

Emperor] swore to him in such wise that, if he loyally observed that oath, he would never pass beyond his own land. Knights, so brave and so sturdy, why did they do this? For the reason that they were constrained by much necessity. The Emperor also gave to all our men a pledge of security. He likewise took oath that he, together with his army, would come with us, by land and by sea; that he would afford us faithfully a market by land and sea, and that he would diligently make good our losses; in addition, that he did not wish, and would not permit, any of our pilgrims to be disturbed or come to grief on their way to the Holy Sepulchre.

7. Bohemund: The Version of Anna Comnena

The English translation here is from Krey, 94-97.

But when Bohemund had arrived at Apri with his companions, realizing both that he was not of noble birth, and that for lack of money he had not brought with him a large enough army, he hastened, with only ten Gauls, ahead of the other counts and arrived at Constantinople. He did this to win the favor of the Emperor for himself, and to conceal more safely the plans which he was concocting against him. Indeed, the Emperor, to whom the schemes of the man were known, for he had long since become acquainted with the hidden and deceitful dealings of this same Bohemund, took great pains to arrange it so that before the other counts should come he would speak with him alone. Thus having heard what Bohemund had to say, he hoped to persuade him to cross before the others came, lest, joined with them after their coming, he might pervert their minds.

When Bohemund had come to him, the Emperor greeted him with gladness and inquired anxiously about the journey and where he had left his companions. Bohemund responded to all these things as he thought best for his own interests, affably and in a friendly way, while the Emperor recalled in a familiar talk his bold undertakings long ago around Durazzo and Larissa and the hostilities between them at that time. Bohemund answered, "Then I confess I was your enemy, then I was hostile. But, behold, I now stand before you like a deserter to the ranks of the enemy! I am a friend of your Majesty." The Emperor proceeded to scrutinize the man, considering him cautiously and carefully and drawing out what was in his mind. As soon as he saw that Bohemund was ready to consent to swear an oath of fealty to him, he said, "You must be tired from the journey and should retire to rest. We will talk tomorrow about anything else."

So Bohemund departed to Cosmition, where hospitality was prepared for him, and he found a table richly laden with an abundance of food and condiments of all kinds. Then the cooks came and showed him the uncooked flesh of animals and birds, saying: "We have prepared this food which you see on the table according to our skill and the custom of this region; but if, perchance, these please you less, here is food, still uncooked, which can be prepared just as you order." The Emperor, because of his almost incredible tact in handling men, had commanded that this be done and said by them. For, since he was especially expert in penetrating the secrets of minds and in discovering the disposition of a man, he very readily understood that Bohemund was of a shrewd and suspicious nature; and he foresaw what happened. For, lest Bohemund should conceive any suspicion against him, the Emperor had ordered that raw meats be placed before him, together with the cooked, thus easily removing suspicion. Neither did his conjecture fail, for the very shrewd Bohemund took the prepared food, without even touching it with the tips of his fingers, or tasting it, and immediately turned around, concealing, nevertheless, the suspicion which occurred to him by the following ostentatious show of liberality. For under the pretext of courtesy he distributed all the food to those standing around; in reality, if one understood rightly, he was dividing the cup of death among them. Nor did he conceal his cunning, so much did he hold his subjects in contempt; for he this day used the raw meat which had been offered to him and had it prepared by his own cooks after the manner of his country. On the next day he asked his men whether they were well. Upon their answering in the affirmative, that they were indeed very well, that not even one felt even the least indisposed, he disclosed his secret in his reply: "Remembering a war, once carried on by me against the Emperor, and that strife, I feared lest perchance he had intended to kill me by putting deadly poison in my food."

Such a man was Bohemund. Never, indeed, have I seen a man so dishonest. In everything, in his words as well as in his deeds, he never chose the right path; and when anyone deviates from the moderation of virtue, it makes little difference to whatsoever extreme he goes, for he is always far from honesty.

For the rest, the Emperor then summoned Bohemund and exacted from him the usual oath of the Latins. The latter, knowing well his own resources, and realizing that he was neither of noble birth nor well supplied by fortune with wealth, for he had no great force, but only a moderate number of Gauls with him, and being, besides, dishonest in character, readily submitted himself to the will of the Emperor.

After this, the Emperor saw to it that a room in the palace was so filled with a collection of riches of all kinds that the very floor was covered with

costly raiment, and with gold and silver coins, and certain other less valuable things, so much so that one was not able even to walk there, so hindered was he by the abundance of these things. The Emperor ordered the guide suddenly and unexpectedly to open the doors, thus revealing all this to Bohemund. Amazed at the spectacle, Bohemund exclaimed: "If such riches were mine, long ago I would have been lord of many lands!" The guide answered, "And all these things the Emperor bestows upon you today as a gift." Most gladly Bohemund received them and with many gracious thanks he left, intending to return to his rest in the inn. But changing his mind when they were brought to him, he, who a little before had admired them, said: "Never can I let myself be treated with such ignominy by the Emperor. Go, take those things and carry them back to him who sent them." The Emperor, knowing the base fickleness of the Latins, quoted this common saying, "Let the evil return to its author." Bohemund having heard this, and seeing that the messengers were busily bringing these things back to him, decided anew about the goods which he had sent back with regret, and, like a polypus, changed in a moment, he now showed a joyous countenance to the bearers. For he was quick, and a man of very dishonest disposition, as much surpassing in malice and intrepidity all the Latins who had crossed over as he was inferior to them in power and wealth. But even though he thus excelled all in great cunning, the inconstant character of the Latins was also in him. Verily, the riches which he spurned at first, he now gladly accepted. For when this man of evil design had left his country in which he possessed no wealth at all (under the pretext, indeed, of adorning at the Lord's Sepulchre, but in reality endeavoring to acquire for himself a kingdom), he found himself in need of much money, especially, indeed, if he was to seize the Roman power. In this he followed the advice of his father and, so to speak, was leaving no stone unturned.

Moreover, the Emperor, who understood fully his wicked intention and perverse mind, skillfully managed carefully to remove whatever might further Bohemund's ambitious designs. Wherefore, Bohemund, seeking a home for himself in the East and using Cretan scheming against Creans, did not obtain it. For the Emperor feared lest, after obtaining power, he would use it to place the Latin counts under obligation to him, finally thus accomplishing easily what he wished. But since he did not want Bohemund to surmise that he was already discovered, the Emperor misled him by this hope: "Not yet," he said, "has the time come for the thing which you say; but after a little it shall come about by your fortitude and trust in me."

After the Emperor had bestowed upon the Gauls promises, gifts, and honors of every kind, the next day he solemnly took his seat on the imperial throne. Summoning Bohemund and all the counts, he talked about the things

which would happen to them on the journey. He wanted, likewise, to show what methods and means of warfare the Turks were wont to employ, and to give directions how the line of battle should be drawn up against them, how ambushes should be set, and how they ought not to follow the fleeing Turks too far. And so, both by gifts of money and by flattering speeches, he soothed the rude nature of the people, and, after giving useful advice, he persuaded them to pass over the sea. . . .

8. Raymond of Toulouse and Ademar of Le Puy: The Version of Raymond d'Aguilers

The English translation here is from Krey, 97-98.

Although events have lightly accompanied the writer so far with happy and favorable step, they now follow with so great a weight of bitterness and sorrow that it grieves me to have begun what I have vowed to finish. What, indeed, is the most important and first matter that I shall proceed to mention? The most false and detestable deceit of the Emperor's admonition? Or the most base flight and unthinkable desperation of our army? Or shall I leave a monument of perpetual sorrow by enumerating the deaths of such great princes? Let any one who desires to know this, however, seek it rather from others than from me. This one very memorable event I consider to merit excuse from silence. When our men thought of abandoning the camp, taking flight, deserting their fellows, and leaving everything that they had brought along from such distant regions, they were brought back by the saving deeds of penance and fast to such staunch fortitude that only shame at their former desperate condition and flight most deeply affected them. So much may be said about this.

Accordingly, when the Count had been received most honorably by the Emperor and his princes, the Emperor demanded of the Count homage and the oath which the other princes had made to him. The Count replied that he had not come hither to make another his lord or to fight for any other than the One for whom he had left his country and his possessions. Nevertheless, if the Emperor would go to Jerusalem with the army, he would commit himself and his men and all his goods to him. But the Emperor excused himself from the journey by saying that he greatly feared lest the Germans, Hungarians, Cumans, and other wild peoples would devastate his empire, if he made the journey with the pilgrims. Meanwhile the Count, upon hearing of the flight and death of his men, believed that he had been betrayed, and through certain

places and the foot soldiers the mountain. All the night they rode and marched until dawn, and then began to approach the towers which that person [*Pyrus*] was watchfully guarding. Bohemund straightway dismounted and gave orders to the rest, saying, "Go with secure mind and happy accord, and climb by ladder into Antioch which, if it please God, we shall have in our power immediately." They went up the ladder, which had already been placed and firmly bound to the projections of the city wall. About sixty of our men climbed up it and were distributed among the towers which that man was watching. *Pyrus*, upon seeing that so few of our men had ascended, began to tremble with fear for both himself and our men, lest they fall into the hands of the Turks. And he said, "*Micro Fruncos echome*—There are few Franks here! Where is most fierce Bohemund, that unconquered knight?" Meanwhile a certain Longobard servant descended again, and ran as quickly [as possible] to Bohemund, saying, "Why do you stand here, illustrious man? Why have you come hither? Behold, we already hold three towers!" Bohemund was moved with the rest, and all went joyfully to the ladder. Accordingly, when those who were in the towers saw this, they began to shout with happy voices, "God wills it!" We began to shout likewise, now the men began to climb up there in wondrous fashion. Then they reached the top and ran in haste to the other towers. Those whom they found there they straightway sentenced to death; they even killed a brother of *Pyrus*. Meantime the ladder by which we had ascended broke by chance, whereupon there arose the greatest dismay and gloom among us. However, though the ladder had been broken, there was still a certain gate near us which had been shut on the left side and had remained unknown to some of the people, for it was night. But by feeling about and inquiring we found it, and all ran to it; and, having broken it open, we entered through it.

Thereupon, the noise of a countless multitude resounded through all the city. Bohemund did not give his men any rest, but ordered his standard to be carried up in front of the castle on a certain hill. Indeed, all were shouting in the city together. Moreover, when at earliest dawn those in the tents outside heard the most violent outcry sounding through the city, they rushed out hurriedly and saw the standard of Bohemund up on the mount, and with rapid pace all ran hastily and entered the city. They killed the Turks and Saracens whom they found there, except those who had fled into the citadel. Others of the Turks went out through the gates, and by fleeing escaped alive.

But *Casimirus*, their lord, fearing the race of the Franks greatly, took flight with the many others who were with him and came in flight to the land of Tancred, not far from the city. Their horses, however, were worn out, and, taking refuge in a certain villa, they dashed into a house. The inhabitants

of the mountain, Syrians and Armenians, upon recognizing him [*Casimirus*], straightway seized him, cut off his head, and took it into the presence of Bohemund, so that they might gain their liberty. They also sold his sword-belt and scabbard for sixty *besants*. All this occurred on the third day of the incoming month of June, the fifth day of the week, the third day before the Nones of June. All the squares of the city were already everywhere full of the corpses of the dead, so that no one could endure it there for the excessive stench. No one could go along a street of the city except over the bodies of the dead.

8. The Fall of Antioch: The Version of Raymond d'Aguilers

The English translation here is from Krey, 133-135.

Meanwhile, messengers began to come very frequently, saying that aid was coming to the enemy. Moreover, this report came to us not only from the Armenians and the Greeks, but was also announced to us by those who were in the city. When the Turks had obtained Antioch fourteen years before, they had converted Armenians and Greek youths, as if for want of servants, and had given them wives. When such men as these had a chance to escape, they came to us with horses and arms. And when this report became frequent, many of our men and the Armenian merchants began to flee in terror. Meanwhile, good knights who were scattered among the fortresses came and brought arms, fitted, and repaired them. And when the gradually lessening swelling [of pride] had flowed from our army, and courage, ever ready to undergo dangers with brothers and for brothers, had come [in its place], one of the converted who was in the city sent word to our princes through Bohemund that he would surrender the city to us.

Accordingly, when the plan had been communicated, the princes sent Bohemund and the Duke of Lorraine and the Count of Flanders to try it out. And when they had come to the hill of the city at midnight, an intermediary sent back by him who was surrendering the city said, "Wait until the light passes." For three or four men went along the walls of the city with lamps all night, arousing and admonishing the watchers. After this, however, our men approached the wall, raised a ladder, and began to ascend it. A certain Frank, Fulger by name, brother of Budellus of Chartres, was the first boldly to ascend the wall; the Count of Flanders, following, sent word to Bohemund and the Duke to ascend; and since all hurried, each to go ahead of the other, the ladder was broken. But those who had climbed up went down into

the city and opened a certain little postern. Thus our men went in, and they did not take captive any of those whom they found. When the dawn of day appeared, they shouted out. The whole city was disturbed at this shout, and the women and small children began to weep. Those who were in the castle of the Count, aroused at this outcry since they were nearer [it], began to say to one another, "Their aid has come!" Others, however, replied, "That does not sound like the voice of joyful people." And when the day whitened, our standards appeared on the southern hill of the city. When the disturbed citizens saw our men on the mountain above them, some fled through the gate, others hurled themselves headlong. No one resisted; in truth, the Lord had confounded them. Then after a long time, a joyful spectacle was made for us, in that those who had so long defended Antioch against us were now unable to flee from Antioch. Even if some of them had dared to take flight, yet they could not escape death. A certain incident occurred there, joyful and delightful enough for us. For when some Turks strove to flee among the cliffs which divide the hill in two from the north, they encountered some of our men, and when the Turks were forced to go back, the repulsed fugitives went with such rapidity that they all fell over the precipice together. Our joy over the fallen enemy was great, but we grieved over the more than thirty horses who had their necks broken there.

How great were the spoils captured in Antioch it is impossible for us to say, except that you may believe as much as you wish and then add to it. Moreover, we cannot say how many Turks and Saracens then perished; it is, furthermore, cruel to explain by what diverse and various deaths they died. When those foes who guarded the castle on the middle hill saw the destruction of their men and that our men were refraining from besieging them, they kept their castle. *Gracimus*, however, who had gone out by a certain postern, was captured and beheaded by some Armenian peasants, and his head was brought to us. This, I believe, was done by the ineffable disposition of God, that he who had caused many men of this same race to be beheaded should be deprived of his head by them. The city of Antioch was captured on the third day before the Nones of June; it had been besieged, however, since about the eleventh day before the Kalends of November.

9. Kerbogha's Attack: The *Gesta* Version

Kerbogha, the arabeg (regent) of Mosul, appeared with a large army before the captured city of Antioch on June 7, 1098. The crusaders, weakened by a long siege and

many desertions, faced yet another battle. They tried to negotiate with Kerbogha, failed, and on June 28 marched out to meet him, and they defeated his army. The capture of Antioch, the defeat of Kerbogha's counterattack, and the discovery of the Holy Lance restored the crusaders' spirits and pointed the way to Jerusalem.

The English translation here is from Krey, 163–168.

Some time before, *Casimirus*, Emir of Antioch, had sent a message to *Curbarus*, chief of the Sultan of Persia, while he was still at Chorosan, to come and help him while there was yet time, because a very mighty host of Franks was besieging him shut up in Antioch. If the Emir would aid him, he [*Casimirus*] would give him Antioch, or would enrich him with a very great gift. Since *Curbarus* had had a very large army of Turks collected for a long time, and had received permission from the Caliph, their Pope, to kill the Christians, he began a long march to Antioch. The Emir of Jerusalem came to his aid with an army, and the King of Damascus arrived there with a very large host. Indeed, *Curbarus* likewise collected countless pagan folk, Turks, Arabs, Saracens, *Publicani*, Azinites, Kurds, Persians, *Aguluni*, and countless other peoples. The *Aguluni* were three thousand in number and feared neither lances, arrows, nor any kind of arms, because they and all their horses were fitted with iron all around, and they refused to carry any arms except swords into battle. All of these came to the siege of Antioch to disperse the gathering of Franks.

And when they neared the city, *Sensadulus*, son of *Casimirus*, Emir of Antioch, went to meet them, and straightway rushed in tears to *Curbarus*, beseeching him with these words: "Most invincible chief, I, a supplicant, pray thee to help me, now that the Franks are besieging me on every side in the city of Antioch; now that they hold the city in their sway and seek to alienate us from the region of Romania, or even yet from Syria and Chorosan. They have done everything that they wished; they have killed my father; now nothing else remains except to kill me, and you, and all the others of our race. For a long time now I have been waiting for your help to succor me in this danger."

To him *Curbarus* replied: "If you want me to enter wholeheartedly into your service and to help you loyally in this danger, give that town into my hands, and then see how I will serve you and protect it with my men."

Sensadulus replied, "If you can kill all the Franks and give me their heads, I will give you the town, and I will do homage to you and guard the town in your fealty."

To this *Curbarus* answered: "That won't do; hand over the town to me immediately." And then, willy-nilly, he handed the town over to him.

of blessing. All those touched by this were filled with all grace and fortitude and, despising the enemy, rode forth as if always nourished on the delicacies of kings. This miracle also affected our horses no less. For whose horse failed until the fight was over, even though it had tasted nothing except the bark or leaves of trees for eight days? God so multiplied our army that we, who before seemed fewer than the enemy, were in the battle more numerous than they. And when our men had thus advanced and formed in line, the enemy turned in flight without giving us a chance to engage in battle. Our men pursued them until sunset. There the Lord worked marvelously as well in the horses as in the men; forsooth, the men were not called away from battle by avarice, and those pack horses which their masters had led into battle, after a scant feeding, now very easily followed the sleekest and swiftest horses of the Turks.

But the Lord did not wish us to have this joy only. For the Turks who were guarding the citadel of the city gave up hope upon seeing the headlong flight of their people; some, on the pledge of their lives alone, surrendered themselves to us, and the rest fled headlong. And though this battle was so terrible and frightful, yet few knights of the enemy fell there; but of their foot-soldiers scarcely any escaped. Moreover, all the tents of the enemy were captured, much gold and silver, and the greatest amount of spoils—grain and cattle and camels without measure or number. And that incident of Samaria about the measures of wheat and barley which were bought for a shekel was renewed for us. Moreover, these events occurred on the vigils of St. Peter and Paul, through which intercessors was granted this victory to the pilgrim church of the Franks by the Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth God through all ages. Amen.

15. The Firanj Seize Antioch: The Version of Ibn al-Athir

This is the first selection from the two most important Arabic chronicles of the First Crusade. Ibn al-Athir (SSJ 1160–630/1233) wrote a vast history of the world, drawing on earlier chronicles for the period considered here. The name Firanj is the Arabic word for Franks, the generic term used by Arab chroniclers for all crusaders.

The English translation here is from Francesco Gabrieli, Arab Historians of the Crusades, trans. E. J. Costello (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1969), 3–7.

The power of the Franks first became apparent when in the year 478/1085–86 they invaded the territories of Islām and took Toledo and other parts of Andalusia, as was mentioned earlier. Then in 484/1091 they attacked and

conquered the island of Sicily and turned their attention to the African coast. Certain of their conquests there were won back again but they had other successes, as you will see.

In 490/1097 the Franks attacked Syria. This is how it all began: Baldwin, their King, a kinsman of Roger the Frank who had conquered Sicily, assembled a great army and sent word to Roger saying: "I have assembled a great army and now I am on my way to you, to use your bases for my conquest of the African coast. Thus you and I shall become neighbors."

Roger called together his companions and consulted them about these proposals. "This will be a fine thing both for them and for us!" they declared, "for by this means these lands will be converted to the Faith!" At this Roger raised one leg and farted loudly, and swore that it was of more use than their advice. "Why?" "Because if this army comes here it will need quantities of provisions and fleets of ships to transport it to Africa, as well as reinforcements from my own troops. Then, if the Franks succeed in conquering this territory they will take it over and will need provisioning from Sicily. This will cost me my annual profit from the harvest. If they fail they will return here and be an embarrassment to me here in my own domain. As well as all this Tamīm will say that I have broken faith with him and violated our treaty, and friendly relations and communications between us will be disrupted. As far as we are concerned, Africa is always there. When we are strong enough we will take it." He summoned Baldwin's messenger and said to him: "If you have decided to make war on the Muslims your best course will be to free Jerusalem from their rule and thereby win great honour. I am bound by certain promises and treaties of allegiance with the rulers of Africa." So the Franks made ready and set out to attack Syria.

Another story is that the Fatimids of Egypt were afraid when they saw the Seljuqs extending their empire through Syria as far as Gaza, until they reached the Egyptian border and Atsiz invaded Egypt itself. They therefore sent to invite the Franks to invade Syria and so protect Egypt from the Muslims. But God knows best.

When the Franks decided to attack Syria they marched east to Constantinople, so that they could cross the straits and advance into Muslim territory by the easier, land route. When they reached Constantinople, the Emperor of the East refused them permission to pass through his domains. He said: "Unless you first promise me Antioch, I shall not allow you to cross into the Muslim empire." His real intention was to incite them to attack the Muslims, for he was convinced that the Turks, whose invincible control over Asia Minor he had observed, would exterminate every one of them. They

accepted his conditions and in 490/1097 they crossed the Bosphorus at Constantinople. Iconium and the rest of the area into which they now advanced belonged to Qilij Arslān ibn Sulaimān ibn Qutlunish, who barred their way with his troops. They broke through in Rajab 490/July 1097, crossed Cilicia, and finally reached Antioch, which they besieged.

When Yaghi Siyān, the ruler of Antioch, heard of their approach, he was not sure how the Christian people of the city would react, so he made the Muslims go outside the city on their own to dig trenches, and the next day sent the Christians out alone to continue the task. When they were ready to return home at the end of the day he refused to allow them. "Antioch is yours," he said, "but you will have to leave it to me until I see what happens between us and the Franks." "Who will protect our children and our wives?" they said. "I shall look after them for you." So they resigned themselves to their fate, and lived in the Frankish camp for nine months, while the city was under siege.

Yaghi Siyān showed unparalleled courage and wisdom, strength and judgment. If all the Franks who died had survived they would have overrun all the lands of Islām. He protected the families of the Christians in Antioch and would not allow a hair of their heads to be touched.

After the siege had been going on for a long time the Franks made a deal with one of the men who were responsible for the towers. He was a cuirass-maker called Ruzbih, whom they bribed with a fortune in money and lands. He worked in the tower that stood over the river-bed, where the river flowed out of the city into the valley. The Franks sealed their pact with the cuirass-maker, God damn him! and made their way to the water-gate. They opened it and entered the city. Another gang of them climbed the tower with ropes. At dawn, when more than 500 of them were in the city and the defenders were worn out after the night watch, they sounded their trumpets. Yaghi Siyān woke up and asked what the noise meant. He was told that trumpets had sounded from the citadel and that it must have been taken. In fact the sound came not from the citadel but from the tower. Panic seized Yaghi Siyān and he opened the city gates and fled in terror, with an escort of thirty pages. His army commander arrived, but when he discovered on enquiry that Yaghi Siyān had fled, he made his escape by another gate. This was of great help to the Franks, for if he had stood firm for an hour, they would have been wiped out. They entered the city by the gates and sacked it, slaughtering all the Muslims they found there. This happened in Jumada I [491/April/May 1098]. As for Yaghi Siyān, when the sun rose he recovered his self control and realized that his flight had taken him several *farsakhs* from the city. He asked his companions where he was, and on hearing that he was four *farsakhs* from

Antioch he repented of having rushed to safety instead of staying to fight to the death. He began to groan and weep for his desertion of his household and children. Overcome by the violence of his grief he fell fainting from his horse. His companions tried to lift him back into the saddle, but they could not get him to sit up, and so left him for dead while they escaped. He was at his last gasp when an Armenian shepherd came past, killed him, cut off his head, and took it to the Franks at Antioch.

The Franks had written to the rulers of Aleppo and Damascus to say that they had no interest in any cities but those that had once belonged to Byzantium. This was a piece of deceit calculated to dissuade these rulers from going to the help of Antioch.

16. The Firanj Seize Antioch: The Version of Ibn al-Qalanisi

Ibn al-Qalanisi (465/1073–555/1160) wrote earlier than Ibn al-Athir, who used his work, but his focus is more narrow and his narrative more strictly chronological. I have retained the years A.H. (the year from the Hegira, 622, the Muslim system of dating) at the head of Ibn al-Qalanisi's text.

The English translation here is from H. A. R. Gibb, The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi (London, 1932), 41–45.

A.H. 490 (December 19, 1096, to December 18, 1097)

In this year there began to arrive a succession of reports that the armies of the Franks had appeared from the direction of the sea of Constantinople with forces not to be reckoned for multitude. As these reports followed one upon the other, and spread from mouth to mouth far and wide, the people grew anxious and disturbed in mind. The king, Dā'ūd b. Sulaimān b. Qutlunish, whose dominions lay nearest to them, having received confirmation of these statements, set about collecting forces, raising levies, and carrying out the obligation of Holy War. He also summoned as many of the Turks as he could to give him assistance and support against them, and a large number of them joined him along with the 'askar of his brother. His confidence having been strengthened thereby, and his offensive power rendered formidable, he marched out to the fords, tracks, and roads by which the Franks must pass, and showed no mercy to all of them who fell into his hands. When he had thus killed a great number, they turned their forces against him, de-

feared him, and scattered his army, killing many and taking many captive, and plundered and enslaved. The Turks, having lost most of their horses, took to flight. The King of the Greeks bought a great many of those whom they had enslaved, and had them transported to Constantinople. When the news was received of this shameful calamity to the cause of Islām, the anxiety of the people became acute and their fear and alarm increased. The date of this battle was the 20th of Rajab (July 4, 1097).

In the middle of Sha'bān [end of July] the amir Yāghī Siyān, lord of Antioch, accompanied by the amir Sukmān b. Ortuq and the amir Karbuqā [lord of Mosul], set out with his 'askar towards Antioch, on receipt of news that the Franks were approaching it and had occupied al-Balāna. Yāghī Siyān therefore hastened to Antioch, and dispatched his son to al-Malik Duqāq at Damascus, to Janāh al-Dawla at Hims, and to all the other cities and districts, appealing for aid and support, and inciting them to hasten to the Holy War, while he set about fortifying Antioch and expelling its Christian population. On the 2nd of Shawwāl [September 12] the Frankish armies descended on Baghrās and developed their attack upon the territories of Antioch, whereupon those who were in the castles and forts adjacent to Antioch revolted and killed their garrisons except for a few who were able to escape from them. The people of Arrāh did likewise, and called for reinforcements from the Franks. During Sha'bān a comet appeared in the West; it continued to rise for a space of about twenty days, and then disappeared.

Meanwhile, a large detachment of the Frankish army, numbering about thirty thousand men, had left the main body and set about ravaging the other districts, in the course of which they came to al-Bāra and slaughtered about fifty men there. Now the 'askar of Damascus had reached the neighbourhood of Shaizar, on their way to support Yāghī Siyān, and when this detachment made its descent on al-Bāra, they moved out against it. After a succession of charges by each side, in which a number of their men were killed, the Franks returned to al-Rūj, and thence proceeded towards Antioch. Oil, salt, and other necessities became dear and unprocureable in Antioch, but so much was smuggled into the city that they became cheap again. The Franks dug a trench between their position and the city, owing to the frequent sallies made against them by the army of Antioch.

Now the Franks, on their first appearance, had made a covenant with the king of the Greeks, and had promised him that they would deliver over to him the first city which they should capture. They then captured Nicea, and it was the first place they captured, but they did not carry out their word to him on that occasion, and refused to deliver it up to him according to the stipulation. Subsequently they captured on their way several frontier fortresses and passes.

A.H. 491 (December 9, 1097, to November 27, 1098)

At the end of First Jumādā [beginning of June, 1098] the report arrived that certain of the men of Antioch among the armouers in the train of the amir Yāghī Siyān had entered into a conspiracy against Antioch and had come to an agreement with the Franks to deliver the city up to them, because of some ill-usage and confiscations which they had formerly suffered at his hands. They found an opportunity of seizing one of the city bastions adjoining the Jabal, which they sold to the Franks, and thence admitted them into the city during the night. At daybreak they raised the battle cry, whereupon Yāghī Siyān took to flight and went out with a large body, but not one person amongst them escaped to safety. When he reached the neighbourhood of Armanāz, an estate near Mā'arrat Masrīn, he fell from his horse to the ground. One of his companions raised him up and remounted him, but he could not maintain his balance on the back of the horse, and after falling repeatedly he died. As for Antioch, the number of men, women, and children, killed, taken prisoner, and enslaved from its population is beyond computation. About three thousand men fled to the citadel and fortified themselves in it, and some few escaped for whom God had decreed escape.

In Sha'bān [July] news was received that al-Afdal, the commander-in-chief [amir al-ju'yūsh], had come up from Egypt to Syria at the head of a strong 'askar. He encamped before Jerusalem, where at that time were the two amirs Sukmān and Il-Ghāzī, sons of Ortuq, together with a number of their kinsmen and followers and a large body of Turks, and sent letters to them, demanding that they should surrender Jerusalem to him without warfare or shedding of blood. When they refused his demand, he opened an attack on the town, and having set up mangonels against it, which effected a breach in the wall, he captured it and received the surrender of the Sanctuary of David from Sukmān. On his entry into it, he shewed kindness and generosity to the two amirs, and set both them and their supporters free. They arrived in Damascus during the first ten days of Shawwāl [September], and al-Afdal returned with his 'askar to Egypt.

17. Kerbogha's Attack: The Version of Ibn al-Athir

The English translation here is from Gabrieli, 7-9.

When Qawām ad-Dawla Kerbuqā heard that the Franks had taken Antioch he mustered his army and advanced into Syria, where he camped at Marj

ing, he suffered a severe relapse. Many despaired for him and he asked to be taken to [the monastery of] St-Rémi at Reims. Raoul was generous and gave many gifts to monasteries of Francia and Burgundy, excluding his wife's share of their goods. He remained at St-Rémi for four weeks until his health returned, and finally he went to the *urbs* of Soissons before returning to Burgundy.

[6F] Henry [king of Germany] was in the lands bordering on the Sarmentians³³ when he, like Raoul, fell ill and was delayed for the entire summer. Meanwhile, a dispute arose between Gislebert [of Lotharingia] and his brother Ragenarius, as well as conflict between Otho and Bosco.³⁴ The result was killings, fires and raids by both sides. The Northmen made a peace with the Franks by oaths, due to the efforts of Count Hugh [the Great],³⁵ Count Heribert [of Vermandois], and Archbishop Seulfus because King Raoul was absent. However, with the king's consent, more lands were conceded to the Northmen in a pact of peace, that is, Maine and the Bessin.³⁶

[6G] In a surprise attack Count Isaac [of Cambrai] captured and burned a *castellum* of Bishop Stephen of Cambrai. In a sudden fire he also burned the tower of the citadel (*priesidium*) of Heribert, which was on the river Marne, where [King] Charles was being held [Château-Thierry]. Ragenoldus³⁷ with his Northmen laid waste the lands of Hugh [the Great], between the Loire and the Seine, because they had not yet been given possessions inside the Gauls.

[6H] In October a synod of the bishops of the province of Reims was held at Trosly-Loire, with Archbishop Seulfus [of Reims] presiding. Count Isaac [of Cambrai] came to the synod to make amends and to give satisfaction for the things that he had perpetrated against the church of Cambrai.³⁸ Isaac bound over a hundred pounds of silver and made peace with Bishop Stephen [of Cambrai] in the presence of [Count] Heribert [of Vermandois] and many other counts of Francia. King Raoul received the *castellum* of Mont-St-Jean, which Ragenardus [viscount of Auxerre] had reluctantly abandoned, and he again sought out Francia. William [II of Aquitaine] and Hugh [the Great], son of Robert, made a security pact for their lands with Ragenoldus, and Ragenoldus and his Northmen set out into Burgundy.

[6I] In this year there were many lightnings of candles in different parts of Francia, with the light arising suddenly. Moreover, visions of the saints were shown to Ebrulfus, a certain priest living in the nearby small village of Mouzon. At Reims, in the church of Saint Mary,³⁹ on the feast of All Saints [1 November], a man who had been crippled for a long time with his calves drawn back to the hamstrings was healed by divine power and he stood up.

[6J] It was reported that the Magyars who were ravaging Gothia suffered a plague, which caused dysentery and swelling of their heads, and very few survived.

[7A] When the year 925 began, Ragenoldus with his Northmen devastated Burgundy, Count Warnerius [of Troyes], Manasses,⁴⁰ Bishop Ansegisus [of Troyes], and Bishop Gozcelinus [of Langres] joined forces to oppose them at Mons Calaus⁴¹ and killed more than 800 of the Northmen. However, Count Warnerius was captured and killed when the horse on which he was mounted was killed, and Bishop Ansegisus of Troyes was wounded. When King Raoul learned of this, he set out to Burgundy with certain soldiers from Francia, that is, those from the church of Reims, along with Bishop Abbo of Soissons and a few others who escorted him, including Count Heribert [of Vermandois]. When he collected a substantial number of soldiers from Burgundy, he advanced to the fortified camp of the Northmen on the river Seine, where there was a struggle fought on foot. When the Northmen saw that those who were with the king, that is, the greatest part of the army, made no effort either to capture their camp or even to dismount, they came out of their camp to fight. After suffering losses the Franks broke off the engagement and laid out their camp in a circular pattern two or three miles away from the camp of the Northmen. Hugh [the Great], the son of Robert, laid out his own camp on the opposite bank of the Seine. Thus from day to day the Franks were delaying establishing a close siege of the Northmen's encampment as they awaited ships to come from Paris. However, with the complicity of some of our men, as it is said, the Northmen broke out of their camp and sought the cover of a certain forest to shield their movement and some of our own men returned home.

[7B] When the Lenten fasts⁴² were begun, Heribert [count of Vermandois] spoke with Gislebert [of Lotharingia] and then with Hugh [the Great], and then he summoned King Raoul from Burgundy. Raoul hurried to meet him and set out for Cambrai in order to meet the Lotharingians and Gislebert. However, these latter ones did not attend the *placidum* and came to Raoul on the Meuse. Gislebert and Otho⁴³ were made Raoul's supporters.

[7C] The Northmen from Rouen broke the treaty to which they had formerly agreed and laid waste the *pagus* of Beauvais and Amiens. The *civitas* of Amiens was burned because a fire had been poorly tended by the refugees, and Arras was burned in a fire that suddenly arose. The Northmen came to plunder Noyon and they set fire to its suburbs. The garrison troops (*castellani*) of Noyon came out with the inhabitants of the suburbs and drove off the Northmen, killing those whom they were able and freeing part of the suburb from the enemy. Meanwhile, the men of the Bessin raided the land of the Northmen on the other side of the Seine. When news of this came, the men of Paris, along with some the *fideles* of Hugh [the Great], son of Robert, and with the garrison troops (*opidani*) of some of his *castella*, laid waste a part of the

pagus of Rouen that was possessed by the Northmen on this side of the Seine. *Villae* were burned, animals were carried away and some of the Northmen were killed. Meanwhile, because little fodder was available for their horses, Count Heribert [of Vermandois] and a few of the Franks remained on the Oise in order to deny a crossing to the Northmen. When the Northmen learned of the devastation of their land, they rushed back home.

[7D] Finally Henry [king of Germany] crossed the Rhine and took by storm the *oppidum* of Zülpich, which was defended by Gislebert's *fideles*. Henry did not remain long in Lothar's Kingdom, but after taking hostages from Gislebert he returned home across the Rhine. Count Hilgaudus [II of Pontieu] and other Franks who lived along the sea coast invaded and devastated areas bordering on their own lands that the Northmen had recently come to possess.

[7E] Meanwhile, [King] Raoul left Burgundy and came to Francia in order to prepare for war against the Northmen, and he issued a call to arms to the Franks. Therefore, when the expedition against the Northmen had begun, Heribert [of Vermandois], with the soldiers of the church of Reims, Count Arnulf⁴⁴ and other Franks from along the sea coast attacked a *praesidium* of the Northmen. In response, their *princeps* Rollo sent 1,000 Northmen from Rouen, in addition to the men of that *oppidum*. This *castrum*, which is located near the sea, is called Eu. The Franks surrounded it, breached the encircling outer wall, and broke down and climbed the inner wall. They took possession of the *oppidum*, killed all the horses and burned the *munition*. A few of the defenders escaped and took up a position on an island nearby Eu. The Franks attacked and seized the island, which took longer than their capture of the *oppidum* [of Eu]. Some of the Northmen who had been fighting for their lives finally gave up and jumped into the water in order to swim to safety but were drowned. Others died by the swords of the Franks while still others killed themselves with their own spears. When all the Northmen were thus dead and much booty had been captured, the Franks returned home.

[7F] However King Raoul, along with Hugh [the Great] and the Burgundians, established his court in the *pagus* of Beauvais. At this same time, Archbishop Seulfus of Reims died, having completed three years and five days of his episcopal office. Count Heribert [of Vermandois] came to Reims and saw to it that both the vassals (*vassals*) and the clergy of this church respected his advice concerning the election of an archbishop.⁴⁵ Hugh [the Great], son of Robert, made a pact of security with the Northmen, but the lands of the sons Baldwin,⁴⁶ and those of Raoul de Gouy and Hilgaudus [count of Pontieu] were excluded from the agreement.

[7G] The diocese of Reims was committed to Count Heribert [of Vermandois],⁴⁷ who managed it for his son Hugh, a small boy; it was said, not yet five

years of age.⁴⁸ Bishop Abbo [of Soissons] went to Rome with envoys from Count Heribert.⁴⁹ All the Lotharingians committed themselves to Henry [king of Germany], who then conceded the diocese of Verdun to Berninus, the nephew of Bishop Dado [of Verdun]. Berninus was ordained bishop there after the priest Hugh, to whom [King] Raoul had given the diocese, was expelled.

8.

[8A] When the year 926 began, King Raoul, Count Heribert [of Vermandois] and some of the Franks who lived along the sea coast besieged the Northmen in the *pagus* of Arras, who were crowded together in a forest. After several days, the Northmen suddenly attacked the king's camp at night. Count Heribert came to the assistance of the king lest Raoul should be captured by the Northmen and there was fighting at the encampment, with some huts there being burned. The Northmen were repulsed by an attack from the [king's] camp and they retreated, although the king was wounded and Count Hilgaudus [of Pontieu] was killed. It is said that 1,100 Northmen died in that battle. Raoul then returned to Laon, and the Northmen plundered the forest region as far as the *pagus* of Porcien.

[8B] Moreover, the Magyars crossed the Rhine and raged as far as the *pagus* of Vonceq, taking booty and setting fires. There was an eclipse of the moon, in its fourteenth day, on 1 April, the Saturday of Easter,⁵⁰ and it became pale, with just a little light remaining, just like a two-day old moon. As dawn broke, the entire moon became the color of blood. For fear of the Magyars the body of St-Rémi and the relics of other saints were taken from their monasteries and brought to Reims, to be placed among the relics of Saint Walburgis, and many miracles were performed there.

[8C] A tax of money was collected publicly through Francia and Burgundy and was given to the Northmen, in accordance with a [new] peace treaty. Thus, after the money had been handed over, the peace was confirmed by a [mutual] oath. Thereupon the army of King Raoul and Count Heribert [of Vermandois] marched out from Francia and Burgundy across the Loire and received hostages from the *utrs* of Nevers, which was being defended against the king by the brother of [Duke] William [of Aquitaine].⁵¹ The army then crossed into Aquitaine in pursuit of William, who had deserted from the king, and it pursued him until there was news that the Magyars had crossed the Rhine, which forced the army back to Francia.

[8D] In Rome, Hugh, son of Bertha,⁵² was constituted king over Italy after King Rudolf [II] of Cisalpine Gaul [Upper Burgundy] had been expelled. Hugh traveled to that kingdom and married a woman even though his wife