

HIST 4103 Byzantine Empire
Paper 2 (3200-3600 Words)
Due May 2 by 5pm

An important problem that historians regularly face is evaluating multiple accounts of the same event from different points of view. Several accounts of the First Crusade survive, including the *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena (11.4-6, pp. 306-315), the *Chronicle* of Fulcher of Chartres, and the *Deeds of the Franks* (*Gesta Francorum*), both attached below. Fulcher was a priest who accompanied the Crusade and wrote his history several years later. The author of the *Gesta* is unknown, but he was apparently a knight in the service of Bohemond. Although describing the same overall event, the three authors present affairs very differently. For this paper you will evaluate and analyze the three accounts of the siege of Antioch. You may wish to consider the following issues:

- What events does one author include that are absent from the others?
- What events does one author exclude that are present in the others?
- How are the individual leaders such as Bohemond portrayed?
- How are the motivations of the Crusaders and others presented?
- What role is given to religion and religious devotion?
- How is the discovery Holy Lance (or Nail) depicted?
- How are the Emperor and his role in the siege depicted?
- How are the Turks depicted?
- How is the ultimate success of the siege explained?

Using the details from the comparison and contrast between the three authors, explain each author's point of view, how they understand the siege of Antioch and the Crusade itself, why they portray it the way they do, and what they want their readers to take away from it. You should not worry about which author is more historically accurate.

You are to limit your analysis to the three assigned texts – do not look at modern scholarship or other sources. I want to read what you have to say, not what someone else has to say. Using other sources will result in an automatic F on the paper. Note that some names are given differently between the authors—for instance, Kourpagan, Karbuqa and Corbagath are all the same person and Kelts and Franks both refer to the Crusaders—you do not need to worry about this. If you are unsure about a name, do not hesitate to ask!

Use direct quotes sparingly and when they will specifically illustrate the point you are trying to make. Otherwise, paraphrase. Whenever you are quoting, paraphrasing, or simply referring to something an author says cite the particular passage in your paper. Cite by author and page number either in the sentence or parenthetically; e.g. “As the *Gesta* author says on page 68...” or “as explained (Anna 309).” Don't forget to put a page number at the bottom of the page. Papers should be 3200 words long, double-spaced, with 1” margins all around. Use Times New Roman or a similar font. You do not need to include a bibliography since you are only using sources from class.

Papers are due on May 2 by 5pm. Email them to me at cmuntz@uark.edu. Late papers will not be accepted without prior arrangement except in cases of documented emergencies.

The First Crusade

*The Chronicle
of Fulcher of Chartres
and
Other Source Materials*

Edited, with an Introduction by EDWARD PETERS

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS
PHILADELPHIA

14. Once Baldwin had received as the gift of the citizens the power of this man who had been so basely killed, he immediately made war on the Turks who were in the country. He either conquered or killed many of them. It happened, too, that many of ours were slain by the Turks.

15. I, Fulcher of Chartres, was chaplain of this Baldwin. I wish now to resume the discourse, which I stopped, about the army of God.

XV

The Arrival of the Franks at Antioch and the Siege of that City

1. In the month of October,¹ after crossing the river which they call the Fernus or Orontes, the Franks came to Antioch in Syria, the city which Seleucus,² son of Antiochus, founded and made the capital of Syria. It was formerly called Reblata.³ Tents were ordered to be pitched within the first milestone before the city, where later fierce encounters were often made by both sides. For when the Turks darted forth from that city, they killed many of our men. But retaliation having been made, they mourned for the men they had lost also.

2. Antioch is an extensive city, has a strong wall, and is well situated for defense. It could never be captured by outside enemies if the inhabitants, supplied with bread, wished to defend it long enough. In the city there is a church worthy to be revered, dedicated to the Apostle Peter. Elevated to the episcopate, he sat on the throne here after he had received dominion of the Church and the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven from the Lord Jesus.

3. Also there is another church, round in form, built in honor of the Blessed Mary, and several others fittingly constructed. Although these had long been under the Turks, yet God, knowing

1. October 20, 1097.

2. Antioch was founded on the Orontes c. 300 B.C. by Seleucus Nicator (312-280 B.C.), the general of Alexander the Great. The new city was named after Antiochus, Seleucus' father, who had been an officer of Philip of Macedon.

3. Reblata or Riblath was confused with Antioch by St. Jerome in his *Onomastikon*, and Fulcher followed Jerome in this error. Reblata is actually a little south of Homs.

all things beforehand, saved them intact for us, so that at some time or other He would be magnified by us in them.

4. The sea is about thirteen miles, I judge, from Antioch. Since the Fernus [Orontes] River happens to flow into the sea, boats loaded with all goods come from far distant parts almost to Antioch through the channel of this river. Thus the city, fortified by sea as well as by land, abounds in manifold riches.

5. When our princes had seen the great difficulty of overcoming it, they swore mutually by oath to work together in siege until, with God favoring, they would capture it either by force or by ruse.⁴

6. They found some boats on the aforementioned river, which they seized, and out of them fashioned a bridge for themselves. They were able to cross over this to carry on their work, whereas before they had to wade over with difficulty.

7. When the Turks saw that they were besieged by such a great Christian multitude, they feared that they could in no way shake them off. After a plan was mutually formed, Aoxian, prince and emir of Antioch,⁵ sent his son, Sensadolus by name,⁶ to the Sultan,⁷ that is, the emperor, of Persia, to get his help most quickly, since they held hope for aid from no other except Mohammed, their advocate. Thus directed, he conducted this legation there very hastily.

8. Meanwhile, those who remained, awaiting the requested aid, guarded the city, and frequently plotted many kinds of harm to the Franks. Nevertheless the Franks resisted their cunning with all their power.

9. It happened on a certain day that the Franks killed seven hundred Turks; and the Turks, who set ambushes for the Franks, were overcome by the Franks lying in ambush. The strength of God was present there. All of our men retreated uninjured, with the exception of one whom they wounded.

10. Alas! how many Christians, Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, who lived in the city, were killed by the maddened Turks. With

4. Siege of Antioch lasted from October 20, 1097, to June 3, 1098.

5. *Aoxian* is Fulcher's version of Yagi Siyan of Antioch, 1086-1098, formerly sent by Sultan Malik Shah as governor of Antioch.

6. Sensadolus, Shams-ad-Daula.

7. Sultan of Persia, Bark-yarok (1094-1104), son of Malik Shah.

the Franks looking on, they threw outside the walls the heads of those killed, with their petrae and slings. This especially grieved our people. Holding these Christians in hatred, the Turks feared lest by some chance they give the Franks information to their own detriment.

11. When the Franks had besieged the city for some time, and had pillaged the surrounding region for food necessary for themselves and had devastated it on all sides, bread could be bought nowhere, and they endured excessive hunger. As a result, everybody was especially desolate and many secretly considered withdrawal from the siege in flight, either by land or by sea.

12. They had no supplies on which they could live. It was with great fear that they sought food far away, in going distances of forty or fifty miles from the siege, that is, in the mountains, where they were often killed by the Turks lying in ambush.

13. We believed that these misfortunes befell the Franks, and that they were not able for so long a time to take the city because of their sins. Not only dissipation, but also avarice or pride or rapaciousness corrupted them.

14. After holding council, they drove out the women from the army, both married and unmarried, lest they, stained by the defilement of dissipation, displease the Lord. Those women then found places to live in the neighboring camps.

15. Both the rich and the poor were desolate from hunger as well as from the daily slaughtering. It seemed that unless God, like a Good Shepherd, would bind His sheep together in flocks, then without doubt all of them would flee, even though they had sworn to maintain the siege. Because of the lack of bread for many days, many sought those things necessary for their nourishment in the neighboring castles; and not returning to the army afterwards, they entirely deserted the siege.

16. At that time,⁸ we saw an astonishing glow in the sky, and, in addition, we felt a great movement of the earth, which made us all quake. Many at that time also saw a certain sign in the shape of a cross, whitish in color, advancing toward the East in a straight path.

8. December 30, 1097.

XVI

The Wretched Poverty of the Christians
and the Flight of the Count of Blois

1. In the year of the Lord 1098, after the region all around Antioch had been wholly devastated by the multitude of our people, the strong as well as the weak were more and more harassed by famine.

2. At that time, the famished ate the shoots of beanseeds growing in the fields and many kinds of herbs unseasoned with salt; also thistles, which, being not well cooked because of the deficiency of firewood, pricked the tongues of those eating them; also horses, asses, and camels, and dogs and rats. The poorer ones ate even the skins of the beasts and seeds of grain found in manure.

3. They endured winter's cold, summer's heat, and heavy rains for God. Their tents became old and torn and rotten from the continuation of rains. Because of this, many of them were covered by only the sky.

4. So like gold thrice proved and purified sevenfold by fire, long predestined by God, I believe, and weighed by such a great calamity, they were cleansed of their sins. For even if the assassin's sword had not failed, many, long agonizing, would have voluntarily completed a martyr's course. Perhaps they borrowed the grace of such a great example from Saint Job, who, purifying his soul by the torments of his body, ever held God fast in mind. Those who fight with the heathen, labor because of God.

5. Granting that God—who creates everything, regulates everything created, sustains everything regulated, and rules by virtue—can destroy or renew whatsoever He wishes, I feel that He assented to the destruction of the heathen after the scourging of the Christians. He permitted it, and the people deserved it, because so many times they cheaply destroyed all things of God. He permitted the Christians to be killed by the Turks, so that the Christians would have the assurance of salvation; the Turks, the perdition of their souls. It pleased God that certain Turks, already predestined for salvation, were baptized by priests. "For those whom He predestined, He also called and glorified."¹

1. Romans 8:30.

6. So what then? There were some of our men, as you heard before, who left the siege because it brought so much anguish; others, because of poverty; others, because of cowardice; others, because of fear of death; first the poor and then the rich.

7. Stephen, Count of Blois, withdrew from the siege and returned home to France by sea.² Therefore all of us grieved, since he was a very noble man and valiant in arms. On the day following his departure, the city of Antioch was surrendered to the Franks.³ If he had persevered, he would have rejoiced much in the victory with the rest. This act disgraced him. For a good beginning is not beneficial to anyone unless it be well consummated.⁴ I shall cut short many things in the Lord's affairs lest I wander from the truth, because lying about them must be especially guarded against.

8. The siege lasted continuously from this same month of October, as it was mentioned, through the following winter and spring until June. The Turks and Franks alternately staged many attacks and counter-attacks; they overcame and were overcome. Our men, however, triumphed more often than theirs. Once it happened that many of the fleeing Turks fell into the Fernus River, and being submerged in it, they drowned. On the near side of the river, and on the far side, both forces often waged war alternately.

9. Our leaders constructed castles before the city, from which they often rushed forth vigorously to keep the Turks from coming out [of the city]. By this means, the Franks took the pastures from their animals.⁵ Nor did they get any help from Armenians outside the city, although these Armenians often did injury to our men.

2. June 2, 1098.

3. June 3, 1098.

4. Fulcher here ignores Stephen's return in 1101 when he met delayed martyrdom.

5. One of these fortresses was constructed on a bridge over which the Turks were accustomed to lead their animals to pasture.

XVII

The Surrender of the City of Antioch

1. When it pleased God that the labor of His people should be consummated, perhaps pleased by the prayers of those who daily poured out supplications and entreaties to Him, out of His compassion He granted that through a fraud of the Turks the city be returned to the Christians in a secret surrender. Hear, therefore, of a fraud, and yet not a fraud.

2. Our Lord appeared to a certain Turk,¹ chosen beforehand by His grace, and said to him: "Arise, thou who sleepest! I command thee to return the city to the Christians." The astonished man concealed that vision in silence.

3. However, a second time, the Lord appeared to him: "Return the city to the Christians," He said, "for I am Christ who command this of thee." Meditating what to do, he went away to his ruler, the prince of Antioch, and made that vision known to him. To him the ruler responded: "You do not wish to obey the phantom, do you, stupid?" Returning, he was afterwards silent.

4. The Lord again appeared to him, saying: "Why hast thou not fulfilled what I ordered thee? Thou must not hesitate, for I, who command this, am Lord of all." No longer doubting, he discreetly negotiated with our men, so that by his zealous plotting they might receive the city.

5. He finished speaking, and gave his son as hostage to Lord Bohemond, to whom he first directed that discourse, and whom he first persuaded.² On a certain night, he sent twenty of our men over the wall by means of ladders made of ropes. Without delay, the gate was opened. The Franks, already prepared, entered the city. Forty of our soldiers, who had previously entered by ropes, killed sixty Turks found there, guards of the tower. In a loud voice, altogether the Franks shouted: "God wills it! God

1. This was Pirus or Firouz whom the Christian sources call a Turk, although the Moslems prefer to consider him as an Armenian.

2. According to other accounts, Bohemond secretly contrived with Firouz to hand over the towers of the city, promising him rewards. Then Bohemond asked the other Christian leaders to let the one who took the city first be given control over it.

wills it!" For this was our signal cry, when we were about to press forward on any enterprise.

6. After hearing this, all the Turks were extremely terrified. Then, when the redness of dawn had paled, the Franks began to go forward to attack the city. When the Turks had first seen Bohemond's red banner on high, furling and unfurling, and the great tumult aroused on all sides, and the Franks running far and wide through the streets with their naked swords and wildly killing people, and had heard their horns sounding on the top of the wall, they began to flee here and there, bewildered. From this scene, many who were able fled into the citadel situated on a cliff.

7. Our rabble wildly seized everything that they found in the streets and houses. But the proved soldiers kept to warfare, in following and killing the Turks.

8. The fleeing emir of Antioch, Aoxian, was beheaded by a certain rustic Armenian.

He, thereupon, brought the severed head to the Franks.

XVIII

The Finding of the Lance¹

1. After the city was taken, it happened that a Lance was found by a certain man.² When it was discovered in a pit in the ground of Saint Peter's Church, he asserted confidently that, according to the Scriptures, it was the one with which Longinus pierced Christ in the right side. He said that this had been revealed by Saint Andrew the Apostle.

2. When it had been found, and he himself had told this to the Bishop of Puy and to Count Raymond, the Bishop thought it was false, but the Count hoped it was true.

3. Upon hearing this, all the people, rejoicing, glorified God for it, and for almost a hundred days it was held in great veneration by all, and handled gloriously by Count Raymond, who guarded it. Then it happened that many of the clergy and the

1. For a detailed study of this question of the Lance, see L. F. Sheffy, "The Use of the Holy Lance in the First Crusade" (unpublished Master's thesis, the University of Texas, Austin, 1915).

2. Peter Bartholomew.

people hesitated, thinking it was not the Lord's Lance, but another one deceitfully found by that foolish man.

4. A plan was formed, and a three-day fast was fixed and executed with a supplication in prayer to God. After this, they set fire to a heap of wood in the middle of the plain before the town of Archas. This was in the eighth month after the capture of Antioch. After an invocation asking for judgment was made over the fire by priests, the finder of the Lance spontaneously crossed quickly through the middle of the blazing pyre, as he himself had earnestly requested to prove his own truthfulness. After he crossed it, they saw him going forth from the flames as a culprit, burned on the skin, and they knew that he was mortally injured within, just as the end of the affair showed, for on the twelfth day, being burned, he died in anguish.³

5. Since everybody had venerated that Lance for the honor and love of God, after judgment was thus accomplished, those who formerly appeared credulous of this culprit, now especially saddened, remained incredulous. Nevertheless, Count Raymond kept it for a long time after that.

XIX

The Siege of the Christians by the Turks in the City of Antioch

1. On the day after Antioch had been taken, as has been told, an innumerable multitude of Turks surrounded the city in siege. The Sultan, that is, the King of the Persians, had been told by a legation that the Franks were besieging Antioch, and after collecting many people, immediately he sent an army against the Franks. Corbagath¹ was the leader and commander of this people.

2. He had besieged the city of Edessa, which Lord Baldwin possessed at that time, for three weeks;² but accomplishing nothing there, he hastened to Antioch to aid Prince Aoxian.

3. The trial of Peter Bartholomew did not occur until April 1099. Fulcher anticipates in order to finish the episode of the Lance.

1. Kiwam ed-Daula Kerboga, Atabek of Mosul, was the lieutenant of Bark-yarok-Ibn-Malik-Shah, and seems to have exercised a vague suzerainty over the other lesser Turkish emirs of northwestern Syria.

2. May 4 to 25, 1098.

3. Seeing this army, the Franks were more desolate than ever, because punishment for their sins was doubled. For when they had entered the city, many of them had sought out unlawful women without delay.

4. Almost sixty thousand Turks entered by way of a fort on the top of a cliff. These exerted pressure on our men most fiercely in repeated attacks. There was not a pause; filled with great trembling, after leaving the city, they went forth to the siege. The Franks, shut in, remained unbelievably anxious.³

XX

The Visions Appearing below the City

1. Yet the Lord, not unmindful of the Franks, appeared to many. Often they asserted this. Being present, in comforting them, He promised that the people would rejoice in victory. The Lord appeared to a certain cleric fleeing away in fear of death, saying: "Whither, brother, dost thou run?" "I flee," he responded, "lest being unfortunate, I perish. Many flee thus, lest they perish in cruel death."

To him the Lord said: "Flee not, but hasten back and tell the others that I shall be present with them in battle. For, pleased by the prayers of My Mother, I shall propitiate them; but because they have sinned, they shall nearly perish. However, let their hope be strong in Me, and I shall make them to triumph over the Turks. Let them repent and be saved. I am the Lord, who speak to thee." Soon the cleric, having returned, told what he had heard.

2. Meanwhile, many wished to descend by ropes from the wall during the night, and to flee, since many who feared to perish either from starvation or from the sword did this. A certain man, descending, envisioned his dead brother standing near and saying to him: "Whither do you flee, brother? Wait; fear not; for the Lord will be with you in your battle; and your comrades, who have already died on this journey, will fight with you against the Turks."

3. The terror of the Turks and Franks was caused by a meteor which Fulcher neglects to mention.

He, astonished at the words of the dead man, stopped and recounted to the others what he had heard.

3. They could no longer bear such anguish. They now had nothing to eat, and they, as well as their horses, were excessively weakened by this. When it pleased the Lord to consummate the labor of His servants, they agreed upon a three-day fast to be carried out with prayers and offerings, so that God might be propitiated by their being penitent and suppliant.

XXI

The Battle which the Franks Asked of the Turks

1. Meanwhile, after holding council, they announced to the Turks through a certain Peter the Hermit, that unless they peacefully evacuated the region which at one time belonged to the Christians, they would surely begin war against them on the following day. But if they wished it to be done otherwise, war could be waged by five or ten or twenty or by one hundred soldiers chosen from each side, so that with not all fighting at the same time, such a great multitude of people would not die, and the party which overcame the other would take the city and kingdom freely without controversy.

2. This was proposed, but not accepted by the Turks, who, confident in the large number of their people and in their courage, thought that they could overcome and destroy ours.

3. In number, they were estimated to be three hundred thousand altogether, both cavalry and infantry. They knew our knights had been forced to become footmen, weak and helpless.

4. After Peter, the ambassador, returned, the answer was given. After they heard it, the Franks prepared to fight, stopping at nothing, but placing their hope wholly in God.

5. There were many Turkish princes whom they called emirs present. These are: Corbagath,¹ Maleducat,² Amisoliman,³ and many others whom it takes too long to name.

1. Kerboga of Mosul.

2. Shams el-Muluk Dukak of Damascus.

3. Emir Sulaiman, governor of Aleppo and son of Ilgazi.

XXII

The Preparation for Battle

1. The Frankish princes were: Hugh the Great, Robert, Count of the Normans, Robert, Count of Flanders, Duke Godfrey, Count Raymond, Bohemond, and others of lesser rank. May God bless the soul of Ademar, Bishop of Puy, an apostolic man, who always kindly comforted the people and strengthened them in the Lord.

2. Oh, pious circumstance! On the preceding evening, he ordered by heralds to all the soldiers of the army of God, that each one lay out as much grain as he could, considering the dear-ness of it, to supply his horse, so that those carrying the riders on the morrow might not become weak from hunger in the hour of battle. It was ordered, and it was done.

3. All having been thus prepared, they went forth to battle from the city in the early morning, which fell four days before the Kalends of July.¹ The banners of the squadrons and lines, conveniently divided into troops and phalanges, went first. Among these were the priests clothed in white vestments, who, weeping for all the people, sang hymns to God, and poured out many prayers devoutly.

4. When a certain Turk, Amirdal by name,² a well-proven soldier had seen our people with standards raised coming forth against them, he was exceedingly astonished. And when he had carefully regarded our nobles' standards, which he saw advancing one by one in order, he supposed that the battle would shortly ensue.

5. He had reconnoitred frequently in Antioch, where he had learned this about the Franks. He immediately hastened to Corbagath, and informed him what he had seen, saying: "Why do you amuse yourself with chess? Behold, the Franks are coming!" Corbagath responded to him: "Are they coming to fight?" Amirdal responded: "Up to the present time, I do not know, but wait a little while."

6. When Corbagath also saw the banners of our nobles carried

1. June 28, 1098.

2. Probably merely emir and not personally identifiable.

before them in order and the divisions of men, properly ordered, following them, returning quickly, he said: "Behold, the Franks! What do you think?" Amirdal responded: "It is war, I believe, but it is still doubtful. I shall soon recognize to whom these standards, which I see, belong."

7. Looking more closely, he recognized the standard of the Bishop of Puy advancing in the third squadron.

Without waiting any longer, he told Corbagath:

"Behold, the Franks are coming; either flee now, or fight well; for I see the standard of the great Pope advancing. Today you may fear to be overcome by those whom you thought could be entirely annihilated."

8. Corbagath said: "I shall send word to the Franks, that what they asked of me yesterday, today I shall grant." Amirdal said, "You have spoken too late." Although he demanded it, he did not obtain what he asked. Amirdal presently

Withdrawing from that place, drove his horse with spurs.

He reflected whether or not to flee; yet he told his comrades

That everybody should fight bravely and hurl arrows.

XXIII

The Battle and the Victory of the Christians and the Flight of the Turks

1. Behold, Hugh the Great and Count Robert the Norman, and also Robert, Count of Flanders, were stationed in the first line of battle for the attack. In the second, Duke Godfrey followed with the Germans and Lotharingians. After those marched the Bishop of Puy and the people of Count Raymond, Gascons and Provençals. Count Raymond himself remained in the city to guard it. Bohemond skilfully led the last division.

2. When the Turks saw that they were being fiercely attacked by the whole army of the Franks, they began to dart out in a scattered fashion, as was their custom, and to hurl arrows. But fear having been let loose from heaven against them, as if the whole world had fallen, all of them took to unrestrained flight, and the Franks chased them with all their might.

3. But because the Franks had few horses and these weak from hunger, they did not take as much booty as they should have.

Nevertheless, all the tents remained on the plains, and they found many kinds of things in them, such as gold, silver, coverlets, clothing, utensils, and many other things, which the Turks, in great flight, had left or flung away in their flight, namely, horses, mules, camels, asses, the best helmets, and bows and arrows with quivers.

4. Corbagath, who had slain the Franks many times with such cruel words and threats, fled more swiftly than a deer. But why did he, who had a people so great and so well equipped with horses, flee? Because he strove to fight against God, and the Lord seeing him afar, entirely broke his pomp and strength.

5. Because they had good and swift horses, they escaped, although the slower ones fell into the hands of the Franks. Many of them and of the Saracen infantry were killed. A few of ours were injured. When their women were found in the tents, the Franks did nothing evil to them except pierce their bellies with their lances.

6. Everybody, placed in such great need and distress, blessed and glorified God in a voice of exultation, God, who in the righteousness of His compassion liberated those trusting in Him from such savage enemies. He powerfully scattered them in defeat, after the Christians were almost conquered first. Made wealthy with the substance of those people, they returned pleased to the city.

7. When the venerable city of Antioch was taken,
Eleven times a hundred, if you subtract therefrom twice one,
Then so many were the years of our Lord born of the Virgin
Under the star of Phoebus, twice nine times risen from
Gemini.

8. At that time Ademar the Bishop, may his soul enjoy eternal rest, died on the Kalends of August.¹ Amen! Then Hugh the Great, with the good will of the princes, went away to Constantinople; thence to France.²

1. August 1, 1098.

2. Beginning of July, 1098.

The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem

Edited by
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Reader in History in the University of London

THOMAS NELSON AND SONS LTD

V

[xii] When we drew near to the bridge over the Orontes¹ our scouts, who used always to go ahead of us, found barring their way a great number of Turks who were hurrying to reinforce Antioch, so they attacked the Turks with one heart and mind and defeated them. The barbarians were thrown into confusion and took to flight, leaving many dead in that battle, and our men who by God's grace overcame them took much booty, horses, camels, mules and asses laden with corn and wine. Afterwards, when our main forces came up, they encamped on the bank of the river, and the gallant Bohemond came at once with four thousand knights to guard the city gate, so that no-one could go out or come in secretly by night. Next day, Wednesday 21 October, the main army reached Antioch about noon, and we established a strict blockade on three gates of the city, for we could not besiege it from the other side because a mountain, high and very steep, stood in our way.² Our enemies the Turks, who were inside the city, were so much afraid of us that none of them tried to attack our men for nearly a fortnight. Meanwhile we grew familiar with the surroundings of Antioch, and found there plenty of provisions, fruitful vineyards and pits full of stored corn, apple-trees laden with fruit and all sorts of other good things to eat.

Iron Bridge', found in MS Vat. Reginensis 641 seems to be a soldiers' corruption of a local name, like 'Wipers' for 'Ypres' in the First World War.

² Mount Silpius

The Armenians and Syrians who lived in the city came out and pretended to flee to us, and they were daily in our camp, but their wives were in the city. These men spied on us and on our power, and reported everything we said to those who were besieged in the city. After the Turks had found out about us, they began gradually to emerge and to attack our pilgrims wherever they could, not on one flank only but wherever they could lay ambush for us, either towards the sea or towards the mountain.

Not far off there stood a castle called Aregh,¹ manned by many of the bravest of the Turks, who often used to make attacks on our men. When our leaders heard that such things were happening, they were very troubled and sent some of our knights to reconnoitre the place where the Turks had established themselves. When our knights, who were looking for the Turks, found the place where they used to hide, they attacked the enemy, but had to retreat a little way to where they knew Bohemond to be stationed with his army. Two of our men were killed there in the first attack. When Bohemond heard of this he went out, like a most valiant champion of Christ, and his men followed him. The barbarians fell upon our men because they were few, yet they joined battle in good order and many of our enemies were killed. Others, whom we captured, were led before the city gate and there beheaded, to grieve the Turks who were in the city.

There were others who used to come out of the city and climb upon a gate, whence they shot arrows at us, so that the arrows fell into my lord Bohemond's camp, and a woman was killed by a wound from one of them.

[xiii] Thereafter all our leaders met together and summoned a council. They said, 'Let us build a castle on top of Mount Malregard,¹ so that we can stay here safe and sound, without fear of the Turks.' The castle was built and fortified, and all our leaders took turns in guarding it.

By and by, before Christmas, corn and all foodstuffs began to be very dear, for we dared not go far from the camp and we could find nothing to eat in the land of the Christians. (No-one dared to go into the land of the Saracens except with a strong force.) Finally our leaders held a council to decide how they should provide for so many people, and in this council they determined that one part of our army should go and do its best to get supplies and to protect the flanks of our forces, while the other part should stay behind, faithfully to guard the non-combatants.² Then Bohemond said, 'Gentlemen and most gallant knights, if you wish, and if it seems to you a good plan, I will go on this expedition, with the count of Flanders.' So when we had celebrated Christmas with great splendour these two set out on Monday the second day of the week,³ and with them went others, more than twenty thousand knights and foot-soldiers in all, and they entered, safe and sound, into the land of the Saracens. Now it happened that many Turks, Arabs and Saracens had come together from Jerusalem and Damascus and Aleppo and other places⁴ and were approaching to relieve Antioch, so when they heard that a Christian force had been led into their country they prepared at

⁴ Led by Duqaq, amir of Damascus, Tughtagin his atabek, and Janah al-Dawla amir of Homs.

once for battle, and at daybreak they came to the place¹ where our men were assembled. The barbarians split up their forces into two bands, one before and one behind, for they wanted to surround us on all sides, but the noble count of Flanders, armed at all points with faith and with the sign of the Cross (which he bore loyally every day) made straight for the enemy with Bohemond at his side, and our men charged them in one line. The enemy straightway took to flight, turning tail in a hurry; many of them were killed and our men took their horses and other plunder. Others, who remained alive, fled quickly and went into 'the wrath fitted for destruction',² but we came back in great triumph, and praised the glorified God the Three in One, who liveth and reigneth now and eternally. Amen.³

Here ends the fifth book, and the sixth book begins.

VI

[xiii] While this was going on the Turks (enemies of God and holy Christendom) who were acting as garrison to the city of Antioch, heard that my lord Bohemond and the count of Flanders were not with the besieging army, so they sallied from the city and came boldly to fight with our men, seeking out the places where the besiegers were weakest, for they knew that some very valiant knights were away, and they found that on the Tuesday¹ they could withstand us and do us harm. Those wretched barbarians came up craftily and made a sudden attack upon us, killing many knights and foot-soldiers who were off their guard. On that grievous day the bishop of Le Puy lost his seneschal, who was carrying his banner and guarding it, and if there had not been a river between us and them they would have attacked us more often and done very great harm to our people.

Just then the valiant Bohemond arrived with his army from the land of the Saracens, and he came over Tancred's mountain² thinking that he might find something which could be carried off, for our men had pillaged all the land. Some of his followers had found plunder, but others were coming back empty-handed. Then the gallant Bohemond shouted at the fugitives from our camp, 'You wretched and miserable creatures! You scum of all Christendom! Why do you want to run away so fast? Stop now, stop until we all join

forces, and do not rush about like sheep without a shepherd. If our enemies find you rushing all over the place they will kill you, for they are on the watch day and night to catch you without a leader or alone, and they are always trying to kill you or to lead you into captivity.' When he had said this he returned to his camp together with his men, but more of them were empty-handed than carrying plunder.

The Armenians and Syrians, seeing that our men had come back with scarcely any supplies, took counsel together and went over the mountains by paths which they knew, making careful inquiries and buying up corn and provisions which they brought to our camp, in which there was a terrible famine, and they used to sell an ass's load for eight hyperperoi, which is a hundred and twenty shillings in our money. Many of our people died there, not having the means to buy at so dear a rate.

[xv] Because of this great wretchedness and misery William the Carpenter¹ and Peter the Hermit fled away secretly. Tancred went after them and caught them and brought them back in disgrace. (They gave him a pledge and an oath that they were willing to return to the camp and give satisfaction to the leaders.) William spent the whole of the night in my lord Bohemond's tent, lying on the ground like a piece of rubbish. The following morning, at daybreak, he came and stood before Bohemond, blushing for shame. Bohemond said to him, 'You wretched disgrace to the whole Frankish army—you dishonourable blot on all the people of Gaul! You most loathsome of all men whom the earth has to bear, why did you run off in such a shameful way? I suppose that you wanted to betray

these knights and the Christian camp, just as you betrayed those others in Spain?"¹ William kept quiet, and never a word proceeded out of his mouth.² Nearly all the Franks³ assembled and humbly begged my lord Bohemond not to allow him to suffer a worse punishment. He granted their request without being angry, and said, 'I will freely grant this for the love I bear you, provided that the man will swear, with his whole heart and mind, that he will never turn aside from the path to Jerusalem, whether for good or ill, and Tancred shall swear that he will neither do, nor permit his men to do, any harm to him.' When Tancred heard these words he agreed, and Bohemond sent the Carpenter away forthwith; but afterwards he sneaked off without delay, for he was greatly ashamed.

God granted that we should suffer this poverty and wretchedness because of our sins. In the whole camp you could not find a thousand knights who had managed to keep their horses in really good condition.

[xvi] While all this was going on, our enemy Tatikios,⁴ hearing that the Turkish army had attacked us, admitted that he had been afraid that we had all perished and fallen into the hands of the enemy. So he told all sorts of lies, and said, 'Gentlemen and most gallant knights, you see that we are here in great distress and that no reinforcements can reach us from any direction. Let me therefore go back to the country of Rum, and I will guarantee without delay to send by sea many ships, laden with corn, wine, barley, meat, flour, cheese and all sorts of provisions which we need; I will also have horses brought here to sell, and will

cause goods to be brought hither by land under the emperor's safe-conduct. See, I will swear faithfully to do all this, and I will attend to it myself. Meanwhile my household and my pavilion shall stay in the camp as a firm pledge that I will come back as soon as I can.'

So that enemy of ours made an end of his speech. He left all his possessions in the camp; but he is a liar, and always will be. We were thus left in direst need, for the Turks were harrying us on every side, so that none of our men dared to go outside the encampment. The Turks were menacing us on the one hand, and hunger tormented us on the other, and there was no-one to help us or bring us aid. The rank and file, with those who were very poor, fled to Cyprus or Rum or into the mountains. We dared not go down to the sea for fear of those brutes of Turks, and there was no road open to us anywhere.

[xvii] Now when my lord Bohemond heard rumours that an immense force of Turks¹ was coming to attack us, he thought the matter over and came to the other leaders, saying, 'Gentlemen and most valiant knights, what are we to do? We have not sufficient numbers to fight on two fronts. Do you know what we might do? We could divide our forces into two, the foot-soldiers staying here in a body to guard the tents and to contain, so far as possible, those who are in the city. The knights, in another band, could come out with us against our enemies, who are encamped not far off, at the castle of Aregh beyond the Orontes bridge.'

That evening the valiant Bohemond went out from the camp with other very gallant knights, and took up

his position between the river and the lake.¹ At dawn he ordered his scouts to go out forthwith and to discover the number of Turkish squadrons, and where they were, and to make sure what they were doing. The scouts went out and began to make careful inquiries as to where the army of the Turks was hidden, and they saw great numbers of the enemy coming up from the river in two bands, with the main army following them. So the scouts returned quickly, saying, 'Look, look, they are coming! Be ready, all of you, for they are almost upon us!' The valiant Bohemond said to the other leaders, 'Gentlemen and unconquered knights, draw up your line of battle!' They answered, 'You are brave and skilful in war, a great man of high repute, resolute and fortunate, and you know how to plan a battle and how to dispose your forces, so do you take command and let the responsibility rest with you. Do whatever seems good to you, both for your own sake and for ours.' Then Bohemond gave orders that each commander should arrange his own forces in line of battle. This was done, and they drew up in six lines. Five of them together charged the enemy, while Bohemond held his men a little in reserve. Our army joined battle successfully and fought hand-to-hand; the din arose to heaven, for all were fighting at once and the storm of missiles darkened the sky. After this the main army of the Turks, which was in reserve, attacked our men fiercely, so that they began to give back a little. When Bohemond, who was a man of great experience, saw this, he groaned, and gave orders to his constable, Robert Fitz-Gerard, saying, 'Charge at top

speed, like a brave man, and fight valiantly for God and the Holy Sepulchre, for you know in truth that this is no war of the flesh, but of the spirit. So be very brave, as becomes a champion of Christ. Go in peace, and may the Lord be your defence!' So Bohemond, protected on all sides by the sign of the Cross, charged the Turkish forces, like a lion which has been starving for three or four days, which comes roaring out of its cave thirsting for the blood of cattle, and falls upon the flocks careless of its own safety, tearing the sheep as they flee hither and thither. His attack was so fierce that the points of his banner were flying right over the heads of the Turks.

The other troops, seeing Bohemond's banner carried ahead so honourably, stopped their retreat at once, and all our men in a body charged the Turks, who were amazed and took to flight. Our men pursued them and massacred them right up to the Orontes bridge. The Turks fled in a hurry back to their castle, picked up everything they could find, and then, having thoroughly looted the castle, they set fire to it and took to flight. The Armenians and Syrians, knowing that the Turks had been completely defeated, came out and laid ambushes in passes, killing or capturing many men.

Thus, by God's will, on that day our enemies were overcome. Our men captured plenty of horses and other things of which they were badly in need, and they brought back a hundred heads of the dead Turks to the city gate, where the ambassadors of the amir of Cairo¹ (for he had sent them to our leaders) were en-

the orthodox Sunnite dynasty ruling in Baghdad (which was under the influence of the Saljuqid Turks), and were trying to ally with the Franks against the coalition of orthodox Muslims and Turks.

camped. The men who had stayed in the camp had spent the whole day in fighting with the garrison before the three gates¹ of the city. This battle was fought on Shrove Tuesday, 9 February, by the power of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, One God, world without end. Amen.²

Here ends the sixth book, and the seventh book begins.

VII

[xviii] Our men, by God's will, came back exulting and rejoicing in the triumph which they had that day. Their conquered enemies, who were totally defeated, continued to flee, scurrying and wandering hither and thither, some into Khorasan and some into the land of the Saracens. Then our leaders, seeing that our enemies who were in the city were constantly harrying and vexing us, by day and night, wherever they might do us harm, met in council and said, 'Before we lose all our men, let us build a castle at the mosque which is before the city gate where the bridge stands, and by this means we may be able to contain our enemies.' They all agreed and thought that it was a good plan. The count of St Gilles was the first to speak, and he said, 'Help me to build this castle, and I will fortify and hold it.' 'If you wish it,' replied Bohemond, 'and if the other leaders approve, I will go with you to St Simeon's Port¹ and give safe conduct to the men who are there, so that they can construct this building.² The people who are to stay here must keep watch on all sides so as to defend themselves.'

The count and Bohemond therefore set out for St Simeon's Port. We who stayed behind gathered together, and were beginning to build the castle, when the Turks made ready and sallied out of the city to

materials to complete the fort could easily be brought up to Antioch (Grousset, I, 88-89).

attack us. They rushed upon us and put our men to flight, killing many, which was a great grief to us.

Next day¹ the Turks, realising that some of our leaders were away, and that they had gone to the port on the previous day, got ready and sallied out to attack them as they came back from the port. When they saw the count and Bohemond coming back and escorting the builders, they began to gnash their teeth and gabble and howl with very loud cries, wheeling round our men, throwing darts and shooting arrows, wounding and slaughtering them most brutally. Their attack was so fierce that our men began to flee over the nearest mountain, or wherever there was a path. Those who could get away quickly escaped alive, and those who could not were killed. On that day more than a thousand of our knights or foot-soldiers suffered martyrdom, and we believe that they went to Heaven and were clad in white robes and received the martyr's palm.

Bohemond did not follow the same route which they had followed, but came more quickly with a few knights to where we were gathered together,² and we, angry at the loss of our comrades, called on the Name of Christ and put our trust in the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre and went all together to fight the Turks, whom we attacked with one heart and mind. God's enemies and ours were standing about, amazed and terrified, for they thought that they could defeat and kill us, as they had done with the followers of the count and Bohemond, but Almighty God did not allow them to do so. The knights of the True God, armed at all points with the sign of the Cross, charged them fiercely and made a

brave attack upon them, and they fled swiftly across the middle of the narrow bridge to their gate. Those who did not succeed in crossing the bridge alive, because of the great press of men and horses, suffered there everlasting death with the devil and his imps; for we came after them, driving them into the river or throwing them down, so that the waters of that swift stream appeared to be running all red with the blood of Turks, and if by chance any of them tried to climb up the pillars of the bridge, or to reach the bank by swimming, he was stricken by our men who were standing all along the river bank. The din and the shouts of our men and the enemy echoed to heaven, and the shower of missiles and arrows covered the sky and hid the daylight. The Christian women who were in the city came to the windows in the walls, and when they saw the wretched fate of the Turks they clapped their hands secretly. (The Armenians and Syrians who were under the command of Turkish leaders had to shoot arrows at us, whether they liked it or not.) Twelve amirs of the Turkish army suffered death in body and soul in the course of that battle, together with fifteen hundred more of their bravest and most resolute soldiers, who were the best in fighting to defend the city. The survivors no longer had the courage to howl and gabble day and night, as they used to do. Darkness alone separated the two sides, and night put an end to the fighting with darts, spears and arrows. Thus our enemies were defeated by the power of God and the Holy Sepulchre, so that henceforth they had less courage than before, both in words and works. On that day we recouped ourselves very well, with many things of which we were badly in need, as well as horses.

Next day, at dawn, other Turks came out from the city and collected all the stinking corpses of the dead Turks which they could find on the river bank, except those that were concealed in the actual river-bed, and buried them at the mosque which is beyond the bridge before the gate of the city, and together with them they buried cloaks, gold bezants, bows and arrows, and other tools the names of which we do not know. When our men heard that the Turks had buried their dead, they made ready and came in haste to that devil's chapel, and ordered the bodies to be dug up and the tombs destroyed, and the dead men dragged out of their graves. They threw all the corpses into a pit, and cut off their heads and brought them to our tents (so that they could count the number exactly), except for those which they loaded on to four horses belonging to the ambassadors of the amir of Cairo and sent to the sea-coast. When the Turks saw this, they were very sad and grieved almost to death, for they lamented every day and did nothing but weep and howl. On the third day we combined together, with great satisfaction, to build the castle already mentioned, with stones we had taken from the tombs of the Turks. When the castle was finished, we began to press hard from every side upon our enemies whose pride was brought low. But we went safely wherever we liked, to the gate¹ and to the mountains, praising and glorifying our Lord God, to whom be honour and glory, world without end. Amen.²

Here ends the seventh book, and the eighth book begins.

dominated the bridge over the river and the Bridge Gate. It would not have been useful in protecting the road to St Simeon's Port.

² The MSS make it clear that Book VII ends at this point.

VIII

[xix] By this time all the paths were shut and blocked against the Turks, except for that by the river, where there was a castle and also a monastery.¹ If we could have succeeded in fortifying this castle in strength, none of the enemy would have dared to go out of the city gate. So our men held a council, and agreed unanimously, saying, 'Let us choose one of our number who can hold that castle strongly, and keep our enemies from the mountains and the plain, and prevent them from going into and out of the city.' Then Tancred was the first to stand forward among the others, and he said, 'If I may know what reward I shall have, I will guard the castle carefully with only my own followers, and I will do all that a man may to cut the path by which our enemies most often launch their cruel attacks.' The council immediately offered him four hundred marks of silver, so he made no delay, but arose at once with his best knights and followers, and forthwith blocked the paths against the Turks, so that none of them dared to go out of the city gate, either for fodder, wood or anything else which they needed, because they were very much afraid of him. Tancred stayed there with his men and began to blockade the city closely. That same day a very large number of Armenians and Syrians came confidently down from the mountains, carrying provisions for the Turks, to help those who were besieged in the city. Tancred met them and captured both them and all their loads—corn, wine, barley, oil and other such things. He was so forceful

and so lucky that he managed to keep all the paths barred and blocked against the Turks until Antioch was taken.

I cannot tell you all the things which we did before the city fell, for there is in this land neither clerk nor layman who could write down the whole story or describe it as it happened, but I will tell you a little of it.

[xx] There was a certain amir of Turkish race called Firuz,¹ who had struck up a great friendship with Bohemond. Bohemond used often to send messengers to him, sounding him as to whether he would receive him, in friendship's name, into the city, and promising in return that he would willingly have Firuz christened, and would cause riches and great honour to be bestowed on him. Firuz agreed, and accepted the promised benefits, saying, 'I am warden of three towers, which I freely promise to Bohemond, and I will receive him into them at whatever time he shall choose.' So when Bohemond was sure that he could enter the city he was glad, and came coolly, looking pleased with himself, to the council of leaders, and said to them jokingly, 'Most gallant knights, you see that we are all, both great and less, in dire poverty and misery, and we do not know whence better fortune will come to us. If, therefore, you think it a good and proper plan, let one of us set himself above the others, on condition that if he can capture the city or engineer its downfall by any means, by himself or by others, we will all agree to give it to him.' The other leaders all refused and denied him, saying, 'This city shall not be granted to anyone, but we will all share it alike; as we have had equal toil, so

let us have equal honour.' When Bohemond heard these words he looked less pleased, and went straight off.

Not long afterwards we heard news of an army of our enemies, drawn from the Turks, Paulicians, Agulani, Azymites¹ and many other peoples. All our leaders came together at once and held a council, saying, 'If Bohemond can take this city, either by himself or by others, we will thereafter give it to him gladly, on condition that if the emperor come to our aid and fulfil all his obligations which he promised and vowed, we will return the city to him as it is right to do. Otherwise Bohemond shall take it into his power.' So Bohemond now began to send a tactful request to his friend every day, making the most flattering, extensive and tempting promises, saying, 'See, now we have a chance of doing whatever good deed we want to do, so now, friend Firuz, give me your help.' Firuz was pleased by the message, and said that he would give Bohemond all the help that he was bound to provide, and the next night he secretly despatched his son to Bohemond, as a pledge to give him greater confidence that he should enter the city. He also sent word that on the morrow the whole Frankish army should be summoned, and should pretend to go out and plunder the land of the Saracens, but that afterwards it should return quickly by the western mountain.² 'And I,' he said, 'will watch out for these troops very carefully, and I will admit them into the towers which I have in my power and keeping.' Then Bohemond sent quickly for one of his followers,

² The towers held by Firuz were near St George's Gate, and would therefore be on the right-hand side of the city from the viewpoint of the Crusaders' camp.

nick-named 'Bad-crown', and told him to go out as a herald to summon a great force of Franks to make faithful preparations to go into the land of the Saracens, and this Bad-crown did. Bohemond confided his plan to Duke Godfrey and the count of Flanders, the count of St Gilles and the bishop of Le Puy, telling them, 'God willing, this night shall Antioch be betrayed to us.'

All the preparations were thus made. The knights went by the plain and the foot-soldiers by the mountain, and they rode and marched all night until towards dawn, when they began to approach the towers of which Firuz, who had been watching all night, was warden. Then Bohemond dismounted at once and said to his men, 'Go on, strong in heart and lucky in your comrades, and scale the ladder into Antioch, for by God's will we shall have it in our power in a trice.' The men came to the ladder, which was already set up and lashed firmly to the battlements of the city, and nearly sixty of them went up it and occupied the towers which Firuz was guarding. But when Firuz saw that so few of our men had come up, he began to be afraid, fearing lest he and they should fall into the hands of the Turks and he said (in Greek), *Μικροὺς φράγκους ἔχομεν* (which means 'We have few Franks'). 'Where is the hero Bohemond? Where is that unconquered soldier?' Meanwhile a certain soldier from southern Italy went back down the ladder and ran as fast as he could to Bohemond, crying out, 'Why are you standing here, sir, if you have any sense? What did you come to get? Look! We have taken three towers already!' Bohemond and the others bestirred themselves, and they all came rejoicing to the ladder. When those who were in the towers saw them, they began to call out

cheerfully, 'God's will!' and we called back the same words. Now an amazing number of men began to climb; they went up and ran quickly to the other towers. Whomsoever they found there they put to death at once, killing the brother of Firuz among them. Meanwhile the ladder, up which our men had climbed, happened to break, so that we were plunged in great despair and grief. However, although the ladder was broken, there was a gate not far from us to the left, but it was shut and some of us did not know where it was, for it was still dark. Yet by fumbling with our hands and poking about we found it, and all made a rush at it, so that we broke it down and entered.¹

At this moment the shrieks of countless people arose, making an amazing noise throughout the city. Bohemond did not waste time on this account, but ordered his glorious banner to be carried up to a hill opposite the citadel. All the people in the city were screaming at once. At dawn, our men who were outside in the tents heard an overpowering din break out in the city, so they hurried out and saw Bohemond's banner aloft on the hill. They all came running as fast as they could and entered the city gates, killing all the Turks and Saracens whom they found there except for those who fled up to the citadel. Some other Turks got out through the gates and saved their lives by flight. Yaghi Siyan,² their leader, who was much afraid of the Franks, took to flight headlong with many companions, and as they fled they came into Tancred's land not far from the city. Their horses were tired out, so they

Damascus, against one another. This probably explains why neither of them made a whole-hearted attempt to raise the siege of Antioch.

entered one of the villages and hid in a house. When the people who lived in that mountain (they were Syrians and Armenians) knew who the fugitive was, they captured him at once and cut off his head, which they took to my lord Bohemond as the price of their freedom. His belt and scabbard were worth sixty bezants.

All this happened on the third of June, which was a Thursday. All the streets of the city on every side were full of corpses, so that no-one could endure to be there because of the stench, nor could anyone walk along the narrow paths of the city except over the corpses of the dead.¹

Here ends the eighth book, and the ninth book begins.

IX

[xxi] Now Karbuqa¹ was commander-in-chief of the army of the sultan of Persia.² While he was still in Khorasan, Yaghi Siyan the amir of Antioch had instantly sent him an envoy asking for timely help (since a very strong army of Franks held him closely besieged in Antioch) and promising to give him either the city of Antioch or very great riches if he would bring aid. Since Karbuqa had with him a great army of Turks whom he had been assembling for a long time, and had been given leave by the khalif (who is the pope of the Turks³) to kill Christians, he set out, there and then, on the long journey to Antioch. The amir of Jerusalem⁴ came to his help with an army, and the king of Damascus⁵ brought a great number of men. So Karbuqa collected an immense force of pagans⁶—Turks, Arabs, Saracens, Paulicians, Azymites, Kurds, Persians, Agulani and many other people who could not be counted. The Agulani numbered three thousand; they fear neither spears nor arrows nor any other weapon, for they and their horses are covered all over with plates of iron. They will not use any weapons except swords when they are fighting.

¹ Sukman-ibn-Ortuq

² Duqaq

³ The Author uses the word in a vague sense, as some of the people whom he mentions were not pagans but heretics. He did not really know what was going on in Karbuqa's camp and draws freely upon his imagination, supplemented by the rumours which were being passed round in the Frankish army. Consequently, the Karbuqa passages tell us a good deal more about the contemporary Frankish idea of Karbuqa than about the man himself.

All these men came to raise the siege of Antioch, so that they might scatter the company of the Franks, and when they had approached the city there met them Shems-ed-Daula, son of Yaghi Siyan the amir of Antioch, and he ran straight up to Karbuqa weeping, entreating him and saying, 'Most victorious prince, I am a suppliant begging you for help, for the Franks are besieging me on all sides in the citadel of Antioch, and they have got the city in their power, and they want to drive us out of Rum and Syria and even from Khorasān. They have accomplished everything they planned, and have killed my father, and the next thing will be that they will kill me and you and all the rest of our people. I have waited a long time for assistance, so that you may help me in this peril.' Karbuqa answered, 'If you want my sincere help, I will faithfully give you assistance in this peril, but you must first surrender the citadel to me, and I will put my own men in to guard it. Then you shall see how much I can help you.' Then said Shems-ed-Daula, 'If you can kill all the Franks and send me their heads, I will give you the citadel, and do homage to you, and hold it as your liege man.'¹ 'That will not do at all,' replied Karbuqa, 'you must surrender the citadel into my hands at once.' So Shems-ed-Daula gave him the citadel willy-nilly.

On the third day after we entered the city² Karbuqa's vanguard came up before the walls, for his main army was encamped at the Orontes bridge, where it stormed one of the towers on the bridge and killed all the garrison in it. None of our men there survived except the leader, whom we found, bound in iron chains, when we

had fought the Great Battle. Next day the main army of the pagans moved up and approached the city, encamping between the two rivers,¹ where it stayed for two days. When Karbuqa had received the surrender of the citadel he called one of his amirs, whom he knew to be a truthful, kindly and peaceable man, and said to him, 'I want you to hold this citadel as my liege man, for I have known for a very long time that you are most worthy of trust. Therefore I beg you to keep it with extreme care.' The amir replied, 'I would prefer never to do such a thing for you, but I will do it on this condition, that if the Franks drive you back and defeat you in mortal combat, I may surrender the citadel to them at once.' Then Karbuqa said to him, 'I know that you are such an honourable and brave man that I will agree to anything you think fit.'

After this Karbuqa went back to his army, and immediately the Turks, making mock of the Frankish troops, brought him a very poor sword all covered with rust, and a thoroughly bad wooden bow, and a spear which was quite useless, all of which they had just stolen from the poor pilgrims, and they said, 'Look at the arms which the Franks have brought to fight against us!' Then Karbuqa began to chuckle, and said to all those who were present, 'Are these the warlike and splendid weapons which the Christians have brought into Asia against us, and with these do they confidently expect to drive us beyond the furthest boundaries of Khorasan, and to blot out our names beyond the rivers of the Amazons? Are these the people who drove all our forefathers out of Rum² and from the royal city of Antioch, which is the honoured capital of all

Syria?' Then he called his scribe and said, 'Be quick and write many letters which may be read in Khorasan, in these words¹: "To the khalif our pope and the lord sultan our king, that most valiant warrior, and to all the most gallant knights of Khorasan, greeting and boundless honour! Enjoy yourselves, rejoicing with one accord, and fill your bellies, and let commands and injunctions be sent throughout the whole country that all men shall give themselves up to wantonness and lust, and take their pleasure in getting many sons who shall fight bravely against the Christians and defeat them. And receive, with my good wishes, these three weapons which we have already taken from the Frankish rabble, and learn what kind of arms the Franks have brought against us. Know also that I have got all the Franks shut up in Antioch, and I hold the citadel in my power while they are down below in the city. I have them all in my hands, and I will have them either executed or led into Khorasan in most bitter captivity, because they threaten to repulse us by their weapons and to drive us out of all our lands, as they drove our forefathers out of Rum and Syria. Moreover I swear to you by Mohammed and by all the names of our gods² that I will not appear again before your face until I have conquered, by the strength of my right arm, the royal city of Antioch and all Syria, Rum, Bulgaria³ and even as far as Apulia,⁴ to the glory of the Gods and of you and

¹ The Author always assumes that the Muslims are polytheists.

² Used here in the general sense of 'the Balkans', as it appears to have been used in France in the thirteenth century to denote the birthplace of the Manichean heresy

³ The Author, a follower of Bohemond, had probably been born and bred in southern Italy. Hence he makes the conquest of Apulia the supreme vaunt of the Muslim leader.

of all who are sprung from the race of the Turks.””
This was the end of the letter.

[xxii] It happened that the mother of Karbuqa, who was in the city of Aleppo, came at once to him, and said to him, ‘My son, are these things true, which I hear?’ ‘What things?’ said he, and she answered, ‘I have heard that you desire to join battle with the people of the Franks.’ ‘Know,’ said he, ‘that this is quite true.’ She cried, ‘I beseech you, my son, by the names of all the Gods and by your own great excellence, not to join battle with the Franks, for you are an unconquered warrior and no man has ever seen you fleeing from the battlefield before any victor. Your prowess is renowned, and brave soldiers tremble, wherever they may be, at the mere sound of your name. Surely we know well enough, my son, that you are a mighty warrior and a man of valour, so that no people, Christian or pagan, can show any courage in your sight—men flee before you when they have but heard your name, as sheep before a raging lion. Therefore I implore you, beloved son, listen to my counsels and never let the idea of making war with the Christians occupy your mind or find a place in your counsels.’ When Karbuqa heard his mother’s warnings he replied furiously, ‘What sort of tale are you telling me, mother? I think you are mad or possessed by the furies—why, I have more amirs in my following than the whole of the Christians, both great and small.’ ‘O sweetest son,’ replied his mother, ‘the Christians alone cannot fight with you—indeed I know that they are unworthy to meet you in battle—but their god fights for them every day, and keeps them day and night under his protection, and watches over them as a shepherd watches over his

flock, and suffers no people to hurt or vex them, and if anyone wishes to fight them, this same god of theirs will smite them, as he says by the mouth of David the prophet, "Scatter the people that delight in war"¹ and again, "Pour out thine anger upon the people that have not known thee, and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name."² Before they are even ready to join battle, their god, mighty and powerful in battle, together with his saints, has already conquered all their enemies, and how much more will he do to you who are his own enemy, and have prepared with all your might to resist? Beloved, know also the truth of this, that those Christians are called "sons of Christ"³ and, by the mouth of the prophets, "sons of adoption and promise"⁴ and the apostle says that they are "heirs of Christ",⁵ to whom Christ has even now given the promised inheritance, saying by the prophets, "From the rising of the sun to the going down thereof shall be your bounds, and no man shall stand against you."⁶ Who can contradict these words or resist them? I tell you truly that if you join battle with these men you will suffer very great loss and dishonour, and lose many of your faithful soldiers, and you will leave behind all the plunder which you have taken, and escape as a panic-stricken fugitive. You will not die now in this battle, but yet in this very year,⁷ for this same god, when his wrath is roused, does not punish the offender at once, but when he wills he punishes him with manifest vengeance, and therefore I fear that he will condemn you

layman, quoting familiar scriptural passages from a good but not completely accurate memory.

⁷ Karbuqa died some time between 26 October 1101 and 14 October 1102. The confidence of the prophecy suggests that the Author wrote it in the summer of 1098, after the Great Battle of Antioch.

to a heavy sentence. You will not, as I say, die at once, but nevertheless you will lose all that you now have.'

Then Karbuqa, when he had heard his mother's words, was bitterly grieved to the depths of his heart, and he replied, 'Mother dearest, I desire to know who told you these things about the Christian people, how their god loves them so dearly, and how he has in himself such great might in battle, and how these Christians shall conquer in the battle of Antioch and take our spoils and pursue us, gaining a great victory, and how I am doomed to sudden death this very year.' His mother answered sorrowfully, 'Beloved son, more than a hundred years ago it was discovered in our Koran, as well as in the books of the infidel, that the Christian people was destined to come upon us and to defeat us in every place, and that it should rule over the pagans, and that our people should be subject to these men wherever they are; but I do not know whether these things will come to pass now or in the future. Therefore I, wretched woman that I am, have followed you from Aleppo the fairest of cities, where by my observations and careful calculations I have looked into the stars of the sky, and studied the planets and the twelve signs of the Zodiac and all kinds of omens. In all of them I found prognostications that the Christian people is fated to defeat us utterly, and therefore I fear terribly for you, with bitter grief, for I may live to be bereft of you.'

Karbuqa said to her, 'Mother dearest, tell me the truth about certain things which my heart will not let me believe.' 'Willingly, beloved,' said she, 'if you will tell me what you do not understand.' He answered, 'Are not Bohemond and Tancred the gods of the Franks,

and do they not deliver them from their enemies? And do they not eat two thousand cows and four thousand pigs at a single meal?' 'Beloved son,' said his mother, 'Bohemond and Tancred are mortal, like all other men, but their god loves them exceedingly beyond all others, and therefore he grants them excelling courage in battle. For their god—almighty is his name—is he who made the heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is¹; whose throne in heaven is prepared from all eternity, whose power is everywhere to be feared.' 'Be it so,' said her son, 'yet will I not turn aside from battle with them.' So when his mother heard that he would pay no heed to her counsels, she was exceedingly sad; but she went back to Aleppo taking with her everything on which she could lay her hands.

[xxiii] On the third day after his arrival at Antioch Karbuqa prepared for battle, and a great force of Turks came with him and approached the city from the side on which the citadel stood.² We, thinking that we could resist them, prepared to fight, but their power was such that we could not withstand them, so we were forced back into the city. The gate was so terribly strait and narrow that many of the people were trampled to death in the crowd. All through that day (which was Thursday),³ until the evening, some of our men were fighting outside the walls and others within. While this was going on, William of Grandmesnil,⁴ Aubré his brother, Guy Trousseau⁵ and Lambert the Poor,⁶ who were all scared by the battle of the previous day, which had lasted until evening, let themselves down from the wall secretly during the night and fled

on foot to the sea, so that both their hands and their feet were worn away to the bone. Many others, whose names I do not know, fled with them. When they reached the ships which were in St Simeon's Port they said to the sailors, 'You poor devils, why are you staying here? All our men are dead, and we have barely escaped death ourselves, for the Turkish army is besieging the others in the city.' When the sailors heard this they were horrified, and rushed in terror to their ships and put to sea. At that moment the Turks arrived and killed everyone whom they could catch. They burned those ships which were still in the mouth of the river and took their cargoes.

As for us who stayed in Antioch, we could not defend ourselves against the attacks from the citadel, so we built a wall between us and it, and patrolled it day and night. Meanwhile we were so short of food that we were eating our horses and asses.

[xxiiii] One day, when our leaders were standing in the upper city before the citadel, grieving and troubled, there came to them a certain priest,¹ and he said, 'Gentlemen, may it please you to listen to the account of a certain vision which I have seen. One night, as I lay prostrate in the church of St Mary the Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world appeared to me with his Mother and St Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and he stood before me and said, "Knowest thou me?"' "No," said I. When I had said this, behold, an unbroken cross appeared behind his head,² and the Lord asked me a second time, saying, "Knowest

thou me?" I answered, "I should not know you, except that I see about your head a cross like that of our Saviour." He answered, "I am he." So I fell down at his feet, humbly beseeching him to help us in the trouble which had come upon us. The Lord replied, "I have given you great help, and I will help you hereafter. I granted you the city of Nicea, and victory in all your battles, and I have led you hither and suffered with you in all the troubles which you have endured in the siege of Antioch. Behold, I gave you timely help and put you safe and sound into the city of Antioch, but you are satisfying your filthy lusts both with Christians and with loose pagan women, so that a great stench goes up to Heaven." Then the gracious Virgin and blessed Peter fell at his feet, praying and beseeching him to help his people in this trouble, and blessed Peter said, "Lord, the pagans have held my house¹ for so long, and have done many unspeakable evil deeds therein. Now, O Lord, if thine enemies be driven out, there will be rejoicing among the angels in Heaven." And the Lord said to me, "Go and say to my people that they shall return unto me, and I will return unto them, and within five days I will send them a mighty help. Let them sing each day the response 'For lo, the kings were assembled',² together with the doxology." Gentlemen, if you do not believe this to be true, let me climb up this tower and throw myself down from it; if I am unhurt, believe that I speak the truth, but if I suffer any injury, then behead me or throw me into the fire.'

Then the bishop of Le Puy gave orders that the Gospels and a crucifix were to be brought, on which the man could swear to the truth of his story; and all

our leaders took counsel together at that hour that they should all swear an oath that none of them, while he lived, would flee, either from fear of death or from hope of life. It is said that Bohemond took the oath first, and after him the count of St Gilles, Robert the Norman, Duke Godfrey and the count of Flanders. But Tancred swore and vowed that so long as he had forty knights to follow him, he would not turn aside either from this battle or from the march to Jerusalem. When the Christians heard of this oath they were greatly encouraged.

[xxv] There was in our army there a certain pilgrim whose name was Peter.¹ Before we took the city of Antioch, St Andrew the Apostle appeared to him, saying, 'Friend, what doest thou?' He answered 'Who are you?' The Apostle answered him, 'I am Andrew the Apostle. Know, my son, that if thou goest to the church of blessed Peter, when thou enterest the city, thou wilt find there the lance with which our Saviour Jesus Christ was pierced when he was hanging on the cross.' Saying this, the Apostle disappeared.

Peter was afraid to reveal the words of the Apostle, so he would not tell our pilgrims, for he thought that he had seen an apparition, and he said to the saint, 'Lord, who will believe this?' In that same hour St Andrew took him and carried him to the place where the lance was hidden in the ground.

Later on, when we were in the straits which I have just described, St Andrew appeared again, saying to

of Chartres (who was not present at Antioch) he was a humbug (*P.L.*, CLV, 843-4) who died in 1099 as a direct result of an ordeal taken to prove that the lance was genuine. Whether an authentic relic or not, the lance revived the flagging spirits of the Frankish army.

Peter, 'Why hast thou not taken the lance from the earth, as I bade thee? Know of a truth that he who carries this lance in battle shall never be overcome by the enemy.' Then at once Peter revealed to our men the mystery told to him by the Apostle, but they did not believe him, and turned him away saying, 'How can we believe a thing like this?' for they were all terrified, thinking that they were at death's door. So Peter came¹ and swore that the whole story was quite true, since St Andrew had twice appeared to him in a vision, and had said to him, 'Arise, go and tell the people of God to have no fear, but to trust surely with their whole hearts in the One True God, and they shall be victorious everywhere, and within five days God will send them such a sign as shall fill them with joy and confidence, so that if they will fight, their enemies shall all be overcome as soon as they go out together to battle, and no-one shall stand against them.' When our men heard that their enemies were destined to be altogether defeated, their spirits revived at once, and they began to encourage one another, saying, 'Let us arise, and be strong and brave, for God will soon come to our help, and he will be a mighty refuge for his people, on whom he has looked in the time of their affliction.'

[xxvi] Meanwhile the Turks who were up in the citadel attacked us so fiercely at all points that on one day they trapped three of our knights in a tower which stood in front of the fortress, for the pagans had sallied out and made such a sharp attack that our forces could not bear the brunt of it. Two of the knights were wounded and came out from the tower, but the third defended himself manfully all day from the Turkish

attack, and fought so bravely that he overthrew two Turks at the approach to the wall, breaking his own spears. On that day three spears were broken in his hands, but both the Turks were killed. He was called Hugh the Berserk,¹ and he belonged to the band of Godfrey² of Monte Scaglioso.

When the honoured Bohemond saw that he could by no means induce his followers to come up to the citadel to fight (for they stayed in the houses cowering, some for hunger and some for fear of the Turks) he was very angry, and gave immediate orders that the part of the city containing Yaghi Siyan's palace should be set on fire. When the men in the city saw this they left the houses and all their possessions and fled, some towards the citadel, some towards the gate held by the count of St Gilles,³ others to that held by Duke Godfrey⁴—every man to his own people. At this moment a great storm of wind arose suddenly, so that no-one could direct his course aright. The valiant Bohemond was very anxious, fearing for the safety of St Peter's and St Mary's and the other churches. The danger lasted from the third hour until midnight, and nearly two thousand churches and houses were burnt, but at midnight all the violence of the fire suddenly died down.

In this way the Turks who held the citadel fought within the city against our men day and night, and it was only our arms which kept them off us. When our men saw that they could bear this no longer (for a man with food had no time to eat, and a man with

¹ Or Humphrey. See pp. 8, 21.

² The Bridge Gate, opposite the fortified mosque

⁴ This gate lay to the east of the Bridge Gate.

water no time to drink) they built a wall of stones and mortar between the Turks and us, and set up a tower and catapults, so that they might be safe. One band of the Turks was holding the citadel, attacking us, and another was encamped in a valley near the citadel.

That very night there appeared a fire in the sky, coming from the west, and it approached and fell upon the Turkish army, to the great astonishment of our men and of the Turks also. In the morning the Turks, who were all scared by the fire, took to flight in a panic and went to my lord Bohemond's gate, where they encamped; but those who were in the citadel fought with our men day and night, shooting arrows and wounding or killing them. The rest of the Turks besieged the city on all sides, so that none of our men dared to go out or come in except by night and secretly. Thus we were besieged and afflicted by those pagans, whose number was beyond counting. These blasphemous enemies of God kept us so closely shut up in the city of Antioch that many of us died of hunger, for a small loaf cost a bezant, and I cannot tell you the price of wine. Our men ate the flesh of horses and asses, and sold it to one another; a hen cost fifteen shillings, an egg two, and a walnut a penny. All things were very dear.¹ So terrible was the famine that men boiled and ate the leaves of figs, vines, thistles and all kinds of trees. Others stewed the dried skins of horses, camels, asses, oxen or buffaloes, which they ate. These and many other troubles and anxieties, which I cannot describe, we suffered for the Name of Christ and to set free the road to the Holy Sepulchre; and we endured

this misery, hunger and fear for six-and-twenty days.

[xxvii] Now it happened that, before Antioch was captured, that coward Stephen, count of Chartres, whom all our leaders had elected commander-in-chief, pretended to be very ill, and he went away shamefully to another castle which is called Alexandretta. When we were shut up in the city, lacking help to save us, we waited each day for him to bring us aid. But he, having heard that the Turks had surrounded and besieged us, went secretly up a neighbouring mountain which stood near Antioch, and when he saw more tents than he could count he returned in terror, and hastily retreated in flight with his army. When he reached his camp he took all his goods and retraced his steps as fast as he could. Afterwards, when he met the emperor at Philomelium,¹ he asked for a private interview and said, 'I tell you truly that Antioch has been taken, but that the citadel has not fallen, and our men are all closely besieged, and I expect that by this time they have been killed by the Turks. Go back, therefore, as fast as you can, in case they find you and the men who are following you.' Then the emperor was much afraid, and he called to a secret council Guy, Bohemond's brother,² and certain other men, and said to them, 'Gentlemen, what shall we do? All our allies are closely besieged, and perhaps at this very moment they

¹ Near Iconium (Koniah). The Emperor was preparing to relieve Antioch (*Alexiad*, xi, 6).

² Actually his half-brother, who had taken service with Alexius as a mercenary. Bréhier and Cahen both regard this story as an interpolation, written after 1105, in support of Bohemond. It is, however, written in the Author's characteristic style, and seems to be an imaginary scene such as that of Karbuqa's conversation with his mother. The rough outlines of the story probably reached the Crusaders during the period July-October 1098.

have died or been led into captivity at the hands of the Turks, according to the tale of this wretched count who has fled in such a shameful way. If you agree, let us retire quickly, lest we also suffer sudden death, even as they have died.'

When Guy, who was a very honourable knight, had heard these lies, he and all the others began to weep and to make loud lamentation, and all of them said, 'O true God, Three in One, why hast thou allowed this to be? Why hast thou permitted the people who followed thee to fall into the hands of thine enemies, and forsaken so soon those who wished to free the road to thy Holy Sepulchre? By our faith, if the word which we have heard from these scoundrels is true, we and the other Christians will forsake thee and remember thee no more, nor will one of us henceforward be so bold as to call upon thy Name.' This rumour seemed so grievous to the whole army that none of them, bishop, abbot, clerk or layman, dared to call upon the Name of Christ for many days. Moreover no-one could comfort Guy, who wept and beat his breast and wrung his hands,¹ crying, 'Woe's me, my lord Bohemond, honour and glory of the whole world, whom all the world feared and loved! Woe's me, sorrowful as I am! I have not even been found worthy, to my grief, to see your most excellent countenance, although there is nothing that I desire more. Who will give me a chance to die for you, my sweetest friend and lord? Why did I not die at once when I came out of my mother's womb? Why have I lived to see this accursed day? Why did I not drown in the sea, or fall off my horse and break my neck so that

I might have died at once? O that I had been so lucky as to suffer martyrdom with you, that I might behold your glorious death!' And when everyone ran to comfort him, so that he might cease from his lamentation, he controlled himself and said, 'Perhaps you believe this cowardly old fool of a knight? I tell you that I have never heard of any knightly deed which he has done. He has retreated shamefully and indecently, like a scoundrel and a wretch, and whatever the knave says, you may be sure that it is a lie.'

Meanwhile the emperor issued orders to his army, saying, 'Go and escort all the people of this country into Bulgaria.¹ Seek out and destroy everything in the land, so that when the Turks come they may find here nothing at all.' So, willy-nilly, our friends retreated, grieving very bitterly even to death, and many of the sick pilgrims died because they had not the strength to follow the army, so they lay down to die by the wayside. All the others went back to Constantinople.

[xxviii] Now we, who heard the words of the man who brought us the message of Christ through the words of his Apostle, hurried at once to the place in St Peter's church which he had described, and thirteen men dug there from morning until evening. And so that man found the lance,² as he had foretold, and they all took it up with great joy and dread, and throughout all the city there was boundless rejoicing.³ From that hour we decided on a plan of attack, and all our leaders

immense effect in restoring the morale of the army. The crusaders who, a few days earlier, had been skulking in the houses of Antioch until Bohemond had been forced to drive them out by fire, now sent an audacious challenge to Karbuqa and followed it up by defeating him in battle.

forthwith held a council and arranged to send a messenger to Christ's enemies the Turks, so that he might question them through an interpreter, asking confidently why they had been so vainglorious as to enter into the Christians' land and encamp there, and why they were killing and bullying the servants of Christ. When they had ended their council they found certain men, Peter the Hermit and Herluin, and said to them, 'Go to the accursed army of the Turks and give them this whole message in full, asking them why they have been so rash and vainglorious as to enter the land which belongs to the Christians and to us.' When they had received this message, our envoys went off and came to that blasphemous company, where they delivered all their message to Karbuqa and the others in these words: 'Our leaders and commanders are shocked to see that you have been so bold and vainglorious as to enter this land, which belongs to the Christians and to them. Perhaps (as we think and believe) you have come hither with the full intention of being christened? Or have you come to make yourselves a nuisance to the Christians in any way you can? In any case our leaders, as one man, require you to take yourselves off quickly from the land which belongs to God and the Christians, for the blessed Peter converted it long ago to the faith of Christ by his preaching. But they give you permission to take away all your goods, horses and mules, asses and camels, and to take with you all your sheep and oxen and other possessions whithersoever you may choose.'

Then Karbuqa, commander-in-chief of the army of the sultan of Persia, with all his counsellors, was filled with pride; and he answered fiercely, 'We neither want

nor like your god and your Christendom, and we spit upon you and upon them. We have come here because we are scandalised to think that those leaders and commanders whom you name should lay claim to the land which we have conquered from an effeminate people. Do you want to know our answer? Then go back as fast as you can, and tell your leaders that if they will all become Turks,¹ and renounce the god whom you worship on bended knee, and cast off your laws, we will give them this land and more besides, with cities and castles, so that none of you shall remain a foot-soldier, but you shall all be knights as we are: and tell them that we will count them always among our dearest friends. Otherwise, let them know that they shall all be slain or led in chains to Khorasan, where they shall serve us and our children for all time, in everlasting captivity.'

Our messengers came back quickly and reported all the things which this most cruel people had said to them. (It is reported that Herluin knew both languages, and that he acted as interpreter for Peter the Hermit.) While all this was happening² our men did not know what to do, for they were afraid, being caught between two perils, the torments of hunger and the fear of the Turks.

[xxix] [At last, after three days spent in fasting and in processions from one church to another, our men confessed their sins and received absolution, and by faith they received the Body and Blood of Christ in communion, and they gave alms and arranged for

Grousset, 1, 102-03. Grousset's date of 27 June for this embassy to Karbuqa seems too late, since the three days of fasting came after it, and Karbuqa apparently was not expecting an attack on 28 June.)

masses to be celebrated. Then six lines of battle were drawn up from those who were in the city. In the first line (the vanguard) were Hugh the Great, with the French troops, and the count of Flanders; in the second Duke Godfrey and his men; in the third Robert the Norman with his knights; in the fourth the bishop of Le Puy, bearing the lance of our Saviour, and he had with him both his own men and those of Raymond, count of St Gilles, who stayed behind on the hill to guard the citadel, for fear lest the Turks should come down into the city; in the fifth Tancred with his men; in the sixth Bohemond with his army.¹ Our bishops and priests and clerks and monks put on their holy vestments and came out with us, carrying crosses, praying and beseeching God to save us and keep us and rescue us from all evil, while others stood above the gate with holy crosses in their hands, making the Sign of the Cross and blessing us. So we closed our ranks, and protected by the Sign of the Cross we went out by the gate, which is over against the mosque. *Revised 79*

When Karbuqa saw the Frankish squadrons, so well drawn up, coming out one after the other, he said, 'Let them come, so that we may have them the more surely in our power.'² But after they were all outside the city, and he saw how great was the force of the Franks, he was much afraid,³ so he told the amir who had charge of the host that if he saw a fire lighted in the vanguard he should immediately cause the whole

¹ As representative of the sultan, he seems to have been suspicious, not without reason, of the loyalty of Muslim forces drawn from Syria and Damascus (Grousset, I, 103-04)

army to be summoned to retreat, for he would know that the Turks had lost the battle.

Without delay Karbuqa began to withdraw a little way towards the mountain,¹ and our men followed him. Then the Turkish army divided into two; one wing moved towards the sea² and the other stayed in position, for they hoped to surround our men. When our leaders saw this they did likewise, and improvised a seventh line from the forces of Duke Godfrey and the count of Normandy. Count Rainald³ was put in command of this squadron, which they sent to face the Turks who were coming up from the direction of the sea. The Turks joined battle with them and killed many of our men with their arrows. Meanwhile other Turkish forces were drawn up between the river and the mountain, which is two miles away, and troops began to come out on each wing, surrounding our men, throwing darts, shooting arrows, and wounding them.

Then also appeared from the mountains a countless host of men on white horses, whose banners were all white. When our men saw this, they did not understand what was happening or who these men might be, until they realised that this was the succour sent by Christ, and that the leaders were St George, St Mercurius and St Demetrius.⁴ (This is quite true, for many of our men saw it.)

Meanwhile the Turks who were on the wing stretching towards the sea, realising that they could no longer withstand us, set fire to the grass, so that their fellows who were in the camp might see it and flee. They

church, to have represented a Christianised version of Castor and Pollux. In all cases the legends are obscure.

recognised the signal, seized all their valuables, and took to flight. Our men were gradually fighting their way forwards towards the main Turkish army at the camp. Duke Godfrey, the count of Flanders and Hugh the Great rode along the river bank, where the strongest Turkish force was stationed, and, defended by the Sign of the Cross, were the first to make a concerted attack upon the enemy. When our other troops saw this, they attacked likewise, and the Persians and Turks began to cry out. Then we¹ called upon the true and living God and rode against them, joining battle in the name of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Sepulchre, and by God's help we defeated them.

¶The Turks fled in terror and we pursued them right up to their camp, for the knights of Christ were more eager to chase them than to look for any plunder, and the pursuit continued as far as the Orontes bridge, and in the other direction as far as Tancred's castle. The enemy left his pavilions, with gold and silver and many furnishings, as well as sheep, oxen, horses, mules, camels and asses, corn, wine, flour and many other things of which we were badly in need.

The Armenians and Syrians who lived in those lands, hearing that we had overcome the Turks, rushed towards the mountain to cut off their retreat, and killed any of them whom they caught. We returned to the city with great rejoicing, praising and blessing God who had given victory to his people.

When the amir who was in charge of the citadel saw Karbuqa and all the others fleeing from the battlefield before the Frankish army, he was much afraid, and he

came in a great hurry to ask for a Frankish banner.¹ The count of St Gilles, who was there keeping watch outside the citadel, ordered his own banner to be delivered to the amir, who took it and was careful to display it upon his tower. Some men from southern Italy, who were standing by, said at once, 'This is not Bohemond's banner.' The amir questioned them, saying, 'Whose is it?' and they replied, 'It belongs to the count of St Gilles.' The amir came and took the banner and gave it back to the count, and just then the noble Bohemond came up and gave him his own banner, which he accepted with great joy. He made an agreement with my lord Bohemond that those pagans who wished to be christened might join his band, and that he would allow those who wished to depart to go away safe and uninjured. Bohemond agreed to the amir's terms and put his followers into the citadel at once. Not many days afterwards the amir was christened, with those who preferred to accept Christ, and my lord Bohemond caused those who wished to adhere to their own laws to be escorted into the land of the Saracens.

This battle was fought on 28 June, the vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul, in the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.²

Here ends the ninth book, and the tenth book begins.