*stolide gentes; or perhaps 'they stubbornly thought', with *stolide* adverbial) thought that they too were dangerous'. The intention is for us to see that the Latin Crusaders supposed that they were 'crack troops' on account of the defeat they had inflicted on the Turks. The sense is somewhat obscured by the striving for a play on words between *nocentum* and *nocentes*.

*334 - 375 Cf. RM IV.19. This obscure passage seems to describe a second attack on the Turkish remnant by the Crus-
aders: the Christians probably withdrew to re-group and then charged again (the mounted knights' favourite tactic). miles refers to the Crusaders.

335 exactas replaces ADG's exhaustas in BCF, as it does in v.241 above. The change in word-order from ADG to BCF's uoluit uires produces a DSDS line instead of DSSD.

336 rupit ut ille chorum: 'as the Christians broke ranks at the charge'.

nubes glomerata: this must refer to the Turks, who were hemmed in and had no space to form up.

337 The Turks panic at the sight of the Christian charge, and struggle with one another to get away: hence Gilo can term their action 'ciuilia bella' (v.339).

341 - 344. Another of Gilo's lengthy similes, well-constructed and carefully balanced: its main point is brought out by certare uidentur (v.344).

346 dux Bullicus: i.e. Godfrey, duke of Bouillon (cf.RA p. 61). Bellicus (in BC) is a more obvious corruption than DG's Publicus, which implies that the dux was one of the Turkish allies: on publicani see below, note on VIII.

349 quodque from AD must be adopted instead of BCF's quoque: the difference in 12th century script was very slight, and the superscript which turned guo into quod could be easily omitted. quoque yields no reasonable sense, since the singular verb dat hardly fits with the plural pugnant earlier in the line unless a singular subject is provided for it.

350 This line parallels 349: hec refers to ira, hic to locus, ille to gladius. This parallelism is frequent in medieval poetry.
subigit uires makes much better sense applied to the one man, Godfrey, than ADG's animos firmat, which implies a group of men.

The episode which follows is one of the most widely reported in the different crusade narratives:

PT p.75 (MS B in lemma); RC LIII; RM IV.20; MG 2.IX;
LEJ II.i.; GN VII.ii; AA III.65; OV IX.9. It is also mentioned by Henry of Huntingdon and Matthew Paris.

Babcock and Krey (WT trans I.234) show a very sceptical attitude towards this episode: 'this legend of Godfrey's feat of strength may have begun in the description of the battle by RA, who speaks of Godfrey dividing the foe as it came towards the bridge. Albert (of Aix) expanded it, and in this instance William (of Tyre) seems to have carried it to its fullest extent'. In this they do not take account of the other earlier accounts of the event, including that found in the Chanson d'Antioche Belge (ed. Reiffenberg V.p.120 - l) vv.632ff.:  

La avient Godefroy une cose avenant,  
Chou c'onques mais n'avint a nul homme vivant:  
Ung Sarrasins aloit Godefroy enkauchant,  
arme souffisament, sur le destrier courant,  
Godefroys le fery du traviers du talent,  
Par itel covenant, on le trouve lisant,  
Que le Sarrasin va parmy le corps trenchant.  
Une moitiet cMby sur le pret verdoyant,  
Et ly aultre moitiet denoura sur Bauçant;  
Et ly avans s'en va en le porte fuiant  
Ou Garsions estoit avoecques Solimant'.

Reiffenberg wonders (V.p.lxx) if this might not be a reminiscence of pseudo-Turpin (Cap.XX ed. Ph.Mouskes, t.I, p.507) on Charlemagne: 'tanta fortitudinis erat, quod militem armatum sedentem super equum, a vertice capitis usque ad basem, simul cum equo uno ictu, propria spatha secabat'. It may also owe something of its presentation to a passage from the Chanson de Roland,
CVII, vv.1367 - 1378.


355 - 359 These lines break up the leonines and introduce Tiradenreim. There are more tiradenreim in vv.367 - 369.

360 The change in word-order is presumably effected in order to place the adverb altius nearer to ictum, which it qualifies.

364 BCF's rupit is changed for ADG's present: such a mixture of tenses as results is quite common in medieval epic.

365 ADG's truncatus repeats what has already been said about the Turk being sliced in two; prostratus in BCF, 'laid low', was perhaps thought more suitable because it was a more general term.

368 Translate: 'The rider is his horse's unusual prize', i.e. it carries part of him off like booty.

370 cf. RM 787D/IV.20, 'et cuius cor eructare, cuius lingua enarrare, cuius manus scibere, quae pagina ualet susciper aliorum facta principum...' and GF VIII.xix p.44, 'nemo est in his partibus siue clericus siue laicus qui omnino possit scribere uel narrare sicut res gesta est'. Cf. above on V.23, and also Alcimus Ecdicus Avitus III. 337 - 339.

374 Macer 'nur wegen des Reims auf acer gewählt ist' (Mani- tius). It could alternatively be a reference to Ae- milius Macer, the poet-friend Ovid mentions in Tr.4,10, 44, and A II.18,35, or a corruption from Maccua (i.e. Plautus).

376 - 394 for parallels cf. RM IV.21, TIC LVI, PT VIII.11, MG
II.9.

376 decus eoum i.e. the leaders of the Turkish army.

tropehum: i.e. a victory scored over them by the Franks.

377 - 378 dextra...nostrorum: the 'right hand' is a striking image of the 'power' or 'valour' of a people. In the Chanson de Roland, Roland is called Charlemagne's right hand, 'destre mains del Carles'.

379 cf. GF 138/VII.xviii.p.41, 'mortui sunt etiam in anima et corpore duodecim amminalii de Turcorum agmine in prelio illo...'

380 this refers to the amirs.

382 Riant cites FR 788A (IV.21), 'occisus est Cassiani magni regis filius'. This and HG II.9 are the only parallel references to this event.

386 This line is fascinating from a stemmatic point of view. The 'first version' is clearly that of ADG, fitque pauimentum de corporibus morientum; of the second two versions, F's is weak, and the more powerful line found in BC is therefore printed. BC incorporate apparent glosses elsewhere (cf. supra v.354) and this variant may have come down in the transmission of the text as a gloss, but it is clearly superior to F's line, which may be regarded as a 'first revision'.

389 Notable here is the change in rhyme-scheme, 6 lines of caudati breaking up the flow of the leonines.

390 quique is plural, in agreement with uidentur in v.389.


395 - 396 This is the castle-fort for the building for which men were brought from Saint-Simon's Port (above, v.218).

397 alea fati The phrase is from Lucan VI.7, VI.603.
401 BCF replace ad with in, perhaps because in suits predam better here in the sense 'act of plundering'.

404 - 407, as well as 409 - 410, are caudati, and break up the flow of leonines.

406 huc: cf. LS II.F, 'to this end', referring back to 402 - 405.

407 - 408 cf. GF VIII.xix p.43; PT p.81; TIC LVIII; RM V.4; HN 33. GF specifies that the castle was built in order to keep the citizens of Antioch from receiving supplies, and to protect their own foragers from sudden attacks from the city. RM comes very close to Gilo in his choice of words: 'illic uero ubi preda capta fuit, erat antiquum castrum'. The oblique reference to Tancred later receiving the city, of which the castle was but the first pledge, suggests the events of March 1101, when after Bohemond had been taken prisoner, Tancred succeeded him as Prince of Antioch. This is the only reference in Gilo's poem to a post-First Crusade event (Runciman, Hist. Crus.I pp.325-6).

415 - 460 The truce is only mentioned by Gilo, RM V.5, KG II.11, CA V.3. Forester, in his translation of OV (vol.III p.119), has an interesting note about it: 'Ordericus, as well as most other historians of the crusades, has neglected to notice a truce concluded with the besiegers, which was interrupted by the murder of Gualon. See Robert the Monk, Book V. This event is, however, one of the most interesting episodes connected with the siege of Antioch. According to Gilon's metrical narrative, the wife of the warrior must have been the daughter of Hugh the Great, named Rumberge, who is not mentioned by the genealogists'. Gilo specifies that the truce
was only temporary, while talks could go on to decide terms for the city's surrender (v.417).

porte celate: celate is either to be taken as an adjective, 'engraved', or else as an adverb, as in Ammianus Marcellinus 14,7,21, 'secretly'. There is no corroborative evidence to suggest that the gates were in fact highly decorated, and the adverbial sense is better, 'without the Turks' knowing'.

soluto arcu, i.e. with the string unfastened: they were no longer in a state of preparedness for war.

Only RM V.6, MG II.12, MN 34 mention this person. This shows their close relation, as do other, more minor details. They do seem to refer to a historical event. Anselm de Ribemont, in a letter to Manasseh, Abbot of Rheims (in RHG H.Occ.III p.892) mentions in passing 'occisus est Wallo conestables'; Anselm also relates the death of Roger de Barnavilla.


quem refers back to ulri. elusit has the sense 'deceived' or 'tricked'.

Humberga As Forester noted, this lady is mentioned by no other historians than Gilo and the RM-group. She appears to have been the daughter of Hugh the Great, unless by Hugonis another Hugh is meant.
It is notable that from this line until the end of the book, the leonine rhyme-scheme is abandoned in favour of caudati, including the section in elegiacs.

430 *comitis*: 'a count'. No specific person seems intended, unless 'filia' in this line means Hugh's 'girl', not his daughter.

434 The play on words, *subtilisque...subtili*, is a common medieval conceit.

437ff. The elegiac lament shows some signs of Ovidian influence, but few actual citations from his works. The caudati rhyme-scheme is continued, though with only monorhyme, except at 445 - 446.

441 The play on words *languet...languida* is another example of the rhetorical motifs Gilo uses, and which presumably form part of the 'carmen facilis' style he intends to use (supra, IV.3). This line was omitted at the 6 stage (see above, 'Relations of MSS and Stemma'). To preserve the elegiac couplets (D omits 441, and places two pentameters in juxtaposition), C, the Charleville Poet, composed an entirely new verse of his own.

444 As the MSS make clear, there is another play on words intended in *cum caderes* and *compariter* (MSS *cumpariter*).

445 - 446 These lines have a very carefully worked-out structure, parallelism being the key to their exegesis, as MS A makes clear by adding lines linking the words to be taken together, as below:

hei mihi non fodi non clausi non ego laui
os oculos uulnus ueste manu lacrimis

Similar parallelism in construction is found frequently elsewhere in medieval literature, e.g. in Hildebert of
Lavardin and in Laurence of Durham's Dialogi vv.385 - 6:


447 cui: for a similar construction cf. Ovid H III.61, 'ibis et o! miseram cui me, uiolente, relinquques', of which Gilo's line may be a reminiscence. vv.447-8 are only found in BCF; this could mean that they were added during the final revision, or that they were accidentally omitted in the copying of the first.

450 There is a faint reminiscence here of Ovid H I.44, 'at bene cautus eras et memor ante mei'.

453 - 454 The MSS relationships are very interesting here. The lines were omitted by δ (see stemma), since neither D nor G contain it. The first version, preserved in A, was obviously deemed unsuitable; it might even be possible that some of Gilo's friends with a more spicy sense of humour provided answers to the questions 'quid faciam?' and 'quid faciet fragilis femina castra sequens?'. The second version, preserved in BCF, removes this anomaly by stressing Humberga's loss of the young man Gualo.

461 - 476 This brief addition by the Charleville poet contains information not supplied by Gilo: the siege lasted 10 months; a report came that 'myriads of Persians' were on their way; and the crusaders swore to continue the siege for seven years.

462 nostrates: this is normally only adjectival in the classical period, but it is frequent as a noun in medieval Latin (cf. Blatt nostrates II.2,'Les nôtres = nostri'.)

464 GF X.xxxii p.77 says the siege lasted 8 months and one day; PT p.121 says the same. EM VII.19 says 'fere per X menses', as here, but then in VIII.3 says 'per VIII
menses et unum diem’, following GF.

467 vel: as elsewhere in this poet, this is mere padding, to make up the metre.

472 pignora sacra: probably relics, or the sacraments, on which oaths were normally sworn (v.473). Cf. Beroul, Tristan 4197ff., 'Seignors, fet el, por Deu merci/ Saintes reliques voi ici/ Or escoutez que je ci jure' (My Lords, she said, by God's grace I see holy relics here: listen to my oath).

473 septem annos This period is also found in the Roland, of which it might conceivably be a reminiscence: vv. 1-2, 'Carles li reis, nostre emperere magnes/set ans tuz pleins ad estet en Espaigne'.

474 virtus celica: again, the theological motif comes to the fore.

475 sibi: this is used reflexively here after iuratur. resecuit: this presumably governs ciuibus in v.476, as does incussit. Translate: 'removed any empty hopes the citizens had and filled them with very great fear'.
LIBER VI

1 - 8 These lines make clear the function of this intercalated book: it is an aside, much as the Charleville poet's book II is an aside on the events of the 'Peasants' Crusade'. Its style, the rhyme-scheme (mainly double-rhyme with some single-rhyme and some purely assonanced caudati) as well as the biblical and geographical digressions all point to its coming from the same pen as that which wrote the first three books, and the setting-apart of Godfrey de Bouillon as the head of the Crusade and its most well-known figure adds weight to this (vv. 5 - 6).

9 - 75 The arrival of the Mesopotamian legation is noted by FC (who accompanied Baldwin to Edessa), I.xiv.5; GN III.14 (following FC); AA III.19 (placing the event immediately after Baldwin's escapades in Cilicia and Tarsus). Alone of the crusade narratives do these accounts give any space to the expedition to Edessa.

12 ex habitu: 'because of its location' or 'its situation'. omen: this cannot mean 'prognostication' or 'foreboding' here, but must bear the sense 'significance'; its use is determined by the rhyme-scheme, as is the curious syntax. Translate: 'which, retaining in Greek its name Mesopotamia, keeps from its location (ex habitu) the significance of the cause of that name', i.e. 'Land-between-the-rivers'. The poet seems to be implying that the region's position had not altered, a rather obvious point. The rhyme nomen/omen may have seemed too good to let slip, and the sense was consequently forced to accommodate it.

14 quantum †ac †: hiatus is permitted by this poet on some occasions, most commonly at the caesura, but ac here is
meaningless. *a pedibus quantum* would be better, but even at this period the plain ablative is used with instrumental force without prepositional assistance. Perhaps the poet knew the usage *simul ac* and adopted *ac* to fill out his metre.

15 'Among the many cities which this (land) cherishes in its bosom...'

18 *pharetrata Semyramis*: from Juvenal II.108; this is further evidence for the authorship of this book by the Charleville poet, who draws on Juvenal on several occasions (cf. above the recherché *breuibus Gyaris*, III.380 and note). The founding of Babylon by Semiramis is also referred to by Orosius II.2.1-2; Avienus, *Dit* 1196 - 1197; and Priscian, *Perieg.* 930 - 932:

> Ad partes austris Babylon quam moenibus olim mirandis posuit firmisque Semiramis urbem cuius in arce domum splendentem fecerat auro.

20 *Rohasia*: according to Pliny, *HN* V.105, Rhoas was the ancient name not of Edessa, but of Laodicea. The poet is supported in his identification of this name and Edessa by other chroniclers, however: cf. below, note on v.76.

22 - 23 This event is referred to by Lucan I.104-105, but the only verbal similarity between the passages is the position of *Charras* at the end of a line. Cf. also Orosius, *Contra Pag.* VI.13.3-4,

> itaque cum prope Carras uentum esset, Parthi subito ingruentes cum Surena et Silaeca sagittis oppressere Romanos. cecidere ibi plurimi senatores, aliquid etiam consulares et praetorii uiri: Crassus quoque filius Crassi, lectissimus iuuenis, in acie occisus est.

The poet may have assumed 'Crassus quoque filius Crassi' to mean 'Crassus and his son', hence his plural; alternatively it may simply be poetic plural for singular.

'Charran ciuitas Mesopotamiae trans Edissam quae usque hodie Carra dicitur', to which Jerome adds 'ubi Romanus caesus est exercitus et Crassus dux captus'.

24ff. The story here is from the Bible, and is found in Genesis 11:27-12:9, and Acts 7:2-4. In neither of these is there reference to a brother on the journey. The reference here must be to Abraham's brother Aran, whose death is mentioned in Genesis 12:23, 'Mortuus est Aran ante Thare patrem suum in terra nativitatis suae in Ur Chaldaeorum' (Cf. Driver, *The Book Of Genesis*).

28 This is the only leonine verse in the whole of the complete books I, II, III and VI.

29ff. The story of King Abgarus and the letter of Christ to him, which was later used as a talisman, is discussed at length by M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 476 - 477: 'Our earliest Greek text of them - which are found in many forms - is that given by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, I.13....later texts add a promise that where this letter is, no enemy shall prevail; and so we find the letter copied and used as an amulet. It was regarded naturally as the palladium of Edessa, but was also thought to act as a protection for individuals. The letters form an integral part of the story of the mission of Thaddeus and the conversion of Edessa...'

Eusebius records the mission of Thaddeus to Edessa and the healing of Abgarus, but not the miracle of the letter or the translation of St. Thomas. The legend of the letter is mentioned by S. Silvia in her *Peregrinatio*, 19.13:

'nam et postmodum quotiescumque voluerunt uenire et ex-
pugnare hanc ciuitatem hostes, haec epistola prolata est et lecta est in porta, et statim nutu Dei expulsi sunt omnes hostes'. She also mentions that Thomas' remains were at Edessa (17.1; below, v.42).

38 Thaddeus: mentioned in Mark 3\(^{18}\) and Matthew 10\(^{3}\), Thaddeus is supposed to be a variant for Judas (Cheyne and Black, Encyclopaedia Biblica: so R.E. Nixon in New Bible Dictionary). St. Thaddeus was supposed to have preached the Gospel in Armenia (C.G. Herbemann, Catholic Encyclopaedia).

contradidit: 'handed over': cf. TLL (Lommatzsch) (a con et tradere), i.e. tradere, dare. The word is only found in late authors such as Jerome and Sedulius.

40 Thomas: Thomas' story is found in John 20\(^{24-29}\).

44 direxit: this is intransitive here: cf. TLL (Dittmann) dirigo IV. intransitive, (Wölfflin Archiv 10, 1898, 3sqq.) i.e. se conuertere (citing Tertullian adv. Marc.4.14, Ambrose Hex.4,5,23.).

48 mala plurima: tuli is to be understood from v.49.

50 - 51 The major reason for the fresh attack on Edessa is introduced by quod in v.52 and the clauses it introduces down to v.57. The ruler of Edessa at this time was Thoros, an Armenian Christian prince, who had only 'recently managed to eject the Turkish garrison from the citadel' (Runciman, Hist.Crus. I, p.195).

54 et nec: with sed nec seems to be used with the force of non solum...sed etiam, 'and they were not strong enough to defeat them in war: nay more, they could not even repulse them from the walls'.

58 concursus: 'the enemy's attacking'. More than one assault is intended here, as the Turks were ravaging the countryside (vv.60 - 67).
matres: i.e. 'the womenfolk'.

ippsis: 'before the very gates' makes much better sense than 'istis', 'these gates'.

coniectis: this was brought to the surface by the ultra-violet lamp; Sirmond and Riant have a lacuna here.

... for...: some phrase such as a bello in required here; the citizens were weary of fighting, and therefore called on the Crusaders for help (v.67). obsidio is another possibility.

......: some phrase such as per Turcos, qualifying gravia hac, is required, to contrast in addition with the common religion of the Armenians and the Franks, stressed in vv. 70 - 71.

ferebant: 'they asserted that help should be given to them (sibi) by the Franks (per eos). For fero in this sense cf. L5 II.B.7.

Once again Godfrey de Bouillon is set apart from the other leaders, as the hero and central figure of the Crusade.

This lacuna requires some words such as illo nihilum or alium nullum: the sense is clearly 'they knew nothing more formidable (i.e. than Godfrey)'. The neuter form is dictated by formidabile; the only letters visible under the ultra-violet lamp are -ni-, which suggests nihilum.

The mission is agreed to, and the poet stresses the popularity and friendly reception of the Franks by the Armenian population of Edessa. RA p.92 mentions the expedition to Edessa in passing: 'Baldwinus ante captam Antiochiam versus Eufraten proiectus Roais ditissimam cii. itatem atque famosam obtinuerat, et multa prelia cum Turcis feliciter gesserat'.

indagine: cf. I.22, 'exacuatque hebetes subtili indagine
deinceps: this word is treated as bisyllabic (paralleled by Walter of Châtillon, Alex. IX.399, 537); cf. in the classical poets the treatment of deinde as a bisyllable (Ilias Lat. 437, Arator AA II.330, Sid.App.C II.212, Proba VC 266, among other examples).

per se: 'through their own actions'.

præstatur: cf. LS § præsto II.C.2, 'if a support was kept for their own interests'.

The construction in this verse is forced: a verb such as 'credunt' has to be understood (from v.78), governing iuncturos multos; sociaria foedera must then be taken as appositional: 'from this, many would join forces with them in sworn allegiances'.

This line is apparent gibberish, and furthermore it has no caesura. Its only explanation seems to be that it expresses the hope of the future allies: 'whom perhaps they (i.e. the Franks) would not allow (to go) unavenged from the mocking Turks'. Even so, hilaratis is a very odd expression to use of the enemy; perhaps the author intended it to mean something like 'were free to do as they pleased'.

ardor inest: cf. I.5, 'ardor inest, inquam...'

gnauare (= nauo, l) is attested by Mitt. Wört. with the meaning 'appliquer son effort, son activité à qch.' The sense here is 'get on with what they had been asked to do'.

fulmina: i.e. the 'thunderbolts of the present people', to be taken with gentis, domitandi being governed by cura in v.89.

Since Godfrey cannot go, he does the next best thing, and sends his brother Baldwin. In FC I.xiv the people of
Edessa ask specifically for Baldwin, as is the case in AA. Historically, Baldwin seems to have been more enterprising than his elder brother (Runciman, Hist.Crus.I p.146).

91 *fratrem quippe suum*: this phrase explains *pignus* in v. 90 and is in apposition to it.

93 *suppetiatum*: supine of purpose. This rare word is only attested by L6 from one instance in Cicero and several in Apuleius, and by OLD from Apuleius.

94 The detail here is correct: Baldwin was the youngest of the three brothers, and became king of Jerusalem on Christmas Day 1100 (his eldest brother, Godfrey, had died on 18th July that year). Baldwin died on 2nd April 1118; as *rexit* in v. 95 implies that his reign is over at the time of writing, this detail gives a definite post-1118 date for the Charleville poet's contributions to the joint work.

95 *Solimorum*: this abbreviated form for *Hierosolimitanorum* occurs frequently in Crusading narratives. Cf. also Siguinus Ars. Lect. p.9, 'a in o Solomon/Solima, Iuuenalis "ueniat Solimita sacerdos"'.

100 *Arsacide*: i.e. Persians. This epithet is found mainly in Lucan; cf. VIII.217-218, 'uocesque superbo/ Arsacidae perferre meas...', and also I.108, VIII.233, 307, 409, and X.51.

102 There are erasures in this verse which remain illegible even under the ultra-violet lamp. The Turks have been surprised by the Franks and are not equipped to fight at close quarters (*neque comminus arma ferentes*). The sense required in this verse must therefore be something like 'they cannot oppose a people they have no experience of'. *expertam* suggests *gentem* at the end of the line, and it
remains to supply the prefix to ...tendere. Riant's protendere derives from Sirmond, but does not really fit the context; contendere would be a more likely candidate, though classically it requires contra or a dative. The construction here is adopted from that found in LS II.A. l. 1., OLD 1,2,3, and 6. Cf. however Hyginus Fab. 273.5 (cited in OLD 8) 'in quibus (sc. ludis) ipse contendit pammachium...cum Achareo'. If the Charleville poet's syntax does conform to classical norms here, then the final word in the verse must refer to a thrown weapon.

post hanc repetiuit: cf. Gilo IV.139, where this phrase is also found.

peregit: the MS pepegit cannot be a form of pepigit, from pango, as this would not fit the metre here: cf. Siguinus, Ars Lect. p.101, "pango", "pipigi" non pepigi". It is more likely to be a corruption of peregit, from perago, 'pierced', following the pattern parco/peperci, pango/pepigi.

Riant's text had a lacuna at the end of this line; under ultra-violet light the MS appears to have the words uenalia adegit; uenalia does not make much sense here, and so I emend to uitalia, 'the very marrow of the soul'.

collisa nimis: this probably belongs with pectora: 'they took care of their backs after their fronts had been so battered', i.e. they turned tail and fled.

The sense of this line and vv.111 - 112 is not altogether clear; the syntax is loose, and the flow of thought is linear in form, so that each line or couplet stands by itself, connected by apposition only in some cases. Verses 110 and 111 refer to the previous prowess of the gentiles: 'by whose courage all had been laid waste,
and only pagan fighting had been considered glorious';
vv.112 - 113 introduce a contrast in that they are forced
to fight the Franks, and find them tougher opposition (i.e. than the Armenians): 'accustomed to wage war with the
Franks only for their own survival (pro sola salute), and
often to consider fleeing as good as victory for them (sepe habere fugam pro uictoria sibi). sibi is really padding;
it functions here as the ubiquitous ethic dative.

114ff. These verses introduce an idea that recalls v.23
above: the Turks supposedly recall that they defeated the
Romans under Crassus; quos links the Romans with the
Gauls (their common bond being not only that they are both
invaders of Turkish territory, but also that as nations
they are related by blood: cf. note on I.11, above).
The order of v.114 is very disjointed: 'they remember that
the Gauls (quos) were defeated by them (a se, i.e. the
Turks) at the death of Crassus (funere Crassi) and placed by
them under their yoke when they seized the standards'.

116 per plurima nomina: presumably this means 'by the actions
of many Roman generals', i.e. by repeated campaigns.
gentis: this seems to be accusative plural, governed by
obruit Eufrates in v.117: 'the Euphrates covered over its
peoples, the Tigris bore many corpses downstream (? = in
terras) and rendered them up'.
It is remarkable that from v.110 onwards, all this section
governs non fuit his mirum in v.108, explaining why the
Turks feared the Gallorum tela.

118 ergo repulsis: the subject here changes to the Franks,
who have just defeated the Turks. The change is awkward
and confusing.

119 cecis...cauernis: this peculiar phrase must refer either
to throwing some of the enemy into prison (which would be better rendered by condentibus (sc. hostes) in cæs cauernæ), or, as seems more likely, 'setting watch at the mouth of the gloomy caves'; presumably the Turks had used the mountains around Edessa as their base camp, from which they could strike at the countryside.

122 The adoption of Baldwin by Thoros, together with a quite detailed description of the Armenian ceremony of adoption, is provided in AA III.21.

126 The expression facies urbis is peculiar, but cf. Ovid Tr. I,3,26, 'haec facies Troiae, cum caperetur, erat'. The same idea is expressed in AA III.20: 'gaudium et iocunditas facta est in universis qui audierant, ac in tubis et in omni genere musicorum tam maiores quam minores in occursum illius conuenerant, omni honore et gudio...'

129 nostram legem: this is probably intended to mean 'our religion', as in the Chanson de Roland, where such expressions as 'la lei de salvetet' occur (IX.126). The poet clearly intends us to understand that the Franks' arrival in Edessa brought about a new 'Golden Age' of peace.

132 The Armenians are trained as soldiers by the Franks: they were to meet the Turks in battle later on.

138 iudice tali: 'with such a man to judge them'.

141 Riant's suggested exemplo poterat to fill the erasure here is weak: a verb is needed to parallel poterat in v.139, and a participle to complete the passive infinitive with esse.

142 Cf. I Corinthians 9, 'Factus sum infirmis infirmus, ut infirmos lucrificarem; omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes facerem saluos'. The idea carried over from this verse
is continued down to v.149.

147 **aspis**: Plant's alteration to *asper* is copied from Sirmond, breaks the pattern of the rhyme, and is unnecessary: *aspis*, 'a snake', adds an unexpected twist to the expected polyptoton.

150 - 239 In AA III.19-21, the story of the attempt made on Baldwin and his men is quite different: Thoros is said to be jealous of Baldwin from the very beginning, and tries to bribe him into giving him command of his forces, but Baldwin refuses. Then, after a fruitless attack has taken place, the population of Edessa decide that Baldwin should be their ruler, and therefore they ask him to kill Thoros. There are some minor similarities between the account found in AA and the story told by the Charleville poet below in vv.184ff.

150 - 153 These lines form a very convoluted and at times obscure ablative absolute.

*diuini plasmatis hosti*: i.e. the devil. *plasma* is a theological term derived from the Church Fathers, and also from the Christian poets: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, 'cuius salubre cura/ redivit nouata plasma' (Walpole, Early Latin Hymns XXXVII.20.).

151 This verse appears to be parenthetical, and clearly refers to the devil, from v.150; syntactically, however, it is monstrous. *amori* seems to be a predicative dative: 'he was not able to love'. This in turn suggests that *inuidia patri* a predicative dative, translated either 'being jealous of the father' (though *inuidia* normally takes a genitive) or 'being the father of jealously', which makes slightly better sense of the text, and recalls John 8:44: 'uos ex patre diabolo estis...cum loquitur mendacium, ex
propriis loquitur, quia mendax est, et pater eius'.

152 **fomite**: 'kindling his natural evil desires...' Cf. Genesis 37^3^, 'haec ergo causa somniorum atque sermonum, inuidiae et odii fomitem ministrauit'.

158 **dogma peruersum Herodis iniqui**: i.e. the fear of being toppled from his throne (v.159): cf. Matthew 2^3^ 'Audiens autem Herodes rex, turbatus est'. Riant and Sirmond both read haeredis, but the text is quite legible at this point under the ultra-violet lamp.

162 **cuique**: this is dependent on reddiderat in v.165. sibi is another ethic dative, and elsewhere it is really superfluous: 'to whom he had handed over his fatherland, completely lacking in leadership as it was, and on the point of collapse (poene ruentem) because of the wicked enemy's attacks, lamenting its depredations and slaughter on every side'.

165 **summo conamine**: cf. Ovid M III.60, 'magno conamine': 'when the fighting was at its height'.

167 'how he could bring about his downfall and his destruction'. **fouea** here means 'tumulus' or 'burial-place', as in DuCange fouea 2. There appear to be no other places where rotare is used in this sense.

168 This sentence is convoluted and curious in its syntax: 'he thought that if he acted (si faciat) the result (fructum) would be (that) of keeping the crown (sceptri retenti); if not...'

172 **Christicolas**: i.e. the Franks, who are also designated by Christi milite in v.180.

177 **placitum loetale**: 'this deadly course of action'.

182 This forms part of Thoros' message to the Turks: 'he regretted having taken on foreign allies'.

cepisse: the MS coepisse is more likely to be an error than an acceptable variant, and the shorter reading is adopted to avoid confusion. The scribe of the Charleville MS adds diphthongs in several places where they are not normally found: where they are merely caudate 'e' I leave them, but here it seems a better policy to emend the text.

184 - 185 This deceit recalls the betrayal of Uriah by King David in II Regum (II Samuel) 11, 'Ponite Uriam ex adverso belli, ubi fortissimum est praelium, et dereliquit eum ut percussus interest'. Cf. also AA III.21's description of the battle: 'nam illic infinita manus Armenicorum effeminatorum, incaute ac segniter dimicantium, corruit'.

190 acuit: 'aroused', 'spurred on'.

191 sibi: here this does function properly as an ethic dative: 'companions who were party to his conspiracy' (lit. 'comrades for him in the betrayal').

194 extra: adverbial here, 'outside', contrasting with the ciues who stay in the city.

quesiti manipli: 'hand-picked troops'.

197 This clearly refers to the Turks; v.194 manipli presumably refers not to them but to the Armenians who are to betray the Franks.

200 terebrarunt: 'smashed through the enemy lines'; after charging at the enemy, the heavy Frankish cavalry often found itself behind the enemy formation, and therefore had to turn and re-group (v.201). From this position the Franks here would have been facing the Armenians with the Turks between them, and the flight of the former would therefore have been obvious. The poet, if he is not follo-
owing another account (possibly originating in an eyewitness report) shows a keen sense of military tactics.

intellecta per signa: presumably the Franks gesticulate to one another and point to their fleeing allies.

The MS sedentes is nonsense, hence the emendation to sequentes, 'those following': the force of it seems to be 'dealt mighty blows both to the front (comminus) and to the rear (sequentes)'.

'They know that they are fighting for their lives, the only reward for running away is a coward's death'.

denique: this is included merely to make up the metre; after some verses which capture the spirit of a do-or-die battle, the poet is forced to resort to a stock device of medieval poetry, repetition.

telis: in view of the contrast with leuibus iaculis and sagittis in the following line, this must mean 'lances' here.

perpendunt quod erat: sc. faciendum or a similar word. The phrase is unusually blunt: 'they considered the situation'.

quia laus sibi nulla canatur: this and v.217 following have a proverb-like ring about them. sibi is another ethic dative, 'no praise will be sung for them', i.e. 'no-one will boast about it if they are all killed'.

damnata luce: it is not clear to whom this phrase applies, nor what is its precise meaning. It could mean 'with their eyes put out' or 'with loss of life': it seems in view of the context to refer to the Turks, who suffer some losses (v.200, v.206, vv.212-213) before departing.

'Their hope of doing evil was brought to nothing, reduced to dung'.

439.

at: this is easily corrupted by medieval scribes into ut, which is the meaningless reading of the MS here.

The syntax of the sentence is perplexing; vv. 224 - 225 seem to be appositional to the subject of linquere: 'it was never advisable that warriors nourished by the victories of faith should mingle with barbarian troops, nor was it ever safe for them (sibi) to part company with a people that, while appearing friendly, drank their health with a cup of death'.

Again, these verses are tortuous in the extreme. '(Baldwin said that) if they found common acceptance (presumably among his own men) these agreements should be disclosed to the assembled armies (? the Armenians) so that they might be fully known'. This seems to be the best sense that can be made of this peculiar and very obscure sentence, and is backed up by vv. 230 - 231. The MS ualeat needs correcting to ualeant, as it can only refer back to foedera in v. 228; the phrase is still very awkward.

si poscant: i.e. the people of Edessa.

sibi: i.e. pro meritis suis. Once again this is an ethic dative.

nece tractata: ablative absolute of attendant circumstances, 'when their death had been arranged', or possibly 'by a lingering death'.

his: the people of Edessa.

The Charleville poet's narrative is more similar to AA and also to WT in this section. In AA III.22-23 and WT IV.5-6, after the people have asked Baldwin to kill Thoros (cf. note above on v. 150), Baldwin refuses to
comply with their wishes, saying that he has no grudge against the king. He goes to warn the king of their evil intentions, but while they are talking the people storm the palace and Thoros pleads with Baldwin to arrange for his life to be spared, offering him all his wealth. The people will not listen to Baldwin, and Thoros tries to escape by lowering himself by a rope from a window, but he is shot through with arrows and beheaded.

240 'They told them in addition what they would have to take away with them'; this was probably supplies and equipment captured in the fighting, as v.241 makes clear.

241 *sua facta*: 'made their own'.

242 *dant agmina bellica retro*: 'set the warlike column on its homeward journey'. For *dare* used in this sense, cf. OLD do\(^1\) 19, 'to put, place, cause to go' and Ovid M I.529, 'et leuis impulsos retro dabat aura capillos', cited in OLD. The subject of *dant* is *dispositi*, the object *agmina* acting as a reflexive.

248 - 249 *Thes lines show the poet's capabilities when it comes to redundancy: 'when all had been said that needed to be said...'*

249 *dolor atque timor comites*: 'those faithful companions, fear and woe'.

251 *feruens querimonia*: 'the people, working themselves up into a frenzy, demanded to know why they had run away'. *sibi* may be reflexive, as those who had run away formed part of the crowd, or it may stand for 'the troops'.

252 *tacitis*: 'who said nothing at first'; it is qualified by *primo*.

253 *sibi* i.e. to the people.

255 *sic fieri*: this is governed by *iusisse*, 'they recall
that the king ordered most strongly that this should be done'.

256 quaecunque mali istius commenta: 'all the wicked stratagems he had planned', lit. 'all the projects of his wickedness'.

258 concursus ad aulam: the phrase also occurs below, v.127.

260 non bene purganti: 'since he did not properly clear himself of the charge'.

262 oratores: i.e. the envoys.

mox: this is very weak. It must be used in the sense of celeriter, 'swiftly', but is really included to complete the verse, and jars badly with tunc at the beginning of the line. It may possibly be a dittography from v.261.

267 propere: this is adverbial, 'the whole body of the city council swiftly gathered round him'.

270 sibi: again, an ethic dative, 'in every way kind towards them'.

273 - 274 se is properly reflexive, in indirect speech after poscere in v.272.

277 regnando: 'to remain with them as their ruler'; for the short final -o- permitted in ablative gerunds, cf. below on VII.9.

278 super illum: Baldwin shows respect for the late king. That Thoros is intended by this phrase is made clear in the next verse: 'he denied that he could rule in place of him (super illum) by whose invitation he had come to seek out the city.

280 Riant's reading gratiam is obviously correct; the MS grand or gramen is a nonsensical reading.

283 'What gifts they had robbed themselves of for the crime of treachery', i.e. they had removed their prince.

285 tulerat: 'had removed (from the body)'.

289 in dominum: these verses, like may before them, are hard to construe; this phrase is to be taken either with queri, possibly 'to be sought on such terms to be the lord' (though in + acc. does not normally bear this sense) or 'to be sought out to replace the lord of the people' (cf. Cicero, Mil.22,60, where in dominum queri is translated by iūs as 'to be examined as a witness against'. Alternatively in dominum may be regarded as being governed by feritate; populi severi is then dependent on tanto foedere, 'sought by such terms from (lit. of) a people (which had proved) stern on his behalf (pro se) by this ferocious act against its own lord (i.e. decapitating him).

290 quid sit opus facto: this is repeated from v.77.

296–483 This section of this book deals with another legation sent by the Crusaders to a foreign city, this time Babylon (Cairo). Very few of the other Crusade narratives mention this exploit, which some historians regard as apocryphal, but which seems to have its origins at least (as is the case with many stories worked up from historical events) in an actual occurrence. Runciman (Hist. Crus. I p.229) notes that an embassy from Cairo arrived at the Crusaders' camp outside Atioch, with a proposal from Al-Afdal, vizier of Egypt, that the Franks should share the lands they would eventually capture with the Fatimids, keeping Suria and handing Palestine over to the Egyptian regime. RA p.58 attests the presence of legates from Egypt in the Christian camp, as does the letter of Anselm of Ribemont to Manasseh, abbot of Rheims (RHC H. Occ.III p.392). EH 16.2 p.169 also strengthens this point: 'erant eo tempore in nostris castris legati a rege Babiloni, qui uidentes mira que Deus per servos suos
operabatur, Ihesum Marie virginis filium glorificabant qui per pauperes suos potentissimos tyrannos conculcabat... itaque remissi sunt cum illis legati nostri qui fedus amicitiamque cum rege inirent'. TIC XXII tells a similar story, save that the embassy from Egypt arrived while the Franks were besieging Nicaea, and that Frankish envoys were sent to Cairo, returning to the main body of the army while they were occupied with the siege of Antioch (XLVI). They then returned to Egypt, coming back when the rest of the Crusaders were at Tripoli (XCIX). In the last-mentioned chapter, a short account of their adventures is given, and this is followed by an account of some miracles, including the miracle of the Holy Fire, performed at Cairo by one Guillelmus Heremita.

RM V.1 has a different tale, in that the King of Babylonia (Ammiraldus) offered the Christians a safe conduct to the Holy Sepulchre, provided that they went 'in pera et baculo'; if they insisted on taking their weapons of war, then they would be treated as enemies of the Egyptians and driven off. The Franks decline this offer, claiming that the land is in fact theirs by right, and that God is with them. The envoys therefore depart, and no Franks return to Cairo.

HN 31-32, drawing closely on RM, says the same; HG is (for once) not a direct copy of RM, but gives a similar account. AA III.59 has the King of Babylon send a letter to the Franks, wishing them success against the Turks, who are also his enemies, since they took Jerusalem from him. WT IV.24 (with TIC, see above) comes closest of any of the accounts to the story which the Charleville poet tells. He gives a full account of the reasons why the Caliph of
Egypt should show such interest in the Crusaders, and attests the presence of his envoys in the Frankish camp at Antioch. In VII.19 he relates the return of Frankish envoys from Egypt, and although brief, his account corresponds to that of the Charleville poet in broad outline. In detail, however, the poet's version is unique.

Finally, CC IX also mentions a legation sent to Babylon, and names the envoy as 'Iohannes Camerarius', but its account is very different from that of WT or TIC, or from that of the Charleville poet. The story as found in this last bears some similarities, in its tale of men held hostage, to the Chanson des Chétifs, which is much more developed, and is almost certainly of a later date; but this vernacular work may very well have its roots in a story such as the one told here.

Most of this section is taken up with information about the origins of Cairo, its links with Babylon, and its foundation. The presence in the Frankish camp at Antioch of Egyptian (Fatimid) envoys is attested by RA p.58; GF VI.xiv p.37 (and note); TIC XXII (at Nicaea in this account); and EH 16.1 p.167, which gives a brief account:

non pauci lectissimorum militum Babyloniam diriguntur, quorum fortitudine, proceritate, habitu et incessu omnie eleganteria attoniti barbari, Francos sic enim uniuersos occidentales populos nominare solent - plus quam homines, id est deos, esse fato-bantur, affirmantes, omnino non esse mirum, quod huismodi bellatores totum affectarent sibi subliscere mundum.

non expers proditionis: as is frequent in medieval literature, the author leaves nothing to chance, but assures his audience from the very outset that this legation is bent on evil: the audience is therefore primed and pre-
pared for the events which are to follow. The Charle­
ville poet's narrative techniques recall very strongly
those of the Chansons de Geste (cf. J. Crosland, The Old
French Epic, passim).

300 Babylon: in this poet and for most medieval authors, this
could mean either the ancient Babylon, known in the Bible,
or the city now known as Cairo: the poet therefore spec­
cifies which he means, and as elsewhere displays his know­
ledge of geography and history.

302 ducitur: probably understand esse: 'it is thought (to
be) towards the north'.

303 Euronothum: the euronothus was the wind lying between the
eurus and the notus; the sense is therefore 'south-east'.
It is hard to gauge what point of reference the poet is
using, still less his sense of direction and the accuracy
of his knowledge in terms of modern geography.

306 Nemroth: i.e. Nimrod. Cf. Genesis 10:8-9, I Paralipom­
enon (I Chronicles) 1:10, Micah 5:6, and also Eusebius,
Onomasticon of Biblical Place-Names trans. Jerome (ed.
Klostermann p.41): 'Babel...erat autem ciuitas regni
Nemrod, in qua eorum...linguae diuisae sunt'.

From post to percipientem is one clause, qualifying
struxit, which directly governs illam.

308 Semyramis: the legendary queen of Assyria, consort of
Ninus and successor to him.
quadro...tenentem: this refers to the city, and must mean
something like 'being built in the form of a square' (lit.
'holding equal things with its side in a square' or 'in
its square side', if quadro is taken to be a shortened form
of quadrato).

309 'Each side being sixteen miles long'.
quodque: i.e. 'each side'. A short syllable is permitted in place of a long before the caesura in medieval versification.

311 quaterna...tota: presumably 'every side', 'all four sides'; 'it stretched out its influence in every direction'.

312 coctilibus: 'of burned brick'. This detail is probably derived from Ovid, M IV,53, 'coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem'.

314 uicenis...tricenis: these numbers are presumably to be added together (cum), not multiplied: 'moreover it was fifty feet (thick)'. The feminine singular spissata refers back to urbs, as does v.313, but the reference is clearly to the city walls.

315 tantum: this is really superfluous; it seems to function syntactically as an adverb equivalent to multum.


331 reges excæcans: the reference is to the capture of Judah and the blinding of its king, Zedekiah, by the Assyrians: cf. IV Kings (II Kings) 257, 'Filios autem Sedechiae occidit coram eo; et oculos eius effodit, uinxitque eum catenis, et adduxit eum in Babylonem'. The passage from Jeremiah 529-27 which may be used above, in the added section to book IV (IV.108) also has close similarities with this section: v.11, 'et oculos Sedechiae eruit, et uinxit eum compedibus, et adduxit eum rex Babylonis in Babylonem'; v.17, 'columnas quoque aeræas quae erant in domo domini, et bases, et mare aeneum quod erat in domo domini...et tulerunt omne aes eorum in Babylonem'.

333 Cf. the passage quoted in note above on v.331 from IV Kings (II Kings) 259, 'et succendit domum domini, et
domum regis; et domos Jerusalem omnemque domum combussit igni'; cf, also Esdras (Ezra) 6.5.

334 **Cyro:** cf. the return to Jerusalem described in Esdras (Ezra) 6:1-15.

338 **prophetarum:** Jeremiah must be intended here. Cf. Jeremiah 50:13, 'ab ira Domini non habitabitur, sed redigetur tota in solitudinem'.

341 **Cambyses:** this figure is not expressly mentioned in the Bible, but has been identified with various characters:
1) the King who will devastate Israel in Ezekiel 38 - 39;
2) The Assareus in I Esdras 4;

344 **ex tunc et nunc:** 'from that time and also nowadays'.

346 - 483

347 **perfidus:** again the poet leaves us in no doubt about what to expect. Cf. also above, note on v.299.

348 **tunc:** this is mere padding, to fill up the metre.

355 **istos:** i.e. the Franks.

358 **religionis:** i.e. of the Christian envoys.

359 **conuersatio:** not 'conversion' so much as 'way of life', as it is used in the *Regula* of St. Benedict. The sense is 'that his way of life should favour the Christian', i.e. that the behaviour of the Christians sent to him should persuade him to become a Christian.

361 **posito diademate:** the symbolism is important. In worshipping Christ, the king removes all vestiges of his
rank and humbles himself.

sibi: either 'by himself', a reflexive ethic dative, or 'for them'.

'Then the palm-groves would provide innocent spears for his men'.

ille etiam princeps: i.e. the leader of the Fatimid legation.

dare: 'give them up on their return', i.e. 'bring them back'.

inter: 'from among': 'the leaders call several from among'.

'And in this way the race (that was) brazen in fighting would be stirred up against him (animos in se tollat)'. The king's motive for provoking the Franks so that they attack him seems to be a desire either to find out what sort of fighters they are (i.e. he wants to size up the opposition), or to give him an excuse for open hostilities against the Franks. In view of later events, the latter seems the likelier explanation (cf. below, vv.440 - 441). The fact that here, and below in v.395, we are not told exactly what the king was planning heightens the tension and makes the narrative more gripping.

sed pectore tristi: sed clarifies the contrast with parens, 'he obeyed, but it was with a heavy heart that he led...'

'Nor did the wicked ruler allow them to meet him in person (assistere coram), but...'

suspiria dantes: the Franks begin to react to the psychological pressure put on them as the king had hoped.

conductor: 'a guide', 'an escort': cf. Niermeyer 2, which cites 'GISELB. HANON. c.121, ed. VANDERKINDERE'.
'Comes ulterior... transire absque sano conducto noluit. Dominus autem rex conductores quos comes uoluit obuiam misit'.

402 contrudere: in the classical period this meant 'crowd together'; this may reflect the fact that the Franks were under 'house arrest', but here it must be interpreted 'if he was planning any evil against them'.

404 - 405 The character of the leader of the Fatimid legation is very interesting, and the ethical dilemma he is placed in reflects the great interest in such conflicts shown by vernacular authors of the period; cf. Roland's decision not to blow his horn in the Chanson de Roland, or Marie de France's Equitan, who though he is an absolute ruler swears himself in love to a lady of a lower social station, and finds himself both lord and servant. One might also consider the position of Tristram, who finds himself drawn to Iseult despite the allegiance he owes to King Mark (the problem he faced was treated in different ways by different poets, which illustrates the interest his story created). Here, the legate has sworn to protect the Franks (vv.370 - 371), and refuses to break his oath rather than obey his ruler.

406 quirites: 'knights': see note above on V.36.

407 patria: probably used with reference to the Franks, 'honours worthy of their illustrious fatherland'.

410 per socios potentes: presumably other Egyptians. The king fears that his barons may revolt against him on this point, and gives way.

416 responsa: once again a short syllable is permitted before the caesura instead of a long one.

417 The language in this line is very powerful, though the
metaphor is rather mixed: 'they burn the seeds of fear into his timorous mind'. For crenmenta in the sense 'seed' cf. Isidore of Seville, Orig. 9,5,5 'crementum est semen masculi'.

fictoque: the MS fictuque represents dittography, the -u- coming from multu. It illustrates a common copyist's error in medieval MSS.

uirum: i.e. uirorum.

spectando: for the short final -o- see note below on VII.9.

aspectus: this is peculiar here; syntactically it would appear to be in parallel to corpora as an accusative of description following tecti: 'armed as to their bodies with breastplates, and as to their heads with helmets'. For aspectus in this sense cf. Mitt. Wbrt. II. A.1 = facies. Cf. Bede, HE III.29, 'angelicorum agminum et aspectus intueri', and Carm. Bur. B.164,4,3, 'eius (sc. puellae) ridet aspectus'.

The Franks appear to put on some kind of joust.

patriam artem: cf. the remarks made above in I.11 and III.213 on the Franks' prowess and their descent from the Trojans, and also the remarks in Einhard, Vita Caroli Magni, 22: 'Exercebatur assidue equitando ac uenando; quod illi gentilicium erat, quia uix ulla in terris natio inuenitur quae in hac arte Francis possit aequari'.

dociles: There is a clear reminiscence of Valerius Flaccus Arg. VI.237 here, though in view of the rarity of reminiscences from this poet, it is likely that it comes via a florilegium or a secondary source: the verse in Valerius is repeated almost verbatim here:

uadit equum, docilis relegi docilisque relinqui.
absentes a se: 'far apart'.

sibi dissimilem: i.e. the leader of the Fatimid legation.

gestit...furentem: either (understanding se) 'he had been quite correct to act so angrily (with the Franks); or, as seems more likely, (understanding illum, 'the chief legate'), 'he said that he had acted like a lunatic, out of his mind' (i.e. in allowing the Franks to come out of their place of imprisonment).

notasse: this seems to belong with quos: 'and who as he had reckoned, had taken note in their minds of all the features of his kingdom'.

The syntax here is loose and weak: 'that he (the leader of the envoys) should see to it that (procure) they should be beheaded (decapitandos) for him; the gerundive serves as ut decapitarentur here.

As before, the legate takes a stand against his lord; in feudal terms (and the Egyptians are depicted as having the same customs and values as were common in Western Europe) this was a revolutionary and directly rebellious course of action, but the legate's moral conscience forces him to stand his ground. This speech is interesting in that unlike most of those by this author, it is put in oratio recta, to begin with at least. The language used (operta proditione, damnabile iussum, nequitie, grassatur) is also very powerful: the author presents a strong case for disobedience when a feudal lord departs from what is right.

quo: E. Habel, Mittellateinisches Glossar, gives quo = 'so dass'; in Carolingian works it is a variant for quod, and the usage persisted throughout the Middle Ages. Cf. also Hofmann, Lateinische Umgangssprache, p.205, s.157: 'vgl. auch quo mihi (urspr. sc. dicis, dann ganz = quid
mihi prodest, Ovid P I.5.67); and A. Blaise, Manuel du Latin Chrétien p.162, s.282 (g): 'quo = 'parce que" avec l'indicatif: CYPR.Op. et el. 18'.

460ff. The second part of the legate's argument is obviously more powerful for the king: the killing of a few Franks will do little harm to the massive Frankish forces, but will wreak havoc on his own men, as the Franks stop at nothing in seeking revenge (v.465).

466 'In this case (iam) the legation they had accepted would not help the Egyptians (gentilem), since this awful deed (res facti huius) would demonstrate the examples they should follow'. The phrases are rather obscure, but clearly serve to underline the point made in vv.460ff.

471 amicus: this has reference both to the king and to the Franks: the envoy wished only the best for both.

472 This is an interesting example of apostrophe; normally this poet uses his own persona to address his audience, but here, in the classical manner, he addresses his heroes, the Frankish knights.

475 palmas must here be understood in both its literary and transferred senses; the knights receive the 'victory', in that they rejoin the Frankish forces who by this time had conquered Jerusalem; but the palm-branch was also the sign of a completed pilgrimage to the Holy Land, just as the cockleshell was the 'sign' of a journey to St. Jaques de Compostelle. These signs were somewhat akin to our own modern souvenirs, though with obviously much stronger religious meaning to the bearer.
482 - 483 The poet picks up the threads of Gilo's work, preparing the reader for the next part of the story whose narrative he has broken in order to insert these fascinating episodes.
It is noteworthy that this book contains far more varied rhyme-schemes than the previous two books of Gilo: leonines, caudati and tiradenreim are freely mingled.

1 - 6 It is interesting that Christ is here invoked for inspiration by the poet in a similar way to that in which a classical poet would invoke the Muses. See also note supra on IV.4 - 6.

2 dant is attracted into the plural by plurima tela following.

3 Machabeis: the comparison between the army of Judas Maccabaeus and that of the Crusaders was an obvious one to make: RA 7 p.53 does the same.

6 turbe is preferred to gentis to provide variety (gentis also occurs in v.5), and also strengthens the idea of the people being crowded together.

7 - 42 For parallels cf. GF VIII.xix p.44; PT p.82; RA p.64; FC I.xvii.l; TIC LXII; BN xiii; RC LXIII; RM V.8; CC 5; AN 36; HG II.13ff.; GN V.2; AA IV.15.

Alone of all the historians, RM sets the first encounter of Bohemond and Pirrus the traitor in the time of the truce, which is also not recorded elsewhere, and during which (according to RM) frequent exchanges took place between the beleaguered city and the Crusaders' camp; it was brought to an end by the death of Gualo, reported at the end of Gilo Book V. CA begins the encounter of Bohemond and Pirrus with the story of the capture of the traitor's son and his good treatment at the hands of the Christians.
miserata: strictly speaking, miserendo might be considered unmetrical, and this probably accounts for its replacement in BCF. However, Juvenal III.232 reads vigilando in this position, and Rudd-Courtney note 'the final -o- is short'. Duff further notes that this is a unique example in Juvenal, though other words have a final -o- scanned short (e.g. ergo). Mayor notes examples in Seneca Tr. 264, H.Oet. 1862, and other similarities in Nemesianus and Maximianus. It is also found in Sidonius Apollinaris, who was a popular poet in the 11th and 12th centuries. Strecker (Intro.to Med. Latin p.72) notes that in the case of the gerund, final -o- is almost always short in 12th-century verse, though this was not true for other words ending in final-0-. He also notes that the gerund functions as a present participle in such constructions as here in ADG, and below in vv. 42 and 44.

cuidam Turco: Most of the other narratives name this person as Pirrus or Firuz.

iudicat equum: 'thought it proper'.

Other narratives give various reasons for the Turks' familiarity with Bohemond. GF VIII.xix p.44 implies they had been acquainted for some time, and RM says specifically that their relations had begun during the siege. Although Gilo like the other narratives calls him 'Turcus', he may have been an Armenian Christian; RA calls him a 'Turcatus', according to one MS of the text, which would imply that he was a Christian renegade. The Armenian Christians were well-disposed towards their Western brethren when the latter first arrived, and relations were only soured later.
illi quanta paret: illi refers to Bohemond, but the subject of paret seems still to be the Turk who wishes to betray his city to the Crusaders. quanta paret may therefore be translated 'how great an enterprise he is planning'.

missum i.e. a messenger; the form missus, -i is found in Niermeyer and DuCange; missus, -us is attested by Blatt. RM, drawing on GF, specifies that the messenger was in fact Pirrus' son. RC says he had more than one; most other narratives agree with GF/RM.

producant: 'they cause any delay'. The plural is vague, but embraces both parties.

hic: i.e. the traitor.
in hoc: 'in this matter'.
nutat: 'were undecided' (cf. IG II.B.1).

- 25 galeaque nitenti/deposita: i.e. so that they would give away no sign of their presence.

occultos: 'hidden' rather than 'shadowy'. obscuros repeats the idea found in sub nocte, v.25, and gives no physical idea of the secret paths they followed, as occultos does.

ductor licet ipse timeret: 'even though the leader himself feared that things would turn out badly'. For licet in this sense cf. IG licet II.A.

tuti gives a weaker image than ADG's tecti, but does introduce the hint of fear already remarked upon in vv.28 - 29; they were 'safe in the shadows' but leaving these would expose them to danger. stant procul reinforces this; they came to a halt at a distance from the city. These devices also prepare the way for the speech of Bohemond,
cast in a very classical frame (cf. the pre-battle speeches in Lucan).

38 purpureos cristis: this is probably better taken with Turcos in v.37 than as dependent on uersare in v. 38. The epithet is transferred from the object to the person, as commonly occurs in epic.

39 excubias noctis: 'the watches of the night'.

40 - 43 Tiradenreim here takes over from the leonines.

42 clamando: for the short final -o- here see note on v. 9 above.

quies es? i.e. 'who goes there?'

43 - 59 Gilo's speech, put into the mouth of Bohemond, is not paralleled in any of the other narratives, and is clearly a literary device. The pre-battle speech is a commonplace in classical literature. Note that in this section, caudati and tiradenreim replace the leonines altogether.

44 instimulando: for the scansion, see note on v.9 above.

46 - 48 Gilo's theological interest once again comes to the fore, as he portrays Bohemond stressing that the victory is God's work and not the Crusaders'. In addition, as in GF and other narratives, the hardships the Christians had to endure are looked on as a chastisement for their sins and excesses.

52 pudeat...lente This is one of the few occasions on which the medieval love of turgid rhetoric overtakes Gilo: this clause adds nothing to the sense, and is really a piece of padding.

53 aggrediatur must be passive here. TLL (Zimmern) lists aggressus as a p.p. in Justinian 7,6,5, Augustine, Gregory of Tours, etc. Cf. also Priscian, Gramm. Lib.VIII.14
(ed. H. Keil II, 379, 6) 'multi antiqui tam actua quam passiuasignificatiae protulisse inuenitur...auxilior te et a te, similiter...aggredior'. Gilo may well use aggredior following the teaching from Priscian.

55 dona manent omnes: manent here means 'wait for' in its transitive sense (cf. LG II.A.). vv. 55 - 59 may be regarded as a pair of caudati and three tiradenreim, or as five tiradenreim.

56 This verse implies that the spoils of war were not to be divided up according to feudal rank, but each man would be permitted to retain any plunder he might take. This was presumably done to give extra motivation to the attackers; occasionally it resulted in a rout, however, as men stopped fighting to despoil the dead (Small, Crusading Warfare, pp. 73 - 75, p. 103).

60 - 104 Parallels in GF IX.xxvi p. 62; RA p. 64; FM V.12 - 13; HG II.15; GA VI.25; PT p. 86.

62 Fulcherius As becomes clear from vv. 86 - 87 below, we are here dealing with a certain Fulcher of Chartres. There were four persons (at least) of this name who took part in the First Crusade:

1) The historian, who was chaplain to Baldwin of Boulogne (and as a cleric would not have taken part in the fighting to this extent);

2) The soldier mentioned here;

3) The soldier in AA who is killed before Civetot with Walter-Sans-Avoir in the Peasants' Crusade;

4) The knight to whom Baldwin gave the government of Balasen in Armenia (and who might be the same as (2), but not (3), who was dead long before this).

According to RA the Fulcher in question here was the bro-
ther of Budellus of Chartres, and is named Gouel. CA VI.25 calls him 'Foucard l'Orphelin, né en Flandre'.

63 *titubante*: in its transferred sense, 'faltering' (LS II).

64 - 66 The comet is mentioned by GF, RA, AA and RM among others. RM reads: 'sub illa nocte cometa, quae regni mutationem praesignat, inter alia caeli sidera rutilabat et suae lucis radios producebat, et inter septentrionem et orientem igneus rubor in caelo coruscabat. His evidentibus signis in caelo radiantibus...exercitus Dei portas Antiochiae intravit'.

67 *percussa*: a synonym for *perculsa*, which it replaces in the revised version, and which is found in Lucretius V. 1223 with *timore*. It is extremely unlikely that Gilo knew any Lucretius (though see below at v. 83 for a possible reminiscence). It is possible that the -ss- sound was preferred to the -ls-, which does not read with such a smooth vocalisation.

69 *turrim*: BCF are unanimous in the form *turrem* here and elsewhere, below v.167, against *turrim*, but elsewhere (e.g. v.184) BC read *turrin*, and this is therefore the spelling printed throughout.

71 *Turcus*: i.e. the traitor.

75 From this line to v.83 leonines are used instead of caudati.

76 *extracti uix*: *uix* must govern *extracti ueripibus*, and qualifies *ui reuocata* in the previous line: 'they pulled themselves together, but still lingered, scarcely moving out of the shadows'.

*muncetesque coacti*: Gilo appears to be straining for a paradox here; his present participle functions as a present active infinitive here: 'conquering under compulsion,
they comfort themselves'. Gilo's purpose in all this is to stress both the unwillingness of the men to fight, and the certainty of their victory.

The Crusaders' fear is somewhat exaggerated in Gilo, but nevertheless the other accounts make it clear that there was some considerable hesitation on the part of the Christians before they finally entered the city.

dantque retro: 'then once again they retreat'.

Matuta: this reading from A is supported by F's corrupt Matura against matutina in the rest; this latter in any case produces an unmetrical line. Matuta, as F's gloss indicates, here means 'Aurora', as in Lucretius V.656, and Priscian, Inst.Gramm. II.53 'matutinus a Matuta, quae significat Auroram uel, ut quidam, λευκοθέαν. Cf. also Siguinus p.26, 'Matuta (id est Aurora)'.

These verses are in tiradenreim, and leonine again takes over after them.

Cf. RA p.64: 'Primus quidam Francus nomine Fulcherius, frater scilicet Budellii Carnotensis muros intrepidus conscendit, quos comes Flandrensis secutus, Boamundo et duci Boamundo et duci mandavit ut ascenderent'.

Veneticus: this person is not mentioned in any other narrative.

euellit postes: 'tore open the doors', as in Vergil A II.480-1, 'postes a cardine uellit/aeratos'.

Boellus: It is unclear if Gilo means us to understand that this is another soldier, or if he is referring to Fulcherius Carnotensis by his native name. It could alternatively be a confusion of RA's Budellus; such corruption could easily occur in an oral tradition.

germanos: The traitor is said to have only one brother
in GF VIII.xx p.47, PT p.36, DTC LXIII. In WT the Turk himself kills his brother. CA reports his wife as opposing him; he kills her, and Robert of Flanders kills his brother later on.

103 Gilo seems to imply that the killing of the traitor's brother was a case of mistaken identity; by the imperfect subjunctive he implies an unfulfilled wish, in a similar construction to that found with 'utinam' (cf. Woodcock, New Latin Syntax p.88 para.116). Boellus 'would not have wished' to kill the brothers if he had known who they were.

105 - 123 Cf. for the first part of this section RM VI.2, RG LXVII, AA IV.21.

112 vindictam: cf. Latham 'vengeance', and IS vindicta II.B.

113 - 115 The narrative here and in RM differs considerably from that found in GF VIII.xx.p.47, whose author was actually a member of the party which crept into Antioch that night. Here, it is the advance party who, feeling their way along the inside of the city wall, discover a postern-gate which they are able to open, and thus allow the rest of the troops into the city. Gilo's story must derive from a totally different tradition to that found in GF.

114 Cf. RM VI.2: 'cum graues gemitus ab imo pectore traheret longaque suspicio'.

115 - 116 Cf. RM VI.2: 'Boamundo in ipso portae introitu summisso capite salutaut'. Bohemond here seems to be paying homage to the Turk for doing him this service. This is unusual, as Bohemond would have held a much higher feudal rank than the Turk, but would not be impossible in such strange circumstances.
119 Parthi BCDG's partim is a probable corruption from AF's parti: AF regularly spell Parthi this way (cf. below, v.257). partim makes no sense – why should the red banners be partially removed? – but with the restoration of Parthi all becomes clear; cf. GF VIII.xx.p.47, 'Boamundus...ilio imperauit honorabile uexillum deferri sur-sum coram castello in quodam monte'. The sight of Bohemond's banner on the citadel was a powerful encouragement to the rest of the Crusaders, who, as vv.124 - 140 make clear, were still in the camp, unaware of what was going on.

124 - 140 Parallels in GF VIII.xx p.47; PT p.87; RA p.65; FC I.xvii.7; TIC LXIV; RN XIV; RC LXVII; EM VI.2; AA IV.24; CA VI.33.

128 Translate: 'they willingly fall down in the body (cum corpore) whose spirit had (already) fallen'. cum corpore makes better sense if taken with sponte cadunt rather than with exsiderant. Again, straining for rhetorical effect here causes the poet to write unclearly. The point he is trying to make his audience aware of is that the men here had lost heart (mentes) and therefore offered no opposition to those cutting them down.

137 - 138 These lines are an obvious imitation of Vergil A II.405-6: 'ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra, lumina, nam teneras arcebant uincula palmas'.

140 This verse, ostensibly depicting the grief of the senes at the destruction, is oddly suggestive of the characteristic Moslem attitude at prayer. It is possible that Gilo here has an eye-witness account on which to draw (not necessarily first-hand) which is correct in description but in error as regards that description's
interpretation. Cf. also F's gloss on this line, which reinforces this explanation.

141 - 158 Gilo is alone in his account of Godfrey's part in the slaughter (141 - 150), but the death of Casianus is well documented in GF VIII.xx.pp.47-8, PT p.87, RA p.66, TIC LXIV, RN XIV, FC LXIX, RM VI.3, AA IV.26.

147 modico This gives the line a more dactylic rhythm than paruo in AG; D's gladio is an obvious error, corrected by the gloss. Gilo seems to have preferred dactylic rhythms in the 'active' parts of his poem; cf. supra on V.268ff.

150 gens leuis The 'fickle' or 'insignificant' people (TLL (Koster)II.B.1.b., II.B.1.a) seems to be a reference to the poorest of the pilgrims, the sometimes uncontrollable 'tafurs', who accompanied the Crusade.

151 Cf. RM VI.3: 'contigit ut...Cassianus, rex et dominus ciuitatis, uilibus pannis obsitus euaderet et in terram Tancredi fugiendo perueniret'. Gilo's line is peculiar: F's gloss interprets regem to mean se; the phrase may alternatively be expanded to mean 'to hide the fact that he was the king'.

154 Armenio: see note above on v.66.

155 cinctum...uillis: 'covered all over with shaggy hair'. annosis is a transferred epithet, belonging really with caput.

159 - 206 Paralleled only in RM VI.3 - 6. This description of the topography of Antioch, and the details of the sack of the city, again suggest that an eye-witness account lies behind Gilo's narrative.

159 - 162, Cf. RM VI.3: 'est...mons urbi contiguus, cuius
This is exactly what happened at Antioch: the Crusaders captured the city, but the Turks fled to the citadel, which was impregnable to the Christians. When Kerbogha arrived, the Crusaders were trapped between his army and the remaining Turks in the citadel.

hostis...uictus: the 'enemy' is 'defeated' because the city has fallen, but he is still belligerent and a danger to Bohemond. Gilo uses the paradox to stress the fact that the Crusaders' victory was not complete.

turrim see above, v.69 and note on ADG's spelling.

seuissima turba: i.e. the Arabs, who have begun another assault on Bohemond's position.

amentant is here in its transferred sense, 'to throw a weapon', and is explained by EM VI.4: 'Illi, resumptis uiribus...sagittas et spicula instar grandinis desuper immittunt.'

act alii: where these other defenders came from is not clear.

uix primi: uix seems to have the force 'they scarcely had time' here: fighting at close quarters was to the advantage of the Crusaders.

H. Glaesner, in 'La Prise d'Antioche en 1098' (Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire XIX, 1940, pp.65ff.) notes that two major episodes from Gilo, of which the wounding of Bohemond here is one and the episode of the soldier trapped in the tower below, vv.159-206, is the other, are found only in Gilo and EM.

uirile femur 'Wounds in the thigh' were frequently ass-
associated with impotence in the Middle Ages, hence perhaps the epithet *uirile*; cf. Marie de France's *Lai de Guigemar*, 99.

184 This seems to mean that Bohemond withdrew to another tower which was not in the thick of the fighting.

186 *Apulus et Calaber*: i.e. Bohemond's troops from Southern Italy. The same phrase is found in Wido of Amiens, *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, v.259.

190 *timpora* This spelling is attested in Latham, and is widely distributed - though not consistently - through all six MSS (see above, 'Orthographical notes', h.xvi). It is only used when the meaning is 'temples of the head', and although certainty is impossible in this matter, it might be a form of distinction between the two senses employed by scribes at this time.

194 - 195 cf. *RM* VI.6, 'Lapides et caementum de parietibus et super illos qui eum impugnabant policiebat'.

197 This line expresses perfectly the martial ethic of the Crusades.

201 cf. *RM* VI.7, 'suisque interfectoribus tormentum fuit'.

203 - 204 Cf. above, on V.23 - 24 and V.370 - 375, and *RM* VI.7: 'non est lingua *carnis* quae ad plenum ualeat ennarrare quot Francorum manus ibi ualuit pessumdare'. This, as noted above, is a common topos in medieval Latin literature.

205 *amplificatio* Here, as in IV.3, Gilo uses a technical term from medieval poetics. As Faral, *Arts Poétiques* pp.61ff., notes, this meant developing or lengthening a subject, not stressing it or giving it greater weight (as for example in Quintilian VII.4). For the medieval Latin writer this was one of the greatest achievements he
could attain. For Gilo to say that even *amplificatio*

could distort (*turbare*) the truth is therefore great
praise for this event; Gilo also uses this as an excuse
for not developing his theme at length (though he gives
many details of the fighting in the section immediately
following, vv.207 - 244), but simply recounting the main
points of what had happened; this is the force of v.206,
which is also influenced by Vergil A I.342, 'sed summa
sequar fastigia rerum'. It is interesting to note that
G emends to follow the Vergilian line more closely.

207 - 244 The sack of Antioch is also described in FC I.
xvii.7, RM VI.6-7, BN XV, FC LXVIII.

208 Antioch was the second centre of Christianity after the
sack of Jerusalem in AD 70 and in later years was regard-
ed as second in importance only to Rome, as Gilo indicates
here.

211 - 212 Again Gilo's theological viewpoint comes to the
fore, and the capture of Antioch is treated almost as
evangelism; 'turning from the darkness to the light' is
a common theme in the Johannine writings of the Bible.

215 Once again there are five lines in tiradenreim or catenati.
After this, caudati take over without a break.

216 The sense of this line seems to be either that there were
no poor people, because of the riches in the city (cf.
vv.217 - 218) or (better) that the powerful had no need
to rob the poor, because there was so much wealth to be
had. It is best to take this line as a parenthetical in-
sertion, and it does seem to have a proverbial ring about
it. In this case it could be taken as stressing the
riches of Antioch - 'as everyone knows, the powerful can
get nothing from the poor' - so the city must have been
very wealthy.

218 *luce Iouis* i.e. Thursday (mod. Fr. jeudi).

222 *Veneris que dies* i.e. Friday (mod. Fr. vendredi).

223 - 225 The sighting of Kerbogha is mentioned, as in Gilo, in *FM VI.7*, *EG II.19*, *CA VII.3*, and *FM* is very close to the poet: 'dumque sic res agitur, ecce illi qui stabant in turribus et muris eminus contemplantur immensam nubem agitati pulueris'.

228 - 230 Cf. *FM VI.7*: 'de qua diuera sentientes alii dican Constantinopolitanum imperatorem esse qui sibi uenirebat in auxilium, alii, quod uerum erat, agmina Persarum'. The Bizantinos were the Emperor Alexius' forces who were following the Crusaders southwards through Syria. They were met by Stephen of Bois as he fled from Antioch, and misled by his report, retreated to the north.

231 This is a common topos in battle-scenes in medieval literature: cf. *Roland* 1031 - 33 (again referring to the Saracen army):

Luisent cil elme ki ad or sunt gemmez
e cil escuz e cil osbercs safrez
e cil espiez, cil gunfanun fermez.

(Their helmets decorated with gold shone brightly, like their shields and burnished hauberks and their swords and their pennants fixed fast).

233 *expectando*: for the short -o- see above, note on VII.9.

234 Cf. *FM VI.7*: 'in unum consedere praestolantes retro ueniens robur suae militiae'.

Corbana i.e. Kerbogha or Karbuqa, the amir or atabeg of Mosul. He had been summoned at the same time as the leaders of the other armies, but, like them, was slow to respond to help Yaghi Siyan (Cassianus), as there was little mutual trust between any of the leaders.

235 - 240 The action of the Turks and their arrival are also
noted in GF IX.xxi. p.49, PT p.88, RA p.66, FC I.xix.1ff.,
BN XV, RC LXXII, RM VI.7, AA IV.14, CA VII.4. RM is very
similar to Gilo: 'lanceas et gladios in altum eicie-
bant, et in manibus recipiebant, sed, cum neminem de
nostris potuerunt extrahere, disposuerunt ad castra re-
meare'.

247 The episode concerning Roger de Barneville is found in
CA VII.4, which is very close to Gilo's account, as is
RM VI.8. It is also found in TIC IXVI, RA p.66, AA IV.
27 (which differs in detail from Gilo).

*cum tribus armatis:* RM and CA both agree with Gilo, but
AA, who is rather prone to exaggeration, says he went
with 15 companions.

264 *tuta* i.e. their own lines of battle (cf. IS 2 *tueor* 2).

265 - 266 TIC says that Roger's horse stumbled in a swamp;
AA says that he was hit through the lung with an arrow.
There is also vaguely similar account about a 'quidam
miles' in AA IV.42.

274 *tum* presumably replaces *tunc* found in ADG on aesthetic
grounds.

275 - 277 So RM and CA; TIC says the Franks gave him an
honourable burial.

278 - 292 Cf. GF IX.xxiii p.56; PT pp.98-99; RA p.67; FC
I.xix.4; RM VI.13.

278 Again, Gilo uses the technique 'interiectio ex persona
poetae' to 'point' the narrative and explain exactly what
is going on.

283 Cf. RM VI.13: *nulla enim quies erat, nec arma deponebant,
sed in procinctu militiae semper erant.
telis et sagittis plateae ciuitatis impediebantur, et
tecta domorum onerabantur. Omni die ante castellum fit
noua congressio, multotiensque fiebat nostrorum ipsorum-
que una commixtio'.

288 hirsutaque: i.e. 'shaggy' because they are covered in missiles.

289 gentiles: this might possibly be interpreted to mean the Syrian Christian inhabitants of Antioch, who by their participation brought some relief to the Crusaders. nostri minimum discrimen habebant would then stress the respite the Latins gained from their intervention. However, the use of this word in this sense is unparalleled, and it is more likely that it refers to the Saracens. The point being made would then be that they not only attacked from a distance with bow, arrow and spear, but even (quoque) ventured to attack at close quarters (prope decertant gladiis), thus giving the Latin Christians a brief opportunity to engage them in their own favoured hand-to-hand combat (minimum discrimen).

291 minimum presumably replaces modicum as the poet lays more stress on the short duration of hand-to-hand combat. 'A brief skirmish took place'.

293-318 Cf. GF IX.xxiii pp.57-62; RM VI.14; RA p.76, 76; PT p.104; TIC LXXV; AA IV.34; CC 6; CA VIII.12; HN 44.

295-296 RM VI.14 reads 'fames omni hoste crudelior nostros inuadit'.

296 fugiunt ieiunia somni: i.e. hunger prevents the Crusaders from sleeping.

297 Cf. RM VI.14, 'uultus marcescunt'.

298 micant: presumably this has the force 'glisten' or 'show through'.

300 franguntur This is more expressive than ADG's luctantur. The famine in the Crusaders' camp, and the dire straits
to which both soldiers and poor pilgrims were reduced, are well documented in the other narratives.

302 *fere* The feminine form could be introduced because of the proximity of *more* to add internal rhyme, or it could be a corruption of *fere* or *feri*. Since the text makes sense as it stands and the MSS are unanimous, it seems satisfactory to leave the reading as it appears.

307 - 308 *RM VI.14* gives the price charged as 70 solidi, *HN* and *CA* as 60.

309 - 310 *cf. RM VI.14:* ‗Matres filios suos fame pereuntes ad ubera suspendebant, sed pueri in mammis nil prorsus inueniebant, et piae inopia lactis clausis oculis palp-itabant‘.

314 *labitur infelix:* from *Vergil* B III.498.

318 *sub imagine mortis* i.e. with death hanging over one. *Cf. Psalm 22:* ‗si ambulauero in medio umbrae mortis...‘

319 - 330 Parallels in *GF IX.xxv* p.59; *PT* p.101; *RA* pp. 68 - 72; *FC* I.xviii. 1ff; *TIC* LXXIII; *BN* XVIII; *RC* C; *RM* VII.2; *CC* 7; *HN* 46; *AA* IV.43; *CA* VII.19.

Gilo gives little attention to the story of Stephen, who had a vision of Christ. *RA* places it after the story of Peter Bartholomew (p.72) but Gilo's order is paralleled by the majority of the other sources. The story of Stephen (so named by *RM*) is given in greater detail in *RM* VII.1, whence it is also found in *BN*; the additional material here must derive from *GF*. The story of Peter Bartholomew (named in the other sources, but left anonymous by Gilo) is well reported. It was an important event in the history of the siege at Antioch; the Holy Lance became a rallying-point for the beleaguered Crusaders, lifting their spirits when all seemed lost.
It also shows the vast importance of their religious ideas in the everyday life of the Crusaders; though some of the leaders looked on it with suspicion, they realized what motivating power the lance possessed, and did not voice open dissent until after the siege was broken.

320 *tanta est*: although this appears at first sight to wreck the caudati rhyme-scheme which has obtained without a break since v. 215, *est* may have been swallowed up by the elision as the poem was read out loud. All the MSS possess it, and it seems to have been accepted by them without question, so there is no need to exclude it.

327 *castellanis*: i.e. the Turks trapped in the citadel of Antioch.

330 *tertio* Gilo's use of this word here is most perplexing, and explains G's re-writing of the verse to read *ieiunant omnes triduo*. The author of the Charleville additions, like us, finds fault with Gilo's verse. As it stands, the latter's text makes sense, disagreeing only with his own statement that the Crusaders fasted *sicut Ninivite*. RM VII.8 says 'triduanum omnibus induxit ieiunium'. *tertio* can mean either 'thirdly' or 'on the third day'. The Biblical statement is perfectly clear about Jonah's time in the fishes' belly (Jonah 2:1) being 'tribus diebus et tribus noctibus', but it says nothing about the length of the Ninivites' fast or the time they began it. Jerome in his commentary on the Twelve Prophets (Migne PL XXV col.1139) says that Jonah accomplished the journey through Niniveh, a journey of three days ('et Ninive erat ciuitas magna itinere trium dierum', Jonah 3:3) in only one day. Gilo's confusion may arise from the length of this jour-
ney. It is more likely however that he has recalled Christ's words in St. Matthew's gospel, 'sicut enim fuit Jonas in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, sic erit filius hominis in corde terrae tribus diebus et tribus noctibus'. From here it is but a small step to the credal statement 'et resurrexit tertia die'. On the scansion of tertio with short final -o- see note above on VII.9.

331 - 364 Parallels in GF IX.xxviii p.66; FT p.108; RA p.79; FC I.xxii.1; TIC LXXIX; BN XVIII; RC LXXXI; RM VII.5; CC 6; HG II.20; HN 47; BD III.15; AA IV. 44; CA VII.23, 24.

331 heremita...Petrus: here for the first time in Gilo this character is introduced. On him see note supra on II.5.

340 i.e. the Turk forces Peter to bow in homage to Corbana.

341 Riant's honestas is inexplicable: all the MSS read egestas, and it was this feature of Peter's character which would obviously provoke ribald remarks from the Saracens.

346 Cf. RM VII.5: 'si ratio iuris tecum esset et censura aequitatis nobiscum agere uelles'.

347 erroris lege remota: 'having removed the law of error', i.e. having given up the Moslem religion.

348 Romania i.e. the whole of Asia Minor, the Sultanate of Rum. Corbana must have regarded this as laughable: he was himself the vassal of the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad and his area of rule was expanding and encroaching on that of Rudwan of Aleppo (Runciman, Hist. Crus. I p.78, Hill, GF p.xxxii).

353 in paribus: explained by what follows, 'equal numbers
of men'. The outcome is to be decided upon by a trial by combat. RM VII.5 speaks of a determinata pugna with no mention of numbers; FC gives different figures. AA speaks of singulare certamine. GC 6 says that there were to be five men on each side.

355 ter deni uel duodeni: this may have replaced triginta siue viginti because the latter was too prosaic: cf. also Vergil A X.213, 'ter denis nauibus ibant'.

363 duces ADG's patres is curious. Apart from its normal sense, it could mean 'forefathers', implying that the time when Gilo was writing was somewhat removed from the Crusade itself, or 'church fathers', i.e. priests; this latter is unlikely, but the confusion may have arisen from the religious context of the verse. For the use of pater in this sense cf. infra VIII.74. BCF's correction yields a much better sense.

365 - 399 Parallels in GF IX.xxix p.66; PT p.110; RA p.79; FC I.xxii 1 (this gives a list of 'belli apparatus'); TIC LXXXI; RC LXXV; RM VII.3; HB II.21; BN XIX; AA IV.46.

365 GF and its derivatives say there were six formations.

367 - 368 ADG's version has abrupt changes of gender, quos presumably meaning 'men'; BCF's emendations adopt the feminine throughout, referring to manus in v.367. Translate: 'there they drew up (disposuerunt) those bands of men (manus) whom they could place in front (quas habeant in fronte), and those they wished (cupiant, present, but these variations of tense are common in poetry) to take the middle ground (medium) and the rear (extrema).

370 magnanimi septem: 'seven stout-hearted leaders'.

deseruere: this is somewhat derogatory. Perhaps Gilo saw more glory going to those who were to fight in the
front line, and thought Bohemond's task ignoble by comp-

372 - 373 Adhemar's leading-out of Raymond's troops is
corroborated by PT and RA, which latter specifies 'comes
ualde infirmabatur'. RM merely says 'in ciuitate reman-
sit', and GF is less charitable, saying he did so 'pro
timore Turcorum'. RC says Raymond fought alongside the
others, but this must be an oversight on Radulf's part.

374 - 375 Cf. CAP 384 - 385,

E pois levan la lansa cui fan acinament,
Ab que Deus resep mort e lo mons gerimen,
and RM 'in dextera illius in altum erecta Salvatoris
lancea'.

376ff. Adhemar's sermon is found only in RM VII.10 and HG
II.23 besides Gilo, and even there it differs in detail.

382 angelicam legionem: this shows Gilo's theological int-

387 This verse is merely a gloss on the previous line, added
by the Charleville poet. Its inclusion may well be due
to the fact that v.386 as it appears in ABCDF is the sole
leonine in a section made up entirely of caudati (caudati
have in fact occurred without a break since v.215); the
extra line turns this leonine into the first verse of a
couplet and restores the caudati throughout, though the
rhyme ociiatur/meretur is weak. Mono-rhyme seems more
acceptable to the Charleville poet than it does to Gilo,
whose rhyme is richer and more consistent.
superat: the indicative may be written here to show certainty (as one would expect from a bishop in his prayers! cf. Woodcock, New Latin Syntax XVI para.191). The subjunctive might be expected here (hence AB's emendation) but the indicative is at the same time more subtle and more significant.

corona i.e. eternal life. The imagery is biblical: cf. 2 Timothy 48, James 112, Revelation 210.

equites: pugiles, the reading of ADG, is attested by Latham as a 'champion', which fits the sense well, but BCF's version adds a notion of nobility and rank, and is preferable.

The same sentiment is found in I Corinthians 1013, 'Fidelis Deus est, qui non patietur uos tentari supra id quod potestis'.

supportate: this could be taken to mean 'support' in an abstract sense, as in modern French and English, though it is not found with this sense in Classical Literature. Latham attests the meaning 'encourage, help' from c.1223. There may also be a reminiscence of Exodus 1712, 'Manus autem Moysi erant graues...Aaron autem et Hur sustentabant manus eius ex utraque parte'. The biblical reminiscences are apt for a sermon by a bishop; they also reveal Gilo's skill in displaying his knowledge of the Bible, and his own religious background.

In RA pp.80 - 81 and RC 86, Corbana has been playing chess and is at first scared to fight; FC I.xxii 4-8 is similar. Like Gilo's narrative is FM VII.11; CAP 245 - 247 is also similar, but CA VII.25 - 33 is closer. Cf. above, 'Relationship to other Crusade Narratives', for an examination of parallels in this passage.
None of the other sources save CAP (cf. below on 402) have any reference to the offer of Corbana to settle the outcome of the battle by an equal number from either side; this may be a doublet of the offer made above, vv.331ff., by Peter the Hermit.

400 The change in word-order made in BCF does not alter the scansion, but introduces a break in the words between the forth and fifth feet, a weak Bucolic diaeresis.

401 duci makes much better sense than does dici in ADG. The latter must mean something like 'be summoned' (cf. the gloss in F); duci, 'be led out', is clearly preferable.

402 The sense of this line is very obscure: hoc nomen must mean either 'news' or 'message', or else be interpreted poetically, as Vergil A VII.717, 'infaustum interluit Allia nomen', or Lu-can VI.759, 'popularia nomina Drusos', meaning something like 'the Christian force' (cf. above, on VI.57). Nomen Christi occurs below at VIII.183. LS B.4, 'nation, power' comes close to the meaning here. Perhaps it implies that Corbana was secretly planning to attack the main body of the Christians.

This episode is paralleled in CAP IX.208ff.:

Molt voldra, sepoges, de batalha fugir,
Mas tant es proïmada que nos pot penedir,
E trames,j. mesatge per Frances somonir
Que no fos o lor omes detrenyer ne ausir,
Mas XXX dels melhors que elh poiran elir,
E ab XXX dels sens quel reis fara garnir
Lor fara la batalha...

(He wanted to avoid battle if he could, but it was so close he could not avoid it, and so sent a message to summon the Franks not to have their men attack or advance, but to choose thirty of the best they could find, and they, with thirty men the king would provide, would fight the battle...)

408 were: 'in fact'.

412 gesit: this is the reading from ADG, and seems better
than BCF's fecit, which hardly alters the sense, but at first sight worsens the rhyme. Medieval pronunciation may have softened the -c-, however, and made recessit/ fecit an acceptable rhyme. It may be that the sense 'brought about' (TLL (Hey) facio II) was required here and this may have brought about the substitution.

413 *rara cinxere corona* is from Vergil, A X.122.

414 *muro*: the singular for ADG's plural makes no real change to the sense; perhaps Gilo meant they were together on the one wall.

426 Again, this was due to the Turks' preference for fighting with the bow and arrow; cf. above on V.188.

427 Cf. RM VII.11 'quia venterus flans ex obliquo eorum iactus redagit in unum'.

428 *Puteolo* = Puiseaux (Loire) according to *Orbis Latinus*. *Puslaco* recalls *Puisatio* in GF I.ii p.5. BCF's reading seems preferable: the two forms are evidently synonymous, but BCF's was probably thought more correct, hence the alteration.

430 *percussi*: there is a play on words between *percussi* and percuterent here; *percussi* could be taken literally, but V.428 shows that the wind had blown the Turks' arrows off course. It might be argued that one or two missiles were on target; but *percussi* might mean 'surprised' or 'astounded' (LS *percutio* II.B.2), and is best understood in this sense here.

432 *preterradit* This is a very interesting word; LS says it is a 'false reading for praeterea radit' in Lucretius IV.528. It is not listed by OLD, Niermeyer, DuCange, and is not found among Goetz's lists of glosses.

433 *timpora*: sée note above, on v.190.
hastatos: probably in its rarer sense, 'armed with spears'.

dux...ducum: cf. RM VII.12, 'quid enim dux ducum Godfridus'.

rex Damasci Lucas: this person is known to modern historians as Duqaq of Damascus. Some phonetic corruption has probably occurred at some time in the transmission of the name: Arabic names obviously proved difficult for the Crusaders, who, like British troops in World War I, adapted what they heard to a phonetically similar word which they found more manageable.

This word as read in the MSS does not scan according to classical standards; invariably the -i- in amicus is long, but Gilo may have thought it acceptable to scan it short. Dr J.B. Hall suggested an emendation animi, which is metrically acceptable and makes good sense; amici is however supported as Gilo’s original reading by RM VII.12, 'quod ut uidit dux ducum Godfridus, quod Magnus, amicus suus, ita celeri cursu cum suis omnibus discurrebat, insecutus est illum, quoniam et ipse a bello uacabat'. This also parallels v.444.

hastilla lenti refers to the shaft of the lance, and lancea to the lance-head, unless hastilis is to be taken as a genitive of description: 'the lance with its pliant shaft'. For hastilla lenta cf. Ovid, M 8.28.

Balgentiacus Odo is also mentioned in RM VII.12; NN 54; HG II.23; CA VIII.34. If he is to be identified with Adhemar of Le Puy’s standard-bearer, then he is called Heraclius in RA p.82, who specifies that someone else took up the bishop’s banner.

Beniensis: this is presumably Benna, in Italy.
The change in word-order in BCF produces an SSDD line rather than SDDS, neither of which is frequent in Gilo. Presumably the change was made on aesthetic grounds.

Parallels in GF IX.xxix p.69, PT p.112, TIC LXXXII, RM VII.14-15, AA IV.49, CA VIII.52.

According to GF, this burning the grass was a pre-arranged sign from Corbana that he had been defeated, and that a swift retreat should be effected. Gilo seems to think that it was a ruse by the Turks to appease the Franks, and so make it easier to kill them (this seems to be the point of vv.466 - 467).

Pagano is an otherwise unknown knight.
Beluacensis Rainaldus: this person is called simply Rainaldus in the early version of GF.

Drogone: either Drogo de Taine or Drogo de Nesle, but more probably the latter, as AA mentions Thomas de la Père, Drogo de Nesle, and Clarebold de Vendeuil together in the last wave of the 'Peasants' Crusade', in the encouragement of Emicho of Leiningen. According to Duncalf ('The Peasants' Crusade', American Historical Review, XXVI, p.448) they later made their way to Italy and joined the army of Hugo Magnus. Gilo is probably accurate, therefore, when he mentions them together. They are also listed together by RM and CA VIII.53, which latter is very close to Gilo:

A tant es-vous Gerart moult tost esperronant, nes fu de Meleun, tout ot le poil ferrant, mais malades ot jut grant piece de devant; en la presse se fiert: je le tiens pour enfant, car tost l'orent ocis li cuivert mescreant. Estes-me vous Evrart a esperon brochant, nes estoit del Puisac, moult ot fier hardement, Droon et Clarembaut et Tomas le vaillant, et Paien de Blauvais sor un destrier ferrant; Quant voient mort Gerart, forment en sont pesant; de lor ami vengier sont forment desirant'.
(See now Gerart spurring on his horse; born in Melun, his hair was steely grey, but he had lay ill a long time before this. He hastens to the fray. I take him to be acting childishly, for the wicked cowards soon kill him. See now Evrart spurring on sharply; born in Puisy, he was immensely brave. Droon and Clarembaut and brave Thomas (were there), and Paien of Beauvais on a grey horse. When they see Gerart dead, they are very sad, and greatly desire to avenge their friend).

477 *ui patria* is from Vergil, *A II.491*.

479 Cf. *RM VII.*15, 'euolat sanguis de corporibus uulneratorum, euolat puluuis agitatus equorum pedibus discurrentium'.

480 Cf. *RM VII.*15, "in quendam collem deuenerunt".

482 *BCF* replace the rarer perfect ending *-ere* with the more common *-erunt*. Perhaps it was regarded as being likely to cause confusion. Note also the asyndeton here, in vv.482 - 483.

484 *Geraldus de Melione* is mentioned by *RM* and *CA* (cf. note above on v.469), but nothing is known of him.

488 B's *manubias* seems to mean something like 'advance party'. Cf. *Blatt*, *manubie* 2 = sentinelles, gardes.

489 This is another example of interiectio ex persona poetae.

490 The Franks' harrying of the Turks is corroborated by *GF* *IX.*xxix p.70; *PT* p.113; *FC I.*xxiii.3-4; *TIC* LXXII; *BN* xxiii; *HE* II.25; *AA IV.*51-53, as well as *RM VII.*15, which is very close to Gilo:

'peracta nocte illa, in crastinum XV milia camelorum sunt inuenta: equos uero, mulos et mulas, boues et asinos et uestes et multi generis pecora quis dixerat? inuenta sunt autem uasa aurea et argentea multa, plurima pallia, et spolia magni pretii diversaque uarietatis...mortui sunt autem illo die C milia equitum, sed propter fastidium nullus numeratus est de tota multitudine peditum'.

493 *totidem* is here used as an indeclinable adjective, referring back to the 10,000 Turkish knights in v.492; cf. *LS* II.B.
castellum civile: i.e. the citadel of Antioch.

This number is also found in RM VII.18 and HN 56. The baptism of an amir with an unspecified number of others is also found in PT pp.113-114, and TIC LXXXIV.

Cf. GF IX.xxvii p.63; PT pp.105-107; TIC LXXVI; RM VI.15; BN XVII; RC XCII.

Once again, Gilo addresses his audience in the first person.

uelut ad uomitum reuocata: cf. Proverbs 26\(^1\), 'sicut canis qui reuertitur ad uomitum suum, sic imprudens qui iterat stultitiam suam'.

This verse, like the one above it, is redolent of biblical language: the image about 'deserting their fatherland' brings to mind God's wayward people Israel; mundo sociata recalls James 4\(^4\), 'quicumque ergo uoluerit amicus esse saeculi huius, inimicus Dei constituitur' and I John 2\(^1\), 'si quis diligit mundum non est charitas Patris in eo'; cf. also Gilo's Prologue, vv.19-24, and notes.

There is deep irony in Gilo's words: he says he won't mention the shameful deed - but tells us enough to make it clear who was to blame and why.

Constantinopolitani: i.e. 'by the pro-Byzantine advice of Stephen of Blois'. After Stephen's cowardice and the failure of the Byzantines to come to their aid, the Crusaders looked on their Greek fellow-Christians only with suspicion.

in urbe replaces inherma, the reading of AD, which is the usual epithet for vulgus; perhaps Gilo wanted to specify where the common people were camped.

Cf. GF X.xxx p.72, BN xxix, and RM VII.20: Constantinopolitanus autem Imperator Vulpinus pro
receptu tantae urbis non praesumpsit uenire, quoniam
recognoscebat fidem et sacramenti iura et data pignora
Francis se uiolasse et nequaquam custodisse.
Sicque omnes conventiones deletae fuerunt quae inter
eos factae sunt.

imperii domino: this is attested by both sides of the
tradition, in BCF and in D (though D reverses the order).
From a stemmatic point of view it appears as if A has
interpolated its reading. However, A's induperatori
is a very rare word, found in Lucretius IV.967 and V.
1227. On it DuCange says 'inter Latinos usurpavit
Iuuenalis Satura 4, inter Latino-Barbaros uero Odo in
Carm. de Varia Fortuna Erneste Bauarie Ducis; Gilo;
Auctore Carminis de Lotherio Rege in Appendo Tom.2.
Annal.Bened.p.745, etc.' It may be possible, since the
word is rare, that Gilo used it first of all, but was
then persuaded to adopt a more obvious phrase less likely
to cause misunderstanding. D's reading would then be
a corruption of the variant found in A.
MAP III: FROM ANTIOCH TO JERUSALEM

--- ROUTE OF THE ARMY LED BY RAYMOND OF SAINT-GILLES

--- ROUTE TAKEN BY THE FORCES OF GODFREY AND ROBERT OF FLANDERS
For parallels to this passage, cf. GF X.xxx pp.72-73; PT pp.114-5; RA p.84; RM VII.21-22; TTC LXXXVI; AA V.30. In this book, caudati and catenati/tiradener-reim replace leonines completely, save for vv. 7 and 19. RA regards the delay and resting described here as idleness.

obsequiis erat hic studiosus: 'This man did his duty conscientiously'. The phrase seems to be proleptic, looking ahead to Raymond Pilet in v.10.

Raimundus miles: Raymond Pilet was a knight in the army of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and was from Limousin. His generosity and activity are widely attested in the other narratives.

Thalamana: i.e. Tel-Mannes, to the East of the Orontes. The duas urbes are also mentioned by GF, but are not named. For castrum with the meaning 'fortified town', see J.F. Verbruggen, in Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire XXVIII (1950) pp.147 - 154. Castrum and castellum are by no means interchangeable: castrum could mean a fortified town or an unfortified town with its castle, or a castle alone; castellum can only mean a castle.

This practice is also noted in the other narratives.

The alteration in word-order produces a DSSD line instead of DSDS; preference for this metrical scheme may have been the reason for the change.

ignotis: cf. TLL I.B.1, LS I.B, 'low-born', 'base'.

Parallels in GF X.xxx pp.73-74; PT pp.115-116; FC
I.xxv.2 (a vague account); EH 15.2, p.158; TIC LXXXVII; EH XXIV (again, vague); EM VII.22; in AA IV.26, they fail to capture Marra, and return disconsolate to Antioch.

29 Marram: i.e. Maarat-an-Numan, on the road to Aleppo.

30 ad BCP's reading is better than in, which might imply 'against'. Rudwan's forces came to protect Maarar, not to attack it.

31 fortis stresses the might of the city of Aleppo, whereas urbis is rather bland.

Roboam rex: i.e. Rudwan of Aleppo, brother of Duqaq of Damascus.

33 disposito bello The ablative absolute does away with the asyndeton. This is permitted at VII.482-3, but was evidently thought jarring here.

39 affigunt: 'they fastened corpses to the very gates', to dishearten the enemy.

43 agiturque replaces agitata in AD; this latter is paralleled by Judith 15:1, 'solo tremore et metu agitati'. Perhaps it was thought that a second verb would bring more life to the narrative. Its subject is inimica cohors: 'the enemy cohort routed them and was driven on by mad rage'.

44 BCP's change in word-order produces an SSDD line rather than an SDSD; perhaps this was done in order to bring the subjects of reddunt closer together at the end of the line, and thus emphasize that they were to be taken together.

46 odiunt Though attested by all the MSS this is very peculiar. Riant emended to fodiunt, 'stab', but the sense required must be something more like 'buckle' or 'fasten
on', to go with v.45, if they are preparing their armour ready for battle. 'nodant' or a similar word would therefore be necessary. However, the troops would surely already be armed. odiunt is in fact an acceptable form, from odio, 'I hate': cf. TLL (v. Kamptz) odi I. B. col.455.1ff. for the form. It is attested by TLL in Servius Gramm.IV.451, Priscian Gramm.III.523,12, Max. Victorinus Gramm.VI.226, and Isidore Orig.10.91. Blatt also notes that Alan of Lille and Hraban Maur use it. In this case the iuuenes loath their breastplates because they are a heavy impediment, and obtenebrant in v.45 should be interpreted as 'impaired their vision'. As Runciman (Hist.Crus. I p.252) points out, the troops Raymond Pilet had were 'unused to bearing arms'.

52 Suriani: this must refer to the local Syrian Christians whom Raymond had enlisted to fight the Saracens; they are contrasted with the proba gens of v.50, who are presumably Frankish.

60 ordine non habito: the Christian knights did not normally keep closed ranks in battle. This phrase implies that they were scattered and did not rejoin their forces.

66 A further example of interiectio ex persona poetae.

68 Raimundus: i.e. Raymond Pilet. The castrum to which he fled was either Tel-Mannas, mentioned in v.14, or the fort near to it mentioned in v.17ff.

72 - 81 Parallels in GF X.xxx p.74; PT p.116; RA p.84; FC I.xxiii.8; TTC LXXXVIII; BN XXIV; RC XCIV; RM VII.23; BN 57; HG II.25; AA V.4, which says Adhemar dies as a result of a widespread plague.

75 genuisse is a stronger word than AD's doluisse, which probably accounts for the substitution.
The change in word-order is presumably effected in order to bring presul and Podiensis closer together and thus make the sense easier to construe.

This refers to the Feast of St. Peter's Chains, 1st August 1098. Gilo begins with a generalisation about the date of Adhemar's death, and proceeds to the detail later (vv.30 - 31).

Cf. for the image St. Paul, Romans 7:24, 'quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius?'

Parallels in GF X.xxxi p.74-75; PT p.117; RA p.91; TTC LXXXIX; BN XXV; RM VII.24; HG II.28; AA V.26.

stans is emphatic: 'standing firm'.

Albariam al-Bara was some 30 miles from Antioch, a little south-east of Rigia on the Orontes (Runciman, Hist.Crus. I. pp.257-258).

uiri: this is clearly the reading chosen at the revision stage; it is hard to tell which (if either) of A's necem or D's homines represents Gilo's first version; necem could be an incorporated gloss explaining what the men killed had deserved.

Similarly incongruous language is used below about the 'cleaning' of Jerusalem, IX.340. Gilo and his contemporaries saw nothing incongruous in it.

As Runciman notes (Hist.Crus. I p.257), the appointment here of a latin bishop by Raymond (there was no orthodox Patriarch) led eventually to a schism and a duplication of bishoprics in the Latin Orient. The persona's name was Peter of Narbonne: he was one of Raymond of Saint-Gille's priests.

GF X.xxx p.72 says the Crusaders had decided in the summer to leave any action until the winter. Smail, Crusading
Warfare, pp. 71-72, notes that in winter the heavy rain prevented much movement; presumably late autumn is meant here, when marching would still be possible and the Crusaders would suffer less from drought.

The day meant is All Saints' Day, 1st November 1098.

This bears out the comment above, on v. 94, about hiemps. GF agrees that it was on this day that the leaders met.

The image is biblical; cf. Matthew 13^47, 'Iterum simile est regnum caelorum sagenae missae in mare, et ex omni genere piscium congreganti'.

uis...uirum: translate, 'their great military strength'. The phrase occurs in Vergil A VI. 553. Its use here as the subject of the sentence is rather contrived.

conubia is read in DCP instead of AD's coniugia because the latter is unmetrical. According to Siguinus (p. 44) conubia was reckoned to exist with both long and short –u–.

urbis presumably refers to Jerusalem. ignotos tractus are the city's 'Unexplored environs'.

Bohemond's main aim at the leaders' meeting was to get the others to agree to his keeping Antioch for himself; he had acquired the territory he had wanted, and had no intention of proceeding further with the Crusade. His major opponent here was Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who alone of the leaders wanted to remain faithful to the oath he had sworn to the Emperor. Hence his advice at the council, and his fortifying of the palace (munitque domum Casiani). He then returned to his own recently-acquired possession, al-Bara, and tried once more to take
Maarat-an-Numan.

112 News of an open breach between the leaders would have been demoralizing in the extreme; hence the other leaders' advice to Raymond not to go to Jerusalem, but to Maarat-an-Numan.

117 respectu uictus honesti: 'persuaded by considerations of what was right'.

118 - 249 Parallels in GF X.xxxiii pp.78-79; PT pp.121-124 (his account is biased towards Bohemond); RA p.94; RM VIII.5-7; AA V.30; TIC XCII.

118 lux Domini specialis: presumably the light, or dawn, was 'special' because it heralded the start of a Sunday; GF gives the date as 28 November, which, though it fell on a Sunday in 1098, is not a special day in the Christian calendar.

124 - 125 hostes...timor: translate, 'common gossip (rumor publicus) said that there would be too many enemy troops' (plus iuto; cf. Horace, C III.7.22-24, 'at tibi/ne uicinus Enipeus/plus iusto placea caue', where the sense 'more than one can cope with' is suggested; cf. also TLL (Baer) iustus II.B.1.A); 'and fear added yet more' (complures: for this intensifying force, cf. TLL (Bannier) complures II.A, subst...notabilia ad I et II: partem efficit maioris rei uel numeri).

127 insomnem: 'in their sleepless nights'.
diem: 'during the day'.

128 - 129 i.e. all their social distinctions are cast to the wind in the face of fear.

131 pigra: 'indolent'.

134 muros, BCF's reading, replaces AD's martem, adding more specific detail and creating a preciser visual image of
what is going on.

As elsewhere, five lines come together here in catenati or tiradenreim.

Cf. RM VIII.6:
'tela sudes lapidesque volent ignesque facesque
ex quibus arderent introrsus tecta domorum'.

Sapping operations are also mentioned by GF.

dant proxima: this seems to be a rare, and very violent, case of hypallage; cf. Vergil A III.61, 'dare classibus Austros'. Here one would expect 'dant uulnera certa proximis'; presumably Gilo uses this device to accommodate rhyme and metre.

et replaces the rarer ac from AD. The imagery in vv.
145-147 comes from Vergil, A IX.671 and G I.449, but Gilo does not follow his sources slavishly. Once again, the heavy winter rain caused hardship to the Crusaders.

sonitum, which replaces AD's strepitum, seems weaker; perhaps strepitum was thought too strong in this context.

Raimundus: i.e. Raymond of Saint-Gilles, the leader of all these attacks on Maarat-an-Numan.

This is a conflation of reminiscences from Vergil A II.15 and IX.87.

imis...cauernie: i.e. in the lower parts of the siege-tower.

Eurardus Venator: mentioned in RM VIII.6, who says of him 'spiritu buccinandi erat praeditus'; GF X.xxxiii p.78; PT p.122; TIC XCII, who calls him 'Hemirandus Venator'.

Grecorum piceos ignes: 'Greek Fire' was a form of liquid pitch, which was set on fire and poured on the assailants of a city from above; it formed a similar sort of deterri-
ent to napalm nowadays.

166 - 167 *divina potentia:* again Gilo insists that the intervention of God was the cause of the Christians' escape: the theological aspect is to the fore here as elsewhere.

168 *iaciunt:* *iacio* is not normally found in an absolute sense, 'to cast spears', and an object such as *tela* must be understood.

170 Guillelmus de Monte Pislerio: mentioned in RM, GF, PT, and TTC. He was a knight in the entourage of Raymond of Saint-Gilles.

172 *iustratur ab igne:* the image here is Biblical. Cf. Malachi 3^2, Revelation 3^18, I Peter 1^7.

173 Another example of *interiectio ex persona poetae.*

176 *retro:* the final -o- is scanned short; cf. on ablative gerunds, above, note on VII.9.

182 *fugiatque* is much more strong and more evocative than *AD*'s *metuatque.*

183 *nomen Christi:* the re-arrangement of the word-order is presumably done on aesthetic grounds.

184 - 185 This action is not reported elsewhere.

186 Cf. RM VIII.6: 'muros alii suffodiebant'.

187 *excussa...securi:* 'a thrown axe'.
Gulferius de Da Turre: Da Turre is also attested in GF's MSS. This person was lord of Lastours, near Nexon (Haut-Vienne), and was father of the Guy of Lastours who married Mathilda, daughter of Geoffrey II, count of Perche, and widow of Raymond of Turenne. His vassal, Gregory Bechada, spent 12 years writing a history of the First Crusade in Provençal; this may possibly be identified with the Chanson D'Antioche en Provençal (CAP) published in 1884 by Paul Meyer (cf. his introduction, pp.6 - 8). Gulferius' story is also recorded in GF, RM, PT and TIC.

191 ale i.e. 'bands of men'.

193 inertis: 'inactive', perhaps with the sense 'unwatchful'; Gulferius could only get up the ladder when they were not watching.

194 Again the theological aspect is uppermost: the motive for the Crusade is given by Gilo as religious, and even individual actions, as here, are attributed to religious zeal and the work of God. The development of this concept is traced by Colin Morris, The Discovery Of The Individual, pp.139ff.

197 repulsa: here a physical repulse, not abstract, as is usual in classical latin.

198 at: some contrast is implied here, as Gulferius attains the wall, and the others are left behind; at, in the MSS, does not supply this, but the change to at, suggested by D's aut, is a simple one.

200 conducere: 'lead with him'.

201 - 202 As with Gilo's other similes, this one is very finely worked out.

208 molares: here this must signify stones cast from a cat-
apult. Cf. above, note on V.121.

215 - 216 Cf. RM VIII.6-7: 'iuuentus nostrorum...immemor sui, sed memor sociorum, confestim ascenderunt partemque muri sua multitudine cooperiunt'.

221 pressitque sonum: this must mean something like 'drowned out all other sound'. sonum may refer back to furentum: cf. v.43 for furor applied to the Turks.

223 i.e. they were trampled underfoot. Cf. RM VIII.7: 'Se ipsos as terram disposuerunt, et mortem, quam euadere putabant, contracti ad terram inuenerunt'.

224ff. Again, the narrative here is paralleled by RM, GF, PT and TIC.

226 foramen: a late latin word normally meaning 'cave', but here with the sense 'gap' or 'breach'.

234 ruit: this more powerfully descriptive word replaces AD's tamer perit.

238 This line is explained by v.239: when night came, fighting had to stop.

242 at: better than AD's et, since it introduces a note of differentiation: 'while the citizens fled into the night, the Crusaders...'

243 miseris: this is a transferred epithet; strictly it should refer to gentilis.

244 Boimundus Bohemond's forces had joined those of Raymond of Saint-Gilles shortly after the siege of al-Bara had begun, as GF tells us; Gilo omits to mention this, and his sudden introduction of Bohemond here is rather jarring.

245 sua mala i.e. the ravaging of the city. It is an oddity that Gilo should look on Bohemond's action in this way, in view of the attitude he displays toward similar incidents elsewhere: cf. below, IX.340.
que presidet ardua porte: 'the tower which overlooks the steep approaches to the town gate', which would be a key position to take in the battle for the town. GF refers to this tower as 'unum palacium'.

Parallels in RM VIII.7,8; GF X.xxxiii pp.79-80; RA pp.98-99; RC CIV; TLC XCII.

This is an attractive instance of zeugma.

BCF's new word-order produces a DDDS line instead of AD's DDSD, but the change was brought about in all probability to create the attractive chiastic structure corpore... tenui/modicas uires.

decollandi: this is an obvious emendation to make, as the unanimous reading of the MSS, decollandis, makes no obvious sense. To retain it, some such substantive as capitibus must be understood, though the sense remains very forced. It is odd, however, that this error remained undetected at the revision stage of Gilo's poem, where so many other errors still in AD were corrected.

This gruesome and barbarous device of torture was totally misunderstood (or deliberately toned down) by RM, who reads 'nulli parcebant sed plures, ut citius finirentur, laqueis suspendebant'.

Cf. Prudentius, Psych.4.78, 'Amor insatiatus habendi'.

This is also reported by GF: the Turks swallowed coins to prevent the Franks from getting them.

BCF's altered word-order gives no change to the metre, but makes the word-order follow the sense more naturally in a linear sequence. AD's version is more Vergilian, but may have been thought too confusing.

inrevocabile uulgus Presumably the 'Tafurs', the uncontrollable rabble, who are led to the impia fata - prob-
ably the gruesome task described in v.270. The phrase comes from Lucan, I.509. An alternative explanation is to take impia fata to mean 'their hellish end', and see uulgus as referring to the inhabitants of al-Bara, who are inreucable because there is no return from death.

mora mensis: corroborated in RM. GF says it lasted 'per unum mensem et quatuor dies'.

presul Oriensis: little is known of this person. His name was William, and he was the chief ecclesiastic in the Crusade after Adhemar. He assumed the leadership of the clergy after Adhemar's death. William was a part of the entourage of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and this portion of Gilo's narrative contains many details which suggest that his source originated in a report from someone who travelled in Raymond's company.

Translate: 'in victory they know not how to be sparing with all their plundered goods', i.e. the Crusaders squandered the valuable provisions they gained from the sack of the city.

uocantem: i.e. 'death on whom they had called'.

Parallels in RM VIII.8-9; GF X.xxxiv pp.80-81; PT pp.125 - 126; RA p.99; FC I.xxv.4; TIC XCIII; RC XCVIII.

Boimundi causa: i.e. his claim to the city of Antioch. secundo: 'a second time'.

cf. RM VIII.8: 'Boamundus non potuit apud comitem Sancti Egidii concordari super id quod petebat'. Raymond again insists that the oath sworn to Alexis should be honoured (vv.283 - 284).

i.e. anger over who should take Antioch delayed the true purpose of the Crusade (ui...sancte). In v.286
both *ira* and *dux* are subjects of *fecit*: 'anger made the duke put off the journey, and the duke delayed the troops'. Zeugma such as this played a large part in medieval poetics.

288 *patribus*: cf. above, note on VII.363.

291 *si modo salua fides*: supply *esset*. 'Provided good faith was kept...'

292 *lima*: used in its literary sense, 'polishing' or 'revision'. It seems to be an ablative of attendant circumstances, though one might expect *cum* with it; it may be translated 'that business (*ea res*) of the leaders should be raised again and revised (*lima*)'.

293 *Rugiosam*: see above on v.110. Here Raymond would be 'on home ground', as it were.

295 - 296 Gilo's theological interest is revealed here very clearly: he sees the dissension among the leaders of the Crusade as the Devil's work. Failure to reach an agreement led to a definitive breach. Raymond, who decided to press on to Jerusalem alone, and Bohemond, who withdrew to Antioch.

301 Raymond of Agiles is here depicted in a very good light; being loyal to the oaths he had made and being a sincerely religious man, he obviously appealed much more to Gilo. Cf. FM VIII.8: 'Plus in Domino confidens quam in principibus'.

302 *duce...iste*: i.e. Christ.

303 *pedibus nudis*: the normal mark of a penitent. This shows Raymond's sincerity, and was also a gesture which helped the poor pilgrims to identify with him, endearing him to them. Cf. GF 'exiuit nudis pedibus'.

305 - 306 The subject of iurat is secura fides in v.306.
Translate: 'Firm faith promises (or swears) to this people that all dangers (quelibet pericula) will fade away (cessura).

308 The image is very vivid: laceris is found used of hair in Claudian DRP III.177, and of a torn face in Vergil A VI.495, and of a ship by Ovid H II.45, but there do not seem to be any exact parallels.

310 Capharsa: Kafartab, 12 miles south of Maarat-an-Numan.
Gilo is alone in recording the arrival of Robert of Normandy at this point; GF does not mention it. Runciman (Hist. Crus. I p.267) says that he was accompanied by Tancred.

315 rex Cesaree: this is the amir of Shaizar, Ali ibn Munqidh, who came to offer safe passage to the pilgrims, and remained on good terms with the Crusaders.

317 firmata: 'strengthened in its resolve'.

319 Farfar: as elsewhere, the Orontes.

324 occurrentes: a present participle was perhaps more acceptable, being dependent on exhibuerunt, than AD's occurrerunt. The two Turks were sent to guide the Crusaders to Jerusalem.

326 quos nollet euadere: the subject of this must be rex, supplied from rege iubente (v.324). Presumably the amir's plan was to keep an eye on the Crusaders' army through his guides, and also to ensure that they were kept from wandering off the route to Jerusalem. Translate: 'they (the guides) point out the valleys to those whom (the king) does not wish to escape'.

333 ualloque suits the context better than muroque, as this line seems to refer to the earthworks, the following to
the stone fortifications. *appere* and *uallo* refer to the bank and ditch typical of earthworks in the medieval orient.

336 *spoliis...datis*: *spoliis* is here used in the sense attested by DuCange 3: *spolium*, 'moveable property', 'gifts'.

339 *nec* connects this sentence with the clause prior to it, which is presumably why BCF substitutes it for AD's *non*.

341 - 363 Parallels in RM VIII.10; GF X.xxxiv p.82; FT pp. 127-128; TIC XCV; AA V.31.

342 *proximus...labor*: *proximus* is a transferred epithet; strictly speaking, it was the valley that was nearby.

346 *Caphaliam*: Hill (GF p.82 note) implies that this was formerly called Raphania. Runciman (Hist.Crus. I p.269) identifies it as Hosn-al-Akrad, which stood on the site where Krak des Chevaliers was later built. Cf. RM VIII. 10, 'incolae illi appellant (illam) Caphaliam'.

347 'when he saw more certainly those of whom he had already heard though reports (rumore uidebat)'.

350 *dehinc*: 'from here' goes with *montes superauit*; AD's *diu* looks back. Perhaps the substitution was made to clarify the latter part of the line. The mountains were the eastern part of the Nosairi range.

351 *Desen*: 'generally identified with al-Boukeia', according to Hill (GF p.82 note). It may have been near Hosn-al-Akrad, some 10 miles from Homs.

352 Again, Gilo's theological interest is revealed by his insistence that the goods found by the Crusaders were the result of God's generosity.

354 *nutum*, 'approval', is better than 'prayers', *nutum*, in AD; it was things that were permitted that the people disdained, not the things they desired, as v.355 makes
clear.

358 *fraude subacti*: i.e. the Crusaders were tricked by this move into not attacking the castle, whose inhabitants were able to escape. RA (p.106) says Raymond of Saint-Gilles was almost captured as the Crusaders chased after the cattle let loose from the castle.

362 - 363 i.e. the feast of Candlemas, February 2 1099.

364 - 374 RM VIII.11; GF X.xxxiv p.83; PT p.128; RA pp. 106 - 107; TIC XCVI; RG II.28.

364 Camela This appears to be a Crusaders' nickname for the city of Homs, according to Hill, who says it was ruled by Janah-al-Dawla, Rudwan of Aleppo's atabek or military vassal (GF p.83 note). Runciman (Hist.Crus. I p.269) says that the envoys came not from Homs, to the south, but from Hama, to the north.

365ff. Cf. RM VIII.11: 'misit arcum aureum, uestes pretiosas, et micantia tela; quae omnia nostri receperunt, sed nil certi tunc illis renuntiauerunt'.

369 *ut isti*: i.e. the legate sent 'ab urbe Camela'. RM reads 'rex Tripolis eodem terrore permotus'.

370 These gifts are also mentioned in GF, RM and PT, all of which say there were 10 horses; TIC confuses the account and says they were sent from Camela.

374 *quindecimaque die*: GF and others say that it was on the 14th February 1099, i.e. 14 days after Candlemas.

375 - 394 Parallels in RM VIII.12; GF X.xxxiv p.83; PT p.128; RA p.107; FC I.xxv.6; TIC XCVI; RN XXV; RC CV; AA V.31.

375 Archas: i.e. Arqa, near the coast, roughly 18 miles north-east of Tripoli.

377 *Publicani*: Forester, in his translation of OV (III p.121)
thinks that a better spelling would be populicani. These were a sect which had broken off from the Manichees and had taken the name Paulicians from one Paul, who had introduced some innovations into their creed. Being favoured by the emperor Nicephorus (802 - 811) they founded a small state in Armenia, but when Nicephorus' successors persecuted them, they sought the protection of the Caliphs, who gave them settlements in Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia; hence they are found fighting on the side of the Turks. According to Hill (GF p.20 note) the word is used in that account to denote heretics in general. Cf. also Runciman, The Medieval Manichee, pp.26 - 62.

379 - 380. The forms of the pronouns are perplexing here. From a stemmatic point of view, hoc should be read in v.379, as it is found in ADF, and hec is found only in BC. Moreover it yields good sense, referring back to castrum uetus in v.375. However in 380 stemmatic considerations suggest that ECF's que should be read in preference to quod in AD, though this leaves hec with only munimina in v.378 as a possible antecedent. This means that the sentence is badly disjointed; at most a semicolon would have to be read instead of a full-stop at the end of v.378, and even the antecedent is too far from the relative for there to be any strong syntactical connection. It therefore seems better to read hec with BC in v.379, referring back to munimina in v.378, and to take this as the antecedent of que in v.380. hec could easily have been corrupted to hoc through the influence of hoc just above, in v.377.

385 Cf. RM VIII.12, 'saepius illos inuaserunt omni genere
Anselmus de Monte Riballo  The death of this person is recounted in most of the narratives. RM VIII.18 lists it with the death of several others, mentioned in Book IX of Gilo, as do GF X.xxxv p.85 and PT p.131; HG II.28 says he died at Gibellum, apart from the rest. Anselm was (as his name indicates) from Ribemont (Aisne), of the family of the ancient counts of Valenciennes. He was a historian of the First Crusade, and some of his letters home are printed in RHC H.Occ. III.p.892. Others are printed in Hagenmeyer, Die Kreuzzugsbriefe, Innsbruck 1902.

Cato: together with Solomon, Cato was considered in the Middle Ages to be the paragon of wisdom.

Parallels in RM VIII.12-13; GF X.xxxiv pp.83-84; PT p.129; TIC XCVI-XCVII; HG II.28; BD IV.3-4; AA V. 31.

Cf. RM VIII.12:

'tunc quatuordecim de nostris militibus, otio uacare nescientes, erga Tripolim perrexerunt; et sexaginta Turcos inuenerunt, qui multos captivus, et plus quam mille quinquaginta animalia rapuerunt, et ante se duc-ebant. quos ut nostri uiderunt, licet perpauci essent, in caelum manus protendentes regemque Saboath innocantes militariter inuaserunt...sex de illis occiderunt.'

This narrative is very similar to that found in GF.

'by its very name'.

Tortosa: This action, undertaken by Raymond Pilet and Raymond of Turenne, appears to have occurred at roughly the same time as the raid on Tripoli which has just been described. Again, Gilo's narrative is very close indeed to GF at this point. Tortosa was a port some 28 miles north of Tripoli.

proconsul: GF calls him a viccomes, and Hill says that
this rank was below that of a count; the nearest English approximation would be a sheriff. It is in precisely this sense that Latham attests proconsul from the 12th century.

BCF's alteration produces a DSDS line instead of a DDSS, but is more likely to have been due to aesthetic than metrical considerations. erat haud impar is very heavy compared with non impar erat. One metrical consideration which may have swayed Gilo here is the fact that 'h' could in the Middle Ages lengthen a preceding short vowel or give rise to apparent cases of hiatus (as it does frequently in the Waltharius, for example). The line as originally written may therefore have been considered unmetrical.

Cf. RM VIII.13: 'fecerunt tota nocte immenses rogos ignium, ac si totus adesset...exercitus Christianorum. Gens...existimantes quod nostri omnes adessent, omnes subito confugerunt'.

metu solo: BCF change the word-order in order to restore the metre: AD's ergo solo metu does not scan.

ab Archois: i.e. from the north. In the symbolism of the prophetic books of the Bible, 'the lands of the north' often denote the area from which Israel's enemies will attack and destroy her; cf. Jeremiah 6:1, 10:22.

Once again, the theological aspect of the Crusade is brought to the fore. This amazing capture was the work of God, not mere chance.

nec cumularat: cumularat is a syncopated pluperfect form, quite common in verse. The problem in this verse is nec. It does not at first appear to make any good sense
with its normal meaning 'and not', and appears to have caused some confusion to the scribe of D, who wrote nunc. It might possibly be a corruption of ne, which is found with the force 'even though' (cf. LS ne I.B.3) or (though this is very unlikely) of ne = vel, 'indeed', as in the comedies of Plautus and Terence and occasionally in Cicero. However, in this sense it is only found as a general rule in conjunction with a personal pronoun. Alternatively, one might emend to accumularat. On the whole it seems better to leave the text as it stands, and interpret nec as 'even though', with this verse standing in apposition to the one preceding it.

432 proceres substitutes powerfully for AD's weak nostri.

433 Cf. Runciman's comment (Hist.Crus.I p.270): 'The capture of Tortosa greatly strengthened the Crusade. It opened up easy communications by sea with Antioch and Cyprus, and with Europe'.

434 Maraclee: i.e. Marqiye, 10 miles north of Tortosa, on the coast.
Prefacing Book IX is this unusual mini-prologue, which is somewhat similar to the capitula which preface each book of Walter of Châtillon's Alexandreis. It is unclassical in that the poet himself comes to the fore and speaks to his audience in his own persona: in this it recalls the prologue to Gilo's poem and the numerous interiectiones ex persona poetae found in the body of the text. It also contains a similar device to the prologue; the apology for poor writing, IX.3-4, is paralleled by Prol. 11 - 16.

1 duce materia: Gilo's allusion here is unfortunately unclear. materia could simply refer to the narrative which he is in the process of recounting, or a written document whose account he is following. It is very unlikely that this is RM's account, as the evidence gathered above suggests that RM is derived from Gilo and parts of GF (cf. above, 'Relation to other Crusade narratives'). If it does refer to a written document then this latter has perished. Blatt materia IV.B.1 = sujet d'un ouvrage; IV.B.2 = technique d'enseignement, exposition du livre à commenter.

2 inspicimus propius portum: the metaphor is a fitting parallel to the boat-image with which Gilo's poem began; cf. Prol.vv.11ff. It is a common metaphor in classical poetry; cf. Statius T XII.809, 'et mea iam longo meruit ratis aequore portum', and Ilias Lat. 1066, 'iamque tenet portum metamque portentis Homeri'.

3 obscurat: 'spoils the story'.

5 - 10 Gilo's point throughout these verses is that he is
paying more attention to content than to form. He shows little consistency, in fact, in his rhyming: Books IV and V are written predominantly in leoninini, with some intrusions from caudati and catenati; Book VII is a mixture of passages of leonines and caudati until v.196, when caudati and occasional spurts of tiradenreim come to the fore; Book VIII is written almost entirely in caudati. Now, on the last stage of the story, Gilo warns his audience that he is paying no more attention to uerba sonora, so that latius effundet prolixas relatio rerum. v.7 is a specific reference to the caudati he has been writing; BCF's caudas is much more explicit than ADG's neutral fines, and is far preferable to it.

pruriet is here used unusually with modulatio carminis and what appears to be an ethic dative, nulli auri. The sense is 'let the sound of the poetry (i.e. the rhymes) charm one's ears'; in a classical construction, prurio would have required nulla auris as its subject. However, a similar construction to the one Gilo uses here is found in the Vulgate in II Timothy 4\(^3\), 'ad sua desideria coacervabit sibi magistros, prurientes auribus', and it is probably this passage which has influenced the poet. Cf. also Latham 'to rub or scratch' c.1290.

humilis stilus et rude metrum: as in IV.3, Gilo here uses the technical vocabulary of the schools to describe his poetry. According to TLL (Klepl) VI.3.3109, Servius ed.prf.p.2.1 held that there were three levels of writing: 'tres sunt characteres: humilis, medius, grandiloquus'. Faral, Arts Poetiques,p.86, quotes John of Garland: 'Item sunt tres styli secundum tres status
hominum: pastorali uitae conuenit stilus humilis, agricoli mediocris, grauis grauibus personis quae praesunt pastoribus et agricolis'. This of course fits in with the division of the works of Vergil, grauis stilus corresponding to the Aeneid, mediocris to the Georgics, and humilis to the Eclogues. As in his prologue, Gilo shows affected modesty with regard to his own talent: he claims his stilus is only suited to light, pastoral verse, although he has attempted an epic.

11ff. Another image is used here to supplement that of reaching the port; this time it is the image of a horse-race. When the rider reaches the final mark, he relaxes his grip on the reins, and that is precisely what Gilo claims to do in his poem. The image of the horse- or chariot-race at the start is common in classical verse (cf. Statius T VI.522-524; Vergil G I.512; III.104; Ovid M X.652) but its use to denote the end of a race and a relaxing of the reins is far from common, and shows originality in Gilo's use of the image; much the same can be asserted of his other images, which, though drawn from classical poetry, show an ability to adapt and recreate rather than slavish imitation.

15-40 Parallels in RM VIII.14-15; GF X.xxxv p.84; PT p.129; TIC XCVIII; BD IV.4; AA V.33.

15ff. This rather obscure language does not refer to a Christian festival, but rather what God had achieved through Raymond Piletus and the poorer pilgrims. This is how RM VIII.14 interprets it:

cum procul abessent principes qui uidebantur regere populum et sustentare, per pauciores et quasi minores cospit Dominus etiam ipsos reges superare, ne dicat humana praesumptio 'nos Antiochiam aliasque urbes sub-
egimus, nos tot ac tanta bella deuicimus', quia pro certo nunquam superassent nisi cum eis fuisset ille per quem reges regnant.

The Dominical sayings in Matthew 5:3-4 may also have influenced the poet here: 'Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum. Beati mites, quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram'.

paucisque is an instrumental ablative: 'triumphed through the poor'.

Liceam: see note supra, on V.126

ad sua: i.e. Antioch.

patriam...pater: for patria used simply as 'land' without any personal connotations (i.e. 'homeland') cf. Vergil A.1.539-540, 'quaeque hunc tam barbarum motum/permittit patria?' and the references in DuCange to Augustine, Arnobius Minor, and Gregory of Tours Hist.V.1, who all use patria to denote 'region' or 'land'. For pater as an epithet of one of the Crusade leaders, cf. above, VII.363 and note on the reading of ADG there.

Here it seems to mean 'senior member of the Crusade'. Godfrey may also be said to salute his patriam because, as Gilo elaborates, he was now 'bent on heaven', and the region of Jerusalem was therefore deeply symbolic for him.

etera is here confused with ethra (cf. TLL, LI). Servius on Aeneid V.3.11 says 'aethra (aetherea G) generis feminini et est locus in quo sidera sunt, unde aeth(e)ra sider(e)a dicimus'; on Aeneid III.585-586, 'aethra/sidera', he says 'aethra sidera per aethram sidereum, hoc est per splendorem aetheris. Sane aether est ipsum elementum, aethra uero splendor aetheris'.

Raimundi: probably Raymond Piletus, who had so successfully captured Tortosa (cf. VIII.406ff.), although the
Raimundus in v.34 below is referred to as a consul or 'count', and is therefore Raymond de Saint-Gilles.

urbem Gibellum: i.e. Djibleh or Jabala, some 20 miles south down the coast from Lattakieh (Licea). Gilo, like GF and the other early narratives, omits to mention the arrival at this time of Daimbert of Pisa, the legate to sent Adhemar, whose fleet had a skirmish with the Byzantines and blockaded Licea in support of Bohemond, to Raymond of Saint-Gilles' great annoyance (Runciman, Hist. Crus. I.299ff.).

huius: this reading from BCF presupposes a longer break at the end of v.32 than does AD's cuius; this gives extra point to the opposition in vv.31 and 32 of the ideas of uiribus and obsidione, by allowing a break in the sense after v.32.

Raimundo: i.e. Raymond Count of Saint-Gilles (consul, v. 36). It would be more fitting for a count such as Raymond than for a mere knight such as Raymond Piletus to summon the other leaders. The identification of this Raimundo with Raymond of Saint-Gilles is borne out by the parallel account in GF X.xxxv p.84. The troops on their way to attack the Crusaders were those of Al-Afdal, who was supreme commander of the Egyptian Fatimid forces. The Egyptians had taken advantage of the Crusaders' fighting in Syria to seize Jerusalem, earlier in 1098 (Runciman, Hist. Crus. I, pp.265-267).

consul: i.e. the count, Raymond: see below, on v.299.
tenebat: 'occupied'.
damno: this has a proleptic force here, with a sense 'danger' rather than 'loss'. Since the enemy were approaching, it was obviously better to join forces and
present a united front.

41 - 104 Parallels in GF X.xxxv p.34; RA pp.126-127; RM VIII.17; TIC XCVII; RN XXV; AA V.35; HG II.28.

43 Archas: cf. note above on VIII.375. The Crusaders journeyed south to meet the enemy; this move also took them closer to Jerusalem on their pilgrimage.

44 This detail is not mentioned in GF, PT or RA; there is likewise no mention of a 'flumen Castrensis' in them. Presumably Gilo means us to understand one of the several minor rivers that flow down from the Libanus range to the coast near Arqa. His detail here (as elsewhere) suggests that he is drawing on an eye-witness account.

45 tegit: BCF's reading is to be preferred to AD's plural tegunt, though plural forms are found with collective singulars in Medieval Latin: cf. the Gospel of Nicodemus (ed.Kim) IX.4 p.24, 'facto silentio in populo qui clamabant' and Baudri of Dol, RHC H.Occ. IV p.60C, 'populus temerarius obsiderunt'. Palmer (Latin Language p. 172) notes also that collective singulars 'are a frequent mode of expression in the Augustan and later poets'.

48 Gilo's fondness for word-play here obscures the sense of the action: hostibus probably refers to the Crusaders, and hostes the inhabitants of Tripoli, who unwisely come out to fight the Christian army: 'the enemy came out to meet their foe'.

49 graues animos: i.e. 'stout hearts' or 'stout-hearted men': for grauis in this sense cf. TLL (Brünninger)II.A.1,2,4 and IS II.B, which cite Quintilian XI.1.45, 'non idem apud graues uiros, quod leuiiores (decet)', and XII.1.36 'non est haec mea proprie sententia, sed eorum quos grauisissimos sapientiae magistros aetas uetus credidit'.

41 - 104 Parallels in GF X.xxxv p.34; RA pp.126-127; RM VIII.17; TIC XCVII; RN XXV; AA V.35; HG II.28.
This form of the perfect was common in late and medieval Latin. Cf. GF X.xxxix p. 93, 'Haec ciuitas fuit capta'. Roby, Grammar of the Latin Lang. II. p. 189.1453, regards 'amatus fui' as an aorist perfect passive (aorist of the state: 'I was a loved person'). Its use here owes more to the influence of late Latin forms.

Some such substantive as 'corpora' has to be understood here; 'bare flesh' or something similar is obviously intended.

dista necem: this could be taken as referring to the turba, who did not come too near the Christians and therefore did not come near death; but it is better taken as qualifying uulneta: like the flies in Gilo's image, the emeny's arrows do no serious harm: 'the wounds they inflict are not fatal' (dista necem dans uulneta).

i.e. they flee, hiding behind their shields. The image here recalls that in IV.224, 'facti castellum'.

Once again, Gilo intervenes in his persona as poet to explain his intentions. quid in BCF is a reminiscence from Vergil A XI.175, and is therefore preferable to AD's cur. There is an intentional play on words between demoror and non est morata. Palma here probably means not 'victory', its usual sense (though it might be argued that since the victory occurred elsewhere, it could be said 'not to have tarried'), but 'troops', its rarer sense.

Sem: see note above on VIII.351.

Normally this has a long penult in classical verse, and velut might be considered preferable; but cf. Siguinus, Ars Lect. pp.124-126, where in the majority of cases -i- before -c- is short. The penult may here
be considered short through the influence of these other instances.

There is an obvious play on words here: the sense of it is that de Sem was so rich, it yielded fresh plunder even after the Crusaders' previous spoliations.

'They were amazed that this valley brought forth cattle and asses from every side as if (it were) untouched, (and) that even after previous raids (postque rapinas) it could so often let loose to the plunderer things for him to carry off (quod radiatur).

Cf. RM VIII.17, 'tria milia camelorum simul rapuerunt'.

dampna: i.e. the plunder, 'the (enemy's)loss'. dant in v.75 governs both moras and animos, and another example of zeugma follows in v.78. There is no attestation in any of the dictionaries of medieval Latin for mora in a good sense ('recuperation', 'rest') but it can be used in a sense which is neutral in force: cf. TLL (B.) Isidore ditt. I,356 'mora est quae impedit, tarditas quae impeditur'.

sed nec pugna ualet clausos: understand frangere from the phrase in zeugma with this one, nec (ualet) machina muros frangere.

ECF's opus must be understood in the sense found in LS opus II.A, 'military work, defensive work'. In strict classical usage, AD's urbs would require a nominative Antiochum; it may in any case be a corruption from an original urbs in these MSS, and not due to revision of the poem.

cara, i.e.'precious'. The Crusaders knew that they were running out of time, and were being badly delayed at Arqa. In this case it is a more suitable word than AD's
grata, which can only mean 'dear to them' or 'pleasing'.

82 Poncius...Balonensis: Pons de Balazun, or (better) de Beaugency, whose death is also recorded in RM VIII.18, PT p.131, RA p.107, TTC XCVII and RG II.28. Why F should omit reference to Pons is inexplicable; perhaps a cursory reading of RA led the scribe of this MS to think that Pons was still alive, as he is there referred to as sending greetings to the Bishop of Vivarensis to whom Raymond's book is addressed; this might account for the attestation in F. Pons seems to have been a close friend of Raymond of Agiles: the passage in which his death is described (p.107) is couched in very personal terms.

84 Guillelmus...Picardus: the death of this man is also mentioned in GF X.xxxv p.85; PT p.131; TTC XCVII; RM VIII.18; RG II.28.

85 Guarinus de Petramora is only mentioned elsewhere in RM VIII.18 and RG II.28.

87 paschalis...lux: corroborated by GF X.xxxv p.85, which gives the date as 10th April 1099; PT p.132; RM VIII.17.

88 in castris...hospes: literally 'in the camp, the festival was their host', i.e. gave them cause for celebration.

89 Normally in Latin careo is constructed with an ablative, and this verse would then be translated as 'the peaceful ceremony lacked its (usual) time', i.e. they had to celebrate Easter on the 'wrong' day, or at an hour different from the usual one. However, TLL (Meister) IV.C. reports careo + accusative and gives the following sources for it: Plautus, Fronto, Itala, Augustine, Gregory of Tours, Fulgentius, Alcimus Avitus. If careo is here constructed with the accusative, Gilo is following the ex-
ample of these authors, and the contrast intended by this verse is with *festum fuit hospes* in v. 88: 'at its (usual) time (temporal ablative) the festival (*festum*, from v. 88) lacked its peaceful celebration', i.e. the troops gave vent to their emotions in a way that was not normal at the festival of Easter.

94 *Tripolim ubi*: for the hiatus at the caesura, cf. *supra* note on II.140.

95 *sua*: 'their property' or possibly 'their bodies' (understanding *corpora*); BCF imply that they brought their baggage, etc., into the town; AD's *se* may be a case of dittography from *seque* in v. 96.

97 *dant*, replacing AD's *et*, has the effect of making v. 97 a separate statement in apposition to the phrases before and after it: this was necessary because v. 98, which contains the verb governing *pacem* (*firmauere*) is omitted in BCF: this may be an error on the exemplar from which BCF all ultimately trace their descent, but it seems quite likely that the repetition of the idea expressed in v. 98 and then in vv. 99 - 100 was thought over-effusive, and v. 98 was then deliberately omitted, with the alteration in v. 97 made to restore sense to the passage.

99 Cf. *RM* VIII.19: 'rex...trecentos peregrinos ex nostris dissoluit a vinculis, et proceribus donavit';

also *GF* X.xxxvi p. 86, 'continuo dissoluit plus quam trecentos peregrinos, qui illic capt erant, deditque illis quindecim milia bisanteos, et quindecim equos magni precii'.

102 *stipendia*: in classical latin the first syllable of this word was scanned long, which would necessitate the exci sion of *-que*; but cf. the classical *stipendiarius*, with a short first syllable, which may have influenced sti-
pendium in the Middle Ages.

103 - 104. This detail is also corroborated by GF X.xxxvi p.86.

105 - 118 Parallels in GF X.xxxvi p.86; PT p.133; RM VIII. 19; TIC XCVIII; HG II.28; AA V.39.

106 fabasque: mention of this vegetable is also found in GF: 'in medio Martio comedebamus nouellas fabas'.

109 maii: this replaces the more classical maius in BCF, possibly under the influence of the vernacular: cf. Mod. Fr. 'le mois de mai'.

110 Betholon: i.e. Batrum, a small town south of Tripoli. dieta: used here in the sense found in Miermeyer dieta 2: 'a day's march'.

113 Zebarim: i.e. Djebail, near Batrum. Hill (GF p.86 note) says it occupied the site of the classical Byblos. The Crusade proceeded south by the coastal route.

115 labor alterius lucis: i.e. another day's march.

116 Braim: i.e. the Nahr Ibraim, probably the classical Ilycus, some 7 miles north of the Nahr-al-Kalb, which the Crusaders called the Dog River (canis flumen), which was the classical Magbras.

119 - 135 The same route as Gilo gives is found in RM VIII. 19 - 21; GF X.xxxvi p.86; PT p.133; TIC XCVIII; BD IV.8; AA V.39-42; RA p.135 only mentions Baruch, Acre and Caesarea; FC I.xxiv 10-11 mentions all the places Gilo does and adds others. RM XXVII mentions Sagitta, Sur and Cayphas and adds others; RC omits Ramula from the list Gilo has, and adds other names. There seems to have been a varied number of reports of the precise route of this journey brought back to Europe, and some contamination has obviously occurred, especially in the third-
and fourth-stage accounts.

119 *unserat illa dies*: this phrase is also found below, IX.272. The reference is obviously to Ascension Day, which would have fallen on May 19th, since Easter in 1099 fell on April 10th.

121 *iter emetitur*: cf. Vergil A XI.244, 'iter emensi'.

122 *Baruch*: i.e. Beirut.

123 *Sacitta Surque*: these are the medieval names for the Biblical Sidon and Tyre; the Crusaders continued to march south down the coast.

124 *predo beatus*: 'blessed plunderers': the conjunction of epithets is very interesting. As in the episode of the cleansing of Jerusalem (IX.340), Gilo excuses the Christian's behaviour on the grounds that they are fighting for God.

125 *Acram*: Acre, 18 miles south of Tyre (Sur).

127 - 130 The reference is to Pentecost, 29th May 1099.

131 *Eamula*: this city lay about 7 miles south-east of Jaffa, on the road to Jerusalem.

133 *ecclesieque sacrate*: an ethic dative, dependent on *reliquit* in v.135.

135 *decimasque suas*: i.e. a tithe.

*gens sancta*: here and above in v.124, Gilo makes it clear that he regarded the Crusade in theological no less than political terms. This phrase is redolent of biblical language: cf. Deuteronomy 7, 'populus sanctus es Domino Deo tuo', and especially I Peter 2, 'uos autem genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, populus acquisitio- nis, ut virtutes annuntiatis eius qui de tenebris uos visitavit in admirabile lumen suum'.

...
136 - 138 Parallels in GF X.xxxvii p.87; PT p.134; RA p.137; RC I.xxv 15-17; EH 15.7 p.163; TTC CIX; BN XXXIV; RC CXI; RM VIII.21; HN 58; HG II.29; AA V.45.

141 texere: i.e. 'covered the surrounding area with their tents'.

142 pars ea cui superest septentrio: 'that part over which the northern sky lies'; for septentrio cf. Ls II.A (2).
The meaning 'lies over', which is required here, is not found in classical Latin, and the usage is unusual.

144 - 145 solis ab occasu: despite the apparent dittography the text must be allowed to stand, as it faithfully reflects the actual historical events. The ravine of Kedron protected the eastern wall of the city and made an attack from that side well-nigh impossible. 'Even had the lie of the land permitted it, the Crusaders had insufficient forces to invest the whole city...The eastern and south-eastern sectors were left unguarded' (Runciman, Hist.Crus. I p.280). Alone of the other sources, RC CXII is carried away by his own rhetoric and says Tancred invested the eastern side of the city.

146 e media According to Ls, e used in this temporal sense is more common than a found in AD: cf. Ls ab, II.A.1, and Ls ex, II.A.1. BCF's attention is probably due to these considerations: this reading is also more suggestive of the sound of the trumpet blaring out of the camp at noon.

148 leuitate pares: this phrase can be interpreted in two ways (and it is possible that Gilo intended both senses). It can mean 'equally lightly-armoured' or 'equal in mobility' (cf. Ovid F II.515 ed. Hallam: 'Termine, post illud leuitas tibi libera non est/Qua positus fueris in
statione, mane), and Small, Crusading Warfare p.111, where he discusses the term 'leuis armatura' meaning 'lightly-armoured troops'. Alternatively leuitas may here be used in its more common sense to mean that Raymond Piletus' men were 'equal in their heedlessness' - since they run into an ambush (leuitas is used in precisely this sense of them below in v.197). It is by no means impossible that Gilo is here playing on both senses of the word.

152 aut in BCF is better than AD's at: flight did not deliver the majority of them from the hands of the Crusaders. aut fuga turpis is best understood as the final element in the sequence beginning with quos neque in v.151. manus numerosior: i.e. 'their more numerous band' or 'their numerical superiority'.

156 ruine: 'for the destruction (of the city)'.

157 murumque priorem: this was evidently a curtain-wall, which served as a barrier in front of the city wall itself. Cf. GF X.xxxvii p.88, 'minorem strauimus murum et unam scalam ereximus ad maiorem murum'.

159 Iudeus Turcus Arabisque: this is a stock formula for the enemies of the Crusaders. In actual fact the army defending Jerusalem was made up almost entirely of Fatimid Egyptian troops.

160 igne: presumably the 'Greek Fire' which was a bitumen or phosphorous compound which in liquid form could be tipped onto the besiegers.

161 pectora nuda: the troops taking part in this engagement do not appear to be the leuitate pares led by Raymond Pilet; their lack of body armour was probably due to severe exhaustion (they were too tired to fight in it),
though Gilo introduces a religious motif in v.162 -
they expose themselves to blows as a penance.

at, the reading in BCF, is preferable to AD's et, introducing as it does a note of contradiction or qualification:
the menia are tuta (v.165) but in trying to reach them
the Saracens are trampled underfoot. This tension is
further heightened by inimica suis in v.167: the crowd
is 'hostile to its own side'.

Filades...Horestem: these were proverbial friends, and
the introduction of these names adds point to the tragic
event described. Cf. Ovid P III.2.285, 'ire iubet
Pylades carum periturus Oresten'; Sidonius Apollinaris C
V.288-289, 'Pyladen si straut Orestae/uel furibunda
manus'; Claudian In Ruf. I.107-108, 'offensus Oresten/
deseretet Pylades'; and Cicero, Lael. 7.24.

nostre iuuentus: this alteration may well depend on the
possible omission of v.173 by all the MSS except A: it
could be explained as being a more general phrase, in
view of the fact that no fortis miles is actually spec-
ified, though fortis miles could also be taken in a gen-
eral sense. Perhaps in revising the poem Gilo decided
that the age of those taking part in this action needed
specifying.

Rambaudus Criminum...alumpnus: this verse is only found
in MS A, and seems more likely on the whole to be an add-
ition by the scribe of that MS, or of one of its ancestors,
than to have been omitted in the rest of the MS tradition.
The reason for this is the rarity of the name: Rambaud
is only mentioned in four other sources, namely TIC CXV,
RC CXIX, CA 6130 (which mentions him at the storming of
Antioch) and CJ, which mentions him at Jerusalem and att-
ributes this action to him:

Quelques Français ont dressé une échelle au mur
Par devers la tour de David;
Un écuyer preux et hardi y monte,
Il était cousin germain de sire Jehan d'Alis,
Un Sarrasin lui tranche le poing de son épée,
Celui-ci ne se peut tenir, il est tombé en bas.
Rambaud Creton y monte furieux et irrité,
Bord à bord du créneau il a pris la tête du Turc:
Le baron était seul, il est retombé en bas.


Gilo's source is very close indeed to GF and PT for the events following the defeat of Karbuqa at Antioch, and it is odd that Rambaud is not mentioned in any of these sources. He may possibly be identified with the 'Raginaldus dapifer Hugonis Liziniacensis' who was killed during this action, and is mentioned by PT p.135. However, the very locality given in MS A for Rambaud seems perplexing: Graesse-Benedict-Plechl, O.L., give Criminum = Zscherben, Pr.Sachsen, Deutschland, and 'Ciminus Lacus' = Lago di Vico (Cimino). Dunensis Com. = Co. Down, Ireland; Dunensis Tractus = Dunsis, Eure-et-Loire, France'. This latter seems the only appropriate equivalent. Hill and Hill (PT p.135) say that their 'Raginaldus' was from Lusignan (Poitou). On the whole it seems most likely that this verse was added by A (though seemingly in the wrong place), perhaps because Rambaud was a 'local hero' or due to a reminiscence of one of the other sources specified above. It is not very likely to have been included in the first version and then omitted, by accident (in the case of D) or either by accident or design in the case of BCF.

175 - 176 Cf.GF X.xxxxvii p.83 'si scalarae fussissent paratas, in nostra fussisset ciuitas manu'; EM VIII.21, 'si tunc scalarum copia adesset, labor ille primus ultimus esset'. 
fortunaeque belli: here, and with causus above, v.150, there is a tension between the pagan classical epithets Gilo uses, writing in the classicising tradition of epic verse, and the Christian idea of divine providence which elsewhere he lays so great a store on. Gilo's theological presentation and interpretation of events is for the most part consistent; here he follows poetic convention, and two exceptions slip through the net.

ad extremum ductos: i.e. the besieged Moslem forces.

This passage is paralleled in GF X.xxxvii p.88; PT p.135; RM IX.3; RA p.139; FC I.xxvii.4; TIC CIII; FC CXXII; BD IV.10; EH 15.8 p.64; AA VI.6.

uocare: 'to arouse hunger', in the sense of LS uoco I.B. 3. The reference is to hors d'oeuvres, used to whet the appetite. Translate: 'who used to work up an appetite by titillating their palate with the subtle flavours of hors d'oeuvres'. Gilo's language here is purposely exaggerated, to heighten the contrast between the knight's former luxurious life and the hardships they now endured.

irritando: for the scansion, see note on VII.42.

longeque petito: 'sought far away', i.e. carried a long distance.

natura potens: this may possibly be a corruption from natura parens, the phrase found in Claudian, DRP I.250, due to potu in v.186. On the other hand, it could be an intentional play on words between potu and potens, or merely an epithet to stress the richness of nature.

gratis: 'free of charge', contrasting with uenditur in v.187.

Parallels in GF X.xxxvii pp.88 - 89; RM IX.3-4; PT pp.135-136; RA p.141; BD IV.11; CC IX.
Iaphia i.e. Jaffa, the nearest port to Jerusalem. Run­ciman (Hist.Crus. I p.282) says they arrived on June 17. 'The squadron consisted of two Genoese galleys, under the brothers Embriaco, and four ships probably from the Eng­lish fleet'. They were carrying supplies such as nails and ropes, vital to the success of the siege.

Acardus Merulo de Monte: an otherwise unknown knight. He and the other specified knights are mentioned in PT, GF and RM.

Sabratensis Guillelmus: William de Sabran (Gard) was still alive in 1123. He was the son of Emensor or Aman­jeu de Sabran, the first person known of the family, whose signature on a document is found from 1029; William's descendants assumed the title 'constables by the grace of God of the Counts of Toulouse'. He is thought to be the person who in the siege of Antioch (according to some versions) surprised the wife of Yaghi-Siyan in bed and got from her 300 bezants of gold as a ransom. 'The histor­i­ans say it was a person called William, one of the followers of the count of Toulouse'(Forester, trans.OV).

BCF's more specific number finds support in GF, 'diuiserunt denique se triginta milites ex nostris ab aliis', RM 'triginta ex eis diiserunt se ab aliis'; the revision may owe its more specific detail to one (or more) of these sources.

succubuit: the mixture of present and past tenses is very common in all epic: perhaps here it was felt that a perfect verb would give a stronger sense of finality than D's succumbit.

per quod monet ille sodales: 'by which he set a good example to his companions'.
crudeliter picks up crudele in v.203. Gilo is stressing the tragic fate of the band of knights.

proceres sociis: BCF's change in word-order is presumably made on aesthetic grounds.

hortati: see above on V.271 for hortati used with a passive force.

uilibus: understand armis; the contrast is with armis celestibus in v.210.

clipei sua signa: this appears to be a reference to the designs or devices emblazoned on the shields.

suertunt is used here with a literal sense like 'overturn' or 'rip up': cf. suerto used of the sea in Vergil A I.43.

dubius: dubitans in AD is perfectly acceptable grammatically (cf. TLL (Bulhart) I.A.c., LS I.(g).), so the change was presumably made on aesthetic grounds. It is most unlikely that AD\textsuperscript{c} correct because the -h- of hos is thought not to affect the length of the final syllable of dubius: -h- commonly makes position in the Middle Ages.

Cf. GF X.xxxvii p.89, 'unumque retinuerunt uiuum, qui noua eis per ordinem diceret', and RM IX.4 'et unum ex eis uiuum retinuerunt, qui Turcorum dolositates eis referret'. RM IX shows an obvious family resemblance to Gilo here.

This number is also recorded in GF, FM and PT.

Parallels in FM IX.5-7; GF X.xxxvii p.89 - xxxviii p.90; PT pp.156-137; RA pp.145-146; BD IV.11-12; BM XXXIV; FC I.xxvii 4,5; TIC CXVIII; EH 15.8 p.164; AA VI.8.

retundier: this unusual form of the present infinitive passive is not entirely unknown in medieval poetry:

Walter of Chatillon's Alexandreis has cingier at I.218
and III.146, nanciscier at IV.123, and extirparier at VIII.393. It is also found in some of the later imperial poets whose verse had a great influence on Medieval Latin poetry, e.g. Proba VC 501, immiscirier, and Sidonius Apollinaris C XI.104, exarmarier.

241 - 242 Cf. FM IX.5, 'tanta quippe sitis erat in obsidione, ut tellurem cauarent et glebas humectiores ori apponerent, ro rantiaque marmoria lamberent...plerique; prout ferre poterant, ieiuabant, quia ieiuia sitim temperabant. Et quis crederet quod fames proficeret, dolor dolorem expelleret?'

This expansion appears to be a misunderstanding of what Gilo intends: the Crusaders could put up with hunger (esuriem tolerare libet) but thirst was excruciating, and the pain from this made them forget their lack of food. There is irony in the fact that one kind of agony could make them forget another kind, but they did not fast deliberately in order to relieve their thirst as FM assumes.

242 credere posset: although this reading is found only in F, it seems to be the best. posset is supported by BC, and credere by crederet in AD. BC's variant scribere is a simple (and frequent) corruption of the reading in F.

243 - 244 Translate: 'the savage race had blocked up all the hidden mouths of the springs' so that the Christians could find no water, except at certain pools: inuentos in v.244 designates the pools 'found (by the Crusaders)'.

246 Note again the play on words, and the juxtaposition of opposing ideas, here in a chiasmus: letifero calore/calorem uitalem.

251 As elsewhere, Gilo delights here in a zeugma: ligna dant governs both materiam fabric and timorem urbi.

258 sollicitantes: this must be taken as meaning 'excited',
in which case Gilo has confused it with sollicitus (or sollicitatus; cf. DuCange, = 'animi anxius'), or else it has been corrupted from sollicitantis, singular, to be taken with presentia, by the presence of compositores in the previous line; this latter seems on the whole more likely, and the text is therefore emended.

261 This periphrasis refers to the Saturday night, 9 July 1099.

264 solis ab ortu: see note above on vv.144-145. The steepness of the Kedron valley had earlier dissuaded the Crusaders from laying siege to the eastern side of the city; it was therefore less well guarded than other sections of the wall, and was the most suitable place for a surprise attack.

267 - 268 According to Runciman, Hist.Crus.I p.284, this action was the result of a vision of Adhemar le Puy, who appeared to the priest Peter Desiderius. In this vision, Adhemar commanded the Crusaders to fast and go in penitence (i.e. barefoot) round the walls of Jerusalem. 'Visions, a visionary worldview, and distinctive habits of mental and corporeal sight were norms of medieval life' (Erickson, The Medieval Vision p.219).

270 quotque quibusque modis: from Ovid, A II.8.28.

272 - 362 Parallels in RM IX.6-9; GF X.xxxviii pp.90-92; PT pp.139-142; RA p.149; BN XXXIV; FC I.xxvii.12, xxviii.1,2; AA VI.19-20; TIC CXXII, CXXIII; HG II.30; BD IV.14; CA frag.6 (trans. S. Aulaire).

272 Hill (GF p.90 note) says that this was Friday 8th July, and she regards it as happening prior to the bringing up of the siege-machine to the wall, which occurred on 9th July, a Saturday, as GF (and Gilo) specify. If this is
accurate, then the accounts in Gilo, RM, GF and PT do not seem to be set in a chronological order. Runciman, *Hist.Crus.* I p.284-285, agrees with Hill. The reference in the text is not to Good Friday, but simply to a Friday. Thus a week passed between the procession and the final assault, which also took place on a Friday, 15th July (specified by GF X.xxxix p.93, 'Haec ciuitas capta fuit a Christianis Dei XV die Iulii, in sexta ferial'). The theological symbolism of the Christians capturing Jerusalem to the very day when Christ conquered sin is obvious, and is even more pointed below in v.287.

275 Eustachius: this is Eustace, Count of Boulogne and brother of Godfrey de Bouillon. RM IX.17 says that Baldwin was also fighting there, but in actual fact he remained in Edessa until after the battle of Ascalon, when he made his way to Jerusalem on a pilgrimage along with Daimbert of Pisa.

276 Cf. RM IX.7, 'et duros ictus iaculorum et lapidum suscipiebant, et quadruplici foenore recompensabat'. If the reading of the MSS, foenore duro has the sense 'hard interest', it must be allowed to stand, though the emendation to duros, 'paid them back hard with interest' is very attractive.

277 - 278 Cf. RM IX.7, 'iactis sagittis inimicorum pectora et utraque latera transferabat'.

281 - 282 Cf. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* XVII.13: 'aeternus est aeternisque debetur in matre Hierusalem libera, ubi erit veraciter populus Israel'.

283 crates. viminis: The siege-towers were protected by wicker-work and ox-hides against the stones and Greek fire thrown at them by the besieged.
This detail is corroborated by RM and GF: cf. Matthew 27:46, 'circa horam nonam'.

minuens: again, a zeugma, governing diem and uigorem.

Letoldus: mentioned in all the other primary sources, Lethold is otherwise unknown, but his feat obviously 'wrote his name in the history-books'.

Guicherius: only mentioned apart from Gilo by RM, he is like Letholdus unknown.

Cf. RM, 'fulminei enses arripiuntur'.

Haimundus mobile castrum: Raymond's siege-tower was brought up against the northern wall of the city, and he and his troops were consequently unaware of the progress Godfrey's forces were making until they had actually crossed the wall.

a consule: i.e. from Count Raymond. For consul in this sense cf. Latham, 'a count or earl 1086'.

de bello fugiunt in bellum: i.e. they were hemmed in, trapped between Raymond's men and Godfrey's.
lapsus: here a substantive, 'men fell everywhere'.

gladiosque nitentes: BCF's plurals are marginally preferable to AD's singulars, the latter reflect contemporary vernacular usage, still prevalent in Mod. Fr. 'ils ont levé leur chapeau', and the distributive was evidently thought unsuitable in the final version.

Cf. RM IX.8, 'brachia siue truncatae manus super cruorem fluitabant et extraneo corpori iungebantur'.

cauernis: i.e. cellars, cf. Mod. Fr. 'caverne'.

plano: BCF's locative ablative, rather than AD's accusative, which implies direction, is preferable. The whole image, occupying over four lines, is one of the longest in Gilo's poem.
Gaston: i.e. Gaston de Bearn, who had been charged with the construction of Godfrey de Bouillon's siege-tower. By giving their banners to those on top of the temple, Gaston and Tancred accepted these people under their protection; hence Gilo's otherwise sarcastic remark that they were 'piis affectibus acti' (unless this is to be subsumed under the general idea that all the slaughter was God's work: cf. below, v.340. If this is the case here, then this is a particularly harsh and bloodthirsty example). In GF, Tancred shows anger when these people to whom he had given his banner are killed; Hill claims to see incongruity in this, but GF does not imply that Tancred himself took part in their slaughter; the other Christians' ignoring the presence of his banner would be a slight on Tancred's own reputation, and this is the reason for his anger.

mundata: Gilo sees no incongruity here: this seems to be the counterpart in the Crusade to the 'cleansing of the Temple' in the Gospels, and forms part of the poet's theological stance.

capitale: this is an offering made to God. Cf. DuCange II p.132, Capitale 7, 'oblatio pecuniaria quae sanctis pro suo capite fit', Charta ann. 1178 tom.1 Probat. Hist. Brit. col 671, 'nummi autem illi, qui altare in scrinio reponentur, uidentibus monachis et capellano, non in trunco, etc.' Niermeyer does not list this usage, but cf. his first heading under capitalis (adj.), 'due in token of personal dependence'. Cf. also TLL (Mbr.) Caput II.A.2.

et que: to be taken with terra in v.351. This hardly appeals to modern taste, but the paradox obviously appeal-
ed to Gilo and to his medieval audience.

356 **naufragium**: used in its figurative sense, 'destruction'.

The sense intended is that the enemy were cut down even while they were seeking their own destruction.

359 **frusta**: *frusta* for *frusta* is found (*TLL* Rubenbauer)

uellis et apud posteriores (*saene etiam in libris*), quod probuit *PROB.* app gramm. IV.199,3 (cf. *Archiv.* 7 (1892) 500; 8 (1893) 480; 11 (1900) 326), praesertim plur.

**frusta**: cf. with this variant *Scol.* in *Inuenalem* 3.210, 'frusta (al frusta) rogantem: aut sine causa aut panem petentem'. This practice is more likely to be due to an accumulation of scribal corruption.

363 - 376 Parallels in *PT* p.142; *GF* X.xxxix p.92; *RA* p.143; *TLC* CXXX; *BN* XXXVII; *HN* 61; *BD* IV.15-16; *AA* VI.33; *HG* II.31.

363 **regni**: Gilo's term is very illuminating, as is the charge from *regimen* to *regnum* in v.369 below. There were strong reasons for not regarding Jerusalem as if it were a secular princedom; it was the city where Christ had suffered and died, and there were powerful arguments for the clergy taking precedence in it, thus making it a theocracy.

Here Gilo regards it simply as a 'kingdom'.

364 **digne**: the adverbial form in *BCF*, qualifying *dare*, is easier to construe than *AD*'s adjectival *digna*. The idea is a common one in the Bible, though in the Vulgate, 'reward' is usually rendered by 'merx'.


369 **regnum**: *AD*'s *regimen* here, altered in Gilo's revision, may show a subtle understanding of Godfrey de Bouillon's
attitude towards taking up the throne in Jerusalem. RA (p. 143) sums it up as follows: 'non debere ibi eligi regem ubi Dominus passus et coronatus est. Quod si in corde suo diceret, sede super solium David et regnum eius obtineo, deneger a fide et uirtute David'. Godfrey's title was 'Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri', though his brother Baldwin (who was much more of a hard-headed political animal than Godfrey) took the title of 'king'. The 'theocracy' of Jerusalem thus lasted only as long as Godfrey lived, one year: BCF's regnum may be an alteration to suit a contemporary situation, i.e. that Jerusalem was a kingdom when the poem was revised. Against this it may be argued that the presence of regni above, v. 363, shows that Gilo is not being specific in the terminology he uses to designate the nature of the newly-acquired territory. The poet's main interest lies in the final capture and restoration to Christian dominion of the holy city.

The half-line here is unique to the whole poem. It may have been regarded as permissible, following the example set by the many incomplete verses in the Aeneid of Vergil. No attempt seems to have been made at any stage to make good the missing part of the line, and the sense is not incomplete. As all 5 MSS end the poem with this half-line, and contain the concluding verses (373 - 376), it is unlikely that the text breaks off because a folio was lost at some stage in the transmission of the text. This is made even more unlikely by the fact that the MSS most probably descend not from one archetype, but two (see above, Relation of MSS and Stemma'), of which the second seems to have been revised by the author himself. If
the archetype of the first version was defective, the poet would surely have made good the missing verses while revising the whole work. It seems to be the case that the poem was intended to end as it stands.

uiuatu in octaua: this peculiar expression obviously picks up octaua die in v.370, and has reference to the life in heaven Godfrey will share cum rege beato (v.371). It is explained by the common idea in the Middle Ages that man's life could be divided into seven ages (cf. Ovid M XIV. 144-145: 'nam iam mihi saecula septem/acta diu'), to which was appended an eighth age, namely the life after death. This is found in the writings of a disciple of Jean of Fécamp, cited in J. Leclercq, L'Amour Des Lettres Et Le Désir De Dieu, p.65.4: 'Maintenant, chacun a son vêtement: mais dans le huitième âge...' The most famous example of the 'Seven Ages Of Man' is found in As You Like It, II.vii (Arden Shakespeare ed. J.W. Holme. London 1914), and its use in the art and literature of the Middle Ages is traced back to Proclus and Hippocrates by J.G. Waller, 'The Wheel Of Life, or The Seven Ages Of Man', Gentleman's Magazine, May 1853, pp.494 - 502.

373 - 374 I.e. on Friday July 15th 1099: cf. GF, 'haec ciuitas fuit capta a Christianis Dei XV die Iulii, in sexta feria'.

It is significant that Gilo's poem terminates here on the note of triumph, dwelling on the capture of the holy city. The conclusion of the other sources, including such primary witnesses as GF and PT, is not the taking of Jerusalem, but the defeat of the Fatimid Egyptian forces by the Crusaders in the battle of Ascalon, which secured the possession of Jerusalem for the Christians.
(here following GF or PT) also concludes with the battle of Ascalon. This omission, like that of the Council of Clermont and the journeys of the crusading armies to Byzantium by their various routes, marks out Gilo's account of the First Crusade as being independent of the others in either source or treatment of his information. It might be argued that the omission of all reference to Ascalon ties in nicely with Gilo's express desire, stated in the exordium to book IX, to get his poem finished; but this argument does not hold at all for his failure to mention Clermont: the reason for the omission of this may depend on the poet's literary and aesthetic taste, i.e. he may have wished to create a balanced work with no digressions. This would not be usual for a medieval poet, as the additions in the Charleville MS make abundantly clear. Whether these omissions were due to literary criteria or to the absence of information, the poem of Gilo as it stands in the MSS ABCDF is the only surviving account of the First Crusade which matches the description given of his source by FM, at least in so far as its contents were concerned (see supra, 'Relations to other Crusading Narratives').

On the information contained in these verses and in the explicit of BC and F, see above, 'Authorship and Date'.

These verses are discussed above, in 'Relations of The MSS and Stemma'. They are found only in AD, and provide a balance to the missing prologue, found only in BCF.

cedro i.e. cedar-oil, used as a preservative, and hence a laudatory term for a work worth keeping. It was
used on book-bindings to prevent them decaying: cf. Horace AP 332 'carmina linenda cedro' and Persius I.42, 'cedro digna locutus'. quius is presumably to be understood as 'liquid', as in 'flumine uiuo', Vergil A II.719. It is probably introduced as a device to preserve the leonine rhyme-scheme.

385 Argus: the corruption to Arpus in the MSS would be an easy one for a medieval scribe to make; Argus is clearly required by the sense. Cf. TLL (Diehl) I p.531 Argus 4, = Argiuus.

Titides is a medieval form for Tydides, i.e. Diomedes, son of Tydeus. Translate: 'Argive Diomedes and Lariss-ean Achilles'.

386 Capaneus: Canapeus, besides being unmetrical, is sheer nonsense, but the corruption could easily be made: cf. above, EC's reading in V.353.

389 The line comes to an abrupt end; notior Boimundus Atridis is jarring, since it breaks the syntactical parallelism of the phrases which precede it, and requires a verb to be supplied.
Glosses from MS F (Biblioteca Vallicelliana B.33)

Prologus
16 LITTORIEX HUMILI materia
25 VICTORIA id est diabolus uictor hominum

Liber IV
1 RUINA proponit
7 narratio
13 NICÆAM Nichenum dictum concilium trecentis x et viii patribus celebratum
24 PLAUSTRO uel septentrio
30 ROBERTUS comes Normanniae
35 PUTREDINE uridine
129-130 qui uenerant ad auxilium disposuerant ut tres turmas facerunt (sic) quarum una urbem intra et due exterius in partibus duabus pugnarent
174 QUINQUAGINTA CENTUM media pars
187 IN parenthesis
190 MAGNI Hugonis
196 alii illic quinquaginta qui nondum se miscuerant
205 BOIMUNDUS qui pugnabat cum aliis
221 postquam se auertit Normannus fugiens
243 misertur (sic) mille ad milites per deus ueri (?sic) disfecerunt lassos
245 HEC DUBIA SUSPECTA sperabat quod uerum erat
252 QUI inuicti sunt
266 COMITIS Hugonis
272  PODIENSIS  presul qui retro eat
303  PRECIPITANTUR  turci sagitarii
311  CONOS  summitates galearum inclinabant

Liber V
3  FERRO  flumina
6  INEXHAUSTUM  id est magnum
12  PONTEM  de nauibus
12  pontem de nauibus fecerunt sed erat ibi pons alius urbis
15  PHALARICI  genus tormenti
16  ARIES  tormentum
31  PORTUS  urbis
39  COHORTIS  nostre
39  SOCITORUM  qui reuersi sunt
47  ARMIGEROS  armigeri uenerunt ad uictum et Boimundus et
Flandrensis cum eis
48  MILLE  armigeris
49  DUX  Boimundus
49  HOS  mille
49  INSIDIANTES  turci
51  PECTORA  MULTANT  corigiis quas portant
56  FLANDRENSIS  de marte prior qui ad uictum fuerant missi
59  PONUNT  dolorem
59  SOLLEMNIA  FIUNT  letati sunt
67  NIMIOS  FLUCTUS  propter ymbrium inundatione
69  LUCTUS  populi
69  INOPES  nostros
72  FIDEI  PUGILES  inerunt (?) in predam
73  PENIS  aptant has
76  que ferre poterant arma
TER CENTUM extiterant in principio CLARI boni LETI nostri SUA MEMBRA DEDERE QUIETI narrat quo modo mortui fuerant NIL SOLLICITI de nulla re MESTI facti INANE inertum MILITIS quia equo militis SIBI ipsi IN MORTE etiam trecenta milia peditum GALEATI milites (?) dum (?) predatum uersus Syriam ILLA BEATA vel preiana (sic) PLURES PERIERUNT de illis dum predantes nostri per Syriam isti reges eis occurrentes uici sunt ab eis MURUM Antiochiae est bona post uisa succedit (? sic) meliora sunt PRIMA mala SEQUUNTUR a procedentia aliud incipit (?) Fulk (?) sed fecerunt nostri castellum quoddam super innotum quod imminu erat (sic) Antiochiae QUO castello SPECULATOR noster SIQUA aliquid ARMATA DOLIS confidens in dolo PERVIA MOLIS urbs apparens
122 HIC ad hunc castrum destruendum
123 VELLERE destruere
124 AGMINA paganorum et christiani
EXAGITATI a turcis sepe inuasi
125 CONTIS perticis gentiles
MONTIS castri
126 narratio. miserunt pro auxilio ad Licheam urbem
quam Angli habebant et Normanni comes ad Micheam fuit
128 POTITI ut ceperant eam
129 VICTORES facti
PATRIEBUSQUE SUIS MELIORES quia non multum pugnaces
Angli antiqui
130 GESSIT in captione illius urbis
PUGNAS ALIORUM ad modum nostrorum
131 POTITA TROPHEO cum nostri per terram pugnarent
132 sed gens Anglorum in rogatu non partem in factis
nostrorum habebat quia non potuit
133 TURMA nostra
140 AUCTORES quorum consilio res fieberant
142 PERSCRUTANTUR inter se
144 qui equidem poterant necidem (? sic) timebant
148 dum ita tимерent nonciatum (sic) est eis quod ills
tres quos prius ulcerant ad pugnantum eis uniebant
151 SOLVERE TECTA factabant se quod contererunt castra
152 TACITI VENIEBANT ut castra dirimenter
153 TORPENTES nostri
155 ALBESCUNT VULTUS timore
156 SUBITO VENTUS interpositio
158 uide comp arationem . uentus mare murmurans sed
subito extollit. ita fama per populum murmurantem
mox conticuit

163 QUATUOR EXEMPTIS minus

164 EXAMEN DIRE multitudinem

166 EXPOSITUR ARVO mittitur foras

167 QUA cateruā

NUMERATI in numero apti

168 ARMINA scalas

REDEUNT diuidunt

171 FERRI fluuii

172 HEC OCLUDORUM simul

176 IACTU FRUSTRANTUR INANI quia non nocebant pagani iacula portant

177 TURCUS id est turci

178 TONAT VERBIS dure clamat

CORONAT (?) creuit et increuit (sic)

179 VALLATI ab illis

IN MEDIO eorum

181 REVERBERAT repercutit

183 non iam habebant in uictoria sed in fuga

205 POPULO gentili

CESSIT recessit

206 ADVERSA mala

207 CAVIS epiteton

211 MONTEM quendam

PRETER iusta

PROCPE iusta

215 PRECO commonitorum

historiam uide. Boimundus et comes scī Egidii in nocte duxerunt alios ut adiutorum quererent ad castrum facie ndum in crastinum. illi de castris pugnant cum Antiochenis et fugantur et turci iterum occurrerunt
Boimundo redeunti. uiderunt eum et illi de cas tro occurrunt redeuntibus turcis et incerti erant nostri. et ter t..dem castellum firmauerunt

220 QUI SUA VENDEBANT mercatoribus
223 DUCES Boimundus et comes
232 EXERTIS expeditis
234 HIC alius
241 EXACTAS uacuas
243 non cessauerunt a fuga usquam ad pontem nauium quem fecerant
246 DECORIS probitatis
248 de christianis
250 quantum ad corpus quia pulcre ad animum
253 DUCIS Boimundi
254 HUNC Boimundum
258 PERSE Turci
turci et tribus uidentes nostros uinci a suis et fuge per nostros cana (? sic) ridebant et signa dabant leticie inquirentibus qui in castris erant per- ceperunt esse uictum sicut egressi sunt
262 NASO NON LAUDE CAREBAT non habebat nasum in prelio amissum hic imperatoris turcopolis
263 COHORTES nostre
265 BELLUM illud
266 INGRATA GRAVIS que solet esse
FORET ILLIS GRATA SUAVIS si non uincerent
267 INTEGRAT firmat
270 CRUCE REGIS Christi
274 TACITE GRADITUR PRIOR ut fit in bello
SINE LITE quorum mansuetus erat
IGNARUM belli
HUGO magnus
CURSCRES illi qui percurrebant
DUCUM turcorum
LUCUM (?) pressa
DUX Boimundus
STRAGE suorum
SIGNA GERENS DEMISSA ne uiderentur
VEXILLA suorum
RESIDES pigri
LUNANTUR flectuntur ad modum lune
RESONANT NERVI corde de neruis
TUBICEN TETER ethiopes
CAVA SAXA equo
modo ut bene modo istic
multi et moriebantur
BELLONA poetice id est domna belli
uolebat alius percutere proplus (?) tunc sibi alius remotum
IUVENIS Turcus
PLANO cursu
melius so.it fugem quae (?) ista et Turci erat (sic)
CONSPICIENDA CAPILLIS quia habent treclas
TANTO MINUS APTA SAGITTIS quia erat comminus
non assueuetus (sic) pugnare nisi sagittis
quia non poterant exire clausi erant a nostris
RIMAM ripam fluuii prope Antiocheni erant quod
Farfar dicunt uulgo ferreum
CEDERE fugere
EOUS orientalus (sic)
HUIC timido
318 NON MODICE multe
   TURBE Turcorum
   ORBE circuitu
319 OPPOSITUM christicolarum
320 SOCII abreius (sic) Turci
327 quia de era illa era (?) Turci (?) patraui
terra non poterat sanguinem uberius recipere
328 QUEM SANGUINIS UNDA REPRESSIT parenthesis
331 SUSTENTANTES conspiciunt uiuos
uiderunt nostri quod uicerant quia tot occiderant, quod uiuus sustyntabat (sic) corpora ita densati ut mortui cadere non poterant
333 Syriaces timebant obedisse quia tot occiderant
334 MILES noster
   EOO orientali
336 CHORUM circuitum
   NUBES GLomerata s pissitudo
337 IN SE ipsis
338 CEDES nomen est
   ita erant spissa quod unus super illum cadebat et ei alius successor eius et ita cedes noua erat
341 VELUT fit
346 BULLICUS Godefridus
350 singula singulis
353 CAPANEO fortissimi
354 EACIDES Achilles
367 PARS hominis
369 NON IUSTA in urbem equus rapuit partem domini sui qui iniustus est
   NEC UNA RUINA due partes hominis ceciderunt
381 REX DESIGNATUS qui perit
382 REGIS Antiochiae
383 STETIT non cucurrit
388 REGIS Antiochiae
393 DUCES nostri
389 uidebantur eis et in somnis quam fugarent hostes
392 ERA stipendia
397 PROGERES nostri
391 NITUERE uestibus quas abstulerant hostibus
392 STATUERE de equis
395 hic est summa narrationis ubi castellum perficiunt
397 ALEA casus
399 ut disposuerant
400 in prelia ierant
401 PARATI iuuenes
407 VALLUMQUE (?) dirutum
408 id est bono omne Tancredus seruat castrum urbi
421 SOLUTO distento
423 HORTIS urbis
426 EMULA inmitancia
445 singula singulis referebat
451 QUOD huc consolorum

Liber VII

5 FAMOSE Turcos
5 POPULOSE paganos
15 legatum dedit uel obsidionem
19 MISSUM FERRE legatum dicere
   NUTAT uacillat
21 PULCRIUS meliores
22 DIVORTIA NOTA non init recta uia
23 QUISQUE de suis
24 DEPOSITA ne uidetur
26 TIMIDIS dubiis
   LUCEBAT per luna et stellis
   SEMITA CALLES parua uia
28 DUCTOR Boimundus
33 LOCUM (?) Turcum (uel forte turrum)
36 ARCUSQUE MINACES spectant
39 LOCA MUTANTES ut mos est uigilum
42 QUIS ES hic est uigilum uox
43 DUX MAGNANIMUS Boimundus
48 tantum durauit Antiochie obsessio
63-66 rubor ille quem uidimus tunc fuit
83 MATURA aurora
89 CLYPEI quem portabat
   PRIUS EVOLAT sicut qui scandit
91 VENETICUS quidem
95 DECORA iuuenum
96 SPIRAT fauet
101 interpositio
107 DEXTRIS manibus
108 SINISTRIS manibus
119 frequenter utuntur Turci rubeis vexillis
129 AGMINA nostra
mos est gentis illius fronte terram percutere sic
noster est osculari
adeo erat ensis bonus ut modico ictu secabat
GENS nostra
hic dicit quia rex urbis uolens aufugere uilia uest-
imenta sumpsit et regem ueluit in regiam potestatem
pannis celuit
MONS EST in parte urbis est castellum hoc
MONTISQUE CACUMEN de firmitate urbis
CASTRUM montem
VENIT nostris
BOIMUNDUS proprior erat
AMENTANT id est iactant. est enim amentum corrigia
in iaculo
VIX adeo erant spissi
SUMMA turris
HESIT vulneratus est
REPRIMENS UNDAM id est retinens sanguinem
suam perdidit et sequentem ingreditur
quia fugatus est
CALABER sui
HOSTIBUS hic
nota de homine relecto in turri
SUDE id est sudibus. singularem pro plurali
FERRO id est iaculis et ense
SUCCURRIT in memoriam uenit
ORBIS quia rotundus erat
Roma prima sedes. Antiochia secunda. Alexandria
tertia
nouatur ciuitas cum nouas recipit ciues
223 EQUES noster
224 SORTITUSQUE LOCUM ad custodiam
225 uenientium ad auxilium urbis
231 ARDENTES a sole
232 CLIPEOS uenientium
233 licet possent ad urbem uenire
235 PERSE id est Turci
237 LUXURIARE id est ludere
243 non exierunt
246 BARNAVILLA proprium est nomen loci
249 LACESSENTES nostros prouocantes
250 SEQUERENTUR de Turcis
254 PREDAM canis
255 ILLE SALUTIS ceruus
257 PENDENS ut currens
288 HYRSUTAQUE sagittis
390 nota singula singulis
   id est prolongite dum uos sermone detineo
401 mandauit suos id est Turcos in primi milites debere
   uocare et Francos secundario
423 SAGITE sagite id est misse perduntur

Liber VIII

29 audierant nostrorum (?) rura aduentum
45 CONI summitas galee
Variants from the text as found in MS D found in MS E (Brussels 7576)

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<td>quoniam : quonmodo</td>
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<td>hec : ?</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>merito : mortuo</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Robertus : Hubertus m.pr. Robertus m.alt.</td>
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<td>19V° 44</td>
<td>illique : illosque</td>
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<td>nullus.....amico : non habet E</td>
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<td>Nicola : Iudei</td>
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<td>duos.....habene : non habet E</td>
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<td>ita : tamen</td>
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<td>21R° 226</td>
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<td>fundit : fundas</td>
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<td>diram sus : diram ensus</td>
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<td>hunc v. om. E m.pr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>terunt : ferunt m.pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314</td>
<td>multus : multos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333</td>
<td>fundunt gemitus : fundunt et gemitus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>colligit : colligunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>hunc v. om. E m.pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>terunt : ferunt m.pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314</td>
<td>multus : multos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333</td>
<td>fundunt gemitus : fundunt et gemitus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>colligit : colligunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>hostis : hostibus m.pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>supplcx : supplex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>obridus : obridus m.pr. obridit m.alt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>premebant : premebat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>gaudet : gaudent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>ita : itaque m.pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>specular : spectaret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>uim : cuius medius (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>fidi : fidei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>mentes : ingentes m.pr. gentes m.alt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>pagani : pagani et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>in mensis : ut mensis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>uadum : uadunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>anc : haut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>conciderant : considerant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>cauis : (?) canes de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>sepe : fore</td>
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portum : portam
urbique : urbisque
petiere : potiere
arenam : harenam
que : quem
Robertus : Ruobertus
precibus presul : presul precibus
nostra : nostri
pereunt : perimt
nec non habet E
sustentantes : sustantes
chorum : ........
uim quoque : non quodque
uite : mente
acer : cacer
mutans : mittans
futuri : futurus
meditantis : meditatus
peniuria uictus : penitura nactus
pascit : parcit
urbe : orbe
cateruis : caterua
os : hos
uitaturum : iuraturum
honorum : bonorum
paret : parat m.pr.
quod : quid
parent : paret
hunc : hic
quem : quae
licet : (?)sat
nlui : (?)niti
oneratur : honeratur
uocant : uocat
prospexit : prosperam
tucos : tutos
percuciebat : precuciebat
post cerui : post post cerui
addit : addat
tuta : (?)iura
deficiunt : deficiant
sepultis : sepultus
satio : (?)saiuro
a non habet E
iuris : uiris
multis : multum
luce : lucem
pontificis : pontificis
ferre : ferri
relinque : relinquit
inuadunt : et uadunt
relinque : relinquit
stridula : stridura
ardor : ardet
ui : ut
iusteque : instatque
contempta : contemptam
sortis : fortis
imus : (?)ruitis
sui : siti
secutos : secutus
tempus : tempus post
pericla : pericula
cupienti : capienti
publicu edit : publica perdit
haud : aut
properant : properat m.pr.
acernis : acerbis
concutiebant : concutiebatur
Pislerio : pislrio
metuatque : metuarque
hec : nec
cui : qui
gladios : gladis
iam : in
uictor : uicta
uidet : uidetque
uicine : uicini
cuius : cuius
quid : quod
auara : aura
immoderatam : immoderata
in : et
ius : uis
ducem : duce
summetur : sumetur
Caesareae : Cassariae
datis : dans
perduxit : produxit
situ : alto
alto : alit
hec : nec
tormento : tormentos

hi duo : biduo
locant : locatur
accenduntque : accenditurque
ter : tibi

modulatio : modulatia
frigescet : frigescerit
densen : densem m.pr. ensem m.alt.
inanis : inannis
petitam : petita
Bram : Brami

populusque : plusque
Baruch : Barue
iuxta : iusta
hostem : hoste
iudeus : uideus
tuta : puta
Sabratensis : Subratensis
turbantur : trahantur
miscetur : miscet
excruciauit : excruciant
nutare : putare
retundier : (?)retundiere
si : sic
hunc : hoc
famen : famem

intempestium : inter procellium
requiem : requie
non habet m.pr. : ponit post v. 266 m. alt
?Deum : Domini

templum : templa
313 asilo : ab ullo
320 abscisus : abscisa
iungi : tangi
324 iit plenius : ut plenius
328 hunc v. non habet E
43R 341 turbe : trabe
351 ad : at
357 caudis : claudis
373 milleno : mileno
43V 387 ?Hugonio : Hugoni
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