

JIHAD IN A CONTEXT OF SHIFTING ALLIANCES AND ENMITIES: A
STUDY ON THE RELATIONS OF THE EARLY ARTUKIDS AND CRUSADERS
AS REFLECTED IN CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN
HISTORIOGRAPHY, 1098-1124

VOLUME I

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by
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VOLUME I

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

SELİM TEZCAN

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

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HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

December 2013

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ABSTRACT

**JIHAD IN A CONTEXT OF SHIFTING ALLIANCES AND ENMITIES: A
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December 2013

This thesis is a study of the relations of the early Artukids with the Crusaders, with the aim of seeing how they fit into the general context of the reaction of the Muslim world to the Frankish presence in the Middle East. On the one hand, it reveals that emirs like Ilghazi played a kind of diplomatic chess game and allied with whoever was necessary to preserve their possessions and interests, without regard for their religion. On the other hand, it argues that the Artukids may still have seen their warfare as jihad whenever they happened to clash with the Franks for these strictly practical and strategic aims. It aims to historicise the jihad concept within the early twelfth century, inquiring what jihad might have meant for the early Artukids and other contemporary emirs, and compare this with the approach of later leaders like Nur al-Din and Saladin. Finally, the study examines what advantages and disadvantages were brought to the Artukids by their contiguity with the Franks, by their conflicts with them on their own behalf as well as by their collaborations. The method followed throughout is to compare the close-readings of related pieces of source text, rather than solely individual pieces of evidence, and in doing so always to consider the standpoint of the source or even the group of sources from which the examined text issues. An approximate reconstruction of the course of events is then allowed to emerge from such a procedure of close-reading and comparison.

Keywords: Artukids, Crusaders, Crusader States, jihad, medieval historiography, Mardin, Aleppo

ÖZET

DEĞİŞKEN İTTİFAKLAR VE DÜŞMANLIKLAR ORTAMINDA CİHAD:
DÖNEMİN MÜSLÜMAN VE HRİSTİYAN TARİHYAZIMINA AKSETTİĞİ
ŞEKLİYLE İLK ARTUKLULAR VE HAÇLILAR ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİLER,
1098-1124

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Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Paul Latimer

Aralık 2013

Bu tez, ilk Artuklular'ın Haçlılar ile ilişkilerinin bir incelemesi niteliğini taşımakta ve bu ilişkilerin Ortadoğu'daki Haçlı varlığına karşı İslam dünyasının gösterdiği tepki çerçevesine nasıl yerleştirilebileceği konusuna ışık tutmayı hedeflemektedir. Bir yandan, İlgazi gibi emirlerin bir nevi diplomatik satranç oyunu oynadıklarını ve varlıkları ve menfaatlerini korumak için dinine bakmaksızın kim lazımsa onunla ittifak kurduklarını ortaya koymaktadır. Diğer yandan ise Artuklular'ın bu tamamen pratik ve stratejik amaçlar doğrultusunda Haçlılar'la çatıştıkları zaman bunu yine de cihad olarak görmüş olabileceklerini savunmaktadır. On ikinci yüzyılın başlarındaki cihad kavramını tarihselleştirme hedefini gütmekte, cihadın ilk Artuklular ve çağdaşları diğer emirler için ne anlama gelmiş olabileceğini araştırmakta ve de bunu Nureddin Mahmud ve Salahaddin Eyyubi gibi sonraki liderlerin yaklaşımıyla karşılaştırmaktadır. Nihayet, Artuklular'ın Haçlılar ile komşuluklarının, onlarla kendi adlarına girdikleri çatışma ve ittifakların kendilerine ne gibi avantaj ve dezavantajları getirdiği konusuna eğilmektedir. Tüm çalışma boyunca izlenen metot, salt muhtelif kaynaklardan toplanan tekil bulguların karşılaştırılmasından ziyade birbiriyle alakalı kaynak metinlerin yakından okumalarının karşılaştırması ve incelenen metnin çıktığı kaynağın, hatta kaynaklar grubunun bakış ve duruş noktasının bu esnada her daim hesaba katılmasıdır. Olayların gidişatının yaklaşık bir yeniden kurgusu da bu yakından okuma ve karşılaştırma sürecini takiben ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Artuklular, Haçlılar, Haçlı Devletleri, cihad, Ortaçağ tarih yazımı, Mardin, Halep

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- EI Encyclopedia of Islam, First Edition
- EI² Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition
- İA İslâm Ansiklopedisi
- JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
- RHC Recueil des Historiens des Croisades

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and arguments

This thesis is a study of the relations of the Artukids with the Crusader states, with the aim of seeing how they fit into the general context of the reaction of the Muslim world to the Frankish presence in the Middle East. It should be emphasized right from the outset that when discussing this one should beware of reading the political history of the region backwards from 1187, as the story of a gradually unfolding conflict between a Muslim block of states, on the way towards unification and bent on the expulsion of the “infidels,” and a Christian block opposing it, first on the offensive, then on the defensive. Challenging this teleological, confrontational paradigm, Michael Köhler has demonstrated convincingly that in the Middle East at the time of the Crusades there were no such monolithic Muslim and Christian blocks facing each other: there was rather a system of shifting alliances between rival polities of both religions, a system in which the decision whom to ally with was not dictated by the religion of the other side but by strategic considerations about one’s survival, economic well-being and chances of expansion at any specific political conjuncture.¹

¹ Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhun-*

As far as the Muslim side is concerned, notwithstanding the jihad ideology which admittedly influenced *homines religiosi* and part of the population, and which could exert some pressure in exceptional, limited periods like the late 1180s, Muslim rulers usually acted on the lines of *realpolitik*. They viewed their own situations not according to the outlook of the *homines religiosi* and those influenced by them, but more similarly to rulers of today, hard pressed by many considerations other than eradicating the “infidel.” The preservation of the integrity of their domains, their independence and power, as well as ensuring the succession of their heirs, were only the foremost of these motives that obliged them to play a political kind of chess, whether they wanted to or not, and whether the allies they had to make against those who emerged as a threat in these considerations turned out to be Muslim or Christian. Under such conditions it was very difficult for jihad to remain a determining factor in the policies they were compelled to follow.

In this context the present study argues that the Artukids were no exception to this situation, as far as their relations with the Frankish states are concerned, and that their policy towards these states is in fact a particularly good illustration of it. They were expelled from their *iqta*‘ Jerusalem by the Fatimids because of the turmoil created in the north by the siege and fall of Antioch. Then the Artukid Sokman and his nephew Belek as well as other relatives carved out a new existence for themselves in Diyar Bakr, but here they became direct neighbors of the Franks who had recently taken hold of Edessa, Tell Bashir and other places. The Artukids were expelled by the Franks from Samosata and Saruj, but nevertheless, delivered a severe blow to the initial Frankish expansion when, together with the lord of Mosul, they defeated the

dert (Berlin, 1991). For a similar, earlier evaluation of the Muslim-Frankish relations see John L. Lamonte, “Crusade and Jihād: the Religious Motivation in the Crusades and the Moslem Wars against the Latins in Syria in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *The Arab Heritage*, edited by Nabih Amin Faris (Boston, 1944; repr. New York, 1963), 159-98.

Franks of Antioch and Edessa who had set out to take Harran and isolate Syria from the Muslim East.

After this though, a fifteen-year period began in which the Artukids rarely confronted their new neighbors directly, and more often than not remained neutral or even allied with them against other Muslim powers. What they saw as the greatest threat toward their domains in this period was not the Franks but the Great Seljukids. In the period of interregnum following the deaths of Malikshah and Nizam al-Mulk, the local lords in their western territories had taken advantage of the situation to build up a *de facto* independence, even though they were still nominally subject to the sultan. When the new sultan Muhammad Tapar had consolidated his position he dispatched six consecutive armies to bring them back under control as well as to subjugate the Franks. Ilghazi, who had acquired Mardin after being expelled by Muhammad from the post of the *shihna* of Baghdad, was the quickest to realize this aim of these expeditions, and refrained from taking part in person after the first one. In the final two campaigns he went further, defeating an army of the sultan and then allying with the Franks against another. In this he was not alone, and almost all the local emirs in the former western territories of the Seljukid state assumed the same policy. Preserving their independence and possessions was more important for them than the religion of whom they allied with.

But this did not mean that the Artukids' alliance with the Franks was permanent either. If a Seljukid hegemony was unacceptable, so was a Frankish one, and after the crushing defeat of the last army from Mosul had put an end to the series of Seljukid expeditions, the local emirs found themselves faced alone with the Franks. Ilghazi in Mardin was not the first to feel the effects of this development, and even continued his amiable relations with Roger of Antioch. But the Franks were not slow

in filling the power gap left by the Seljukid absence, and began to work towards encircling Aleppo from all sides. Ilghazi was among those summoned to Aleppo to stop this process, and taking over the city, he inflicted the greatest check on the Franks since the First Crusade through his victory at *Ager Sanguinis*.

Aleppo is especially important in this context, and another argument of the present study is that the efforts of Ilghazi and his successor Belek were chiefly directed at the aim of breaking the Frankish encirclement of Aleppo, especially by pushing back the borderline with the Principality of Antioch that extended from Azaz in the north through al-Atharib and Zardana to Jabal Summaq, so that the hilly natural barrier of Jabal Talat would stand between the city and the Principality. For they were aware that the fall of Aleppo to the Franks would lead to a major reshuffling of the cards in the Middle East and tilt the power balance of the region in the Franks' favor, so much so that after they had averted the danger of a Seljukid hegemony, they would find themselves face to face with a Frankish hegemony. While the two Artukid emirs treated Aleppo as a remote dependency, therefore, they did their best to break the encirclement around the city and ensure that the Franks would not take it. This is important insofar as it demonstrates that they were not bent on waging jihad *per se* against the Franks, using this city as a base to expel them from Antioch or elsewhere; they had precisely defined strategic aims. It can be said then that this study also attempts to evaluate the Artukids' performance by what they themselves were trying to do, rather than by what they should have been doing according to the teleological paradigm mentioned at the beginning, and to respond to those scholars who have criticized them from that perspective.

There were of course differences between the tactics followed by individual Artukid emirs, and another aim of the present study is to shed light on the various

methods they adopted to push back the borderline. Ilghazi concentrated most of his attacks on al-Atharib and Zardana, immediately to the west of Aleppo, variously trying to take, defend or recover them, but Belek focused on the northern and southern ends of this frontier, Azaz and Jabal Summaq, largely because of a new fortification that the Franks had built nearby. Timurtash wanted to recover the entire borderline, but instead of war resorted to negotiation with the king of Jerusalem previously captured by Belek. While he tried to dispossess the Franks, however, he also attempted to return to the former Artukid policy of allying with them against other Muslim rulers, in this case against those led by Dubais ibn Sadaqa. Not surprisingly, Timurtash failed in this far too optimistic policy and when the Franks and Muslims attacked Aleppo in collaboration, found himself unable to rescue it with his own means, abandoning it to its fate. The city was taken over by Aksungur al-Bursuki, the lord of Mosul, and eventually by his successor, Zangi.

After this point the direct relations of the Artukids with the Franks continued in the Jazira (Northern Mesopotamia), where they were neighbors with the Franks of Edessa. As in the 1110s, however, they did not confront them militarily, being faced with a greater threat from the Muslim side, posed this time by Imad al-Din Zangi. They would eventually rely on Frankish support to resist Zangi's policy of annexing their territories, which lay on the line of communications between his two cities, Aleppo and Mosul. This collaboration led to the fall of Edessa, however, and they were saved from being completely dispossessed only when Zangi was assassinated shortly thereafter. They took a share of the spoils of the County of Edessa, and Zangi's son Nur al-Din adopted a less aggressive policy towards them, but in the absence of the counterweight supplied by the Franks they gradually slid into vassaldom under the Zangids and Ayyubids.

So the Artukids played a kind of diplomatic chess game and allied with whoever was necessary to preserve their possessions and interests, without regard for their religion. Fighting the “infidel” for its own sake never came into it. When they fought the Franks most, as in the beginning of their contiguity in the Jazira, at the time of the Battle of Harran and during their rule in Aleppo, they did not do this out of their subscription to a jihad movement, but to preserve their possessions and to prevent the balance of power in the region from being tilted in the favor of a particular group, just as they had done against the Seljukids. In this respect they are a good illustration of the argument that there were no monolithic religious blocks aligned against each other in the region, but rather a pattern of continuously shifting policies.

However, a further argument of this study is that all this does not necessarily mean that the Artukids did not see what they did as jihad when they happened to clash with the Franks for these strictly practical and strategic aims. It would be both anachronistic and ahistorical to deny they ever made jihad by moving from textbook definitions derived from legal texts or from preconceptions of modern historians.² The latter, like all moderns, tend to think in much more categorical and exclusive terms than people of the twelfth century and perhaps too often fall into the temptation of teaching them what is to be counted as jihad and what not, such as when they exclude any motive for material or political gain from a “true” jihad, reject the presence of jihad whenever such gain seems to have been an objective, and conclude that declarations of allegiance to jihad in such cases must only be cynical and insincere.

² For general works on the concept, ideology and history of jihad see David Cook, *Understanding Jihad* (Berkeley, 2005); Michael Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History: Doctrines and Practice* (Princeton, 2006); Reuven Firestone, *Jihad: The Origin of Holy War in Islam* (Oxford, 1999); Alberto Morabia, *Le ġihad dans l’Islam medieval: Le « combat sacré » des origines au XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1993); W. Montgomery Watt, “Islamic Conceptions of the Holy War,” in *The Holy War*, edited by Thomas Patrick Murphy (Columbus, 1974), 141-56; F. M. Donner, “Sources of Islamic Conceptions of War,” in *Just War and Jihad: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions*, edited by J. M. Kelsay and J. T. Johnson (New York, 1991), 31-69; Paul Heck, “Jihad Revisited,” *Journal of Religious Ethics* 32 (2004), 95-128.

In spite of the practical bent of their policy, there is some evidence that Ilghazi and Belek did see themselves as mujahids waging war on behalf of Muslims against the “infidels,” acknowledging their renown as such.

Accordingly this study aims to historicise the jihad concept within the early twelfth century, inquiring what jihad might have meant for the early Artukids and other contemporary emirs, and compare this with the approach of later leaders like Nur al-Din and Saladin. Such an approach would help us better grasp the development of jihad in the twelfth century. Basically, I argue that jihad, especially in this early period, may not have been a driving force on its own, but rather the form that warfare assumed in contemporaries’ eyes whenever the rival in the struggle for preserving and augmenting one’s possessions and strategic interests happened to be Christians, in this case the Franks. I shall also argue that Belek resembled the later leaders in that he regarded it also as jihad when he attacked a Muslim town and this happened to be necessary to defend his possessions and interests better against the Franks. Nevertheless, in the case of later leaders like Nur al-Din and Saladin, the elaboration of jihad on the ideological level led to a magnification of its goal, making it the expulsion of the Franks from the Middle East rather than the protection of one’s own possessions and interests; this paradoxically led to the result that warfare against other Muslims became much more extensive, being legitimized on the grounds of gathering the resources necessary for that ambitious goal.

Finally, this study examines what advantages and disadvantages were brought to the Artukids by their contiguity with the Franks, by their conflicts with them on their own behalf as well as by their collaborations. I argue that these direct relations were generally advantageous for the Artukids, insofar as the Franks constituted a counterweight against great Muslim powers like the Great Seljukids and Zangi, and

also because fighting them on their own behalf brought prestige that enabled them to attract Turkoman forces, take over other Muslim towns and get invited to campaigns promising further booty and prestige. Thus I point out that it is hardly a coincidence that the Artukids were at the peak of their power when they had maximum direct contacts with the Franks at Aleppo, and decreased in power as they ceased to be their neighbors, first as a result of Timurtash's abandonment of Aleppo, and then, because of the dissolution of the County of Edessa.

1.2 Literature review

A limited number of studies have been made previously on the Artukids, which deal with their relations with the Franks in varying degrees of detail. In general, it can be said that the current literature has the problem that it still remains loyal to the traditional paradigm of two religious blocks aligned against each other in Crusade and Counter-Crusade. As a result of this, it fails to problematize the contradictory policies followed by Ilghazi and the other Artukids against the Franks and try to work out what their true strategy was. Either it tends to present the Artukids as the first champions of jihad and explains away their collaboration with the Franks as an initial aberration, or going to the other extreme, it stresses their alliances with the Franks as well as pragmatic purposes in fighting them and, judging these by the teleological, idealistic yardstick, rejects the idea that they could have any serious relationship with jihad, comparing them unfavorably in this respect with later leaders like Nur al-Din or Saladin. Doing so, it also fails to historicize the jihad concept in the early twelfth century or grasp what the contemporary emirs might have made of it.

The first scholar to dedicate a study to the Artukids was Claude Cahen, whose article on Diyar Bakr at the time of the first Artukids³ traced the history of the Artukid principalities up to the time of their full subjection to Saladin in the mid-1180s, establishing a chronological framework of the events and a genealogy of the family as well as commenting briefly on the political and social structures of their principalities. The wide, generally oriented scope of the study, however, allowed Cahen no more than a passing glance into their relations with the Franks, although he did make some insightful comments in the process.

Amongst Turkish authors, Osman Turan has dedicated a chapter to the Artukids in his book about the Eastern Anatolian Turkish States.⁴ Here he touches upon their relations with the Franks but, besides making some important factual errors,⁵ Turan also seems to have subscribed to the traditional paradigm of a Muslim block waging inexorable jihad against the “infidel,” which is bolstered moreover by a strong nationalistic bent. This is to such an extent that from time to time he does not flinch from dispensing with the facts that do not accord with this view, such as when he passes over in silence Ilghazi’s collaboration with the Franks against the Seljukid expedition of 1115.⁶

Ali Sevim wrote a PhD dissertation on the early Artukid emirates and published the results of his research in articles about the political actions of Artuk, Sokman, Ilghazi and Timurtash.⁷ Of these only the last three interest us here. The studies

³ Claude Cahen “Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukids,” *Journal Asiatique* 227 (1935), 219-76.

⁴ Osman Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri* (İstanbul, 1973; repr. İstanbul, 2001), 151-259.

⁵ He claims for example that Ilghazi fought with the Franks while he was *shihna* in Baghdad, or again personally took part in Mawdud’s campaign in 1113. Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri*, 163-64.

⁶ Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri*, 165.

⁷ Ali Sevim, “Artuklu Beyliklerinin İlk Devirleri,” Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Ankara University, 1958); Ali Sevim, “Artuklular’ın Soyu ve Artuk Bey’in Siyasi Faaliyetleri,” *Belleten* 26 (1962), 121-46; Ali Sevim, “Artukoğlu Sökmen’in Siyasi Faaliyetleri,” *Belleten* 26 (1962), 501-20; Ali Sevim, “Artuk Oğlu İlğazi,” *Belleten* 26 (1962), 649-91; Ali Sevim, “Temürtaş’ın Halep Hakimiyeti,” *Belleten* 25 (1961), 571-81.

on Sokman and İlghazi suffer similarly from a nationalistic subscription to the idea that the Turks must have waged unrelenting jihad against the Franks, with exceptions failing to raise any questions. Such is the case when Sevim attributes the expansion of the Artukid domains to their victories against the Franks,⁸ even though it emerges from his own account that the cases in which they remained neutral or allied with the Franks were just as many. His study on Timurtash's reign in Aleppo is more balanced in comparison, perhaps inevitably so considering this prince's notorious reluctance to fight the Franks. The accounts of Turan and Sevim also both suffer from the fact that, although they use the Eastern and especially Islamic sources in full, they fail to make similar use of the Latin sources about the events they discuss.

Işın Demirkent, in her history of the County of Edessa,⁹ offers a very detailed and meticulous discussion of the relations of the Franks there with the neighboring Muslim polities, including the Artukids. Her focus remains firmly fixed on the Frankish county however, with the result that she does not evaluate the course and import of the relations of the Artukids themselves with the Franks in general, including the Principality of Antioch, and leaves out the aspects of these relations that do not directly concern the County of Edessa. The result is that her work, otherwise very informative about the history of the County, allows for only a limited perspective of Artukid-Frankish relations *per se*. Moreover her account, like the previous ones, remains basically a straightforward political narrative based on the unquestioned assumption that the Artukids were dedicated fighters in an ongoing jihad against the Franks, and while the exceptions to this "rule" are not ignored, as they are in Turan's study, they are also not allowed to problematize this issue and "sully" the picture, like in Sevim's work. Although, unlike Turan and Sevim, Demirkent does draw upon

⁸ Ali Sevim, "Artuk Oğlu İlğazi," 662.

⁹ Işın Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu Tarihi* (Vol. 1: İstanbul, 1974, Vol. 2: Ankara, 1994).

a relatively wide array of Western sources as well as the Eastern ones, she seems to have missed a few important Latin sources, such as Ralph of Caen or Walter the Chancellor.

Remzi Ataoğlu wrote a PhD dissertation on the history of the Artukid emirate of Hisn-Kaifa.¹⁰ In the second part of this work, dedicated to the political history of the emirate, he touches upon its contacts and clashes with the Frankish principalities. However, he does not offer any overall evaluation of the policies followed by the Artukid emirs of this branch against the Franks. His study of the Artukid-Frankish relations is hampered further by the fact that he uses the Latin sources only through secondary literature, and partly as a consequence of this, adds little new to what is already found in the general histories of the Latin East.

Aydın Usta wrote a detailed article¹¹ that examines the relations between the Artukids and the Franks, covering the early period of 1098-1124 during which their contacts were most frequent. A notable virtue of his work is that he draws upon the widest range of Latin sources among the Turkish and Arab students of the topic.¹² Nevertheless, he still bases himself on the teleological paradigm of a Muslim block emerging gradually against a Christian one, and accords to the Artukids an important role in the “development of Muslim unity” during what he calls the initial period of recovery and rearmament. Indeed Usta does not ignore Ilghazi’s collaboration with the Franks, but he fails to problematize this further and takes the emir to task for not having acted in accordance with the paradigm in question, trying to expel the Franks

¹⁰ M. Remzi Ataoğlu, “Hisn-ı Keyfâ Artuklu Devleti,” Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Ankara University, 1989).

¹¹ Aydın Usta, “Artuklular ve Haçlılar, Haçlıların Bölgeye Gelişlerinden Belek’in Ölümüne Kadar (1098-1124),” *İÜ Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 37 (2002), 355-74.

¹² On the other hand he overlooks an important Islamic source, Ibn al-Furat’s citations from the Aleppo historian Ibn abi Tayyi.

from Antioch. Although he seems aware of Ilghazi's struggle to relieve Aleppo, he fails to realize its essential nature for the emir's overall strategy.

These problems are also found in the related section of the scholar's encyclopedia article on the Artukids,¹³ where he fails to discern Belek's similar strategy and assumes him to have united the Muslim world in order to deliver the "death-blow" to the Franks. In the same article he contents himself with rebuking Timurtash for his abandonment of Aleppo, and omits a discussion of the causes and full significance of this crucial move. In yet another study Usta has taken the much needed step of examining how the medieval sources regarded the Artukid leaders and their confrontations with the Franks, which makes it a seminal study in this respect.¹⁴

In the most recent article to date on the topic¹⁵ Hüseyin Kayhan provides a short summary of the contacts between the Artukids and the Franks throughout the twelfth century. In doing so he also bases himself on the unquestioned assumption that the Artukids were waging jihad against the Franks as part of a united Muslim block, playing an important role in stopping the Crusader advance and then expelling them from the Near East. This perspective is also evident in the title of his article, "the Artukids against the Crusaders." He overlooks anything that could challenge the view in question, largely ignoring the Artukids' collaborations with the Franks and failing to question why leaders like Sokman or Ilghazi did not attempt to expel the Franks from Edessa and Antioch after their victories in the battles of Harran and Ag-

¹³ Aydın Usta, "Artuklular," *Türkler Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara, 2002).

¹⁴ Aydın Usta, "Latin (Haçlı) Kronikleri ve Yerli Hristiyan Kaynaklarında Artuklular," *I. Uluslararası Artuklu Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 25-26-27 Ekim 2007, Mardin*, edited by İbrahim Özcoşar (Mardin, 2008), I, 57-71.

¹⁵ Hüseyin Kayhan, "Haçlılar Karşısında Artuklular," *I. Uluslararası Mardin Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, edited by İbrahim Özcoşar and Hüseyin H. Güneş (Mardin, 2006), 53-62.

er Sanguinis. He also fails to draw upon the full scale of Western sources, omitting to use Ralph of Caen or Walter the Chancellor.¹⁶

There are also two full-fledged works on the history of all the Artukid emirates from their foundation to their demise, originally written as PhD dissertations by Imad al-Din Khalil¹⁷ and Gerhard Vāth.¹⁸ These dwell on the Artukid-Frankish relations to different extents. Khalil's study contains a full chapter concentrating on the subject, and touches upon it also in the chapters about the Artukids' relations with the Zangids and Ayyubids.

The main criticism that can be leveled against Khalil's study is that like the previous works it sticks unquestioningly to the traditional view of the Muslim-Frankish relations as a struggle between two solid religious blocks locked in holy warfare. Considering the Artukid-Frankish relations from this point of view, Khalil periodizes them into different phases in which, he argues, the Artukids contributed in widely varying degrees to the ongoing jihad: they acted initially as members and then leaders in Muslim coalitions against the Franks, ceased thereafter to participate in Holy War, withdrawing into isolation or even allying with the Franks under pressure from the Greater Seljukids and Zangi, and finally resumed their role in jihad by assisting Nur al-Din and Saladin, the latter themselves assumed to be engaged in a relentless Holy War against the Franks. Doing so, however, the author fails to question how far the relations of the Artukids with the Franks were a function of their subscription to the ideology of jihad against the "infidel," and how far a function, initial-

¹⁶ These considerations are also valid for the related parts in Kayhan's two other articles: Hüseyin Kayhan, "İmâdeddin Zangî'nin Musul Valiliğine Kadar Bazı Selçuklu Komutanlarının Haçlılarla Mücadeleleri," *Bir* 5 (1996), 101-16; Hüseyin Kayhan, "Fahreddin Kara Arslan Devri Artuklu Tarihi," *Belleten* 72 (2008), 53-72. Among the Turkish works on the Artukids one should also note İbrahim Artuk's *Mardin Artukoğulları Tarihi* (İstanbul, 1944), though this is largely a compilation made from a narrow and questionable range of sources rather than a scholarly study.

¹⁷ Imad al-Din Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya fi 'l-Jazira wa 'l-Sham* (Beirut, 1980).

¹⁸ Gerhard Vāth, *Die Geschichte der artukidischen Fürstentümer in Syrien und der Ġazira 'l-Furatiya* (Berlin, 1987). The author seems to have been unaware of the previous study in Arabic.

ly, of their need to protect their territories and especially Aleppo against the Franks, and, later, of their subjection to the Zangids and Ayyubids, whom they supported *non volens* when the latter needed to protect their own territories against the Franks.

There are other criticisms to be brought against Khalil's work as well. Although he admittedly dedicated a full chapter (some hundred pages in length) to the subject, this still turns out to be insufficient for a full treatment insofar as many important topics receive far shorter shrift than they deserve. The consequence is that although the author draws upon primary source material, his accounts about various events frequently turn out to be little more than yet another reproduction of the accounts found in general works like those of Runciman and Grousset. Another weakness of the work in this context is that although it deploys the Eastern and especially Arabic sources in full, this is by no means the case as far as the Western sources are concerned, and the author frequently relies on the secondary literature for the testimony of Latin authors.

As for Vāth's study, the author does not treat the Artukid-Frankish relations as a topic on its own or venture to problematize them in any degree. Consequently his contribution to the present subject, found distributed in piecemeal fashion throughout his work, remains a summary and straightforward political account that brings little new insight to what can already be found in standard works about the history of the Latin East. Besides, it is not free of a number of important factual errors, which also prevent it from serving as a reliable guide for the course of events.¹⁹

In yet another PhD thesis on the Artukids which, along with a critical edition and translation of the chronicle of Ibn al-Azraq on Mayyafariqin, also incorporates

¹⁹ To take only one example, he has Tughtekin join up with Ilghazi just before the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*. Vāth, *Geschichte*, 76.

chapters dealing with the careers of Ilghazi and his sons,²⁰ Carole Hillenbrand has discussed the relations of these Artukid princes with the Franks. Like Vāth, she covers the relations in question as only one aspect amongst many in their careers, dealing with it only in piecemeal fashion, and does not focus on the subject as an independent topic. Nonetheless, this does not prevent her from offering among other things a detailed and valuable discussion of Ilghazi's attitude towards jihad, going further than any other scholar mentioned above in problematizing the question of the Artukid's relations with the Franks. In doing so, however, Hillenbrand leans somewhat too heavily on the classical thesis of the French scholar Emmanuel Sivan about the gradual development of a jihad movement in the Muslim world against the Frankish threat, as well as on his interesting discussion of Ilghazi's status as one of the first Muslim emirs to employ jihad propaganda.²¹ Like Sivan and the other students of Artukid history, she still takes for granted the paradigm of a Muslim block developing slowly in face of the threat posed by the other camp. Based on this view, she charges Ilghazi with having failed to realize this threat, or "political realities" as she calls it, in alleged contrast to Zangi, Nur al-Din and Saladin, and consequently having wasted his chances to become the first great Muslim leader of jihad before them.

The common perspective of all these studies is the teleological, confrontational one of Crusade vs. Counter-Crusade, looking backwards from 1187, as a result of which Artukid emirs like Ilghazi and Belek are accused of not having moved in accordance with a way of thought and action utterly foreign to their own concerns.

²⁰ Carole Hillenbrand, "The History of the Jazira, 1100-1150," Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Edinburgh University, 1979). The related chapters have been separately published as journal articles, see Carole Hillenbrand, "The Career of Najm al-Dīn Ilghazi," *Der Islam* 58 (1981), 250-92; Carole Hillenbrand, "The Establishment of Artuqid Power in Diyār Bakr in the Twelfth Century," *Studia Islamica* 54 (1981), 129-53.

Once this perspective is left aside, all of their actions against the Franks from *Ager Sanguinis* onwards become perfectly intelligible, as suggested by Thomas Asbridge's analysis of the early history of the Principality of Antioch,²² as a series of efforts to protect Aleppo by pushing back its borders with the Principality. This study builds on the implications of that analysis from the perspective of the Artukids themselves.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The main body of the thesis is divided into two parts, comprising four chapters each. The first, "The New Neighbors," covers the period during which the Artukids adjusted to the presence of the Franks, first clashing with them for possessions in Diyar Bakr and then barring their ambitious venture at Harran, but then, after Sokman's death, adopting a cautious policy of balance between the Franks and the Seljukids. The second chapter describes the initial contacts of the Artukids with the Franks, from their confrontation before Antioch to their loss of Samosata and Saruj. Among other things it dwells upon the uneasy and fragile collaboration between the Artukid and Frankish rulers in this early period, discusses the consequences of the Frankish presence for the Artukid expansion in Diyar Bakr, and draws attention to the negative role played by Sokman in the fall of Antioch to the Crusaders.

The third chapter focuses on the Battle of Harran and Sokman's death on his march to the aid of Tyre, evaluating his role in halting the Frankish expansion but neglecting to take advantage of the opportunity to capture Edessa. It reveals him as a precursor of Ilghazi and Belek in his approach to jihad, in that he fought the Franks chiefly for particular towns, or for strategic aims such as preventing them becoming

²¹ Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et le Croisade: Idéologie et Propagande dans Réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris, 1960); for his comments on Ilghazi and the other Artukids, see pp. 39-43.

too powerful by acquiring Harran, Tripoli or Damascus. Otherwise, he did not seem interested in expelling the “infidels” from Edessa, but, despite this he did consider himself as a mujahid responsible for the safety of Muslims in general.

The fourth chapter covers Ilghazi’s arrival in Diyar Bakr, his first contacts with the Franks, and his policies during the Seljukid expeditions led by Mawdud. It concludes with an analysis of the reasons for the emir’s discreet and aloof attitude during these campaigns. The fifth chapter deals with his open alliance with the Franks against the last two Seljukid expeditions, and discusses the possible reasons for this harshening in his attitude toward the Seljukids. Both chapters argue that what lay behind the emir’s policies was less his resentment against the sultan for being dismissed from Baghdad and bypassed for the post of governor of Mosul and more the realization that the Sultan’s chief purpose was to subjugate the local emirs like Ilghazi himself. It is also discussed whether Ilghazi had indeed undergone any change of heart and regretted his alliance with Christians against other Muslims, as has been claimed by some scholars loyal to the teleological paradigm.

The second part, “The Fight for Aleppo,” covers the period that saw the Artukids’ contacts and clashes with the Franks at a maximum, when the Artukids possessed Aleppo and were thereby neighbors with the Franks also in Syria. The sixth chapter focuses on Ilghazi’s takeover of Aleppo and subsequent campaign that ended with his victory at *Ager Sanguinis*, followed by an inconclusive battle at Tell Danith. Among other things, it discusses Ilghazi’s strategic aims for the campaign and the criticisms directed at the emir for having failed to attack Antioch after his annihilation of the major part of the Frankish army. The seventh chapter covers the remainder of Ilghazi’s reign in Aleppo, up to his death in 1122. It shows how his at-

²² Thomas Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000); see also his article “The Significance and Causes of the Battle of the Field of Blood,” *Journal of Medieval*

tempts were still directed at the aim of recovering and retaining the borderline of Azaz, al-Atharib and Zardana. It also suggests that the emir might have clashed with a young Bohemond II on a hitherto unknown initial visit to the East. Another topic examined is Ilghazi's venture to Georgia and the setbacks he suffered in Syria because of his preparations for that campaign and subsequent defeat on it. This chapter brings the portion on Ilghazi's reign to an end and concludes with a general assessment of the emir's policies towards the Franks as well as of his attitude to jihad.

The eighth chapter examines the activities of Belek, how he captured the Frankish leaders, took over Aleppo along with other Muslim towns, dealt with the revolt of the captives in Kharput and died while besieging the Muslim town of Manbij. It includes an analysis of Belek's policies against the Franks, discussing among other things whether the emir can be criticized for having failed to take advantage of his capture of the Frankish leaders in order to deliver the "death-blow" to their principalities. It also examines Belek's particular approach to jihad and compares him in this respect with Ilghazi as with later leaders.

The ninth chapter opens with an account of how Timurtash arrived at an agreement with the captive king Baldwin and released him in return for extensive concessions meant to restore a satisfactory border, as well as for a promise of alliance against the Arab emir Dubais. As it turned out though, Baldwin and Dubais joined forces instead and besieged his city Aleppo. It proceeds with an analysis of Timurtash's possible plans and motives in making such an agreement and then abandoning Aleppo to its fate, deducing the implications of this for the contemporary understanding of jihad, and discussing the aptness and structural causes of Timurtash's decision to withdraw for good to Diyar Bakr.

After this point the relations of the Artukids with the Franks decreased considerably, and there is a corresponding sharp decrease in the related source material, so the final section of this chapter is an epilogue in effect, going over the relatively more important instances of their subsequent contacts with the Franks, charting how they allied with them against Zangi, shared in the partition of the County of Edessa and then took part as vassals in the campaigns of Nur al-Din and Saladin against the Franks. In the light of these developments, it shows how the diminution of the Artukids' direct relations with the Franks contributed to their decline in power and independence.

1.4 Methodology

In all these chapters a considerable place is dedicated to the close-reading and analysis of each related primary source account in the light of the other accounts and modern scholarship before an attempt is made at reconstructing the course of events. Here I would like to justify this practice. In early classical Islamic historiography the chroniclers simply cited one account of the same event after another, without attempting to subject them to a process of criticism and analysis as to the truth of their content, and the reader was simply left to pick up for himself which he deemed best. It is clear enough that this practice runs directly counter to what is expected of a historian today, and already by the time of Ibn al-Athir, perhaps the greatest of medieval Arab chroniclers, it had been superseded by one in which the historian himself carried out the task of selecting the version he deemed the most sound and plausible, or combined various versions to arrive at an account of his own. Indeed the latter practice is still continued by modern historians writing about the political history of the Crusades and the Latin East as well as of the contemporary Muslim world.

Nevertheless, the earlier approach had also some important virtues that have been lost. The later historians come up with an account of their own by using the primary source accounts as heaps of bits of evidence, rejecting some of these bits and accepting others, with the result that despite the elaborate footnote apparatus it remains difficult in practice for the reader to see why the historian has rejected a particular bit or accepted another unless the historian specifically notes the reason — which is by no means always the case. Nor is it clear how the historian combines and reconciles the pieces of evidence that have been accepted. This considerably reduces the accountability and transparency of the historian's work, which are perhaps the only possible sort of "objectivity" in such a context. Although of course the reader cannot simply be left alone to ponder mutually contradictory primary source accounts, he can at least be given a chance to see for himself what each source testified to, why the source did it in that way, where the source agrees or not with others, and why the source is accepted or rejected on a particular point. The reader is then free to question and correct the historian's choices if he prefers to do so.

It is also problematic for a historian to treat these primary source accounts, each with its own perspective, intentions and outlook simply as repositories of factual evidence. The historian may not write, combining at will, as if he had been a direct witness of the events, as if all the sources together allow a transparent first-hand view into the past events, producing a text along the lines that event A happened (Chronicle X, p. 1) and then event B happened (Chronicle Y, p.2) etc. Such an approach fails to evaluate the individual medieval accounts as texts in which the socio-political context of the authors' own milieu as well as their ideas, aspirations and intentions are inscribed. Consequently it fails to pay attention to how the contemporary authors tell or "emplot" what they tell and why in that particular way; what significant even

though slight modifications they make when quoting earlier authors and for which reasons; and of course what stance they assume towards the subject at hand, although these are as important and as interesting as the factual data in the sources about battles, alliances and so on.

Elements that are normally dismissed as “legendary,” “irrelevant” or “fictitious” and discarded as such from narrative histories can also be evaluated in this way and made to yield interesting insights. A case in point is the fierce debate between King Baldwin II and the Latin clergy about whether to take the Holy Cross north to a battle against Ilghazi, which Fulcher of Chartres reports to have taken place in Jerusalem. The king and his troops were anxious not to be deprived of the miraculous protection of the Cross, while the clergy feared that it could get lost in case of defeat — a prospect that they did not seem to consider all that unlikely. It is not necessary to believe in the relic’s efficacy to take the story as evidence of how wary even the Franks in distant Jerusalem had become against this Turkoman chief after his crushing defeat of the Antiochenes.²³

But failing to consider each primary source account as a whole in itself does not only deprive the historian of such significant sorts of information. More importantly, it also raises the risk of going amiss when trying to sift individual bits of factual evidence from the sources, for in doing so one may stake too much on the deceptively straightforward narration of an event by an author with quite a different axe to grind. A case in point is the Battle of Harran, handled below in the third chapter.

Modern students of this battle regularly assert that the Artukid Sokman of Hisn Kaifa and the Seljukid governor of Mosul, Chakarmish, gave up an existing feud between them and joined forces for jihad on hearing of the Frankish attack on

²³ See section 7.2 for details.

Harran.²⁴ This view of the events is based on Ibn al-Athir's account of the battle.²⁵ But they fail to take note of the fact that this particular account of the reconciliation is only one of two given by Ibn al-Athir, and that the other account is significantly different.²⁶ In this second version of the conciliation there is no word of the attack or reference to the motive of uniting against the "infidel." We are simply told that Chakarmish compensated Sokman for the death of his nephew Yakut. There is some ground therefore to think that Ibn al-Athir either fabricated the first version or at least suppressed the fact that there was a payment before their alliance, in an effort to encourage the emirs of his own age to give up their petty interests and unite against the threat posed by the Franks as well the Mongols. This possibility is corroborated further by other elements in the account, like Sokman discovering Count Baldwin to have been kidnapped from his tent by Chakarmish's men, but declaring that he did not want to spoil the Muslim victory by attacking his ally and allowing the gloating of "infidels." Ibn al-Athir also ignores the fact that Sokman's departure for home after this incident prevented the Muslims from exploiting their victory fully and perhaps from capturing Edessa itself.

On the other hand, the same problem of division in the face of the "infidel" threat seems to have preoccupied the Latin chroniclers as well, for a serious dispute had broken out before the battle between Baldwin du Bourg and the Normans Bohemond and Tancred. While Fulcher of Chartres did his best to cover up this rift in the Christian ranks and to emphasize the importance of preserving unity against the "in-

²⁴ See for example William Barron Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East* (Beirut, 1968), 76; René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-1936), I, 404-5; Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps de Croisades et la Principauté Franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 237; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Harmondsworth, 1965), II, 41-2; Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 211; Monique Amouroux-Mourad, *Le Comté d'Edesse, 1098-1150* (Paris 1988), 65; Sevim, "Artukoğlu Sökmen'in Siyasi Faaliyetleri," 516.

²⁵ For the primary source references and further details see section 3.1.

fidel,” Ralph of Caen and Albert of Aachen produced a version of the events that exonerated the Normans from the charge of deserting their allies at the most critical point, showing them on the contrary as fighting in the forefront and trying to rescue the Edessenes. Thus the Battle of Harran served as a set-piece for Muslim and Latin chronicles alike to emphasize the importance of unity and the dangers of dissension in face of the “infidel” enemy.

Under these conditions, it might seem that the accounts of the Syriac sources, Michael the Syrian and the Anonymous Syriac, as well as that of Matthew of Edessa, should give a clearer idea of the dissension between the Franks and the course of the battle, since the authors in question did not have such an agenda and were moreover geographically close to the scene of the events. Nevertheless, such an approach would also be misleading, because the indigenous Christian authors also had their axes to grind. Already by the time of the Battle of Harran the Franks had come to look considerably less like saviors and more like new persecutors to the indigenous Armenian and Jacobite populations. Accordingly they are represented in the Syriac and Armenian accounts of the battle as proud, egoistic, greedy, and in Matthew’s account, capable of committing outrageous sins like putting feces in the host. This renders it advisable to approach the testimony of the indigenous Christian sources with caution too.

Claude Cahen asserts that the widely disparate and contradictory sources about the battle are in fact “irreconcilable,”²⁷ and as we have seen, the reason for this is none other than the differences and conflicts among their respective standpoints, allegiances, and agenda. Without paying due regard to these factors, resorting to me-

²⁶ Sevim cites the alternative account in “Artukoğlu Sokman’ın Siyasi Faaliyetleri,” 514, n. 45. Nevertheless, he seems unaware of the fact that these two accounts pertain to the same event but stand in contradiction.

²⁷ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 237.

chanically applied criteria such as contemporaneity is not sufficient in itself to judge the reliability of the sources and to use them appropriately to reconstruct past events.

For all these reasons, it seems advisable to treat individually each of the relevant accounts that the sources offer on a certain event, with each account's specific point of view and way of reflecting things, and not simply as a bucket of useful "source material" from which one can choose or reject discrete pieces of evidence at will. Jonathan Riley-Smith observes that the classical method of historical research is "built on the comparison of related pieces of evidence, rather than on a line-by-line interpretation of a single text."²⁸ But the method followed here is to make a comparison of the "line-by-line interpretations" or close-readings of the related pieces of text, rather than solely the "related pieces of evidence," and in doing so always to consider the standpoint of the source or even the group of sources from which the examined text issues. An approximate reconstruction of the course of events is then allowed to emerge from such a procedure of close-reading and comparison.

A corollary of this procedure is that equal attention must be dedicated to all the primary source accounts, whatever their provenance, and they must be studied in the original versions where possible. In the field of Crusading history most Western scholars use the Latin sources in the original, but for the Arabic sources rely on translations only, including the highly inadequate and misleading translations in the RHC series. In keeping with this approach, they tend to use the sources in Arabic as a sort of fill-in material to supplement those in Latin. On the other hand, Muslim historians use the Arabic sources in full and in their original versions, but draw upon a more limited array of Latin sources in translation, sometimes even through secondary works, and similarly treat them as fill-in material. But in accordance with the de-

mands of its methodology this study seeks to give the testimonies of Latin, Arabic, Syriac and Armenian sources alike their full due. The Latin and Arabic sources are examined both in the original and in translations, with the incorrect and misleading parts in the latter pointed out where necessary;²⁹ the Syriac and Armenian sources are used through both English and French translations, comparing the two.

1.5 Chief primary sources

Before proceeding in the second chapter to analyze the primary source accounts in accordance with the methodology outlined above, it might be useful to present a brief introduction to the most relevant sources to have a better understanding of their respective eras, backgrounds, and standpoints.

1.5.1 Muslim sources

Ibn al-Qalanisi was a dignitary in Damascus who worked in and headed the *Diwan al-Rasa'il* (Correspondance Bureau) and twice held the post of *ra'is*, the highest civil office in the city. His work *Dhail Tarikh Dimashq* was conceived as a continuation (*dhail*) of Hilal al-Sabi's history of Damascus and covers the period from 970 to 1160. This work is particularly valuable insofar as the author was able to set down eyewitness accounts about most of the events he related, and told these from the perspective of a member of the ruling circles in Damascus. For the period under consideration in this study, Ibn al-Qalanisi was close to Tughtekin and reflect-

²⁸ Riley-Smith makes this statement when expressing his "doubts about the utility of advising students to read individual sources." Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London, 1990), 271.

²⁹ It has not proved possible however to access the first volume of Ibn al-Furat's history that contains the citations from the Aleppo historian Ibn abi Tayyi and the part of Ibn Shaddad's geographic work that concerns the Jazira, which remain unpublished; I have used these through the citations in the works of Cahen, Vâth and Khalil. As for the corrections of the primary source translations, these are only indicated for the modern ones and not for the nineteenth-century French translations of the Ara-

ed the events from the *atabek*'s point of view, placing the latter in the center of the stage. At this time, when Zangi of Mosul had not yet risen as the greatest enemy of Damascus, the author wrote in a marked spirit of religious confrontation, making it clear that he saw it as a duty of Muslim leaders to unite against Franks, and covered up cases of collaboration between Franks and Muslims as best as he could. Tughtekin is portrayed in this context as an advocate of jihad and Muslim unity against the Frankish threat, as an eager mujahid defending all Muslims in Syria. The Artukids and especially Ilghazi are often upstaged a result, but the work is valuable for this particular perspective from Damascus as well as for the wealth of original information it provides throughout the period under scrutiny.

Al-Azimi came from a distinguished family of Aleppo, where he lived between 1090 and 1163. Like Ibn al-Qalanisi, he was an exact contemporary of the period under scrutiny here, and composed a long and a short chronicle concerning the history of Aleppo. The longer version has been lost, except for some passages cited by later sources like Ibn al-Adim, while the shorter version, coming up to the year 1143, is still extant but provides rather sparse information. Nevertheless it is valuable for the present study for the occasional bits of original information supplied by the author. More importantly, Al-Azimi was also a poet and the verses he wrote at the time of Ilghazi's rule of Aleppo, transmitted by himself as well as by Ibn al-Athir, yield invaluable insights about how the contemporary Aleppans viewed Ilghazi and his battles with the Franks.

Ibn-al Azraq, a scion of an important family from Mayyafariqin (today Silvan), accompanied Artukid rulers, and notably Ilghazi's son Timurtash, until his death in 1181. His work *Tarikh Mayyafariqin wa Amid*, as it exists today, covers the

bic sources found in the RHC series. These latter are generally too free to make it feasible to indicate all the necessary corrections.

period from the caliphate of Umar to the year 1176, and includes events of local import in Mayyafariqin and Amid as well as material collected during his wide-ranging travels. For the period under consideration, however, he provides disappointingly little information about the Artukids' relations with the Franks, except for his account of the lands acquired by Timurtash after the fall of Edessa. This may have been due to the exclusively local focus of the author, who dedicated extensive place only to those events that happened in Diyar Bakr in his own days, when the Artukids were no longer direct neighbors with the Franks. Significantly, it may also have been due to the general attitude of his patron Timurtash and his successors who had deliberately withdrawn from Aleppo and avoided direct confrontations with the Franks. In this respect, Ibn al-Azraq's attitude is valuable for providing interesting insights into the mindset of that emir and his descendants concerning jihad against the Franks.

Usama ibn Munqidh was a poet, historian, diplomat and warrior who came from the Arabic Munqidhite dynasty that ruled Shaizar till 1157. He lived through most of the twelfth century, until his death in 1188 at the age of 93. His work *Kitab al I'tibar* is basically a book of memoirs that offers edifying examples of conduct and feats of valor that he had witnessed in his youth and adulthood, and in the process touches upon the social and political events of the time. For the period under consideration here Usama also mentions some of the events concerning the Artukids, notably Bursuk's expedition in 1115 and the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* in 1119, and contributes some interesting hints and details. Because the memoirs were written in the author's old age, however, the information he provides has to be handled with particular care. His testimony is also valuable insofar as it reflects the outlook of a member of the local Arab aristocracy toward a Turkoman chief like Ilghazi.

Ibn al-Athir was a native of Jazirat ibn Umar (today Cizre), but passed most of his life as a professional historian in Zangid Mosul, where he died in 1233. His most important work *al-Kamil fi 'l-Tarikh* extends from the Creation to 1231, and the last volumes covering the period from late eleventh century to early thirteenth century provide much original information. Beside this work Ibn al-Athir also composed a work on the history of the Zengid atabeks of Mosul, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir fi 'l-Dawlat al-Atabakiyya*, which provides some additional information. Ibn al-Athir is generally notable for the cohesiveness of his account, which transcends the bounds of the chronicle form in this respect, as well as for his analyses of the causes and consequences of the events he described. It was a special concern of his to urge the rulers of his own time to unite against the threat posed by the Mongols and Franks, and he recounted the events of early twelfth century from this perspective as well, upholding what he saw as examples of Muslim unity and deploring those to the contrary. Partly in connection with this, and partly because he wrote under the patronage of the Zangids of Mosul, Ibn al-Athir emphasized the role of Zangi and his descendants at the expense of other rulers, chiefly Saladin but also the Artukids Timurtash and Fakhr al-Din Kara Arslan, whom he portrayed extremely unwilling to wage jihad. For the present study Ibn al-Athir is an indispensable source throughout, both for this outlook and for the length and detail with which he relates the Artukid's relations with the Franks in the early decades of the twelfth century. It is also interesting to observe Ibn al-Athir reworking earlier extant sources like Ibn al-Qalanisi, filling in, providing plausible explanations and bolstering the message of Muslim unity through the subtle shifts and changes he effected.

Ibn al-Adim was a distinguished citizen of Aleppo who lived between 1193-1262 and composed works on Islamic law and *hadith* tradition as well as on history.

Like Al-Azimi in the previous century, he was a local historian who focused on the past of his native city. One of the two works he wrote in the field was *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, a biographical dictionary of all the important personalities who lived in or passed through Aleppo. The other was *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*, a work of local political history, for which Ibn al-Adim drew upon information found in the first work, albeit removing the references to his sources, and added significant material derived from other sources, some of which are no longer extant. Both works, and especially the latter, have proved indispensable for the present study, in particular for the period of Artukid rule in Aleppo. Although Ibn al-Adim himself lived in the following century, his relation is extremely rich and vivid in detail. It is also interesting to observe the historian at work, constructing the accounts of the critical events during this period as set-pieces that reflected the general anxiety and popular religious fervor in an Aleppo under immediate threat from the Franks. The spirit of religious confrontation that we have seen was evident in other Muslim sources reaches a peak in such passages where Ibn al-Adim emphasizes the desecrations and other sacrilegious acts perpetrated by some of the Frankish princes and soldiers when they attacked Aleppo, and in his condemnation of the Arab emir Dubais ibn Sadaqa for having collaborated with the Franks in their siege of the city in 1124.

1.5.2 Indigenous Christian sources

Matthew of Edessa, an Armenian monk of Gregorian faith, was the abbot of the Monastery of Red Convent near Kaisun, where he lived until 1144. His chronicle, which covers the period from 952 to 1136, was presumably written during the first four decades of the twelfth century. The religious vocation of the author shows its influence in the spirit of confrontation he displays toward the Turks and other Mus-

lims, whom he saw as a scourge for the Christians' sins after the end of Christ's thousand-year reign around 1030. It is also evident in the way Matthew initially welcomed the Franks as saviors, even though this view tended to change for the worse in parallel with the gradual dispossession of Armenian lords in the region by the Franks. Eventually Matthew came to see these latter as possessed by greed and pride. Despite this, he never denounces the Franks completely in the chronicle, emphasizes Christian unity, and conceals the alliances between Muslims and Franks as much as possible. As far as the present study is concerned, his chronicle has been invaluable and used throughout for the wealth of information it provides about the relevant events, most of which may have been set down from eye-witness testimonies. Another valuable aspect of the work is Matthew's evaluation of the Artukid rulers Sokman, Ilghazi and Belek, who were his exact contemporaries. He condemns and denigrates the first two as evil and bloodthirsty men who went so far as roasting babies over fire, while he unexpectedly calls the last a brave and vigorous warrior and praises him for the treatment of the Christians under his rule.

Michael the Syrian was the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch from 1166 to 1199. He composed a chronicle extending from the Creation until his own lifetime, making use of earlier sources in Syriac and Arabic for the period before his death. It emerges from the work that the author's personal relations with both the Franks and Muslim rulers like Kilij Arslan of Rum were quite good. He has a generally positive attitude toward the Franks, while in assessing Muslim rulers he seems to have attached prior importance to their treatment of the Christians under their rule. Evaluating the Artukids, he admits that they generally treated their Christian subjects well, although he does note that Timurtash of Mardin had handled them harshly at the beginning of his reign and Fakhr al-Din Kara Arslan of Hisn Kaifa prohibited the construction of

churches for a time. For the period under focus in the present study Michael's work is valuable for the original information it provides about the period from Battle of Harran to the death of Belek, to whose reign he dedicates the greatest amount of detail.

The author of the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, a monk living in Edessa, belonged to the households of Michael the Syrian's brother and then of his nephew. His chronicle was probably finished by 1234. Although it is independent of the chronicle of Michael the Syrian, the two authors do seem to have shared some sources from the twelfth century, notably the history of the Edessene Basil Bar Shumana (d. 1171). A difference between the outlooks of the Anonymous and Michael, especially evident when they use such common sources, is that the Anonymous's stance against the Franks is much more critical, representing them like Mathew as given to pride and greed. The information he supplies about the Artukids in the period under consideration is also more circumstantial than Michael's, beginning right from their first clashes with the Franks in Diyar Bakr, around the time of the First Crusade, to the death of Belek — whose reign is covered with the greatest amount of detail as in Michael's work. Another valuable aspect of the source is the circumstantial information it yields about Ilghazi's cautious policies toward the County of Edessa at a time he held Aleppo and fought the Franks of Antioch. The Anonymous also provides useful information about the Artukids' later collaboration with the Franks against Zangi and their partition of the County of Edessa after that emir's death.

Bar Hebraeus was a monk who lived between 1226 and 1286 near Melitene. Although his chronicle stands as a valuable source for his own times, it heavily relies on Michael and Ibn al-Athir for the preceding century. As a result it contains little original information useful for the present study, apart from an interesting report

about a possible visit by Bohemond II to the Levant in 1122 and his clash with Ilghazi. As we shall see, this looks at first sight to be one of those legendary accounts encountered in the part of Bar Hebraeus's chronicle that covers the period before his lifetime, but it is in fact corroborated by reports of Ibn al-Qalanisi and al-Azimi.

1.5.3 Latin sources

Fulcher of Chartres, the chaplain of Baldwin de Bouillon from 1097, composed his work *Gesta Francorum Iheruaslem Peregrinantium* in three portions in 1101, 1106 and 1124-27. As he resided for most of this period in Jerusalem, he viewed the events in North Syria from the perspective of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and constructed his narratives in such a way as to place the king in the forefront of the events, like Ibn al-Qalanisi did with Tughtekin. In the chronicle Fulcher writes from a sharp perspective of religious confrontation, doing his best to emphasize the importance of Christian unity and to cover up cases of dissension among the Franks, mentioning such cases only to deplore them heavily. He also passes as quickly as possible over Frankish defeats by Muslims and dwells at great length on their victories, which he invariably attributes to the efforts of the king himself. Being a priest, he also places special emphasis on the efficacy of the Holy Cross and other religious symbols in fighting Muslims. Although Fulcher had to depend on others when transmitting information from Northern Syria, and this sometimes caused distortions or gaps in the information he supplied, as in his account of Belek's death, he is still an important source for the period under consideration. He is also valuable insofar as he shows how the Artukids in Aleppo caused concern and fear even in distant Jerusalem — Belek even more so than Ilghazi, likened by the author to a raging dragon trampling upon Christianity.

Ralph of Caen was a member of Tancred's retinue who had joined him after coming to Syria in 1108. His work *Gesta Tancredi Siciliae Regis in Expeditione Hierosolymitana* was composed with a frankly eulogistic approach after his patron's death in 1113. For the present study it was relevant with its detailed account of the Battle of Harran.

Little is known about Albert of Aachen, whose work *Liber Christianae Expeditionis pro Ereptione, Emundatione et Restitutione Sanctae Hierosolymitanae Ecclesiae* was written around 1130 and covers the period from the First Crusade to 1119. Albert himself never left Germany, but composed his account based on the accounts of Crusaders on their way to or from the Middle East. Although Albert's distance from the scene of the events he was writing about led frequently to geographical confusions and occasionally to fictive accounts, he has proved to be a more reliable source than was assumed in the nineteenth century, and his work is particularly valuable for its richness in circumstantial details. Albert is relatively less reliable however when telling events after the First Crusade, since the number of travelers who served as sources for him was reduced after the debacle of the Crusade of 1101. Like Fulcher Albert dwells at length on the need of Christian unity, constructing his narratives in such a way as to show how dissension brought about baleful consequences for the Franks, and how restoration of unity immediately bore its fruits in the form of success against Muslims. He also warns the Franks against adopting the "heathen" customs of the Muslims who had formerly occupied the territory of their principalities. For the present study, Albert's work has proved useful for the period from the First Crusade until Bursuk ibn Bursuk's expedition in 1115. Although the chronicle actually extends to 1119, it fails to cover the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*.

Walter the Chancellor acted as chancellor for Prince Roger of Antioch. He wrote his brief work *De Bello Antiochene* in two installments probably, after the Battle of Tell Danith in 1115 and after the Battles of *Ager Sanguinis* and Tell Danith in 1119. Then he brought it up to Ighazi's death in 1122. His account is valuable for the present study insofar as he belonged to Prince Roger's inner circle and was a direct eyewitness of the first two of the three battles. He fell captive in the second battle, and provides interesting information about his experiences as a prisoner of Ilghazi and his son Shams al-Dawla Sulamian; in this respect he is also valuable as a source of how the Latins of Antioch viewed their Artukid neighbors in Aleppo. In his treatment of the latter in particular and all Muslims in general Walter displays a very strong spirit of religious confrontation, going so far as to attribute the Franks' initial lack of success against the Seljukid army in 1115 to their alliance with the Muslims of Syria and Jazira, and their later success to their separation from the latter.

Orderic Vitalis was a monk from Normandy who composed his work *Historia Ecclesiastica* in the 1120s and 1130s. Although he never came to the Middle East, like Albert, he occasionally provides valuable information about Northern Syria, probably basing himself on reports from his acquaintances among the Normans of Antioch. For the present work however, apart from some exceptions, his accounts are full of legendary elements and in this respect they are more valuable as a source for how the Normans in Antioch viewed the Artukids and other Muslims. In this latter respect Orderic is particularly notable for the stringent spirit of religious confrontation evident in his work, even more than in authors who lived in the Levant. It is also curious to see how he projects the newly developing courtly culture of the Europe of his own time on Muslims, as evident in his account of the captivity of Baldwin and other Franks in Belek's castle at Kharput.

William of Tyre was the archbishop of that city. He composed his work *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum* between 1169 and 1184, and covered the period from 1095 to 1184. Although William provides original information for the period after 1127, when Fulcher's work comes to an end, he relies on the latter chronicler as well as on Albert of Aachen and Walter the Chancellor for the preceding period that concerns us. Nevertheless, he also diverges from them occasionally and is sometimes the sole Latin source to parallel the accounts of Syriac or Muslim sources about the Artukids' contacts with the Franks. As in the case of Ibn al-Athir, it is also fruitful to compare William's accounts with those of his sources, Fulcher, Walter and Albert, and observe the differences in between. This yields interesting insights into William's use of his sources, his mindset, and his approach toward the Muslims in particular. He is often seen at work trying to explicate the more obscure passages in his sources, providing explanations, discarding the more implausible elements, and in the process often coming up with analyses that may still stand their ground today. In his reinterpretation of the accounts of his sources, the more secular outlook of the historiography of the later twelfth century is observable, with far less reference than Fulcher of Chartres to supernatural intervention. Also evident in William's reshaping of his sources' narratives is the development of the courtly culture and notions of chivalry in the latter half of the twelfth century. It is notable as well that although William resided in the Kingdom of Jerusalem like Fulcher, he moderated Fulcher's sharp focus on the role played by the king in the events in North Syria. Most importantly, it turns out from these comparisons that William had a less religiously confrontational stance toward the Muslim adversaries of the Franks, not least, perhaps, because he was more knowledgeable about Islam than most Latin authors of the early twelfth century. In reference to the Artukids, William generally re-

moves the particularly pejorative anecdotes and epithets that his sources heaped upon Ilghazi and other Artukid leaders, probably because of this general outlook as well as of his distance in time to the clashes with the Artukids in early twelfth century.

1.6 System of transliteration

Finally, a few words about the principles followed in transliteration: rather than full consistency, my priority in this issue was to secure easy legibility and understandability for the reader, using as familiar forms as possible and having recourse to the diacritics only where they were indispensable. Thus for the Western person and place names, I have used the forms found in standard works about the Crusades, among them Steven Runciman's *A History of the Crusades*,³⁰ which covers most of the names in question. For the names in Turkish, I preferred to use a transliteration close to the orthography and pronunciation of these names in (modern) Turkish. For the familiar person and place names in Arabic that are regularly encountered in standard works, I used Anglicised forms such as Aleppo and Saladin (instead of Halab and Salah al-Din respectively). In transliterating the other person and place names, book titles and more familiar words like *qadi*, I made use of a streamlined form of the American Library of Congress system, without the diacritical marks or the initial 'ain. For the transliteration of other words, phrases and sentences in Arabic, on the other hand, I used the same system with the full set of diacritics as well as the initial 'ain.

³⁰ See Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*.

PART I

THE NEW NEIGHBORS

CHAPTER 2

THE ARTUKIDS' FIRST CONTACTS WITH THE FRANKS

This preliminary chapter will concern the Artukids' first contacts with the Franks, examining their role in the First Crusade and the Crusade of 1101 as well as their relations and conflicts with the Franks of Edessa, particularly the loss of Samosata and Saruj by the Artukids. Before discussing these events, however, it seems appropriate to begin with a general discussion of the impact of the arrival of the Crusaders and of the establishment of the Frankish principalities on the fortunes of the Artukids.

2.1 The consequences for the Artukids of the First Crusade and the establishment of the Frankish principalities

As the army of the First Crusade arrived in Syria, Sokman, Ilghazi and other members of the Artukid family held Jerusalem, which had originally been granted as an *iqṭā'* to their late father Artuk. The Fatimids, eager to recover this city, which they had lost a quarter of a century before to the Seljukids, took advantage of the weakening of the Turkish emirs, including Sokman, after their crushing defeat and loss of many troops in the Battle of Antioch.¹ Eager to seize this opportunity, Al-Afdal, the

¹ See further Imad al-Din Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya fi 'l-Jazira wa 'l-Sham* (Beirut, 1980), 209-10; Alexander Matveev, "Artuqids in Jerusalem: Artuqids' Role in the Struggle of the Seljuqs, Fatimids

Fatimid vizier, marched at the head of his army against Jerusalem. At first he resorted to peaceful methods to take the city and, writing to Sokman and Ilghazi, requested them to hand it over without a fight and bloodshed. As the latter rejected this request he launched a violent assault with a great number of mangonels that made breaches in the walls. After a siege of about forty days the Artukids were finally compelled to yield. Once in Jerusalem Al-Afdal treated Sokman and Ilghazi well, giving them many gifts before he sent them to Damascus. From there Ilghazi proceeded to Iraq, whereas Sokman preferred to settle with his cousins in Diyar Bakr.²

Jerusalem itself was lost a short while afterwards to the Franks, but the ten-year reign of the Artukids in the city was not forgotten entirely. Ibn al-Azraq claims that even half a century later the Artukids were still feared and respected by the Greeks and the Franks because of their reign in Jerusalem.³ Ibn Khallikan, writing some centuries later, goes so far as to suggest that Jerusalem might not have been taken so easily if it had been defended by the Artukids.⁴ This view does not seem justified. Although admittedly they had put up a staunch resistance to the Fatimids they had finally surrendered the city, and there is no reason to assume that the result would have been different if it had been the Crusader army that besieged them.

Sokman settled in Saruj upon arriving in Diyar Bakr. A few years earlier Tutush ibn Alp Arslan had granted this city to him in *iqta'*, when Sokman had killed the emirs Buzan and Akungur and confiscated all their possessions. Saruj was one of

and Crusaders for Palestine and Syria at the end of XI. Century,” in *I. Uluslararası Artuklu Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 25-26-27 Ekim 2007, Mardin, 2 vols. (Mardin, 2008), I, 21-40.

² Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, translated by H. A. R. Gibb (London 1932), 45 (491: 1097-98); Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih Tercümesi*, translated by A. Özeydin, A. Ağırakça et al., 12 vols. (İstanbul 1987), X, 235 and *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Tarih*, translated by D. S. Richards, 3 vols. (Aldershot, 2006), I, 21 (492: 1098-99).

³ Ahmed Savran, *A Critical Edition of the Artukid Section in Tarikh Mayyafariqin wa Amid by Ibnu'l-Azrak al-Fariki* (Erzurum, 1987), 128; Osman Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri* (İstanbul, 1973), 154. Of course this statement may only have been propaganda; see section 9.3.

⁴ Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-Ayan* (Beirut, 1969), II, 451.

these, and it was meant to pay for the Artukids' unfaltering support for Tutush against the Seljukid sultan in Baghdad.⁵ Taking this town as his center, Sokman now set about the task of establishing new bases in Diyar Bakr so as to carve out a new domain for himself and his family in this region. Thus, the arrival of the Crusaders and the consequent expulsion of the Artukids from Jerusalem eventually led to the establishment of the Artukid principalities in the Jazira. And in this process Sokman found himself once again confronted with the Franks, now as neighbors rivaling him for the control of that region.

What were the implications of this rivalry for the Artukids? For one, the Latin occupation in Syria ended all Artukid hopes of expansion in North Syria.⁶ But they were also affected in the Jazira: Grousset suggests that the Artukids had intended to make Edessa the center of their possessions in the Jazira after they had lost Palestine to the Fatimids. Consequently, the establishment of the Franks in this city meant a veritable catastrophe for them.⁷ Although it is not clear that the Artukids really had such intentions for Edessa, it remains true that the establishment of a speedily expanding Frankish principality in their home domain could only have been an obstacle to their plans for further expansion. As Amoureux-Mourad notes, the strongholds occupied by the Franks in the region were deployed not only for defensive purposes but also with an offensive function: the defense of Azaz and aggression against Manbij; the defense of Edessa and aggression against Harran; the defense of Shabakhtan (the region between Edessa and Mardin) and aggression against Mardin and

⁵ Ibn Shaddad, *al-A'laq al-Hatira*, the Jazira section, manuscript f.32, cited in Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 69.

⁶ Claude Cahen "Le Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides," *Journal Asiatique* 227 (1935), 229.

⁷ René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-1936), I, 62.

Nisibis; the defense of Gargar and Babula and aggression against Amid and Kharput.⁸

Nevertheless, the negative effects that the Frankish presence in Edessa exerted on the Artukids should not be exaggerated. As Stevenson points out, the borders of Frankish suzerainty coincided with those of the Armenian population, and Edessa itself lay near the eastern border of that. The Franks of the County were unable to make substantial conquests at the expense of their Muslim neighbors, even to take Harran. Because of the insufficient number of Franks migrating to this region, they remained too weak to pursue a sustained and aggressive policy towards their Muslim neighbors. It was only where the local population was friendly that they could garrison the towns and castles in the region. Edessa was only important insofar as it could shield Antioch against the Muslims of the Jazira and also support Antioch against Aleppo.⁹

In fact, as Gerhard Vāth points out, the establishment of the County of Edessa also increased the strategical and economic importance of Mardin, the most important possession of the Artukids. It lay at an already strategically advantageous position on the main caravan road from Mosul to Aleppo via Nisibis, Edessa and al-Bira. When Edessa fell into the hands of Christians, the caravan traffic shifted to a route that led from Mardin to Aleppo in a south-westerly direction over Ra's al-Ain, Harran and, according to the political situation, either Saruj, al-Bira or Qal'at Najm. Thus while Edessa ceased to be a destination or point of transit for merchandise, the importance of Mardin increased correspondingly, and this development was reflected in the extraordinarily strong fortifications of the city.¹⁰

⁸ Monique Amouroux-Mourad, *Le Comté d'Edesse, 1098-1150* (Paris 1988), 43.

⁹ William Barron Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East* (Beirut, 1968), 20-1.

¹⁰ Gerhard Vāth, *Die Geschichte der artukidischen Fürstentümer in Syrien und der Ġazira 'l-Furatiya* (Berlin, 1987), 50.

Some Turkish historians have also argued that the establishment of the Franks in the region provided the Artukids with an opportunity to expand their domains, by waging jihad against them. Osman Turan, for example, tries to establish a connection between the presence of the Franks and the success of the Artukids in carving out principalities in Diyar Bakr in the early twelfth century. He suggests that it was chiefly by subscribing to jihad that the Artukids managed to establish their principalities, for the upheavals caused by the Frankish invasion provided those waging jihad with ample opportunities to do this.¹¹

Turan's thesis seems questionable for a number of reasons. To begin with, as Emmanuel Sivan shows,¹² the movement of jihad against the Franks was something that developed only slowly, during the course of the twelfth century; in the first decade after the First Crusade it was hardly in its infancy. Admittedly, there did occur several battles between the Franks and Muslim emirs including the Artukids, but there were just as many clashes between the Muslim emirs themselves. These had begun already before the Crusades, during the period of interregnum and civil wars that followed Malikshah's death in the Seljukid Empire. In the highly fragmented political structure that this situation produced, there were bound to be many conflicts among the local emirs who competed to appropriate the distant western lands of the disintegrating Seljukid Empire regardless of the presence of the Franks. When the latter arrived, moreover, it did not take them long to be fully integrated into the political system as Latin "emirs" competing with others, whatever their adversaries' religion might be.

In a way reminiscent of Turan's thesis, Ali Sevim argues that the small Artukid states of Hisn Kaifa and Mardin managed to expand their territories through

¹¹ Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri*, 218.

the “victories they had won against the Crusaders,” in addition to the turmoil in the Seljukid Empire. This view does not seem more tenable either. It is sufficient to consider how many battles the Artukids undertook against the Franks in the first twenty years of their rule in Diyar Bakr, up to the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* in 1119, and how many of these they won. Indeed the only victory they scored before 1119 was in the Battle of Harran in 1104. Between these years their only undertaking against the Franks was the participation of Ilghazi, the lord of Mardin, in a campaign launched by the Seljukids in 1110. And in the subsequent campaigns this emir only sent a contingent under his son or even allied openly with the Franks against the sultan’s army. So once again we see that it was not primarily fighting against the Franks that enabled the Artukids to establish their rule in Diyar Bakr. Rather, it was their rivalry with other local emirs for the spoils of the western part of the Seljukid Empire, which was disintegrating fast in the course of the internecine conflicts during the interregnum period.¹³ As Claude Cahen points out, by playing a “perpetual double game” in these internecine conflicts, the Artukids constantly strove to acquire autonomous territories, which led to the result that the earlier fragmentation of the region gradually gave way to a territorial concentration in their benefit.¹⁴

These points having been made, now let us turn to examine the family’s first contacts with the newly arrived Franks.

2.2 The participation of the Artukid emirs in the battles before Antioch

The Artukids confronted the Franks for the first time in North Syria. Here Sokman fought against them during the Latin siege of Antioch, when he fought for

¹² Emmanuel Sivan, *L’Islam et le Croisade: Idéologie et Propagande dans Réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris, 1960).

¹³ Ali Sevim, “Artuk Oğlu İlğazi,” *Bellekten* 26 (1962), 662.

¹⁴ Claude Cahen, “The Turkish Invasion: the Selchükids,” in *History of the Crusades*, I, 171.

Ridwan of Aleppo in the Battle of the Lake. Then, along with the other Artukids, he joined Kerbogha's army in the Battle of Antioch. Already before these battles, however, Sokman had made a fateful impact on the course of the war against the Franks: Ibn al-Adim relates that Ridwan, Sokman, Yaghi Siyan of Antioch and other emirs had assembled at Shaziar to attack Hims, where the *atabek* Janah al-Dawla had taken refuge after falling out of Ridwan's favor. At this point they received a series of messages warning that a Frankish army was threatening Antioch. Yaghi Siyan, "the wisest amongst them" according to Ibn al-Adim, proposed to return to his city and come to grips with the Franks. But Sokman objected, declaring that it would be advisable to march to Diyar Bakr first to take the region from the Franks.¹⁵ "Once we gather strength in this country," he reportedly said, "I shall leave my family there, and we shall return to Hims." This disagreement led to the result that Ridwan returned to Aleppo in haste, angry with both Sokman and Yaghi Siyan.¹⁶

Basing himself on this account of Ibn al-Adim, Ali Sevim writes that in objection to Yaghi Siyan's advice to go directly to the aid of Antioch, Sokman proposed to go first to Diyar Bakr to collect soldiers and return with them to confront the Franks. He regrets that the other emirs did not accept what he describes as the idea of establishing a strong line of defense against the Crusaders with the Turkomans of Diyar Bakr. He argues further that the following events justified Sokman, pointing out that the troops Sokman collected from Diyar Bakr were to score great victories against the Crusaders. He concludes that because of this dissension no final agreement was reached and a strong line of defense could not be established against

¹⁵ In the French translation accompanying the RHC edition of Ibn al-Adim's text the Arabic phrase *al-mutaghallibin 'alayhā* has been rendered as "rebelles qui s'en étaient emparés," making it seem as if Sokman was talking about the subjected indigenous population of the region who had shaken off Muslim domination through Frankish aid. But the Arabic original simply means "those who gained mastery over it," which clearly refers to the Franks themselves. See Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (Beirut, 1968), VI, 2280.

the Crusaders.¹⁷ As we just saw, however, Ibn al-Adim himself does not quite report that Sokman spoke of establishing a strong line of defence against the Crusaders. In Ibn al-Adim's version, he only seems to have proposed to recover the region conquered by the Franks, and then to return with the troops collected there to attack Jannah al-Dawla in Hims.

Thus, contrary to Sevim's argument, Sokman's real intention was not to defend Antioch better, but rather to persuade the other emirs to use the army at hand to recover and expand his territories in Diyar Bakr against the Franks. Indeed Imad al-Din Khalil remarks that Sokman's proposal only served to reveal to others his urgent desire to occupy Diyar Bakr and to make it both a military base for himself and a safe country to settle for the Artukids. He attributes this desire to Sokman's realization of the futility of continuing to rely on Jerusalem as a fixed center, considering its proximity to the Fatimids who coveted it after the arrival of the Crusaders. He adds that Sokman's focus on Diyar Bakr was to remain the cornerstone of Artukid policy in the decades to follow.¹⁸ Under these conditions, Sokman's allies seem to have been justified in rejecting his proposal: hurrying to Antioch before the Franks would be able to besiege it was obviously a much more urgent task, given the strategically central importance of the city that would potentially enable its conquerors to threaten the entire region. In this light Sokman's offer emerges as a principal cause of the dissension and dispersal of the emirs and the resulting failure of the Muslims to hurry to the defence of Antioch.

It should be noted that Sevim is more faithful to Ibn al-Adim in his article on Sokman in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.¹⁹ There he simply states that a dissension broke out

¹⁶ Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 577.

¹⁷ Ali Sevim, "Artukoğlu Sokman'ın Siyasi Faaliyetleri," *Belleten* 26 (1962), 507-08.

¹⁸ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 76.

¹⁹ Sevim, "Sokman," X, 704.

among the emirs on account of Sokman's proposal to go to seize Diyar Bakr rather than to set out immediately for Antioch. He neither attempts to represent this idea as a better strategy for defending Antioch, nor accuses the other emirs for declining it. Thus Sokman's responsibility in the Muslims' failure to defend Antioch effectively becomes clear.

Taking advantage of this failure, the Crusaders laid siege to the city, and it was during that siege that Sokman confronted the Franks for the first time. Ibn al-Adim makes it clear that he was among the emirs sent by Ridwan to Antioch against the Crusaders. As the latter camped before the city and raided the territory of Aleppo, he relates, Yaghi Siyan's son came to Aleppo to ask for aid. Upon this Ridwan decided to overcome his old resentment against Yaghi Siyan, and sent the troops of Aleppo along with Sokman to Antioch. But these forces "confronted the Franks in an unprepared condition," Ibn al-Adim states, and withdrew to Harim. They soon abandoned this position as well, and its control passed to the Armenians. On his return from this expedition Sokman left Ridwan's side to join the latter's brother and rival, Dukak of Damascus.²⁰ Sokman's role in the failure to prevent the siege, and now his lack of success in raising it, could have been a cause of this rupture between him and Ridwan, at least as far as the latter was concerned. The reason for Sokman's defeat in the Battle of the Lake was that the Franks had been warned beforehand by the Christian peasants in the region. Thanks to this, they were able to keep an eye on the Turks in the citadel of Antioch and at the same time to rout Sokman and the Aleppans near Jisr al-Hadid. The debacle was not quite compensated by the defeat of a group of

²⁰ Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, edited by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1976), 140 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, translated by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1989), 90, in "Ridwan ibn Tutush."

Armenians from the territory of Tell Bashir who had come to plunder the west of the Butnan valley, lying to the northeast of Aleppo.²¹

Sokman also participated in the great Battle of Antioch and fought under Kerbogha's command, along with the other Artukids. While Ibn al-Adim mentions only Sokman in his account,²² Ibn al-Athir counts among the participants, beside Sokman, a certain Sulaiman ibn Artuk,²³ who is probably the same as Fulcher's "Amisoliman."²⁴ As no son of Artuk with this name is recorded, there is reason to believe that this Sulaiman was rather a son of Ilghazi, with the title Shams al-Dawla. He later became the governor of Aleppo for a short period, but then revolted and was dismissed by his father.²⁵ In his study on Sokman's career²⁶ Sevim states that Sulaiman was the emir of Sinjar at this time, but in his encyclopaedia article he mentions him as the emir of Samosata instead.²⁷ This issue is of some importance, for according to Albert of Aachen it was a certain Balduk who ruled Samosata at the time,²⁸ and there is some possibility that the two persons might be the same. This point will be discussed more closely in the following section. Beside Sulaiman Albert also mentions Belek ibn Behram ibn Artuk, the emir of Saruj, as an Artukid participant on the Muslim side. Among these members of the Artukid family we only know of the role played by Sokman during the battle itself from Ibn al-Athir's ac-

²¹ *Gesta Francorum*, edited by Rosalind Hill (New York, 1962), 35-8 (VI); Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, translated by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), 40 (V); Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps de Croisades et la Principauté Franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 213.

²² Ibn al-Adim, *Zubda*, 580.

²³ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil*, X, 230-31 and *Chronicle*, I, 16 and n. 19 (491: 1097-98). The English translation unwarrantedly substitutes Sokman for Sulaiman in the main text, though the correct version is noted in the footnote.

²⁴ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, translated by Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, 1969), 103-4 (I.xxi).

²⁵ See section 7.4.

²⁶ Sevim, "Artukoğlu Sokman'ın Siyasi Faaliyetleri," 508.

²⁷ Ali Sevim, "Sokman," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, X, 704.

²⁸ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, edited and translated by Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), 258-61 and *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, translated by Herman Hefele, 2 vols. (Jena, 1923), I, 173-75 (IV. 8).

count. According to this chronicler, Kerbogha prevented the Muslim emirs from attacking the Franks as they were going out of the city, and the Muslims were completely routed as a result. He asserts that Sokman had been lying in an ambush with Kerbogha and Janah al-Dawla of Hims, and together with them he was one of the last to withdraw; the other emirs had abandoned the battlefield due to their irritation with Kerbogha's imperious attitude toward them.²⁹

2.3 The relations between Balduk of Samosata and Baldwin of Edessa

We hear more about emir Balduk of Samosata in connection with the struggles of Baldwin of Boulogne with the Turks around Edessa. The first of these confrontations took place before Baldwin had reached Edessa. Fulcher of Chartres, a direct witness of the events, relates how Baldwin accepted a request of help from Thoros, the ruler of Edessa, against the Turks and, setting out with a small contingent of eighty knights, crossed the Euphrates. It is worthwhile to quote Fulcher's first-hand testimony at some length:

After we had crossed this river we went on very hastily all night and, very much afraid, passed between the Saracen towns which were scattered about. When the Turks who were in the fortified town of Samosata heard this, they set ambushes for us on the way through which they thought we would go. But on the following night a certain Armenian carefully sheltered us in his castle. He warned us to guard against these snares of the enemy, and for this reason we hid there for two days. But on the third day the Turks, irked by such delay, rushed down upon us from their place of hiding and with flags flying galloped in front of the castle in which we were located and before our eyes drove off as plunder the livestock which they found in the pastures. We went out against them, but because we were few we were unable to contend with them... Then the enemy left, but we remained there. On the following day we resumed our journey. When we were passing by the towns of the Armenians, you would have been amazed to see them coming humbly to meet us, carrying crosses and banners, and kissing our feet and garments for the love of God because they had heard that we were going to protect them against the Turks under whose yoke they had been long oppressed.³⁰

²⁹ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 31 and *Chronicle*, 17 (491: 1097-98).

³⁰ Fulcher of Chartres, *Expedition*, 90-1 (I.xiv).

We learn the precise context of the Franks' task from Albert's account.³¹ Shortly after Baldwin's arrival in Edessa, he relates, Thoros asked him to gather all his forces and, taking along a number of Edessenes, to advance against the castle of Samosata which had formerly belonged to Edessa. Here they were to fight Emir Balduk, who had attacked and captured this castle some time before. According to Albert, the reason for this request was the fact that Balduk had inflicted "intolerable evils" on the people of Edessa. By threats he had taken as hostage the sons of many noble families in the city, so that he would secure the payment of the annual taxes and tributes that he demanded from the Christians to let them cultivate the vines and grain fields in the region. Baldwin was unwilling to turn down this first request of the duke and elders of the city, Albert states, so that he mustered his two hundred companions as well as the entire army of Edessa, and advanced upon Samosata.

William of Tyre, who mainly draws upon Albert, offers a slightly different version of the events.³² According to him Balduk, "a valiant warrior but a tricky and wicked man," doubled the tribute and taxes on the fields of the Edessenes and burdened them with services, ensuring their cooperation by holding their children as hostages. Adding a detail that seems calculated to render the story more poignant, he states that these children were "forced under conditions of extreme inhumanity to serve him like slaves with bricks and clay." Another slight change apparently meant to increase the emotional impact of Albert's story is that in William's version it is not Thoros and the elders who request help from Baldwin, but the entire population of the city. He relates how they tearfully embraced Baldwin's knees and implored him to save them from the tyranny of Balduk and to rescue their children from their predicament.

³¹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 170-73 and *Geschichte*, I, 112-13 (III.21).

Albert and William proceed to relate that Baldwin arrived before Samosata and began to attack the walls, only to be thrown back by Balduk and his men who sent forth a shower of arrows. Albert attributes this defeat to the “weak and thoughtless” fighting of the numerous Armenian troops, who he says were totally routed as a result, whereas only six of Baldwin’s knights fell struck by arrows. When Baldwin saw that Samosata was impregnable and “garrisoned by the most warlike and steadfast Turks,” in Albert’s words, he left behind most of his knights in the nearby castle of Saint John, telling them to resist the Turks tirelessly and to harass them by continuous fight. After this he returned with only twelve men to Edessa.

Matthew of Edessa, however, offers a quite different version of the events.³³ He relates that upon Baldwin’s arrival in Edessa Thoros gave him presents and made an alliance with him. Shortly after Constantine of Gargar arrived too, and a few days later Thoros sent them to attack Balduk and Samosata, taking along the troops of the city as well as the infantry forces of the whole region. Arriving before Samosata the Christians began to plunder the houses outside its walls, while the Turks did not dare to go outside for battle. But when the latter saw that all the Christian troops had joined the plunder, Matthew relates, three hundred of their horsemen made a sortie and defeated all the Christians. Both the Franks together and the Armenian infantry accompanying were put to flight. Matthew notes that from Samosata up to Tell Hamdun as many as one thousand men were slaughtered. After this Baldwin and Constantine returned to Edessa.

Işın Demirkent questions the veracity of Matthew’s version, arguing that if Baldwin and the Franks had met with so great a failure in this case, the following de-

³² William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, translated by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, 1943), I, 187-88 (IV.1).

³³ *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated by Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham, New York, London, 1993), 168-69 (II.117).

velopments would not have been in their favor as they were in the event. Therefore she considers Albert's version to be the more plausible one, although he was writing in distant Germany whereas Matthew was a local observer.³⁴ But the rout and slaughter described by Matthew may in fact have involved the local Christian troops only, rather than the Franks, and indeed this seems to be corroborated by the remark of Albert that it was the Armenian troops who were routed, while only six Franks were killed.

Albert proceeds to relate that after a plot in Edessa that had resulted in Thoros' death and Baldwin's accession, Balduk grew apprehensive that the Franks might deprive him of Samosata by a protracted siege. Accordingly he sent envoys to Baldwin and offered to sell the castle for ten thousand Bezants. Additionally he promised to do military service if an agreement was made to this effect.³⁵ Baldwin did not pay heed to Balduk's offer at first, stating that the emir had seized the castle unjustly from the Christians. When Balduk perceived Baldwin's pride and inexorability, Albert relates, he changed tactics and threatened to burn down the castle, behead the numerous Edessene hostages he held, and to set traps for Baldwin day and night if his offer was not accepted. Listening to the counsel of his men, Baldwin finally agreed and sent Balduk a talent of gold and silver, expensive purple clothing and horses and mules. Having purchased Samosata in this way, he installed a strong garrison in the castle and restored the hostages he found there to the elders and citizens of Edessa.

We have seen William's emphasis on the predicament of the hostage children as the cause of the expedition. Building on it, he writes that the children's rescue

³⁴ Işın Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu Tarihi* (Vol. 1: İstanbul, 1974, Vol. 2: Ankara, 1994), I, 30.

³⁵ William of Tyre differs from Albert about the reason for Balduk's proposal. He asserts that the emir made this offer upon perceiving that Baldwin was always successful and on the way to subjugate the

added greatly to the prestige of Baldwin, who won with this feat “such high favor from the citizens of Edessa that, thenceforward, they regarded him not only as lord but as father and were ready to fight to the death for his welfare and glory.”

As for Balduk, Albert reports that he became a vassal of Baldwin, was received in a friendly manner at his house, and even joined his immediate retinue. René Grousset, who was always eager to demonstrate the excellent skills of adaptation supposedly displayed by the Crusaders, the earliest proponents of benign French colonialism in his eyes, comments on this passage:

A Turkish emir living in the entourage of a Latin baron, in the manner of his knights: could there be a more striking example of the speedy adaptation of the crusaders to the oriental milieu, of the facility, too, with which the Muslim world itself accepted the fact of the Frankish conquest?³⁶

But the outcome of the experiment showed that this process of mutual adaptation and acceptance was in fact neither so easy nor so speedy, for Albert continues his account in a quite different vein: “Since the heathens and the Christians could not unite and both parties mutually mistrusted each other,” he states, Baldwin demanded Balduk to give his wife and children as hostages to ensure his loyalty. Although Balduk seemed to accept this demand, he came up everyday with a new pretext for postponing its fulfillment.³⁷ As we shall see, this procrastination eventually led to his execution, when Baldwin’s confidence in his Turkish friends was undermined further by Bel-ek’s attempt to trap him.

The identity of Balduk has not been fully clarified. While Ibn al-Adim states that Samosata was in the hands of Sulaiman ibn Ilghazi,³⁸ Matthew and the Latin chroniclers assert that it belonged to a certain Balduk, son of “Emir Ghazi.” After

entire region. Nevertheless, this amounts to the same motive, not to lose Samosata without getting something in return for it.

³⁶ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 62.

³⁷ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 176-77 and *Geschichte*, I, 115-16 (III.24). See also William of Tyre, *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, I, 193-94 (IV.5).

noting this discrepancy, Osman Turan suggests that both Ibn al-Adim's account and the course of the events imply that Balduk was from the Artukid family as well, and that like other Artukids he had carved out a lordship for himself in this region. Up to this point his suggestion seems plausible, and is also supported by Cahen, who notes that around the same time as Sokman took Saruj and installed his nephew Belek there in 1096. Ilghazi may have occupied Samosata and given it to Balduk, if the latter was indeed an Artukid.³⁹ The other possibility, that Balduk was a son of Ghazi Danishmend, seems remote, as Samosata remained too far to the south of the Danishmendids' sphere of activity. But then Turan proceeds to argue that Balduk had in fact two names according to the custom of the age, the Islamic Sulaiman and the Turkish Balduk. When Balduk's father "Emir Ghazi" is identified as Ilghazi, he claims, Balduk turns out to be none other than Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman, the only son of Ilghazi to carry this Islamic name.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, this cannot be true, for Ilghazi could not have had two sons with the same name Sulaiman, and although Balduk was executed by Baldwin in 1099, Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman died only in 1124. So even if Balduk was an Artukid and a son of Ilghazi, he could not have been the same person as Ilghazi's son known by the name of Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman.

Evidently Turan did not see or consider the mention of Balduk in the Anonymous Syriac chronicle, where he is interestingly called "Ghazi, a Turk of the Baladukia." As noted by Gibb in the relevant footnote, this passage suggests that Balduk was the name of a family or territory rather than an individual.⁴¹ Indeed such a group does find mention in Ibn al-Athir's *al-Kamil* among the events of the year 513/1119-20, where the historian writes about certain "Baladukiyya Turks" and two

³⁸ Ibn al-Adim, *Histoire d'Alep*, edited by Sami al-Dahhan, 3 vols. (Damascus, 1951-1968), II, 126.

³⁹ Cahen, "Diyār Bakr," 228 and n. 3.

⁴⁰ See the genealogical table in Cahen, "Diyār Bakr," 268.

emirs of theirs, Sungur Alp and Ali ibn Sokman. The latter had seized Basra in this year. Apparently Ali's father Sokman was not the same as Sokman ibn Artuk, who has no son with this name in Ibn al-Azraq's genealogy.⁴²

Basing herself on these two sources, Işın Demirkent has put forward an alternative theory about Balduk's identity.⁴³ She contends that there were in fact two different individuals, confused and called with the common name of "Balduk" by the historians. The first of these was indeed Sulaiman ibn Ilghazi, the emir who successfully resisted Baldwin in the first expedition to Samosata. The second was the chief of a group of "Baladukiyya" Turkomans in Samosata, who had been entrusted with the castle by Sulaiman when the latter went to the Battle of Antioch. After the defeat of the Muslims and before Sulaiman's return to Samosata, this "Baladukiyya" leader felt compelled to surrender it to Baldwin; the latter's power having been bolstered in the meanwhile by the Frankish victory. Indeed Demirkent challenges the general consensus, based on Albert of Aachen, that the surrender occurred shortly after Baldwin's accession and quite long before the Battle of Antioch. She points out that Baldwin's initial rejection of Balduk's offer would show that the event took place after the debacle of the Muslim army, since only by that time would Baldwin have been sufficiently confident of his powers to do so.

Although Demirkent's theory seems like an attractive explanation at first sight, it fails to explain why Sulaiman ibn Ilghazi did not immediately return to Samosata after the battle, which he would have been expected to do in order to secure it against any possible attacks after the disaster. Moreover, it seems implausible that a deputy of Sulaiman would have acted on his own to enter into negotiations with the

⁴¹ "The First and Second Crusaders from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," translated by M. A. S. Tritton with notes by H. A. R. Gibb, *JRAS* 92 (1933), 72 and n. 3, 73.

⁴² Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 443-44 and *Chronicle*, 207-8 (513: 1119-1120). See also Caen, "Diyār Bakr," 268.

Franks to sell the city. Under these considerations, it seems more sensible to assume that Sulaiman had preferred to withdraw to a safer place after the disaster, now that Samsota was in much too exposed a position. He may have granted it to a deputy, Balduk, particularly if the latter was also an Artukid, and the latter may have proceeded to sell it to the Franks on seeing the impossibility of holding it. Alternatively, Sulaiman may have instructed him to start negotiations in his own name.

As for the question of Balduk's identity, this must remain in doubt. At least it can be said that he probably belonged to the Artukid family, may have been a son of Ilghazi who did not find mention in Ibn al-Azraq's genealogy because of his early death, enjoyed the leadership of a group of "Baladukiyya" Turkomans around Samosata, and served Ilghazi's son Sulaiman.

2.4 The loss of Saruj to Baldwin of Edessa

After Samosata, the Artukids suffered a second important loss in the region, Saruj. By capturing Saruj, the Franks gained control of the route which connected Edessa to Tell Bashir, Ravendan and Antioch, and thereby consolidated their control over the territory of the County. According to Runciman, the fall of the city also served as a warning to the Muslims that the County of Edessa was a power to be taken seriously. So much so that Kerbogha, on his way to Antioch, lost valuable time besieging Edessa in a futile attempt to remove this Frankish base. Hence Runciman argues that the fall of Saruj led indirectly to the capture of Antioch by the Crusaders.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, this interesting connection is not acceptable on closer inspection. Işın Demirkent demonstrates that not only Samosata but also Saruj was occu-

⁴³ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, I, 45-9.

pied by the Franks only after the Battle of Antioch, and not following the establishment of the County of Edessa as Runciman and Cahen accepted.⁴⁵ She points out that the proliferation of the Franks in the region as reported by Albert took place only after the capture of Antioch when an epidemic that began to rage there persuaded many distinguished Franks to travel to Edessa and enter Baldwin's service. Apparently conclusive evidence on this issue is supplied by Albert's mention of a certain Fulcher of Chartres (different from the historian with the same name) among the newcomers. According to Raimund of Aguilers, this man had been the first Frankish knight to climb the walls of Antioch on the night of its capture,⁴⁶ and Albert dates his arrival in Edessa to August 1098. As he also reports that Baldwin entrusted this Fulcher with the command of Saruj after its occupation, it becomes clear that the town could not have been taken before August 1098.

In the same connection, Demirkent also points out that it must have been these hundreds of newcomers from Antioch who enabled Baldwin to occupy Samosata and Saruj at all, for he had few men on his first arrival in Edessa. Indeed Albert states explicitly that Baldwin was able to take control of the entire region thanks to these reinforcements.⁴⁷ Monique Amouroux-Mourad similarly argues that it was only thanks to the reinforcements fleeing the plague in Antioch and arriving in groups of fifty to a hundred that Baldwin managed to bring the entire region including Saruj under his authority as well as to strike deals with the Turkish emirs in the region.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 219, and Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (London, 1965), I, 210.

⁴⁵ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, I, 42, 52-3; Runciman, *Crusades*, I, 208. Also see Cahen "Diyār Bakr," 229, where the capture of Saruj is dated to 1097 and Samosata to 1098. In any case, the capture of Samosata must have taken place earlier, for the expedition against this town had occurred before Baldwin's accession in Edessa, and by the time of the capture of Saruj Balduk had already joined Baldwin's retinue, as we shall see.

⁴⁶ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 342-45 and *Geschichte*, I, 234-35 (V.4); Raymond of Aguilers, 47.

⁴⁷ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 356-57 and *Geschichte* 244-45 (V.15).

⁴⁸ Amouroux-Mourad, *Le Comté d'Edesse*, 61-2.

How the strategically important city of Saruj passed into the hands of the Franks is not entirely clear. According to Albert's account,⁴⁹ all began when Belek summoned Baldwin to aid him against his rebellious Muslim subjects in the town. Because of the growth of Baldwin's power and the spread of his fame as a result of his successful campaigns, Belek dispatched envoys to the count. He requested him to gather all his forces and march upon the town. Baldwin was to overcome the resistance of the rebellious inhabitants, and having gained control of the town, restore the citadel to Belek. Albert notes that the inhabitants in question were Muslims who resisted the emir and scorned to pay tribute to him. He relates that Baldwin trusted Belek's words and the two princes mutually swore oaths. Baldwin then prepared to besiege the city with all his troops and to keep attacking it until the populace would yield and agree to pay the tribute as before. But the latter, hearing of this, bought the aid of Balduk and other Turks to help them defend the walls of the town. Albert affirms that Balduk was "corrupted for long by greed," and so immediately marched with his troops to Saruj, hoping to take advantage of this opportunity to become the new master of the city.

However Baldwin had got wind of this and set out without further delay to besiege Saruj, taking along a great amount of siege equipment including mangonels. Albert states that the Muslim populace grew fearful upon hearing of the count's military power and formidable equipment, and so sent him envoys. These bid him to come and take over the city without any resistance, and also promised to pay the annual tribute to him rather than to Belek. Baldwin allowed himself to be persuaded by their request, and a peaceful agreement was reached. Before long, Albert asserts, the town was in Baldwin's hands and its inhabitants became his tribute-paying subjects.

⁴⁹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 180-81 and *Geschichte*, I, 116-18 (III.26).

Upon this Belek placed the citadel under Baldwin's control, while Baldwin in turn entrusted it, along with the town, to Fulcher of Chartres, "a warlike man and very skillful in battle" in Albert's words.

In the face of this situation, Albert continues, Balduk felt the need to adopt a new policy, and going from Saruj to Edessa, approached Baldwin with "feigned loyalty." "Do not believe that I marched to Saruj in order to help the citizens there against you," he reportedly said. "I went there rather in order to hold them back from the rebellion they had launched, using all arts of persuasion, and to render them willing subjects and tribute-payers to you." Albert states that Baldwin did not believe the emir in the least, but still listened to his words patiently and allowed him to remain in his retinue after the apology.

Albert's tale about a Muslim emir summoning Baldwin to aid against the Muslim inhabitants of his own city seems have appeared rather puzzling and unconvincing to William of Tyre, who therefore simplified it in his account.⁵⁰ According to him, the reason for Baldwin's campaign against Saruj was that its ruler Belek was continually harassing Edessa and inflicting "grievous wrongs" upon it. Consequently, the townsfolk had entreated Baldwin to gather an army and move against it. This explanation clearly bears a remarkable resemblance to the reason William had put forward for Baldwin's previous campaign against Balduk of Samosata, so it seems likely that William found Albert's explanation of the campaign implausible and preferred to model his own on the previous campaign against Samosata. Probably the same grounds also led William to assert that the townsfolk surrendered upon Baldwin's attack, while according to Albert the mere news of Baldwin's approach with a great army and much equipment had sufficed to persuade them. William omits to

⁵⁰ William of Tyre, *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, I, 194-95 (IV.6).

mention Fulcher of Chartres' name when reporting the appointment of a governor over the town, but reveals that he was one of those who had carried out the peace negotiations. Before concluding his account William, with his usual insight, offers a still valid analysis of the consequences of the campaign. He observes that the occupation of Saruj opened up the communications between Antioch and Edessa, for its midway position on the route between Edessa and the Euphrates had up to that time formed a hindrance to those going back and forth.

An independent account that is also free of the more puzzling aspects of Albert's story is provided by the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle.⁵¹ The Anonymous notes that Saruj was a prosperous town at this time, inhabited by a great number of Muslims and Christians and frequented by many merchants of note. It was also situated in a valley that was rich and populous itself, full of hamlets. However, despite these advantages, the Anonymous reports that it was harried on two sides, both by the Franks of Edessa and the Armenians living under Frankish suzerainty near the river Euphrates. "As Belek realized that Saruj could not continue in the midst of Christian lands," the chronicler states, "he sent an embassy to Baldwin of Edessa, offering to surrender Saruj if terms were agreed to and established by oath." Baldwin agreed to the offer, and Saruj was delivered to him together with its citadel. The Anonymous corroborates the appointment of Fulcher ("Putshir") as governor, and adds that this man grew rich and strong through the extortions he inflicted on the Muslim population.

The most important point on which the Anonymous diverges from the previous accounts is his failure to mention any rebellious attitude on the part of the townsfolk in Saruj. But some sort of unrest does seem to have existed among the inhabit-

⁵¹ "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," 76.

ants of the town: the geographer Ibn Shaddad relates in his description of Saruj⁵² that Belek treated the Christians of the city cruelly, confiscating their properties. The latter were not able to tolerate these oppressions any longer, and therefore called the count of Edessa to surrender the town to him. This could perhaps be connected to the Anonymous's report about Fulcher's extortions from the Muslim populace; these may have been undertaken as some sort of retaliation, at the instigation of the local Christians who had suffered under Belek's regime.

It is time now to ask what result emerges from these contradictory accounts. Most modern historians of the Crusades have accepted Albert's account without much ado, and have made inferences from it about Muslim-Frankish relations around this time. Thus Grousset and Runciman consider Belek's request of aid from Baldwin as evidence showing that the Muslims regarded the count as a mere adventurer like Roussel Bailleul, whose services they supposed were hireable at will.⁵³ However, William of Tyre seems justified in having felt uneasy about Albert's account and sought another explanation for Baldwin's summons to Saruj. Questionable above all is Albert's assertion that it was the Muslim rather than the Christian population who rebelled against Belek. If there was really an insurrection, it is much more likely to have come from the Christian element which is indeed confirmed by the report of Ibn Shaddad. Moreover, as Demirkent points out, it would have been strange for Belek not to accompany Baldwin in a campaign against the town that he wanted to bring back under his control by chastising its rebellious populace. Accordingly Demirkent argues that Belek could not have played any role in the launching of Baldwin's campaign and even that he might have been away from the region, for the Muslim populace had turned to Balduk rather than the warlike Belek for support against Bald-

⁵² Berlin library manuscript, no 9800, 18b cited in Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, "Belek," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, II, 469 and Sevim, "Artukoğlu Sokman'ın Siyasi Faaliyetleri," 508-9.

win.⁵⁴ Of course this choice of theirs would have been perfectly comprehensible if it was indeed Belek who called Baldwin against them, but as we have already seen that this is highly unlikely.

Nevertheless, there is yet another alternative explanation, as revealed by the Anonymous, which can be supplemented by the reports of Albert and Ibn Shaddad about the insurrection by a part of the townsfolk. It yields such a reconstruction of the events: the Franks as well as the Armenians under their protection began to harass Saruj continuously, with the ultimate purpose of removing this obstacle on the Frankish line of communications between Edessa, Tell Bashir and Antioch. Under these conditions, the Christian populace of the town grew confident enough to refuse paying the heavy taxes imposed upon them by Belek, and sought aid from outside to get rid of their Muslim lord and evade his confiscations. This meant that Belek would be deprived of the financial means required to organize the defense of the town just at a time when it was being pressed hard from outside. He must also have perceived that the danger of its betrayal from inside was increasing. In view of this situation, he regarded it best to follow the precedent of Balduk and hand over the town to the Franks for some profit before it was seized by force or treachery. Accordingly, he offered to sell it to Baldwin, who agreed.

As the latter went to take over the town, however, the Muslim majority, fearful perhaps of a massacre, refused to submit to the terms agreed by their lord and the count. Instead they turned for help to the only suitable Muslim alternative they could find in the region, Balduk, and offered to make him their new ruler. However, Baldwin's military superiority became clear through an actual attack he made, or perhaps by the news of the great forces and equipment he had assembled. When the count

⁵³ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 62; Runciman, I, 209.

⁵⁴ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, I, 49-51.

gave new guarantees of safe conduct upon this the Muslim population finally yielded, perhaps also persuaded by the fear of a betrayal by the Christians in the town. As a result no alternative was left for Balduk but to knock on Baldwin's door with apologies. The count did not immediately take measures against the emir, but preferred to wait for a more opportune moment to act against him.

Michael Köhler points out that the treaty between Belek and Baldwin, whatever its exact contents might have been, was a significant event, just as the previous agreement between Balduk and the count had been. For it represented one of the earliest cases of peaceful contact between the Muslims and Franks, involving the conclusion of a sworn peace treaty that incorporated promises of a mainly financial nature.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, there is some possibility that Baldwin failed to fulfill at least part of the terms, for Albert asserts that in return for the town Belek failed to receive anything from him.⁵⁶

The Artukids did not give up their claims on Saruj for good. Beside setting a trap for Baldwin (see the next section), they undertook a direct assault on the town to take it back (1101). They might also have been called by the Muslim populace to rescue them from subjection to the Franks.⁵⁷ The Artukids were probably encouraged in this undertaking by the capture of Bohemond and the change of counts in Edessa in the previous year.⁵⁸ Imad al-Din Khalil draws attention to the important fact that they thus became the first Muslim power to venture an armed clash with the Franks established in Northern Syria and the Jazira.⁵⁹ The most detailed account of this campaign is found in the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, which we shall supplement

⁵⁵ Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1991), 42, 43-5; Runciman, *Crusades*, I, 209-10.

⁵⁶ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 360-61 and *Geschichte*, I, 247 (V.18).

⁵⁷ Yinanç, "Belek," 469.

⁵⁸ Amouroux-Mourad, *Le Comté d'Edesse*, 63.

with reports from the other sources, notably Matthew of Edessa, wherever appropriate.⁶⁰ Although the expedition took place only in January 1101, that is more than two years after Saruj had fallen to the Franks, the Anonymous starts his account right after the report of that former event: “When Sokman ibn Artuk, uncle of Belek, heard that the Franks had taken Saruj,” the chronicler relates, “he gathered a great army and besieged it, relying on the number of Muslims in the town.” It is by no means astonishing that there was still a great number of Muslims in the town by this time. The Franks had been levying poll-tax on the Muslim population of the town, but they did not exercise any forcible conversion or impose other religious restrictions. As Runciman points out, this was at any rate inevitable for a town where the Muslims constituted an overwhelming majority.⁶¹

The Anonymous goes on to relate that Baldwin marched to fight Sokman when he heard of the siege, but then fell into an ambush from which he could scarcely escape to Edessa. Fulcher himself, the Latin lord of Saruj, was taken captive in the same incident. Matthew of Edessa, another indigenous source on the event, attributes this initial defeat of the Franks to their “carelessness and negligence.” Differently from the Anonymous, he states that the lord of Saruj was killed rather than captured.

The Anonymous proceeds to relate that Baldwin crossed the Euphrates and went “in fear” to Antioch in order to raise an army of relief. Matthew reports that in the meanwhile Sokman besieged Saruj once again and came to an agreement with its inhabitants. These must have been the Muslims of the town, for the Anonymous notes that all the Christians had gone up to the citadel with Papias, the Frankish bish-

⁵⁹ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 210.

⁶⁰ “Anonymous Syriac Chronicle,” 76-7; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 177-78 (II.135); Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 50-1 (494: 1100-1101); Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi’l-Tarih*, X, 267 and *Chronicle*, 47 (494: 1100-1101); Al-Azimi, *Azimi Tarihi: Selçuklular Dönemiyle İlgili Bölümler, H.430-538*, edited and translated by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1988), 26 (Arabic) and 32 (Turkish) (494: 1100-1101).

op of Edessa, who happened to be at Saruj at the time. Stores had also been collected in the citadel. Al-Azimi and Ibn al-Qalanisi, exact contemporaries of the event like Matthew, both state explicitly that Sokman captured Saruj, so it can be assumed that the Muslims received the Turks into the city while the Christians sought refuge in the citadel. This is supported by the Anonymous's report that the Christians were besieged there by the Turks who attacked them fiercely.

While this fighting went on day and night, the Anonymous continues, a message from Baldwin reached those in the citadel, telling them to get ready to go on in the offensive. Matthew notes that twenty five days had passed by the time Baldwin returned to Saruj in order to "harass the wicked Persian army." At dawn a two-pronged attack was made, one from the citadel and the other from the Franks who had arrived before the city. The Turks were severely defeated, with many dead, and their camp was plundered. According to Ibn al-Qalanisi, their defeat was caused by the flight of a group of Turkomans just when they were on the point of victory. Sokman lost heart as a result and retired.

The Anonymous goes on to relate that the Franks besieged Saruj after the defeat. Fearful of a massacre again, the Muslims denied them entry despite the promises of safe conduct given them. Evidently, they hoped to be able to keep the town till the arrival of a Turkish relief force. But before that they were massacred by the Franks, who first warned the Christians inside to wear a badge of the cross and then stormed the town, slaying all the Muslims they could find. The Anonymous is corroborated on this point by Ibn al-Qalanisi and Ibn al-Athir, who affirm that nobody was spared slaughter or captivity except those who managed to escape. The rich and populous town was thus destroyed, and the local Christians were reduced to leading

⁶¹ Runciman, *Crusades*, I, 209-10.

an impoverished life amidst its ruins, around the citadel. This event is also reflected in contemporary Arabic literature: the likeable rake Abu Zaid, the protagonist Al-Hariri's famous *Maqamat*, is originally a native of Saruj. He is reported to have left that town to lead the life of a wanderer and swindler after he was driven out by "the enemy."⁶²

2.5 Belek's unsuccessful plot against Baldwin of Edessa

Before Sokman made his full-scale enterprise to recapture Saruj, however, Belek had already attempted to achieve the same result through a trap he set for Baldwin of Boulogne, around the end of 1098. The story of this incident is related by Albert of Aachen and also by William of Tyre who follows him.⁶³ Like the preceding story of Baldwin and Balduk, it shows the existence of close contacts between Muslims and Franks at this early period, while it also reveals that these contacts were far from adding up to a peaceful co-existence based on mutual confidence; in fact they rather tended to produce conflict.

The mistrust of each other by the Franks and Muslims is also reflected in Albert's view of Belek: he asserts that the emir's heart was "full of deceit" towards the Franks who arrived in the region after the capture of Antioch, for in the face of their proliferation he despaired of being able to receive something in return for Saruj, or to take it back from Baldwin. Therefore, Albert relates, he pondered in silence a way of destroying Baldwin through cunning and finally hit upon a "mean way of deception" by which he hoped to do away with the count. Pretending that his heart was full of purity and loyalty, he went to Baldwin and offered to surrender his person and family

⁶² Hariri, *Makamat*, translated by Sabri Selsevil (İstanbul, 1952), 214-15 and *passim*.

⁶³ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 364-65 and *Geschichte*, I, 249-51 (V.22); William of Tyre, *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, I, 306-08 (VII.7).

as well as his remaining castle, Amacha.⁶⁴ He praised the Count as “a man of great power and intelligence” who knew well how to reward those willing to pay tribute and do military service to him. Evidently, Belek proposed here to do exactly what Balduk had done before him, following the latter’s precedent of a Turkish emir serving a Frankish prince. This precedent must have assured Belek that his offer would not arouse suspicions in the count’s mind. Rather than Belek’s success in feigning sincere loyalty, it must also have been what primarily led the count to swallow the bait and accept the offer gladly.

Albert goes on to relate that Belek and Baldwin agreed on a day for the delivery of Amacha. He deplores that Belek “had not given up his deceitful plan” and so hid a hundred men in the castle as the agreed day approached; his purpose was to seize the count as soon as he had set foot in the castle. Baldwin finally arrived with two hundred men, and Belek, “full of deceit and honey-sweet, flattering words” as Albert puts it, began to work on him. He begged the count to enter the fortress with a few men to take control of it; if he desired so, he could then garrison it with the most loyal of his followers. Baldwin gave full credence to the flattering words of the emir and prepared to choose the men who would accompany him into the castle. But he was taken aside at this point by those of his companions who were less at ease about placing so much confidence in the words of an “infidel;” they vehemently advised against entering the castle so trustfully, accompanied by only a few troops and without receiving hostages. Evidently, the same tensions and mistrust were at play here as in the case of Balduk, which had finally led Baldwin to demand hostages from the

⁶⁴ The exact location of this castle is unknown. But Cahen, basing himself on a statement of Michael the Syrian that by the time of Baldwin’s arrival the Turks had come to Saruj and Ma’arrat al-Nu‘man, suggests that the castle “Amacha” mentioned by Albert of Aachen might be Ma’arrat al-Nu‘man. See Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 219, n. 39; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, edited and translated by J. I. Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910), III, 184. But this seems rather unlikely in view of the distance of the Syrian town to the domains of Belek and Baldwin.

emir in his retinue. Therefore, *pace* Grousset and Köhler,⁶⁵ it seems too early at this period to speak of the establishment of a well-functioning *modus vivendi* between the Franks and the Muslims. The agreements concluded between the two sides still stood on flimsy foundations because of a justified lack of trust that the other party would loyally observe its terms.

Indeed the suspicious Franks who after long disputations managed to dissuade the count from entering the castle proved right according to Albert. They agreed that Baldwin would wait below in the valley with his companions, while twelve of his most trusted men would enter the castle to take it over. Once inside the castle, these walked straightaway into the ambush prepared beforehand by Belek, and only two were able to escape from the surprise attack of a hundred Turks previously hidden there. Albert relates that the two Franks managed to reach a window and notify Baldwin waiting below of the trap. But the count could not do anything to rescue them, since the castle was perched on a rocky height and no man's power or ingenuity would suffice to capture it. "Full of lament about the fate of such excellent men," Albert reports, "Baldwin showered Belek with reproaches about his perfidious deceit and repeatedly implored him to return the captured men and accept a pound of Byzantine gold coins as their ransom." Nevertheless, Belek would not consent to anything less than the delivery of Saruj. Since this was impossible for Baldwin, on account of the strategic importance of that stronghold for securing the communications of Edessa with Tell Bashir and Antioch, he returned home with empty hands, "gloomily and complaining bitterly" as Albert notes.

Because of this event the course of the relations between the Turks and Franks in the Jazira took a decisive turn for the worse according to Albert: "From

⁶⁵ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 62; Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 42, 43-5.

this day onwards,” he says, “Baldwin began to consider the Turks, their counsel and help as well as their frequent visits, with much hate and suspicion.” The first victim of this new state of affairs was Balduk, who still delayed in handing over his wife and children as hostages. When the hapless emir dropped in Baldwin’s palace a few days later, “full of creeping flattery” as Albert has it, he was caught and beheaded on the count’s orders. The next measure Baldwin took was to give a hundred knights to Fulcher of Saruj, instructing him to harass Amacha with continuous attacks and so to exact revenge for the captive Franks. During the course of the offensive Fulcher managed to capture six of Belek’s men in an ambush: these were exchanged for six of the prisoners in the emir’s hands. Albert notes that after Baldwin became the king of Jerusalem, four of the other six escaped by taking advantage of the negligence of the guards, but the remaining two were beheaded on Belek’s orders.

William of Tyre’s account closely follows that of Albert, but with many differences in details that shed light on this historian’s view of the relations between Muslims and Franks. We have seen that Albert depicted Belek as being full of deceit towards the Franks and related the event as the story of the perfidious trick he played to recover Saruj. William gives a remarkably different bent to the story, presenting it as one of betrayed friendship. He begins his account by pointing out that Belek had been allied by treaty with Baldwin, and asserts that the two had been on very friendly terms before the arrival in Edessa of great numbers of Franks. Reportedly, their intimacy had reached such a degree that Belek pretended to fear other Muslims greatly because of his mixing with Christians. But then, William continues, Belek noted a marked reduction in Baldwin’s affection towards himself and resented this change.

William attributes Belek's plot against Baldwin to this feeling of resentment against the cooling in the count's attitude.

As William relates how Belek tried to persuade the count to enter the castle with only a small retinue, he puts into the emir's mouth a pretext that would render it more plausible that he almost succeeded: the risk of harm to Baldwin's new property if all the troops were allowed to enter it and then felt tempted to plunder. We have seen that William almost excused Belek for plotting against Baldwin, attributing it to his feelings rather than to his deceitfulness as Albert had put it. But he uses a notably harsher language than the latter when relating the efforts of Baldwin's men to warn him against Belek's intentions: "they rightly distrusted the evil designs of the rascal and judged it safer that the trial be first made by others." As soon as these others had entered the castle, he states with some vehemence that they "fell victims to the perfidious treachery of the wicked Belek."

In the passage where William relates how Baldwin reproached Belek and implored him to return his captured men, he interestingly implies that the two princes had entered into a formal lord-and-subordinate relationship. There is no hint to this effect in his source Albert, who simply reports that Baldwin showered reproaches on the emir because of his "perfidious deceit." In William's account, on the other hand, we are told that the count "earnestly admonished Belek to remember the oath of fidelity which he had taken. On the strength of this fealty, he urged him to return the prisoners so treacherously seized and to receive instead a large sum of money as ransom." This difference probably has to do with the age in which William lived, for the mores of 'curtesie,' of chivalry, the world of the knightly romances were already flourishing by his time. Albert's world, on the other hand, was less governed by formality, more rough and ready.

Another example of this “courtly” coloring of William’s narrative is notable in the passage about Fulcher’s ambush of Belek’s men. In Albert’s original version this feat was a fulfillment of the orders given by Baldwin, who had also provided the hundred knights necessary for it. But William represents it instead as an initiative of Fulcher, who, moved by “wholehearted pity” for his lord, had set out with his men to avenge the “outrageous trick” played on him.

There is a final point of interest where William diverges from Albert: in William’s version, Baldwin’s change of heart against the Turks does not take place immediately after Belek’s attempt to ambush him, but after the execution of the two remaining Frankish captives “by the order of that wicked and impious man.” William himself must have known quite well from his source Albert that the executions in question took place only after Baldwin’s departure for Jerusalem, so this change seems rather like a subtle play on chronology calculated to let Belek’s “wicked and impious” acts build up to a climax, so that Baldwin’s change of heart would be still more justified in the readers’ eyes. “From that day onwards,” the author states, “Baldwin declined any alliance of friendship with the Turks and utterly distrusted their good faith.” He cites Balduk’s execution soon afterwards as a striking proof of the count’s new attitude towards the Turks, and remarks in conclusion that by this summary act Baldwin prevented the possibility of similar treachery in the future.

2.6 Belek’s participation in the battles against the armies of the Crusade of 1101

Albert mentions Belek among the Muslim emirs who fought against armies of Crusaders that arrived in Anatolia in 1101. It might be advisable to approach this

with caution, for he also counts Ridwan of Aleppo among them,⁶⁶ which is highly unlikely given the usually exclusive concern of that prince with securing his possession of Aleppo. It is possible that Albert only wanted to make a place for Belek, this notable enemy of the Franks, in a particularly bloody scene of his narrative. With a similar motive to embellish his narrative, he had shown Kilij Arslan I going as Yaghi Siyan's envoy to Baghdad in order to beg for the sultan's aid — although the two Seljukids were in fact deadly rivals.⁶⁷ Like Cahen, one might alternatively content himself with accepting that Belek and Ridwan provided some sort of support to the Seljukids and Danishmendids, without personally going to join them.⁶⁸ Whatever the case may have been, it is worth having a look at what Albert has to say about Belek's role in the Crusade of 1101.

Belek appears in Albert's account among those pursuing a remnant of the first army of the Crusade. This was a force of around four hundred, formed by the spontaneous gathering of the troops scattered after the rout of the main army near Merzifon. Albert relates that Belek, together with Kilij Arslan and Danishmend, pursued them for three days along the route to Sinope, the same route taken before by their fugitive princes. The three emirs had not "had enough of slaughter," Albert remarks, and so they were eager to kill and capture these as well. But they had to abandon the pursuit after three days, in view of the scattering of the Franks and the threat posed by the powerful emperor in Constantinople. Albert notes that on the way back they slew a thousand of the scattered Christians who were hapless enough to cross their path: "A great number of powerful knights, the speed of whose horses could not help them, met these butchers and were killed by their arrows."⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 602-03 and *Geschichte*, II, 84 (VIII.13).

⁶⁷ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 248-53 and *Geschichte*, I, 167-70 (IV.2-4).

⁶⁸ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 231.

⁶⁹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 614-17 and *Geschichte*, II, 94-95 (VIII.23).

This report of Albert's, if true, shows that Belek was not unwilling to fight those Franks outside his immediate sphere of influence as well. Indeed we shall see later that by the time of his death he was in preparations to go to the aid of Tyre against the Frankish besiegers.⁷⁰

The Artukids had not emerged with any gain from their initial period of contacts with the Franks, comprising the years between the First Crusade and the Crusade of 1101. On the contrary they had lost two important towns, Samosata and Saruj, in their new homeland in the Jazira. This lack of Artukid success would change not long afterwards, when Sokman scored a major victory against the Franks in their efforts to capture Harran. That will be the subject of the next chapter.

⁷⁰ See section 8.5 for that event and chapter 8.6 for a discussion of what it reveals about Belek's policy in general towards the Franks.

CHAPTER 3

SOKMAN: SAVIOR OF HARRAN — AND EDESSA

The failure of the Crusade of 1101 did not prevent the Franks from continuing to expand their territories at the expense of their Muslim neighbors. On the contrary, the years following the Crusade represented one of the most critical periods of the Frankish offensive. One of their most important ventures in the north was to try and capture Harran, which would help them separate Muslim Syria from the Jazira as an important first step to the former's planned annexation. But they were prevented from realizing this plan by Sokman who, joining forces with Chakarmish, the lord of Mosul, inflicted a major defeat on them. But Sokman did not show himself interested in following up this victory with an attack on Edessa, and instead departed with his troops when the captive count of Edessa was kidnapped from his tent by the men of his ally. Although Chakarmish besieged the city on his own, he was not successful and the fall of the Frankish base was postponed for another forty years. The Franks were also besieging Tripoli at this time, which was to be the center of the fourth principality they would establish in the Levant. Upon calls for help from that city Sokman set out to raise the siege; he had also been invited to Damascus by an ailing

Tughtekin who feared the Frankish designs on his own city. Before being able to proceed further, however, Sokman succumbed to illness and died.

Although Sokman fought the Franks to recover Saruj, he seems to have aimed mainly at preventing them from capturing important cities in Syria and the Jazira and thereby establishing a hegemony in the region, rather than attempting to expel them from Edessa or elsewhere. He thus confronted them only to protect his possessions and strategic interests. Nevertheless, on these occasions he does seem to have considered himself as a mujahid waging Holy War; we shall see that he was a precursor of Ilghazi and Belek in this sense.

3.1 Sokman's role in the Battle of Harran

Although the Crusade of 1101 had ended in disaster, the Latin principalities, through the activity of their new leaders, continued to expand to the detriment of their Muslim neighbors in the north and south. In Jerusalem Baldwin count of Boulogne had replaced his brother Geoffrey in 1100. Tancred ruled Antioch for three years, during the captivity of Bohemond in the hands of Danishmend, and resumed its rule after his uncle's departure for the West. In Edessa Baldwin of Boulogne had chosen Baldwin du Bourg as his successor before going to Jerusalem. Finally Joscelin, arriving among the remnants of the Crusader armies of 1101, had become lord of Tell Bashir, an appanage of the County of Edessa to the west of the Euphrates. What all these princes strove for during this time was to establish control over the route between Syria and the Jazira. This would enable them to prevent any military aid from reaching Aleppo and other Muslim cities in Syria, if they besieged them, and also would deprive the Muslims of the profits from the trade activity along this route. Since Harran was situated on the junction between this route and another running south from eastern Asia Minor, and as it lay at a distance of only about 40 km from

Edessa, capturing it was a good way to realize this aim as well as to secure the safety of Edessene territory. In this section we shall examine their venture in this direction and the resulting battle they had with Sokman and Chakarmish. Before that, however, it is necessary to look at a series of preparatory attacks they launched in 1103.

To begin with, the rulers of Tell-Bashir and Edessa undertook a two-pronged offensive on the routes leading from the territory of Aleppo to the Jazira.¹ On the one hand Joscelin strove to block the communications between Aleppo and the Euphrates, and made considerable headway in this direction with his capture of Basarfut (29 March 1104). As Stevenson points out, this step constituted an important preliminary for the attempt against Harran insofar as it enabled the Franks to secure the route between Antioch and Edessa.² On the other hand, Baldwin carried out incursions further east for the purpose of weakening the Muslim neighbors to the south and east of Harran before attacking the city itself. Thus in the south he ravaged the territories of Qal‘at Ja‘bar and Raqqa, both of which were held by Emir Salim ibn Malik.³ In the east Baldwin raided the territories of the Artukids around Mardin and attacked the Turkomans who made up their military power.⁴ Matthew of Edessa reports that Baldwin not only slaughtered a good many of the Turkomans he came across in this region, but also captured their emir Ulagh-Salar as well as their wives and children.

¹ Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps de Croisades et la Principauté Franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 236.

² Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 591-92, and William Barron Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East* (Beirut, 1968), 77.

³ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kāmil fi 't-Tarih Tercümesi*, translated by A. Özeydin, A. Ağırakça et al., 12 vols. (İstanbul, 1987), X, 299-300 and *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi 'l-Tarikh, Part 1*, translated by D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2006), 76 (497: 1103-1104).

⁴ Thus Stevenson's remark that Baldwin's campaign against Mardin was "no part of the general plan" does not seem justified. Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, 77.

He also got hold of innumerable flocks of sheep as well as thousands of horses, cattle and camels.⁵

As Imad al-Din Khalil observes, Baldwin must have aimed through this attack to terrorize the Artukids, restrict their action, and compel them to assume a defensive stance. At the same time, he would be able to bolster his communications with the other Frankish territories in northern Syria.⁶ The attack may indeed have reduced the fighting capacity of the Turkomans to some extent, but the limited nature of the harm they suffered is revealed by the victory that Sokman scored with them soon after, in the Battle of Harran.

3.1.1 *The perspectives of the sources*

3.1.1.1 *Ibn al-Athir*

Ibn al-Athir is the Muslim source who dwells most on the Battle of Harran.⁷ This is hardly surprising, for the historian seems to have used the account of the battle to illustrate the importance of Muslim unity for warding off the attacks of the “infidels,” a favorite theme of his. For this purpose, he represented the attitude of Sokman ibn Artuk and Chakarmish of Mosul as an example to be imitated by the rulers of his own time who neglected waging jihad against the Mongols and Franks because of their petty bickerings. However, we shall see that Ibn al-Athir did not shrink from making convenient modifications in the actual course of events and in the arrangement of his material for this purpose of edification. The very beginning of his ac-

⁵ Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated by Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham, New York, London, 1993), 192 (III.15).

⁶ Imad al-Din Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya fi 'l-Jazira wa 'l-Sham* (Beirut, 1980), 211.

⁷ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi 't-Tarih*, X, 303-04 and *Chronicle*, 76 (497: 1103-1104).

count, with his lamentation of the lack of Muslim unity at that time, followed immediately by the report of internecine strife in Harran, makes this edificatory bent clear:

At a time when the Franks (may God forsake them) were boasting of the Islamic territories they had seized and it turned out in their favor that the armies and princes of Islam were busy fighting each other, the opinions of the Muslims were divided, their desires at variance, and their properties in a state of dissipation.

Ibn al-Athir proceeds to tell how Harran fell prey to a palace coup just on the eve of the Frankish attack. The deputy left in the city by its ruler Karaja, a mamluk of Malikshah, had rebelled against his master and got rid of all his men save a certain Turk. Although he befriended this man and appointed him as the commander of his troops, the latter's thanks were to murder him in collaboration with one of his friends. It was at this point that the Franks marched on Harran and laid siege to it. Ibn al-Athir makes it clear that his protagonists Sokman and Chakarmish were shining exceptions in this general picture of Muslim weakness and disunity:

Between Mu'īn al-Dawla Sokman and Shams al-Dawla Chakarmish there were hostilities, since Sokman was seeking revenge for the killing of his nephew and both were preparing to confront the other. When they heard this news, each of them sent to the other calling for unity to rescue the situation at Harran and announcing that he had offered himself to God's service in return for His reward to come. Each accepted what the other wanted and so they set out and met at the River Khabur, where they swore mutual oaths and marched on to meet the Franks.

Nevertheless, the fact of the matter may have been a little bit different and somewhat less exemplary than Ibn al-Athir makes it appear here, as revealed by another passage later in his chronicle. For when reporting the earlier murder of Sokman's brother Yakuti and the start of Sokman's feud with Chakarmish,⁸ the historian offers a rather different version of how the feud ended: "Chakarmish sent a large sum of money in secret to Sokman, who took it and was satisfied. He said, 'Yakuti was killed in battle and his killer is unknown.'" This seems to stand in contradiction to

⁸ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 317 and *Chronicle*, 91 (498: 1104-1105).

the earlier story that the two emirs gave up their feud to join in jihad against the Franks, but the two versions may be complementary: perhaps Chakarmish was anxious to settle the dispute in order to have Sokman's support and therefore offered the money, and Sokman accepted the proffered settlement as sufficient in the given conditions. Ibn al-Athir may have deemed it useful to ignore the payment issue to strengthen his message. We have already seen his introductory plea for Muslim unity, and further below we shall see how he depicts Sokman as renouncing his right on the captive count stolen from his tent for the sake of "Muslim unity." Considered together, these two give sufficient ground to surmise that with the same edificatory intention the historian may have concealed part of the original story to urge the rulers of his own time to join in jihad against the Franks and Mongols alike. His separation of the two reports, those of the feud and the Battle of Harran, and the significant reversal of their order in the narrative, may also have been directed to the same end.

Continuing with his account, Ibn al-Athir indicates that the Muslims were about ten thousand strong in all, seven thousand of these being made up of Sokman's Turkomans and the rest of the mixed troops of Chakarmish constituting Turks, Kurds and Arabs. In the battle by the river Balikh, he relates, the Muslims applied the technique of feigned flight for about two leagues before they turned against their pursuers and routed them, collecting a good deal of booty in the process. The chronicler notes that before the battle Bohemond and Tancred had lain in ambush behind a hill to take the Muslims from the rear once the fight was in full course. Observing the rout of their allies from the top of that hill, they hid until the night and fled. But they were pursued and attacked on the way by Sokman, and got away with only six horsemen.

Baldwin and a number of Frankish counts, on the other hand, fleeing the battlefield, had got stuck in the mud while trying to cross the river Balikh. Caught by

one of the Turkomans, they were taken to Sokman's tent, which was shortly to be the scene of an especially edifying example of Muslim unity offered us by the historian. He relates how Chakarmish's troops, returning with empty hands from the battlefield, observed in envy that Sokman's Turkomans had gathered all the booty available. So while Sokman was away in pursuit of the Normans they incited Chakarmish to seize Baldwin, pointing out the public shame that would accrue for them if they let the Turkomans seize the entire booty. As Grousset remarks, it is possible here to observe the contempt that the regular, heavy mailed Seljukid troops of mixed ethnic origin felt for the free-roaming Turkoman groups that served the Artukids.⁹ On their urging, Ibn al-Athir relates, Chakarmish consented to send some of his men to bring Baldwin from Sokman's tent. When Sokman returned from the pursuit to discover the theft of a prisoner invaluable for the prestige as well as the high amount of ransom he would have brought, he was greatly offended and his men began to prepare for a battle with the forces of Chakarmish. But Ibn al-Athir states that he contained himself and held his troops back, exclaiming: "Let the Muslims' rejoicing at this ghaza not turn to sorrow because of our discord. I don't deem it wise to quench my anger with the gloating of the enemies over the Muslims."¹⁰

This scene is obviously in harmony with Ibn al-Athir's general treatment of the battle, aiming to press home for his own contemporaries the need to supersede divisions among the Muslims in order to ensure the survival of Islam in face of the Franks and Mongols. Sokman's reported declaration in this case seems ideally fit for this edificatory purpose of the historian, for it represents the emir's abandonment of his claim on the valuable captive and his avoidance of retaliation as a heroic sacrifice made for the cause of Muslim unity. It is also in keeping with Ibn al-Athir's earlier

⁹ René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-1936), I, 406-07.

suppression of the payment of money when he told how the two emirs in feud had renounced their right to exact further vengeance so that they could join forces against the “infidels.” Sokman’s declaration should also be approached with the same caution.

Again in keeping with his edificatory bent, Ibn al-Athir suppresses the fact that the two allies parted ways after this event and failed to collaborate further to finish the work they had begun. This provided the Franks of Edessa with the opportunity to recover with very little permanent territorial loss from the veritable disaster they had suffered. Instead the historian contents himself with noting that Sokman seized some castles in Shabakhtan, through deception, by having his men disguised as Franks. After his departure Chakarmish headed to Harran, installing his own governor there, and then proceeded to Edessa. He besieged this city for fifteen days, without result, and so returned to Mosul with Baldwin as his captive.

Ibn al-Athir had good reason for treating this stage of the events in summary fashion, as it would hardly show his heroes, especially Sokman in a positive light, and would certainly detract from the ideal example of Muslim unity he wanted to put before his readers. But the fact remains that Sokman’s hasty departure with his troops, who made up the major part of the Muslim forces, caused a golden opportunity to be lost for taking Edessa. Indeed Işın Demirkent contends that Sokman’s act saved Edessa from almost certain capture, and postponed its fall for another forty years.¹¹ Grousset goes even further in arguing that without this rupture, which possibly saved the great Frankish cities, the Battle of Harran could have signified the debacle of Frankish Syria much like the Battle of Hattin eighty years later. But the gen-

¹⁰ Compare the original text in Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh* (Beirut, 1965-1967), X, 375.

¹¹ Işın Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu Tarihi* (Vol. 1: İstanbul, 1974, Vol. 2: Ankara, 1994), I, 94-5, n. 387.

eral Muslim disunity brought about the result that the Muslim reconquest came to a halt on the line of the Orontes.¹²

Touching upon the same issue, Cahen and Runciman assert that what actually saved Edessa was Chakarmish's preoccupation with seizing the Frankish castles in Shabakhtan as a precautionary measure against Sokman. According to them, this caused a delay that granted Tancred precious time to organize the defences of the city.¹³ However, as Ibn al-Athir's account makes clear, it was not Chakarmish but Sokman himself who occupied the region of Shabakhtan after the Battle of Harran. As Demirkent suggests, the reason for the failure of the siege of Edessa should rather be sought in the depletion of the Muslim troops on Sokman's departure with the major part of the army.

Ibn al-Athir commits an error in the conclusion, where he states that Chakarmish released Baldwin in return for 35,000 dinars and 160 Muslim captives. As Matthew of Edessa reports and Ibn al-Athir himself reveals at a later point,¹⁴ the count was in fact released a few years later by Chawli, the successor of Chakarmish in Mosul. He also notes that the total Frankish casualties amounted to twelve thousand, but this seems a very exaggerated number.

3.1.1.2 *Ibn al-Qalanisi and al-Azimi*

One of the earlier sources that Ibn al-Athir seems to have drawn upon in his account of the battle is the Damascene dignitary Ibn al-Qalanisi, a contemporary of the events.¹⁵ The theme of jihad and the confrontational language associated with it is as much a component of Ibn al-Qalanisi's work as that of Ibn al-Athir's, although

¹² Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 406-07, 412-13.

¹³ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 238; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Harmondsworth, 1965), II, 44.

its distribution throughout the chronicle is uneven, changing in accordance with the political allegiances of Damascus at the time. Thus while it was strikingly limited during the reign of Zangi, whose aggressive policy compelled the Damascene notables including Ibn al-Qalanisi to steer close to the Frankish camp, it flourished in the periods before and after. Accordingly, his account of the Battle of Harran, like that of Ibn al-Athir, openly glorifies the Muslim alliance against the “enemies of God”:

News arrived that the emirs Sokman ibn Artuk and Chakarmish, lord of Mosul, had joined forces and made a solemn agreement with one another to prosecute the Holy War against the Franks, the enemies of God, and to devote their entire strength and means to active warfare with them.

The agreement in question is of course the one mentioned by Ibn al-Athir, but Ibn al-Qalanisi does not state that the two sides had abandoned their feud to conclude it.

Another important point where Ibn al-Qalanisi diverges from Ibn al-Athir is that he makes no mention of a prior Frankish attack on Harran. On the contrary, he reports that the Muslim allies went first to Ra’s al-Ain and then advanced upon Edessa. In his version, it was only when the Muslims had reached Ra’s al-Ain that Bohemond and Tancred set out from Antioch to avoid Baldwin in Edessa. As they approached the Muslim forces attacking Edessa, both sides got prepared and joined battle on 7 May. Nevertheless, there is a serious problem with Ibn al-Qalanisi’s version of the events. Firstly, he fails to make any mention of Baldwin and Joscelin, making it seem as though the battle had taken place only between the Normans from Antioch and the Muslims — whereas the case was entirely different, as we shall see. Secondly, we know from the other accounts of the battle that it did not take place anywhere

¹⁴ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi’t-Tarih*, X, 369 and *Chronicle*, 138 (502: 1108-1109); Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 201 (III.39).

¹⁵ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 60-1 (497: 1103-1104).

near Edessa but much farther to the south, near the town of Raqqa, which lay at a distance of around a hundred kilometers from Edessa.

Of course it is possible that Ibn al-Qalanisi may have allowed himself some degree of geographical imprecision here, for it was not uncommon for medieval chroniclers to indicate, for the sake of convenience, simply the nearest big city for the location of a battle, despite knowing that it had in fact occurred quite far away. Nevertheless, this does not seem to be the case with Ibn al-Qalanisi's testimony, for he clearly states that the battle broke out when the Frankish army closed with the Muslim army that was busy attacking Edessa. It follows that the geographical discrepancy between Ibn al-Qalanisi's account and what can be ascertained from all the other sources is a real one, and it seriously compromises the credibility of his assertion that the Muslims attacked Edessa first. This is all the more so as the chronicler fails to mention any pursuit that might have led the two armies away from Edessa. Accordingly Nicholson cannot be deemed justified in preferring Ibn al-Qalanisi's testimony to that of Ibn al-Athir on the basis of contemporaneity alone, and to use it to prove that it was the Muslims rather than the Franks who attacked first.¹⁶

Indeed another example of how a contemporary author could go astray in relating the battle is the case of Al-Azimi,¹⁷ a local chronicler of Aleppo who lived around the same time as Ibn al-Qalanisi. His city, into the bargain, was also closer to the scene of the Battle of Harran than Damascus. In his work Al-Azimi mentions the battle as "the event of Qattar," and erroneously dates it to the Muslim year 496 rather than 497. He relates that Sokman ibn Artuk and Chakarmish lured the Franks by a ruse into the desert of "Qattar," blocking the water sources on their way. Here they

¹⁶ Robert L. Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of His Career and Work in their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (New York, 1978), 140-42 and 141, n. 4, 5.

attacked the Franks, killing many of them, while the survivors died later of thirst. The location in question remains unidentified, though it might be an Arabicized form of Carrhae, the ancient name of Harran. At any rate, however, Al-Azimi's testimony does not seem reconcilable with any of the other accounts of the battle. At most it might be possible to see in the luring of the Franks into "the desert" a distant echo of the initial stage of the battle, when the Muslims withdrew to Raqqa as we shall see. The thirst of the survivors, in turn, might reflect the difficulties suffered by the Franks as they were dispersed in flight toward Edessa and other places.

Ibn al-Qalanisi's apparent ignorance about the geographical and other details of the battle does not seem to have prevented him from grasping the full significance of the victory, as his rhapsodic language in the conclusion reveals: "God gave victory to the Muslims over their enemy, and they put them to flight, and did great execution amongst them. Their numbers exceeded ten thousand horse and foot, exclusive of baggage-train and camp followers. Bohemond and Tancred fled with a small following."¹⁸ Ibn al-Qalanisi rightly considered the victory as a turning point, a breakthrough, not least psychologically, for the Muslims:

This was a great and unprecedented victory for the Muslims; it discouraged the Franks, diminished their numbers, and broke their power of offence, while the hearts of the Muslims were strengthened, and their zeal for the victory of the Faith and the war against the heretics was whetted and sharpened. The people joyfully noised abroad the good news of the victory over them, and became assured of their destruction and the turning of fortune against them.

Indeed, leaving aside the defeat of the Crusader armies of 1101 in the far-away western and northern regions of Asia Minor, this was the first time that the Franks saw themselves defeated by a force of equivalent size in the central Muslim

¹⁷ Al-Azimi, *Azimi Tarihi: Selçuklular Dönemiyle İlgili Bölümler, H.430-538*, edited and translated by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1988), 27 (Arabic) and 34 (Turkish) (496: 1102-1103).

lands of Syria and the Jazira. This damaged their military prestige and revealed that they were not invincible after all.¹⁹ The psychological effect of this revelation on the Muslims and indigenous Christians in the region was to show up clearly in the sequel of the battle, when the normally pusillanimous Ridwan attacked the territory of Antioch and the subjected Muslims and indigenous Christians rebelled against Frankish rule.

3.1.1.3 *Ibn al-Adim*

The Muslim source who relates this sequel in greatest detail is Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim,²⁰ a younger contemporary of Ibn al-Athir and the local chronicler of Aleppo. He dwells especially on the relief that the victory brought for a time to Aleppo. He reveals that Ridwan of Aleppo had not taken part in the battle itself but waited by the banks of the Euphrates to see its outcome. Learning about the victory, he ordered the subjected Muslim population in the former lands of Aleppo to rebel and arrest all the Franks living there. Ibn al-Adim reports that upon this the people of Fou'ah, Sarmin, Ma'arrat-Misrin and other towns ran to arms and carried out Ridwan's orders. There remained in the Franks' hands only Jabal Summaq and Hab as well as the strongholds of Ma'arrat Nu'man, Kafartab and Sawwaran, the last of which was captured later by Shams al-Khawass, lord of Hama and Salamiya. As a result, the Frankish garrisons of Ma'arrat Nu'man, Kafartab, Lathmin and al-Bara found themselves isolated and surrounded on all sides by Muslim territory, and sought refuge in Antioch. Then the inhabitants of all these places, except for Hab, handed them over to Ridwan and his officers. All these conquests must have bol-

¹⁸ This statement shows that the number of twelve thousand, given by Ibn al-Athir for the Frankish casualties, was close to the number of their entire fighting force. It also corroborates Ibn al-Athir's assertion that Bohemond and Tancred were able to escape with only a small retinue.

stered Ridwan's position against other Muslim rulers as well, for Ibn al-Adim notes that the men of Janah al-Dawla of Hims garrisoned in Balis and al-Faia and those of Shams al-Khawass garrisoned in Hama and Salamiya also handed over their towns to Ridwan.

In conclusion Ibn al-Adim remarks that security came to prevail in the lands of Aleppo once again and those who had fled began to return. Ridwan, with his self-confidence restored, instructed his troops to carry out continuous incursions against the lands of Antioch. The chronicler observes that Bohemond found himself unable to defend his territory against these attacks, since he had been able to escape from Sokman's pursuit with only a small remnant of his men. Apprehensive of the restored power of the Muslims, according to Ibn al-Adim, he embarked from Syria to bring back new recruits from his homeland, and entrusted Antioch and Edessa to his nephew Tancred.

It might be asked at this point why Sokman and Chakarmish failed to participate in Ridwan's offensive against the Principality of Antioch. For they had reportedly sworn oaths to wage jihad against the Franks, and Sokman would later march to assist against them the emirs of two other Syrian cities, Damascus and Tripoli. The reason for Sokman's failure to help Ridwan in this case was probably that they had been at loggerheads since the time of the First Crusade, when Sokman had prevented the timely defense of Antioch with his insistence on going to Diyar Bakr, and then failed in the Battle of the Lake to raise the Frankish siege.²¹ As for Chakarmish, we shall see Albert of Aachen relate that he was severely defeated in the siege he undertook against Edessa following Sokman's departure, and lost many troops as a result.

¹⁹ Thomas Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), 55; Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 44.

²⁰ Ibn al-Adim, *Zubda*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 592-93.

²¹ See section 2.2.

So he was probably not in a position to proceed west and engage the Franks around Antioch even if he had wished so.

Nevertheless, more important than these factors must be the fact that Ridwan himself would hardly be willing to receive aid from these powerful lords of the Jazira, fearing that he might be deprived of his city in the process. How strong this fear was would become clear in the campaign of the allied Seljukid forces in 1111: although they had come to ward off the Frankish threat against Muslim Syria, Ridwan even refused to open the gates for them.²² Already by 1104, Sokman and Chakarmish may have been aware of Ridwan's attitude to the Muslim powers of the Jazira and this was probably the chief reason why they did not consider joining him in a common offensive against the Principality of Antioch.

Ibn al-Adim's account of the aftermath of the Battle of Harran is valuable insofar as he points out the resulting revival of the powers of Ridwan and the relief of Aleppo, which had been placed under intense pressure by the Franks since Bohemond had returned from his captivity in the hands of Danishmend. The historian also takes notice of the corresponding weakening of the Principality of Antioch as a result of the heavy loss of troops and territories, which rendered it the real victim of the disaster rather than the County of Edessa.²³ Another point discerned by Ibn al-Adim is that Bohemond's decision to depart for Europe was among the indirect consequences of the Muslim victory at Harran. All these observations are indeed confirmed by the Latin chronicler Ralph of Caen, as we shall see.

²² See section 4.4.

²³ Asbridge, *Creation*, 55.

3.1.1.4 *The Anonymous Syriac and Michael the Syrian*

While the Arabic sources thus hold up an idealized example of Muslim unity, the Syriac sources offer a contrasting picture of Christian disunity, caused according to them by the egoism, greed and ambition of the Frankish leaders. Rendering them blind to the consequences of reckless competition among themselves, these faults had arguably led to their crushing defeat at the hands of the Muslims. Matthew of Edessa, as we shall see, adds to these charges their sinfulness, which had supposedly provoked divine punishment.

The account of the Anonymous Syriac is the most detailed amongst these indigenous Christian sources.²⁴ He notes at the beginning that the Franks had grown very powerful by 1104, so much so that their leaders resolved to march east and conquer all the lands there. But when they gathered at Edessa with their armies, the Anonymous relates, they fell into disagreement about how they would share the Muslim cities, which they counted as already captured:

One wanted Mayyafariqin, one Amid, one Nisibis, one Mosul, till they cast lots which deserved mockery. As was their bad habit they did not agree through pride. They stayed long in Edessa discussing the division of the towns that belonged to the Turks.

It is observable in this passage that the author adopts an explicitly critical, even mocking attitude towards the Franks' self-confidence, as he knew by hindsight the disastrous outcome of their venture. Also notable in the passage is that he points out the Franks' pride and their resulting discord as a characteristic bad habit of theirs.

The Anonymous goes on to relate that the Franks finally agreed on marching against Nisibis, which might in fact be the final destination in their planned series of conquests. But during their delay in Edessa, the Anonymous notes, the Turks had heard of their gathering and assembled a great force themselves. Then they began to

wait for the Franks to march off, planning to attack them on the way. The Anonymous reveals that when the Franks finally left Edessa, they were accompanied by a numerous group of townsmen who were also too sure of the victory, and therefore eager to make an easy fortune by collecting booty and taking Muslim prisoners wherever they would occupy. After reaching the plain of Harran and passing it on the East, the Franks reportedly stopped at Ra's al-Ain. Here, according to the Anonymous, the inhabitants of Harran brought the keys of the town to the Franks, because of their fear, and doing them obeisance, offered their submission.

But the keys were rejected by Baldwin, and the Anonymous offers a critical analysis of his motive in doing so. He states that Baldwin considered Harran to be already his property, as it would be annexed to his domains once taken over. If the other princes entered and camped in the city, he feared they would get hold of it as well, and in any case the sack and plunder of the town by their numerous troops would cause him to take it over in a much weakened state. Considering this to be disadvantageous for himself, the count returned the keys to the populace of Harran, telling them that they were henceforth his subjects and were accordingly to keep the town until he would return and the troops of other princes would disperse. The Anonymous states that the latter, and especially Tancred²⁵ were very angry at Baldwin for this decision, and notes the objections they brought against it:

They told him that he had not done well, they should have occupied that strong city, left their superfluous baggage in it, and gone in light order to meet the enemies who were near. If God gave them victory none would have taken it from Baldwin; and if the Turks had heard of the taking of the city, it would have broken their spirit. If they should be defeated, which God forbid, it would be a near refuge.

²⁴ "The First and Second Crusaders from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," translated by M. A. S. Tritton with notes by H. A. R. Gibb, *JRAS* 92 (1933), 78-80.

²⁵ The Anonymous never mentions Bohemond throughout his account, probably because his name had slipped into oblivion among the inhabitants of the region after his departure for good for Europe.

All these points were made in vain, however, as they were unable to overcome the recalcitrance of Baldwin.

Then the Anonymous depicts the Frankish army on the march, hinting thereby at the rift that had opened in their ranks as well as at the psychology of the Normans: “The Franks marched from Dahbanah [Ra’s al-Ain] and spread out towards the river Balikh, the angry Tancred marching always behind and in the rear.” Upon reaching the river, he relates, they found themselves face to face with “thousands and tens of thousands” of Turks. With the shower of arrows they poured “like clouds of rain” these threw the Franks into fear and consternation at the start of the battle. Then, drawing their swords, the Turks began a slaughter in the vanguard of the Frankish army. This description of the battle seems plausible, as we know that the classical military technique of the Turkoman troops at the time consisted of surrounding the enemy in great numbers, breaking their ranks by a shower of arrows from afar, and then fighting at close quarters with swords.²⁶ All these details fit in with the Anonymous’s description.

Significantly, the Anonymous reveals that Tancred and his troops, who had remained in the rear because of their resentment against Baldwin, had turned and fled on seeing the vanguard massacred, and thus abandoned their comrades in the front. In view of what had gone before, this report of the Anonymous seems quite plausible. They had been denied a share from the spoils of Harran, and not even allowed to deposit their baggage there, as Baldwin had rejected to pay heed to their common-sense advice to turn Harran into a safe military base before meeting the enemy. Apparently, this had much reduced their eagerness to collaborate with the count on the joint venture against the Muslims, a state of mind revealed by the fact that they had

²⁶ R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193*, Second Edition (Cambridge, 1995), 80-3.

doggedly kept to the rear of the Edessene army during the march. Under these conditions, it was not surprising that they deserted Baldwin and the Edessenenes as soon as they saw them in trouble.

As a result, the Anonymous relates, “the Turks increased in strength, slew without mercy, and took many into captivity.” Amongst those captured were Baldwin and Joscelin, whose camp, equipment, horses and goods were thoroughly plundered. Unaware that Baldwin and Joscelin were separated, the latter being taken to Hisn Kaifa,²⁷ the Anonymous states that “the Turks took them in bonds to Mosul and there they reigned, topsy-turvily as they hoped.” Thus he ends his account with a return to his starting criticism of the Franks’ pride and presumption. Sardonicly, he draws attention to the contrast between their grandiose plans of conquest and the pitiful outcome of those plans. The Anonymous’s final report about the Normans is hardly more benevolent. He relates how Tancred went to Edessa and rested there for a few days, eating, drinking, and acting as he wished. Before returning to Antioch, he notes, the Norman prince confiscated much wealth and many horses from the city and appointed his man Richard (of the Principate) as governor.

The chronicles of Michael the Syrian and the Anonymous are accepted to be generally independent of each other, as their testimonies on the same events usually display considerable divergence.²⁸ Nevertheless, their accounts of the Battle of Harran turn out to be remarkably parallel on basic points, with Michael the Syrian’s version resembling a summary version of that of the Anonymous. As we shall see, this might have been because the two chroniclers drew upon a common source for this

²⁷ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 194 (III.19).

²⁸ *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad A.C. 1234 Pertinens*, translated by A. Abouna (Louvain, 1974), Introduction, ix-x.

event. In comparison Michael's account²⁹ is more straightforward and matter-of-fact, attributing the Franks' defeat directly to their division about the partition of Muslim lands and the takeover of Harran. In the same connection, it must be noted that his attitude toward the Franks and their failed attempt, although not entirely without criticism, is nowhere as depreciatory and sarcastic as that of the Anonymous.

Michael starts by relating how the Franks went in great numbers and "with ostentation" to Edessa, where they passed the days discussing the partition of the lands and cities of the Muslims once taken. Like the Anonymous, he states that the Turks assembled to confront the Franks as they continued their delay in Edessa with such discussions. When the Franks finally advanced to battle, he notes, they were still "dissatisfied with each other because of the partition of the country." Whereas the Anonymous reported that the people of Harran came to offer the keys to the Franks before Ra's al-Ain, Michael states that they came out to meet the Franks as the latter arrived before Harran itself. Rather than take advantage of the troubled situation of Harran, he relates, Baldwin refused to receive its keys for fear that the other Franks would plunder and devastate it upon entering. When they departed from before the city, he remarks, "they were still more divided for not having entered Harran to deposit their baggage." It is possible to find here a distant echo of the arguments put forward by the others to dissuade him according to the Anonymous. But it is not reported as a dialogue, and leaves out the arguments about breaking the spirit of the Turks by taking the city and about turning it into a safe refuge to serve in case of defeat.

Michael also fails to mention the fact that Tancred and the other Normans kept, angrily or otherwise, to the rear of the Edessene troops and abandoned them

²⁹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, edited and translated by J. B. Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910), III, 194-95.

when the fight at close quarters began. It should be noted that unlike the Anonymous Michael avoids naming Tancred as the leader of those who opposed Baldwin in the dispute. Relating the battle, he contents himself with stating that the Franks were defeated because of their divisions, firstly about the partition of the yet-to-be-conquered Muslim lands, and then about the issue of entering Harran to deposit their baggages. Like the Anonymous, he erroneously reports that both Baldwin and Joscelin were taken to Mosul and, without making any mention of Bohemond, notes that Tancred fled to Edessa where he appointed Richard of the Principate as governor. Nevertheless, he omits any mention of Tancred's confiscations in the city. Indeed, the kind of critical, sardonic side remarks that we have seen the Anonymous make about Tancred, Baldwin and Joscelin are singularly lacking in Michael's version. This is in keeping with his mild attitude toward the Franks that we have observed in the rest of the account and shall discuss presently.

It is evident that the testimonies of the Anonymous and Michael the Syrian display too many parallels to be considered independent of each other. Common to both accounts are the course of events, the issues at stake in the divisions of the Franks, the analysis of Baldwin's motivation for refusing to receive Harran's keys, some of the arguments put forward by the other princes to dissuade him, and the singling out of these divisions as the main cause of the ultimate disaster. There are also common errors, like reporting that Joscelin had been sent to Mosul with Baldwin, and failing to mention Bohemond. And yet there are also some rather subtle but still important differences between the two accounts. Indeed, leaving aside the single jibe at the "ostentation" of the Franks in the beginning, Michael avoids any explicit remarks about what the Anonymous castigates as the pride and egoism of the Franks, although both relate the same bickerings. Again in contrast to the Anonymous, he

maintains a discreet silence about the opposition of Tancred and other Normans to Baldwin, as well as their subsequent desertion at the most critical stage of the conflict.

The reason for this might be that the two authors made use of a common source that originally had a more objective tone, while the remarks against the Franks were added later by the Anonymous. But Michael the Syrian does not mention concrete events like the desertion of the Normans either, which would show the Franks in a bad light. So it seems more probable that the original source did contain these criticisms and events in some form, which were then taken over by the Anonymous, while Michael the Syrian preferred to bowdlerize them as much as possible. This is supported by the further consideration that the author of this source had probably lived through at least part of the first half of the twelfth century, before the collapse of the County of Edessa. Indeed he may have been a certain Basil Bar Shumana (d. 1171), whose now lost *History of Edessa* was used by the Anonymous and Michael the Syrian alike.³⁰ If this was so, he had witnessed the Frankish presence during its most powerful period in the Jazira, and as in the case of Matthew of Edessa, this experience may have alienated him from the Franks and led him to assume a generally hostile attitude against them.

This raises the question why Michael should have chosen to excise the reflections of this hostility, while the Anonymous did not. The reason might be sought in the fact that Michael, as the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch in the latter half of the twelfth century, was in a position where he had to maintain good relations with the Franks. Indeed he even resided for a year in Antioch,³¹ and does not seem to have had any particular grievances against them. He had every interest in ensuring that

³⁰ *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon*, Introduction, x.

³¹ Anneliese Lüders, *Die Kreuzzüge im Urteil Syrischer und Armenischer Quellen* (Berlin, 1964), 7.

this remained so, for the sake of the Jacobite Church as well as the Jacobite population under Frankish rule. In contrast, a modest cleric like the Anonymous (who wrote in the early thirteenth century) had no such connections and responsibilities, and therefore lacked any particular motive to purge the remarks and events in his source that would show the Franks in a bad light.

The course of events reported by the Syriac sources has not remained uncontested in the modern literature. Robert Nicholson, calling into question the reliability of the Anonymous's version,³² rejects the idea that the Frankish force could have remained in Edessa to discuss the partition of Muslim lands. Accepting the disputable testimonies of Ibn al-Qalanisi, Ralph of Caen and Albert of Aachen,³³ he argues that this was a "relief force" trying to save Edessa, rather than an army bent on territorial aggrandizement at the expense of the Muslims. He also finds it implausible that Tancred, following his dispute with Baldwin, angrily kept to the rear of the Edessenes and fled after their rout, asserting that "these statements are in disagreement with all the contemporary accounts of the campaign of Harran." But we have seen that the source used by the Anonymous for this event was probably contemporary as well, and living in the Jazira itself, this source was in a good position to know what happened. More importantly, we shall see that Matthew of Edessa, who was an exact contemporary of the battle and similarly lived in the region, corroborates the testimony of the Anonymous in its main lines. In any case, as is evident from the accounts of Ibn al-Qalanisi and Al-Azimi, contemporaneity is not by any means the sole criterion with which to measure the reliability of sources. Ralph of Caen and Albert of Aachen were authors contemporary with the events, but we shall see that they

³² Robert Nicholson, *Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa* (Urbana, 1954), 99; Nicholson, *Tancred*, 239.

³³ See below for the discussion of the latter two sources.

only reproduced Norman propaganda aimed to exonerate Bohemond and Tancred from the charge of having forsaken their comrades in the battle.

Nicholson objects to the testimony of Michael the Syrian on the same lines.³⁴ He rejects his statements that the Franks disputed the partition of Muslim territory in Edessa, and that the people of Harran brought them the keys of their city. In the last connection, he points out the role of these people in the pursuit and massacre of the Franks in flight: “The citizenry of Harran played no such craven role as Michael the Syrian alleges, but rather one of active cooperation with their fellow Muslims against the Franks.” Although indeed the Anonymous (rather than Michael) indicated that the townsfolk had brought the keys to the Franks out of fear, this was probably not a matter of cravenness on their part. As we shall see in the accounts of Matthew of Edessa and William of Tyre, they were rather compelled to surrender by famine conditions and were accordingly able to go on in the offensive once they had been provisioned by the Muslim army. Işın Demirkent, like Nicholson, asserts that “it cannot be deduced in any way from the course of events that the people of Harran offered to surrender to the Crusaders,”³⁵ but fails to go into further detail and explain why. On the other hand, she does accept that some sort of dispute took place between the Frankish leaders before Harran, pointing out the contrast between the firm collaboration of the Normans and Edessenes up to this time and the extremely hostile attitude Tancred adopted toward the latter from then until 1112.

³⁴ Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 99-100.

³⁵ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, I, 88.

3.1.1.5 *Matthew of Edessa*

Matthew of Edessa's account³⁶ agrees with the course of events related by the Syriac sources in its main lines, including the start of the conflict with the Franks' siege of Harran and their eventual separation into two contingents because of a dispute. The author also criticizes the pride and overconfidence of the Franks, like the Anonymous, and adds to this charge a condemnation of their sinfulness. He starts by relating how Baldwin and Joscelin launched an expedition against Harran and summoned Bohemond and Tancred from Antioch to join them; mustering all the Armenian troops in Edessa as well, they constituted a great army. As the Franks and Armenians marched against Harran and besieged it tightly, he states, the town was confronted with the danger of famine.

Thus Matthew corroborates the testimony of Ibn al-Athir and the Syriac sources in attributing the cause of the battle to the Franks' siege of Harran rather than the Muslims' siege of Edessa. On the other hand, he does not report that the people of Harran offered the keys of the town to the Franks. Nevertheless, the conditions that may have forced them to make such an offer can be discerned in Matthew's mention of the danger of famine they faced. This is corroborated by William of Tyre's testimony, as we shall see. It must be noted besides that unlike the Syriac sources Matthew does not fail to name Bohemond among the Frankish princes in the campaign. Finally, the Armenian troops that he says were mustered from Edessa may have been the same as the inhabitants of Edessa who according to the Anonymous accompanied the Franks to share in the booty to be made.

At this point in his narrative Matthew inserts an interesting episode which cannot simply be dismissed as legendary material of no value, for it is illustrative of

³⁶ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 192-94 (III.18, 19).

the author's attitude to the Franks and in this respect displays some remarkable affinities with the critical stance of the Anonymous. He relates that during the siege of Harran one of the Franks committed an act "not pleasing to God," which he says became a direct cause of their eventual defeat by the Muslims. Reportedly, this man broke open a loaf of bread, and after he had defecated in it, placed it before the gates of the town. A townsman starving in the conditions of famine finally dared to go and pick up the bread, but was nauseated when he looked inside and took it to the townspeople. The story goes that upon seeing the bread they exclaimed: "This is a sinful deed which God will not allow to go unpunished." They went on to assert: "He will not give the Franks the victory, for they have contaminated this bread, a profanation without compare on the earth."

Here Matthew seems to hold the Franks guilty of nothing less than profaning the host. The population of Harran was in fact Muslim, but this detail was apparently of little concern to the author as he wrote the anecdote to press home his point about the sinfulness of the Franks. Although of very doubtful authenticity, therefore, the story should still be taken seriously for its value in showing how much the Armenian author's view of the Franks had already changed by the time of the Battle of Harran, only seven years after he had celebrated their arrival as the coming of saviors.

Matthew goes on to relate how a formidable Turkish army under the command of Chakarmish and Sokman marched after this against the Franks, and how the latter's princes advanced to confront them "greatly rejoicing." By the last detail, Matthew points out, like the Anonymous, that the Franks were much too sure of victory in their pride and unwarranted self-confidence. Indeed he states that at a place of two days' march from Harran "the count of Edessa and Joscelin became puffed up with pride and placed Bohemond and Tancred at a distance from their troops, saying:

‘We shall engage in combat first and thus take the laurels of victory.’” Despite certain differences of significance, to which we shall come in a moment, Matthew’s version thus shares with the Syriac accounts a common story line and interpretation. They all relate how the Frankish princes’ pride, egoism and selfish greed for securing all there was to gain, the spoils of Harran or the laurels of victory, gave rise to a division of fatal consequences in their ranks.

Along with the Syriac accounts, Nicholson also challenges Matthew’s version of how the Franks became divided.³⁷ He points out the open hostility between Tancred and Baldwin du Bourg, as well as Bohemond’s aggressive policies, and argues that under these conditions the Norman princes would not have consented to being pushed around by the Edessenenes. He adds that Matthew’s general anti-Lorrainer attitude and enthusiastic partisanship for the Normans would render his accusation against Baldwin and Joscelin highly doubtful on this occasion. Unlike in the case of the Syriac sources, Nicholson seems right in these criticisms. Both because of these points and the circumstantial details they contain, the accounts of the Anonymous and Michael seem preferable to that of Matthew. As we shall see, they are also reconcilable with the testimony of William of Tyre. In comparison Matthew’s version appears more crude and rather tailored to illustrate what he saw as the sinful pride and egoism of the Franks, as well as to shift the burden of the eventual disaster from the Normans to the Edessenenes.

In the same place Nicholson also questions Matthew’s report that the Normans failed as a result of the division to play an active role in the battle. Against it he points to the testimonies of Albert of Aachen and Ibn al-Athir, who he says show the Normans taking an active part in the conflict. Nevertheless, it is surprising that Ni-

³⁷ Nicholson, *Tancred*, 237-38; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 98.

cholson can cite Ibn al-Athir beside Albert of Aachen to support his claim that the Normans took an active part. We have already seen Ibn al-Athir relate that the Normans merely watched the rout of the Edessenes from the top of a hill and, waiting for the night, fled without having joined in the battle. So it seems that Nicholson, while conflating the two sources to construct his narrative of the battle, confused their testimonies about the role of the Normans. This leaves only Albert of Aachen to support Nicholson, but we shall see that like Ralph of Caen he cannot be trusted on this issue.

Nicholson also puts forward some arguments to support his thesis that the Normans played an active role in the battle. In this connection he firstly draws attention to “Bohemond’s and Tancred’s warlike propensities — their readiness to fight at all times.” This is obviously a highly questionable deduction made from an unwarranted generalization, and can hardly be used to reject the testimonies of Ibn al-Athir and Matthew. Then he argues that although Bohemond was “no friend of the Edessenes,” he would have seen that he himself would be weakened as well through the defeat and slaughter of the Edessene troops. To support this argument, Nicholson reminds us how Bohemond, before his departure for Europe in 1105, confessed that he was compelled to undertake the journey by the recent losses of his men, and takes this as evidence that “he sorely needed the assistance of the Edessenes slain at Har-ran.” But the troops whose loss Bohemond bewailed could well have been the troops of Antioch massacred in flight, rather than those of Edessa, and this is indeed precisely what Nicholson himself suggests elsewhere, as we shall see. Moreover, even if it was the Edessene troops that Bohemond spoke of before his embarkation, this cannot be taken as evidence that he had thought and acted in the same direction on the battlefield and rushed to help the Edessenes rather than deserting them. As is clear from the case of Joscelin I and Richard of Antioch against Ilghazi in 1119, or of Jos-

celin II and Raymond of Poitiers against Nur al-Din in 1149, such considerations as Nicholson points out did not prove sufficient to make some Frankish princes assist others in trouble.

Matthew proceeds to relate that Baldwin and Joscelin went on to clash with the Turks and “a frightful and violent battle took place here in this strange and alien Muslim land.” It is hard to figure the meaning of this reference to the “strange and alien Muslim land.” It might be a reference to the fact that the Muslims had withdrawn deep into Muslim territory, followed by the Franks, as we shall see further on. Reporting the outcome of the battle, Matthew interestingly remarks that the Turks, by vanquishing the Franks, “[brought] the divine-rebuking wrath of God upon the Christians.” Indeed the whole point of his account seems to be that the Franks’ sinfulness, symbolized by their profanation of the host, had combined with their pride, egoism and overconfidence in their own power to bring upon themselves divine punishment through the Muslims’ hands.

Accounting for the losses, Matthew asserts that “the whole land was covered with blood and corpses of more than thirty thousand Christian faithful, and so the region became depopulated.” Compared with the already inflated numbers of twelve thousand given by Ibn al-Athir and the ten thousand given by Ibn al-Qalanisi, this seems a grossly exaggerated number of Christian casualties, even when it is assumed to include the Armenians of Edessa who accompanied the army in order to collect booty.

Matthew also asserts that Baldwin and Joscelin were taken prisoner and led into captivity, while Bohemond and Tancred, as well as their forces, suffered no harm. This conflicts with the Muslim chroniclers’ report that Bohemond and Tancred were able to escape with only a handful of their men. But Matthew seems to contra-

dict himself too when he states immediately afterwards that Bohemond and Tancred, taking along their most valiant men, sought refuge as fugitives in Edessa. If they were accompanied there only by their “most valiant men” what had happened to the rest? Thus Matthew’s latter statement, in contrast to the first, appears to corroborate the testimony of the Muslim sources.

The key to solving this problem might be found in Matthew’s next report. He relates how the Franks of Edessa suffered further massacre, when the inhabitants of Harran cut off their retreat by encircling the mountain and the plain and slaughtered ten thousand of the fugitives. He goes so far as to assert that the Muslims of Harran “brought more destruction upon the Christian faithful than the Turks had ever done.” If it is possible to conjecture that these “Franks of Edessa” in Matthew’s account were in fact the Norman troops of Bohemond and Tancred who, escaping without scatch from the battle, got caught by the people of Harran on their way to Edessa, the riddle can be solved. Indeed Işın Demirkent finds Matthew’s attribution of the great losses of the Norman troops to the assault of the people of Harran more plausible than Ibn al-Athir’s attribution of it to the pursuit of Sokman.³⁸ Nicholson, on the other hand, does not reject either version, and reasonably suggests that the garrison of Harran — Matthew himself speaks of the people rather than the garrison — joined Sokman’s forces in a common attack against the Normans in flight.³⁹

Concluding his account, Matthew asserts that “all the Christian lands were in despair on that day.” Unlike the Syriac sources, he seems aware that Joscelin was taken to Hisn Kaifa by Sokman while Baldwin was taken to Mosul by Chakarmish.

³⁸ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, I, 92.

³⁹ Nicholson, *Tancred*, 144.

3.1.1.6 *William of Tyre*

Among the Latin accounts of the battle of Harran, William of Tyre's testimony stands remarkably close to those of Ibn al-Athir and the indigenous Christian sources.⁴⁰ He joins them in attributing the cause of the battle to the Franks' siege of Harran, and in that connection gives additional information of interest about how they ravaged its lands beforehand in preparation. He is also the only Latin author to tell explicitly of the dispute that broke out between the Normans and Edessenes. On the basis of these parallels, Nicholson suggests that William may have drawn upon "an anonymous Syriac or Saracen chronicle" when composing his account.⁴¹ But this remains on the level of speculation, unless it can be shown that William used the same chronicle as Ibn al-Athir and the Christian sources, and the parallels in question must be taken seriously as a corroboration of their testimonies.

William begins his account by reporting that the four Frankish princes of Edessa, Antioch, Tripoli and Jerusalem agreed in 1104 to cross the Euphrates and besiege Harran. He relates how they zealously assembled troops from their own lands as well as from their allies and went to Edessa for this "ill-fated expedition," accompanied by Patriarch Bernard of Antioch, Archbishop Benedict of Edessa, and Daimbert, the former patriarch of Jerusalem. Advancing from there against Harran, they blockaded the town and began to wait for those inside to surrender out of hunger.

William explains at this point that during the immediately preceding years Baldwin of Edessa had been busy wasting the lands between Edessa and Harran that were used in common for cultivation. As these were Harran's only source of food, he aimed thereby to reduce it to destitution. This plan proved successful, William states,

⁴⁰ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, translated by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, 1943), I, 456-59 (X.29, 30).

and so the besiegers found the town suffering greatly from a dearth of provisions. As the pressure of famine kept increasing every day, and no response came from the emirs summoned to their aid, the people of Harran resolved to surrender rather than starve to death, and accordingly went out to make an unconditional surrender to the Franks.

Thus William's testimony not only seems reconcilable with that of the Syriac sources, but also fills an important gap through its explanation of why the people of Harran offered to surrender. His report about Baldwin's devastation of the agricultural lands of Harran in preparation for the siege also fits in well with what we have seen in the last section about the Franks' efforts to isolate Harran from Aleppo and intimidate its Muslim neighbors. Accordingly, it does not seem justified to discredit William's testimony on the sole ground that he was not an exact contemporary of the event like the other Latin chroniclers, who relate the battle quite differently as we shall see.

William's account of what followed the offer of the keys is again similar to the Syriac versions. He relates how the jealousy between Bohemond and Baldwin gave rise at this point to "an unfortunate contention" as both insisted that he should be the one to receive the town and take in his standard first. Consequently the surrender of the town was postponed to the next day to consider the "trifling matter" in William's words. Nevertheless, it turned out to be too late on the next day, as "a vast host of enemies" had arrived before the dawn, "an army of Turks so numerous and formidable that the Christians began to doubt whether it would be possible to save even their lives." William states that the Turks had brought abundant supplies of provisions, and now devised a clever strategem for getting these across to the towns-

⁴¹ Nicholson, *Tancred*, 141, n. 5.

people: they divided their forces into two contingents, one of which was to challenge the Christians, whatever the result, while the other was to use this opportunity to supply the city with food. Accordingly, shortly after dawn, one contingent of Turks was drawn up in battle array, while the other was stationed apart to the west in order to provision the town.

Robert Nicholson challenges William's testimony thus far on a number of points. He first rejects the implication of William's version that the siege of Harran lasted long enough to cause its residents to suffer severely from famine, on the grounds that this is contradicted by the testimonies of Ralph of Caen, Albert of Aachen and Ibn al-Qalanisi. But Nicholson's objection is undermined by the fact that he again overlooks the testimonies of the Syriac and Armenian sources on the questionable ground of contemporaneity, basing himself exclusively on the pro-Norman accounts of Albert and Ralph and the disputable testimony of Ibn al-Qalanisi.

In keeping with his insistence on the shortness of the siege, Nicholson proceeds to question William's report of the famine in the town and his attribution of this to Baldwin's previous depredations. He states in this connection: "It is incredible that the city could have been so short of food that the citizens were faced with starvation after a very short siege." This seems to be something of a circular argument, for Nicholson takes for granted the testimony of Albert, Ralph and Ibn al-Qalanisi that the siege was of brief duration, and basing himself upon this as a reference point, takes William to task for speaking of famine conditions. However, the latter author offers a self-consistent account that does not share Nicholson's premise about the brevity of the siege.

Nicholson also questions whether Baldwin's depredations could have been severe enough to put an end to all the food supplies of the area. Nevertheless, we

have seen that William explains this quite convincingly, relating how Baldwin specifically targeted the plain of Harran, which constituted the town's only source of provisions. In this connection Nicholson points out that Harran was situated on the Muslim trade routes of northern Syria, and asks how it could have been so close to starvation by spring 1104. But if Baldwin of Edessa's troops had regularly been raiding the area, this might have discouraged grain traders, who were hardly likely to be ignored by marauding Edessenes. Besides, the exorbitant costs of overland transport made it difficult at this age to carry over long distances large amounts of bulk materials like grain. The inner disturbances and palace coups reported by Ibn al-Athir may also have prevented the populace of Harran from taking the limited measures they could to avert famine.

Finally, Nicholson argues that if famine conditions had really prevailed in the town, Sokman and Chakarmish would have provisioned it before proceeding to the investment of Edessa.⁴² Of course this issue is easily solved once it is accepted, as William of Tyre does, that the campaign began with the Franks' siege of Harran and not with the Muslims' siege of Edessa. The problem here is that Nicholson fails to study William's account as a self-consistent whole, and then goes on to discredit his individual reports for not being consistent with the testimony of other sources that he unwarrantedly takes for granted. As we have seen, he also adopts a similar approach in discussing the duration of the siege and the resulting famine. In fact this is a part of the more general problem in the traditional methodology that tends to jump arbitrarily from one source to another, treating their accounts like heaps of unconnected evidence to be picked up, compared and used at will.⁴³

⁴² Nicholson, *Tancred*, 239-40; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 100.

⁴³ In this context there is another interesting example where Nicholson cites Ibn al-Athir's report that the Normans lay in ambush behind a hill before the battle. In order to combine this with the conflicting report of Ralph and Albert that the Normans were the first to engage the enemy, he turns it into a

Although William's account is indeed quite self-consistent generally, he seems to contradict himself when he states next that the Turks "had little hope of success or even of keeping up a show of resistance very long, their only purpose being to engage the Christians in battle so that supplies might be carried into the beleaguered city." Of course this conflicts with his previous remark that the Turks were so numerous as to inspire the Franks with fear of their lives. This statement of Turkish weakness is not in agreement with what follows either, for according to his account of the battle proper it seems to have been the Franks rather than the Muslims who suffered from a lack of courage and steadfastness. He relates how the two patriarchs went among the ranks before the battle, exhorting the soldiers in order to inspire them with courage. But this did not work, William says, and at the first encounter they "turned their backs on the foe in disgraceful flight, abandoned their camp with all it contained, and thought only of seeking safety, which, alas, was nowhere to be found." At this point, William continues, the Turks cast aside their bows and engaging with their swords in close fight, almost wiped out the Christians. This again resembles the report of the Anonymous, who related how the Turks caused consternation in the Frankish vanguard⁴⁴ by a shower of arrows and then engaged them with sword at close quarters.

However, William diverges from the Anonymous and Ibn al-Athir on one important point. He states that Baldwin and Joscelin were taken captive and carried off in chains to a distant corner of the enemy country, while Bohemond and Tancred, along with the two patriarchs, managed to escape from the tumult of the battle and reached Edessa through sequestered bypaths. Significantly, he does not mention in

"prearranged plan," although hiding in ambush till fleeing was what they actually did according to Ibn al-Athir himself. On the basis of this unwarranted collation, Nicholson then concludes that the Normans "did not follow the prearranged plan completely." Nicholson, *Tancred*, 142-43 and *Joscelyn I*, 9-10.

any way that the Normans kept aloof from the battle, whether because they were lying in ambush or because of their dispute with Baldwin about Harran. Nevertheless, this is not surprising in consideration of William's marked bias in favor of the Normans and especially Tancred, perhaps due to the fact that William was of Italian origin himself.⁴⁵ William also notes how Benedict, the captured archbishop of Edessa, was allowed by his Christian guardian to escape. Nicholson rightly objects to this on the grounds that Turks would hardly have entrusted him to the custody of a Christian.⁴⁶ William reports in addition that Bohemond took over Joscelin's territory and for the time being entrusted Edessa to Tancred. In conclusion, he offers a final evaluation of the battle: "Never during the rule of the Latins in the East, whether before or after this event, do we read of a battle so disastrous as this one, which resulted in so terrible a massacre of brave men and so disgraceful a flight of the people of our race."

Although William was not an exact contemporary of the Battle of Harran, his account is still a valuable source for that event, not least because it offers some significant and probably independent parallels with the testimonies of Ibn al-Athir and the Syriac sources: the initial siege of Harran by the Franks, the offer by its people to surrender and the Franks' failure to take advantage of it because of the dispute between the princes of Edessa and Antioch, and finally the collapse of the Frankish vanguard under the Turks' arrows, followed by a close combat that cost them many lives. William also complements the other sources with additional details of value, such as Baldwin's strategem of ravaging the agricultural lands of Harran, which explains the surrender of the townsfolk, and the tactic applied by the Turks to provision

⁴⁴ William's words "at the first encounter" can be taken to imply that the vanguard was involved.

⁴⁵ William of Tyre, *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, I, Introduction, 7.

⁴⁶ See Nicholson, *Tancred*, 142, 143 and n. 2, 5; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa* (Urbana, 1954), 9, 10 and n. 43.

it again. On the other hand, the separation of the forces of Antioch from those of Edessa finds no mention in William's account, probably because of his bias in favor of the Normans.

3.1.1.7 *Fulcher of Chartres*

At first sight, Fulcher of Chartres' testimony seems to diverge considerably from that of William and the other sources in agreement with the latter historian.⁴⁷ Most importantly, he attributes the beginning of the hostilities to the aggression of the Muslims rather than to the Franks' siege of Harran. Nevertheless, on closer scrutiny, his version turns out to be much less irreconcilable with the testimonies of William and the others. To begin with, his report about the Muslim offensive that supposedly led to the battle seems rather vague and fails to make clear what, exactly, they undertook. This forms a contrast with the testimonies of sources like Albert of Aachen and Ralph of Caen who as we shall see state clearly that they besieged Edessa. Fulcher, in turn, seems to speak of a general increase in raiding activity rather than a regular campaign against a specific Frankish target: "In that year (1104) the Parthians, Medes, Chaldeans, and all the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, our neighbors, were stirred to attack us Christians and to molest us in every way."

Fulcher then proceeds to relate how the Frankish princes responded to this situation and prepared to engage the Muslims with a throng of knights and common people. His reference to the "common people" here could perhaps be interpreted in line with the Anonymous's report about the Edessenes who set out with the army to share in the booty. Fulcher states that with these forces the Franks crossed the Euphrates and advanced up to Harran, where they encountered the Muslim forces. His

⁴⁷ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, translated by Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, 1969), 177-79 (II.xxvii).

next statement comes as a surprise: “At once they joined battle near Raqqa.” This is problematic, as we have seen that Raqqa lies no less than a hundred kilometers to the south of Harran. It is of course possible that Fulcher did not take great care about the precision of geographical details here, and used Harran and Raqqa interchangeably. Nevertheless, a comparison with the other accounts suggests that he may have telescoped the course of events at this point of the narrative and skipped over an episode of pursuit from Harran to Raqqa.

This laconic character of Fulcher’s account extends to the description of the battle itself, where he contents himself with stating that “the Christians were given over to dispersion and confusion because of the gravity of [their] sins.” He adds that the engagement was “far more disastrous than all previous battles, as the result showed.” Baldwin, Joscelin and the archbishop of Edessa had been captured, while Bohemond and Tancred had fled in a “bewildered and confused” state along unfrequented bypaths. Many Franks had also died in the battle, some drowned and lost in the river Khabur, and some transfixed by arrows and daggers. Horses, mules and a great amount of wealth had been lost as well.

Thus so far Fulcher had passed over much in silence and offered a quite laconic account of the event. But at this point he seems to have been no longer able to contain himself fully, and so breaks into a diatribe against the persons and factors he held responsible for the debacle. In doing so, he also touches upon some of the facts that he apparently knew well but had preferred to suppress in his actual narrative. Although these revelations are still quite vague, they do suggest some affinities with

the testimony of William of Tyre, Ibn al-Athir and the Syriac sources. Before discussing them more closely, let us read Fulcher's diatribe first:⁴⁸

They who could have taken Harran without great difficulty, if they had occupied⁴⁹ it at first, afterwards could not have taken it during either the outward or return journey. And because security sometimes works harm by deception, so fear and caution seem to be an advantage to the wary and the timid. For as it is written, often "delay is dangerous for those who are ready to act." For certainly two enemies, discord and envy, were hurtful to our people in this undertaking rather than misfortune. These enemies are accustomed to bring down men from the riches they have acquired to extreme poverty. We have often seen this. We have learned it by experience. I am not deceived, nor am I beguiled by deceptive circumlocution to meditate in terms of trivialities. In this campaign so dangerous and fearful the Franks antagonized each other even before the disaster, so that they almost wished to part company and break the alliance they had made. Indeed he is foolish who does evil and expects good. For nothing is acceptable to God which is done in strife and without love. It is therefore cowardly and disgraceful to desert the society of him⁵⁰ whom I ought to serve unto death.

These seemingly confused fulminations of Fulcher do allow some deductions to be made. Apparently the Franks were late in occupying Harran before the enemy forces arrived, due to a dispute between their leaders and the excessive wariness of some among them, and were consequently defeated in the ensuing battle. Fulcher shows himself remarkably discreet and reticent about the cause and sides of the dispute, preferring to content himself with general warnings about the dangers of envy, discord and excessive caution. But what he reveals can still be reconciled with the testimonies of William, Ibn al-Athir and the Syriac sources. For one, his reference to excessive caution may be related to the hesitation and reluctance of Baldwin to accept the keys of Harran. As for the dispute he mentions, this could only be the one that resulted from Baldwin's attitude according to the Anonymous, or from his and

⁴⁸ The translation is mainly Frances Rita Ryan's, but basing myself on the original (in *Historia Iherosolymtana*, RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 408-09) I have had to make a couple of important changes, which I note below.

⁴⁹ The translator has chosen to translate "obsedisent" as "besieged" here, but an equally frequent meaning of this verb is to occupy or to take possession, and it makes much more sense in this context, when considered in the light of the other sources of the event as well.

Bohemond's rivalry to get hold of the town according to William. Indeed the actual cause of the dispute may have been a combination of both factors: perhaps Baldwin had acted so warily and refused to receive the keys in the others' presence because of his fear that Bohemond would raise claims on the city.

On the other hand, Fulcher's rebuke of those who almost broke the alliance and deserted their companions might be taken to indicate that already at Harran the Normans came to the brink of abandoning the expedition. Indeed we shall see that this is precisely what they did according to Sibte ibn al-Jawzi, who reports that one part of the Frankish army stayed before Harran while the other proceeded to Raqqa. But perhaps there is also a criticism here directed at the Normans for having actually abandoned the troops of Edessa during the course of the battle, as reported by Ibn al-Athir and the Anonymous Syriac.

At the end of his account Fulcher relates how the captured archbishop of Edessa was saved through the heroic endeavour of a "very valiant knight" who held mortal life less precious than the salvation of his soul. We have seen that William's story about the archbishop being entrusted to a Christian is not very plausible. On the other hand, we shall see Ralph and Albert attribute the feat to Tancred. When all these versions are compared, Fulcher's version seems to be the most credible, since three chroniclers against one declare that it was a rescue operation, rather than a case of the archbishop being released by his co-religionist, and it would have been normal for Ralph and Albert to attribute the feat to a famous figure like Tancred, rather than let some obscure knight get away with the credit. Fulcher adds that this knight was only one of the many Crusaders who "burned with zeal for God and chose to sacrifice this life, endeavoring to die a blessed death and thus enjoy rest with Christ."

⁵⁰ The translator has taken "illius...cui" as referring to God in the previous sentence here, and accordingly written "him" with a capital H, but the context of the passage indicates clearly that the author is

Thereby he gives unreserved support to the theory that those who died fighting for God could be counted as martyrs, although this was then still a controversial issue because of their unpeaceful state of soul at the time of death.⁵¹

3.1.1.8 *Ralph of Caen and Albert of Aachen*

Although we have seen that the Latin accounts of William of Tyre and Fulcher of Chartres are reconcilable with the testimony of Ibn al-Athir and the Syriac sources, the situation is quite otherwise with the accounts of Ralph of Caen and Albert of Aachen.⁵² Like Ibn al-Qalanisi, these two Latin sources explicitly attribute the cause of the battle to a siege of Edessa undertaken by the Muslims. According to Ralph's version, the Franks assembled upon this to raise the siege, but the Muslims, retreating, drew them towards Harran and beyond it. When both sides had crossed the river Balikh, they suddenly attacked the pursuing Franks and defeated them. According to Albert's version, the Franks, Count Baldwin and his troops among them, assembled before Harran on seeing the Muslims advance upon Edessa. Their aim was probably to cause a diversion, as the Muslims could not have run the risk of being sandwiched between the garrison of Edessa and the Frankish army positioned to their rear at Harran. Accordingly they were compelled to strike south and attack the Franks near Raqqa.

Moreover, neither source mentions any dispute that took place between Baldwin and the Normans or reveals in any way that the latter kept to the rear and abandoned their allies in the battle. On the contrary, they show the Normans fighting

speaking about deserting one's companion and ally, rather than God.

⁵¹ See H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade," in *Crusade and Settlement*, edited by Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 46-56.

⁵² Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, translated by B. S. and D. S. Bachrach (Aldershot, 2005), 164-69 (Chapters 147-152); Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, edited and translated by Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), 688-703 and *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, translated by Herman Hefele, 2 vols. (Jena, 1923), II, 148-57 (IX.38-46).

at the forefront and causing many losses to the enemy. According to Ralph's and Albert's version, the Normans would even have gained victory if the Edessenes had not been routed and had not failed to support them. They also relate that the Normans were determined to resume the fight on the next morning but were prevented from doing so by the flight of their panicked troops during the night. Compelled to follow these to Edessa, they elected Tancred as the new ruler of that city. In conclusion both sources give information about what happened after the battle. Albert relates how the Muslims besieged Edessa without success. Ralph firstly supplies information on the rebellion of the indigenous populations against Frankish rule and the attacks of Ridwan as well as of Byzantine forces against the Principality of Antioch. He then relates how Bohemond resolved under this pressure to go to procure help from Europe.

What limits the reliability of the testimonies of Albert and Ralph is that they apparently drew upon Norman sources from the circle of Bohemond and Tancred. Naturally, these had apologetic and propagandistic interests in disseminating a self-serving account of the battle. When considered in this light, the differences in their testimony from that of Ibn al-Athir and the Syriac sources appear only too meaningful: supposedly, the Norman princes had gone to the aid of their brethren in Edessa when that city was besieged by the infidels, rather than joining forces with them on a grand venture that would be doomed to end in miserable failure.⁵³ They had acted in perfect collaboration with the Edessenes, rather than quarreling with them over the spoils and perhaps the possession of Harran. In the battle they had fought valiantly and only missed victory because of the rout of the Edessenes, rather than keeping to their rear and deserting them on the battlefield. If they had admittedly returned to Edessa without resuming the fight on the next day and rescuing their comrades, this

was not because they had willingly abandoned them, but only because their troops had panicked and fled at night.

As far as Ralph is concerned, it is hardly surprising that he came up with such a version of the events. One of his undisguised purposes as an author was to offer a panegyric of his late patron Tancred,⁵⁴ and besides he was not a first-hand witness of the events. He first joined the retinue of Bohemond in 1106, during the latter's visit to Europe, and accompanied him to the Balkans on his expedition against Byzantium. It was only after Bohemond's death in 1111 that he came back from Italy to Antioch, where he entered Tancred's service.⁵⁵ When composing his work, therefore, he had to depend on what Bohemond, Tancred and their retinue told him about the battle. Under these conditions it was only natural that his testimony would be heavily influenced by the political concerns of these two Norman princes. Bohemond was touring Europe to seek support for his Crusade against Byzantium, and he must have been quite aware that the debacle of the ambitious campaign against Harran would hardly encourage those in Europe to back another grand venture such as he now planned to launch. This was all the more so as that defeat might have been caused in part by his own desertion and then led to his departure for the West. So a quite different, self-vindicating story had to be told about the battle to those in the West, including of course to his new chaplain Ralph of Caen.

But this Norman story of the battle must also have made its way to Albert of Aachen, whose testimony displays significant parallels with that of Ralph. This is despite the fact that Albert was normally far from being pro-Norman and could well criticize their conduct when he had access to independent source material showing

⁵³ As we have seen, Fulcher of Chartres, another Frankish source, also tries to explain the events by suggesting a start to the campaign that was defensive against Muslim aggression, even though he is more in agreement with Syriac sources and Ibn al-Athir.

⁵⁴ Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 20.

them in a negative light.⁵⁶ However, in the period following the First Crusade, Albert was not in a position to draw upon a wide assortment of eye-witnesses who had come back from the East to relate their first-hand experiences. As also shown by the wide circulation and influence of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, another pro-Norman work, Bohemond and his retinue served the chroniclers in Europe as a chief source of news about the events in the *Outremer*. Indeed they enjoyed almost monopoly status as reporters of the developments after 1101, since the stream of those returning from the East had trickled away by this time. The result was that they were able to imprint their stamp even on historical narratives written as far away as Aachen.

In Antioch, where Ralph arrived in 1111, Tancred and his men had other interests in promoting such an alternative account of the battle. The rift that had opened between Baldwin and the Norman princes during the Battle of Harran had turned into an open breach when Bohemond and Tancred had not lifted a finger to ransom Baldwin and Joscelin, and after their release, resisted their return to Edessa.⁵⁷ Tancred had even made common cause with Ridwan of Aleppo against the two and defeated them in battle.⁵⁸ By the time Ralph came to the East Baldwin and Joscelin had received back their lands and the two sides had been apparently reconciled, largely through Baldwin I's efforts but also because of the Seljukid expeditions beginning from 1110. Nevertheless, Tancred had not entirely given up his claims on Edessa, as is evident from Albert's report that he still demanded tribute from the County of Edessa,⁵⁹ and from Ralph's failure to mention the provisions made for Baldwin's re-

⁵⁵ Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, Introduction, 2-3.

⁵⁶ An example is his report of how the Normans evaded King Baldwin's request to secure the release of Count Baldwin and Joscelin. Albert does not hesitate to attribute this to the Normans' greed for the abundant revenues pouring in from the County of Edessa. Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 700-03; *Geschichte*, II, 156-57 (IX. 45, 46).

⁵⁷ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 700-03; *Geschichte*, II, 156-57 (IX. 45, 46).

⁵⁸ For the details see Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 113-14; Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 439-42.

⁵⁹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 794-95 and *Geschichte*, II, 226-27 (XI.21). For Ralph see the analysis of his account below.

turn when he related Tancred's election as the new ruler of the city. Consequently, by the time of Ralph's arrival in Antioch, a version of the battle that supported and justified these claims could still have been in circulation amongst the Normans there. Of course, a story that showed them deserting the Edessenes would not have been in the Normans' best interest. Far more favorable would be a version according to which they had done their best and fought heroically to the end, but had failed in the end because of the defeat of the Edessenes.

As a result the same self-vindicating story of the battle seems to have been told by the Norman princes and their retinues in Europe and the Levant, with the difference that those in the Levant did not flinch from extolling Tancred's performance at the expense of his uncle Bohemond. The accounts of Albert and Ralph should therefore be taken as reflecting this political context, rather than the actual course of the battle.

Obviously, this is not sufficient to solve the problem of conflict between the sources, as we have seen that Fulcher of Chartres and Ibn al-Qalanisi, who had nothing to do with the Normans, also attribute the cause of the battle to an initial Muslim attack. Nevertheless, their testimony can be accounted for in different ways. Fulcher resided in distant Jerusalem, and the information he was able to gather about the events in North Syria and the Jazira seems to have been limited, even distorted in some cases. An example was the death of Belek ibn Artuk, who had actually been killed by an arrow thrown from the castle he besieged. But Fulcher, relying on the false report of a messenger sent by Joscelin, wrote that the emir had been killed in the preceding battle he had made with Joscelin's forces.⁶⁰ Similarly unreliable messengers sent from the North may have been Fulcher's sources for his report about an

⁶⁰ Fulcher of Chartres, *Expedition*, 263-64 (III.xxxi). See section 8.7 for further details.

initial Muslim offensive. They may have calculated in this way to conceal from those in Jerusalem that they had miserably failed in an ambitious undertaking. After all, having been defeated by a surprise Muslim attack would sound far better than having messed up a great venture prepared for a long time.⁶¹ Moreover, Fulcher is quite vague about the exact nature of the Muslim offensive, as we have seen, and testifies nowhere that they attacked Edessa. The same point about distance and inadequate information could also be made about the testimony of Ibn al-Qalanisi. We have already noted the confused character of his account, which shifted the site of the battle from Raqqa to Edessa among other errors.

It follows from these considerations that Ibn al-Athir, the indigenous Christian sources and William of Tyre provide us with a more accurate testimony about the course of events, and we have seen that Fulcher corroborates them in part despite himself. While these sources from very disparate backgrounds seem to be in agreement or at least reconcilable with each other, Albert and Ralph, who base themselves on a common Norman version of the story, are supported only by Ibn al-Qalanisi's otherwise misleading testimony.

Robert Nicholson looks at the issue from a different point of view, however. Basing himself on a strict division between the contemporary and non-contemporary sources, he prefers to lend credence to the testimonies of Albert, Ralph and Ibn al-Qalanisi instead. As for the divergence of the other, later sources from these, he attributes it solely to the oblivion of the salient details by the date of their composition. Thus he assumes the contemporary sources to be *ipso facto* reliable and the later ones unreliable. But doing so he overlooks the possibility that the late sources may have drawn upon contemporary sources that are no longer extant. More importantly, he

⁶¹ These messengers were probably not all Normans, for we have seen that Fulcher was aware of the disputes between them and Baldwin as well as their abandonment of the Edessenes.

fails to consider the political concerns and agenda of these sources, contemporary and non-contemporary, which are likely to have shaped their way of reflecting the events at least as much as their distance in time to these events. As a result he does not approach the pro-Norman testimonies of Ralph and Albert with due caution, and cannot avoid being misled by their bias, even though he is aware of Ralph's eulogistic purpose and rejects some individual details in his account for that reason. It cannot be said either that Nicholson uses the criterion of contemporaneity with due meticulousness. He calls Ralph's account "practically first-hand," although the author arrived in the *outremer* only seven years after the battle. He also classifies Matthew of Edessa wrongly as a non-contemporaneous source.

Because of this approach, Nicholson accepts that it was the Muslims' siege of Edessa that began the war, and not the Franks' siege of Harran. He does not entirely deny that a siege of Harran might have been planned beforehand for spring 1104, but argues that in the event it turned out to be little more than a hasty, *ad-hoc* rescue operation, undertaken upon Baldwin's urgent call for aid to divert the Muslim siege force. According to him, the Muslims resorted to a feigned flight in response, and drawing the Franks away from Edessa, defeated them by a surprise attack.⁶²

Steven Runciman explains the development of the conflict in a way not unlike Nicholson's. But he accepts that Harran had long been an ultimate target of the Franks who began raiding its territory for this purpose. According to him, this caused Sokman and Chakarmish to unite in an expedition against Edessa, in order "to attack before they were attacked." The historian relates that Baldwin, faced with the imminent siege of his city, summoned the Normans to aid. He proposed to reciprocate the

⁶² Robert Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of His Career and Work in their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (New York, 1978), 139, 140, and n.1; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 8, n.33.

Muslim attack with an assault on Harran, but when they began quarreling over that town, the Turks found the time to strike south and attack them.⁶³

Thus both scholars seem to have attempted in an all-too-ingenuous but just as unwarranted fashion to combine the testimonies of Albert of Aachen and Ralph of Caen with the others, notably that of Ibn al-Athir. They accept both that the Muslims attacked Edessa first, as Albert and Ralph relate, and that the Franks besieged Harran, as other sources testify. However, it is questionable methodologically whether such contradictory accounts can be so easily combined by treating them as if they represent a cumulative body of evidence of equal value. Adopting such an approach toward the sources would exclude from consideration their various standpoints and agenda, although the existence of these implies that each of the individual accounts is a coherent whole that cannot be disassembled in so easy and arbitrary a fashion. Even more importantly for the case at hand, it also implies that some of these accounts might be misleading as a whole, necessitating great caution when borrowing a seemingly useful report they may contain.

Nicholson falls into such a trap despite being aware that Ralph's work is basically a panegyric of Tancred. Because he still treats Ralph's account as a quarry of useful material, he takes at face value this author's claim that Tancred single-handedly attacked and defeated the Turkish forces. He also accepts without questioning the tale of Ralph and Albert about how Tancred rescued Archbishop Bernard of Edessa, although Fulcher gives the credit for this more plausibly to an obscure knight.⁶⁴ More generally, Runciman and Nicholson fail to take notice of the fact that the Norman point of view pervades the accounts of Ralph and Albert of Aachen throughout. So without considering the provenance and agenda of these sources and

⁶³ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 41-2.

⁶⁴ Nicholson, *Tancred*, 142, 143 and n. 2, 5. For the details see the analysis of Ralph's account below.

examining whether they can be relied upon in general for the battle, the scholars in question try to make a synthesis that incorporates the initial Muslim siege of Edessa reported by the two sources.

In any case it is possible to find abundant evidence supporting the opposing version of an initial siege of Harran by the Franks. Işın Demikent points out some of these: Ibn al-Athir reports about the difficulties and troubles in the Muslim world as well as the threefold change of the ruler in Harran, and the Anonymous remarks on the proud Franks' dreams of conquering Mosul, Mayyafariqin and Amid. She also has another point to make, namely the testimony of Matthew and the Anonymous that many residents of Edessa had set out with the army on the lookout for booty.⁶⁵ The last, it must be pointed out, is a particularly important observation: if this had really been an urgent operation undertaken to rescue Edessa, would the inhabitants have been so eager to leave the city in hope of booty? Grousset also points out the grandiose ambitions of the Franks mentioned by the Anonymous, remarking that "all hopes seemed to be permitted to them" in this period when the hold of the Artukids on Diyar Bakr was not yet fully consolidated. Especially, the Franks of Edessa had occupied the three important castles of Tell Goran, Tell Munzar and al-Karadi, the last one situated almost at the gates of Mardin.⁶⁶ Moreover, Sokman and Chakarmish were at loggerheads, and there did not seem to be any Muslim emirs to oppose them. This was a golden opportunity therefore to capture Harran and sever the lines of communication between Muslim Syria and the Jazira, as well as to secure full control of the region of Diyar Mudar around Edessa.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, I, 85.

⁶⁶ Grousset, *Histoire*, II, 871.

⁶⁷ See Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 237; Grousset, *Histoire*, III, x; Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, 76; Amouroux-Mourad, *Le Comté d'Edesse*, 64; Vâth, *Geschichte*, 52.

Now it is time to examine the accounts of Ralph and Albert in detail to illustrate and explicate the general observations and points made so far. Ralph begins his account by indicating that the Muslims went on to the offensive first, surrounding Edessa and its neighborhood with an infinite multitude. He states significantly that “Bohemond did not delay when asked for aid,” but taking all his troops crossed the Euphrates with Tancred, Joscelin and the Patriarch of Antioch. He relates that the Turks, on learning of Bohemond’s advance, drew the Franks towards unfamiliar lands, where they would face danger, hunger and losses. For three days the two sides advanced in this way towards Harran and beyond it, until they reached the river Khabur. Once they had crossed the river, the Turks turned around to attack the Franks. This episode of Muslim withdrawal reported by Ralph does seem to have a basis of truth, considering that other sources state the battle to have taken place near Raqqa, about a hundred kilometers to the south of Harran and Edessa. However, if this Muslim retreat took place, it should be seen as having begun from before Harran, as argued above, rather than from Edessa.

Ralph notes that the Christians were marching along in three columns as the Turks went into attack. The one on the right was led by Bohemond and the one on the left by Baldwin, while Tancred led the middle one. Ralph asserts in a laudatory tone that amongst these only Tancred and his column were “prepared, ready and armed,” whereas the others, supposedly unaware of the enemy’s plans unlike the wily Tancred, marched without preparation, even without their armor. Indeed the historian attributes the Turks’ attack to this defenceless condition of the latter. On learning about this from their scouts, they reportedly slid past Tancred’s column and attacked those of Bohemond and Baldwin as all had stopped to pitch camp. These were caught by surprise, and compelled to defend themselves with bare heads and chests.

It is evident that Ralph's version of the story is an undisguised eulogy of Tancred, intended to extol him, his prudence and wisdom at the expense of Baldwin and even Bohemond.⁶⁸ Despite his implicit criticism of Bohemond, Ralph gives us to understand that the Normans in general fared much better in the battle than the Edessenes. He asserts that the forces of Antioch tried to resist as best as they could, and although in the process they had to abandon their baggage, this allowed them to save themselves as the Turks fell busy plundering it. "But then," he continues, "the men of Edessa suddenly failed. They were not able to protect their baggage or themselves. Baldwin was captured and led away in bonds." The implication is clear here: if the Franks were ultimately defeated, this was mainly the fault of the Edessenes who had "suddenly failed" and not only lost their baggage, but even their count.

Ralph gives us to understand that the Edessenes would also have lost their archbishop if Tancred had not rescued him. He relates that the archbishop came before Tancred's troops as he was being led away by the Turks. Seeing Tancred, he cried for help, and the prince charged at once to rescue and bring him back to safety. There he consoled the trembling man and stayed beside him until his fear had passed. This episode is obviously meant to illustrate the admirable blend of heroism, tenderness and piety supposedly found in Tancred's character. Nevertheless, its effect is diluted by the fact that Fulcher attributes this feat to an obscure knight, while according to William's testimony the prelate was not even rescued at all, but released by his Christian guard. Even if we discredit William's account on the grounds that the Turks would not have entrusted the archbishop to a Christian guard, it is hard to imagine that Fulcher would have failed to mention Tancred by name if it had really

⁶⁸ Nicholson also rejects the veracity of this story, asserting that it smacks of "Ralph's usual panegyrist and epic style." In this connection he points out the prudence of Bohemond and the rashness of Tancred that are evident in many other instances, not least the Battle of Doryleum in 1097. He adds

been he who had rescued the archbishop. Probably the escape of the prelate was so tempting an opportunity for Ralph and his sources to eulogize Tancred that they felt little scruple about withholding due acknowledgement from the Christian guard or from Fulcher's obscure knight.

According to Ralph Tancred was still desirous of returning to the battle, but he was prevented from doing so by the approaching night as well as by the objection of his troops. Bohemond was also persuaded to stop fighting until the next day. But while they were fast asleep amidst the "comforts of the court," Ralph notes, the common soldiers were busy seeking a way of flight, apprehensive of their fate in the fight next day. Ralph gives us to understand that their prudent leaders had foreseen this and set up guards by the one and only ford in the river, but these had to yield before the pressure of the crowd fleeing in panic to save their lives. When Bohemond and Tancred were woken up by the guards and realized that they had been abandoned by their troops, Ralph concludes, they had little else to do other than follow them in retreat.

When this all-too-neat story is considered in the light of the other sources, it seems to be a rather obvious attempt on the Normans' part to exonerate themselves from the charge of having deserted their allies. As is evident from the testimonies of Ibn al-Athir, the Syriac sources and even Fulcher, this was a charge that could well have been brought against them at the time. According to Ralph's version, in contrast, the Norman princes had not abandoned the troops of Edessa on their first clash with the Muslims, but on the contrary fought in the front ranks and after the initial defeat were still desirous of continuing the battle. Nevertheless, they were prevented from doing so by the objection of the common troops, and then forced to retreat be-

that the rise of Tancred's prestige in the meanwhile could only have increased his rashness. Nicholson, *Tancred*, 238-39; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 98-9.

cause of the latter's panic and flight during the night. They were not responsible for this either, as the guards they had installed in anticipation were simply pushed aside by the crowd. So if Tancred and Bohemond had indeed abandoned the battlefield this was entirely the fault of the common troops who had suddenly fled, just as their earlier defeat was entirely the fault of the Edessenes who had "suddenly failed."

This attempt of the Normans to rehabilitate their egregious conduct in the Battle of Harran was necessary for Bohemond, if he wanted to secure the support of those in Europe for his planned crusade against Byzantium, and for Tancred, if he desired to vindicate his still enduring claims on the County of Edessa. It must be noted however that Ralph does not entirely spare Bohemond, but criticizes him along with Baldwin for lack of caution. This can be attributed to his purpose of writing a panegyric of Tancred; criticising Bohemond would serve to show Tancred in a still more favorable light. Let it be pointed out once more that these distortions need not all be attributed to Ralph himself. Being only a newcomer in the Orient, he must have heard this self-justifying version of the story from Tancred, Bohemond and their followers.

Ralph shows Tancred in a heroic role also in his account of how the Norman army withdrew to Edessa. Reportedly, the prince remained in the rear while "some went on ahead" and "others prepared to flee," so that he could "take up the role of a wall against the spears of the enemies following behind." Despite this reference to the enemies following behind, Ralph surprisingly claims that the Turks remained unaware of the retreat. He proceeds to depict how the Christians escaped with difficulty, under rain and through muddy, slippery paths, burdened by their loads, throwing away most of their baggage and even weapons. All in all, this reads more like a rout before the pursuing enemy than an organized retreat. Moreover, Ralph's claim that

the Normans could flee in safety while the Turks were asleep also stands in contradiction with the testimonies of Ibn al-Athir, Ibn al-Qalanisi and Matthew of Edessa, who assert that the Norman princes reached Edessa with only a handful of their soldiers while the rest were slaughtered in flight by the troops of Sokman and/or the people of Harran. In this connection Nicholson aptly observes that Ralph had good reasons to suppress the Muslim's pursuit and slaughter of the Normans, which would have been damaging to their reputation, but then gave the game away when reporting the speech that Bohemond made before embarking for Europe. The prince seems to have confessed in this speech that the number of Franks in North Syria had been greatly reduced, making it necessary to obtain help from the West.⁶⁹ All this evidence shows that Ralph's testimony about the retreat of the Normans cannot be lent credence either.

Ralph proceeds to relate that all those who had been able to escape gathered in Edessa. Here, as he puts it, Tancred was found worthy to be elected successor to Baldwin and to carry the heavy burden of ruling the city. Significantly, Ralph does not say at all that Tancred was entrusted with the rule of Edessa only for the time being, with the provision that he would immediately restore it to Baldwin on the latter's release. However, this is precisely what William of Tyre and Albert of Aachen attest. Once again, Ralph's testimony should be considered the less plausible one, insofar as it reflects the Normans' still persisting claims to Edessa.

Ralph concludes his account with the disastrous consequences of the Frankish defeat for the Principality of Antioch:

When the Frankish defeat became known through the cities, Cilicia, Syria and Phoenicia rejoiced, both those who had been subjected, and those who might face subjection. The latter shed fear from their hearts while the former shed the yoke from their necks.

⁶⁹ Nicholson, *Tancred*, 144, n. 5.

He relates how the Cilician cities of Tarsus, Adana and Mamistra called in the Byzantines and expelled the Franks, while the Turks attacked Artah and took their ravages as far as the Orontes river. Following this, he reports, a very large Byzantine fleet, which was equipped with building material and personnel as well as arms, entered the port of Latakia and fortified it before Bohemond could bring relief. Ralph states like Ibn al-Adim that Bohemond saw little hope of recovering by his own resources from the extremely difficult situation in which he found himself. Accordingly, he decided to embark for Europe and seek support and reinforcements from there. If Ralph is to be believed, this was despite the protests of Tancred that Bohemond should stay and that he should be sent instead.

By this time there was still a sizeable Muslim population in strategically important Ruj valley and Jabal Summaq, who rebelled upon the news of the Frankish defeat and at the instigation of Ridwan. As a result all the Latin possessions there were lost, apart from the castle of Hab. But it was not only the Muslims who rebelled against Frankish rule. Thomas Asbridge speaks in general of “the instability caused by the presence of a large non-Latin population within the principality,” which included the disenchanted Armenian population of Cilicia and elsewhere as well.⁷⁰ We have already seen the signs of this disenchantment in the account of Matthew of Edessa. Perhaps it was also due in part to the tactless policy of the Latin ecclesiastical organization against the Gregorian faith. The resentment against this policy went so far that the Armenian population of Albistan, a town to the north of Mar‘ash, collaborated with the Turks to massacre the Frankish garrison stationed there.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Asbridge, *Creation*, 55-6. Similarly, Stevenson speaks of the “insecurity of the tenure by which the Latins held their possessions there” (i.e. the principality of Antioch). Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, 78.

⁷¹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 412-13.

The rebellion in Albistan was repressed brutally and the town did not fall to the Turks, but the result turned out to be quite otherwise in another, strategically much more important town, Artah. This was situated to the south of the river Afrin, near the mouth of this river that poured into the lake of Amiq opposite Antioch. Since it was the last fortified town to the east of Antioch, that city could come under serious threat if a Muslim army managed to entrench itself in it.⁷² Indeed this was almost realized in spring 1105, when the Armenians of Artah, “disquieted by the neighborhood of the Franks, surrendered the place to Ridwan,” as Sibt ibn al-Jawzi puts it.⁷³ The ruler of Aleppo had been relieved of his preoccupations in the south, owing to the struggles in Damascus after his brother Dukak’s death, and so had been able to increase his pressure on Antioch. This in turn had provided the disillusioned Armenians of Artah with the opportunity to make common cause with him.⁷⁴ Tancred, duly alarmed, gathered his forces, defeated Ridwan, and retrieved this strategically vital place, thereby restoring his eastern frontier once again (20 April 1105).⁷⁵

It emerges from Ralph’s account that the Armenian and perhaps also the Greek townsfolk in Cilicia were eager as well to exchange Frankish rule with another, in this case that of Constantinople. Anna Comnena complements Ralph’s account by noting that it was the Byzantine admiral Cantacuzenus who captured Latakia. She adds that the Admiral seized al-Ullaiqa, al-Marqab and Jabala as well. On the other hand, she reports that Tarsus and the adjacent, no longer extant, port of Longinada, as well as Adana and Mamistra, were occupied by the Greek general Monastras, who was heartily welcomed by the Armenian population.⁷⁶

⁷² Asbridge, *Creation*, 57.

⁷³ Sibt ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir’at al-Zaman*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 529.

⁷⁴ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 241-42.

⁷⁵ Sibt ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir’at*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 529, and Asbridge, *Creation*, 57.

⁷⁶ Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, translated by E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth, 1969), 364-66.

Bohemond had not even been able to save Latakia in the course of these attacks, but some scholars have argued that he actually profited from the disaster by becoming the “dominant” and “most powerful” Latin prince in the north. They attribute this to the fact that Baldwin and Joscelin had been captured and Tancred elected as the regent of Edessa.⁷⁷ But this rise in Bohemond’s standing meant little in fact, as is demonstrated by his having to embark for Europe not long afterwards. Harold Fink aptly describes his difficult situation in the wake of the battle:

Bohemond’s position was therefore rendered desperate by pressure on all sides from the Byzantines and Aleppo. With many of his troops lost at Har-ran, his home garrisons demoralized, Edessa weak, and now himself in debt for his ransom of 1103 and unable to secure more men, Bohemond was at the end of his resources.⁷⁸

Accordingly, Bohemond had no option left other than seeking help overseas, a sorry lot indeed for the “most powerful” Latin prince in the north. In an effort to finance his journey, moreover, he aggravated the sorry state of his principality by stripping it of its resources.⁷⁹

Albert of Aachen begins his version of the story by reporting that Chakarmish and Sokman collected an army of sixty thousand (obviously an exaggerated number) and set out “in arrogance and great force” to besiege Edessa. In mentioning Sokman the author feels it necessary to remind his readers that this man had “wickedly invaded” Jerusalem but then, on the first approach of the Christian army, lost the city to the Fatimids and fled to Damascus in order to seek support from the Turks there. He goes on to relate how Baldwin of Edessa was frightened upon hearing the arrival of such hordes, and calling up all those in his service, posted them to defend the ram-

⁷⁷ Harold S. Fink, “The Foundation of the Latin States,” in *A History of the Crusades* (London, 1969), I, 389-90; Vāth, *Geschichte*, 54.

⁷⁸ Fink, “Foundation,” 390.

⁷⁹ Asbridge, *Creation*, 55-6.

parts. Leaving the city after this, he sent for aid to Bohemond and Tancred and requested them to bring reinforcements. Emphasizing Christian unity, Albert writes that he “begged and implored them not to suffer the arrogance of the Turks to prevail over their Christian brothers.” When the Normans received his summons for aid, they called together around three thousand knights and seven thousand footsoldiers from all the places and castles of Antioch, and proceeded to the appointed place, the fields of Harran. Here Baldwin was impatiently awaiting their arrival with all the troops he had brought together.

There is a notable contradiction in Albert’s account so far: he first makes it appear as if Baldwin had posted all the troops in the city to defend the ramparts and departed alone, or almost so, from the city. But then he reveals that the count had all the troops he had mustered in his company as he waited for the Normans before Harran. How to explain this apparent contradiction? Perhaps the only solution is to assume that Baldwin had left a sufficient force in the city to guard the walls and departed with the rest of his troops to meet with his allies. However, this still leaves unanswered the basic question of what happened to the large Muslim force supposedly posited before Edessa in between Baldwin’s departure from the city and the battle. It seems to have vanished altogether, not only in Albert only but all other sources upholding the idea of an initial Muslim attack on Edessa. If there was indeed a threat to Edessa, which seems unlikely, this must have been of a much more distant and vague nature, perhaps against the territory, rather than an army actually marching to besiege the city.

In the light of these considerations, it seems more plausible to assume that Baldwin’s departure with most of his troops was not a defensive measure against an approaching Muslim attack, but rather the beginning of a Frankish offensive against

Harran. The question why Albert's account makes it seem otherwise has already been discussed at length. Let it suffice to repeat briefly that the historian probably drew for this account upon a Norman version of the story disseminated during Bohemond's sojourn in Europe. On a campaign to raise aid for the Latin East, the Norman prince would not have deemed it profitable to reveal that the Franks there had just squandered vast resources and men on an ambitious expedition that failed miserably. It would be far more preferable to represent the disastrous venture as a desperate defense against the onslaught of vast hordes of "infidels."

Yet another significant point in Albert's account so far is the passage where Baldwin is shown imploring the Normans "not to suffer the arrogance of the Turks to prevail over their Christian brothers." As we shall see, the necessity of preserving Christian unity against the "infidel" is a theme that emerges time and again in Albert's account of the battle. Indeed it is quite possible to argue that the historian regarded the account as an opportunity to underline the importance of Christian unity, as a plea to his contemporaries to preserve this unity intact. This is not at all unlike the way Ibn al-Athir treated his account of the same battle.

Albert goes on to relate that an Arab came to the Franks assembled before Harran, informing them that the Turks were speedily approaching to besiege Edessa. Hearing the news, they moved their camp to the river Balikh and thence to the open field before Raqqa, near the confluence of that river with the Euphrates. Albert does not neglect to note that here they made confession to the prelates present, and thereby "turned all their dissensions into love." After this, he says, they arranged the troops in twenty rows and positioned them in two wings so that they could "support each other mutually and thus bear the burden of the battle more lightly when resisting the enemy." It was reportedly at this point that Sokman arrived with his thirty thousand

(*sic.*) powerful warriors and archers from the right side and joined battle with the Franks.

All this reveals that Albert's geographical knowledge about the region was quite blurred. He states perplexingly that the Turks advanced upon Edessa, while the Franks, hearing of their approach, moved in the opposite direction, towards Harran in the south, to take up position. And then we are told as in Fulcher's account that the Turks finally arrived not at Edessa or even Harran, but at Raqqa, some hundred kilometers to the south. As if this was not enough, Albert asserts that the Franks were busy preparing for an imminent battle, as though they were awaiting the Muslim army on its route, and singularly fails to explain why they had proceeded from Harran to Raqqa. The other sources corroborate that the battle indeed took place near Raqqa, but Albert himself does not seem to have been aware of the distance between this town on the one hand and Harran and Edessa on the other. He probably assumed them to be so close that an army going from Mosul or Hisn Kaifa to Edessa would have to pass through Raqqa. Accordingly, he does not attempt to explain when and why the Turks had struck south from their route towards Edessa.

In the light of this discussion, it can be said that Albert's testimony is less plausible than Ralph's report that the Turks drew the Franks south by a tactical retreat. Demirkent rightly points out that Albert contradicts himself in relating that Baldwin, terrified by the Muslim attack on Edessa, collected his forces to protect the walls, but then proceeded to the Turkish-controlled city of Harran, thence to Raqqa.⁸⁰

To solve this problem it could be assumed that by going to Raqqa the Franks tried to divert the Muslims away from Edessa and that the latter, learning of their presence to the south, turned in that direction to defeat them before besieging the

⁸⁰ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, I, 85.

city. But this is only a conjecture that is implied nowhere by Albert himself, who apparently supposed that at Raqqa the Franks were still near Edessa and positioned on the route of the Turks marching towards that city. The assumption in question also fails to explain why the Franks had first assembled before Harran and then decided to move their camp further south to Raqqa — again a point about which Albert does not supply any information. In consideration of these points, it seems more judicious to give preference to the testimonies of the other sources. A combination of these would suggest that the Franks gathered to besiege Harran, but then, because of a dispute among their leaders, fell in pursuit of the withdrawing Turks before being able to occupy it. Taking advantage of this opportunity, another Turkish contingent then replenished the depleted provisions of the town.

It is also noteworthy in Albert's account that like Ralph he does not mention the vehement dispute between the princes of Edessa and Antioch that almost broke the alliance even before the battle. On the contrary, he presents his readers with an edifying example of Christian solidarity, relating how the Normans hurried to aid their Christian brothers and together they "turned all their dissensions into love." All this emphasis on Christian unity when it was severely disrupted in reality might be a part of the Norman propaganda intended to cover up the displeasing facts that could inconvenience Bohemond's cause in Europe. Nevertheless, Albert's mention of the Franks' dissensions also suggests that he may have been aware of these, and may have stressed Christian unity in reaction, either as a covert criticism, or perhaps in order to present his readers with a good rather than a bad example.

The elements of Norman propaganda are as evident in Albert's description of the clash as in Ralph's. He shows them fighting in the forefront and being prevented from reaching victory only by the Edessenenes' failure to join them. Between the lines,

he compares the latter's performance unfavorably with that of the Normans: "Bohemond, Tancred and all the army of Antioch were not sluggish in meeting [the enemy] head-on with weapons, hauberk, helmet and a shield roof to resist them, blaring loudly with tumpets and bugles;" they were accompanied on the left by Baldwin and Joscelin. Albert relates that the Normans gained the upper hand in the beginning, penetrating the Muslims' ranks and scattering them, but were eventually compelled by the exhaustion of their power to flee the battlefield. Reportedly, they had managed to kill five hundred enemy troops by this time, while losing less than half of that number on their own side. If they were routed in the end despite this, Albert explains, it was due to the fact that the forces of Edessa, running rashly into an ambush, failed to join them at the moment when they had gained the upper hand. According to his story Baldwin and Joscelin, hearing that the Normans had joined battle about a mile away and were prevailing in the fight, attempted to break through the dense enemy ranks "with burning zeal" to join and reinforce them. But at this point ten thousand Turks suddenly emerged from an ambush and showered the Edessenes with arrows, putting them to flight and killing or capturing many, including clergymen, monks and the archbishop of Edessa.

The report that the Turks routed the army of Edessa with a shower of arrows is obviously in accordance with the testimonies of the Anonymous and William of Tyre. However Albert, like Ralph, shows the Normans in a totally different role. According to him, they had not abandoned the Edessenes at that point, but on the contrary joined battle before them and prevailed against the enemy until the Edessenes' rout had altered the course of the battle. Albert allows himself even more explicit criticism of the Edessenes than Ralph when relating the capture of Count Baldwin: "Because he was too greedy for slaughter and hurried heedlessly, and did not wait as

he should have done for Bohemond's victory standards, [he] was overcome, captured, and taken off." So once more, as in Ralph's account, the whole responsibility for the debacle is laid at the feet of Baldwin and the other Edessenes who had allegedly failed to play their part in the battle unlike the Normans.

Not content with this, Albert even depicts the Normans as making a heroic effort to save their Edessene comrades. He relates how Tancred was shattered on returning from his successful charge to learn the Lorrainers' lot and set out at once to pursue the Turks and rescue Baldwin and other captives. But the enemy escaped, Albert states, and so he was able to save only the archbishop of Edessa and three knights. It is worthy of attention here that the rescue of the archbishop, related by Ralph as yet another heroic feat, comes across in Albert's version as a mere consolation prize. This difference probably stemmed from the ends pursued by the two authors in composing their accounts. Ralph's purpose was to eulogize Tancred and accordingly he was eager to underline the contrast between Baldwin, who had failed to save even his own person, and Tancred, who had supposedly saved even the latter's archbishop. On the other hand, Albert sought to promote Christian unity and was therefore more interested in drawing attention to the alleged concern of the Normans for their Christian brothers who had been captured.

In addition to this, the episode also serves Albert to support his claim that the Normans would have won the battle if the Edessenes had not been routed. For it implies that the Normans were compelled to break off their own successful fight with the enemy in order to rescue them. Nevertheless, it must be observed that the story of this rescue attempt stands in contradiction with Albert's earlier report that the Normans themselves were put to flight as well when their power was exhausted. Appar-

ently, the historian chose to include it on account of its value as an edifying example of Christian solidarity.

The story also contradicts what follows next, Albert's account of the Normans' flight to Edessa. Like Ralph, he states that the Norman princes retired to their camp at nightfall to have a rest before resuming the fight on the following day, but were prevented from doing so by the flight in question. We have seen Ralph attribute this to the common soldiers' fear of what awaited them on the next day. Albert attributes it in contrast to the panic that reportedly seized them upon discovering Baldwin's absence by early morning. However, they must have already known that Baldwin was missing if Tancred had indeed pursued the Turks to rescue him and the other captives, but returned with almost empty hands. Because of such contradictions, this explanation of Albert about the Normans' flight seems even less satisfactory than that of Ralph. Albert himself seems to have felt this too, for he offers a second, relatively more plausible as well as more flattering explanation for the hasty retreat of the Normans to Edessa. Reportedly, their motive was to reach the city before the Turks riding ahead in triumph, so that they could prevent it from falling into the enemy's hands. He asserts in accordance with this that Bohemond and Tancred, once inside Edessa, reassured its populace who still bewailed Baldwin and other losses, and encouraged them to defend the city.

Albert proceeds to note that the Armenians of Edessa assembled the next day to raise Tancred to Baldwin's position, until they could see whether the latter's release could be secured through ransom or otherwise. Albert concludes that Bohemond returned to Antioch after Tancred had thus been appointed to hold the city and its principate in Baldwin's name. As we have seen, Albert's emphasis that Tancred held Edessa only as Baldwin's regent until the latter's return is singularly lacking in

Ralph's account, where Tancred is shown *tout court* as the elected new ruler of the city.

Albert ends his story of the battle with a lengthy account of the subsequent siege of Edessa. He assumes this to have been undertaken in common by Sokman and Chakarmish, although we have seen in Ibn al-Athir's account that the lord of Mosul had to besiege the city on his own after his dispute with Sokman and the latter's departure. As pointed out before, this was precisely what led to his failure, and Albert relates in detail how he was sorely defeated by Tancred in a sortie. In the context of this episode, Albert cites a letter that he says was written by Tancred to Bohemond to ask for his aid against Chakarmish. Nevertheless, it looks more like a treatise on the importance of Frankish and Christian unity and the need to preserve these, rather than an urgent call of help. For a last time, then, Albert used his account of the battle to make a case for Christian solidarity against the Muslims. In this respect he comes remarkably close to Ibn al-Athir, who as we saw showed Sokman as declaring his commitment to Muslim unity towards the end of the account.

3.1.1.9 *Sibt ibn al-Jawzi: an alternative account of the battle?*

About the Battle of Harran Sibt ibn al-Jawzi offers a brief report derived from the account of Ibn al-Qalanisi.⁸¹ But for the same year, 497/1103-4,⁸² he also reports another confrontation between the Franks and Muslims. According to this the Franks set out from Edessa and divided into two detachments, one of which went to Harran while the other went to Raqqa.⁸³ Upon this Sokman arrived from Mardin to confront

⁸¹ Sibt ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'at*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 527.

⁸² Sibt ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'at*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 528.

⁸³ The French translator of the text in the RHC edition has rendered the verb *qaṣada* with "se diriger," i.e. "to head for." But another, similarly common meaning of the word is simply "to go." See Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (Beirut, 1968), VII, 2531. Indeed it seems to have been used in the latter meaning here, since, setting out from Edessa, Harran and Raqqa lie on exactly the same route, with the latter town situated further south. Accordingly, it would not make sense to assume that the Franks

them. In the bitter fight that ensued the Franks captured the Uqailid chief Salim ibn Malik, who had camped with his tribe near Ain al-Arus, but were ultimately defeated and compelled to retire with considerable losses.

The report of such a battle in 497 is not corroborated by any other source. But considering that Harran and Raqqa were precisely the scene of the events associated with the Battle of Harran, it seems quite reasonable to assume that this could be another report of that battle, mistaken by Sibt ibn al-Jawzi for a later, different confrontation. Given the vast divergence between the two accounts, the chronicler may well have failed to notice that they referred to the same battle and reported them as separate events. There is a further consideration that reinforces the possibility that this might be an alternative account of the Battle of Harran: after the disaster that they had suffered in that battle, the Franks would hardly have possessed sufficient confidence and military strength to venture another major expedition. If they had only carried out a local incursion, in turn, it is unlikely that Sokman would have bothered to set out once more from Mardin to proceed as far as Raqqa.

What renders this report especially valuable, if it indeed pertains to the Battle of Harran, is its testimony that it was indeed the Franks who went on to the offensive by assembling in Edessa and marching against Harran and Raqqa. As such, it provides further corroboration to the testimonies of Ibn al-Athir, the indigenous Christian authors and William of Tyre against those of Ralph, Albert and Ibn al-Qalanisi. Another point of interest in Sibt ibn al-Jawzi's account is the report that the Franks separated into two detachments, one of which went to Harran and the other to Raqqa. This might explain the surprising jump in the accounts of Fulcher and Albert from the Franks' siege of Harran to the battle at Raqqa without any explanation as to why

divided upon leaving Edessa into two contingents, one heading for Harran and the other for Raqqa, as if these towns were situated in different directions.

they had proceeded there. As it has already been pointed out, the most reasonable explanation for this seems to be their pursuit of the Turks who had resorted to a tactical retreat. Nevertheless, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's testimony suggests the possibility that a part of the Frankish forces had left the others outside Harran to march towards Raqqa.

If this was indeed the case, it is not clear why the Franks would have taken such a step. Perhaps their aim was to lure the main Turkish army away from Harran and join battle with them near Raqqa while the Frankish detachment before Harran would try to prevent the remaining Turks from provisioning the already starving town. An attempt might also be made to reconcile Sibṭ's account with the episode of retreat. It was perhaps only the Edessenes who proceeded to Raqqa in pursuit of the Turks, whereas the Normans had indeed broken the alliance after their dispute and remained before Harran just as implied by Fulcher's invective. This would also explain why the people of that town took an important part in the pursuit and massacre after the defeat of the Edessene army. On the other hand, if Baldwin was really worried about the Normans demanding a share of Harran, or the right to pillage it, he would hardly go off to Raqqa and leave the Normans there. In any case, the absence of further details in Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's account renders it quite difficult to say anything for certain.

3.1.2 Did Belek play any role in the conflict?

At this point it must be clarified whether Sokman's nephew Belek ibn Behram took part in the battle as well, or at least had a role in the hostilities that eventually led to it. Indeed Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, in his encyclopaedia article on Belek,

asserts unequivocally that the emir accompanied Sokman in the Battle of Harran.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, no statement or even hint to this effect has been found in the primary sources indicated in that article's bibliography and examined for this study.

Gerhard Vāth suggests in turn that Belek's activities may have been among the causes of the battle, and argues in this context that the County of Edessa was threatened by this emir as well beside Sokman.⁸⁵ According to his assertion Belek turned to the north after being expelled from Saruj by the Franks, captured Kharput, and began to attack the territory of Edessa from this base. Vāth goes on to argue that Belek's threat against the Frankish lordship grew still more after his conquest of the towns of Ana and al-Haditha in October 1103, which supposedly compelled Baldwin du Bourg to undertake action. Neither of these arguments is supportable, however, for Belek did not capture Kharput before 1115,⁸⁶ and the two towns in question, located more than four hundred kilometers from Edessa, were simply too distant for Baldwin to feel any threat from Belek.

3.1.3 The course of events

The comparative close reading of the primary source accounts on the Battle of Harran allows for the following reconstruction of the events. In order to entrench their presence in North Syria, and perhaps also to capture some Muslim cities like Aleppo, the Franks wished to sever the communication lines between Muslim Syria and the Muslim powers in the Jazira. Accordingly Harran, with its key strategic position, came to constitute an attractive target for them, situated as it was at the junction of the routes between Syria, Anatolia and the Jazira. It also promised considerable

⁸⁴ Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, "Belek," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, II, 469.

⁸⁵ Gerhard Vāth, *Die Geschichte der artukidischen Fürstentümer in Syrien und der Ġazira 'l-Furatiya* (Berlin, 1987), 52.

⁸⁶ Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, "Belek," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, II, 470; Claude Cahen, "Belek," *EI*², 483.

profits from the trade carried out along these routes. Still more importantly, the Franks could not hope to secure full control of the territory around Edessa as long as Harran remained in the Muslims' hands, owing to the close proximity of the two towns.

In preparation for a planned siege of the town, therefore, Baldwin of Edessa had been carrying out systematic ravages to deplete its food resources. By the year 1104 Harran was rent by strife, with its rule changing hands frequently, and the Franks were not late in seizing upon the long-expected opportunity that offered itself. Raising a huge army, the princes of Antioch and Edessa marched upon the town and laid siege to it. Baldwin's previous depredations turned out to have worked and the starving townsfolk came to offer their submission. Nevertheless, the eagerness of Baldwin to keep the town unscathed for himself, as well as his rivalry with Bohemond for its possession, led to a serious dispute between the Normans and Edessenenes. Because of this dispute, the Franks were unable to enter and take over Harran before the arrival of the Muslim relief army commanded by Sokman ibn Artuk and Chakarmish of Mosul. The Turks adopted the strategy of dividing their forces into two contingents. While one of these withdrew south, with the Franks in pursuit, the other tried to supply the starving townsfolk with provisions.

The contingent in retreat descended as far south as Raqqa, where the river Balikh joins the Euphrates — an ideal place for a well-staged ambush, as the escape routes of the enemy would be blocked on two sides by these rivers. Here the Turks surprised the Edessenenes in the vanguard, throwing their ranks into disorder with a shower of arrows. At this point the Normans, who had kept to the rear of the Edessenenes because of the dispute, refrained from joining them and withdrew behind a hill nearby. From here they fled at night towards Edessa. In the meanwhile the Turks

had thoroughly defeated the Edessenes in close combat and taken Baldwin and Joscelin captive. Then Sokman joined the people of Harran in the pursuit of the fleeing Normans, and the forces of Antioch were decimated in the ensuing slaughter. But during Sokman's absence Count Baldwin was taken away from his tent by Chakarmish's men, who were unwilling to leave that valuable captive to the Turkomans and let them gain all the credit for the victory. Discovering this on his return, Sokman angrily departed without collaborating further with Chakarmish to reap the fruits of their success, and contented himself with seizing the Frankish castles in Shabakhtan. As for Chakarmish, he proceeded alone to besiege Edessa, where Tancred had been elected regent, but was defeated by the latter in a sortie. Thus whereas the division in the Franks' ranks had caused them to lose the battle, the division between the victorious Muslims caused them to lose the chance of taking the significant prize of Edessa.

3.1.4 *The consequences of the battle*

Although the Franks managed to hold on to Edessa despite their defeat, this was only a small compensation for their failure to take advantage of the golden opportunity to capture Harran. They had also lost thereby the chance of isolating Muslim Syria from the Jazira, in preparation for its conquest, as well as of acquiring a useful base from which they could expand their rule towards the East. In this respect Grousset and Harold Fink liken the Battle of Harran to the defeat that the Roman forces under Crassus suffered before the same city, as they assume that this battle had put a definite end to the Roman expansion eastwards and endangered their hold on Syria.⁸⁷ Runciman, on the other hand, compares the consequences of the battle

⁸⁷ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 409-11; Fink, "Foundation," 389. Nevertheless, this assumption is not quite right. The fact of the matter was that the Romans learned from their disaster and preferred to carry out

with those of the Crusade of 1101: the failure of the latter had meant that North Syria would be deprived of the reinforcements from the West that were necessary for the firm establishment of Frankish domination, while the disaster of Harran meant that the County of Edessa was destined to fall in the long run and that Aleppo was never going to be captured. For the Franks had failed to drive a wedge securely between the three Muslim centres of Anatolia, Iraq and Syria.⁸⁸

Although both Baldwin and Joscelin had been captured, it was interestingly the Principality of Antioch that fared worse in the immediate aftermath of the disaster.⁸⁹ Ridwan of Aleppo and the Byzantine fleet simultaneously attacked its territories, while the local Christians and subject Muslims rebelled against what they saw as the oppressive Frankish government. As a result, within a short time the Principality had shrunk to little more than the environs of Antioch, and Bohemond was compelled to embark for Europe to seek help. As Grousset puts it memorably, “the Norman knights, before the disaster, had been galloping with impunity in the suburbs of Aleppo. After the fatal day, it was the Turks of Aleppo who came back to menace the suburbs of Antioch.”⁹⁰ Likewise Cahen observes that “the conquests of the last five years were lost at one blow,” which meant that only the districts of interior Syria remained to the Franks.⁹¹ However, under the able administration of his successor Tancred, the state was to speedily recover its former boundaries and even expand beyond them.

Consequently, the victory that the Muslims scored in the Battle of Harran did not enable them to realize long-term territorial gains at the expense of the Frankish

their future attacks into the region from the north rather than the west. I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Julian Bennett for pointing out the correction.

⁸⁸ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 44.

⁸⁹ As for the long run, it can well be argued that the Frankish defeat prepared the doom of Edessa, while Antioch could recover its former extent within a decade.

⁹⁰ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 411.

principalities. But it postponed the encirclement of Aleppo by the Franks for nearly fifteen years and prevented them from seizing a post of such strategic importance as Harran. Were it not for this battle, they would not only have been able to isolate the Muslim cities of Syria from Mesopotamia, but also to expand further east, perhaps even to seize Mosul, owing to the relative weakness of the Seljukids at this time.

3.1.5 *Sokman's equivocal role in the victory*

Sokman and his Turkomans, who made up the major part of the Muslim army, must be granted the chief credit for this result, although we have seen that his abrupt departure after the kidnapping of Baldwin from his tent probably saved Edessa from almost certain capture. In this connection Ali Sevim points out that Sokman was the first emir to stop the Muslims' ongoing loss of ground to the Franks, who he says were "inexorably making progress in the lands of Islam and expanding the area under their rule through daily successes."⁹² Going further than this, Aydın Usta argues that Sokman's victory constituted a beginning for the Artukids' rise to a position of leadership among Muslims, and points out that the latter had been unable before this time to overcome their divisions against the Frankish expansion. He adds that the leadership of the Artukids in jihad would develop with Ilghazi and reach its peak at the time of Belek.⁹³ Developing the same line of argument, Imad al-Din Khalil states that this "first critical victory against the Crusaders" opened "the way before the emergence of the Muslim leaderships and alliances that inflicted successive blows upon the Crusader forces, which began with Mawdud and ended with Saladin,

⁹¹ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 239.

⁹² Sevim, "Sokman," X, 705.

⁹³ Aydın Usta, "Artuklular," *Türkler Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara, 2002), VI, 472.

having respectively continued through the Artukids Ilghazi and Belek, Aksungur al-Bursuki, and the Zangids Imad al-Din and Nur al-Din.”⁹⁴

It must be observed however that such an interpretation is rather teleological, for Ilghazi was not to play any role of leadership against the Franks before 1118, fourteen years later, and until then either did not participate in the campaigns led by the sultan’s officers, or even actually allied against them with the Franks. When he did emerge as the chief adversary of the Franks in North Syria, he was not so much the leader of a fully-fledged jihad campaign against the Franks as the savior and defender of Aleppo. The same is true of Belek as well.⁹⁵ Although Zangi is asserted to have followed them in the leadership of jihad, he was in fact far more interested in subjugating the petty Turkish and Kurdish principalities in Diyar Bakr than waging a consistent jihad campaign against the Franks. Nur al-Din and Saladin were similarly bent on expanding their territories at the expense of their Muslim neighbors while keeping the Franks at bay.

All this implies that Sokman’s achievement should be considered within the context of his own time rather than looking backwards from 1187 to count him as the first link in a chain of increasingly illustrious leaders of jihad. The period in question witnessed the imminent threat of the Frankish encirclement of Aleppo and their penetration of the eastern Jazira, developments that compelled Sokman to take urgent action as the only local emir in a position to do so. He certainly rose to this challenge, and by saving Harran with Chakarmish, dealt a critical blow to Frankish expansion in North Syria and the Jazira during its initial, most critical period. Arguably, he also prepared thereby the ultimate doom of the County of Edessa. Despite

⁹⁴ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 217-18.

⁹⁵ This need not have prevented them from considering their confrontations with the Franks as jihad and themselves as the defender of Muslims, though. For a detailed discussion of these issues see sections 7.8 and 8.6.

this, there remains the fact that his desertion of Chakarmish in the aftermath of the victory also postponed the capture of Edessa and other important cities of the County for another forty years. Of course Sokman had very good personal reasons for doing so, as the attachment of Edessa to Mosul would have left him in a difficult position indeed, much like his descendants and nephews would later face against Zangi. Therefore Sokman's interest in an alliance with the lord of Mosul must have ended the moment the Frankish threat to Harran ceased.

3.2 An anticlimactic sequel: Sokman's death on his march to aid Damascus and Tripoli

It seems that Sokman's victory in the Battle of Harran had gained him considerable reputation as the chief adversary of the Franks in the region, for he was summoned to aid against them by two Muslim rulers at once: Tughtekin, the *atabek* of Damascus, who was fatally ill and concerned about the future of his city, and Fakhr al-Mulk Ibn Ammar, the emir of Tripoli, whose city was besieged by the Franks.

It should be asked at this point how a local emir of the Jazira could have become the hope of cities so distant from his base around Mardin and Hisn Kaifa, even though he might have defeated the Franks in a battle fought much nearer that base. There seem several reasons to account for this. To begin with, it was the first serious victory scored against a substantial Frankish army of comparable size to the Muslim forces. This was bound to cause widespread excitement on the one side and despondency on the other, as revealed by the remarks of Ibn al-Qalanisi in Damascus and Fulcher of Chartres in Jerusalem, both cities located far from the scene of the events. Secondly, it was the Principality of Antioch that had been most severely affected by the Muslim victory, and since this was the Frankish state that posed the

greatest and most direct threat to the Muslim cities in Syria, their rulers must have been aware of Sokman's major role in this happy turn of the events. Being only a local emir, moreover, he must have appeared a more appealing source of help to the Syrian emirs than the Seljukid governor of Mosul, given their concern to preserve their newly found independence from the sultan in Baghdad.

It remains to ask why Sokman himself was willing to go to the aid of Damascus and Tripoli against the Franks. One immediate reason for this was that in this period the Artukids were still basically chieftains of free-roaming nomads with a base in Diyar Bakr, rather than rulers of established principalities covering more or less defined territories in that region. We shall see that this was also the case with Ilghazi, who roamed between Mardin, Aleppo and Tiflis, or Belek, whose field of activity encompassed Kharput, Aleppo and Tyre. Just as in their case, however, there was probably more to Sokman's decision to answer the summons to help. It might be taken as evidence of his positive reaction to being regarded as the chief adversary of the Franks as well as the protector of the Muslims in the region. Moreover, he must have been aware that the fall of Tripoli and especially Damascus to the Franks would render them so powerful as to enable them to shift the balance of power in the region and even come to threaten his interests in Diyar Bakr. As we shall see in the subsequent chapters, this was also an important reason why Ilghazi and Belek took over Aleppo and why the latter agreed to bring help to Tyre when it was under Frankish siege.⁹⁶

Ibn al-Qalanisi has provided us with a contemporary account of the event,⁹⁷ whereas Ibn al-Athir seems to have mainly summarized and to some extent reworked

⁹⁶ See in particular chapters 6.1.2, 7.8, 8.6.

⁹⁷ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 66-8 (498: 1104-1105).

the same or a similar account.⁹⁸ He also adds from other sources an exchange between Sokman and his men that shows the emir determined to wage jihad against the Franks even at the expense of his life. This is of course in keeping with the declaration that Sokman had made according to the same historian on discovering the kidnapping of Baldwin from his tent. However, the addition in question does not run counter to the spirit of Ibn al-Qalanisi's original narrative either, for both chroniclers appear bent on representing Sokman as a model mujahid to be imitated by other emirs, always ready to wage Holy War and to aid their fellow Muslims against the Franks.

Nevertheless, a certain nuance is still discernible in their reaction against the attitude of Tughtekin, who reportedly regretted at the last moment that he had summoned Sokman, for fear that the emir would deprive himself of the city's possession. Ibn al-Qalanisi relates this episode in a way that reveals that he did not find Tughtekin's *volte-face* entirely unjustified, whereas Ibn al-Athir lets the contrast between Sokman and Tughtekin that is implicit in the storyline emerge more clearly: on the one hand, an emir committed to the cause of Muslim unity, and on the other hand, an emir ready to let selfish calculation interfere with that cause. This is hardly surprising in view of the fact that Ibn al-Qalanisi was himself a notable of Damascus who served under Tughtekin as well as under his heirs, and perhaps had a part to play in his city's rapprochement with the Franks against Zangi. In contrast, Ibn al-Athir, writing a century later in Mosul, was not only unbound by the conditions and connections of Ibn al-Qalanisi, but had also adopted it as a program to find out in the past good and bad examples of dedication to jihad and Muslim solidarity. He sought

⁹⁸ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 315-16 and *Chronicle*, 90 (498: 1104-1105)

thereby to warn and exhort the emirs of his time, so lax in his view against the Frankish and Mongolian threat at their door.

We shall follow these general remarks with a comparative close reading and analysis of the accounts of Ibn al-Qalanisi and Ibn al-Athir to illustrate and explicate the points made so far, as well as to discuss the wider historical implications of the affair. Ibn al-Qalanisi relates that Tughtekin was seized in late 1104 by an illness that grew increasingly worse, so much so that he was concerned lest it prove fatal and deprive his family, troops and subjects of his protection. At this point Ibn al-Qalanisi refers back to the compact between Sokman and Chakarmish that the two emirs had made according to him before the Battle of Harran, swearing that they would “prosecute the Holy War against the polytheists and aid the Muslims.” He asserts that it was this pact that inspired Tughtekin with the idea of inviting Sokman to Damascus, so that he could “charge him and rely upon him in its defense.”⁹⁹ Around the same time Tripoli was under siege by the Franks, and its emir, Fakhr al-Mulk ibn Ammar, kept sending around letters and envoys to all the emirs in the region, asking for help and reinforcements. These letters also reached Sokman, urging him to hasten to the aid of Tripoli and promising a large sum in return. Sokman agreed to both proposals, the chronicler states, and after hasty preparations set out for Damascus. He depicts Sokman on the march as a dedicated mujahid, “pressing on his journey night and day

⁹⁹ According to Gibb, the translator of Ibn al-Qalanisi’s chronicle, the Arabic expression *liyuwaṣṣiya ilayhi wa ya’tamida fī himāyat dimashq ‘alayhi* (in *Tarikh Dimashq*, edited by Suhail Zakkar (Damascus, 1983), 237) means at this point “in order to nominate him as his successor,” and not simply to charge him with the defense of the city. Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that Tughtekin did not intend to designate Sokman as his successor proper, and his intention was basically no different than that of Ibn Ammar: hiring Sokman to take care of the defense of the city. Otherwise it is hard to understand why later Tughtekin grew so afraid that Sokman would become master of the city and do away with his family and associates. What else could he have expected in the first place if he had promised to make him his successor at the expense of his heirs?

in the intensity of his zeal and eagerness” to attack the Franks in defence of the Muslims.

Nevertheless, some in Damascus were not so sure that Sokman had entirely altruistic motives in hurrying to the city. When the news of his arrival in the nearby village of al-Qariatain was brought to the *atabek*, Ibn al-Qalanisi relates, Tughtekin was reprimanded for his rashness and poor judgement by his officers and associates. They reminded him of the sorry fate of Atsiz, a distinguished Seljukid commander, some twenty-five years before. “When the emir Sokman ibn Artuk reaches Damascus, and deprives you of control of it, what will become of you and of us,” they reportedly asked. “Were you not acquainted with the fate of Atsiz, and how, when he called in the sultan Taj al-Dawla [Tutush], son of Alp Arslan, and handed over Damascus to him, he at once proceeded to compass his destruction and spared neither him nor his family?”

Interestingly, although Ibn al-Qalanisi had just portrayed Sokman as a model mujahid bent on helping other Muslims, he seems to have shared the concern of these advisors (perhaps he was even one of them), as his next statement makes clear: “Thereupon Zahir al-Din awoke to his error and realized the extent of his heedlessness and sorely repented, so that by reason of this to his bodily sickness there was superadded sickness of heart.” There is not the slightest grain of criticism here towards the attitude of the worried Damascenes, but on the contrary Tughtekin is shown coming back to his senses and realizing the rashness and folly of his former decision.

We have already pointed out that an obvious reason for this apparent contradiction might have been Ibn al-Qalanisi’s position as one of the notables who served under Tughtekin and his heirs. But there could be found a more subtle explanation as

well: perhaps the reason why Ibn al-Qalanisi refrained from passing judgement on either side was that such things as Tutush had done and Sokman was feared to do were considered by the contemporaries to lay in the very nature of the political conditions and relations in the region. They were regarded as something that could not be changed, and accordingly it was also meaningless to make any reproaches about them. Consequently, Ibn al-Qalanisi and his fellow Damascenes may not have seen any contradiction in believing that Sokman had come to help their city against the Franks, and at the same time that he would try to secure its possession by depriving Tughtekin and his associates of their status, properties, and perhaps even their lives.

Of course, considered from the point of view of the well-being of Muslims at large, what finally counted was the protection of the city itself rather than the specific emir and cadres who happened to rule it at the time. Accordingly Sokman would not be especially culpable for trying to displace Tughtekin and his associates even if he ventured to do so. But when considered from the point of view of those in power, its preservation in the Muslims' hands would not bring them the least benefit if they themselves were deprived of its rule, and along with it, their status and livelihood as well. So they were just as justified on their part in trying to avoid such a prospect. As a result Ibn al-Qalanisi may not have perceived any paradox between portraying Sokman as a model mujahid bent on saving Muslim cities and endorsing the policy adopted by the Damascene notables on his approach.

This attitude of Ibn al-Qalanisi also provides a revealing hint about why Muslim Syria was so politically divided at this time and why its emirs failed to supersede these divisions even as they found themselves confronted with the Frankish threat at their door. Evidently, the fear of losing their city to a powerful Muslim emir from the East, who was in a position to dispossess them for good, could prove as strong an

incentive for them as the fear of losing it to the “infidels.” In this respect Michael Köhler considers Ibn al-Qalanisi’s account as a *locus classicus* for the grounds of the policy that the Muslim principalities in Syria adopted towards reinforcements coming from the East. In Köhler’s words,

All the interventions of the Turkish armies from the East confronted Damascus, Aleppo and the lesser emirates with the dilemma of finding a balance between the possible advantages of cooperation with a “Counter-Crusade” against the Franks, and the danger that would be implied by a successful allied enterprise for the autonomy of their own lordship.

We have seen that this dilemma is directly reflected in the attitude of Ibn al-Qalanisi himself. Köhler also stresses the importance of the aforementioned fate of Atsiz as a contributory factor to this state of affairs, and points out that Tughtekin’s men had not referred to it in vain as they tried to dissuade him from receiving Sokman. The trauma of this event had left lasting traces on the attitude of the Muslim emirs towards making alliances with other Muslim powers.¹⁰⁰

Ibn al-Qalanisi relates that Tughtekin and his officers were thus left in dire straits, taking counsel about what to do regarding Sokman, when they received news that the emir had succumbed to a grievous illness while camping at al-Qariatain; he had been taken in a coffin to where he had come from. Ibn al-Qalanisi’s report of Tughtekin’s reaction to this news is also quite telling. Contrary to what might have been expected, the *atabek* was not troubled at all that once again he faced the prospect of leaving his city defenseless, with nobody to protect it after his death against the Franks. On the contrary, he is said to have rejoiced greatly at this turn of the affairs, so much so that “from this time began his fortune and the restoration of health to his body.” After benevolently removing the danger posed by Sokman, therefore, God had also removed the cause of concern that had led Tughtekin to summon him

in the first place: “Glory be to Him who orders the lives of His Creatures by His wisdom and who determines all events by His power.”

Ibn al-Athir seems largely to follow Ibn al-Qalanisi’s account, albeit with some subtle subtractions and additions. One such modification, mainly of historiographical interest, can be observed at the beginning of his account. Here the historian describes Tughtekin’s letter of invitation to Sokman, which reportedly informed the latter that “he was ill and on the point of death and that he feared, if he died without anyone to defend Damascus, the Franks would conquer it. He urged him to come in order to entrust him with what he would rely upon in the protection of the city.”¹⁰¹ At this point Ibn al-Athir seems to have integrated Ibn al-Qalanisi’s description of the conditions in which Tughtekin found himself, as well as the concerns and the idea of calling Sokman that these inspired, directly into the letter of invitation he had sent to Sokman. In a way not unlike the use of dialogues in medieval historiography, he thus represents the chronicler’s own explanation as the content of the letter itself.

Another point where Ibn al-Athir diverges somewhat from Ibn al-Qalanisi’s report on this letter has attracted scholarly attention, so it should not remain unmentioned here. Ibn al-Qalanisi’s account gave the impression that Sokman had received the letters of Tughtekin and Ibn Ammar around the same time and set out to go first to Damascus and then to Tripoli. But Ibn al-Athir states that the letter of Tughtekin arrived later, just as Sokman was preparing to set out for Tripoli, which suggests that

¹⁰⁰ Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1991), 127.

¹⁰¹ Slightly reinterpreting Ibn al-Qalanisi’s expression *liyuwaṣṣiya ilayhi wa ya’tamida fī ḥimāyat dimashq ‘alayhi*, Ibn al-Athir has turned it into *liyuwaṣṣiya ilayhi bimā ya’tamidahu fī ḥifẓ al-balad*. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-Ta’rikh*, 13 vols. (Beirut, 1965-1967), X, 389. Like Gibb in the previous case, the translator D. S. Richards takes this to mean that Tughtekin intended to make Sokman his successor, besides enjoining him what to do in the defense of the city. But the same objections as in Ibn al-Qalanisi’s case holds here: it is of little likelihood that Tughtekin ever thought of making Sokman his successor proper. Like Ibn Ammar, most probably, he only intended to entrust the emir with

he changed his mind and decided to go first to Damascus instead. Basing himself on this latter version, Ali Sevim seeks to explain Sokman's alleged change of mind by pointing out that "the protection of Damascus was more important for the world of Islam."¹⁰² Of course this would have been a valid ground if such a change had indeed taken place, but as we have seen there is no evidence for it in Ibn al-Athir's original source, Ibn al-Qalanisi, and it would be unwarranted to draw conclusions from Ibn al-Athir's report alone. Moreover, regardless of whether Sokman had received the letters at the same time or not, it was in any case more convenient for him to go first to Damascus and then to Tripoli on his way west and south from Hisn Kaifa.

Yet another notable point where Ibn al-Athir diverges from Ibn al-Qalanisi is that he neither suggests that it was the pact of jihad between Sokman and Chakarmish that had inspired Tughtekin with the idea of calling Sokman, nor mentions the "zeal and eagerness" with which Ibn al-Qalanisi had shown him hurrying to the aid of Damascus. Could this be taken to mean that it was less of a concern for Ibn al-Athir to represent Sokman as the mujahid *par excellence*? That this was not so is revealed by the declaration of commitment to jihad that we shall see him attribute to the dying Sokman. Having reported that declaration, and busy with summarizing, the historian does not seem to have deemed it necessary to include additional details that would serve the same purpose.

A significant divergence from Ibn al-Qalanisi's account is found in the passage where Ibn al-Athir relates, in parallel with his source, how Tughtekin was dissuaded by his men from receiving Sokman into the city. In contrast to the Damascene chronicler, Ibn al-Athir does not drop any remarks to the effect that this debate caused Tughtekin to realize his error and rashness in having summoned Sokman. He

money and other resources that he would rely upon in defending his city until Tughtekin's heirs would come of age.

only states that Tughtekin grew afraid of the consequences of what he had done and his illness was consequently aggravated. In keeping with this approach, Ibn al-Athir also discards Ibn al-Qalanisi's thanksgiving to God for Sokman's death as well as for Tughtekin's recovery through his joy at this news. He contents himself with drily stating that Tughtekin and his men "enjoyed a relief they had never hoped for." All this is hardly surprising. Ibn al-Athir, writing in the next century, had witnessed the time of Saladin, when the major part of Muslim Syria, Egypt and the Jazira had been united with happy results against the Franks. He lamented that the rulers of his own time were far from displaying the same degree of solidarity *vis-à-vis* the Franks as well as the Mongols. Accordingly, he shared none of Ibn al-Qalanisi's understanding and sympathy for the dilemma in which the Muslim emirs of the early twelfth century had found themselves, trying to preserve their cities both from the Franks and the other Muslim rulers including the sultan.

These considerations find further corroboration in a significant addition that Ibn al-Athir makes to Ibn al-Qalanisi's account, the report of an exchange between the ailing Sokman and his men as they tried to dissuade him from continuing his march to Damascus. The fact that Ibn al-Athir specifies Sokman's illness as diphtheria and counts the emir's son Ibrahim among his retinue indicates that he drew upon another, perhaps contemporary source for this report. Whether the report is true or not, just as in the case of Sokman's declaration in the tent, Ibn al-Athir must have found it very conducive to his aim of promoting the cause of jihad and Muslim unity. He relates that Sokman's men counseled him to return to Hisn Kaifa, but the sick man rejected the offer and declared: "No, I shall go on. If I recover I shall fulfil what I have resolved to carry out. God Almighty shall not see me turn away with fear of death

¹⁰² Sevim, "Artukoğlu Sokman'ın Siyasi Faaliyetleri," 519.

from the burden of fighting with the infidel. Should death overtake me, I shall be a martyr while marching to jihad.” They continued their march upon this reply, and Sokman died after he had remained speechless for two days. Ibn al-Athir notes that this took place in the month of Safar (22 October – 19 November 1104), and Sokman was taken back in a coffin to Hisn Kaifa. He concludes with a final evaluation of the Artukid emir: “He was resolute and crafty, a man of good sense and many good works.”

Ibn al-Athir touches upon Sokman’s death in a further passage as well, where he describes the state of Tripoli under Frankish siege as of 499/1105-6.¹⁰³ Lamenting the death as a great misfortune for all Muslims, he states:

One of the things that harmed the Muslims was that Ibn Ammar sought help from Sokman ibn Artuk, who assembled his troops and marched towards him, only to die on his way. If God Almighty wills something to happen, He prepares the reasons for it.

Were it not for this mishap, he seems to have believed, the Franks could not have captured the city a few years later. According to Ibn al-Athir, then, Sokman was the most effective bulwark against Frankish expansion at this time, both on the coast and in the interior. He cannot be deemed unjustified in these considerations. As Imad al-Din Khalil points out, if Sokman had been able to realize his plans regarding Tripoli and Damascus, this would have impacted seriously on relations and the balance of power between the Muslims and Franks, shaping these in the long run.¹⁰⁴

On the other hand, René Grousset contends that Sokman had come together with Ridwan of Aleppo and Fatimid Egypt to form a three-tiered coalition that aimed to split the Frankish establishments on the Lebanese coast. He states that this coalition scored its first success in spring 1105, when it prevented the Provençals from capturing Rafaniya. But then the death of Sokman “put an end to this first embryo of

¹⁰³ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi 't-Tarih*, X, 331 and *Chronicle*, 105 (499: 1105-1106).

the Counter-Crusade.” Perhaps Sokman’s venture to raise the siege of Tripoli could be seen as a prior, unsuccessful attempt of this coalition. But the fact that the emir died in autumn 1104, no less than half a year before its “first success,” makes it rather difficult to speak about the existence of a “Counter Crusade in embryo.”¹⁰⁵

Two other chroniclers refer to Sokman’s campaign and death as well, briefly and in the context of Tripoli, without mentioning the matter of Damascus. Al-Azimi reports that Sokman crossed the Euphrates with ten thousand horsemen to raise the Frankish siege of Tripoli, but died on the way at Manazir (al-Qariatain).¹⁰⁶ Matthew of Edessa similarly relates that Sokman died on his way to Tripoli as he went to attack the Franks besieging that city. He adds a final evaluation of the emir which, as might be expected, does not resemble that of Ibn al-Athir: “An evil man and a blood-thirsty beast.”¹⁰⁷ We know however that the same historian did not withhold his praise from another formidable Artukid adversary of the Franks, Belek, and lauded that emir’s compassionate treatment of his Armenian subjects.¹⁰⁸ Accordingly, his condemnation of Sokman may have had more to do with this emir’s treatment of the indigenous Christian population under his rule than with his confrontation of the Franks.

With Sokman’s death a period came to an end. Now it was the turn of his brother Ilghazi to face the Franks, though he would adopt a very different policy toward them in the first decade of his rule.

¹⁰⁴ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 218-19.

¹⁰⁵ Grousset, *Histoire*, III, xviii-xix.

¹⁰⁶ *Azimi Tarihi*, 27 (Arabic) and 34 (Turkish) (496: 1102-1103).

¹⁰⁷ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 194-95 (III.22).

¹⁰⁸ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 231-32 (III.95).

CHAPTER 4

ILGHAZI: EQUIVOCAL SUPPORTER OF THE SELJUKIDS

AGAINST THE FRANKS

Sokman's brother Ilghazi came to the Jazira in 1105, seeking to acquire a new base for himself in Diyar Bakr. Here he did not show himself particularly interested in fighting the neighboring Franks, and diverted an expedition of Ridwan against Antioch from that target to Nisibis, a town belonging to the Seljukid governor of Mosul. Nevertheless, Ilghazi may have been prevented from getting hold of a base in Diyar Bakr by the collaboration of his nephew Ibrahim ibn Sokman with Joscelin against him. Not long after he had finally established a principality in Mardin in 1107-8, there began the series of Seljukid expeditions launched by Mawdud, the new lord of Mosul, under the aegis of the sultan. Ilghazi took part in the first of these, but thereafter adopted a more wary attitude and contented himself with sending a contingent under his son. The present chapter considers the events of this initial period of Ilghazi's reign in Diyar Bakr, his role in the campaigns and the reasons behind his cautious policy. We shall see that he was bent above all on preserving his *de facto* independence from the sultan and suspected rightly that one aim of the expeditions was to bring local emirs like himself to heel.

4.1 Ilghazi's diversion of Ridwan's expedition against the Franks upon Nisibis

Sokman's brother Ilghazi had been dismissed from the post of *shihna* in 1105 upon the death of Barkyaruk and the accession of Muhammad Tapar as the sole sultan in the western half of the Greater Seljukid empire. Upon his dismissal he came to Diyar Bakr to carve out a new existence for himself in this region like his brother Sokman and his heirs. But for at least three years, until he took hold of Mardin around 1108, he was without a fixed base and kept roaming the region with his Turkomans, attacking the towns and cities that were not already under Artukid control. He also served Ridwan, as he had been doing before going to Baghdad.¹ It was at this stage of his career that he took part in a campaign launched by the latter prince against the Principality of Antioch.

Our information about this expedition and Ilghazi's role in it comes from Ibn al-Athir.² The way he introduces the report is rather surprising: "In the month of Ramadan (6 May – 4 June 1106) Prince Ridwan Ibn Tutush besieged Nisibis. This came about because he was determined to wage war on the Franks." But Nisibis was a Muslim city belonging to Chakarmish, the Lord of Mosul. So if Ridwan had set out to fight the Franks, how he had come to besiege Nisibis and not some town in the Principality of Antioch? The reason, we are given to understand, was none other than Ilghazi himself.

Ilghazi (called the *shihna* of Baghdad by Ibn al-Athir, although in fact he had been dismissed from this post in the previous year), Ispahbud Sabawa, and Alpi ibn Arslan Tash, lord of Sinjar and son-in-law of Chakarmish, had come together with Ridwan, ready to march against the Franks. But at this point, Ibn al-Athir reports,

¹ Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps de Croisades et la Principauté Franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 247.

Ilghazi suddenly came up with an alternative course of action: “The wisest thing to do,” he said to his allies, “is to attack the lands of Chakarmish and the neighboring regions in order to take control there and increase our strength with their troops and resources.” Alpi also supported this proposal, even though he was Chakarmish’s son in law, and as a result Ridwan³ marched to Nisibis at the head of 10,000 cavalry on the first day of Ramadan (6 May). By this time Chakarmish had gone off to the town of al-Hamma for a cure from its waters. But before going he had stationed two emirs and a troop of soldiers in the town,⁴ where they took up a strong position and engaged those beyond the walls. Badly wounded by an arrow during this conflict, Alpi returned to Sinjar.

Ibn al-Athir goes on to relate that Chakarmish, hearing about the siege, returned to Mosul. He pitched camp before the gates of that town to prepare for the forthcoming battle against Ridwan. But he first tried the method of deception. Writing to the emirs of Ridwan’s army, he stirred up their greed until he was able to corrupt them. Along with this, he also ordered his men in Nisibis carefully to offer their services to Ridwan and send out provisions to him. He then wrote in person to Ridwan to offer his services and submit to his authority. At the same time, he incited the prince against Ilghazi with the following words: “Sultan Muhammad [Tapar] besieged me and achieved nothing. He withdrew on terms. If you arrest Ilghazi, of

² Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi’l-Tarih Tercümesi*, translated by A. Özeydin, A. Ağırakça et al., 12 vols. (İstanbul 1987), X, 326-27 and *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi’l-Tarikh, Part 1*, translated by D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2006), 100-01 (499: 1105-1106).

³ Ibn al-Athir does not name the subject explicitly here, but it is sensible to assume that he refers to Ridwan, who was at the head of the allied troops, rather than to Alpi as understood by the English translator.

⁴ Again, the subject of this sentence is not indicated, but the course of the story suggests that it could have been nobody other than Chakarmish. For if it was Ridwan, as suggested by the English translator, how could he have known that they would march against Nisibis, rather than the Franks, and sent there emirs beforehand? Moreover, it does not seem logical that the emirs would have taken up a strong position *in* the city (*bi’l-balad*) if they were the men of Ridwan or Alpi rather than Chakarmish. And *warā’*, meaning beyond, can hardly be translated as “within” the walls as in the English translation.

whose wickedness and evil you and others are well aware, then I shall be with you and shall aid you with my men, my money and my weapons.”

Ibn al-Athir notes that this offer came at a time when Ridwan’s attitude toward Ilghazi had already changed. Now it deteriorated still further, and he resolved to arrest the Artukid. Summoning Ilghazi one day, he said: “This is a strong city. The Franks may perhaps take Aleppo. The politic course is to make peace with Chakarmish and to bring him into our company, since he is going to march with numerous and outstandingly equipped troops. Let us return to fight the Franks, for that is something that will again unite the Muslims.” But reportedly even this appeal to Muslim unity did not move Ilghazi, who told Ridwan: “You came under your own command but now you are under my command. I cannot permit you to leave without taking this town. Either you remain or I shall be the first to fight you.” Ibn al-Athir attributes this temerity of Ilghazi to the large number of Turkomans who had flocked to him.

Indeed the course of events showed that Ilghazi was not unjustified in this confidence in his Turkomans. Upon Ilghazi’s defiant answer Ridwan ordered his men to seize and put him into fetters, but when this became known to the Turkomans, who were firmly attached to Ilghazi as loyal followers, they clearly showed their opposition and resentment against this measure. Ibn al-Athir relates that they broke up with Ridwan and sought refuge within the walls of the town.

Considering that the town was in the hands of their enemy Chakarmish, this last report seems rather puzzling. It might be presumed that the latter, by granting admission to the Turkomans fleeing from Ridwan, intended to divide the allies still further. This is supported by Ibn al-Athir’s following, unexpected report that Ilghazi ascended the citadel of the town at this point.⁵ Perhaps he had been freed from cap-

⁵ The English translator has read the verb as *us‘ida* (passive) instead of *as‘ada* (active) here, and accordingly translated the passage as “Ilghazi was taken up to its fortress.” Possibly, this might not

tivity by some of the Turkomans, but it still needs explanation why Chakarmish had granted him admission to the citadel. The same ground seems valid here: after Chakarmish had stirred up Ridwan against Ilghazi, in an effort to divide the allies and save his skin, he proceeded to support Ilghazi against Ridwan for the same purpose. Indeed we read next that the troops in Nisibis went out of the town to help Ilghazi.⁶ Apparently, Chakarmish had sent a contingent against Ridwan after he had deprived him of his ally. When the Turkomans saw this they were emboldened still more, as Ibn al-Athir relates how they dispersed and plundered whatever they could find, especially cattle. Ridwan immediately departed upon this and returned to Aleppo, while Ilghazi seems to have been released by Chakarmish, now that Ilghazi was alone and incapable of posing any threat to the town.

Nevertheless, it is also possible to reconstruct an alternative version of this story, based on the different readings of the English translation.⁷ According to this, when the Turkomans protested against Ilghazi's arrest, he was handed over to Chakarmish's men who took him up to the citadel. Here he was imprisoned as a measure against possible attempts of the Turkomans to rescue him. In the meanwhile another contingent was sent out to help Ridwan against the Turkomans. Nevertheless, this version raises a number of difficult problems: how could the Turkomans have sought refuge from Ridwan in Nisibis if Chakarmish maintained a hostile attitude toward Ilghazi and sent a contingent to help Ridwan against them? If the Turkomans had already been granted refuge in the city, how come that a contingent was

amount to much difference, and just mean that Ilghazi was granted admission to ascend the citadel. But it might also suggest a radically different, albeit unacceptable version of the course of events, as we shall discuss presently.

⁶ The English translator has substituted "Ridwan" for the pronoun "him" in the Arabic text, but from the discussion so far it emerges that this was most probably Ilghazi instead.

⁷ See n. 5 and 6 above.

sent outside the walls to help Ridwan? How could the Turkomans have found the courage to disperse and carry out plunder while Ridwan was forced to depart if the contingent was sent to help him against the Turkomans? Finally, if Ilghazi had been taken up to the citadel as a prisoner and not as a refugee from Ridwan, how could he have departed freely afterwards? The first version gives rise to none of these questions. The only problem it raises is why Chakarmish had provided refuge to Ilghazi and then assisted his Turkomans against Ridwan despite his hostility to the Artukid emir that is evident in his letter to Ridwan. This is not a difficult problem to solve, however: considering that Chakarmish desperately tried to get rid of the besiegers at this time, his hostility against Ilghazi would not have prevented him from granting refuge and support to the emir if by this means he would be able to kindle the conflict between him and Ridwan and drive away the major part of the army that had laid siege to Nisibis.

In this case it is evident that Ilghazi attempted to use the war against the Franks merely as a pretext to seize the lands of Chakarmish and to carve out a principality for himself in Diyar Bakr. He was obviously insincere in arguing that it would be better to attack the Franks after reinforcing the army with the troops and resources of these lands. For otherwise he would not have proceeded to threaten Ridwan when the latter proposed to secure the same reinforcement by agreeing with Chakarmish, rather than by fighting with him. In this respect Grousset is not unjustified when he comments: "We see to which degree a common action against the Franks was becoming difficult. The holy war, jihad, was only a pretext for the Turkish princes to rob each other."⁸ Michael Köhler similarly points out the "rhetorical character" of the jihad idea and the appeal to the unity of Muslims which was of ser-

⁸ René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-1936), I, 430-31.

vice to the emirs in North Syria only for the legitimization of their internecine feuds.”⁹ He adds that even for Ridwan, the only emir at that time who really wanted to fight the Franks, the call for jihad was only meant to recruit allies for his struggle with Tancred over contested territories.

Perhaps it is this expedition that Osman Turan has in mind when he asserts that Ilghazi took part in jihad against the Franks while he was *shihna* in Baghdad. He seems to have been misled by Ibn al-Athir’s erroneous mention of Ilghazi as *shihna* while enumerating the emirs who joined this campaign in 1106.¹⁰ Significantly, he does not mention Ilghazi’s diversion of the campaign towards a Muslim town. Run-ciman probably bases himself on the same error in Ibn al-Athir, which shows Ilghazi to be still in close connection with the sultan, when he writes: “the allies suggested to Ridwan and Alpi that it would be more politic and profitable to please the sultan by an attack on Chakarmish.”¹¹ As we have seen, there is nothing in Ibn al-Athir’s account to suggest that Ilghazi or anybody else put forward such an argument to persuade Ridwan, still less that pleasing the sultan, who had dismissed Ilghazi from his post in Baghdad only the previous year, was anywhere in Ilghazi’s mind as he made the proposal. His purpose was rather to seize Nisibis and whatever else he could from Chakarmish by taking advantage of the already assembled Muslim army.

Indeed there is a remarkable similarity between this episode and the one before the siege of Antioch during the First Crusade, when Ilghazi’s brother Sokman had urged Ridwan and other emirs to proceed to Diyar Bakr instead as they were prepared to march to Antioch to confront the advancing Crusaders. His purpose had been the same as that of Ilghazi in this case: using the Muslim army ready at hand to

⁹ Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1991), 119-20.

¹⁰ Osman Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri* (İstanbul, 1973), 163.

carve out a principality for himself in Diyar Bakr. Thus for the second time a campaign under Ridwan, which could have produced very serious consequences for the Frankish presence in Syria, was thwarted by an Artukid emir who attempted to use the assembled Muslim army for his personal aim of territorial self-aggrandizement in the Jazira.

4.2 A possible campaign against Antioch planned but not carried out by Ilghazi and Chawli

In 1107 Ilghazi joined forces with Chawli Saqawa, who had been sent by the Seljukids to replace Chakarmish in Mosul. When Kilij Arslan had come to occupy Mosul, in response to an invitation from the men of the deceased Chakarmish, Chawli had been forced to retire to Sinjar. Basing himself on Ibn al-Athir, Imad al-Din Khalil states that here Ilghazi and Chawli came together in that town and made an agreement: they would first drive away Kilij Arslan from Mosul, and then proceed together to attack Antioch. But as soon as Kilij Arslan was defeated and Chawli entered Mosul, he revolted against the Seljukids and forgot his agreement with Ilghazi to attack Antioch.¹² However, in the editions of *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* examined for the present study, no mention can be found there of such a plan of assault against Antioch that was made when Chawli and Ilghazi met in Sinjar against Kilij Arslan.¹³ In these it is only reported that at the same time as Ilghazi arrived in Sinjar Chawli re-

¹¹ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (London, 1965), II, 108.

¹² Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh*, 12 vols. (Dar al-Taba'a, Cairo, 1295 A.H.), X, 149 (al-Matba'a al-Kubra), cited in Imad al-Din Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya fī'l-Jazira wa'l-Sham* (Beirut, 1980), 220-21.

¹³ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh*, X, 342 and *Chronicle*, 114 (500: 1106-1107), both based on the edition of Dar Sadir (Beirut, 1965-1967), X, 426, as well as *Kāmil al-Tevārykh*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* I, 243.

ceived a letter from Ridwan, asking for help against the Franks who could not be warded off by the Muslims¹⁴ in Syria. After this Chawli set out to besiege Rahba.

Indeed the passage from Runciman which Khalil cites along with Ibn al-Athir, and which is based on the same source,¹⁵ states that it was not Ilghazi but Ridwan of Aleppo who agreed with Chawli to attack the Franks in Syria. In this report of Ibn al-Athir no explicit reference is made to Antioch, but it is related that during the siege of Rahba Chawli promised Ridwan to march with him and drive the Franks out of his lands if he managed to capture the city. Ridwan agreed to this, and after they had concluded an agreement, joined Chawli in the siege. However, after Kiliç Arslan I had been defeated by the coalition including Chawli, Ridwan and Ilghazi, Chawli rebelled against the Seljukids of Persia and forgot about his agreement with Ridwan. This version of the events is supported by the consideration that at this time Ridwan was much more concerned than Ilghazi to attack the Franks in Syria, compelled as he was to defend himself against the expansionist policies of Tancred. We have seen in the previous section how he summoned his allies for an offensive against the Principality of Antioch, only to be thwarted by none other than Ilghazi, who seemed hardly concerned about the Frankish threat. Accordingly it seems that there is some kind of confusion in Imad al-Din Khalil's account.

4.3 Ibrahim ibn Sokman's release of Joscelin, possibly as an ally against his uncle Ilghazi

Although Ilghazi had failed to wrest Nisibis or anything else from Chakarmish by taking advantage of Ridwan's expedition, he finally acquired what he sought

¹⁴ The Arabic original reads "those" here, which obviously refers to the Muslims rather than the Franks as given by the English translation.

¹⁵ Runciman, II, 110, citing from Ibn al-Athir, *Kamel al-Tevarykh*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* I, 246. Also see *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 344 and *Chronicle*, 116 (500: 1106-1107).

some two years later — one of the important cities in Diyar Bakr, one that was already possessed moreover by the Artukiids: Mardin. How did he accomplish this? Steven Runciman and Işın Demirkent argue that Ilghazi captured Mardin with the help of the financial and perhaps also military aid that he secured by releasing Joscelin of Tell Bashir in return for ransom and a promise of help.¹⁶ However, this assertion is not supported by Ibn al-Azraq and Ibn al-Furat, who relate in different ways how Ilghazi took possession of Mardin.¹⁷ Even if it is accepted that Ilghazi secured Joscelin's support but eventually did not use it to get hold of Mardin, there is the difficulty of figuring out how Joscelin might have passed from Ibrahim ibn Sokman's hands to the possession of Ilghazi. For the latter came to Diyar Bakr only a year after Joscelin had been taken to Hisn Kaifa as Sokman's captive in the Battle of Harran. Demirkent's argument that after Sokman's death his lands were divided between Ilghazi, who received Hisn Kaifa where Joscelin was imprisoned, and Ibrahim, who got Mardin, is not corroborated by the sources. The first important acquisition of Ilghazi in Diyar Bakr was not Hisn Kaifa but Mardin itself. Until then he had been roaming around with his Turkomans and attacking the towns in the region in an effort to get hold of a base for himself as well as to extend the area controlled by the Artukids.¹⁸

All this implies that it could have been only Ibrahim himself who released Joscelin. An examination of the rather sparse and contradictory information given by the sources on this issue suggests that the people of Tell Bashir, by giving hostages to Ibrahim, obtained the release of their lord Joscelin sometime between Sokman's death in late 1104 and Joscelin's raid on the Aleppan territory in early 1107. So Run-

¹⁶ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 11; Işın Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu Tarihi* (Vol. 1: İstanbul, 1974, Vol. 2: Ankara, 1994), I, 108.

¹⁷ See Cahen, "Diyar Bakr," 232.

ciman and Demirkent's assertion that Ilghazi received Joscelin along with Hisn Kaifa and released him to secure the money and military aid necessary to seize Mardin from Ibrahim is not supportable.

In fact rather the reverse may have been the case: Ibrahim ibn Sokman may have released Joscelin upon Ilghazi's arrival in Diyar Bakr so that he could secure the money and military support necessary to keep his uncle at bay in case he tried to wrest Mardin from his hands. For Ilghazi could well be expected to try to carve out a new existence for himself in Diyar Bakr after his dismissal from the post of *shihna* of Baghdad in 1105. Indeed Hillenbrand points out that there must have been a struggle for the possession of Mardin between Ilghazi and Ibrahim, who wanted to go on controlling the city from Hisn Kaifa as his father Sokman had done.¹⁹

In support of this argument one can cite some other famous examples of a Muslim emir releasing a Frankish prince in order to secure his alliance against another emir: Bohemond's release by Danishmend, directed against Kilij Arslan I, and Baldwin II's release first by Chawli, directed against the new Seljukid appointee in his post, Mawdud, and then by Timurtash ibn Ilghazi, directed against the Arab chieftain Dubais ibn Sadaqa.²⁰ If this was indeed also the case with Joscelin and Ibrahim ibn Sokman, the alliance seems to have been somewhat more profitable for Ibrahim than it turned out to be for the other emirs (although the ransom was probably not paid), since in the event Ilghazi could not get hold of Mardin for two or three years.²¹ If Lane-Poole's association of Ibrahim's death with Ilghazi's takeover in

¹⁸ Gerhard Vāth, *Die Geschichte der artukidischen Fürstentümer in Syrien und der Ġazira'l-Furatiya* (Berlin, 1987), 61, 64-5.

¹⁹ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 164.

²⁰ See respectively Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 680-89 (IX.34-37); Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, I, 138 (502/1108-1109); Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 643-44.

²¹ Ibn Khallikan explicitly indicates the year of Ilghazi's takeover in Mardin as 501 (1107-1108) and Ibn al-Furat as 502 (1108-1109). On the other hand Michael the Syrian mentions Ilghazi as the lord of Mardin when relating Kilij Arslan I's expedition against Mosul, which took place in 1107 (though the

Mardin is correct, the lapse of Ibrahim's agreement with Joscelin upon the former's death may have rendered it easier for Ilghazi to get hold of the city.²²

It is time now to look more closely into the related source material. Most of the sources about the ransoming of the Edessene princes offer very limited material on Joscelin's release. Matthew of Edessa is aware of the fact that Joscelin had been taken to Hisn Kaifa after the Battle of Harran, but contents himself with noting that he ransomed Baldwin from Chawli for thirty thousand dinars, and fails to make clear how and when Joscelin himself had been released.²³ In parallel with Matthew, but mistaking Chawli for Chakarmish, Albert of Aachen writes that Joscelin ransomed Baldwin from the Muslim lord of Mosul for a hundred thousand Besants, but again omits to note how Joscelin himself had achieved his freedom before this.²⁴ Similarly, Fulcher of Chartres indicates that Joscelin acted as a "most faithful helper" for Baldwin during the latter's escape from prison, once more without making clear how and when Joscelin himself got free.²⁵

chronicler himself erroneously indicates the year as 1417/1106). The three dates, combined, would suggest a time around 1107-1108 for Ilghazi's possession of the city. Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-A'yan wa Anba' Abna' al-Zaman*, edited by Ihsan Abbas, 7 vols. (Beirut, d. u.), I, 191; Ibn al-Furat, *Tarikh al-Duwal wa'l-Muluk*, I, f.21b, cited in Claude Cahen "Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukids," *Journal Asiatique* 227 (1935), 232; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, edited and translated by J. B. Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910), III, 193. Ibn al-Azraq, on the other hand, gives the year as 507 (1113-1114), but this cannot be accepted as Mardin is attested to Ilghazi from 1108 onwards by other sources as well, including Ibn al-Athir. Ibn al-Azraq, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: the Early Artukid State (Tarikh Mayyafariqin wa Amid)*, edited and translated by Carole Hillenbrand (İstanbul, 1990), 33 (English) and 149 (Arabic); Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, I, 137 (502: 1108-1109). For further discussion on this issue see Ibn al-Azraq, *Early Artukid State*, 32, n. 19; Ali Sevīm, "Artuk Oğlu İlğazi," 661, n. 25; Vāth, *Geschichte*, 64-5.

²² Stanley Lane-Poole, "On the Coins of the Urtukids," *Numismatic Chronicle* 13 (1873), 261-62.

²³ Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated by Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham, New York, London, 1993), 201 (III.39).

²⁴ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, edited and translated by Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), 752-53 and *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, translated by Herman Hefele, 2 vols. (Jena, 1923), II, 195 (X.37).

²⁵ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, translated by Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, 1969), 180 (II.xxviii).

Ibn al-Athir offers somewhat more information when he notes that Joscelin had ransomed himself beforehand for twenty thousand dinars, although he again fails to denote when and from whom.²⁶ he reports that Chawli, having been expelled from Mosul by the new Seljukid governor Mawdud, decided to release Baldwin. His intention was probably to win over the count as an ally against the Seljukids. He demanded that Baldwin pay a ransom, free the Muslim captives he held in prison and, most importantly, give aid in person as well as with his troops and money whenever required. After the agreement the count was sent to the ruler of Qal'at Ja'bar, Salim ibn Malik, to wait until Joscelin would come there. It is at this point that Ibn al-Athir reminds his readers that Joscelin had been taken prisoner with the count in the same battle (at Harran), and that he had ransomed himself for twenty thousand dinars by this time.

Although neither Ibn al-Athir nor the other sources examined so far indicate when Joscelin himself had first been released, there is a hint to be found in this regard in a report of Ibn al-Qalanisi's.²⁷ According to this, while Chawli was besieging Rahba during his campaign against Kilij Arslan in 1107, he sent to Ridwan of Aleppo, requesting support for his attack on the town. Ridwan agreed,²⁸ and having made a truce with Tancred, joined Chawli with a large contingent before Rahba. But when he departed from Aleppo and Joscelin learned of his absence, Joscelin carried out a series of incursions into the territory of Aleppo. Since Ibn al-Qalanisi notes that Chawli remained before Rahba from the beginning of Rajab (25 February 1107) until 22 Ramadan (16 May), and Ridwan must have joined him sometime between these

²⁶ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 369 and *Chronicle*, 138 (502: 1108-1109).

²⁷ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, translated by H. A. R. Gibb (London 1932), 78 (500: 1106-1107).

²⁸ This agreement between Chawli and Ridwan is the same as that mentioned in the previous section, stipulating that if Ridwan helped Chawli to get rid of Kilij Arslan, Chawli would in turn help Ridwan to drive off the Franks from his lands.

dates, it emerges that Joscelin was free by the spring of 1107 at the latest. So he must have been released sometime between 1104, when he fell captive and was taken to Hisn Kaifa, and early 1107.

Further details about Joscelin's release can be found in the Syriac accounts. Michael the Syrian²⁹ writes that Richard of the Principate, who had been appointed over Edessa by Tancred, did not concern himself with the ransoming of Joscelin because of their previous dispute during the Battle of Harran. Consequently the people of Tell Bashir, Joscelin's town, took the initiative and went to fix their lord's ransom. While they remained in the prison as hostages, Joscelin was released with the promise to bring back the required amount of gold and obtain their freedom. But the hostages fled by breaking through the wall of the building in which they had been imprisoned and consequently Joscelin found himself freed without ransom. It is noteworthy that although Michael had erroneously reported that Joscelin was taken with Baldwin to Mosul after the Battle of Harran, in this passage he does not specify where the people of Tell Bashir went to secure Joscelin's release, nor the identity of the Muslim emir who accepted it. Indeed the fact that he relates Joscelin's release independently from that of Baldwin might be taken as evidence that Joscelin was released by the Artukid emir of Hisn Kaifa rather than the lord of Mosul. If Michael had still assumed that the two princes were imprisoned in the same place, he would also have mentioned the fixing of a ransom for Baldwin, but in the event he does not speak about the count at all.

Although the account of the Anonymous³⁰ generally parallels that of Michael, and seems to be partially based on a common source, it denotes the place from which

²⁹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, edited and translated by J. B. Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910), III, 195-96.

³⁰ "The First and Second Crusaders from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," translated by M. A. S. Tritton with notes by H. A. R. Gibb, *JRAS* 92 (1933), 80-2.

Joscelin was released explicitly as Mosul, which renders it more problematic. The Anonymous indicates like Michael that the Normans were unwilling to ransom Baldwin and Joscelin, although he gives slightly different reasons: Tancred was angry with them, he says, while Richard was all too happy to hold their lands and use them as he liked. He asserts that both Baldwin and Joscelin were prisoners in Mosul at this time. Accordingly, whereas Michael related how the people of Tell Bashir took the initiative to ransom their lord, the Anonymous depicts the two captives as taking counsel in the prison about how they could get out. Reportedly, Baldwin pointed out that it would be more difficult to secure his ransom in view of his importance as the count, and suggested that Joscelin should be ransomed first and then work for his release. Accordingly a ransom of twelve thousand dinars was fixed for Joscelin (compare this amount with the twenty thousand reported by Ibn al-Athir), and twelve respected men from amongst his associates were given as hostages. While Joscelin was preoccupied with collecting his and Baldwin's ransom, the twelve hostages in Mosul escaped from prison by breaking through the wall, so that no need was left to pay any ransom.

This is the version of the Anonymous, but in the light of the separate treatment of Joscelin's release by the other sources including Michael the Syrian, it seems rather implausible. It is undermined further by the consideration that the hostages' escape from prison would not have remained without consequences for Baldwin if he had been captive in the hands of the same emir as Joscelin. So the Anonymous's version seems to have been the product of a deliberate effort to remain consistent with his earlier statement that after the Battle of Harran both princes had been taken to Mosul to "reign topsy-turvily there as they had hoped."³¹

³¹ "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," 80.

As for the opposing argument that Joscelin was released by the Artukid lord of Hisn Kaifa, it is supported by both Ibn al-Athir and Matthew of Edessa as we saw in the last chapter. According to these authors, Baldwin and Joscelin were separated when the former was kidnapped from Sokman's tent by the troops of Mosul and the latter was later taken by Sokman to Hisn Kaifa. There seems no reasonable ground to believe that after Sokman's death his heir Ibrahim would have delivered this valuable captive to the lord of Mosul, especially since a rift had developed between his father and Chakarmish upon Baldwin's kidnap. There is the additional evidence that most of the accounts examined here fail to offer any precise information about how, when and from where Joscelin was released, which stands in stark contrast to their treatment of Baldwin's ransoming. It seems reasonable to think that this would not have been the case if Joscelin had come to be imprisoned with Baldwin in Mosul and got released only a short time before him. This consideration also supports the conclusion that Joscelin's release must have taken place independently from that of Baldwin, in the distant Hisn Kaifa.

The course of events that emerges from these discussions is as follows: some time between autumn 1104 and spring 1107, and probably closer to the first, Ibrahim ibn Sokman, the Artukid Lord of Mardin and Hisn Kaifa, agreed to release Joscelin in return for a ransom of twelve or twenty thousand dinars and for his help against his own uncle Ilghazi. The latter had arrived in 1105 from Baghdad after his dismissal from the post of *shihna*, and was on the lookout to carve out a new existence for himself in Diyar Bakr. For this purpose, he probably hoped to get hold of at least one of the important cities controlled by his family. Apparently, Ibrahim's alliance with Joscelin was effective in preventing Ilghazi from realizing that, although the hostages

Joscelin had left in Hisn Kaifa escaped from prison and the ransom remained unpaid. For Ilghazi did not undertake any action or make any gain against his nephew until the latter died around 1107-8 and was succeeded by his brother Dawud at Hisn Kaifa. Ilghazi finally took over Mardin at this date, perhaps because it was considered his rightful inheritance as the eldest member of the family, but more probably because of the lapse of the alliance with Joscelin upon Ibrahim's death and the reluctance or failure of his successor Dawud to renew it. Although there is admittedly no evidence about Joscelin actively helping Ibrahim in a conflict, the sole existence of such an accord may have been a sufficiently dissuasive threat for Ilghazi.

4.4 Ilghazi's role in the Seljukid expeditions under Mawdud

We have seen in the last section how the Artukid principality was divided into two, and for good, upon the death of Ibrahim ibn Sokman in 1107-8, with Ilghazi ruling in Mardin and his nephew Dawud in Hisn Kaifa. Whereas the latter tended to pursue an isolationist policy *vis-à-vis* the Franks in the following years, the situation was otherwise with Ilghazi. He pursued more active but widely divergent policies towards them, first allying with the Seljukids against the Franks during the expeditions of Mawdud, governor of Mosul, in 1110-1113 and then with the Franks against the Seljukids in the campaigns of 1114-1115 after Mawdud's death. Even when Ilghazi stood in alliance with the Seljukids, however, he struck an equivocal course, personally taking part only in the expedition of 1110 and thereafter contenting himself with sending a contingent under his son. The remainder of this chapter will consider the Seljukid campaigns under Mawdud and Ilghazi's role in them, mainly dwelling on the expedition of 1110 in which he participated in person.

4.4.1 *The perspectives of the sources*

4.4.1.1 *Ibn al-Qalanisi*

As in the case of the Battle of Harran, one of the earliest accounts about the expeditions of Mawdud in 1110 comes from Ibn al-Qalanisi,³² who again narrates the events from a strongly confrontational perspective, pitting “the army of Islam” against the “infidels.” In the meanwhile he also lays special emphasis on the muja-hid credentials of Tughtekin, the Lord of Damascus and his patron. Compared with this emir, Ilghazi and his northern neighbor Sokman al-Qutbi of Akhlat (not an Artukid) remain in a secondary role, and by reason of their quarrel appear in a rather negative light as agents of discord among the Muslim ranks.

Ibn al-Qalanisi asserts that the expedition was initiated by the Seljukid Sultan Muhammad Tapar with a double purpose, jihad against the Franks and the defence of the lands controlled by the governor of Mosul: “In this year also the Sultan Ghiyath al-Dunya wa’l-Din wrote to the emir Sokman al-Qutbi, lord of Armenia and May-yafariqin, and to the emir Sharaf al-Din Mawdud, lord of Mosul, commanding them to set out with their troops to the Holy War against the Franks and the defence of the territories of Mosul.” Apparently, what the sultan had in mind was not only to push back the Frankish expansion in Syria and the Jazira, but also, through the status of protector he would gain thereby, to resubjugate the local Muslim polities that were nominally attached to the Seljukid governor of Mosul but which had increasingly fallen apart from central control. Indeed the emirs of all these polities were summoned to assemble under the command of the Seljukid governor, and they complied: “Having collected their troops and recruited their levies, [Mawdud and Sokman al-Qutbi] set out and halted at Jazirat Bani Numair, until the governors of all the outly-

ing districts had joined them, together with a great host of volunteers.” Cahen remarks in this connection that “jihad was an occasion for Mawdud to make his supremacy accepted as the lieutenant of the Sultan.”³³

Ibn al-Qalanisi notes that Ilghazi also came to join the Seljukid army at Jazirat Bani Numair with a “great host of Turkomans.” The result was such a great force of Muslims that “all the Franks would not suffice to withstand it.” Emphasizing the religious aspect of the confrontation, the chronicler states that this great Muslim force unanimously agreed to open the Holy War by blockading Edessa until God would facilitate its capture, for it was very strong, almost impenetrable. As a result of their tight blockade, beginning around 3-12 May and continuing for a long time, the city of Edessa began to suffer from shortage of provisions, with food prices soaring and the inhabitants reaching the verge of destruction. Nevertheless, Ibn al-Qalanisi makes clear that the Frankish adversaries of the Muslims were also united in their determination to defend the city: “In face of these circumstances unanimity was restored between them; Tancred, lord of Antioch, the son of St. Gilles, lord of Tripoli, and King Baldwin, the chiefs of the governors of the provinces among the Franks, met together and made a solemn agreement with one another to remain steadfast in battle and to meet adversity with resolution.”³⁴ Once “a clear understanding was established between them,” the chronicler says, they set out for Edessa.

In conformity with his focus on Tughtekin as one of the chief protagonists of the campaign, Ibn al-Qalanisi traces his steps from Damascus to the scene of the conflict and relates the events on this march in the form of news received by the *atabek*.

³² Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 101-05 (503: 1109-1110).

³³ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 256.

³⁴ Somewhat more accurate than Gibb’s fine but rather free translation for *wa ta ‘āhadū wa ta ‘āqadū ‘ala’l-thabāt fī’l-ḥarb wa’l-muṣābarat wa’l-lubāth* might be the following: “they mutually promised and agreed to remain firm, to persevere, and to stand their ground in battle.” Compare *Tarikh Dimashq*, edited by Suhail Zakkar (Damascus, 1983), 271.

Thus he recounts how Tughtekin, learning the siege of Edessa and the rallying of the Franks, set out from Damascus and arrived in Salamiya. Here he was joined by a great army of volunteers coming from all parts of Syria, and received news of a skirmish near Rafaniya between the lord of that town and the Franks. The latter had then marched to the banks of the Euphrates to cross it. Tughtekin also marched towards the river and crossed it near Raqqa and Qal‘at Ja‘bar, but heard that the enemy still desisted from crossing over. The reason was that squadrons and scouting parties of “the armies of Islam” had spread throughout all the region and along the roads east of the river.

Ibn al-Qalanisi states that at this point the Muslims decided to yield a clear passage to the Franks and then attack them in the open ground left of the Euphrates, where their enemies’ routes of retreat would be cut off by the river. Accordingly the Muslim army departed from Edessa on 19 July, after a siege of around six weeks, and encamped in the plain of Harran. Bent on drawing the Franks into the trap, they refrained from attacking until the enemy would approach and Tughtekin would arrive. The chronicler notes that Mawdud had granted the city of Harran to Ilghazi, which was probably what persuaded him to take part in the expedition.³⁵ But we shall see that it also rekindled an existing rivalry between Ilghazi and Sokman al-Qutbi, Ilghazi’s main rival in eastern Asia Minor, and led to a quarrel.

Ibn al-Qalanisi’s account after this point seems rather confused, for he does not explicitly state that the Franks fell into the trap and crossed the river, but relates that they became alarmed on discerning the intention behind the Muslim manoeuvre, and apprehending disaster and defeat, “turned back in panic upon their tracks to the banks of the Euphrates.” However, it is evident from this last statement and the fol-

³⁵ Claude Cahen, “Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukids,” *Journal Asiatique* 227 (1935), 232-33; *Syrie du Nord*, 256.

lowing passages that by this time they had already crossed the river. Moreover, they had also already proceeded to Edessa and replenished its provisions. This confusion may have stemmed from Ibn al-Qalanisi's desire to depict the Franks as cowards, and we shall see that the Latin chroniclers similarly showed the Turks fleeing before the Franks at the end of the campaign.

Ibn al-Qalanisi goes on to relate that the Muslims pursued the Franks and overtook them with their leading cavalry when only some Frankish leaders had been able to cross the river. Consequently they "annihilated an immense number of their followers by slaughter, capture and drowning in the Euphrates" and seized their baggage. Although the Muslim troops collected plenty of booty, livestock and captives, Ibn al-Qalanisi states that they were unable to cross the river and engage the rest of the Frankish army. They were eager besides to return to Edessa and resume the siege.

Consequently, the Muslim army remained encamped a few days more on the riverbank opposite the Frankish army, and then withdrew to continue the siege of Edessa. But before crossing back over the river the Franks had evacuated all the civilians from Edessa, installed an Armenian garrison there, and replenished its stores with the provisions they had brought. Since the city's powers of resistance were refreshed in this way, the siege became prolonged and it was now the provisions of the Muslim army that got depleted. As a result the Muslims were forced to break off the siege and disperse home, and only a detachment was left in Harran to harass Edessa. Ibn al-Qalanisi notes that by this time Tughtekin had already departed for Damascus, and the numerous contingent that he had left behind returned now as well.

Before concluding his account Ibn al-Qalanisi reports a dispute that took place around this time between Ilghazi and Sokman al-Qutbi. "On account of an old quarrel which broke out afresh between them," he states, "Ilghazi conceived an aver-

sion to Sokman al-Qutbi, and fled from Harran to Mardin,” upon which Sokman seized Ilghazi’s nephew Belek and carried him in chains to his city.³⁶ Belek was not to be released before the death of Sokman al-Qutbi a year later. It is not clear precisely when this quarrel broke out. Since Ilghazi is stated to have fled from Harran, rather than from before Edessa, it could be when the Muslim army had retreated there in order to allure the Franks across the river, or alternatively when the second siege of Edessa had ended and the armies had begun to disperse. Since we know that Mawdud had granted Harran to Ilghazi, it is conceivable that after the siege he had preferred to return to this new town of his rather than directly to Mardin. Indeed he may have been in command of the the detachment that was stationed at Harran to harrass Edessa.

Thus the second alternative for the time of the quarrel seems to be preferable. This is supported further by the consideration that the departure of two powerful chieftains with their numerous troops, who constituted a significant part of the Muslim army, would have found a stonger echo in Ibn al-Qalanisi’s account if it had taken place while the expedition was still in its full course. As the case stands, however, the chronicler contents himself with noting it at the very end of his account. He is joined in this by Matthew of Edessa, who similarly mentions Sokman’s capture of Belek at the end of his account.

So Ibn al-Qalanisi’s testimony reveals that a second siege of Edessa did actually take place, and if it was broken off before long, this was because the provisions within the city had been replenished while those of the Muslim army were running short. It was not due to the quarrel of Ilghazi and Sokman al-Qutbi, for this seems to have broken out only after the end of the siege, when the army was dispersing. For

³⁶ “His city” here could be referring to Akhlāt, Sokman’s capital, but according to Matthew of Edessa, as we shall see, Belek was imprisoned in Artchesh (modern Erciş).

this reason Claude Cahen and Robert Nicholson do not seem justified when they assert that the quarrel rescued Edessa from a second siege or when they state that it was this quarrel, along with the impatience of Mawdud's troops, that caused the Muslim army to retire without inflicting any territorial losses on the Franks.³⁷

As Mükrimin Halil Yinanç suggests, the immediate cause of the quarrel may have been the concession of Harran to Ilghazi.³⁸ But Ilghazi was already at loggerheads with Sokman al-Qutbi by this time, because of their rivalry for the important town of Mayyafariqin and its dependencies. Sokman al-Qutbi had captured these in 1108, and thereby entrenched his influence in Diyar Bakr *vis-à-vis* Ilghazi.³⁹ When Mawdud granted Harran to Ilghazi, primarily to persuade him to join the campaign, but also to enable him to control the route between Syria and Iraq and observe the developments in the County of Edessa,⁴⁰ this may have rekindled the existing rivalry between the two emirs and turned it into an open quarrel by the time the armies were dispersing. Considered in this light, Ibn al-Qalanisi's report that Ilghazi escaped from Harran might suggest that it was precisely Sokman's attack on his new possession that forced him to flee from there.

In contrast with this interpretation, Gerhard Vāth argues that the cause of the quarrel was the withdrawal of the Frankish army, for in his view this amounted to the failure of Mawdud's expedition.⁴¹ But it seems difficult to consider the hasty retreat of the Franks *vis-à-vis* the intact Muslim army as a failure of the latter, particularly since the enemy thus abandoned the whole trans-Euphratean plain to them. Even if it were accepted as a failure, the author fails to make clear by the author how and why

³⁷ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 258; Robert Nicholson, *Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa* (Urbana, 1954), 34-5.

³⁸ Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, "Belek," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, II, 469.

³⁹ Claude Cahen "Diyār Bakr," 232-33; Carole Hillenbrand, "The History of the Jazira, 1100-1150," Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Edinburgh University, 1979), 163-64.

⁴⁰ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 66.

⁴¹ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 68.

this should have caused a quarrel between Ilghazi and Sokman, among all the other emirs.

Notwithstanding Ilghazi's retreat to Mardin, Harran does seem to have acted as a base for later raids on Edessene territory, since Ibn al-Qalanisi mentions continuous raids made on the borders of the County. Nevertheless, these did not prevent Baldwin from returning to Edessa and entering it. As for Ilghazi, he did not leave Mardin to take part personally in Mawdud's expeditions again. Accordingly, Ibn al-Qalanisi does not make any mention of him in his accounts of the later expeditions.⁴²

4.4.1.2 *Ibn al-Adim*

Ibn al-Adim's account of Mawdud's first expedition seems to be based to a large extent on that of Ibn al-Qalanisi,⁴³ although there are certain differences. The most important of these is Ibn al-Adim's explanation of the return of the Franks to the banks of the Euphrates after they had crossed it. We have seen Ibn al-Qalanisi attributes this to their realization of the trap set up by the Muslim army. Ibn al-Adim asserts instead that it was when the Franks learned about the junction of the army of Damascus with the Seljukid army that they resolved to retreat towards the river, immediately after they had crossed it. This is also doubtful since, to begin with, we know from Ibn al-Qalanisi that the Franks did not begin to withdraw before they had marched to Edessa and replenished its provisions, evacuated the civilians and installed a garrison there. Moreover, although Tughtekin's junction with Mawdud may indeed have caused some concern among the Franks, solely the addition of his forces to the already huge coalition army could hardly have forced the Franks to make so radical a change in their plans and to beat a hasty retreat toward the river. Previously,

⁴² Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 114-19 (504: 1110-1111).

at least, they had not flinched from advancing to Edessa despite the presence of the great Muslim army camping at Harran. Like Ibn al-Qalanisi, and for the same reason, Ibn al-Adim omits any mention of Ilghazi in his account of Mawdud's second expedition in 1111.⁴⁴

4.4.1.3 *Ibn al-Athir*

There is no account of Mawdud's first expedition in Ibn al-Athir's chronicle. Nevertheless, he is the only Muslim source to mention the Artukids in the context of the second expedition.⁴⁵ He states that at the start of that campaign, Ilghazi was among the local emirs who received instructions to join Mawdud's army, but became the only one to refuse. Staying at Mardin himself, he merely dispatched a contingent under his son Ayaz.⁴⁶ One reason for this might have been his wish to avoid meeting Sokman al-Qutbi, who had again joined the Seljukid army. He must still have been at loggerheads with Sokman since their quarrel in the campaign of the previous year, all the more so as his nephew Belek was still a captive in Sokman's hands.

Indeed an interesting report by Ibn al-Athir also suggests that this enmity was one reason why Ilghazi refrained from joining the expedition: the chronicler relates that Sokman fell ill while the army was encamped before Aleppo, and set out for home, but on the way died at the town of Balis. His men had placed him in a coffin and resumed the journey home when they were attacked on the way by Ilghazi. Tak-

⁴³ Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 595-97.

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 599-601; Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, edited by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1976), 146-48 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, translated by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1989), 94-5, in "Ridwan ibn Tutush."

⁴⁵ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 388-90 and *Chronicle*, 156-57 (505: 1111-1112). Ali Sevim, following Ibn al-Athir, confuses Mawdud's first campaign in 1110, in which Ilghazi personally took part and quarreled with Sokman al-Qutbi, with the expedition of 1111, to which he only sent a detachment under his son. Because of this confusion, he fails to mention the previous expedition as well as Sokman and Ilghazi's quarrel. See Ali Sevim, "Artuk Oğlu İlğazi," *Belleten* 26 (1962), 665 and n. 32.

ing their master's coffin under protection in their midst, they fought against Ilghazi until they managed to put him to flight. After seizing as booty the baggages he had left behind, they proceeded to their lands.

What could be the reason for this strange attack of Ilghazi on the forces of his deceased rival? Ibn al-Athir simply attributes it to his desire of capturing Sokman's men and making booty of their belongings. But Carole Hillenbrand argues convincingly that his main purpose was to destroy the fighting forces of this powerful Muslim neighbor to his north. Thereby he would have removed an important obstacle to the expansion of his power in Diyar Bakr. Indeed, although the assault proved unsuccessful in the event, Sokman's son and heir Ibrahim would never pose a serious threat for Ilghazi.⁴⁷ In parallel with Hillenbrand, Imad al-Din Khalil states that it was Ilghazi's "personal ambitions" that incited him to attack Sokman's forces, so that he could take advantage of their master's death for making new gains.

Another reason, suggested by Vāth, is that Ilghazi might have been trying to rescue his nephew Belek as well.⁴⁸ This seems doubtful at first sight. As Ibn al-Qalanisi and Matthew of Edessa make clear, Belek had been imprisoned by Sokman in Akhlat or Artchesh during the previous year, and he is unlikely to have been taken along as a captive to the expedition of 1111. But it is possible that Ilghazi had designed to secure his nephew's release by capturing an important personality from Sokman's army, so that he could exchange him with Belek. Indeed Ilghazi seems to have thought highly of Belek and valued his military skills, as is evident from the fact that he took him along on several campaigns right up until his death. So the aim of securing the release of Belek may have really been another reason why he at-

⁴⁶ It must be noted that this son remained with Mawdud and Tughtekin down to the end of the expedition, after all the emirs had abandoned them and returned home. Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 224.

⁴⁷ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 163-64.

⁴⁸ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 225-26.

tacked Sokman's men, along with those of seizing booty and reducing the power of his neighbor and rival. His failure to achieve this aim was compensated for by Ibrahim's release of Belek shortly after Sokman's death.

Evaluating the whole incident, René Grousset exclaims: "Such an act of banditry, such an outrage against the corpse of a leader who had died in Holy War, shows better than all commentary the impossibility of uniting Islam against the Franks."⁴⁹ But the fact that Sokman had died on a campaign against the Franks and that Ilghazi was in effect attacking the remains of a martyr could have meant little to him amidst these considerations. This is all the more so as the themes of divine recompense and martyrdom, in the context of the struggle against the Franks, would not be fully articulated before the second half of the century, when the Syrian ulama systematically worked out the jihad ideology in its resuscitated form under Nur al-Din's leadership.⁵⁰

4.4.1.4 *Matthew of Edessa*

Among the Eastern Christian sources the most detailed account of Mawdud's expeditions is offered by Matthew of Edessa.⁵¹ Again we shall be concerned here solely with his account of the first expedition in 1110, since this was the only one in which Ilghazi took part in person — although his name, in contrast to that of his rival Sokman al-Qutbi, is not explicitly mentioned by the chronicler. Despite its informativeness, Matthew's account is not free of certain passages of doubtful veracity. These seem to be the product of an intention to stress the importance of maintaining Christian solidarity against the "infidel" and to show the calamities brought upon the

⁴⁹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 467.

⁵⁰ Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade: Idéologie et Propagande dans Réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris, 1960), 62.

⁵¹ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 203-06 (III.45-48).

heads of the Christians, particularly of the betrayers themselves, in the case of a breach in that solidarity.

Thus Matthew claims that it was because Baldwin and Joscelin had appealed for Muslim support against Tancred that Mawdud, “a ferocious and mighty warrior,” launched the expedition. The author openly condemns this alleged case of treachery to the Christian cause, calling it “a plan unworthy of any Christian,” and attributes the motivation behind it to the “arrogant character” of the two princes. Nevertheless, this imputation against Baldwin and Joscelin should have raised a serious difficulty for Matthew: if Mawdud had indeed arrived in the region upon their summons, how to account for the fact that he laid siege to Baldwin’s city Edessa, of all places? Matthew’s explanation is that Mawdud, having reached Harran, sent for the count to join him, but Baldwin, “being afraid, did not dare to come to the infidel chief.” Instead he sent Joscelin to get reinforcements and summoned King Baldwin to his aid. Upon this Mawdud realized that he had been deceived, and so advanced to battle against Edessa.

Of course we have no good reason to assume that Mawdud’s expeditions would not have taken place without a call for aid from the Franks. Nevertheless, this does not exclude the possibility that some of the Frankish princes might have established contact with the Seljukid army for their own profit. As for Matthew’s allegation against Baldwin and Joscelin, it is difficult to assess its veracity, for we shall see that Albert of Aachen brings exactly the same charge against Tancred, accusing him of having summoned Mawdud’s army against the Edessene princes. A detailed assessment of the meaning and veracity of these recriminations will be undertaken in the analysis of Albert’s account. Let it suffice here to point out that the interest of the

story lies in illustrating Matthew's eagerness to stress the importance of Christian unity and the dangers awaiting those who would breach it.

Probably owing to the fact that Matthew witnessed the siege of Edessa himself or at least had access to eye-witnesses, his account of the event is richer in details than that of Ibn al-Qalanisi. Whereas the latter indicated the duration of the siege as six weeks, Matthew asserts it to have lasted much longer, about one hundred days. He places special emphasis on the size of the Seljukid army, conjuring up a vivid impression of it that seems to have stemmed from firsthand witness:

In the meantime the emir Mawdud arrived at the head of a countless number of troops which were spread over the vast plain of Edessa. His army surrounded the city on every side, being dispersed over every mountain and hill in the area. The whole East gathered under Mawdud's banner.

He dwells on the violence and the incessant nature of the assaults made against the city, which caused much terror and suffering amongst the inhabitants. Due to the tight blockade, they soon began to suffer from famine as well.

The populace outside the walls did not fare better: but much worse: Matthew states that the inhabitants of the entire country around Edessa fled and those who had not been able to do so were massacred. The region was largely depopulated as a result. Together with the later slaughter on the banks of the Euphrates, this depopulation was so severe according to Grousset that the entire region between the upper bend of the Euphrates and the upper Balikh, from today's Turkish-Syrian frontier up to Samosata, was emptied of the Armenian population that had constituted its main workforce. As a result the territory of the County east of the Euphrates, which comprised some of the richest lands in the Franks' hands until that time, was ruined and Edessa itself was turned into a remote outpost in a "désert ennemi."⁵² Runciman makes a similar observation when he writes: "The fierce elimination of these Arme-

⁵² Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 455-56.

nian peasants, politically unreliable but prosperous and hardworking, who had been settled in Osrhoene since before the opening of the Christian era, dealt the province a blow from which it never fully recovered.”⁵³

Matthew also reports that the region was burned to such an extent that scarcely any building remained standing, the orchards were completely destroyed, and all the monasteries in the mountains were razed to ground. Unexpectedly, however, the emir whom Matthew holds responsible for the destructiveness of the siege is not Mawdud himself but Sokman al-Qutbi: “All this was done at the behest of Sulaiman, the emir of the East.” That the “Sulaiman” in question refers to Sokman al-Qutbi emerges from the fact that he is reported to have imprisoned Belek at the end of the expedition. Matthew insists on this accusation against Sokman when reporting his death during the campaign of 1111, openly gloating over it: “In this period Sulaiman, the emir of the East, suddenly died while on an expedition. He well merited this sudden death brought about by the Lord, because of all the devastation and slaughter he had caused in the territory of Edessa.”⁵⁴

As Claude Cahen points out,⁵⁵ the devastation and depopulation of the trans-Euphratian lands of the County produced serious consequences: the prosperity that it had enjoyed through its years since its foundation gave way to poverty, and as a consequence its economic resources dwindled. This development compromised the standing of the Franks in the eyes of the native Christians, mostly Armenians, in two ways: on the one hand, the Franks were compelled to increase their financial demands on the already impoverished population in an effort to compensate for their diminished revenues. On the other hand, it reduced their capacity to provide effective

⁵³ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 117.

⁵⁴ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 207 (III.52).

⁵⁵ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 258-59. His detailed analysis is cited by Monique Amouroux-Mourad, *Le Comté d'Edesse, 1098-1150* (Paris 1988), 69, and Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 34-5.

military protection against Turkish intruders, although this had been the primary reason why they had been welcomed by the Armenians on their arrival. Both of these factors seriously undermined the firm collaboration between the Armenians and the Franks, although this was precisely what had constituted the power of the County.

This devastation and depopulation gave rise to yet another internal division that led to the decline of the County: Baldwin's holdings beyond the Euphrates had been laid waste and his city Edessa turned into an isolated outpost in a threatened territory, but his vassal Joscelin's cis-Euphratian holdings around Tell-Bashir remained intact and consequently they grew in importance against those of Baldwin. Before long, this development strained the relations between the two princes, the rich vassal and the poor suzerain. This situation was aggravated by the fact that Joscelin's still prosperous lands attracted masses of Franks from beyond the Euphrates, so that the defense of Baldwin's holdings was neglected.

As a consequence of these developments resulting from the devastation and depopulation that had been carried out by Mawdud's army in 1110, the trans-Euphratean portion of the County of Edessa seriously declined in terms of military power. Runciman even goes so far as to assert that "the Frankish domination beyond the Euphrates was doomed to inevitable failure," even though "Frankish counts might rule on in Edessa itself for a few more years."⁵⁶ This state of affairs also enabled the Turkomans of Diyar Bakr, who had not been able to go much beyond the region's boundaries before this time, to penetrate the territory of the County.⁵⁷

Matthew continues with his account to report that an allied Christian army proceeded to the aid of Edessa upon the news of the invasion. He relates how King Baldwin, Joscelin of Tell Bashir and Bertrand of Tripoli first went to Antioch to per-

⁵⁶ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 117.

⁵⁷ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 259.

suade Tancred to help them. After they had succeeded in this with some difficulty, they were joined on the way by the Armenian princes Vasil and Ablgharib. Grousset⁵⁸ and Demirkent⁵⁹ must be considered justified in finding this itinerary via Antioch problematic, even though they are less justified in accepting Albert's alternative report that the king crossed the Euphrates without Tancred and summoned him later to Edessa, in order to reconcile him with Baldwin du Bourg.⁶⁰ For Baldwin I hurried to reach Edessa before it would succumb to the Muslims, as Grousset points out, and passing through the city of Antioch would have amounted to a considerable detour for him. Moreover Tancred was at loggerheads with both Joscelin and Baldwin du Bourg at this time, and probably it would not have been a very good idea for the king to go to Antioch with the former to persuade Tancred to help the latter. He was likely to fail, and then the time he had lost for the detour would have been wasted.

Even if Baldwin succeeded in persuading Tancred, as Demirkent points out, there was the further problem that since 1108 Kogh Vasil and the other Armenian chieftains had been in alliance with Baldwin du Bourg and at loggerheads with Tancred. Consequently, Tancred's presence in his company could have raised difficulties as he proceeded to mobilize the Armenian princes. In the light of all these considerations, it seems more plausible to assume that Baldwin marched towards the Euphrates without passing through Antioch and was joined on the way by a reluctant Tancred, who only acted under pressure from his entourage.

Matthew states next that the Christians passed with a tremendous army to the confines of Edessa. Unlike Ibn al-Qalanisi, he does not interpret the Muslims' retreat to Harran as a move to allure the Franks to their side of the Euphrates, but reports

⁵⁸ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 451.

⁵⁹ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, I, 126.

instead that Mawdud, on learning of their arrival, abandoned the siege and marched to Harran. What this implies is that the Franks had already crossed the river and were approaching Edessa when Mawdud learned about their approach and broke off the siege (as we shall see, this is precisely how the Anonymous Syriac relates the events). The two alternative versions are in fact not entirely irreconcilable: the large Frankish army could be expected to force a crossing despite the presence of the Muslim scouts and squadrons on the east side of the river, and Mawdud may have wanted to avoid the risk of being trapped between the coming army and the garrison of Edessa. Consequently he may have preferred to withdraw and let them cross without hindrance, so that he could lure them later to a suitable place in order to make a surprise attack, or at least to wait until their provisions ran out in the devastated region, and force them to retire.

Matthew proceeds to relate that the Franks, arriving before Edessa, began preparations for battle on the next day. He reveals another trap set up at this point by the Seljukid army, which remains unmentioned in the Muslim sources: expecting by a clever strategem to defeat the Franks, who lacked knowledge of the terrain, the Turks installed many troops in ambush at Harran and withdrew from the town. Grousset observes that their intention in this maneuver was to renew the tactic that had been applied with so much success in the Battle of Harran: drawing the Franks as far as possible from their bases into the depths of Muslim territory, and then suddenly attacking them — provided, of course, that the latter would indeed be willing to give battle.⁶¹ Runciman suggests further that Mawdud's final goal was to outflank

⁶⁰ As it emerges from the following discussion, the testimony of Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre that they joined forces just before crossing the river on the way to Edessa must be preferred over that of Albert.

⁶¹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 453.

the Frankish army through a sudden swerve to the north,⁶² thereby cutting off their routes of escape across the Euphrates. But Matthew states that the Franks got wind of the Turks' "treacherous designs." In reaction they turned around towards the fortress of Shinaw⁶³ in Muslim territory, and attacked it instead before they retreated west.

Matthew has his own explanation to offer about the withdrawal of the Franks toward the Euphrates. We have seen Ibn al-Qalanisi attribute this move to their realization of the Muslim trap, and Ibn al-Adim to their learning of Tughtekin's junction with Mawdud, neither of which is entirely convincing. But Matthew's explanation seems even less credible at first sight. According to this, Tancred departed with his forces when he discovered a plot that had been hatched against him by the other leaders, and returned via Samosata (northwest of Edessa) to the banks of the Euphrates; he was eventually followed by the rest of the army. At first sight, this version of the events seems little more than an extension of Matthew's previous charge against the Edessene princes that they had summoned Mawdud against Tancred. Indeed Nicholson interprets it as just another instance of Matthew's pro-Norman bias. He points out Matthew's report that the king had pressed for Tancred's participation in the campaign, and argues that after this it would have been senseless for Baldwin and the other princes to conspire against Tancred. He adds that they would not have dared to weaken the strength of the Christians by such a move when it was clear that the participation of all present would be vital in the forthcoming battle. For this reason he attributes Tancred's departure to his "remnant of envy and grudge towards the Edessene counts," like Bernhard Kugler.⁶⁴

⁶² Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 116-17.

⁶³ This castle lay to the north-east of Harran, at a distance of about three hours.

⁶⁴ Bernhard Kugler, *Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart, 1885), 375; Nicholson, *Tancred*, 199-200, n.5; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 32, n. 173.

Despite these objections it might still be possible to find a grain of truth in Matthew's story, assuming that the charge of conspiracy was aimed at the Edessene princes rather than the king himself. For they were still at loggerheads with Tancred after their sound defeat in the battle of 1108. Besides in that battle the two sides had not flinched from allying with Muslims, Chawli and Ridwan respectively.⁶⁵ So it is not inconceivable that the two princes of Edessa, despite the closeness of the Muslim army and the perilous situation at hand, decided to face all risks and do away with Tancred. For he was found ready within their reach, an opportunity that they could not have expected to find often. So Matthew's explanation of the Frankish withdrawal to the Euphrates cannot be dismissed so easily out of hand.

Matthew goes on to relate that when the retreat of the Frankish forces was heard of by the inhabitants of Edessa and the countryfolk who had taken refuge in the city, these all departed as well, including women and children, and followed the tracks of the Frankish army. It is denoted neither by Matthew nor any other source that this exodus of the civilian population from Edessa and its surroundings was the result of a deliberate plan of evacuation on the part of the king and the count, but this is precisely how Runciman and Grousset interpret the event. Runciman asserts that Count Baldwin decided on the king's advice that it was futile to try to defend the region east of the Euphrates. Accordingly, he resolved to quit guarding the frontiers and to content himself only with keeping garrisons in Edessa, Saruj and a few smaller castles. For this reason the Christians of the countryside were advised to cross to the safe territory beyond the Euphrates and accordingly set out westwards.⁶⁶ Grousset similarly argues that Tancred's withdrawal on the one hand, and the Egyptian attacks on the Kingdom of Jerusalem on the other, required the departure of the army

⁶⁵ For the details see Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 113-14; Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 439-42.

⁶⁶ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 117.

from the territory of Edessa. Since this would leave Count Baldwin incapable of defending the plain against the Turkish armies from Mosul, the king and the other princes resolved to restrict the protection of the County to defending Edessa and the other strongholds. Accordingly, the Armenian and Jacobite population of the unfortified towns and the countryside would be evacuated to the western side of the Euphrates.⁶⁷

In this context Grousset suggests as well that the retreat of the Franks in a north-westerly direction towards Samosata was a deliberate move: the Armenian principality of Kogh Vasil was situated precisely in this direction, in the mountainous region of Commagene beyond the Euphrates. The strongholds of Kaisun and Ra‘ban here would be capable of providing shelter to the refugees brought from Edessa and the trans-Euphratian plain.⁶⁸

This thesis about the existence of a Frankish plan for evacuating the local Christians looks neat and coherent enough, but it is seriously undermined by the fact that neither Matthew nor the other sources offer any evidence in corroboration of it. In fact Matthew’s account would rather suggest that the Franks began their retreat towards the Euphrates suddenly, perhaps because of their hurry to rejoin Tancred and so to avoid an attack while still divided. When the residents and refugees in Edessa heard of this sudden retreat and grew apprehensive about the fate that awaited them in the hands of the Muslims, now that they had been abandoned by the Franks, they spontaneously followed the latter in order to reach safe territory under the escort of an army.

Matthew introduces us with more betrayers of Christian unity at this point, namely two Franks who he says “did a very wicked thing”: repudiating Christianity,

⁶⁷ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 453-54.

⁶⁸ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 454.

these reportedly went to Mawdud to inform him about the hasty retreat of the Frankish army. As we shall see, the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle has a similar story to offer. So the whole episode may well have a basis of truth. It is conceivable that the Franks in question grew convinced during the irregular, almost rout-like retreat that the army was stranded beyond the Euphrates and doomed to certain destruction. Under the influence of despair and panic they may have decided to seek refuge with the enemy and betray the others in order to save their own skins. Converting to Islam would have been a good way of winning the Muslims' confidence under these conditions.

Matthew relates the slaughter of those who were caught on the banks of the Euphrates in far more detail than the Muslim accounts. He states that the Franks had already completed their crossing by the time Mawdud reached the river in their pursuit, having killed and captured innumerable countryfolk on the way. As a result, the civilians following the army were caught defenceless on the riverbank and "the Turks massacred the Christian faithful who were huddled together like flocks of sheep on this side of the river." Thus Matthew reveals that it was only the indigenous population of the County in the Franks' tracks who got slaughtered, and in this he diverges from Ibn al-Qalanisi who stated that only some of the Frankish leaders had been able to cross by the time of the attack, with all the rest left behind. Matthew adds that the Franks could not do anything other than watch the massacre of the civilians from the opposite bank, having no chance to assist them, and so "wept bitterly." Like Ibn al-Qalanisi, Matthew states that an immense number of people were slaughtered and just as much booty was captured. He depicts the mayhem very vividly, probably drawing upon eye-witness information:

The wrath of God, manifested through Mawdud, fell upon the faithful with such force that the Euphrates was turned into blood. Many drowned in the

river. Those who tried to swim across were unable to reach the other side. Many tried to cross over in boats, but five or six of the boats sank full of people, because too many persons got in them.

On this day, the author asserts, “the entire territory of Edessa was devastated and depopulated.”

Just before concluding his account, Matthew notes that Belek was imprisoned by Sokman al-Qutbi (“Sulaiman, the Emir of the East”), although he fails to mention the quarrel between Sokman and Ilghazi that had led to this. He relates that Sokman placed Belek in fetters and threw him “into the dungeon of the fortress of Aytseats in Taron.” This place was Artchesh, the present-day Erciş in Turkey.

Although we have seen Ibn al-Qalanisi state that the Muslims besieged Edessa for a second time after returning from the Euphrates, Matthew does not mention any such siege. Instead he concludes by noting that Mawdud returned via Harran to his country, along with the captives and booty he had taken. In fact the other sources save Albert of Aachen do not mention the second siege either. It is possible that these lacked information about it because of their distance in time or space, but this cannot be said for Matthew who relates the events in circumstantial detail based on eyewitness information. However, there still does not seem sufficient grounds for dismissing Ibn al-Qalanisi’s testimony about the second siege. As Demirkent observes, it would have been unreasonable for Mawdud not to return to the siege of Edessa after the retreat of the relief force beyond the Euphrates.⁶⁹ So it might be assumed that Matthew omitted this siege because of its relative shortness and ineffectiveness when compared with the first.

Nevertheless, there could also be another, more subtle reason for this omission of Matthew’s: the dramatic scene of the local Christians being slaughtered on the riverside, while the Franks helplessly stood by and wept on the opposite

riverbank, would make a far better ending to his story than the anticlimactic second siege. It would help him throw into relief the point of his entire account, formulated in the concluding sentence: “So the Frankish forces, humiliated, returned to their territories; for, instead of saving the Christian faithful, they had brought disaster upon them.” Indeed this remark could pass as the moral of Matthew’s entire work. At the time of the the First Crusade he had celebrated the Franks as saviors of the indigenous Christians, but now he seemed to be increasingly alienated from them as they turned out to be rather more of a liability for those they were supposed to protect.

4.4.1.5 *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*

The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle offers a rather short but valuable account⁷⁰ that diverges on some subtle points from those of the Muslim and Armenian sources. It also makes straightforward but sound-looking explanations regarding certain issues like the Franks’ retreat to the Euphrates. Moreover, like Matthew, the Anonymous shows himself critical about the conduct of the Franks, complaining that the local Christians fared worse because of their relief attempt. He also corroborates Matthew’s report about the betrayal of the Frankish army in retreat.

We have seen Matthew speak of relentless, violent attacks made against Edessa during the siege of the city. The Anonymous depicts the events quite differently. He begins by relating that Mawdud camped in the plain to the east of the city, around the castle of Kissos, and in order to ravage the land sent around many horsemen who cut down the gardens and trees, spoiled the land and destroyed the convents. This accords with the devastation of the countryside reported by Matthew, but the Anonymous goes on to assert that these troops “did not approach the city to fight

⁶⁹ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, I, 130.

⁷⁰ “Anonymous Syriac Chronicle,” 82-3.

against it and set up engines of war; they just approached and went away.” Robert Nicholson questions the veracity of this assertion on the grounds of Ibn al-Qalanisi’s statement that the besiegers of Edessa “surrounded it on all sides like a girdle, preventing all ingress and egress.”⁷¹ But in fact Ibn al-Qalanisi does not mention any direct assaults made against the city either, and only touches upon the dearth and famine that resulted from the blockade. So Matthew may have deliberately exaggerated the gravity of the siege by speaking of violent and relentless attacks directly undertaken against the city. However, his version seems to find support from a passing statement of Albert of Aachen. As we shall see, this author indicates that the Muslims were “provoking Baldwin through constant attacks as well as oppressing the city with many assaults.”

Combining these, and drawing into consideration that by the early twelfth century the siege technology and skills of the Muslim armies were still far from the level of development they would reach at the time of Zangi, Nur al-Din and Saladin,⁷² it might be concluded that the siege was mainly directed at blockading Edessa and ravaging its countryside to starve those inside. Some attacks were also made against the walls, though they were not undertaken with full siege equipment and the aim of taking the city by storm, but rather to provoke Baldwin to make a sally as well as to spread terror among the inhabitants.

The Anonymous goes on to relate that the Turks moved their camp a short distance, to the river Jullab, when the Franks crossed the Euphrates. This is a small tributary of the Balikh River that joins it after flowing south past Edessa and Harran, so the Anonymous seems to agree on this point with Ibn al-Qalanisi and Matthew of

⁷¹ Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 27, n.138.

⁷² Ronnie Ellenblum, “Frankish and Muslim Siege Warfare and the Construction of Frankish Concentric Castles,” in *Dei Gesta per Francos: Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, edited by Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Jonathan Riley Smith, 187-98 (Aldershot, 2001), 190-91, 194-97.

Edessa who denote Harran as the new campsite of the Muslim army. He notes that the former site of the Muslim camp near the castle of Kissos was occupied upon this by the Frankish army. For the subsequent Frankish retreat toward the Euphrates the Anonymous has a quite straightforward explanation to offer. He points out that Mawdud's army had already wasted the country and forced the villagers to seek refuge in the town, which led to the result that the Franks could find neither corn for themselves nor forage for their animals. Suffering from scarcity and "having no patience, as is the bad habit of the Franks," they determined to cross back to the west of the Euphrates, although they were still facing the enemy. This version of the events constitutes a plausible alternative to Matthew's story about Tancred's departure, dragging behind the rest of the army. Nevertheless, it fails to account for the apparent suddenness and haste with which the Franks turned on their tracks. The depletion of the provisions and forage should have been a gradual process, enabling the Franks to set out in time and retreat with due prudence, without exposing themselves as they did to an attack from behind. This issue will be discussed further below.

We have already seen that the Anonymous joins Matthew of Edessa in attributing Mawdud's pursuit to a betrayal from within the Frankish army. He relates how, "through the instrumentality of Satan," a Frank became enraged with his lord and went to inform Mawdud about the retreat. The betrayer described the sorry state of the Frankish troops and the civilians following them, who were "faint from hunger and weakened by the fatigues of the way." He urged Mawdud that if he pursued them in this condition he would be able to inflict great losses upon them. Nicholson rejects this report on the grounds that the Franks had already provisioned Edessa and so they could not have been starving.⁷³ But considering that the region had been thoroughly

⁷³ Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 180, n. 33.

ravaged by this time, the Frankish army, with its numerous civilian following, could well have experienced difficulty finding provisions on the way. It cannot be taken for granted either that they had brought along so abundant provisions as to suffice them on the way back, after they had fully replenished the stores of Edessa.

Nicholson also objects to the Anonymous's explanation on the grounds that it implies that Mawdud's retreat to Harran was unplanned and his attack upon the Franks opportunistic. Against this he cites Ibn al-Qalanisi's "categorical statement" that both the retreat and attack were planned in advance. This objection is hardly more justified than the previous one. To begin with, it is not clear how the Anonymous's attribution of the Muslim attack to the betrayal of a Frank could be taken to imply that not only the attack itself but also the previous retreat to Harran had been unplanned. Insofar as the attack itself is concerned, Nicholson overlooks the fact that the Anonymous's version is corroborated by Matthew of Edessa, just as important a contemporary source as Ibn al-Qalanisi.

There is also a second consideration: as we shall see further on, Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre suggest that the Muslims had based their strategy on detaining the Franks till they would have to depart either to answer the call of tasks elsewhere, or by the depletion of their provisions. At first sight this seems to support Nicholson's rejection of the betrayal story, for in that case Mawdud would have foreseen in any case that the Franks would begin retreating towards the Euphrates at some point. But it must not be forgotten that the Muslims were still at some distance from the Frankish army, and therefore would have needed to be notified about their retreat in one way or another. As we have seen, Ibn al-Qalanisi does not specify how this happened, but only notes that Mawdud went on to the attack "on the receipt of information of their movement." So it could well have been one or more betrayers

from amongst the Franks who took this information to Mawdud, either out of fear or on account of a personal resentment.

The Anonymous goes on to relate that when the Franks reached the Euphrates, unaware of the Turkish army in pursuit, the fighting men crossed first, leaving the footmen and baggage on the eastern bank. He adds that the Edessenens were in the majority there. So the Anonymous reveals the presence of Frankish footmen among the victims of the subsequent slaughter, and in this diverges from Matthew who stated that only the local Christians were stranded and got massacred. The Anonymous's description of the conflict itself is vivid like that of Matthew, and notwithstanding its conciseness covers all that is related by the other sources: "Suddenly the Turks overtook them, fell on them like butchers, killing without pity; still more were drowned, the Turks thrusting at them with lances; many were taken captive. The Turks fell on the spoil, stores and baggage."

The Anonymous's final comments about the debacle bear a striking resemblance to those of Matthew: he attributes the disaster to "God's anger with his people, especially with the Edessenens," and criticizes the Franks for the outcome of their relief operation: "the advance of the Franks had a bad end."

4.4.1.6 *Fulcher of Chartres*

Fulcher of Chartres is another contemporary source of the expedition along with Matthew of Edessa and Ibn al-Qalanisi, and his account⁷⁴ displays certain important parallels with that of the latter author. Among these are the spread of the Muslim scouts and squadrons on the eastern side of the Euphrates, the withdrawal of these troops upon the approach of the Franks, which Fulcher interprets as a consequence of the Muslims' fear of the Franks rather than as a deliberate move to trap

them, and the replenishment of the provisions of Edessa by the Frankish army. Another aspect in which Fulcher resembles Ibn al-Qalanisi, who presented his lord Tughtekin as the protagonist of the story, is his focus on King Baldwin, tracing his movements from Jerusalem to the scene of events and back. At first sight it might seem only too natural that Fulcher wrote from a Jerusalemite perspective, given that he resided in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. But we shall see that William of Tyre, who wrote in the same kingdom and used Fulcher as his chief source, did not share the same perspective while Albert, writing in Europe around Aachen, shared it. This may have been due in part to the narrower provenance of the sources available for Fulcher and Albert, but perhaps also due to their desire to portray Baldwin I as the effective leader of all the other Frankish princes, as the guarantor of Christian unity and solidarity in face of the “infidel.”

Thus Fulcher starts his account with the victorious return of King Baldwin from the siege of Beirut. Following this, he says, the king began preparations to march against the Turks who had laid siege to Edessa.⁷⁵ Surprisingly, he mentions only Tancred among the Frankish leaders who joined Baldwin at this stage or later, and passes over Joscelin, Baldwin du Bourg and Bertrand of Tripoli. As we shall see, this is probably what misled William of Tyre into assuming that the Edessene princes were still in prison and that Tancred was still ruling the County of Edessa as well. Fulcher goes on to relate that the Franks, having come together by the Euphrates, crossed the river and “immediately encountered the Turks whom they were seeking.” In a way that corroborates Ibn al-Qalanisi’s statement that the Turks had spread in squadrons and scouting parties throughout the entire region east of the river, he indicates that they were scouring the country in bands. But probably misled by his Jeru-

⁷⁴ Fulcher of Chartres, *Expedition*, 197-99 (II.xliii).

salemente perspective, the chronicler surmises that they must have been “looking for the arrival of the king,” although they were much more likely to be looking for plunder, as Matthew revealed. Unlike Ibn al-Qalanisi, on the other hand, Fulcher does not state that the Franks hesitated at first to cross the river in sight of these bands. Probably it would ill accord with his portrayal of the Franks on the move as “superb fighters remarkable at slaying with the lance.”

According to Fulcher, the Franks’ valor and skill at fighting with the lance was also the reason why the Muslim troops withdrew upon their arrival. Thus in contrast to Ibn al-Qalanisi, who interpreted this move of the Turks as a deliberate move to trap the Franks, Fulcher attributes it to their knowledge and fear of the Franks’ skills at fighting: “By clever flight they broke away, neither daring to fight nor caring to retire into their own lands.” Moreover, he seems to have believed that the Muslims intended to wait until the Franks would be worn down by their long detainment, with their provisions and forage being depleted, and finally feel themselves compelled to depart: “The Turks tried for a great many days to wear down our men by their tedious craftiness.” Indeed we shall see that this is precisely the meaning that William of Tyre would derive from the passage.

Yet another event that is mentioned only by Fulcher, his follower William of Tyre and Ibn al-Qalanisi is the replenishment of the depleted stores and provisions of Edessa. Throwing the king’s role into relief at the expense of the other princes, Fulcher relates how Baldwin, “considering both what was necessary and the best thing to do, provisioned the city of Edessa with food, which the inhabitants much needed.” He explains that this need had arisen because of the devastation of the surrounding country and the capture of the villagers who supplied the city’s food. What he does

⁷⁵ Interestingly, Fulcher feels the need to explain to his audience that this capital of one of the four Latin principalities in the *outremer* was “a city in Mesopotamia.”

not explain, in contrast to the Anonymous, is that it was partly due to the same reason, the devastation and depopulation of the countryside, that the Franks withdrew back toward the Euphrates, a poorly executed maneuver that directly led to the following debacle. In contrast, Fulcher makes it appear as though the whole task of the Frankish army was completed once they had provisioned Edessa, rendering any further delay unnecessary. Viewed in this light, their hasty retreat to the river in face of the invading Muslim army, without due protection of the rear or sufficient reconnaissance of the movements of the enemy troops, comes across as only too natural — if only it had not been for the “craftiness” and “rapacity” of the Turks, who appeared as if out of the blue according to Fulcher and attacked the Franks. The chronicler notes that at this time the latter were crossing the river on a few small rafts.

Since the results of the Frankish maneuver were probably much too embarrassing to relate in detail, Fulcher does not dwell long on the scenes of slaughter that followed. Indeed he does not even reveal that any bloodshed took place: “they seized many of our people who were on foot, namely⁷⁶ the helpless Armenians whom they had already wickedly plundered, and carried them off to Persia.” So it seems as though plunder and banishment were all that the victims suffered on this occasion. Notably, the same passage reveals that these were all indigenous Armenians, which agrees with Matthew’s testimony. Fulcher ends his account by noting the grief of the Franks at being unable to help the victims. He attributes this to the difficulty of crossing back over the river at that time, but we shall see in Albert of Aachen’s account that it was rather due to the sinking of the boats or rafts used for crossing. Fulcher concludes that the Franks continued on their “appointed way” after this and returned home, Tancred to Antioch and Baldwin back to Jerusalem.

4.4.1.7 William of Tyre

In his account⁷⁷ William of Tyre, writing much later, seems to have mainly drawn upon the account of Fulcher, with some embellishments and additions, but also not without certain misunderstandings. We have already seen how Fulcher's failure to mention Count Baldwin and Joscelin among the participants misled him into assuming that they were still captives at the time of the campaign.⁷⁸ Building further on this misunderstanding, William suggests that it was precisely the absence of Count Baldwin and Joscelin that led the Turks to attack the County:

At this time, while... Count Baldwin and Joscelin, his kinsman, were still held prisoners by the enemy, a vast host of Turks assembled from the lands of the east in countless numbers. Seizing the opportunity presented by the absence of these princes, they went down into Mesopotamia and, with a strong hand, began to ravage the country round Edessa.

William relates how agricultural production ceased and the food began to fail as a result of the burning of villages and the capture of farmers, which rendered anywhere beyond the walls unsafe.

It should be noted that William's source Fulcher does not describe the state of affairs in the territory of Edessa like William, but true to his Jerusalemite perspective, immediately moves on to relating the king's preparations. This is one of the many instances in which William's perspective is revealed to be wider than that of somebody viewing the events in the distant north from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, although he resided there like Fulcher. It is also interesting that Albert of Aachen, writing in Europe, stood closer in this sense to Fulcher. Perhaps the reason for this was that William's distance in time from the event enabled him to draw upon other,

⁷⁶ This should be the meaning of *videlicet* here, rather than the word "particularly" chosen by the English translator — which raises the erroneous impression that not all but the major part of the victims were Armenians. Compare *Historia Iherosolymitana*, RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 422.

⁷⁷ William of Tyre, *Deeds Beyond the Sea*, I, 472-74 (XI.7).

⁷⁸ And this although Fulcher had noted their release and subsequent battle with Tancred in a previous passage. Fulcher of Chartres, *Expedition*, 180 (II.xxviii).

local sources as well, whereas the contemporary authors Fulcher and Albert had to depend on whatever witness they could find at that time. Beyond the problem of sources, however, Fulcher and Albert had an apparent concern to show the king as the effective leader of the Frankish princes, protecting all Christians and securing Christian unity *vis-à-vis* the Muslims. Albert even used him as a mouthpiece to voice his direct pleas for Christian solidarity against the “infidels.” In contrast, William does not seem to have felt the need for such an agenda, as he wrote in the latter half of the twelfth century, when the king was already the unquestioned leader among the princes and the Franks were united by the growing power of the Muslims.

In keeping with his wider perspective, William goes on to relate the state of affairs in Antioch. He reminds his readers erroneously that Tancred was still entrusted with the government of the County of Edessa at this time, and asserts that it was this prince who sought King Baldwin’s aid against the depredations of the Turks around Edessa. Not content with this, he proceeds to relate that Tancred himself collected a large force and “hastened thither [to the County of Edessa] in great anxiety about his country.” Robert Nicholson rightly points out that this tale runs counter to the tension and hostility we know to have existed before and during the expedition between Tancred and the Edessene princes.⁷⁹

After this point William follows Fulcher closely, albeit with some further explications. He relates how the Frankish forces, having met and crossed the Euphrates, came face to face with the Muslims. Nevertheless, he skips over Fulcher’s statement that the enemy troops across the river were “looking for the arrival of the king of Jerusalem,” probably because he did not share the latter’s Jerusalem-based perspective.

⁷⁹ Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 27, n. 142.

Instead he goes on to relate how the Turks recalled their troops and kept their distance from the Franks.

Like Fulcher, William attributes the the retreat of the Muslims to their fear and knowledge of the fighting skills of the Franks. And yet he tries to explain why they did not simply return to their lands but preferred instead to “wear down [the Franks] by their tedious craftiness,” as Fulcher had stated somewhat obscurely. According to William, the Turks were aware that the King and Tancred lacked the time to remain for long in that place, and so they tried to detain the Frankish leaders with the hope that they would grow weary and hasten to depart.⁸⁰ After that, they themselves would be able to resume their depredations. William’s explanation constitutes a valid alternative to that of Ibn al-Qalanisi and Matthew of Edessa, who believed that the Muslims intended to attack the Franks directly. They could achieve just as efficient results at far less risk by simply wasting the lands, harassing the Franks, and waiting till the enemy would be forced to depart by the depletion of their provisions or the call of business elsewhere.

But these considerations are not sufficient to invalidate the explanation of Ibn al-Qalanisi and Matthew either, for Mawdud may well have desired to give battle to the Franks if he could. Accordingly it would perhaps be best to combine the two explanations offered for the Muslims’ retreat: Probably, their strategy was indeed based on waiting till the Franks would be forced to depart on the depletion of their provisions or the call of business elsewhere. But in the meanwhile they were also on the lookout for an opportunity to lure the Franks into suitable, preferably Muslim territory and make a surprise attack. Although in the event the Franks did not fall into the trap, both of these designs were ultimately realized: they indeed departed for the Eu-

phrates, because of the depletion of their provisions and other reasons, but beating a hasty retreat without due precautions, they also provided the Muslims with a golden opportunity to surprise them.

William proceeds to relate that the Frankish chiefs discerned the Muslim strategy of avoiding battle and waiting for the Frankish army to have to withdraw, and in response adopted the “judicious plan” of provisioning Edessa and other strongholds in the region with plenty of food brought from beyond the Euphrates. Here William diverges from Fulcher in stating that other towns and fortresses in the region were supplied with provisions as well. The food in question was collected from the fertile region west of the Euphrates and transported across the river on various beasts of burden.⁸¹ These additions of William need not be discarded out of hand, for it seems quite plausible that the provisions should have been brought in from the close fertile and unravaged lands west of the river.

However, it seems much more doubtful whether they could obtain and bring enough provisions for all or most of the towns and castles east of the river as well as Edessa. Of course William could have used an additional source for this statement, but it is still worthwhile asking why he might have felt the need to elaborate in this way on Fulcher’s report about the provisioning of Edessa. The answer lies in a problem he had in common with Fulcher: to find a face-saving explanation for the hasty retreat of the Franks before the intact enemy forces in the territory of Edessa. As we have seen, Fulcher’s version of the events was calculated to give the impression that the Franks’ task was finished after provisioning Edessa and consequently they could afford to return without more delay. Interestingly, William does not content himself

⁸⁰ This seems to be a more accurate rendering of “ut taedio affecti maturarent reditum” than the one provided by the English translator: “that the protracted delay would force the leaders to depart.” Compare *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* I, 463.

⁸¹ This conflicts with William’s later statement that the river was not fordable.

merely with implying this idea, but puts it forward explicitly: “relieved of anxiety about the cities and fortresses, since these had been well supplied by arms, men, and food, the leaders returned to the Euphrates, for matters of greater importance demanded their attention.” This passage clearly reveals William’s motive for turning Fulcher’s report about the provisioning of Edessa into an extensive operation for supplying all the strongholds in the region with “arms, men and food.”⁸² This additional evidence would help show that the Franks had carried out all that could be done and therefore could not be criticized for beating a hasty retreat before the invaders.

If this evidence proved insufficient, then there was the additional ground that “matters of greater importance demanded their attention.” What these “matters of greater importance” were William does not specify, but Steven Runciman seems to fill in this part for him when he writes: “Tancred heard rumours that Ridwan of Aleppo was preparing to attack Antioch. Messengers came from Palestine to tell the King of a threatened Egyptian move against Jerusalem. The campaign in the Jazira was abandoned.”⁸³ Nevertheless, it is not possible to find any indication in the account of William and the others to the effect that Tancred had heard rumors about Ridwan’s plans, or again that “messengers from Palestine” had arrived to inform the king on the Egyptian move. Consequently, these reasons put forward by Runciman seem rather like an *ex-post facto* rationalization for the Franks’ hasty departure, derived from the reports on what they had to deal with after their return. Nor do they constitute a more satisfactory explanation than the ones that the Latin sources themselves offer for the Frankish retreat.

⁸² Also note that the supply of arms and men was not mentioned previously by William, nor by his source Fulcher.

⁸³ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 117.

In the rest of the account William follows Fulcher closely. He relates how the Turks in pursuit attacked “some of the lesser people” who had remained on the eastern bank and were crossing the river in “little boats, frail and few in number.” A bit further on he clarifies that these “lesser people” were “poor Armenians who, in the hope of finding a safe place of abode, were fleeing before the devastation caused by the Turks.” However, differently from Fulcher, William does not try to cover up the ensuing massacre, but mentions the dead as well as the captured. He states that the Franks were prevented from going to their help by their inability to ford the river and the small number of boats available, and so had to return home “in deep anguish of heart over the fate of the poor people.” In conclusion he notes that “the chief men in charge of the region on this [western] side of the Euphrates were directed to exercise the greatest care in fortifying that locality.” Evidently, this was a step to prevent it suffering the same fate as the trans-Euphratian lands of the County.

4.4.1.8 *Albert of Aachen*

Albert’s account of Mawdud’s expedition in 1110⁸⁴ is the most detailed among the Latin accounts. Moreover, it agrees with the oriental sources on many details and provides additional information found nowhere else, like a defeat suffered by Count Baldwin at the Muslims’ hands. Significantly, Albert is the only one among the Latin and Eastern Christian sources to mention Ilghazi’s name among the participants in Mawdud’s campaigns, correctly for that in 1110 but incorrectly for the one in 1111.⁸⁵

We have seen that Matthew of Edessa accused Baldwin and Joscelin of having called in Mawdud’s army against Tancred. Now Albert brings the exactly reverse

⁸⁴ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 788-99 and *Geschichte*, II, 222-30 (XI.16, 19-25).

⁸⁵ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 810-13 and *Geschichte*, II, 239-40 (XI.38).

charge against Tancred. According to him, the prince of Antioch summoned the Turks when his demand for tribute was refused by Count Baldwin, and was compelled as a result to defend himself before King Baldwin at Edessa. Robert Nicholson rejects both of these contradictory charges on the grounds that Mawdud, with his “single-hearted policy of opposition to the Franks,” and having embarked on a Holy War, would never have allied with any of the Frankish princes, either Tancred or the Edessene princes.⁸⁶ Beaumont rejects the likelihood of such an alliance on the same grounds, stating: “From what we know of Mawdud’s character, it seems extremely unlikely that he would ever have allied himself with a Christian.”⁸⁷

So was Mawdud in alliance with Tancred, the Edessene princes, or neither of these? Setting out to answer this question, it can firstly be observed that the lord of Mosul would have undertaken such an ambitious, large scale campaign, with the participation of many other emirs, on the sultan’s instructions only, and not at the instigation of this or that Frankish prince. Nevertheless, this does not exclude the possibility that he may have entered negotiations with one or more of these princes during the campaign itself, as he approached the County of Edessa at the head of his army. Whatever the degree of Mawdud’s commitment to Holy War may have been,⁸⁸ it would not necessarily have prevented him from trying to draw some of the Frankish princes to his side with the aim of dividing and weakening the Latin front. In this connection it seems hard to accept Beaumont’s argument that Mawdud’s “character” would never have allowed him to ally with a Christian, for in this case Muslims would have profited from such an alliance.

⁸⁶ Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 27, n. 142; *Tancred: A Study of His Career and Work in their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (New York, 1978), 198, n. 1.

⁸⁷ A. A. Beaumont, “Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa,” *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays* (New York, 1928), 134.

Thus it could well have been the case that the princes of Antioch, Edessa or both established contact with Mawdud while he was on the march. This would only be in keeping with their recent policy of allying with Muslim emirs against each other, in order to seek support against the opposite party as in the case of the battle of 1108. To such diplomatic advances by Frankish princes the Muslim general could well have responded positively, in order to divide and weaken the Latin front, although it was not at their incitement that he had launched the campaign.

On the other hand, it seems difficult to identify the Frankish leaders who may have attempted an alliance with Mawdud. The most that can be said is the apt remark of Grousset: "It seems to emerge from these contradictory accusations that neither Baldwin du Bourg nor Tancred had a clear conscience. In their unfortunate quarrel, each of them had frequently appealed to the Turks. Now that the Turks had arrived, each of them accused the other of having provoked their intervention."⁸⁹ The conflicting accusations and biases found in the accounts of Matthew and Albert are only a reflection of this situation, and it would be futile to try to make a final judgement in favour of one against the other. More fruitful and interesting would be to observe how, using the princes' betrayal of their fellow Christians and the resulting troubles as a central theme, they shape their accounts as a plea for the restoration and preservation of Christian unity. We have already observed Matthew's efforts in this direction. As we shall see, Albert goes still further, placing exhortatory speeches in the king's mouth about the necessity of preserving Christian unity against the "infidels."

Like Fulcher, Albert begins his account with King Baldwin's reception of the news about the siege of Edessa while he was besieging Beirut. He traces Baldwin's steps back to Jerusalem after that siege, and then northwards to Edessa. Indeed

⁸⁸ And it must not be forgotten that bringing the unruly Muslim emirs back under Seljukid control was just as important an aim of his as waging jihad.

throughout the account the king occupies the center of the stage as in Fulcher's account, reconciling the other princes, taking the necessary decisions, and repelling the Muslims. Although Albert was writing in far away in Aachen, his perspective in the narrative is thus centred much more on the king and Jerusalem than that of William of Tyre. As has already been pointed out, the reason for this should be sought as much in his agenda of promoting Christian unity as in the provenance of his sources.

During the siege of Beirut, Albert relates, King Baldwin received the news that Mawdud, Ilghazi and Sokman al-Qutbi, moving on the incitement of Tancred, had besieged Edessa with a great army and devastated the entire region. They provoked Count Baldwin through constant attacks and oppressed the city with many assaults. The Edessenes, suffering from famine and lack of adequate defence, were in great difficulty. Albert notes that the king kept this message secret until he had captured Beirut and returned to Jerusalem. There he revealed the situation of Edessa to Bertrand of Tripoli and the knights of Jerusalem, begging them to go to its assistance. At this point Albert places in Baldwin's mouth the first of his several speeches on the necessity of Christian solidarity:

I seek the goodwill of all of you, and let there be no one who turns away, since they are our brothers, prepared to come to our assistance in any emergency. For indeed it is imperishable love that we should assist and should not hesitate to lay down our lives for our brothers and friends.

Carrying the same rhetoric outside the frame of the speech, Albert writes that upon these words the knights volunteered to "go on an expedition to Edessa and, in order to bring aid to their besieged fellow Christians, to wage war on the Turks and to lay down their lives for their brothers."

Albert goes on to relate that the army of Jerusalem, six hundred knights and three hundred footmen in all, arrived a month afterwards in the territory of Edessa;

⁸⁹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 450.

here they were joined by Franks and Armenian Christians from all the towns and fortresses in the area, which swelled their numbers to fifteen thousand. It must be noted here that according to Albert, in contrast to Fulcher and William, the king had crossed the Euphrates without the company of Tancred and his army. The reason for this difference will presently become clear. In conformity with the oriental sources, Albert states that the Turks, hearing about the arrival of the king from their scouts, lifted the siege and moved their camp to Harran, at one day's distance from Edessa, where they intended to stay until they might assess whether they could confront his forces. He notes that their number was forty thousand, probably an exaggerated estimate. The historian relates that this retreat of the Muslim army was reported to the king by Baldwin of Edessa, who joined him with the four hundred Franks and ten thousand Armenians under his command. Reportedly, Baldwin told the king in addition that the enemies had come to besiege Edessa at the instigation of Tancred, who was always opposed and hostile to himself.

Albert then proceeds with a rather lengthy story about how the king summoned Tancred from Antioch to Edessa upon this accusation and tried to settle the dispute. Although this episode seems to be of doubtful veracity, it was evidently valuable for Albert because of the fine opportunity it offered for stressing the necessity of Christian solidarity and brotherhood *vis-à-vis* the "heathens." He relates that after some resistance Tancred arrived in Edessa with fifteen hundred of his men, in order to clear himself of the charges as well as to explain what grievances he held against Baldwin. When the king asked him why he had "led out the Turks against his brothers and fellow Christians when he should rather have helped the Christians," he did not try to excuse himself. Instead he complained that Count Baldwin failed to show him any respect, although Edessa and many other cities in the County had been pre-

viously subject to Antioch and paid annual tribute to its lord. Here Tancred was not only referring to the recent years of his regency, during the captivity of Baldwin and Joscelin, as also evident from the king's consequent rebuke of him for trying to introduce "heathen" laws and principles into the Latin East. Grousset points out that Antioch's claim of suzerainty over Edessa and the neighboring towns went back to the Byzantine and Turkish periods, when the region east of the Euphrates had been subjected to the duchy or emirate of Antioch.⁹⁰

Relating how the king responded to Tancred, Albert attributes to him a lengthy speech that gives the fullest and clearest expression to the moral of his entire account. Reportedly, Baldwin drew a sharp distinction between the laws of the "heathens" and the Christians, and entreated the latter not to allow their cohesion and brotherhood to be disrupted through the introduction of such foreign and heathen principles into their relations. For these relations were based on the principle, accepted at the start of the Crusade, that all would freely hold whatever they acquired from the heathens, stand on an equal basis unless a king was appointed over them, and help each other in time of need. Accordingly the king rejected Tancred's claims to tribute, which the king took to be just another of these heathen laws, and implored him not to molest Baldwin any more. He also warned the prince that if he continued to ally with the heathens and to direct calumnies against Christians he could no longer remain their Christian brother, but all would join against him in defence of their brothers in Edessa. Albert depicts Tancred as being overcome by this speech. He relates how the prince realized his error and was reconciled with Count Baldwin. Before concluding the episode, he drives his point home:

Tancred, led by repentance for having plotted with the heathens against a Christian brother, promised that he would thenceforth remain a pure and loyal

⁹⁰ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 452.

assistant of his Christian brothers just as they had vowed at the start of the journey.

It is interesting that Tancred, in this account, makes no concession about his claims.

Albert next engages in showing his readers how this restoration of harmony among the Christians immediately brought the fruit of victory. He claims that the Turks, hearing of the Franks' reconciliation, took to flight and dispersed through mountains and devious bypaths, with the king and Tancred pursuing them into the territory of Harran to join battle. He asserts that many of the Muslims were destroyed in the process while their animals and provisions were carried away by the Christians.

The factual basis of this episode might be the tactical withdrawal of the Turkish army to Harran and beyond either to lure the Franks away from their base or simply to wait for the Franks' departure. Apparently, Albert preferred to represent this deliberate retreat of the Muslims as an ordinary rout, complete with the dispersal and destruction of their troops and the plundering of their provisions and animals, although these latter events remain uncorroborated by the other sources. So even if a confrontation did take place at this stage, it could not have been more than a minor skirmish. It seems reasonable to think therefore that Albert made up this clash or at least exaggerated its scale to demonstrate the immediate benefits of restored Christian solidarity, which had allegedly inspired the "heathens" with fear and brought victory against them.⁹¹ As Işın Demirkent points out, it is otherwise hard to explain the contrast between this tale of the Muslim rout and that which followed soon after,

⁹¹ Compare Nicholson, *Tancred*, 199, n. 3 and *Joscelyn I*, 31, n. 171. Nicholson argues that Albert's version was "designed to conceal the fact that the dispersement was planned and had a strategic purpose," and observes that he charged the Turks unjustly with cowardice, like Fulcher of Chartres.

the abrupt report that the king and Tancred returned with a forced march to the Euphrates, pursued by the assembled Turks.⁹²

Following this episode of Turkish defeat Albert dwells further on the advantages of the restored Christian unity for the struggle against the Muslims. He relates how the king, in the days after his return from the pursuit, busied himself with “repairing and reconciling the disagreements and enmities he found on all sides among the Christians” in the territory of Edessa. Thus the historian gives us to understand that the king had observed the advantages of Christian solidarity after Tancred’s reconciliation and their alleged victory against the Muslims, and accordingly proceeded to reconcile all Christians in the region as a further defense measure against subsequent Muslim invasions.

Albert does not give any explicit reason for the hasty return of the Frankish army to the Euphrates. Like Fulcher and William, perhaps, he wished his readers to assume that the Franks had finished their task east of the Euphrates, after the alleged pursuit and destruction of the Turks as well as the reconciliation of Christians. However, he relates that by the time King Baldwin and Tancred reached the river with a forced march, the Turks had come together in hot pursuit to attack them. Realizing their approach, the king hurried to cross the river with the army, but there were only two boats. Overloaded with arms and knights, these capsized in the middle of the river. Although the major part of the army had already crossed by then, the remaining part, about five thousand men, were left helpless on the opposite side. These were soon destroyed by the arrows of the Turks who arrived.

It is noteworthy here that in contrast to Matthew, Fulcher and William, Albert does not reveal that these victims were mainly Armenians, instead giving the impres-

⁹² Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, I, 129.

sion that all of them were Frankish troops. This is especially so when he speaks of the king's chagrin at having to watch the slaughter of "his men" from the opposite bank. Probably this should be ascribed to Albert's lack of information on this point, for previously he had not failed to note the presence of ten thousand Armenians accompanying the Edessene army.

Albert then relates that the Turks, while "returning to the territory of Edessa after this bloody massacre," came across Baldwin of Edessa and his three hundred knights who were following the king's army. Being unable to evade them, Baldwin was reportedly compelled to join battle with their vastly superior numbers, and losing all his men as a result, had to flee alone to the mountains. This report seems to conflict with Albert's immediately preceding statement that Baldwin was following the king, who had already crossed the Euphrates. If that was true, how could he have confronted the Muslim troops at the eastern side of the river?

According to Grousset, Baldwin had already crossed to the west of the Euphrates following the king, but then he could no longer stand to see his lands being ravaged, and returned to the east with anger to challenge the Turks with his handful of men.⁹³ But there is nothing in Albert's report to indicate that Baldwin crossed river westwards or crossed back again eastwards, and moreover the author states unequivocally that Baldwin dared battle with the huge Turkish army only because of his inability to evade them. This clearly undermines Grousset's claim that he desired to challenge the Turks in order to stop their depredations. Nicholson suggests on the other hand that Baldwin du Bourg was performing a rearguard duty for the king's army with his men against the rapidly advancing Muslim cavalry.⁹⁴ However, in that

⁹³ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 456.

⁹⁴ Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 34, n. 188.

case he would have intervened and it would have been his men who got massacred at the river. Neither of these theories seems sufficient to account for this odd episode.

Albert goes on to relate that King Baldwin and Tancred received the news of the disaster on the next day. Finding new boats, they immediately crossed back over the Euphrates eastwards with their troops, determined to inflict due punishment on the Turks, wherever they would find them. But these were nowhere to be seen, and they came across Count Baldwin instead, who was “forsaken, dejected and tearful for the massacre of his men.” With a strong detachment they led him safe and sound to Edessa.

Based on the apparent problems and contradictions of the story, which cannot be easily explained away, the veracity of the whole episode may be called into question. Indeed the lack of information about this event in the other sources has also led scholars like Kugler and Hagenmeyer to reject it, the former on the grounds of its absence in Fulcher’s account and the latter on the grounds of its absence in the oriental sources.⁹⁵ Demirkent similarly rejects Albert’s story, and attributes it to the author’s “usual eagerness to cover up the defeats suffered by the Crusaders.”⁹⁶ Whether it had a basis of truth in some minor skirmish or not, let it suffice to say here that it served Albert to stress in conclusion the exemplary loyalty of the king and Tancred – the latter by now “corrected” – toward their Christian brothers.

⁹⁵ Bernhard Kugler, *Boemund und Tankred Fürsten von Antiochien* (Tübingen, 1862), 46, n. 48; *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, edited by Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 543, n. 15.

⁹⁶ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, I, 130.

4.4.2 *The reasons behind Ilghazi's refusal to participate in the subsequent expeditions*

Now it is time to discuss why Ilghazi failed to take part in person in the following expeditions of Mawdud. After the death of Sokman al-Qutbi in the expedition of 1111 and Belek's release by his successor, it could be expected that Ilghazi would resume his role in the campaigns. But he did not accompany Mawdud in the latter's siege of Edessa in 1112, and when he was summoned to join the next expedition in 1113, he again declined and contented himself with dispatching a contingent under his son Ayaz.⁹⁷ This gives sufficient reason to think that Ilghazi's enmity with Sokman was not the only reason for his reluctance to join Mawdud. Indeed the death of this enemy itself may have provided him with a new incentive to remain in Mardin with the major part of his army. For Sokman had left behind him only a son of minor age, a situation that offered Ilghazi the long-sought opportunity to increase the pressure on his northern neighbor. Declining to join Mawdud's expeditions and sending only a small contingent would make available the large number of troops necessary for this purpose.

Thus in 1112, the very year when Mawdud besieged Edessa in vain, Ilghazi succeeded in subjecting the cities of Bitlis and Arzan situated in the border area to the south of Akhlat.⁹⁸ The lord of these cities at that time was Emir Husam al-Dawla Al-Tekin or Yeltigin (1085?-1113), coming from the long-lived Turkoman dynasty known as Dilmaçoğulları, who had been subjected to Sokman al-Qutbi since 1109. His son and heir Shams al-Dawla Toghan Arslan (1113-1134) began his career as a

⁹⁷ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 395 and *Chronicle*, 162 (507: 1112-1113). Osman Turan writes that Ilghazi and Belek took part in Mawdud's campaign in 1113, although it is certain that Ilghazi only sent a contingent under his son Ayaz. There is no evidence about Belek's participation either. See Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri*, 164.

⁹⁸ Vâth, *Geschichte*, 69.

vassal of Ilghazi and accompanied him in his subsequent campaigns against the Franks and Georgians.⁹⁹

Nevertheless, apart from these gains as well as the city of Harran previously granted by Mawdud, the area under Ilghazi's control remained largely within its former bounds between 1110-1115. For during this period he had to dedicate most of his energies to the effort of preserving his position *vis à vis* the Seljukids and Franks. It was only in 1116, after the end of the Seljukid campaigns from Mosul that Ilghazi was able to resume the work of expanding his principality at the expense of his neighbors. In that year he seized eighty villages of Mayyafariqin from the weak Seljukid governor of that city.¹⁰⁰

So the opportunity to make new territorial gains cannot be considered as the main reason for Ilghazi's decision to remain at home either. As evident from the eventual abandonment of the expedition of 1111 by all emirs save Tughtekin, or again from the suspicions about the complicity of Tughtekin himself in Mawdud's assassination in Damascus in 1113,¹⁰¹ the local emirs must have begun to realize that these almost yearly campaigns from Mosul were intended to curtail their freedom of action as much as that of the Franks, if not more. So it is all too understandable that Ilghazi, as one of the more powerful and ambitious amongst these emirs, should have soon preferred to stay aloof from the "Holy War" of the Seljukid governor. This was all the more so as two of Mawdud's expeditions deliberately followed a more nor-

⁹⁹ Adnan Çevik, "Selçuklular Zamanında Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'da Hüküm Sürmüş Bir Türkmen Beyliği: Dilmaçoğulları," *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 12 (2002), 130-31; Cahen, "Diyār Bakr," 237.

¹⁰⁰ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 98, 219-20.

¹⁰¹ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 117 (504: 1110-1111); Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, I, 157 (505: 1111-1112), 163 (507: 1113-1114); Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 214 (III.63); Fulcher of Chartres, *History*, 211 (II.iii).

therly route passing through Mardin on the way west, so that Ilghazi could be brought to heel.¹⁰²

This determination on the part of Ilghazi and other emirs of Syria and Diyar Bakr to preserve their *de facto* independence *vis-à-vis* the Seljukid sultan as well as to resist all efforts made through his governor in Mosul to bring them back to heel would have serious consequences for the degree of success attained against the Franks. Because Mawdud could not force these emirs into full obedience,¹⁰³ whereas King Baldwin was more successful in assembling the Franks under his *de facto* leadership,¹⁰⁴ the achievement of the governor remained at a very modest level despite the sheer scale of the forces mobilized. It was mostly restricted, as we shall see, to the effective devastation and depopulation of the trans-Euphratian lands of the County of Edessa, which left the city of Edessa as an isolated outpost in a hostile desert and opened the way for subsequent Turkoman invasions from Diyar Bakr. Significantly, this was accomplished, in the first expedition, in which Ilghazi took part in person with the majority of his Turkomans, and the army remained intact up to the end.¹⁰⁵

However, there remains the fact that no decisive victory was achieved in these expeditions against the Franks, like the one that Ilghazi's brother Sokman and Chakarmish of Mosul had scored in 1104. Indeed Sokman had played a chief role in that success, although his later dispute with Chakarmish and abrupt departure had probably thwarted the capture of Edessa. Ilghazi, in contrast, played nearly as important a role in Mawdud's lack of success because of his eagerness for independence and territorial gain.

¹⁰² Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 126.

¹⁰³ Vâth, *Geschichte*, 70.

¹⁰⁴ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 225-26.

There is also a second line of argument that considers Ilghazi's negative attitude toward Mawdud's campaigns in the context of his personal relations with Sultan Muhammad. Thus Grousset argues that the reason why Ilghazi did not want to join the expedition of 1111 in person was his irritation against the sultan for having dismissed him from the post of *shihna* of Baghdad in 1105.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, Aydın Usta attributes Ilghazi's failure to participate in the later expeditions to his resentment against the Seljukid sultan.¹⁰⁷ Of course this interpretation begs the question why he did take part in the first expedition.

Carole Hillenbrand offers a more sophisticated explanation designed to account for such inconsistencies in Ilghazi's attitude. According to her, Ilghazi had indeed resented the preferment of Mawdud over himself as the new governor of Mosul. But trusting the exemplary attitude he had displayed during the years following his dismissal from Baghdad, he still harbored some hope that he would finally be restored to the favor of the sultan. She argues that it was this indecision that lay behind the ambiguous attitude of Ilghazi, who withdrew from the first expedition and refrained from the second, but did not go so far in his opposition as to refuse to send a detachment.¹⁰⁸

But this explanation does not seem entirely convincing either. After his support of Sultan Barkyaruk's son against Muhammad, and consequent dismissal from Baghdad,¹⁰⁹ Ilghazi could scarcely have continued to harbor serious expectations about being appointed to such an important post as the governor of Mosul. Even if he harbored some hopes, it is unlikely that these would have been strong enough to ren-

¹⁰⁵ As it has already been discussed, Ilghazi's quarrel with Sokman al-Qutbi and his subsequent departure probably took place only by the end of the expedition, after the second siege of Edessa.

¹⁰⁶ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 463, n. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Aydın Usta, "Artuklular," *Türkler Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara, 2002), VI, 473.

¹⁰⁸ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 126-28.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, I, 78 (491/1097-1098), 85, 94 (498/1104-1105).

der him so disappointed as to make him change his policy toward the sultan when the latter did not fulfil them. Nor would they be strong enough as lasting remnants to prevent him from showing outright hostility after the preferment of Mawdud. It seems advisable therefore to be wary against such explanations of a personal, psychological nature, and to stick instead with the more straightforward, strategical one: apparently, Ilghazi was concerned about the serious prospect that the sultan's army might curtail his independence and even attempt to seize his possessions. He must have perceived that under these conditions both full obedience and full hostility to Mawdud would be dangerous, and therefore preferred to adopt an equivocal attitude. This attitude to Seljukid expeditions was to turn into outright hostility, as we shall see in the next chapter, when Ilghazi became rightly convinced that he was a direct target of the campaigns following Mawdud's death.

4.4.3 *The course of events*

The foregoing considerations allow for the following reconstruction of Mawdud's first expedition and Ilghazi's role in it: in 1110 the Seljukid Sultan instructed his governor in Mosul and his loyal emir Sokman al-Qutbi to undertake an expedition against the Franks. However, the aim of the campaign was not only to push back the advance of the Franks but also to bring the local Muslim emirs under the sultan's control, as these had made considerable advances toward *de facto* independence during the intervening period of interregnum. Once the emirs were assembled, and Ilghazi himself was persuaded to participate by the grant of Harran, they invaded the trans-Euphratean lands of the County of Edessa. Edessa itself was besieged, but the Muslim forces mainly tried to blockade it into starvation rather than to take it by storm, despite some attacks they made to provoke Count Baldwin into a sortie.

When King Baldwin received the news from Joscelin of Tell Bashir, he set out with the latter as well as Bertrand of Tripoli. On the way he took along the Armenian princes in the region, and before crossing the Euphrates was joined by a reluctant and resentful Tancred who had come under pressure from his retinue. On seeing their approach the Muslims withdrew from Edessa to Harran. Their immediate purpose in this maneuver was to avoid being trapped between the relief army and the garrison of Edessa. Strategically, they planned to wait until the Franks would be worn down and forced to depart through the depletion of their provisions, for the Muslims had already entirely devastated the region by this time. In the meanwhile, they would also be on the lookout for an opportunity to attack the Franks, if possible after having lured them into Muslim territory nearby. But the maneuver simply enabled the Franks to reach Edessa and provision it with the food they had brought from beyond the Euphrates. The Muslims, bent on drawing them into a trap, set up an ambush in Harran and withdrew further south. But after an initial pursuit the Franks turned away from the trap and laid siege to the nearby castle of Shinaw instead.

The siege was cut short, however, and the Franks suddenly began withdrawing towards the Euphrates. The reason for this might have been the depletion of their provisions and forage in the devastated area. But the haste and abruptness of the retreat also suggest that this was due to a discord that developed between the princes of Antioch and Edessa, who had been at loggerheads since the Battle of Harran in 1104. Baldwin and Joscelin may have plotted against Tancred to eliminate him while he was within their reach. When Tancred, in reaction, separated with his troops from the main army, the rest had to follow him to the river in order not to be caught divided. As the news of this unexpected retreat reached the Armenian inhabitants and refugees in Edessa, they grew apprehensive of being abandoned to the mercy of the Mus-

lim invaders and sought refuge in the company of the Franks, following them from behind. Mawdud was informed by one or two Frankish betrayers about this hasty withdrawal of the Franks and Armenian civilians towards the Euphrates, and turning to pursuit, caught up with them by the riverbank. Most of the Frankish army had crossed over by this time, but then the few boats and rafts available had sunk under the excessive load, leaving the five thousand Armenians and some Frankish footmen stranded on the eastern bank. These were all massacred in sight of the Franks who watched helplessly from the opposite bank.

Following this the two armies remained encamped against each other for some time. Then the Franks set out for home and the Muslims went back to resume the siege of Edessa, now that the relief army had departed, but they were eventually forced to abandon the siege of the city because of the preceding replenishment of its provisions and the depletion of their own. By the end of the expedition the rivalry between Sokman al-Qutbi and Ilghazi for supremacy in eastern Asia Minor erupted into a quarrel, perhaps partly because of Mawdud's concession of Harran to Ilghazi as a reward for his participation. After the ensuing clash, in which Sokman may have attacked Harran, Ilghazi escaped from that town to Mardin, while his nephew Belek was taken prisoner.

Ilghazi did not take part in Mawdud's subsequent expeditions. The immediate reasons for this were initially his quarrel with Sokman al-Qutbi, and later his eagerness to take advantage of Sokman's death in order to expand his territory. The essential reason, however, was his determination to preserve his *de facto* independence from the Seljukid sultan and his governor in Mosul. But being unwilling to provoke them further, he agreed to send a detachment under his son for Mawdud's subsequent campaigns. The bulk of his forces thus became available for operations elsewhere,

and he initially used these for an attempt to destroy Sokman's troops as they returned home with their master's coffin after the campaign in 1111. Then, in the following year, he deprived Sokman's heir of the suzerainty of Bitlis and Arzan. It is significant that in the same year, 1112, Mawdud had had to besiege Edessa on his own, without success. But Ilghazi's territorial gains remained modest during these years, and he mainly occupied himself with trying to preserve his position *vis-à-vis* the Franks and the Seljukids by pursuing equivocal policies he deemed suited for this purpose.

4.4.4 *The consequences of the expeditions*

The other local emirs did not differ from Ilghazi in their willingness to preserve their newly found independence and eagerness to make new gains. Although unlike him they did join Mawdud's army at the start, they frequently abandoned him in the course of these campaigns and prevented them from reaching the goals set. As a result the first campaign of 1110, in which Ilghazi took part with the bulk of his Turkomans and the army remained intact until the end, remained the most successful one in terms of lasting consequences. Although it could score no critical victory as in 1104, the widespread devastation and depopulation it caused in the trans-Euphratean lands of the County considerably weakened this region in economic, demographic and military terms. The inflicted damages reduced the revenues available for the County and led to serious internal divisions, between the Armenians and Franks on the one hand and Baldwin and his vassal Joscelin on the other hand. Most of the Franks in the County flocked to Joscelin's still intact and prosperous cis-Euphratean lands, with the result that Edessa was reduced to an isolated outpost in hostile territory and the doors were opened wide for Turkoman intrusions from Diyar Bakr.

Ilghazi had adopted a cautious, equivocal policy during the expeditions of Mawdud, but as we shall see in the next chapter his attitude would turn to one of outright hostility in the following campaigns launched by the sultan.

CHAPTER 5

ILGHAZI: COMMITTED MEMBER OF THE ANTI-SELJUKID

ALLIANCE WITH THE FRANKS

Mawdud was murdered in Damascus following his last campaign in 1113, possibly with the complicity of Tughtekin who had begun to fear for his independence.¹ This did not dissuade the sultan from continuing his efforts to subjugate the local emirs in Syria and Jazira through campaigns that were ostensibly against the Franks. On the contrary, he dispatched to the west two more expeditions in 1114 and 1115, led respectively by Aksungur al-Bursuki, Mawdud's successor in Mosul, and Bursuk ibn Bursuk, the lord of Hamadhan. Bringing the local emirs to heel was now the primary aim of these campaigns, the first of which directly targeted Ilghazi himself. Ilghazi's reaction was correspondingly harsh, gathering his family to inflict a crushing defeat on Aksungur's army. Against the retaliatory second campaign he made common cause with Tughtekin, the rulers of Aleppo and the Franks. The result was the defeat of Bursuk's army and the end of this series of Seljukid expeditions.

¹ For the most unequivocal and detailed assertion of this claim see Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated by Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham, New York, London, 1993), 214 (III.63).

The present chapter will consider these two campaigns and question whether there was a fundamental change in Ilghazi's attitude toward the Franks at this point.

5.1 The perspectives of the sources

5.1.1 *Ibn al-Athir*

Among the Arabic sources the most complete account of the Seljukid expeditions of 1114 and 1115 comes from Ibn al-Athir.² At the beginning of his account he notes that the Seljukid sultan Muhammad Tapar appointed Emir Aksungur al-Bursuki to Mosul and ordered him to fight the Franks, also dispatching his young son Mas'ud to him "at the head of a vast army." As in the case of Mawdud's expeditions, which had amongst their most important aims the rallying of the local emirs under the Seljukid banner, all of these emirs "were instructed by letter that they should obey Aksungur." Among those who joined Aksungur in Mosul Ibn al-Athir mentions Tamirak, the lord of Sinjar, and Imad al-Din Zangi, the founder of the dynasty of *atabeks* in Mosul, whose descendants went to rule Mosul right up to the time of Ibn al-Athir himself. Having worked for long years under the patronage of this house, Ibn al-Athir does not neglect to remark that Zangi, still a young man at this time, "was valiant in the extreme."

Ibn al-Athir states that Aksungur, setting out from Mosul with these emirs, and taking over Jazirat ibn Umar (Cizre) from Mawdud's deputy, advanced to Mardin. But we learn from Ibn Shaddad³ that before arriving at Mardin Aksungur be-

² Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih Tercümesi*, translated by A. Özeydin, A. Ağırakça et al., 12 vols. (İstanbul 1987), X, 399-401, 405-07 and *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh, Part 1*, translated by D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2006), 166-68, 172-74 (508: 1114-1115 and 509: 1115-1116).

³ Ibn Shaddad, *al-A'laq al-Hatira*, the Jazira section, manuscript f. 17 a-b, cited in Imad al-Din Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya fi'l-Jazira wa'l-Sham* (Beirut, 1980), 228 and Gerhard Vâth, *Die Geschichte der artukidischen Fürstentümer in Syrien und der Ġazira 'l-Furatiya* (Berlin, 1987), 70.

sieged Harran, which had belonged to Ilghazi since 1110: advancing from Jazirat ibn Umar via Nisibis and Ra's al-Ain to Harran, he waited for the Artukid troops to join him there, but receiving no response to his repeated demands for their participation, he laid siege to the town. Upon this Ilghazi's governor established contact with Baldwin du Bourg to summon the Franks of Edessa to his aid, but the Muslim populace of the town and some of the functionaries got wind of his intentions. They urged Aksungur to go to attack and, rebelling against the governor, helped the sultan's army get hold of the town. Nevertheless, even the capture of Harran did not prove sufficient to persuade Ilghazi to send his troops. So Ibn al-Athir reports that Aksungur marched against Mardin and besieged it until Ilghazi finally gave in and contributed a contingent under his son Ayaz.

Claude Cahen reverses the order of the sieges of Harran and Mardin: although Ilghazi agreed to send along a detachment when he was besieged in Mardin, the scholar states, "his subordination was perhaps still not profound, for when Aksungur arrived before Harran, which belonged to Ilghazi, the governor refused to let him pass for a long time and even intrigued with the Franks."⁴ However, it does not sound plausible that the governor of the town could have been in a position to deny passage to Aksungur's huge army. So although the relative positions of Mardin and Harran on the way west might seem to support Cahen's version at first sight, on closer consideration the following course of events seems more plausible: Ilghazi's troops had still not joined Aksungur's army by the time it arrived before Harran, and when repeated demands for their arrival met with no response, Aksungur chose to besiege that town as the nearest of Ilghazi's possessions. But even its capture did not

⁴ Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps de Croisades et la Principauté Franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 270. Also see his "Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukids," *Journal Asiatique* 227 (1935), 235.

break Ilghazi's resistance, so Aksungur was compelled to return east and lay siege to Mardin before the emir could be brought to heel.⁵

From Mardin the army proceeded to Edessa, Ibn al-Athir relates, with a cavalry of 15,000, and laid siege to it during the month of Dhu'l-Hijja (28 April – 26 May 1114). Although the siege went on for more than two months, no result could be achieved because of the stout resistance of the Franks. When the supplies of the Muslim army were depleted at the end of this period, they moved onto Samosata, laying waste the lands of that town as well as of Edessa and Saruj. After receiving the allegiance of the Armenian lord of Mar'ash here, Aksungur returned to the region of Shabakhtan, where he placed Ayaz ibn Ilghazi under arrest. He then proceeded to ravage the agricultural lands there. Ibn al-Athir states that the reason for these measures was Ilghazi's failure to have participated in the campaign. Basing himself on this statement, Vāth suggests that Aksungur made Ilghazi a scapegoat for the failure of the siege of Edessa and indeed of the entire expedition, notwithstanding the subjection of some relatively small fortresses like Mar'ash, Kaisun and Ra'ban.⁶

But if this was so, an important question emerges: why did Aksungur choose to undertake such measures, whereas Mawdud before him, although not more successful against the Franks, had contented himself with the detachment under Ayaz and avoided any attempt to punish Ilghazi for his attitude? A reason might be the previous hostility of Aksungur and Ilghazi, stemming from the replacement of one by the other as *shihna* of Baghdad. Another reason could be Ilghazi's initial refusal even to dispatch his son Ayaz, eventually doing so only under the compulsion of a siege.

⁵ In his article on Ilghazi's deeds Ali Sevim misleadingly states that Ilghazi did not reject Aksungur's call to participate in the campaign against the Crusaders but contented himself with sending a few troops under his son Ayaz. He fails to mention the fact that Ilghazi was persuaded to send even that contingent only after Aksungur had placed considerable pressure on him by besieging Harran and then Mardin. Ali Sevim, "Artuk Oğlu İlğazi," *Belleten* 26 (1962), 666.

⁶ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 71.

As we shall see, moreover, Michael the Syrian claims that Ilghazi established contact with the Franks against the sultan's army and it was upon learning of this treachery that Aksungur suddenly grew so aggressive against the emir. However, the most important reason might be that Aksungur had received specific instructions from the sultan to bring Ilghazi to heel at all costs. Indeed the sultan's choice of this enemy of Ilghazi as the new governor of Mosul may have been no simple coincidence.⁷

Far from bringing Ilghazi to heel, Aksungur's attack rendered him still more adamant in his defiance of the sultan's authority. In particular, Shabakhtan was indispensable for the agricultural production of the emirate of Mardin, and Ilghazi could not just sit back and watch it being devastated without undertaking any action.⁸ Accordingly, Ibn al-Athir relates, Ilghazi went to Hisn Kaifa to ask for aid from his nephew Dawud ibn Sokman, who joined him at the head of a mighty host of Turkomans. Marching against Aksungur and the Seljukid army, the Artukids succeeded in defeating them in a fierce battle in which all held firm, and released Ayaz from captivity. Now Ilghazi was in a state of open rebellion against the sultan, from whom he received letters of threat. Fearful of retribution, he went to stay for some days with Tughtekin of Damascus, his father-in-law. Tughtekin had good reason on his part to fear⁹ the sultan, who charged him with the assassination of Mawdud. Ibn al-Athir states without comment that in view of this situation "Tughtekin and Ilghazi agreed to defend themselves as well as to have recourse to the Franks and seek protection¹⁰ from them. They made overtures to the lord of Antioch and allied with him." Ibn al-Athir reveals his personal opinion about the alliance further on, at the beginning of his account of Bursuk ibn Bursuk's campaign, where he reminds his readers of "the

⁷ This issue will be discussed at length in section 4.4.

⁸ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 71.

⁹ For *istawḥasha min al-sulṭān, al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh* (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1965-1967), X, 502, instead of "had fallen out of favor with the sultan," as in the English translation.

rebellion that Ilghazi and Tughtekin made against the sultan and how the Franks grew powerful.” Meeting by Lake Qadas near Hims, the two emirs and the prince of Antioch renewed their oaths. Ilghazi then headed to Diyar Bakr in order to muster Turkomans before returning to Syria.

Ilghazi’s plans were thwarted however, when, stopping for a rest by al-Rastan, he was surprised by Khir Khan ibn Karaja, the lord of Hims, while the Artukid troops were in a scattered condition, and imprisoned along with several of his retinue. Ibn al-Athir does not indicate the fact that the emir was in a state of intoxication when this happened, which we learn from Ibn al-Qalanisi. The reason for this attack was that Khir Khan, unlike his father and predecessor Karaja, did not want to accept Tughtekin’s suzerainty.¹¹ Accordingly, he was trying to use the Seljukid expeditions as a lever with which to secure his independence from Damascus. Capturing Tughtekin’s ally Ilghazi at a time when the two were joined in open rebellion against the sultan’s authority had probably appeared to him as good way to realize this aim. Sending a message to the sultan, he informed him about Ilghazi’s capture and requested him to quickly send his troops before Tughtekin could recover Ilghazi by force. Indeed Tughtekin did not take long to appear before Hims, demanding Ilghazi’s release, but he had to return empty-handed when Khir Khan showed himself determined to shed Ilghazi’s blood unless he withdrew quickly.

But the sultan’s troops were still not in sight, and Ibn al-Athir states that Khir Khan grew concerned lest his men should be corrupted by Tughtekin and deliver the city to him. Giving up his previous plans, therefore, he consented to a settlement with Ilghazi on the condition that he would free him, take his son Ayaz as a hostage, and wed him with his daughter, while Ilghazi would repay him by protecting him from

¹⁰ For *ihtima’*, *al-Kamil fi ’l-Ta’rikh*, X, 502, instead of “support,” as in the English translation.

¹¹ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 272.

Tughtekin and others. Appearing to agree with these conditions, Ilghazi handed over his son and left Hims once they had sworn mutual oaths. Immediately thereupon he went back on his word however, and collecting Turkomans from Aleppo,¹² returned with them to besiege Hims. His purpose was to force Khir Khan to release his son. But he had to break off the siege upon the arrival of the new Seljukid army led by Bursuk ibn Bursuk, lord of Hamadhan. Although the commander of this expedition, differently from the previous ones, was from far east and south, the basic forces still originated from Mosul.

Ibn al-Athir indicates that the sultan, having heard of the rebellion of Tughtekin and Ilghazi, had formed a new army out of the troops of Mosul and the Jazira and placed Bursuk at its head, along with others like Emir Juyush Bey and Emir Gundoghdi. Their orders were “first of all to engage Ilghazi and Tughtekin and, when they had dealt with them, to march into Frankish territory, wage war on them and besiege their cities.”¹³ As Hillenbrand observes, the order of priorities here is not without significance.¹⁴ As it turned out, however, after the sultan’s emirs set out in February 1115, they directly crossed the Euphrates and marched against Aleppo. They ordered Lu’lu’ the Eunuch, the effective ruling authority, and Shams al-Khawass, the commander of the local troops, to hand over the city to them, producing the letters of the sultan to this effect. But delaying them with a deceitful answer, Lu’lu’ and Shams al-Khawass sent for help to Ilghazi and Tughtekin, who succeeded in entering the city with two thousand horsemen. Now that they were strengthened

¹² The fact that Ilghazi could muster Turkoman troops from Aleppo seems to reveal that already by this time Badr al-Din Lu’lu’ of Aleppo had joined Ilghazi and Tughtekin in the alliance against the Seljukids.

¹³ For *hasarū bilādahum*, *al-Kamil fi’l-Ta’rikh*, X, 508, instead of “harass their lands,” as in the English translation.

¹⁴ Carole Hillenbrand, “The History of the Jazira, 1100-1150,” Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Edinburgh University, 1979), 130.

by this reinforcement, the defenders of Aleppo went into open rebellion and turned down the demands of the army outside.

In retaliation, Bursuk moved to Tughtekin's city Hama, where the latter's baggage was deposited, and after storming and sacking it, delivered it to Khir Khan, who gave him Ayaz ibn Ilghazi in return. For the sultan had commanded that every town they were to capture should be turned over to Khir Khan. Nikita Elisséeff suggests that the purpose behind this command was to reinforce Khir Khan's position against Aleppo and Damascus as well as against the Franks who coveted his fortress Hims.¹⁵ As Grousset observes, another reason was probably that after Bursuk had been deprived of the support base of Aleppo, he could only rely upon Khir Khan and the Banu Munqidh of Shaizar, these latter threatened by both Aleppo and Antioch.¹⁶ Thus Khir Khan's plan of securing his independence against Tughtekin by loyally serving the sultan had turned out to be an even more fruitful policy than he could have expected. But the sultan's command alienated the other emirs and perhaps contributed to the eventual failure of the expedition. For "seeing this," observes Ibn al-Athir, "the emirs became dispirited and their purpose faltered, inasmuch as the towns were being taken and handed over to Khir Khan."¹⁷ Why should they bother to take cities on his behalf when they had no hope of gaining anything therefrom?

Ibn al-Athir notes that by this time Ilghazi, Tughtekin and Shams al-Khawass had proceeded from Aleppo to Antioch, in order to seek the protection of its lord

¹⁵ Nikita Elisséeff, *Nur ad-Din: Un Grand Prince Musulman de Syrie au Temps de Croisades* (Damascus, 1967), II, 312.

¹⁶ René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-1936), I, 501.

¹⁷ The English translation for *bihaythu tu'akhkhadhu al-bilādu wa tusallamu ilā Khīr Khān* reads "in-somuch as their lands might be taken and handed to Khir Khan", which does not seem to make sense in this context. Probably the French translation in the RHC edition, although exceedingly free, is more succesful in giving the import of this clause: "Car de quoi leur eût-il servi de prendre des villes, si toutes ces villes devaient être abandonnées à Kyrkhan?" Ibn al-Athir, RHC *Historiens Orientaux* I, 296. Also compare the remark of Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 502: "This prospect singularly cooled down

Roger. They also intended to ask for his help to defend Hama, as they were still unaware of its fall. The allies were joined there by King Baldwin, the count of Tripoli, and “other Frankish devils” as the chronicler calls them. Considering the great numbers of the Muslim army and believing that it would disperse by the beginning of winter, they decided to avoid battle, and so remained by the fortress of Apamea for about two months. Ibn al-Athir seems unaware of the temporary retreat of Bursuk reported by the other sources, for he writes that the Frankish allies disbanded in mid-September when they saw that the sultan’s troops intended to stay. Nevertheless, it would hardly have been sensible for them to disband with the huge Seljukid army in their territory, allowing it to roam freely and lay sieges without a counterbalancing force. So they must have disbanded supposing that the Seljukid army was gone for good, as the other sources attest, with the result that the Seljukid general, on returning from his probably tactical retreat, found himself free to act as he liked.

The first step taken by the Seljukid army under these conditions was to besiege Kafartab. “When the blockade intensified and the Franks saw destruction facing them,” Ibn al-Athir relates, “they slew their women and children and burnt their possessions.” All those remaining were killed, including the lord of the town, when the Muslims made a forced entry into it. Their next goal was Apamea, but perceiving it to be strongly defended, they proceeded to Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘man, also a Frankish possession; here Juyush Bey parted from the main army to take control of the Butnan valley. Intending to settle accounts with Aleppo, now that Ilghazi and Tughtekin had returned home, the Seljukid army set out for that city next. Their baggage and mounts were going before them, as was the normal practice, while the troops followed from behind; as these “felt secure, not imagining that anyone would dare to

the ardor of his lieutenants who saw themselves frustrated beforehand of the eventual profit of the campaign.”

approach them,” they were marching in disorder. The men going ahead had pitched the tents and were waiting for the fighting men to arrive, but it was the troops of Antioch that arrived instead. For Prince Roger, on hearing the siege of Kafartab, had set out with an army of five hundred knights and two thousand infantry and come across the Muslim baggage without any previous knowledge of its whereabouts. Perceiving the tents to be devoid of troops, he set about plundering their tents as well as killing the camp followers and army pages. When the Muslim troops began to arrive, still in disorder, they were cut down as well.

Ibn al-Athir proceeds to relate that Bursuk arrived at the head of a hundred horsemen, and seeing the spectacle, climbed a nearby hill with his brother Zangi ibn Bursuk. Here they were surrounded and prevented from descending by some of the camp followers and pages seeking refuge by their side. Although advised by his brother and others to go down and save his life, Bursuk reportedly made a heroic declaration of the kind that we saw Ibn al-Athir attribute to Sokman ibn Ilghazi: “I shall not do so. I shall be slain on the path of God and be a sacrifice for the Muslims.” Nevertheless, he was eventually persuaded to give up this intention, and made his escape along with his retinue. They were pursued for about a league by the Franks, who then returned to complete the plunder and slaughtering. The rest of the Muslim army was scattered along different routes of escape. Ibn al-Athir notes that the Frankish prisoners taken in Kafartab were massacred in retaliation, and Ayaz ibn Ilghazi was executed as well for the same reason. Following this, the Muslim troops retired to their own lands.

Before concluding his account, Ibn al-Athir offers a description of how he thought the Muslim population reacted to the defeat of the Seljukid army: “The population of Aleppo and other Muslim towns in Syria were fearful. They had been

hoping for aid and a victory¹⁸ from this army, but what they had not reckoned with¹⁹ befell them.” This testimony of Ibn al-Athir has been challenged by Grousset, who argues that the historian is misleading “when he pretends that the inhabitants of Aleppo and other Muslim cities were in consternation.” He continues, not entirely without justification: “Ibn al-Athir often brings into the history of the first half of the twelfth century an ‘Ayyubid mentality’ which falsifies its meaning. A panislamism in the manner of Saladin, a sentiment of Muslim unity, were very indifferent concepts for the Turco-Arab feodality of 1115.” He points out in addition that shortly before this passage Ibn al-Athir had shown “the Aleppans and Damascenes raising the standard of revolt against the sultan and fraternizing with the Franks.” This is probably a reference to the passage relating how Lu’lu’, Shams al-Khawass, Tughtekin and Ilghazi had defied Bursuk’s demands to deliver the city. Grousset goes even so far as to assert that the Frankish victory “saved the Muslims of Syria as well as the Franks.”²⁰

The problem with Grousset’s line of argument is that he utterly fails to distinguish between “the Turco-Arab feodality of 1115” on the one hand, and the Muslim population at large on the other; between the emirs of Aleppo and Damascus on the one hand, and the resident population of these cities on the other. What Ibn al-Athir’s statement implies in fact is that the Muslim population in Syria disagreed strongly with the policy of Tughtekin, Ilghazi and the Aleppan rulers against the Seljukid army. This is quite plausible, since the prospect of a Frankish conquest was only too real for the common folk who had nothing to gain from it and so wished to see serious resistance put up against the Frankish advance. However, the policy of the emirs

¹⁸ Both for *al-naṣr*, *al-Kamil fi’l-Ta’rikh*, X, 511.

¹⁹ For *ma lam yakun fi’l-ḥasāb*, *al-Kamil fi’l-Ta’rikh*, X, 511, instead of “counted upon,” as in the English translation.

²⁰ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 510-11.

reduced the chances of realizing this to naught, causing them serious concern. For while the replacement of a local emir with a Seljukid governor would have amounted to little or no change for the Muslim population at large, this could not be asserted with equal confidence for the replacement of Muslim by Frankish rule, especially insofar as the townsfolk were concerned. It suffices to remember in this connection how the Muslim populace of Harran rebelled against Ilghazi's governor who colluded with the Franks against Aksungur.

For the local emirs, in contrast, the situation was quite otherwise. These regarded the prospect of losing their city to the Seljukids no differently than losing it to the Franks, and accordingly resisted both dangers as well as they could. They allied with the Franks when the Seljukid threat proved too strong, and abandoned that alliance as well when the Franks grew too powerful in turn.

Ibn al-Athir ends his account by noting the death of Bursuk and his brother Zangi in the year 510 (1116-1117), stating that "Bursuk was a good, pious man." He adds that the emir was "full of remorse for this defeat and was preparing to make a repeat expedition when his appointed time came."

5.1.2 *Ibn al-Qalanisi*

Rather surprisingly, no proper account of either of the Seljukid campaigns in 1114 and 1115 is found in the chronicle of the contemporary author Ibn al-Qalanisi. Eager as ever to cover up the inconvenient facts that might have tarnished his lord Tughtekin's reputation as a zealous mujahid and as the unifier of the Muslims against the "infidel," this chronicler singularly fails to make mention of the Franko-Muslim alliance in which we saw the *atabek* play a prominent part along with Ilghazi.

The only agreement between the Franks and Muslims around this time that Ibn al-Qalanisi mentions is a peace treaty made between Tughtekin and King Bald-

win.²¹ We shall see Albert of Aachen state that the two rulers were bound with oaths, and Ibn al-Qalanisi's report might be related to that pact. Alternatively, it might pertain to the agreement that Tughtekin and Ilghazi concluded with the prince of Antioch after Ilghazi's arrival at Damascus, as related by Ibn al-Athir. More probably, it may be referring to the oaths of peace and alliance sworn at Apamea between the Turkish and Frankish leaders including Baldwin I, as we shall see some Christian sources relate. But in any case the chronicler represents this agreement merely as a simple truce that Tughtekin concluded to secure the safety of the region and enable the resumption of agricultural production. Neither Ilghazi nor the sultan nor the prince of Antioch find any mention in the report.

Although Ibn al-Qalanisi thus passes over Ilghazi's presence and complicity in the alliance with the Franks, he does mention how he fell captive to Khir Khan ibn Karaja;²² as we know from Ibn al-Athir, this was an event that took place while Ilghazi was returning to Diyar Bakr after the conclusion of the alliance. Ibn al-Qalanisi also reveals certain unsavory details of the incident that show Ilghazi in a quite negative light. In contrast to Ibn al-Athir, who denoted al-Rastan (13 km north of Hims) as the place where Ilghazi fell captive, Ibn al-Qalanisi states that the event took place before Hims itself, and indicates the date as January 1115. "Now when Najm al-Din drank wine and it got the better of him," he explains, "he habitually remained for several days in a state of intoxication, without recovering his senses sufficiently to take control or to be consulted on any matter or decision." That Ilghazi

²¹ "When Tughtekin reached Damascus, a correspondence was carried on between him and Baldwin, king of the Franks, with a view to the conclusion of an armistice and establishment of amicable and peaceful relations between them, in order that the provinces might be restored to cultivation after their devastation and the roads be secured from the malice of evildoers and robbers. An agreement was reached between them to this effect, and each of them took an oath to the other to observe faithfully and loyally the terms of the treaty and live in friendship and peace. Thus the roads and provinces were made safe, conditions became normal, and produce was abundant." Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, translated by H. A. R. Gibb (London 1932), 147 (507: 1113-1114).

²² Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 149-50 (509: 1115-1116).

indeed had such a habit is supported by the testimony of Usama ibn Munqidh, who reports a similar period of intoxication that the emir underwent after the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* some years later.²³ Khir Khan was also aware of this “disgraceful habit and unexampled heedlessness in him,” Ibn al-Qalanisi affirms, and upon learning that Ilghazi was in such a state again, he made a surprise attack, caught him, and carried him back into the town. The reason behind Ibn al-Qalanisi telling such a story, whether true or not, might be the implicit rivalry between the Artukid and his lord Tughtekin, as we shall see him assign the chief role in the future victories of the two emirs to the *atabek* and attribute their failures to his absence from the field.

Ibn al-Qalanisi diverges from Ibn al-Athir also in his account of how Ilghazi was released: reportedly Tughtekin, receiving news of the event, wrote to Khir Khan to upbraid him and express his displeasure at the treatment he had accorded to Ilghazi. Khir Khan’s attitude changed as a result, and he released Ilghazi only after a few days of detention.

Thus Ibn al-Qalanisi conceals that Tughtekin went to Hims to secure the release of Ilghazi, but had to return with empty hands when Khir Khan threatened to execute his prisoner. Nor does he mention the fact that it was above all the Seljukid army’s delay that moved the lord of Hims to come to an agreement with Ilghazi. On the other hand, his emphasis on Tughtekin’s role is not entirely false either, because Khir Khan’s fear that the displeased *atabek* could corrupt his men was what eventually led him to abandon the idea of waiting for the sultan’s army. Behind this partial distortion may have been Ibn al-Qalanisi’s wish to cover up the fact that Khir Khan openly defied his lord Tughtekin and yielded in the end only for fear of his cunning. This was a situation that would hardly help him foster the image of the *atabek* as a

²³ Usama ibn Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades*, translated by Philip Hitti (London, 1987), 149.

powerful and respected emir in Syria. Yet another motive of Ibn al-Qalanisi was perhaps his unwillingness to make any mention at all about the Seljukid army under Bursuk ibn Bursuk, so that he could avoid revealing the role played by Tughtekin in the disaster that befell it.

In keeping with his agenda of concealing this role of Tughtekin and representing him as an unexceptionable mujahid, Ibn al-Qalanisi attempts to attribute the alienation of the sultan from Tughtekin to the calumnies of certain emirs in his court. In a blatant reversal of the facts, he asserts that these emirs had grown “jealous” of Tughtekin for his successes in jihad against the Franks. Having passed over Bursuk’s defeat in silence, he relates how Tughtekin recovered Rafaniya from the Franks (22 October 1115) and then declares: “The loins of the army were strengthened in the cause of the Holy War and the raiding [of the infidels].” In the same bombastic vein he continues:

When the report was received abroad in the districts of Iraq and the court of the Sultan of the vigour and boldness with which God had endowed Zahir al-Din *Atabek* in fighting against the abominable Franks and what He had granted him of victory over them and slaughter among them, in the defence of the people of Syria and warding off the Franks from them, and of his upright government over them, so that men blessed his name in the assemblies of the citizens and merchants and spoke of him with gratitude in the companies of traders from all ports, a number of high officers at the court of the Sultan Ghiyath al-Dunya wa’l-Din became jealous of him and sought to disparage and calumniate him, desiring to do him an injury, and with the design of thwarting his hopes and undermining his position with the sultan.²⁴

What these officers actually tried to do was probably nothing else than draw the sultan’s attention to the hostile policies that Tughtekin and Ilghazi had been pursuing against the Seljukid court and its armies. At any rate, Ibn al-Qalanisi ends his account by relating how Tughtekin had to exonerate himself by travelling to Baghdad in person.

²⁴ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 150-53 (509: 1115-1116).

5.1.3 *Ibn al-Adim*

If Ibn al-Qalanisi thus disappoints us by withholding a full account of the Seljukid expeditions from the perspective of Damascus, Ibn al-Adim compensates for this to a degree with his account of the expedition of Bursuk ibn Bursuk from the Aleppan perspective.²⁵ He begins by stating that a split had developed by this time in the government of Aleppo: while Shams al-Khawass, the chief commander of the Aleppan army and administrator of military fiefs, conducted himself with moderation and wisdom, Badr al-Din Lu'lu', formerly regent of Seljukid princes and currently the effective ruler, had entrenched himself in the citadel, from where he conducted affairs without ever going out. Ibn al-Adim claims that it was at Lu'lu's instigation that Bursuk and his army were dispatched: "deceptively" sending a letter to the sultan, he had promised to cede Aleppo as well as the treasures of Ridwan and his heirs. But when the sultan's army arrived, he went back on his word and turned to Tughtekin of Damascus with the same promise. In return for the cession of Aleppo, he requested the *atabek's* help against the Seljukids and a town in Aleppan territory for compensation.

Given Lu'lu's later firm collaboration with Ilghazi, Tughtekin and the Franks against the Seljukid army, and in consideration of the fact that the Artukids' defeat of Aksungur was a sufficient reason by itself for the launch of Bursuk's campaign, this imputation against Lu'lu' does not seem plausible, even when his alleged rivalry with Shams al-Khawass is taken into account. Nevertheless, it is also possible that the story might have a grain of truth to it, although in a quite different connection and at a later stage of the expedition, as we shall see in the following discussion of Usama ibn Munqidh's testimony.

²⁵ Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 607-10.

Ibn al-Adim goes on to relate that Tughtekin accepted Lu'lu's proposal and eagerly set out for Aleppo. When the news of his arrival reached the troops of the sultan, who were also on their way to Aleppo, they changed course and went instead to Hama. Having captured the town, they gave it to Khir Khan, along with the town of Rafaniya which they had received from the sons of Ali the Kurd. This information is reconcilable with Ibn al-Athir's version, according to which the Aleppan rulers summoned Tughtekin and Ilghazi while they delayed the Seljukid army, and Bursuk was compelled by their arrival to turn around to Hama. Ibn al-Adim's failure to mention Ilghazi at this point may have been due to the fact that from the perspective of Syria the Artukid was still the emir of a distant province at this time, rather than an important local emir like Tughtekin. For the same reason most other accounts similarly relegate Ilghazi to a secondary place, even failing to mention his name.

Ibn al-Adim's story of the Muslim allies' request for help from the Franks is somewhat different from Ibn al-Athir's version. Whereas the latter contended that this request was made to prevent Hama from being captured by the sultan's army, as Tughtekin and Ilghazi had not yet learned of its fall, Ibn al-Adim explains it by Tughtekin's fear that Bursuk would target Damascus next. Probably both motives played a part in their move. Taking along Shams al-Khawass and the Aleppan army, the two emirs joined forces with the Franks and marched with them to Apamea. In the meanwhile Bursuk advanced to the territory of Shaizar.

At this point Ibn al-Adim lets drop a pithy but brilliant remark about the intentions of Tughtekin, which no doubt applies to Ilghazi and the Aleppan rulers as well: "The *atabek* prevented the Franks from marching against the enemy, fearing that they would get hold of entire Syria if they emerged victorious, or that the army

of the sultan would occupy his possessions if the Franks were defeated.”²⁶ This statement could well act as a key to grasp the whole import of the policies followed at the time by the local Muslim emirs, squeezed as they were between the Frankish and Seljukid onslaughts, and faced with the dilemma of either allying with the Franks and saving their possessions from the Seljukids, only to see these taken later by their “allies,” or vice versa.

Ibn al-Adim does not explicitly speak of Bursuk’s retreat, but relates that the Seljukid army, growing weary of the protracted waiting, went to attack Hisn al-Akrad and almost captured it. This report is corroborated by no other source, but Ibn al-Adim proceeds to state in parallel with the other accounts that the allied Franko-Muslim army decided to disband after Bursuk’s departure. He also notes that Shams al-Khawass was arrested by Lu’lu’ upon his arrival in Aleppo. After reporting Bursuk’s return and capture of Kafartab, but without mentioning his unsuccessful siege of Apamea, Ibn al-Adim relates how the Seljukid troops advanced to the lands of Ma’arrat al-Nu‘man. Here they spread in a false sense of security, preoccupying themselves with drinking and plunder, and bickered over the booty they had gathered.

At this point Ibn al-Adim reveals the reason why a detachment of the army led by Juyush Bey proceeded to the valley of Butnan and got hold of it, as Ibn al-Athir reports and as Ibn al-Adim himself states further on, when noting this detach-

²⁶ After citing this passage Vāth writes in *Geschichte*, 73: “Ilghazi’s motivation to fight disappeared too, and so the two withdrew to their cities as Bursuk’s army moved up towards the east in September 1115. Thereupon Bursuk supposed he would be able to defeat the Franks, returned and suffered a crushing defeat.” Thus he relates the event as if only the two Turkish chiefs withdrew, with political calculations, while all the Franks remained to fight and defeat Bursuk, the latter having been encouraged to see Ilghazi and Tughtekin depart. But the sources examined here reveal that they had decided to return home at the same time as King Baldwin, Baldwin of Edessa and Pons of Tripoli, when the allies saw Bursuk withdraw out of sight. Stevenson also bases himself on this passage when he speaks of the “cautious movements” by which the two emirs were succesful in not compromising themselves unduly in the eyes of the sultan. According to Stevenson, it was indeed owing to this attitude that they

ment's return to join the defeated main army. Reportedly, a secret messenger from Shams al-Khawass arrived in the Seljukid camp, informing them that he had been imprisoned by Lu'lu' and offering them his *iqta'*, the valley of Butnan. Perhaps in an effort to rouse them still further, Shams al-Khawass added that Lu'lu' inquired of the news about them and regularly supplied the Franks with this information. After Juyush Bey's departure, Ibn al-Adim continues, the main army led by Bursuk and Jamidar (called Sungur Diraz by Usama ibn Munqidh), the lord of Rahba, set out for Aleppo, and on the morning of Tuesday, 23 Rabi' II (14 September 1115)²⁷ arrived at Danith on their way.

The troops had once again dispersed in Danith and immersed themselves in drinking and plunder, Ibn al-Adim states, when they were attacked from the direction of Jabal Summaq by the Franks. The latter had caught up with them thanks to the almost hourly information provided by Lu'lu'. Incapable of resistance, the Muslims were forced to flee towards Tell al-Sultan. Those trying to hide in the country were robbed and chased away by the peasants, who, along with the Frankish troops, took an immeasurable quantity of booty from the goods, arms and equipment they had abandoned in flight. Despite this, Ibn al-Adim asserts, the losses remained at a modest level: while no emir or other notable person had died, there were about five hundred dead and just as many prisoners. The troops that had come together at Tell al-Sultan, on the other hand, betook themselves in a disordered state to Naqira, where they pitched camp. Here, Ibn al-Adim relates, they were joined by Juyush Bey (whom he calls "Unba", corrupting Juyush Bey's Turkish name Uzba or Uzbek) as

could be reconciled with the sultan after their alliance with the Franks. William Barron Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East* (Beirut, 1968), 100-01.

²⁷ The text in the RHC edition reads Tuesday, 20 Rabi' II (11 September 1115), but 20 Rabi II was a Saturday in 509 and not a Tuesday. 23 Rabi' II (14 September 1115) was a Tuesday, and this coincides exactly with the date given by Usama ibn Munqidh, Fulcher of Chartres and Walter the Chancel-

well as his companions who had proceeded to Buza'a before the main army. From Naqira the Seljukid troops returned home. Tughtekin, on his part, recovered Rafaniya from its Seljukids garrison and gave it to Shams al-Khawass, who had come to join him after his release by Lu'lu'.

5.1.4 Usama ibn Munqidh

Usama ibn Munqidh is another contemporary Muslim witness who mentions the expedition of Bursuk in his *Kitab al-I'tibar*. The author's purpose in this work was to offer edificatory and exemplary anecdotes based on his own experiences and observations rather than to provide full accounts of historical events. In the present case, for example, he touches upon Bursuk's siege and capture of Kafartab in the context of a series of anecdotes meant to demonstrate the importance of individual feats of valor. One of these depicts a Turkish soldier who mounted the walls of the castle on his own and brought about its fall. But it is still possible to glean some corroboratory and additional details about the expedition from Usama's writings. Among the emirs who joined Bursuk, he counts Amir-al-Juyush Uzba or Uzbek, the "Unba" in Ibn al-Adim's account, who had replaced Aksungur as the governor of Mosul; Sungur Diraz, the "Jamidar" in Ibn al-Adim's account, who was the lord of al-Rahba; the aforementioned emir Gundoghdi; Tamirak of Sinjar; Zangi ibn Bursuk, whom he calls "a veritable hero;" and two other emirs not mentioned by the other Muslim sources, al-Hajib al-Kabir Beytimur and Ismail al-Bekji.²⁸ Usama indicates the date of the arrival of the sultan's army before Hama as 19 Muharram 509 (13 June 1115).

Touching upon the initial stage of the expedition, when the two armies camped at Apamea and Shaizar opposite each other, Usama reveals that Ilghazi came

lor. On the other hand the conversion given in the RHC edition, 23 September 1115, is completely wrong.

there in the company of Robert of Zardana. He is also the only source besides Walter the Chancellor to report an attack carried out around this time by Tughtekin and some of the Frankish leaders against the castle of Hisn al-Jisr, which protected the lower town of Shaizar that was situated on the opposite bank of the citadel. This incident will be discussed further on, in the analysis of Walter the Chancellor's account.²⁹

As for the second stage of the expedition, when the Seljukid troops had returned to the region after their initial retreat and the disbanding of the Franko-Muslim forces, Usama dwells at length on the siege and capture of Kafartab and the subsequent defeat of the Seljukid army. His testimony is that of a first-hand witness, for a detachment from Shaizar including Usama and led by his father had joined the army.³⁰ Among other things, Usama reveals that the Frankish garrison in the castle was commanded by the two brothers of a certain Theophile.³¹ He relates how the troops from Khurasan began to dig a tunnel from inside the trench and the desperate Franks, having set fire to the buildings within the walls, remained clinging to the top of the castle. Then the Turkish troops mounted the walls in great numbers, led by a brave individual who, as the protagonist of the story, serves Usama to illustrate his point about the worth of individual valor. Thereupon the remaining Franks surrendered the castle and were taken as captives to Bursuk's tents. Usama gives the date of the capitulation of Kafartab as Friday, 12 Rabi' II (3 September 1115).³²

While Usama himself remained behind at Kafartab to guard it until it could be rebuilt, and was busy bringing out the captives from the castle, his father had

²⁸ Usama ibn Munqidh, *Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior*, 101.

²⁹ Usama ibn Munqidh, *Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior*, 120, 149.

³⁰ Usama ibn Munqidh, *Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior*, 101-06.

³¹ No information seems available in the sources on this individual with a Greek name and his brothers.

joined the main army that proceeded to Tell Danith. "By the decree of Allah," Usama says, "[our troops] were surprised to meet early Tuesday morning, 23 Rabi II (14 September 1115), the army of Antioch. The Emir al-Sayyid was killed, together with a large body of Muslims." Usama's father himself lost all the tents, loads, mules, camels and baggage he had in the process, and his army was dispersed. Usama's mention of the death of Emir al-Sayyid seems to give the lie to Ibn al-Adim's claim that no noteworthy person had died in the debacle. But otherwise his personal, first-hand testimony corroborates the accounts of Ibn al-Athir and Ibn al-Adim; it affirms that on an early Tuesday morning at Tell Danith the Seljukid army was taken by surprise and scattered by the army of Antioch, while all the equipment and baggage they had abandoned in flight were plundered. Usama's father went back to Kafartab to collect his son and others, and like the other survivors who disbanded and went home, he returned to Shaizar. Usama notes that Kafartab itself was rebuilt and repopulated by the Franks after their departure.

Usama offers his own version of why the Muslim army was surprised by the Antiochene army, attributing it in the first place to Lu'lu's collaboration with the Franks. This is in keeping with the explanation of Ibn al-Adim, who stated that Lu'lu' was informing the Franks hour by hour on the movements of the Seljukid army. But Usama goes further in speaking of a plot that Lu'lu' prepared in collusion with the Franks, with the aim of dividing the Seljukid army and thereby making it an easy prey for the army of Antioch. Sending a message to Bursuk ibn Bursuk, according to Usama, Lu'lu' requested him to dispatch an emir at the head of a contingent. He was to deliver Aleppo to this emir, and by his help overcome any possible resistance from the populace. Accordingly Bursuk dispatched Emir Juyush Bey at the

³² Actually Usama denotes the day of the month as 13 Rabi' II, but that was a Saturday rather than a Friday, so the date has been corrected by taking the day of the week as basis. For this preference see

head of three thousand horsemen, who were surprised and defeated by Roger “through an execution of the divine will.”

This version of the story seems quite doubtful at first sight, for we know from the mutually corroborative accounts of Ibn al-Athir and Ibn al-Adim that the detachment under Juyush Bey was dispatched not to take over Aleppo as requested by Lu’lu,’ but to get hold of the Butnan valley as requested by Shams al-Khawass. It was the main army under Bursuk himself that set out for Aleppo and suffered defeat on its way there at Tell Danith. This is corroborated further by Ibn al-Adim’s report that after the defeat Juyush Bey’s detachment returned from the Buza’a to join the remnants of the main army at Naqira. There is yet another problem with Usama’s claim: if Shams al-Khawass had indeed alerted Bursuk against Lu’lu’s service of information to the Franks, as Ibn al-Adim testifies, how could it have been possible for the Seljukid commanders to believe in Lu’lu’s promise that he would deliver Aleppo to them?

Nevertheless, another statement of Ibn al-Adim, of doubtful value in its original place, could give some support to Usama’s version if brought into relation with this part of the story. We have seen Ibn al-Adim suggest that it was when Lu’lu’ “deceptively” sent a letter to the sultan and promised to surrender Aleppo that Bursuk’s army was dispatched, but that on its arrival Lu’lu’ went back on his word. This cannot be accepted as a valid cause of the campaign, as already discussed, but it can still be taken to support Usama’s story if it is assumed that Lu’lu’ sent the message to Bursuk himself at this later stage of the expedition, rather than to the sultan before its beginning. As we have seen, Ibn al-Adim placed Lu’lu’s invitation of the Seljukid army in the context of his rivalry with Shams al-Khawass, and the latter’s call for

Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, 356-61.

help in the context of his imprisonment by Lu'lu' after his return to Aleppo. The critical question to ask here is whether this rivalry between the two notables and the resulting imprisonment of Shams al-Khawass were indeed real or rather parts of a strategem they undertook in collaboration to divide the Seljukid army, a ruse of the kind related by Usama.

Indeed this story of rivalry and imprisonment seems quite doubtful when considered in view of the fact that right from the beginning Lu'lu' and Shams al-Khawass acted in firm concert with Ilghazi, Tughtekin and the Franks against the Seljukid army, and forewent their chances of being compensated with some other town by defying the sultan's army. At any rate, the danger of losing their city to the Seljukids, from whom they could no longer expect mercy or compensation, should have been threatening enough to make them forget any differences they might have had previously. It does not make sense either that Lu'lu' should have continued to collaborate with the Franks after imprisoning Shams al-Khawass who had previously joined the allies at Apamea against the Seljukid army. After such a move, if it was genuine, Lu'lu' would have been expected to swerve to the side of the Seljukids who had resumed the field. This was all the more so as the Aleppan army was now deprived of its commander, and could neither effectively defend the city against Bur-suk, nor support the Franks against him. Added to all this is the fact that immediately after the defeat of the Seljukid army, as Ibn al-Adim notes, Lu'lu' released Shams al-Khawass and restored his *iqta'* to him, which bolsters the impression that his imprisonment had been little more than a *mise-en-scene*.

A possible scenario that emerges from these considerations is that the messages of Shams al-Khawass and Lu'lu' were parts of a common strategem against the Seljukid army: while Shams al-Khawass invited them to take over Buza'a and de-

nounced Lu'lu' to win their confidence, Lulu requested them to send a contingent to Aleppo to deliver the city. In this way they could guarantee that the sultan's army would get divided, one part heading for Buza'a and the other for Aleppo. The Frankish army would then be directed upon the latter division by hourly information. The Seljukid commanders may not have believed Lu'lu's promises, but they were probably determined at any rate to advance on Aleppo and settle accounts with the city, now that the Frankish and Turkish allies had returned home. So both Ibn al-Adim and Usama could be half-way correct, but Usama seems to err when he asserts that it was Juyush Bey's detachment rather than Bursuk's main army that was surprised by the Franks on the way to Aleppo. Admittedly, it is astonishing how he could confuse the two, given that his own father was in the army that made for Aleppo. But it must not be forgotten that Usama was setting down these memories some seventy years after the events, in the 1180s, and due to this reason he may have confused the directions in which Bursuk and Juyush Bey headed.

All this duplicity on the part of the rulers of Aleppo, if this scenario is indeed true, shows to what lengths the local emirs were ready to go to ensure Seljukid failure.

5.1.5 *Michael the Syrian*

Michael the Syrian cites at length from an unknown Arabic source about the Seljukid expeditions in 1114-15, and especially the first one led by Aksungur al-Bursuki, which provides valuable information on the actions of the Artukids as well as other details not found in other sources.³³ It must be noted that the source in question confuses Aksungur al-Bursuki with Zangi's father Qasim al-Dawla Aksungur,

³³ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, edited and translated by J. B. Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910), III, 216-17.

who had been executed long ago by Tutush ibn Alp Arslan, and assumes wrongly that it was not Aksungur but Sultan Muhammad's son Mas'ud, only a boy of six at this time, who acted as the chief commander of the army.

Michael's source relates that the Seljukid army, after picking up Zangi and Tamirak Arslan from Mosul, proceeded to Jazirat ibn Umar and then to Nisibis, both of which were peacefully handed over by the garrisons previously installed there by Mawdud. We have seen that the army's takeover of the former town is also mentioned by Ibn al-Athir. When the army went to Mardin, the source goes on to relate, Ilghazi came to the service of Prince Mas'ud and dispatched his son Ayaz at the head of three hundred horsemen. Notably, he omits to mention the fact that a siege of Har-ran and then Mardin had proved necessary before Ilghazi could be persuaded to do this.

Michael's source also skips over the army's two-month siege of Edessa and subsequent withdrawal to Samosata that are reported by Ibn al-Athir, and continues with the arrest of Ayaz ibn Ilghazi while the army was in Shabakhtan. According to Ibn al-Athir, as we have seen, this was because Aksungur laid the blame for the failure of the siege on Ilghazi, who had refused to support Aksungur with his full forces and in person. Michael's source brings a different explanation for the arrest of Ayaz. No need to say, he attributes it to Prince Mas'ud rather than to Aksungur, as he supposes the prince to be the commander in chief. When the army passed on to Shabakhtan, he relates, Ilghazi sent message to the Franks to reassure them, although he does not reveal about what Ilghazi reassured the Franks. Perhaps the point in question was the genuineness of Aksungur's withdrawal from the territory of Edessa, as against the possibility of a feigned retreat, or alternatively his own determination not to ally sincerely with the invaders against them. When this contact became known to

the sultan's son (in reality Aksungur himself), Michael's source states, he arrested Ayaz, after which the army razed Ilghazi's lands and laid siege to Dara. This was a castle between Mardin and Nisbis, about thirty kilometers' distance from the former. Its siege remains unmentioned in the other resources.

In contrast to Ibn al-Athir's report that Ilghazi went to Hisn Kaifa to summon his nephew Dawdud to aid, Michael's source asserts that he proceeded to Shahrzor (near Sulaimaniya in modern Iraq) instead, where he assembled a great army, including innumerable footmen, and was joined by Dawud and his other nephew, Belek ibn Behram. Marching with them to confront the sultan's army and rescue his son, he arrived at Qurdis, in the neighborhood of the besieged Dara. Here the Artukids came across a part of the Seljukid army, including the lords of Sinjar and Nisibis, who were encamped without an inkling of their arrival. These were all surprised and captured by a group of Ilghazi's horsemen, relates Michael's source, and when the news of this defeat reached the troops before Dara, they fled to Nisibis. Obviously, this account of the battle is much different and far less dramatic than Ibn al-Athir's version, who spoke of a "fierce battle in which all held firm" rather than a surprise attack on a part of the army that the Artukids hit upon by chance.

Michael's source also relates in circumstantial detail how Ayaz ibn Ilghazi got free: as he saw the Seljukid troops flee in haste at night, with nobody caring about his neighbor, the young man threw himself from the mule upon whose back he had been seated, and weighed down by chains, hid in a synagogue there. He was picked up from this place by ten men sent by Ilghazi, who had been informed by a Kurd about the whereabouts of his son. Michael's source notes that Ayaz's return became a great source of joy for the Artukids.

The account offered by Michael's source about the second expedition under Bursuk is far more summary in comparison and adds little new to what we know from other sources, as well as containing some errors. He mentions the threats of the sultan against Ilghazi "for having despised the sultanate of the Turks," and the resulting alliance made between Ilghazi, Tughtekin and the Franks. In parallel with Ibn al-Qalanisi he relates how Ilghazi was surprised and captured by Khir Khan who, coming upon him one night, "found him drunk with wine and not even aware of where he was." In conformity with Ibn al-Athir he reports that Ilghazi was released on condition, leaving his son Ayaz³⁴ as hostage, after which he mustered troops and harried the lord of Hims to secure his son's release. Nevertheless, he states falsely that Khir Khan called for the sultan's aid when Ilghazi besieged Hims, rather than after he had captured the Artukid. His assertion that Ilghazi and Khir Khan made peace upon the arrival of the sultan's troops and that Ayaz was received after the peace is also wrong.

Michael's source gives short shrift to the events following the arrival of the Seljukid troops. He merely notes that they entered Frankish territory for plunder, only to be cut down by the Franks, and that three thousand Muslims were burnt alive.

5.1.6 *Matthew of Edessa*

Matthew of Edessa also offers a short account of both expeditions,³⁵ providing a number of original details in the process. Relating Aksungur al-Bursuki's expedition, he corroborates Ibn al-Athir's report about the siege of Edessa, although he asserts its duration to have been exactly one rather than around two months. Again like

³⁴ The name of this son who was left hostage is actually given by Michael's source as Izza, but Ilghazi seems to have had no son with this name (see Cahen, "Diyār Bakr," 168). In view of the fact that all the other sources accept this son to have been Ayaz, and that the latter is not encountered in the

Ibn al-Athir, he reports how Aksungur ravaged the districts along the Euphrates river, but adds the significant detail that the general advanced past Samosata to the castle of al-Bira. Here, he relates, all the Frankish troops on the opposite river bank joined forces, without daring to cross and join battle. So Aksungur returned via Edessa to Nisibis. However, Matthew fails to mention Aksungur's arrest of Ayaz or his siege of Dara. He also diverges from Michael the Syrian, who related the Seljukid troops' flight to Nisibis after their defeat by the Artukids. Matthew, in contrast, creates the impression that the battle took place when the Seljukid army had already arrived at Nisibis. Having omitted Ayaz's arrest, Matthew also fails to supply any other reason for the conflict. Instead he simply reports that Ilghazi and Belek united their troops to confront Aksungur, and makes no mention of Dawud ibn Sokman.

Matthew asserts in parallel with Ibn al-Athir that the clash was a "formidable battle" with the full Seljukid army under Aksungur, rather than a surprise attack against a section of it at Dara, as in Michael the Syrian's version. Nevertheless, the comparative lack of circumstantial detail in Matthew's testimony renders it less plausible than that of Michael. Matthew also contends that the Artukids captured Prince Mas'ud and afterwards released him, but this seems unlikely if it was not the main army that they had attacked.

Matthew's account of the second expedition under Bursuk ibn Bursuk, although brief, does supply some original details such as Bursuk's feigned retreat and the participation of Baldwin of Edessa in the final battle. He refrains from making any explicit comments about the Franko-Muslim alliance, but, insofar as the most recent edition and translation of the chronicle is correct, reveals his disapproval by representing the mutual oaths of alliance sworn by the Frankish and Turkish leaders

sources after the son in question was killed during Bursuk's campaign next year, it seems necessary to consider this as a mistake.

as if they had been sworn among the Muslims only. He attempts to explain Ilghazi's participation in the alliance by reference to his enmity with Aksungur al-Bursuki, as he supposes this emir to have been the leader of the second expedition as well.

Thus Matthew begins his account of this expedition by reporting that Aksungur al-Bursuki (*sic.*) once again mustered his army, and after halting for a few days before Edessa, proceeded to Aleppo. He fails to mention the fall of Hama and Rafaniya to the Seljuk army, and mistakes its encampment at Shaizar for the capture of this town. Despite this, he seems justified in suggesting that Bursuk's intention was to use it as a base to attack Tell Bashir and the entire territory of the Principality. Matthew indicates the mustering place of the Franks and their Muslim allies as also the territory of Shaziar, rather than the town of Apamea. Noting Ilghazi's arrival in the Frankish camp with a large number of troops, he asserts that this was because Ilghazi was "a rabid enemy of al-Bursuki," whereby he confuses Bursuk ibn Bursuk with Aksungur al-Bursuki. The latter was indeed at loggerheads with Ilghazi since his replacement of the Artukid as the *shihna* of Baghdad in 1105. Evidently, Matthew was making an effort to explain away the alliance between the Franks and the "infidels" as a consequence of the petty rivalries amongst the latter.

Indeed there are more signs of Matthew's embarrassment and disapproval concerning the alliance. According to Dostourian's translation based on the Etchmiadzin edition of the text, Matthew states that after Tughtekin's arrival in Apamea he and Ilghazi "made peace and formed an alliance with one another, taking a very solemn oath." It is difficult to figure out why Matthew says "with one another" here, rather than "with the Franks." It seems highly unlikely that Tughtekin and his son-in-law Ilghazi felt the need to make peace and form an alliance with each other at this

³⁵ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 215-16 (III.66), 218-19 (III.70).

point, while the Franks were standing by. Indeed the RHC (Delaurier) edition and translation of the text offers a different, more expected reading, which makes it clear that it was between the Turkish chiefs and the Christians that the oaths were sworn: “They joined the Christians and formed with them an alliance and friendship cemented by a solemn oath.”³⁶ This reading is supported moreover by the immediately following sentence in Dostourian’s translation, which smoothly and logically connects to this one: “in the same manner the emir of Aleppo joined the Franks.” But if there is not an error in the Etchmiadzin edition or Dostourian’s translation, this oddity can perhaps be taken as evidence that Matthew was embarrassed to show the Franks and “infidels” swearing mutual oaths of peace and alliance, and preferred to make it appear as if these had been sworn between Ilghazi and Tughtekin only.

Matthew drops yet another hint of his disapproval of this Franko-Muslim pact when, ignoring the presence of these “infidel” allies, he states that “the infidel army and the Frankish army confronted one another for four months, without the Turkish forces daring to give battle.” If he had not omitted the presence of other “infidels” accompanying the Franks, it would have been much more difficult for him to pit the “infidel army” against the Frankish army and so to represent the campaign as a confrontation between two religious fronts, which it was of course not. The length Matthew gives for the waiting period is also rather doubtful, being twice as long as that given by Ibn al-Athir; it is hard to believe that the two armies remained stationed opposite each other in Shaziar and Apamea for no less than four months.

Matthew is the sole author amongst the oriental sources to state that Bursuk made a temporary retreat, while Ibn al-Adim had him attack the castle of Kerak and Ibn al-Athir did not even mention that he moved away from Shaizar. He goes on to

³⁶ “Ils se joignirent aux chrétiens et contractèrent avec eux une alliance et une amitié cimentées par un serment solennel.” Mathew of Edessa, RHC, *Historiens Arméniens* I, 115.

relate that Bursuk, learning of the departure of the allies for home, turned back against Antioch to ravage its territories. Living in the County of Edessa himself, Matthew represents Count Baldwin as the chief protagonist of the events that followed. He relates that Baldwin went from Edessa to Antioch, upon receiving the news of Bursuk's return. Taking along Roger and seven hundred knights from there,³⁷ he surprised and routed the unprepared Turkish army in the territory of Aleppo. Matthew adds that the Franks plundered the Turkish camp and took many captives, including eminent officers, while the remnants of the army "departed in humiliation."

5.1.7 *Fulcher of Chartres*

In his account of Bursuk ibn Bursuk's expedition³⁸ Fulcher of Chartres assumes a cool and objective tone when reporting the Franko-Muslim alliance, going so far as to imply that the Muslim and Frankish rulers together would be more capable of resisting the Seljukid army. Indeed a covert uneasiness can still be noted in his comment that it was the trust in their swollen numbers that had cost the Franks God's support in the initial part of the campaign. But still he does not hold the presence of the Muslim troops directly responsible for the Franks' lack of success at this stage. An important aspect of his account is that in parallel with Ibn al-Athir and other Latin authors, and in contrast to Ibn al-Adim and Usama ibn Munqidh, he represents Roger's surprise attack on the Seljukid army as the result of an unanticipated encounter, and fails to mention his communication with Lu'lu' of Aleppo. Some other notable features in his account are his failure to note Ilghazi's presence alongside Tughtekin; his attribution of Tughtekin's alliance with the Franks to the *atabek's* al-

³⁷ See Mathew of Edessa, RHC, *Historiens Arméniens* I, 115, which seems much more plausible than the corresponding passage in the modern English translation, which reads: "When the count of Edessa heard this in Antioch, he returned to Edessa, and taking with him Roger and seven hundred horsemen..."

leged murder of Mawdud; and his persisting focus on the king as the protagonist of the story.

Passing over Bursuk's entanglement with Aleppo and his capture of Hama, Fulcher begins his account from the point where the Seljukid army had camped before Shaziar, facing the Franks at Apamea. He reminds his readers that this was a repetition of the situation four years earlier, during Mawdud's second expedition. It is notable that Fulcher fails to mention Ilghazi among the allies of the Franks, concentrating instead on Tughtekin. This must have been due to the fact that the *atabek* was the ruler of the neighboring Damascus rather than a local emir of the distant Jazira, as Ilghazi was at this time. In the way Matthew of Edessa had attributed Ilghazi's alliance with the Franks to his personal hatred of Aksungur, Fulcher ascribes Tughtekin's alliance with them to his fear of the Muslim army. Because of his complicity in the murder of Mawdud, the chronicler states, the *atabek* of Damascus had become "no less odious to these Turks than to us Christians." Fearing total destruction in Bursuk's hands if caught alone, he made peace with King Baldwin and Roger of Antioch. At this point Fulcher drops a remark which reveals that unlike Walter the Chancellor, who believed that the alliance would absolutely bring disaster upon the Christians, he thought it could perhaps benefit the Franks: "Tughtekin made peace with King Baldwin and with Roger, Prince of Antioch, so that, joined to those two as the third ally, they would become like a triple cord so as not to be broken easily by the Turks afterwards."³⁹

³⁸ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, translated by Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, 1969), 210-14 (II.liv, liv).

³⁹ For "Fecit cum rege Balduino et Rogero principe Antiocheno pacem, ut eis adjunctus duobus tertius, quasi funiculus triplex efficerentur, ne a Turcis postea facile rumperentur," RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 429, instead of "So that a third army was added to their two, and a triple cord, as it were, was made which could not afterwards be easily broken by the Turks," as in the English translation.

About Bursuk's retreat, Fulcher offers a different version from that of Ibn al-Adim. He asserts that the Seljukid troops, retiring very silently, entered certain caverns not very distant from the Franks. Nevertheless, he interprets this move as a result of their cowardice. According to him, when the Turks heard that the king, expected by the Antiochenes and Damascenes for almost three months, had already approached, they grew "fearful for their lives if they fought so many," even though they were numerous themselves.⁴⁰ This is not the first time Fulcher attributes a retreat of the Turkish army simply to their cowardice, as we have seen in his account of Mawdud's first expedition. As in that case, moreover, Fulcher's ascription of the Turks' retreat to their fear of King Baldwin serves to stress his power and importance, in conformity with the historian's Jerusalemite perspective.

Fulcher goes on to relate that when the king and his allies departed, supposing that the Turks were gone for good, the latter returned to their former position and scoured the region. Nevertheless, he does not mention their capture of Kafartab or attack on Apamea. When the Antiochene army received the news, the chronicler relates, they quickly turned back to confront the Turks. They found the Turkish camp to be closer than they had imagined, near the town of Sarmin. Thus there is an element of chance encounter in Fulcher's version, as in that of Ibn al-Athir's, in contrast to the testimonies of Ibn al-Adim and Usama ibn Munqidh. As we have seen, these latter attributed the Franks' successful pursuit of Bursuk's army to their collaboration with the Aleppans. It could be pointed out that this was something that could only be known to those in direct contact with the closest circle of the Muslim and Frankish leaders in action, and that the account of Walter the Chancellor, who was in the im-

⁴⁰ For "Sed quum audissent turci ad eos jam appropinquasse, quem Antiochenses et Damasceni per tres fere menses expectaverant," RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 429, instead of "When the Turks heard that he had already come up close to them they regarded this as the advance of the men of Anti-

mediate retinue of Roger of Antioch, similarly supports the version of chance encounter. However, given the unconcealed aversion of that author to the alliance with the Muslims, it is quite possible that he preferred to suppress information on this contact with Aleppo. This issue will be discussed in detail in the analysis of Walter's account.

Fulcher proceeds to relate that the Franks immediately formed battle lines and attacked the Seljukid camp despite furious resistance from Turkish archers. "Stirred by a mighty spirit of courage," he says, they assailed the enemy ranks "in wondrous manner" wherever these were the thickest, being determined to bring the six year long conflict with the Seljukids to a final conclusion, whether favorable or not: "[They] chose to conquer if God willed or be conquered if He permitted, rather than be thus molested by the Turks every year." After resisting a little while, he says, the Turks turned in flight, leaving behind three thousand dead and many captured. This number is sixfold the number given by Ibn al-Adim. The Turks had also left behind their tents, Fulcher notes, together with their wives and maid-servants, captives and animals, as well as money worth three hundred besants. He gives the date of the battle as 14 September 1115.

The moral Fulcher derives from this account is that it was in God rather than in their own numbers that the Franks should trust: "While the men of Jerusalem along with those of Antioch and Damascus were prepared for battle they accomplished nothing whatever," he observes, and reminds his readers of the "Maccabees, Gideon, and many others who confided not in their own strength but in that of God and in that way overcame many thousands." "For when did the victory of a fighter ever depend upon the number of men!" he exclaims. Nevertheless, it is notable that

och and Damascus which they had been expecting for nearly three months," as in the English translation.

unlike Walter the Chancellor Fulcher does not combine this theme with a direct criticism of the alliance with the Muslims. He does not seem to have believed that the presence of the Muslims was sufficient *per se* to cost the Franks God's support, above and beyond its immediate effect of swelling their numbers and inspiring undue self-confidence. Nevertheless, there might still be lurking behind these remarks some degree of uneasiness about the Muslim alliance, although not voiced openly as in the case of Walter.

5.1.8 Albert of Aachen

Albert of Aachen's account of Bursuk's expedition⁴¹ diverges in a number of ways from all the other sources, more often than not erroneously, but also offers certain interesting details unavailable in any other source. Perhaps the most important of these is his testimony about Tughtekin's participation in the Battle of Tell Danith alongside Roger of Antioch. He presents the collaboration of this Muslim emir with the Franks as the result of his bloodfeud with Mawdud's relatives in the Seljukid empire, while he fails to note the role of Ilghazi and Shams al-Khawass of Aleppo in the alliance.

Although Albert, like Fulcher, does not mention the capture of Hama by the newly arrived Seljuk army, he does offer detailed information about its activities following this event. He relates that the army advanced with great strength into the territory of Antioch and camped for eleven weeks on the plains of the towns of Rugia and Rubea to the south of the city. If these towns are indeed the same as Rossa and Roida (Riha and Ruwayha) in the Ruj valley, as the editor Susan Edgington suggests,⁴² Al-

⁴¹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, edited and translated by Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), 852-57 and *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, translated by Herman Hefele, 2 vols. (Jena, 1923), II, 267-69 (XII.19-20).

⁴² Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 852, n. 38.

bert diverges somewhat from the other sources who denote Shaizar as the place of Bursuk's camp. Nevertheless, this difference may have been due to the large size of the army, which perhaps caused its area of encampment to spread north from Shaizar into the Ruj valley. While encamped here, Albert states, the Turks unsuccessfully attacked Apamea, devastated the whole region, and captured a number of fortresses with their lords, enslaving and killing the rest of the population. It must be pointed out here that the Ruj Valley was quite a fertile area and therefore of some importance to the Frankish economy.

Like Fulcher, Albert attributes the reason for Bursuk's eventual retreat to the arrival of King Baldwin, which he similarly dates to a later time than the oriental sources. When King Baldwin was "summoned to assist Christ's soldiers," according to Albert, he set out for Antioch at the head of five hundred horsemen and a thousand footmen, along with Pons of Tripoli who headed two hundred cavalry and two thousand infantry. Apparently unaware of the activities of Ilghazi and Tughtekin and their union with Roger at Apamea, Albert claims that Tughtekin was in the company of King Baldwin on this journey north, having been bound by an oath to him. As we have seen, this oath might be the same as that mentioned by Ibn al-Qalanisi. He does not reveal either that for the next few months the Franks and their Muslim allies remained encamped at Apamea against Bursuk's army. He reports instead that Baldwin and his companions, arriving at the fortress of Talamria,⁴³ joined forces with Roger of Antioch and Baldwin of Edessa, who on their part were leading ten thousand men, and encamped there for a period of only eight days. Like Fulcher Albert attributes the retreat of the Turks to their fear of the strength of Baldwin's forces, but asserts that they fled to the mountains in the direction of Melitene.

⁴³ It emerges from Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 374-75 that this castle was situated in mountainous country not very far from Ma'arrat al-Nu'man.

Immediately after Baldwin's departure, Albert relates, Bursuk returned to attack Frankish towns like Baghras and Harim, and devastated their lands. Realizing that the king was already far away, and summoning him back would only cause loss of time, Roger of Antioch and Baldwin of Edessa mustered an army of fifteen thousand Franks and Armenians. The Turks, on their part, he asserts, were divided into three armies above the river Orontes, at the point where it makes a channel between Apamea and Caesarea Stratonis.

Obviously, this is a location quite far away from Sarmin and Tell Danith indicated by the other sources. Nevertheless, the information Albert gives about the course of the battle is not irreconcilable with that of Ibn al-Athir, who stated that the baggage and army pages had gone ahead and pitched the tents to wait for the troops following them. It is possible to match the former group with the first of the three divisions Albert speaks about, and the latter with the second and third divisions. For when Albert dwells upon the destruction of the "first army," he relates how Roger and Baldwin attacked the Turks in their camp, killing fifteen thousand (*sic.*) of them, while losing only a few troops themselves. Then still in parallel with Ibn al-Athir, who stated that the Frankish army next attacked the troops arriving at the camping location, Albert relates how Roger made for the "second army" amidst great shouting. Much more doubtful is his following assertion that the terrified enemy fled toward the river Orontes and lost five thousand by drowning, for the actual site of the battle near Sarmin was quite distant from this river.

The most original but just as doubtful point in Albert's account is his story of what he says happened to the "third army," probably the Muslim rearguard. "Dumbstruck by this triumph of the Christians," he relates, this division had dispersed along obscure paths when it arrived by chance in the region of Camolla, a valley next to the

castle of Mehelbeh. As the editor Edgington indicates, the region in question might be the plain around Akkar in northern Lebanon, and the castle in question Qal‘at al-Muhailba or the Balatunus castle on the Jabal Ansariyya in Syria.⁴⁴ Here they were reportedly attacked by Tughtekin with his force of eight thousand, and in the ensuing hard battle three thousand of them fell dead while another one thousand were taken captive. Like Fulcher, Albert attributes Tughtekin’s alliance with the Franks to his complicity in Mawdud’s assassination, but goes further in depicting the entire campaign in the garb of a bloodfeud. Among the Seljukid troops there were many of “Mawdud’s offspring and blood,” he affirms, who had been complaining to the small and great in Khurasan about “Tughtekin’s treachery and the wicked murder of their kinsman, and demanding vengeance for their kinsman’s murder.” Tughtekin, on his part, being already careful and suspicious for this reason, stuck to his allies the king and “the Christian faithful” all the more completely, and “did not desist from harming the Turks in every way he could.” So like the other Christian authors Albert attributes the willingness of certain local emirs to ally with the Franks to the existence of personal resentments among Muslims.

What is more important, Albert is the only source to testify that Tughtekin did not retire for good to Damascus after Bursuk’s feigned retreat, but played an active role in the battle with the Seljukid army. We have no chance of testing the accuracy of this claim, for the only source that could help us arrive at a final judgement on this matter, the Damascene author Ibn al-Qalanisi, is exceedingly elusive and reticent about Tughtekin’s role in the whole affair, as we have seen. So let it suffice to remark that there does not seem any good reason to reject Albert’s testimony out of hand, for the Muslim sources could well have been reluctant to reveal that the alli-

⁴⁴ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 856, n. 48 and 49.

ance of the Muslim emirs with the Franks had gone as far as actually attacking fellow Muslims on the battlefield along with “infidels.” The Christian sources may have been similarly unwilling to confess the share of some Muslims in the victory over other Muslims. Indeed, as we shall see presently, Walter the Chancellor prefers to cover up Tughtekin’s participation in an attack against Shaizar during the initial part of the campaign. He also shows himself eager to point to the absence of Muslims in the final battle as a main cause of the victory. Hence Walter’s failure to mention the *atabek*’s presence in the battle, despite his status as an eye-witness, is not enough to invalidate Albert’s testimony.⁴⁵

It might also have been the case that Ilghazi had not parted ways with Tughtekin after Bursuk’s retreat and returned to Mardin, but was still in his company when the attack on the Seljukid troops took place. For that matter Albert never mentions the Artukid emir, even when it is certain from other sources that he was alongside Tughtekin. In the absence of further evidence, though, this must remain a conjecture.

5.1.9 *Walter the Chancellor*

The longest and most detailed Latin account of Bursuk’s expedition belongs to Walter the Chancellor, who was a first-hand witness in his function as the chancellor of the prince of Antioch, Roger of Salerno.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, this does not necessarily render his testimony final and decisive on issues where his account diverges from the others. An example is his dating of Bursuk’s arrival in Syria two months after the assembly of the Muslim and Frankish forces in Apamea, in contrast to the

⁴⁵ Compare Thomas Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), 73.

⁴⁶ Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, translated by T. S. Asbridge and S. B. Edgington (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 86-106 (I.2-7).

testimony of other sources who affirm that the assembly in question took place only after Bursuk's advance into the region. Another example is his assertion that the first Frankish attack was made against Bursuk's already drawn-up army on Tell Danith, rather than against the Muslim camp and the troops who followed from behind.

As in most other sources, on the other hand, the role of Ilghazi and his troops in the Franko-Muslim alliance finds scanty mention in Walter's account, although the Artukid was to play the role of *bête noire* in his story of the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* some years later. Like the majority of the Christian sources, Walter accords the chief role in this alliance to Tughtekin and the Damascene troops instead. Significantly, however, he offers only grudging acknowledgement of the presence of the Muslim allies, and celebrates their departure from Apamea as the separation of Belial from the Franks. Indeed Walter emerges as the Christian author who expresses his disapproval of this alliance with Muslims most clearly. He not only imagines the Muslim allies to be polytheists, but also accuses them of trying to lead the Franks into disaster in bad faith, and goes so far as to question their efficiency in war.

Walter launches into the main narrative of the expedition after a prelude on the consequences of a devastating earthquake that shook Syria around this time. He relates how Prince Roger, installing garrisons in Antioch and praying in its various churches, set out to join the army he had sent ahead. The Antiochene army then hurried to al-Atharib, having heard from scouts that Tughtekin and Ilghazi had arrived in Aleppo with ten thousand soldiers. We know from the Islamic sources that their purpose was to prevent the city from falling into the hands of Bursuk, and Walter reveals that he was partly aware of this by remarking that their arrival was "on account of the fealty of Ridwan's son." Precisely, of course, it was on account of their alliance with the *de facto* rulers of Aleppo, Lu'lu' and Shams al-Khawass. Nevertheless,

Walter assumes this to have been a pretext only, and asserts that their actual purpose was to deliver the city to the sultan. For he claims that the emirs had already appeased the sultan for their (*sic.*) role in Mawdud's assassination. According to him, it was for this reason that the Antiochene army began marching to the frontier with Aleppo: their purpose was to provoke a battle and thereby prevent its delivery to the sultan's army.

It is probably this passage in Walter's account that Claude Cahen relies on when he writes that Roger had come to Artah in order to prevent "the vague attempts of Ilghazi and Tughtekin to establish contact with Bursuk's army against himself." He adds that Bursuk was not convinced by these attempts and attacked Hama instead, throwing Ilghazi and Tughtekin into Roger's arms.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it is quite doubtful that the two emirs attempted at all to be reconciled with the sultan's army. They could hardly have had any motives for doing that, since, as Grousset points out, their purpose was to defend the Syrian *status quo* against the threat of subjugation to the Seljukids and consequent territorial redistribution.⁴⁸ Grousset himself is unjustified on his part when he affirms that they might still have cherished hopes for "a reconciliation of the last moment with the court of Isfahan." It is clear that this was well nigh impossible after Ilghazi's defeat of Aksungur and their open defiance of the sultan's orders to deliver Aleppo to Bursuk. As Ibn al-Athir reveals, moreover, the emirs were already in "Roger's arms" when they came to join him at Apamea, previously having sworn alliance with him by Lake Qadas. For this reason Walter's claim that the Muslim emirs' real intention was to make peace with the sultan seems little more than a reflection of his general distrust and disapproval toward the Muslim allies, an attitude we shall soon observe more clearly.

⁴⁷ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 272.

⁴⁸ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 499-500.

We have seen the Arabic sources relate that upon the capture of Hama by Bursuk, or alternatively because of Tughtekin's concern that the Seljukids would target Damascus after Aleppo, the *atabek* and Ilghazi came to join Roger in accordance with their previous agreement by Lake Qadas. Walter offers a quite different version from this: he suppresses the fact that the Turkish leaders had already made an agreement with Roger before Bursuk's expedition, and attributes their alliance with the Franks simply to their fear of the latter. Despite their previous intention of surrendering Aleppo and going over to the Seljukids, he says, Ilghazi and Tughtekin grew fearful upon the Franks' approach and so sent them messages of peace, professing to have come there in order to conclude an alliance with them against the "Persian enemy." Although well aware that Tughtekin had more to fear from the Seljukids than from the Franks, Walter prefers to argue that it was only in bad faith that the emir approached the Franks, with the purpose of bringing disaster upon their heads, and that his peace with them was in pretence only.⁴⁹ There is also covert criticism in Walter's report that the Turkish and Frankish leaders assembled in the designated place, where, they "confirmed agreements and became as if they were friends."

Asbridge and Edgington draw attention to the fact that Walter concentrates his attacks on Tughtekin in this context, rather than upon Ilghazi.⁵⁰ We have seen that this is a common characteristic with the other sources of the expedition of 1115, some of whom do not even mention Ilghazi. As in those cases, Walter's attitude can be explained by the fact that for the inhabitants of Syria Ilghazi was still the lord of a distant province in the Jazira by this time, and had not yet become a local emir of Syria as in the period of his forthcoming reign in Aleppo.

⁴⁹ "Tughtekin, moreover, although he feared the formidable power of both of them, Christians and Persians, yet he preferred to be united with the Christians in a pretended peace, so that he might lead them to disaster, rather than to make an agreement with the Persians, whom he knew to be much more cruel towards him in peace than in war." Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, 88.

Walter goes on to relate how it was predicted to Roger that the enemy would come through Salamia or Shaizar. Accordingly the prince decided to move towards that side, so that he could assault them more quickly. Walter observes that Tughtekin showed himself far less eager on this issue, and remarks critically that the Damascene emir considered it “more advantageous for him and his men to go to places of both sorts of fortune.” Obviously, the author believed that Tughtekin indulged in double-crossing and was quite unwilling to attack the enemy. This view accords remarkably well with that of Ibn al-Adim, who asserted that Tughtekin wanted neither side to gain a decisive victory and so tried to restrain the Franks from attacking. Walter continues with his covert criticisms as he relates that the two sides assembled in Apamea, “where they seemed to come together in companionship, hospitality and even a bond of complete love, just like sons and parents.”⁵¹ He states next that although Roger’s men amounted to two thousand against the ten thousand troops of his Muslim allies, the latter side was “less in worth.” It must be noted that although Walter thus emerges as the Latin chronicler with the most critical stance against the Muslim alliance, he still contents himself generally with such side-remarks, probably for fear of embarrassing Prince Roger, and refrains from directly condemning the alliance or attacking the prince on its account.⁵²

Asbridge and Edgington state that this union of the allies in Apamea must have taken place in June 1115, considering Walter’s note that the allied armies camped at Apamea for two months up to August, when they learned about Bursuk’s

⁵⁰ Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, 63, 88 n. 72.

⁵¹ For “ubi velut filii et parentes societate, hospitalitate, vinculo etiam dilectionis integrae videbantur convenire,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* V, 87, instead of “where they seemed to meet with a welcome, even a bond of complete love, like sons and parents in companionship,” as in the English translation.

⁵² Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, 16, 66.

arrival and ravages in Syria.⁵³ However, there is a conflict here with the Islamic sources, Ibn al-Athir and Ibn al-Adim, who assert that it was only when Bursuk had already turned from the gates of Aleppo and was besieging Hama that Tughtekin and Ilghazi went to join the Franks at Apamea, rather than two months before his arrival in the region. Their testimony on this issue is corroborated by those of Matthew of Edessa and Fulcher of Chartres, who date the Seljukid army's arrival in Syria before the union of the Frankish and Turkish forces at Apamea. It seems that their version must be preferred to that of Walter, for otherwise it becomes hard to explain why the two Muslim emirs, before going to Apamea, hurried to Aleppo to deliver it to the sultan's army as Walter himself claims, or to avert its capture as was the actual case. Walter's lack of self consistency on this issue renders his version less reliable than that of the Muslim sources.

Walter proceeds to relate that Roger, having received the news of Bursuk's arrival, summoned the king of Jerusalem and the count of Tripoli. He sent message that the enemy troops were encamped at Salinas,⁵⁴ where they indulged in drink and other pleasures while "awaiting the augury of the crescent moon." This last is a reference to the supposed religious practices of the Muslims, whom Walter imagined to be polytheists. The king set out without delay, Walter states, and warned Roger "with an oath of Christianity and by the bond of brotherly affection" not to venture an attack upon the enemy before his arrival. In the meanwhile, the author notes, the enemy went via Salamiya to Hama. They stormed the town when their demands for surrender were rejected, robbing and expelling its lord and prominent citizens and installing their own garrison.

⁵³ Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, 89 n. 76 and 79.

⁵⁴ This place remains unidentified.

According to Walter the sack of Hama did not remain without consequences for the Muslim army, for when they proceeded to Shaizar with the purpose of billeting themselves upon its emir, who was Usama bin Munqidh's uncle, he denied them entry for fear of seeing his city plundered and being killed himself. Instead he preferred to offer them provisions while they were stationed outside, in the caves around the town. Walter also notes that the emir sent his brother (Usama's father) with many gifts to secure the goodwill of Bursuk and other generals. Also an agreement was made to the effect that the emir himself would stay in the town while his brother would join the Seljukid army to act as a guide for them. This is corroborated by Usama ibn Munqidh's testimony, as we have seen before.

While the Muslims were thus encamped before Shaizar, Walter relates, they tried to provoke the Franks into a battle, but these attempts proved fruitless due to the strict orders of Roger to desist from any fight. In this he was acting in accordance with the promise he had made to the king to wait for his arrival. Walter is the sole source to reveal that Kafartab was attacked by the Seljukid army before its initial retreat as well: he reports that the Turks proceeded to assault that town as a further provocation, but failed to take it for the time being. Perceiving that the Frankish army could not be tempted in any way, and hearing of the king's imminent arrival, they undertook a last, desperate attempt directly upon the Frankish camp. But this too failed to tempt the Franks into battle, mainly because of the threats and insistent warnings of Roger not to budge. Walter remarks that the Muslims were amazed at this, since otherwise they knew the Franks to be "always ready for war and intolerant of injury."

Walter relates that in view of this failure and the rumors that King Baldwin and Count Pons would shortly arrive Bursuk concealed "his wickedness for the time

being,” as he was “a general of deceitful cunning,” and pretended to flee to his homeland by dispersing his forces through the territory of Shaizar. His intention was to destroy the maritime towns of the Franks once their forces had disbanded. So Walter seems to have believed that the purpose of the Seljukid commander was to sever the maritime connections of the Franks with Europe and to cut off all the support they received from there in terms of men and equipment. In this way he would acquire a chance of ending the sovereignty and even the presence of the Franks in Syria. That Walter believed the Seljukids’ aim to be the destruction of the Frankish states is also revealed when he asserts that the sultan intended to take advantage of the damages that a recent earthquake had inflicted on the Frankish strongholds to restore his rule over Syria.⁵⁵ However, we know from the Muslim sources that it was as much the local Muslim emirs as the Franks whom Bursuk intended to subjugate, and as Thomas Asbridge puts it, “there is no evidence that Bursuk actually attacked any coastal towns during this campaign.”⁵⁶

Walter is the sole source to relate that the Franks, before disbanding after Bursuk’s retreat, undertook a last attempt to draw the Seljukid troops back from where they had retreated: being ignorant as to the whereabouts of the enemy, they resolved in a war council assembled upon the king’s arrival that they would attack a certain castle called Gistrum, subdued previously by the Muslims, in order to tempt them into a battle. Asbridge and Edgington suggest that this castle may have been the citadel of Shaizar itself, or Tell ibn Ma’shar, built by Tancred near Shaizar in 1111, or again Jisr al-Sughur to its north, lying on the Orontes.⁵⁷ Considering that the Seljukid army never took possession of the citadel of Shaizar itself, as Walter himself

⁵⁵ See also Asbridge and Edgington’s comment, Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, 87 n. 61.

⁵⁶ Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, 94 n. 103.

⁵⁷ Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, 94, n. 104

makes clear, and in view of the resemblance between “Jisr” and “Gistrum,” Jisr al-Sughur would seem to be the more likely alternative among these. But the aforementioned testimony of Usama ibn Munqidh about the attack that Tughtekin and the Franks made against Shaziar at this time suggests that the castle in question might in fact be Hisn al-Jisr. This fortress protected the lower town of Shaziar, which was situated on the opposite bank from the citadel.

If this identification is indeed correct, it means that Walter suppressed the participation of Tughtekin and his troops in the assault, which is another sign of his negative attitude toward the Franks’ Muslim allies. In an effort to prove that the previous inaction of the Franks had not stemmed from cowardice, as it might have seemed to the enemy,⁵⁸ Walter reports that the Turks, although they saw the conflagration of the castle and its suburbs, feared to approach the Franks, realizing “what they had taken for idleness and cowardice before the camp to be of a courageous and worthy nature.”⁵⁹

When the attempt to draw the Seljukid army back thus ended in failure, Walter relates, a discussion was held about the course of action to adopt. When those eager to return home and protect their possessions from the powerful enemy overcame those eager to pursue and dispossess them, everybody went home including the troops from Damascus. Deeply annoyed about the Muslim alliance, Walter mentions the presence of the latter only for the second time since his mention of their union

⁵⁸ In this connection Asbridge and Edgington remark: “Walter is keen to demonstrate that by these actions the Muslims were shown the ‘reality’ of Frankish bravery.” Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, 94, n. 106.

⁵⁹ The literal translation for “Hoc namque indicio, pro ingenio audaciae et probitatis secum reputant quidquid ante castra pro inertia et timiditate duxerant,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* V, 89 is: “By this proof they considered what they had taken for idleness and cowardice before the camp to be of a courageous and worthy nature.” Compare this with Asbridge and Edgington’s rendering: “For surely they considered this as evidence for a bold and worthy character, to the same extent as they had taken their behaviour for ignorance and cowardice before the camp.”

with the Franks at Apamea,⁶⁰ while he omits to mention the presence of the Artukid troops altogether. Immediately after this passage, indeed, Walter gives the fullest vent to his disapproval of the alliance with the Muslims, making the following comment about the Muslim troops' departure from Apamea: "We realize that this was done not by the power of these men, but doubtlessly by His power who wanted to separate the fellowship of Belial from our men."⁶¹

After the Franks and their Muslim allies had disbanded, Walter continues, the enemy troops reappeared in the region and "made a dreadful attack, as was their tyrannical practice," upon Kafartab. The town was captured when its walls were breached by petraries and other engines. Again in corroboration of Ibn al-Athir and Ibn al-Adim, Walter states that the Muslim army next proceeded to Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, which he says had been previously devastated by the Muslim army. In a way reminiscent of Ibn al-Adim's remark that the Turks had spread over the territory of Ma'arrat al-Nu'man in a sense of security, he states that they behaved here "as if they were still on their lands." These remarks suggest that the town had indeed been captured some time before this point, although the precise time cannot be determined clearly.⁶² Omitting mention of the unsuccessful Muslim attack on Apamea that is reported by the other sources, Walter notes that the Muslims, secure in Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, set about building siege-engines with the aim of attacking Zardana.

When Roger heard of these events, Walter relates, he withdrew to Rugia and summoned his men from Antioch. Among them was Patriarch Bernard, who offered

⁶⁰ For this reason Asbridge and Edgington's remark that "this is the first time Walter actually mentions the presence of Muslim troops from Damascus" is not entirely correct. See Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, 95, n. 108.

⁶¹ For "Nec id fieri istorum potentia intelligimus, sed illius procul dubio qui societatem Belial a nostris separare voluit," RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* V, 90 instead of "We realize that this was not done by the power of these men, but doubtlessly by His influence who wished to break up the alliance of Belial with our people," as in the English translation.

⁶² Compare Asbridge's comment in Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, 95, n. 108, 96, n. 114.

a remission of sins for those to die in the forthcoming battle and commended the troops to the care of Bishop William of Jabala before he returned to Antioch. No result was obtained next day from a quick march to somewhere that the enemy had been rumored to have reached, so the Frankish army pitched camp outside Hab. Walter relates with importance how the Franks received the permission, advice and blessing of Bishop William and adored the Holy Cross in the Mass of the Exaltation of the Cross on the day of battle (14 September). Then they sent scouts ahead, drew up the battle lines with Count Baldwin on the vanguard, and took to the road.

At this point, Walter notes, one of the scouts returned to report in joy that the enemy had begun to pitch tents in the valley of Sarmin, which was precisely where they themselves intended to camp. Upon this Roger ordered the troops to prepare quickly for battle, and after listening to the exhortations of Bishop William, as well as adoring the cross he took around the lines, the knights, “marked by the sign of the cross” mounted their horses. Before going on to relate the battle, Walter halts to report a further hortatory speech delivered by the prince himself, which was supported by the bishop’s threats of bodily punishment and eternal damnation.

Thus Walter’s version of how the Franks caught up with the Seljukid army represents it as a chance encounter, rather than the result of a deliberate planning and collaboration between the Frankish and Aleppan leaders. Walter’s testimony is especially important in this matter insofar as he was Roger’s chancellor and therefore in a good position to be privy to such matters. However, given Walter’s all too evident reluctance to acknowledge the support of Muslim allies, it is quite conceivable that he preferred to suppress this collaboration as well, presenting the encounter as a lucky coincidence. Another notable point in this passage is that Walter reveals in accordance with Ibn al-Athir and Albert of Aachen that initially the Franks came across

the non-combatant portion of the Muslim army carrying the baggage and the tents. But in the following passages we shall see him diverge from these two sources in asserting that the initial Frankish attack was directed against Bursuk's troops on Tell Danith rather than on the camp.

Walter relates that Bursuk initially mistook the Frankish army for a group of soldiers guarding the frontiers, and he had just given orders for their capture when the banners of the prince came into view. Walter asserts that these gave the Muslims the impression that the whole land was covered with white-clad knights, probably alluding to that episode in the Battle of Antioch when the Frankish army had been supposedly reinforced by a heavenly host clad in white.⁶³ He reports that Bursuk and all his men climbed Tell Danith in order to withstand the Franks. While on the top of the hill, he adds, the Muslims, being "steeped in the rottenness of error, made calculations from the stars and summoned the auxiliary troops of their false gods to defend them,"⁶⁴ whereby he reveals once more his highly inadequate knowledge about Islam.

Beside this force upon the hill, Walter notes that a second division of three hundred knights under Tamirak of Sinjar was hiding behind the same hill. The rest of the Muslim army remained in the camp, on account of their greed for the "riches present" according to Walter. These last, he asserts, were "waiting arrogantly for their comrades, trusting very greatly, moreover, in the forces of their princes, although⁶⁵ they were not aided by penitence, because it was too late, nor were they relieved⁶⁶ by the protection of their comrades, because it was lost." When the bugles sounded, he

⁶³ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, edited and translated by Rosalind Hill (Oxford, 1962), 69.

⁶⁴ For "falsorumque deorum auxilia sibi adesse invitant," RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* V, 93, instead of "summoned false gods to appear for them," as in the English translation.

⁶⁵ For "quod," RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* V, 93, instead of "and" in the English translation.

relates, Roger directed the march towards the hill “on which the enemy’s standard and strength were assembled.” Count Baldwin and Guy Le Chevreuil undertook the first attack, one head-on against the hill-side, and the other from the flank.

This version of the events is of course quite different from the account of the battle offered by Ibn al-Athir. According to the latter, the Franks had already attacked the camp and the troops behind when Bursuk arrived with his retinue to see the rout of his forces, and took refuge atop Tell Danith. Walter’s version, in contrast, gives the impression that the three divisions of the Muslim army had already been stationed on the top of the hill, behind it, and around the camp when the Franks joined battle with an attack against the division on the hill, allegedly the most numerous one. At first sight it seems hard to figure out which of these two versions should be true. But considering the surprise nature of the Frankish attack agreed upon by all sources, Albert’s corroborating testimony that the Franks attacked the camp first, and finally Walter’s own previous note that it was the Muslim camp that the Frankish scouts initially came across, Ibn al-Athir’s version seems the more plausible of the two. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that the top of the hill could accommodate Bursuk and “all his men” or “the enemy’s strength” as Walter claims; Ibn al-Athir’s statement that there were only about a hundred men with the commander seems more plausible, and this bolsters the possibility that Bursuk had urgently taken refuge on the hill with his immediate retinue, rather than stationing himself beforehand with a sizeable division.

So, taking Ibn al-Athir’s version as a basis and adding details from Walter’s, such a course of events could be assumed for the start of the battle: Bursuk and his retinue of a hundred men ascended Tell Danith to escape the sudden Frankish assault

⁶⁶ For “relevatur,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* V, 93, instead of “comforted,” as in the English translation.

on their camp and vanguard, while another three hundred who did not fit on the hilltop took refuge with Tamirak behind the same hill, and the troops arriving from behind tried to defend the camp under attack.

This conclusion could be challenged by pointing out that Walter was in the Antiochene army and therefore a direct eye-witness of the events, but this is by no means a decisive argument. It may have suited the tastes of Walter and his audience better to present the victory as the result of a regular pitched battle fought against a fully prepared foe, rather than a surprise attack made on enemy troops caught unawares, as they were marching in disorder. This is not much different from Walter's suppression of the probable fact that they had ambushed Bursuk's army thanks to the collaboration of Aleppo. Also to be taken into consideration is the difficulty of the participants in making sense of the course of a pitched battle that involved many different divisions and great numbers.⁶⁷

Not surprisingly, Walter's depiction of Bursuk's attitude in face of the Frankish attack is much different from that of Ibn al-Athir. According to the latter, the commander had initially declared his firm determination to be a "sacrifice for the Muslims," and was persuaded only with great difficulty to flee and save his life. According to Walter, in contrast, he came down the hill with his brother and household "as if he were about to join battle," but was in fact "wounded by the dart of divine terror" and "resolved to escape with whatever he could," although he ordered the rest to "fight manfully and defend the hill." In the meanwhile Count Baldwin and Guy Le Chevreuil had engaged in fight at close quarters, killing and routing those facing them. Seeing this, Walter relates, Tamirak attacked from the left side with "a magnificent battle-array of three hundred knights," and initially made for the battle lines of

the prince. Nevertheless, they were unable to attack Roger's lines, and could not prevent the latter from charging by the shower of arrows they sent. Consequently they turned against the Turcopole archers instead, driving them back into the Frankish ranks. Walter relates that upon this they came face to face with Robert fitzFulk's cohort heading from the right, with immense bloodshed resulting on both sides.

The victory for the Franks came according to Walter when they made a final charge into the midst of the Turkish ranks. With rhetorical flourish, he states that this transformed their "previously terrifying and very loud din" into "the constant sobs of dying men," as some of them became "fodder of death" while others, "struck by the dart of divine vengeance," turned their backs in flight. Having been victorious "through the virtue of the Holy Cross," Walter relates, the prince occupied the battlefield for three days so as to seal his victory according to the custom of the time. Walter concludes by relating that Roger instructed his men to pursue the Turks in flight, which they did for three kilometers beyond Sarmin, killing "innumerable enemies" against only a few losses from their own numbers. Laden with immeasurable quantities of booty, and having slaughtered innumerable enemies against only a few losses, they returned to Prince Roger, who shared out the spoils after taking his own part.

5.1.10 William of Tyre

William of Tyre's account of Bursuk's campaign⁶⁸ is a combination of the accounts of Fulcher of Chartres and Walter the Chancellor. It is mainly based on Fulcher, up to the encounter of the two armies and the resulting engagement, and then draws upon Walter to fill in the details about the course of the battle. Another notable

⁶⁷ For the deliberate or unwilling distortions in the contemporary accounts of pitched battles see R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193*, Second Edition (Cambridge, 1995), 165-68 and in particular 166, n.1.

feature of William's account is that the author discards the criticisms or even the signs of annoyance found in his sources about the Muslim alliance, especially in Walter's account. He also drops the latter's disparaging remarks about Islam. Like Fulcher, on the other hand, he fails to mention the role of Ilghazi and his Turkomans in the alliance.

Following Fulcher, William's account begins with the report that Bursuk's army entered the region of Antioch and then encamped between Aleppo and Damascus, where they waited for an opportunity to carry out raids. Explicating Fulcher's statement that Tughtekin realized himself to be more odious to the Seljukid army than to the Christians, William offers an analysis that is still valid today: "Then Tughtekin, king of Damascus, was alarmed, being very distrustful about their campaigns and fearing that they had assembled there more with the intention of inflicting damage on him and his kingdom than advancing to fight the Christians whose strength they had often tested."⁶⁹ It is another point of interest that unlike Fulcher William reports Tughtekin's complicity in Mawdud's assassination as a widely held belief rather than as a fact.

When relating the alliance that Tughtekin (and Ilghazi) made with the Franks, William discards Fulcher's explanation about the *atabek's* calculations to bolster himself with Frankish support. He prefers instead to focus on the terms included in Tughtekin's offer of peace. He states that the *atabek* sent messengers and gifts to the king and the prince of Antioch to request a truce. In return he offered hostages and

⁶⁸William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, translated by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, 1943), I, 500-01 (XI.23), 503-05 (XI.25).

⁶⁹For "Porro Doldequinus, damascenorum rex, illorum expeditiones habens nimis suspectas, timensque, ne magis ea intentione illuc convenissent, ut sibi et regno suo detrimenta moliretur, quam ut contra Christianos quorum vires saepius eant experti dimicaturi advenissent, factus est sollicitus," RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* I, 493 instead of "Tughtigin, king of Damascus, was greatly disturbed over this campaign. He greatly feared that it had been undertaken to cause trouble for him and his kingdom, rather than against the Christians, whose strength the Turks had so often tested," as in the English translation.

promised to observe the alliance with the Christians in the entire Frankish domain. Before this, Walter notes, Prince Roger had summoned the king to aid, knowing that the enemy was near and raiding his lands. Now that they were bound by an alliance with Tughtekin, he summoned him as well, and the latter complied quickly. Unlike Walter and Fulcher, who respectively dated the king's arrival at Apamea to two and three months after the assembly of the Antiochene and local Muslim forces there, William dates his arrival to only a few days after that union. It is also notable that although Walter's account was available to William, he prefers to follow Fulcher in dating the union of the Frankish and local Muslim forces to the aftermath of Bursuk's arrival in Syria and not to two months before it. He also follows Fulcher in dropping any mention of Ilghazi that he must have encountered in Walter's account, probably because he considered the Artukid emir to have been a marginal figure at this time, given Walter's scant mention of him.

In relating the retreat of Bursuk's troops William departs once more from his sources, who attribute this move solely to their fear of the king's reinforcements on the way. Although he accepts that the move was due to fear, he still acknowledges it to have been tactical in nature. According to his version, the retreat took place when the Frankish and Muslim allies advanced from their camping place⁷⁰ upon Shaizar, where the Seljukid army was stationed. When the Turks realized that they could not oppose the advancing forces without serious danger, he says, they "pretended to retreat as if with no intent of returning." Skipping over Walter's report about the allies' attack on Gistrum, William states that the latter disbanded and returned home after Bursuk's departure. Significantly, he also discards Walter's celebration of the "separation of the fellowship of Belial," that is the Muslim allies, from the Franks.

⁷⁰ Interestingly, William never discloses that the camping place in question was Apamea.

Following Fulcher, William goes on to relate that Bursuk realized that the allies would not be able to reassemble their forces, and returned to overrun the lands of Antioch. There he devastated the countryside and killed or captured the inhabitants. Turning to Walter's account at this point, William mentions the capture and destruction of Kafartab. Probably misinterpreting Walter's report that the Turks next advanced to Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, which they had formerly devastated, William dates the capture of that town to this time as well. Continuing to follow Walter, he then relates Roger's preparations for the forthcoming battle, stating that the prince assembled his forces in Rugia and sent scouts against the enemy. He places somewhat more emphasis than Walter on Count Baldwin's role, noting his summons by Roger as well as his "loyal aid" in the arrangement of the battle lines and other preparations. William then cites Walter's report about how the Franks rejoiced upon learning that the Turks had camped in the valley of Sarmin.

Relating the course of the battle, William again prefers Walter's version to that of Fulcher who, in conformity with Ibn al-Athir and Albert, had it begin with an improvised Frankish attack on the Turkish camp. William states instead that Bursuk, learning about the Franks' approach, put his troops into battle array and mounted the hill of Danith before the battle was joined. Nevertheless, he diverges from Walter on a number of important points about Bursuk's ascent of the hill, probably in an effort to present what he thought to be a more plausible version of the events. According to Walter's version, the Turkish commander had mounted the hill with a considerable body of men, indeed the "strength" of the Muslim army, in order to offer resistance to the Franks. William states in contrast that it was only with his brother and some friends that Bursuk took possession of the hill, and that his purpose in this was to secure his safety as well as to instruct his men more fully from an elevated position

about the necessary order of battle.⁷¹ Quite interestingly, William also discards Walter's statement that the Turks consulted the stars on the hilltop and called their false gods to aid, being aware that Islam was not a polytheistic religion.⁷² William also omits Walter's report that a division under Tamirak was stationed behind the hill.

William considerably shortens Walter's account of the engagement itself, and contents himself with reporting the initial charge of Count Baldwin in the van and then the final, united charge of the Frankish troops that broke and routed the Turkish lines.⁷³ At this point William inserts an interesting remark meant to underline the justness of the war: "They fought with swords in a hand-to-hand fight, determined to avenge the wrongs which had been inflicted with such license upon the villeins and the poor." The wrongs in question refer to the earlier depredations of the Seljukid army following its return from the feigned retreat. Whereas Walter took special care to depict Bursuk as a materialistic and treacherous coward, William contents himself with noting that he deserted his standard, camp and baggage when he saw the Franks gain the upper hand, and saved his life by taking to flight.

The rest of William's account is mostly a replication of Walter's account. He tells how the fleeing Turks were pursued and massacred while Prince Roger re-

⁷¹ For "de belli ordine necessario suos plenius instruere," RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* I, 497, instead of "give the necessary instructions for carrying on battle," as in the English translation.

⁷² Rainer Christoph Schwinges, *Kreuzzugideologie et Toleranz: Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus* (Stuttgart, 1977), 121-24. William deliberately avoided terms that showed Islam as a "pagan," polytheistic faith, and in this respect he was ahead of most of his contemporaries. For William's knowledge of and approach to Islam in general see the same work, 105-41.

⁷³ The corresponding passage in William's original text reads: "Hostes itaque primis congressionibus resistendi spem habentes, proterve nimis a se tentabant propulsare: sed tandem nostrorum vires, impetus et admirabilem stupentes constantiam, dissolutis penitus eorum agminibus, in fugam versi sunt," RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* I, 497. This can be rendered as follows: "So the enemies, hoping to resist the initial attacks, endeavored most valiantly to repulse our men; but, finally, in consternation at the strength, the onrush, and the marvellous perseverance of our men, their lines of battle collapsed entirely and they turned in flight." But interestingly, the English translators offer a different rendering (*italics are mine*): "At first, *the infidels*, strong in the hope of resistance, endeavored most valiantly to repulse *the Christians*; but, finally, in consternation at the strength, the onrush, and the marvellous perseverance of the foe, they turned and fled in utter disorder." Notably, the translators have substituted the words "infidels" and "Christians" for William's religiously neutral words "hostes" and "nostro-

mained behind to hold the battlefield, and notes Roger's distribution of the rich booty collected from the Turkish camp to his troops. In keeping with his earlier statement that the Franks fought to avenge the villeins and the poor who had been victimized by the enemy, William explicates Fulcher's brief note about the captive Franks and Syrian Christians who had been left behind by the fleeing Muslims: "These were sent back to their homes rejoicing, together with their wives and children and their animals." He concludes the account by telling how Roger entered Antioch "as victor, amid the joyous acclamations of the people."

5.2 The reasons behind the negative stance of Ilghazi and Tughtekin toward the expeditions, and their collaboration with the Franks

It is time now to ask why Ilghazi and Tughtekin assumed such a hostile stance towards these campaigns and collaborated with the Franks against them. Imad al-Din Khalil explains the hostility on Tughtekin's part by his fear of retribution for the murder of Mawdud. As for Ilghazi's hostility, he traces it to three factors: the enmity that arose between Ilghazi and Aksungur when the latter attacked the Artukid possessions before those of the Franks; Aksungur's use of compulsion to persuade Ilghazi to dispatch Turkoman troops; and Aksungur's arrest of Ayaz ibn Ilghazi.⁷⁴ But the enmity between the two was not new, as it probably stemmed from their past rivalry. Hence there is good reason to believe that Ilghazi's hostility preceded Aksungur's aggressive actions and was not something that only appeared in reaction against them.

Indeed Sevim, Stevenson and Hillenbrand argue that what lay behind Ilghazi's negative stance toward the campaigns was his resentment against the sultan's

rum." This choice of words strangely resembles that of the Old French translation, "li Turc" and "des Crestiens." But even there the Seljukid troops are called "Turks" rather than "infidels."

preferment of Aksungur over himself as the *shihna* of Baghdad and then as the governor of Mosul. Thus Sevim attributes Ilghazi's hostile attitude to his bitterness against Sultan Muhammad for having dismissed him from the post of the *shihna* of Baghdad in 1105. Although this attitude "did not become a Turkoman Bey," Sevim comments, it should have been related with the fact that he was very "angry and disappointed" with the Sultan.⁷⁵ Stevenson contents himself with remarking that "al-Bursuki's advancement by the sultan was viewed with jealousy by Ilghazi of Mardin,"⁷⁶ whereas Hillenbrand offers a more detailed analysis of the personal factors that she believes were behind Ilghazi's attitude. According to her, Ilghazi was already resentful against Sultan Muhammad for having been ignored at the time of Mawdud's appointment to Mosul, and this resentment grew upon being ignored once again as Mawdud was succeeded by Aksungur al-Bursuki, none other than the emir who had replaced Ilghazi as *shihna* of Baghdad in 1105. Seeing his short-lived attempt at complying with the sultan's wishes once more remain fruitless, Ilghazi refused the next call to arms from Baghdad, and by putting Aksungur's forces to rout, allowed his half-hearted support of the sultan to turn into open defiance.⁷⁷

Thus all three scholars agree that Ilghazi's attitude was a result of the personal relations between him, Aksungur and the sultan, and that he went into rebellion primarily because of his feelings of jealousy, resentment and disappointment at being dismissed from the post of Baghdad and then passed over for the post of Mosul. Although such feelings as they emphasize might have played some role in shaping Ilghazi's negative attitude, probably the significance of these should not be exaggerated. It had been Ilghazi's policies against Sultan Muhammad that became the cause

⁷⁴ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 227.

⁷⁵ Sevim, "Artuk Oğlu İlğazi," 690.

⁷⁶ Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, 97.

⁷⁷ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 128-29.

of his dismissal from the post of *shihna* of Baghdad in the first place. He had first supported Barkyaruk and then his son against Barkyaruk's step brother Muhammad, the present sultan, so there could not be any reason for him to be too surprised or resentful when Muhammad drove him out of Baghdad in turn, as soon as he was in a position to do so after Berkyaruk's death.⁷⁸ Nor did he have any valid grounds thereafter to harbor great expectations from the sultan or to be disappointed when these were not fulfilled. On the contrary, Ilghazi should have been quite aware that after his career in Baghdad Muhammad would never trust him, and even would try to displace him from whatever lordship he had carved out for himself in Diyar Bakr.

And even if Ilghazi had not been at loggerheads with the sultan over this issue, he would still have had enough reason to fear being dispossessed. As Grousset indicates, what the Seljukid government had in mind as it launched one expedition after another to Syria was not a "Counter-Crusade" but "a wider operation, destined to bring back all Syria under the authority of the central Seljukid government: not only Frankish Syria, but also Muslim Syria," and the emirs in the region were well aware that "the reestablishment of the authority of the sultan of Persia could only take place through their own eviction." Especially Ilghazi saw himself on the brink of being deprived of his principality in Diyar Bakr.⁷⁹ Michael Köhler similarly stresses that "the 'Counter-Crusades', once stripped of their propagandistic cover, were only functions of the power interests of the princes of Mosul and the sultan." Like Hillenbrand he points out the order of priorities in the sultan's command to subdue Ilghazi

⁷⁸ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 122-23; Sevim, "Artuk Oğlu İlğazi," 658-59.

⁷⁹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 496. In the same passage Grousset states, somewhat surprisingly, that the emirs in question had profited from the war against the Franks to make themselves completely independent of the sultan. Perhaps what he means is that they had taken advantage of the Frankish presence in the region to shirk off the sultan's domination. But this is still a doubtful thesis for the years 1110-1115 when the Seljukid expeditions to the west took place. On the contrary, Mawdud's expeditions had even made some headway towards bringing them once more under the Seljukid banner. It was not the war against the Franks but the long interregnum after the deaths of Malikshah and Nizam

and Tughtekin before attacking the Franks, and argues that Bursuk's campaign was "nothing more than an attempt of the sultan to extend the Great Seljukid power to the west and to rearrange Syria politically in accordance with his wishes."⁸⁰ Thus Ilghazi had good reason to fear that the armies of Mawdud, Aksungur and Bursuk would try to dispossess him as soon as they had rendered the Franks harmless, and perhaps even arrest him by taking advantage of his presence in their camp. It was also for this reason that he avoided taking part in Mawdud's campaigns after 1110 in person, as we saw in the last chapter.

But the question to ask here is why Ilghazi adopted a much more stringent policy against Aksungur's expedition than he had against those of Mawdud, initially refusing to send him even a contingent under his son, finally doing so only under compulsion, and then negotiating with the Franks against him. And it is necessary to ask why Aksungur adopted a similarly harsh attitude against Ilghazi, arresting his son and attacking his territories, although the contribution he exacted from the emir was no more or less than that Mawdud had received in his later campaigns. Was Ilghazi's attitude the result of his disappointment on being passed over for a second time for the governorship of Mosul, as Hillenbrand holds? Ilghazi could not have had any such expectations. Rather, his suspicion that the actual aim of the Seljukid expeditions was to dispossess and evict him from Diyar Bakr must have appeared confirmed to him as he saw his archenemy Aksungur appointed to Mosul and ordered to advance west with a huge army. It was probably for this reason that he rejected sending his son with a detachment, fearing that they could be taken captive and used against him, and also established contact with the Franks against the sultan's army.

al-Mulk in 1192, as well as its lasting effects on the strength of the central government, that enabled the emirs of the outer provinces to acquire a *de facto* independence.

Indeed the development of the events revealed that Ilghazi was not mistaken in his apprehensions: to begin with, Aksungur failed to reward him in advance for his contribution, as Mawdud had done by the grant of Harran. He then showed himself all too insistent on his personal participation or at least dispatch of a contingent, even besieging his towns for this purpose; arrested Ayaz on his return from the unsuccessful siege of Edessa; and set about destroying the economically important agricultural lands of Mardin, perhaps in preparation for a planned siege. Seeing his worst fears realized, and becoming sure now that the sultan's real intention was to evict him and other local emirs from his western territories, Ilghazi decided to defend himself with all his powers. Assembling all the other Artukids, he inflicted a crushing blow on Aksungur's forces. The fact that the sultan promptly dismissed Aksungur from the governorship of Mosul upon his failure to subdue Ilghazi also suggests that this had been the principal task assigned to him. Ilghazi perceived that he had burnt all bridges with the sultan now, and that the only way to save his skin was to join forces with the other local emirs or even with the Franks. His ally Tughtekin had similar fears on his own part, especially because of the rumors about his complicity in Mawdud's murder, and so similarly cemented an alliance with the Franks.

In this connection Michael Köhler speaks of the establishment of a "pan-Syrian solidarity" that had developed in the fifteen years following the First Crusade and passed beyond the mere constitution of a *modus vivendi*. The presence of the Franks in Syria seemed to be less of an evil to the local Muslim leaders when compared with the extension of the power of the Seljukid sultanate or the Fatimid caliphate. So they came to look upon the Frankish principalities not only as possible partners in peace treaties, but also as potential allies against any threat that might

⁸⁰ Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert*.

come from those external Muslim powers. Both sides of this common understanding, the Franks as much as the Muslims, pursued what Köhler calls the *lā-maqām* policy: this entailed an alliance of all the polities in Syria against the threats posed by external powers, in this case the Seljukids, and was based on an awareness that if any of the two sides in Syria, the Franks or the Muslims, went under, the other side too would no longer be able to find any place (“*lā-maqām*”) there.⁸¹

Accordingly the hostile policy of Ilghazi and Tughtekin against the campaigns of Aksungur and Bursuk were due less to personal-psychological factors than to structural ones: the weakening of sultanlic authority during the interregnum period 1092-1105 and the corresponding emergence of centrifugal tendencies in the outer provinces of the empire. These factors brought about the result that Ilghazi, like the other local emirs, was fully determined to defend his newly acquired independence and possessions against the sultan’s attempts to reestablish his authority in Syria and the Jazira. For this purpose he was also ready to ally with the Franks if need be, and rightly so: he must have known quite well that if the sultan realized his aim, this would lead sooner or later to his replacement by a more docile emir and the loss of everything he had gained since his arrival in Diyar Bakr ten years before.

5.3 The course of events

The foregoing considerations allow for the following reconstruction of events: after Mawdud’s death the Seljukid sultan sent a new army to the west under the command of the governor’s successor Aksungur al-Bursuki. As before, he was trying to re-establish control over Syria and the Jazira by checking the Frankish advance and subjugating the local Muslim emirs there. As this was known very well to

derf (Berlin, 1991), 125-26.

⁸¹ Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 131-33.

Ilghazi, and Aksungur was his old enemy since his days in Baghdad, he not only declined to participate in the expedition but also refused to send any troops. Only Aksungur's siege of Harran and then Mardin could persuade him to dispatch a contingent under his son Ayaz. Ilghazi's governor in Harran even tried to enlist the support of the Franks of Edessa against Aksungur's army before he was overcome by a rebellion of the populace. Having besieged Edessa in vain for one or two months, Aksungur finally withdrew through Saruj and Samosata, ravaging the eastern side of the Euphrates. At al-Bira he also briefly confronted the Franks who were assembled on the opposite riverbank.

Arriving back in the territory of Mardin, Aksungur placed Ayaz ibn Ilghazi under arrest. This was probably because he laid the charge for the failure of the siege at the feet of Ilghazi, who had refused to support him in person and full force. Perhaps he had also learned that the emir had established contact with the Franks against him. He then proceeded to ravage the agricultural lands in the region of Shabakhtan and laid siege to the fortress of Dara, situated between Mardin and Nisibis. Upon this Ilghazi joined forces with Dawud ibn Sokman and Belek ibn Behram, his nephews, and set out to confront him. Coming across a part of the Seljukid army camping at Qurdis, near Dara, the Artukids routed them, while the rest of the army under Aksungur fled from Dara to Nisibis. Ayaz escaped in the *melée* and was later picked up by Ilghazi's men.

Ilghazi's defeat of the Seljukid forces amounted to open rebellion. Receiving letters of threat from the sultan, he sought refuge at Tughtekin's side in Damascus. Here they made contact with Roger of Antioch against the forthcoming Seljukid expedition, and meeting him near Lake Qadas, confirmed their alliance by mutual oaths. Thereupon Ilghazi set out for Diyar Bakr to enlist Turkoman troops, but while

resting near Hims in an intoxicated state, he was caught by the emir of that town, Khir Khan ibn Karaja. Khir Khan saw a good opportunity in this move to secure the sultan's support and completely shirk off the suzerainty of Damascus. Accordingly he rejected Tughtekin's demand to release Ilghazi and sent an urgent message to the sultan to dispatch his troops. But the Seljukid army delayed in coming, and fearing Tughtekin's machinations, he released Ilghazi on terms, receiving his son Ayaz as hostage. Ilghazi collected troops from Aleppo and returned to besiege Hims, with the purpose of rescuing Ayaz, but he had to abandon the siege before long.

This was because the sultan's new army, led by Bursuk ibn Bursuk, the Lord of Hamadhan, arrived at this point. Marching first to Aleppo, Bursuk demanded the delivery of the city, but its regent Lu'lu' and the commander of its forces, Shams al-Khawass, prevaricated until Ilghazi and Tughtekin could enter it with two thousand troops. After this they were able to ward off the sultan's army. In retaliation Bursuk proceeded to attack Hama, where Tughtekin's baggage was deposited, and after sacking the city for three days, turned it over to Khir Khan; it was the sultan's order to give every town they captured to this emir. The sultan's intention in this was probably to turn Hims into a central base against both the rebellious emirs and the Franks, but his order seriously diluted the motivation of the Seljukid emirs who saw their hopes for personal gain reduced to naught. In the meanwhile Ilghazi and Tughtekin, together with Shams al-Khawass, had left Aleppo to join Roger of Antioch and his forces at Apamea. Their immediate purpose was to get help to prevent the capture of Hama and avert a possible attack on Damascus, but probably this was also a move agreed beforehand in the alliance concluded by Lake Qadas. At Apamea the two sides confirmed the oaths of alliance sworn at that time.

In the meantime the Seljukid army had also taken Rafaniya and proceeded to encamp around Shaizar. The Munqidhite lords of this town were hard pressed by both Antioch and Aleppo, against which they relied on the sultan's army for protection. For about two months the two sides remained facing each other at Apamea and Shaizar, as in Mawdud's second campaign four years before. During those two months the Seljukid troops carried out various incursions and skirmishes and made an unsuccessful attack on Kafartab to provoke the Frankish-Muslim army into joining battle before reinforcements would arrive. Indeed Roger had requested help from Baldwin I and Pons of Tripoli, who had set out at once for Apamea. As the king sent ahead strict instructions not to join battle before his arrival, and the Muslim allies at Apamea, unwilling to see either the Franks or the Seljukids win a decisive victory, also had a restraining influence, the Franks resisted the temptation to join battle. When the Frankish reinforcements finally arrived the Seljukid army withdrew from the area, perhaps with the intention of returning in case the Franks and their allies dispersed, and could not be lured back by an assault undertaken against Hisn al-Jisr, the fortress protecting the lower town of Shaizar. Thereupon the allies disbanded, with everybody returning home.

When Bursuk learned that the enemy forces had dispersed, he returned to ravage the lands of Frankish Syria. After capturing and sacking Kafartab and attacking Apamea, the Seljukid army encamped on the territory of Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, which they had taken some time before. At this point two messages arrived at the Seljukid camp from Aleppo. One of these came from Shams al-Khawass, who informed them that he had been imprisoned by Lu'lu', warned them that the latter was sharing information about their movements with the Franks, and asked them to seize Buza'a, which was his *iqta'* from Aleppo. The other message was from Lu'lu', who

offered to hand over Aleppo in return for a portion of its territory as compensation. In response a part of the Seljukid army under Juyush Bey, the new governor of Mosul, set out for Buza'a and got hold of it, while the main army under Bursuk set out for Aleppo, determined at any rate to settle accounts with the defiant city. There is some possibility that these messages were only parts of a stratagem intended to divide the Seljukid army, and Shams al-Khawass' imprisonment may only have been a pretence to render the ruse more convincing, since he was promptly released and his *iqta'* restored after the defeat of the Seljukid forces. Whatever the case, Lu'lu' indeed maintained contact with the Franks, informing them hourly on the whereabouts of Bursuk's army.

By this time Roger of Antioch and Baldwin of Edessa had reassembled their forces, perhaps taking along Tughtekin as well, and set out in pursuit of the Seljukid army. Helped by the information supplied by Lu'lu', they caught up with the Seljukid troops near the town of Sarmin, by Tell Danith. The Muslim army was in a quite unprepared condition. The baggage and army pages had been sent ahead and pitched camp at Sarmin, where they were waiting for the troops who marched in disorder and with a false sense of security; Bursuk and his retinue were following from behind. The Frankish army attacked the camp first, with the Edessene forces in the lead, and proceeded to assault the troops who had begun to arrive at the campsite. Arriving to see what happened, Bursuk sought refuge upon Tell Danith with his brother and a retinue of around a hundred men, where they were joined by a crowd of army pages in flight. Another force of three hundred men under Tamirak of Sinjar positioned themselves behind the same hill. Although these latter eventually made a sally against the Franks, killing some, a final charge of the entire Frankish army finally broke all resistance of the Muslims and put them to rout.

The Seljukid troops in flight were pursued for three days. They may also have been attacked by Tughtekin and his forces if indeed he had rejoined the Franks. Roger himself remained behind to claim the battlefield as the victor, and the immense riches found in the Muslim camp were plundered. In retaliation the Frankish captives and Ilghazi's son Ayaz, who had previously been delivered to Bursuk by Khir Khan, were massacred by the Seljukid detachment stationed at Kafartab. This town was then abandoned to the Franks.

Meanwhile Bursuk had succeeded in making his escape from Tell Danith to Nisibis, together with the remnants of the main army. Here they were joined by the detachment under Juyush Bey that had returned from Buza'a. Although Bursuk was weighed down by the disaster and planned to embark on a new campaign, he was prevented from doing so by his death shortly afterwards, and the expedition of 1115 turned out to be the last one launched by the Great Seljukids.

5.4 The consequences of the expeditions

The failure of the Seljukid expeditions under Aksungur al-Bursuki and Bursuk al-Bursuk had serious consequences. The defeat met by the former in the hands of the Artukids offered Baldwin the opportunity of avenging himself on the Armenians who had lately been showing themselves insubordinate. Kogh Vasil's widow had even sought support from Aksungur against the Franks of Edessa.⁸² Baldwin seized the lands and castles that had previously belonged to Kogh Vasil, as well as other lesser, independent Armenian cities of suspicious loyalty, and consequently the County of Edessa grew in power.⁸³ The defeat of Bursuk ibn Bursuk, on the other hand, has been compared in importance to the Frankish victories scored during the

⁸² Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 399-400 and *Chronicle*, 166-67 (508: 1114-1115).

⁸³ Işın Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu Tarihi* (Vol. 1: İstanbul, 1974, Vol. 2: Ankara, 1994), I, 149.

First Crusade, and especially to the Battle of Doryleum, as it put a definite end to the attempts made by the Seljukids to check and repulse the Frankish advance.⁸⁴ As Harold Fink observes, the Frankish states were to enjoy “more security than they had ever known before,” up to the battle of *Ager Sanguinis* four years later.⁸⁵

But even more importantly, Bursuk’s defeat also put an end to the simultaneous attempts of the Seljukids to subdue Ilghazi and the other Muslim emirs of the outer provinces, who found themselves practically independent as a result. For the campaigns of 1114 and 1115 represented the last efforts of the Seljukid sultanate to retighten its hold on its western territories, after the period of interregnum following the deaths of Nizam al-Mulk and Malikshah in 1092. The failure of these efforts compelled the sultan to abandon his claims of real as opposed to nominal suzerainty over the territories west of the Euphrates, and his direct rule became permanently restricted to the areas east of that river. From this time onwards the emirs of Syria and the Jazira were left alone by the Seljukids, but also left alone against their former Frankish allies. Accordingly it was to be local dynasties like the Artukids, Burids (of Damascus), Zangids and Ayyubids who would henceforth confront the Franks.⁸⁶

5.5 The attitude of Ilghazi and Tughtekin after the end of Seljukid expeditions

Tughtekin was not late in realizing this new situation and its implications. In October 1115, as we saw Ibn al-Qalanisi report, the Franks attacked Rafaniya and temporarily occupied the castle, which necessitated the Damascene emir to undertake prompt action and drive them away. This must have been enough to show him

⁸⁴ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 510-11, and Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 274-75.

⁸⁵ Harold S. Fink, “The Foundation of the Latin States,” in *A History of the Crusades* (London, 1969), I, 404-05.

⁸⁶ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 233-34.

that he stood alone against the Franks after Tell Danith,⁸⁷ so he hastened to Baghdad to make his peace with the sultan. Being closer in Damascus to the Frankish territories, as Hillenbrand points out,⁸⁸ he risked to lose far more than Ilghazi in the case of a complete break with the Seljukids. Ilghazi himself was more distant from the Frankish territories, and since he no longer had to fear any reprisals from the sultan, he felt no need to effect such a reconciliation. Nevertheless, Hillenbrand seems to be on less sure ground when she suggests that Tughtekin and Ilghazi might have been afflicted with a certain feeling of guilt and remorse for having fought with Christians against fellow Muslims. She asserts that because of such feelings as well as the increased Frankish threat they avoided any further provocation of the sultan and did not collaborate with the Franks against him any longer.

Admittedly, Hillenbrand is not the only scholar to lay stress on the fact that Ilghazi and Tughtekin did not ally with the Franks ever again. Harold Fink, for one, mentions the “deep impression” made by the Battle of Danith on the Muslims, and in this connection points out Tughtekin’s peace with the sultan as well as the fact that Ilghazi never allied with Roger again.⁸⁹ Similarly, Grousset asserts that the two emirs “suddenly realized that the victory of their saviors was too complete,”⁹⁰ while Stevenson states that the victory was “a warning to the Muslims to close their ranks.”⁹¹ Imad al-Din Khalil goes the furthest in this direction; in his view, “this experience taught Ilghazi and Tughtekin a hard lesson” and they “realized the error in their attitude,” since it did not bring them any benefit while it enabled the Frankish principalities in the north to reach the peak of their power and inflict still other defeats upon

⁸⁷ Elisséeff, *Nur ad-Din*, II, 313.

⁸⁸ Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazira,” 131, 171.

⁸⁹ Fink, “Foundation,” 404-05.

⁹⁰ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 510-11.

⁹¹ Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, 100-01.

the Muslims. It was for this reason that Tughtekin was reconciled with the sultan and Ilghazi turned to jihad, inflicting one defeat after another on the Franks.⁹²

Nevertheless, there is good reason to think that this emphasis on the two emirs' change of heart and policy might rather be exaggerated. For it is not easy at all to assert with confidence that Ilghazi and Tughtekin would have refrained from allying with the Franks if the sultan had sent new armies to subjugate them. If they did not fight on the same side with the Franks ever again, this might be simply because no Seljukid armies were dispatched to the west after the Battle of Tell Danith, and consequently they no longer needed to ally with the Franks to defend their independence against the sultan. As far as Ilghazi is concerned, it cannot be argued either that he avoided provoking the sultan by continued defiance. His capture of eighty villages of Mayyafariqin from the feeble Seljukid governor of that city in 1116,⁹³ as well as his capture of the city itself shortly after the next sultan's accession,⁹⁴ could well be considered acts of defiance and provocation in their own right.

In contrast to the arguments of Hillenbrand and other scholars, therefore, Tughtekin and Ilghazi's attitude after Tell Danith do not seem to reveal signs of a profound change of heart, a realization and regret of their "mistake" in allying with the Franks. The case was rather that they adapted themselves to the demands of the new situation when the expeditions from Mosul ceased for good and the Franks remained their only rival in the struggle for control over the former districts of the Seljukid empire. In this connection Köhler refers to "the limits of pan-Syrian solidarity possible in the Frankish-Islamic system of Syrian statehood." He points out that the previous alliance between the local emirs and the Franks had not been the product of

⁹² Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 233-34.

⁹³ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 98.

⁹⁴ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 274-75; Cahen, "Diyār Bakr," 236 and n.2. The sultan eventually acknowledged Ilghazi's *fait accompli* and made over the city to him.

any real friendship or ideology of tolerance, as the mutually hostile comments of contemporary chroniclers make clear, but was only formed *ad hoc*, out of sober political calculation. So when the external threat against which they had joined forces was removed, the two sides were bound to resume their former struggle for territorial aggrandizement at each other's expense.⁹⁵

Cahen gives succinct expression to this fact: "Once the danger from the Sultan had been removed, [Ilghazi] abandoned the friendship of the Franks — now uneasy at their power — to resume, on his own account and at the call of the Aleppans, the Holy War which was to redound to his benefit."⁹⁶ But the reverse of this is equally true: in case a new external power came to threaten the region, like the Zangid Mosul of the 1130s and earlier 1140s, the local Muslim and Frankish leaders could just as easily reunite against it, only to break up again after its removal. The case would not have been different if new armies of the sultan had been sent from Mosul against Tughtekin, Ilghazi and their Frankish neighbors.

Perhaps it would even be wrong to exaggerate the threat posed by the Frankish neighbors in the couple of years following the Battle of Tell Danith, although this is commonly presented as what moved Ilghazi and Tughtekin to realize their mistake and renounce their alliance with them. Despite Grousset's dramatic depiction of a Muslim Syria, "fragmented, divided,... incapable of defending itself" against the Franks who "seemed to have acquired a definitive superiority over Islam,"⁹⁷ Stevenson draws attention to the fact that from Tancred's death in 1113 until 1117 there were no hostilities between Antioch and Aleppo and friendly relations were main-

⁹⁵ Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 133.

⁹⁶ Claude Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion: the Selchükids," in *History of the Crusades*, I, 171-72.

⁹⁷ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 510-11.

tained even after Tell Danith.⁹⁸ This was not to change until the following year, when Aleppo came under attack from Antioch. That will be the subject of the next chapter.

⁹⁸ Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, 100, 101 and n.1.

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VOLUME II

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by
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Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
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PART II

THE FIGHT FOR ALEPPO

CHAPTER 6

ILGHAZI: SAVIOR OF ALEPPO

Aleppo had been in an exceedingly weak state since Ridwan's death in 1113, with depleted treasures, ravaged lands and bickering factions. Finally the Franks moved to take advantage of this situation, encouraged no doubt by the local rivalries that had come into existence once the Seljukid expeditions ceased after the debacle of 1115. Franks made a systematic effort to encircle Aleppo, probably with the ultimate purpose of capturing it. Since Seljukid help was no longer available, it seemed quite likely that they would succeed in this undertaking. But at this point they saw their way blocked by none other than their former ally against the Seljukids, Ilghazi. It will be argued here that the reason for this was his awareness that the capture of Aleppo by the Franks would bring about a major shift in the power balance of the entire region, rendering them all too powerful. As a result, he and the other local emirs could perhaps see themselves confronted with the danger of a Frankish hegemony just when they had averted the reestablishment of the former Seljukid hegemony.

Ilghazi had been summoned with extreme reluctance by the people of Aleppo, only when they had not been able to find anybody else to protect them against the impending Frankish threat. Coming with much hesitation, because of the sorry state

of the city and its depleted treasures, he eventually succeeded in assuming full control of the government. Then he immediately set about the task of breaking the tightening Frankish stranglehold on the city, surrounded as it was from three sides and especially threatened from the west from the Frankish-occupied castles al-Atharib and Zardana. Collecting Turkoman troops from his base in Diyar Bakr and invading the principality of Antioch, he inflicted a defeat of unprecedented severity upon the forces of Antioch, taking advantage of the mistakes of their prince Roger, and single-handedly achieved a degree of success far beyond those of the Seljukid expeditions of the period from 1110 to 1115.

Thus Ilghazi not only managed to relieve the pressure on Aleppo before it came under direct attack, despite a second battle that put a stop to his campaign, but also proved that a local emir of the Jazira could well score victories against the Franks that had been denied the Seljukid forces. This lesson was not lost on Ilghazi's contemporaries and made him a precursor of later emirs like Zangi and Nur al-Din, who achieved still more successful results against the Franks by using the local resources of Syria and the Jazira. The present chapter will trace these events from the state of Aleppo before Ilghazi's takeover up to the end of his Syrian campaign, which comprised the battles of *Ager Sanguinis* and Tell Danith.

6.1 The Aleppans' invitation of Ilghazi; the significance of Ilghazi and Aleppo for each other

By the time of Ridwan's death and during the following regency of the eunuch Lu'lu', who "administered badly as was his habit," according to Ibn al-Adim,¹

¹ Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 606.

Aleppo was in considerable difficulties indeed. As we have seen in the last chapter, there was a split in its ruling structure: whereas the sultan and the regent controlled the citadel, but nothing else, the local notables under the leadership of the *ra'is* held sway over the city itself. The scanty economic resources that remained after the ravages since the death of Malikshah and the First Crusade were also far from being adequate to ward off the advancing Frankish menace.² “The land produced little in the province since the Franks occupied a major part of it and threatened the rest,” Ibn al-Adim notes, and “the money necessary to maintain the army was lacking.”³ It was hardly surprising under these conditions that when Lu’lu’ invited Tughtekin and others to Aleppo to drive away the Franks, none of them responded. The local emirs must have been aware that their own resources would hardly suffice to defend Aleppo against the serious threat it faced, and the scanty resources of the city itself were also quite inadequate for the task.

Ilghazi was no exception at first, but finally did agree to come to aid of Aleppo, both because he could draw upon the human and financial resources of his base in Diyar Bakr and because he did not want to see the Franks acquire hegemony in Syria and the Jazira by seizing the strategic keypoint of Aleppo. Indeed he saved the city from almost certain capture through his undertakings in the last four years of his life, as we shall examine in the present and the following chapter. In the present section we shall first examine the course of events that led to Ilghazi’s takeover of Aleppo, and then discuss the precise significance held by Aleppo and Ilghazi for each other. In the process we shall also be tackling the question whether it was a rational decision on the part of Ilghazi to get involved with the affairs of Aleppo at all.

² Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps de Croisades et la Principauté Franque d’Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 269-70.

³ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 606-07.

6.1.1 *The course of developments*

The most detailed account of the conditions under which Ilghazi was summoned to Aleppo and took over the city issues from the Aleppan chronicler Ibn al-Adim.⁴ He relates how Aleppo had been reduced to a bone of contention between the Franks, Ilghazi, Khir Khan of Hims and Tughtekin and Aksungur at this time. Although the Aleppans initially relied on Frankish support against the local Muslim emirs and Aksungur, the Seljukid sultan's agent in Rahba, they had to turn in desperation to Ilghazi when their former Frankish allies decided to take advantage of their weakness and went on to the attack, ravaging Aleppan territory and besieging Azaz. The other, brief accounts of the events in question by Ibn al-Athir,⁵ Ibn al-Qalanisi,⁶ al-Azimi⁷ and Ibn abi Tayyi (cited by Ibn al-Furat)⁸ add little that is new to Ibn al-Adim's version. Accordingly we shall mainly follow Ibn al-Adim's account, referring to the others where they stand in contrast or contribute additional information.

Lu'lu' did not live long after the Battle of Tell Danith in 1115 and was murdered in April 1117; his authority had been on the wane for some time, as Cahen points out,⁹ not least because he had aroused the religious conservatism of the Aleppans by building the first *khaniqa* (dervish lodge) in the city. His rival for power was Ibn Badi', the *de facto* ruler of the city. To Lu'lu's great annoyance, he began col-

⁴ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 610-15.

⁵ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih Tercümesi*, translated by A. Özeydin, A. Ağırakça et al., 12 vols. (İstanbul 1987), X, 422-23 and *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh, Part 1*, translated by D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2006), 187 (511: 1117-1118).

⁶ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, translated by H. A. R. Gibb (London 1932), 155-56 (510: 1116-1117), 156-57 (511: 1117-1118).

⁷ Al-Azimi, *Azimi Tarihi: Selçuklular Dönemiyle İlgili Bölümler, H.430-538*, edited and translated by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1988), 33 (Arabic) and 40 (Turkish) (510: 1116-1117), 33 (Arabic) and 41 (Turkish) (511: 1117-1118).

⁸ Ibn al-Furat, II, 32, cited in Imad al-Din Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya fi'l-Jazira wa'l-Sham* (Beirut, 1980), 99, n. 5.

⁹ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 276-77.

lecting partisans around Sultanshah, the six-year old brother of the murdered Alp Arslan ibn Ridwan. Sultanshah had been excluded from power by Lu'lu', but now the latter was compelled to acknowledge the prince's authority. It was at this point that Lu'lu' left the city, only to be killed on the way by the castle of Nadir, between Aleppo and Balis, in April 1117.

Different reasons are adduced by the sources for Lu'lu's departure. According to Al-Azimi, he had left Aleppo for a journey to the pilgrimage location Siffin, which was probably no more than a pretext, while Ibn al-Athir asserts that his intention was to go to Qal'at Ja'bar to meet with its lord, Salim ibn Malik. Ibn al-Adim himself offers two different versions. According to one of these Lu'lu' was indeed on the way to meet Salim ibn Malik to get back a sum of money which he had given to be deposited the Castle of Dawsar (Ja'bar), but was killed by a group of his own companions. These had been bribed by Aksungur al-Bursuki, who planned to secure the possession of Aleppo in this way.¹⁰ Nevertheless, both Aksungur and a group of his soldiers who had treacherously come to a separate agreement with the murderers were outstripped by the eunuch Yaruktash, a long-time officer of Lulu's, who managed to reach and occupy Aleppo before them.

According to the other version cited by Ibn al-Adim, Lu'lu' had left Aleppo for good because of his fear of Ibn Badi's activities, planning to bring his treasures to safety in the East. He was killed by the castle of Nadir, when a Turkish officer called Sungur al-Chakarmish urged his companions to avenge the murder of Alp Arslan ibn Ridwan and to prevent Lu'lu' from getting away with the sultan's treasures. This is supported by Ibn al-Qalanisi, who asserts that the assassination was car-

¹⁰ Basing himself on Ibn al-Qalanisi, Cahen asserts in the same place that Aksungur had in fact obtained the concession of Aleppo from Sultan Muhammad. But no such affirmation could be found in this source, either in the location Cahen indicates (*Damascus Chronicle*, 154-55) or elsewhere.

ried out in vengeance for Lu'lu's murder of Alp Arslan by the latter's former officers. Ibn al-Athir presents a slightly different explanation on the same lines, stating that Lu'lu' was murdered by Sultanshah's men upon their discovery of his design to eliminate the prince, just like he had previously done to the latter's brother Alp Arslan. Two days after Lu'lu's flight from Aleppo, Ibn al-Adim continues with his account, Yaruktash arrived to get hold of the citadel and took measures against those associated with Lu'lu's murder. Some of these fled to Balis to join Aksungur, who had failed in his initial plan of seizing Aleppo (5 May 1117). He still sent a demand for the surrender of the city, but this was rejected.

From both versions cited by Ibn al-Adim, it emerges that Aksungur might indeed have had something to do with Lu'lu's murder. He had probably won over a group of Turkish troops in the Aleppan army including Sungur al-Chakarmish, who moved on the pretext of avenging Alp Arslan's murder or, according to Ibn al-Athir, preventing the murder of his brother Sultanshah. Lu'lu's departure from Aleppo to meet with Salim ibn Malik might also have been due to his having an inkling about the existence of such a plot against himself. Nevertheless, Aksungur, being a loyal representative of the Seljukid sultan in the region, was absolutely unwanted in Aleppo, and Yaruktash turned to his sworn enemy Ilghazi as well as to Roger of Antioch to ward him off.

Ilghazi's response is not indicated by Ibn al-Adim; possibly he did not respond at all, or answered in the negative, upon which Yaruktash turned to Roger instead. If this was the case, it might be taken as evidence that the events of 1115 had modified Ilghazi's negative attitude toward the Seljukid presence in Syria, especially if one considers his personal enmity with Aksungur. But it might equally have been the case that Yaruktash wrote simultaneously to both rulers in a state of panic and

Roger, being much closer to the scene of events, was quick to act while Ilghazi was still busy with the preparations and the collection of troops in Diyar Bakr. Indeed he eventually did come to Aleppo as we shall see.

When Roger arrived to take hold of the eastern districts of Aleppan territory, Ibn al-Adim continues, Aksungur was compelled to leave Balis, having despaired of acquiring the city. Thus the Muslims of Aleppo still showed themselves as determined as ever to resist any attempts of the Seljukids to restore their control over the region. The events of 1115 do not seem to have made a serious impact on their attitude in this respect. Nor was this to be the last time that the Aleppans put up a staunch resistance against Aksungur.

Ibn al-Adim goes on to relate that Aksungur proceeded from Balis to Hims, where he was welcomed by another emir loyal to the Seljukids, Khir Khan; together they went to Damascus to meet Tughtekin. By this time the *atabek* had made his peace with the Seljukid sultan and then successfully joined forces with Aksungur against a Frankish attack from Tripoli (1116).¹¹ So he received them well, promising to support Aksungur in his attempts on Aleppo. On the other hand Roger was rewarded bountifully for having driven off Aksungur and concluded a treaty with Yaruktash, who granted him a sum of money, the fortress of al-Qubba, and the right to levy taxes of usage (*mukūs*) from the pilgrims and other caravans passing by that castle. It was a very serious concession, as Cahen points out,¹² for all of the three roads from Aleppo to Damascus via Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, Sawran and al-Qubba had now come under Frankish control. Since Yaruktash lacked a clientage in the city, however, he was also ousted from power and banished like Lu'lu on his attempt to get hold of the citadel (where Ridwan's family resided). This happened one month after his

¹¹ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 153-55 (510: 1116-1117).

takeover. The tasks of government and the command of the army were then entrusted to the inspector of the army, Al-Amid abu'l-Ma'ali Muhsin ibn Milhi. Ibn al-Adim asserts that under the mediocre administration of this man Aleppo was weakened and impoverished while its territories fell into a state of ruin.

It was at this point that Ilghazi entered the scene for the first time as another claimant to Aleppo. Upon arriving in the city he was denied access to the great citadel, since the Aleppans were at first reluctant to allow him full control of the administration by enabling him to oust the existing rulers. Accordingly he settled in Qal'at Sharif, a fort situated just outside the southern walls of the city, and took over the government as well as the tutelage of Sultanshah (511: 1117). Eventually he was entrusted with the great citadel and the castle of Balis as well, and placed Ibn Milhi under arrest. But this first stay of Ilghazi in Aleppo was not to last long: the economic situation of the city was far from being at a level that would enable him to meet the needs of his Turkoman troops, and as he failed to bring about any improvement in the prevailing conditions, Ibn al-Adim says, he came to fear a possible attack from the populace and the local troops. In the same connection Al-Azimi notes that Ilghazi's position in the city deteriorated, and Ibn al-Qalanisi states that "his plans miscarried." So, after having ruled the city for the period of Safar (24 June – 22 July) he returned to Mardin, but the citadel¹³ and the castle of Balis remained in his possession.

¹² Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 276-77.

¹³ Actually Ibn al-Adim writes *al-qalī'a*, which has been interpreted as referring to a place called Qulay'a in the French translation in RHC; Gerhard Vāth (*Geschichte*, 74) transcribes it as Qal'iya, taking it as a location noted in Yaqut's *Buldan*, IV, 396. However, in view of the fact that Ibn al-Adim does not speak of Ilghazi taking hold of such a place before, but mentions instead the concession of the citadel of Aleppo (*al-qal'a*) to him, I assume *al-qalī'a* to be a misspelling for *al-qal'a*. This is all the more as no other source notes Ilghazi's possession of such a place called Qal'iya or Qulay'a alongside Balis.

Ibn al-Adim goes on to relate that Ibn al-Milhi was released after Ilghazi's departure and restored to his post. When the Artukid troops installed in Balis got news of this they began to ravage the territory of Aleppo, and the Aleppans responded by summoning the Franks to their aid; apparently, the Aleppans were still bent on the increasingly desperate struggle to save their own skins by pitting the powers in the region against each other. Together with a Frankish detachment the Aleppan troops laid siege to Balis, but they had to withdraw when Ilghazi reappeared on the scene with a group of Turkomans. After selling Balis to Salim ibn Malik, who in turn conceded it to the Aleppans, Ilghazi returned to Mardin, but he left behind his son Timurtash as his deputy¹⁴ in the city. According to the Aleppan author Ibn abi Tayyi (cited by Ibn al-Furat), however, the first son Ilghazi installed in Aleppo as his deputy was not Timurtash, as stated by Ibn al-Adim, Ibn al-Athir, Ibn al-Qalanisi and Al-Azimi, but his youngest son Sarim al-Din Kizil Arslan. He was succeeded by Timurtash only when he died in 513 (1119-1120), to the great sorrow of the Aleppans because of the excellent conduct Kizil Arslan had shown towards them.¹⁵

It was not only against Ilghazi that the Aleppans continued to rely on Frankish support. Ibn al-Adim relates that in the same year Aksungur approached the city again, this time with Tughtekin in his company, in order to demand their submission. Once more he met with a firm rejection from the people of the city, who declared: "We do not want anybody from the East!" — meaning presumably anybody associated with the Great Seljukids. Then they invited the Franks of Antioch to ward off Aksungur and Tughtekin, who returned home to Rahba and Damascus. Al-Azimi and

¹⁴ The precise word used by Ibn al-Adim here is in fact *rahīna*, meaning hostage. Similarly, the verb *rahana* is used by al-Azimi. Probably this should be taken to indicate that the son in question was left behind both as Ilghazi's representative and as a guarantee that he would return immediately to help the city if it found itself in difficulty again.

Ibn al-Qalanisi, relating the same event, do not mention the presence of Tughtekin or the Aleppans' invitation of the Franks, but content themselves with noting that Aksungur "approached" (Al-Azimi) or indeed "besieged" (Ibn al-Qalanisi) the city to take it, but was forced to depart when the affair did not turn out as he had hoped.

Shortly after this the economic conditions in Aleppo deteriorated still further, because of a great draught, so the inhabitants turned this time to Khir Khan ibn Karaja. Ibn al-Adim explains that this was owing to the good order he had brought to Hims, his own town, which he had also fortified. He relates that Khir Khan complied with the request and arrived at Aleppo; he settled in the citadel for fear of Ilghazi, on account of the old enmity between them. Ilghazi's son Kizil Arslan was also turned over to him.¹⁶

Although shortly before Tughtekin had received Khir Khan along with Aksungur hospitably at Damascus, he did not tolerate this last step by Khir Khan. He may have considered that Khir-Khan's takeover of Aleppo without any challenge would not be received well by Ilghazi, his ally and son-in-law. Aksungur was admittedly also an enemy of Ilghazi's, but Tughtekin's recent good relations with the Seljukid sultan and the help he had received from Aksungur in repelling the attack of the Franks from Tripoli necessitated him to support that emir, whereas he had no such reason to adopt a similar attitude towards Khir Khan as the latter acted alone. Khir Khan was little more than a minor local emir who had been trying to secure his independence from Damascus by supporting the Seljukid sultan against him, but now that Tughtekin had made up his differences with the sultan, he had no motive to indulge his once rebellious emir. Accordingly he marched to Hims to ravage its territory, and

¹⁵ For two other short reports concerning Ilghazi's takeover of Aleppo see *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 217 and Carole Hillenbrand, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: the Early Artuqid State* (İstanbul, 1990), 36 (English) and 150 (Arabic).

although Ibn al-Adim does not openly indicate so, this movement must have forced Khir Khan to abandon Aleppo and return to his town. For we hear no more of him in connection with that city. Tughtekin, on his part, was forced to return to Damascus upon receiving the news of a Franish attack upon the region of Hawran (mid-1118).

It was also around this time that the Franks of Antioch attacked a caravan that had set out for Aleppo, carrying provisions and money to relieve the city in its dire straits. After levying the taxes of usage from it at al-Qubba, in accordance with the treaty they had made with Yaruktash, the Franks returned to attack and capture the travelers and their possessions. They imprisoned the captives at Apamea and Ma'arrat al-Nu'man until they would fix the price of their ransom. But Roger returned all the captives and goods upon the protests of Ibn Milhi, who sent many gifts in return. Ibn Milhi himself was arrested sometime after this; he had tried to stir up the anti-Turkish sentiments of the Aleppans in an effort to deflect their hostility against his Damascene origins. He was replaced by Karaja, a black eunuch appointed by Sultanshah.¹⁷

Ibn al-Adim observes that the restoration of the caravan by the Franks had not changed the fact that their appetite for Aleppo was greatly whetted by the weakness of the city and by its failure to secure aid from other Muslim emirs. Accordingly they broke the truce and invaded the territory of Aleppo, seizing an immense amount of booty. In face of this treachery at the hands of long-time allies, the Aleppans turned to Tughtekin for help, but he was defeated by Joscelin of Tell Bashir. Ready even to abandon their anti-Seljukid policy, the Aleppans turned this time to the lord of Mosul, Juyush Bey, but he was preoccupied with the complications following the sultan's death in Baghdad. In the meanwhile the Franks of Antioch, accompanied by an

¹⁶ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 134.

Armenian detachment under the Rupenid prince Leo,¹⁷ proceeded to lay siege to Azaz, to the north of Aleppo. The castle came to the brink of capture. “The hearts of the Aleppans sank upon this news,” Ibn al-Adim states, “as there was no backing left for Aleppo except for that coming from Azaz and its lands. The rest of the Aleppan territory was in the hands of the Franks and the east of the province was ruined and desolate.” The conditions within the city were also very grave, with provisions depleted and grain and food prices soaring.

As a desperate last resort in this situation, the Aleppans decided to appeal once more to Ilghazi and sent a deputation of notables and officers to Mardin. Trusting that he would arrive at the head of an army large enough to relieve the city, they promised him a sum to pay his troops, which was to be levied from the townsfolk. Great was their disappointment, therefore, when Ilghazi appeared with only a small contingent. One reason for this may have been his desire to avoid losing further time while collecting Turkomans from Diyar Bakr, which could perhaps cause him to lose Aleppo to another Muslim emir or even to the Franks. Another reason may have been his knowledge that under the economic conditions prevailing in Aleppo he would barely manage to feed a great army for a long time, as he had learned the last time at his own expense. Whatever Ilghazi’s reasons for bringing along a small force may have been, the Aleppans were extremely discontented. He was initially denied entry into the city, and a new dispute broke out about whether he ought to be received at all. The emir had already departed for Mardin when a group of notables, headed by the *qadi* Ibn al-Khashshab, the effective administrator of the city at the time, caught

¹⁷ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 278.

¹⁸ *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated by Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham, New York, London, 1993), 222-23 (III.78).

up with him. Through demonstrations of kindness and friendship, they managed to persuade him to return to Aleppo.

After Ilghazi entered the city, Ibn al-Adim relates, he set about establishing his authority there. He got hold of the great citadel, expelled Ridwan's family, troops and companions from it, and extorted whatever remained of Ridwan's treasures from the associates of the eunuchs who had been administering the city since his death. He also placed under arrest his predecessors in government, Yaruktash, Ibn al-Milhi and Karaja. After this Ilghazi turned to the matter of Azaz and offered the money he had extorted in this way to the Franks who besieged the castle, in order to buy off their departure, but they refused to pay heed. Writing from a perspective of religious confrontation, Ibn al-Adim attributes this to "the strength of their aspirations against the cause of Islam." The practical reason seems to be that the fall of the town being imminent, the Franks had nothing to gain and much to lose by accepting the proposal. They must also have been aware that Ilghazi had arrived with too few troops to offer them any serious resistance; indeed even with this small force he was unable to feed his horses, as Aleppo stood on the verge of total ruin. According to Ibn al-Athir, this state of affairs resulted from the ravages and indifferent administrators of the last years, as well as from Lu'lu's distribution of Ridwan's treasures to preserve his position. When the garrison in Azaz learned of the miserable condition of Aleppo, Ibn al-Adim reports, they despaired of any relief from Aleppo, and surrendered the castle to the Franks.

After the fall of Azaz, the Franks no longer had any reason to reject a truce, though Ibn al-Adim still remarks with obvious relief that "they accepted it by God's grace." Peace was concluded on the following terms: the surrender of the fortress of

Hiraq;¹⁹ the abandonment of the districts to the north and west of Aleppo to the Franks; and finally a payment spread over four months for the recompense of war expenses, amounting to a total of one thousand dinars. This last was the sum that Ilghazi had mulcted from the servants of Lu'lu' and other eunuchs. Ibn al-Athir notes that it was sufficient to buy only a short truce, intended to last until Ilghazi could collect troops from Mardin and return to Aleppo. Following the conclusion of the agreement, Ibn al-Adim reports, Ilghazi set out for Mardin and Aleppo was supplied with enough food to satisfy the hunger of its starved inhabitants. As for the Franks, he relates that they returned to Antioch after having tilled the lands of Azaz and reassured the Muslim peasants there that they could stay.

6.1.2 *The significance of Ilghazi and Aleppo for each other*

Now the Franks had come to batter the gates of Aleppo from nearly all sides, and the city found itself in a very precarious situation. The fall of Azaz allowed the Franks to gain mastery of the entire plain to the north of the city, as well as to take control of the direct route of communications between Antioch and Tell Bashir. The castle of Hiraq had had to be ceded by the truce, and the valley of Butnan, to the northeast, was also ravaged or occupied by the Franks. Thus in Cahen's words the city, "almost encircled, cut off from its most important routes of communication, seemed to be on the brink of succumbing."²⁰

An important question that has been raised in connection with this onslaught of the Franks is whether their intention from the start was to capture Aleppo, or rather to try to gain ground without causing a major upheaval, an aim which failed

¹⁹ Al-Azimi notes that this castle was taken by the Franks from Zangi ibn Karaja al-Janahi, a brother of Khir Khan ibn Karaja. *Azimi Tarihi*, 34 (Arabic) and 42 (Turkish) (512: 1118-1119).

²⁰ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 280-81.

when they went too far in these efforts and through needless aggression pushed Aleppo into the arms of Ilghazi and his Turkomans. René Grousset, in conformity with his view of the Latin settlements as model proto-colonies, contends that the Franks of Antioch had established a protectorate over Aleppo that functioned well despite some abuses that were eventually corrected, like the capture of the caravan from Damascus. But it still wore down the Aleppans in the end, he says, and preferring a Muslim suzerain, they summoned Ilghazi. He argues that even after the capture of Azaz Roger could have remained “the arbitrator of Muslim Syria,” if he had had the wisdom to stop there. But then he committed a serious mistake by adding to his conquests Buza‘a and a castle in the outskirts of al-Bab, which amounted to the encirclement of Aleppo. Reducing the Arab population of Aleppo in this way to a situation of extremity, according to Grousset, Roger threw the weak city-republic ruled by eunuchs into the arms of its “savage” Turkoman protectors.²¹

Michael Köhler goes still further: although he admits that Roger’s efforts of territorial aggrandizement at the expense of Aleppo constituted a deviation from the line of coexistence maintained by means of truces and tributes, he insists that all that the prince in question wanted was “a change in the *status quo*, without attacking Aleppo directly.” But the conditions in Aleppo were arguably so aggravated as a result of this that the citizens were compelled to seek help from outside.²²

Given the Franks’ systematic efforts to encircle Aleppo from all sides however, in which they must have invested a lot in money, manpower and time,²³ despite the undeniable profits they also gained in the process, it does look like as if they were

²¹ René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-1936), I, 548-49.

²² Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1991), 138-39.

deliberately striving to capture the city. This is only too understandable, given the considerable advantages they would gain from the major shift in the power balance that would occur in the region as soon as this strategical keypoint had changed hands. As things stood by the end of 1118, there was still a state of equilibrium in this respect, admittedly with an advantageous position for the Franks because of the harmony prevailing among their leaders at the time. As Gibb puts it,

Jerusalem faced Damascus, Antioch faced Aleppo, and Tripoli faced the group of lesser cities in the upper Orontes valley. Although Aleppo lay between Antioch and Edessa, they, too, lay between Aleppo and the Muslim principalities to east and north, as Jerusalem lay between Damascus and Egypt.²⁴

The external powers were not in a position to disturb this equilibrium either, as the Seljukids had given up all their ambitions for Syria after the debacle of 1115, and the Turks and Byzantines in Anatolia balanced each other. Since Aleppo formed the pivotal point of the whole system, its annexation by any of the powers in the region would lead to a major reshuffling of the cards and provide that polity with a great advantage over the others, allowing it to establish ultimate hegemony in Northern Syria.²⁵ The Franks could not have been unaware of this fact, and accordingly went into attack once they found Aleppo almost helpless and ripe for encircling and capturing.

The result that emerges from these considerations is that there was indeed a real danger that Aleppo could fall to the Franks, and among the emirs of the Syria and Mesopotamia, only Ilghazi seemed to be in a position to prevent this. As Vāth observes, the power vacuum created in the Jazira because of the weakness of Aksun-

²³ Thomas Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), 88.

²⁴ Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "Zangi and the Fall of Edessa," in *A History of the Crusades* (Wisconsin, 1969), I, 449.

²⁵ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (London, 1965), I, 134-35; Gibb, "Zangi and the Fall of Edessa," 449-50; Carole Hillenbrand, "The History of the Jazira, 1100-1150," Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Edinburgh University, 1979), 140.

gur's successor in Mosul, Juyush Bey, had been filled by the Artukids. By dint of the numerous power bases they possessed in the region, they had become the greatest emirs of the Jazira and an ultimate source of help for the Muslim rulers in Syria, in case every other remedy failed.²⁶ Indeed we have seen that Ilghazi was the very last alternative to whom the Aleppans turned in desperation, after they had been unable to find any other Muslim emir willing to ward off the Franks from Azaz — the last bastion before they would be in a position to attack Aleppo itself.

Ilghazi, on his part, scarcely had any other option than to accept the invitation and assume the defense and administration of Aleppo. Otherwise there was a serious probability that this key to hegemony in Northern Syria could fall to the Franks, causing a serious shift in the power balance of the region that could bring danger as far as the gates of Mardin. For this reason, even though Ilghazi's own base was in Diyar Bakr, and Aleppo had been impoverished and its surrounding area devastated, he could not have afforded to sit back and watch it being captured if he did not wish to see his territories become the butt of Frankish aggression in turn. All this shows that Carole Hillenbrand is not quite justified when she criticizes Ilghazi for having behaved with poor judgement and with having committed a serious blunder by his involvement in the affairs of Aleppo, and considers this move in the same category as his expedition to Georgia, as a reckless striving for territories outside Diyar Bakr.²⁷

In fact Ilghazi seems to have responded to the invitation from Aleppo with considerable hesitation, rather than with a foolhardy appetite. If the Aleppan chronicler Ibn abi-Tayyi (cited by Ibn al-Furat) is to be lent credence, this attitude even

²⁶ Gerhard Vāth, *Die Geschichte der artukidischen Fürstentümer in Syrien und der Ġazira'l-Furatiya* (Berlin, 1987), 73.

²⁷ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 139-40.

went so far as offering the city to Tughtekin: in a letter he wrote to the *atabek* at this time, Ilghazi reportedly notified him that Aleppo had come into his hands, and in case Tughtekin wanted the city, he would gladly hand it over to him.²⁸ Some of the reasons for Ilghazi's hesitant attitude are self-evident: there was now constant Frankish pressure up to the outskirts of Aleppo, rendering it a dangerous place to own, while its economy was in a miserable state because of the past ravages and misrule.²⁹ In addition to these military and economic problems, Imad al-Din Khalil points out Ilghazi's general aversion towards fighting the Franks, evident since his takeover of Mardin. He suggests that this trait, "a psychological characteristic of Ilghazi in the first period of his political life," may also have played a role in his hesitation to accept the invitation from Aleppo.³⁰

This line of argument seems hard to accept, however. Ilghazi's aversion towards fighting the Franks in the past years had not stemmed from "psychological" causes, but rather from his resistance to the attempts of the Seljukid sultan and his governors in Mosul to bring him to heel. At that time he had nothing to gain by fighting the Franks, and much to gain on the contrary from making common cause with them. But now the attempts of the sultan to restore control over the region had ceased for good, and Ilghazi was left alone. If the reestablishment of Seljukid hegemony had not suited his interests, neither would the establishment of a Frankish hegemony bound to replace it as a result of the fall of Aleppo. It was for this reason that despite his misgivings that stemmed from the Frankish pressure on the city, the bad state of its economy, and the difficulty of paying his Turkoman troops, Ilghazi felt compelled to accept the invitation.

²⁸ Ibn al-Furat, II, 10-11, cited in Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 239, n. 1.

²⁹ Nikita Elisséeff, *Nur ad-Din: Un Grand Prince Musulman de Syrie au Temps de Croisades* (Damas, 1967), II, 318; Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 140-42.

Although Ilghazi thus took over the rule of Aleppo, he treated it only as a remote dependency. He avoided dedicating more time and resources to it than was strictly necessary or desirable. He governed the city through deputies, his son and then his nephew, and contented himself with visiting it from time to time, mainly in the context of his efforts to restore the *status quo* before its encirclement by the Franks.³¹ In fact Ilghazi did not have any other option, such as turning Aleppo into his main base. The Turkomans constituting the backbone of his family's power were still based in Diyar Bakr in this period, and although they had already begun to infiltrate Syria, their transfer and permanent settlement there in substantial numbers would have to await the time of Zangi and Nur al-Din.³² Since the Turkomans were notoriously reluctant to remain away from Diyar Bakr for long periods, Ilghazi would have found it well nigh impossible to shift his center from Mardin to Aleppo, even if he had wanted to do so in view of the largeness and prestige of the latter city.

Thus Hillenbrand is not justified in praising Ilghazi for the astuteness of his decision to keep with Mardin as his center, rather than moving to an Aleppo threatened by the Franks and Ismailians, a decision that secured the future of his dynasty in her view.³³ This was not so much a matter of personal decision as the result of structural and demographic factors. In any case, the result that emerges once again from these considerations is that Ilghazi's involvement in the affairs of Aleppo cannot be considered in the same category as his expedition to Georgia, as a reckless craving for spoils, prestige and perhaps also new lands. It was a responsible undertaking to

³⁰ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 239, n. 1.

³¹ Claude Cahen "Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukids," *Journal Asiatique* 227 (1935), 236; Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 142.

³² Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 185-86, Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler): Tarihleri – Boy Teşkilatı – Destanları* (İstanbul, 1992), 117.

³³ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 139, 142.

which the emir did not dedicate more effort and resources than was necessary and possible.

But Hillenbrand also goes to the other extreme in an effort to illustrate the secondary rank Ilghazi accorded to Aleppo. She maintains that he valued his possession of the city so little that during the campaign to Georgia he offered it to his son-in-law Dubais, in return for the latter's aid in a planned attempt to capture Antioch.³⁴ But it seems rather doubtful that this report of Ibn al-Adim can be considered in the way Hillenbrand does. Antioch was a still greater prize than Aleppo, and one that would be even harder to keep in hand, so Ilghazi's readiness to replace Aleppo with Antioch would hardly show that he attached little importance to having possessions in Syria in general. Furthermore, it emerges from the rest of Ibn al-Adim's report that on the way home from Georgia Ilghazi changed his mind about his former proposal, perhaps because he had no longer sufficient forces to attack Antioch, and sought some pretext to go back on his word. For this purpose he reportedly instructed his son in Aleppo to stage a fake revolt, which was then turned into a real one.³⁵ Whether one accepts the detail about the rebellion or not, the result that emerges from this anecdote is that unless Ilghazi saw any chance to receive a greater prize than Aleppo in Syria, he was not ready at all to forgo the city.

For this reason, Ibn al-Adim's story about Ilghazi's proposal to Dubais cannot be taken as evidence for his lack of interest in possessing Aleppo. Even though he was initially slow to take over Aleppo, and then accorded it only a secondary rank beside Mardin, he still seems to have regarded the city as an important possession and would not so easily forsake it unlike his son Timurtash later. Once he had taken over Aleppo he did not attempt to withdraw from Syria thereafter, and steadfastly

³⁴ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 143.

continued to defend it against the Franks. He also tried to make gains to secure it and make it more viable.

On the other hand, it would also be an exaggeration to argue like Imad al-Din Khalil that Aleppo, with its secure and central strategic position greatly conducive to fighting the Franks, paved the way for its rulers Ilghazi and Belek to take the leadership of jihad.³⁶ The intention of these two Artukid emirs was rather to defend Aleppo against the encirclement of the Franks, especially by pushing back its western frontiers, and thereby to prevent them tilting the power balance of the region in their own favor. There is no evidence beyond this to suggest that they ever thought of using Aleppo as the base for a major “Counter-Crusade” against the Frankish presence in Syria, quite apart from the opportunity it offered for some good fighting against “infidels.” These points will become clear in the subsequent discussion.

Even if Ilghazi was slow to take over and govern Aleppo, and it was the Aleppans who needed him against the Franks, this should not be taken to mean that everybody in the city was eager to accept him, especially when they saw the small reinforcements he brought. Indeed we saw that he was at first denied entry even when Azaz was about to fall, and it was a group of notables led the *qadi* Ibn al-Khashshab that persuaded him to stay. As Emmanuel Sivan indicates,³⁷ the *qadi* was not only the *de facto* administrator of the city at that time, but also the leader of the pietist circles among the indigenous notables and their popular clientage. These had gained in power after Ridwan’s death, and now successfully promoted the newly resuscitated jihad ideology in defence against the advancing Franks. It was also in this connection that the circles in question played a major role in the invitation to Ilghazi.

³⁵ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 628-29. See section 7.4 about the details.

³⁶ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 234-35.

But even at this time they were still far from enjoying the support of the majority of the populace, who remained untouched by the jihad ideology and still showed themselves willing to rely on Frankish support against Ilghazi and other Muslim emirs. Prince Roger successfully collaborated with such factions to bar the way of powerful rulers-to-be like Ilghazi.³⁸

As a result of this situation the Artukid emir was compelled to leave the city after only a short time, and the Aleppan troops besieged his garrison in Balis together with the Franks. Indeed it was not until the last minute, when the Franks' intention was made fully clear by the siege of Azaz, that the pro-jihad circles finally managed to get Ilghazi accepted. Even at this hour of pressing danger though, they met with serious opposition.

In this connection Sivan observes that this was not the first time that the weak ruler of a besieged city was replaced by a powerful foreigner, as Tughtekin had replaced the Fatimid governor of Tyre in 1112. But he draws attention to the fact that Ilghazi's replacement of Karaja in Aleppo represented the first such change that was carried out by a popular opposition animated by the slogans of jihad and led by the avowed protagonists of that idea among the notables. Indeed after Ilghazi's takeover Ibn al-Khashshab and his followers kept up the jihad propaganda and presented Ilghazi's actions in the garb of Holy War. How far Ilghazi himself shared in this view of his struggle against the Franks is a different matter that will be discussed at the end of the next chapter.

Whatever their ideological motivations, time showed that Ibn al-Khashshab and his followers were not mistaken in their invitation of Ilghazi. Although the im-

³⁷ Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et le Croisade: Idéologie et Propagande dans Réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris, 1960), 40-1.

portance of Aleppo remained limited for the Artukid emir, the reverse was not true: his short reign turned out to be of great significance for the city. As we shall see, he saved it from almost certain capture by his victory in the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, and secured its western frontier against the encroachments of Antioch. After his death, this policy was successfully continued by his nephew Belek. Admittedly, as observed by Gibb, the Artukid rule of Aleppo was far from providing the city with a perfect shelter from the Frankish threat. Among the reasons for this were the divisions within the Artukid family as well as the undisciplined nature of their Turkoman troops in search of booty, hard to keep in the field for extended periods.³⁹ But still the epoch-making significance of the Artukid period for Aleppo cannot be overestimated, and goes beyond the personal achievements of Ilghazi and Belek.

Cahen and Grousset, in particular, have analysed this importance in its various dimensions: the rule of Aleppo by the Artukids meant that henceforth it entered the protection of the local emirs of Syria and the Jazira, rather than the remote and ineffective protectorate of the Seljukids, which had been rejected long ago by the Aleppans. As a result of that rejection, Aleppo had been isolated and reduced to seeking continuously shifting alliances with other local polities in order to avert capture. Now, with the Artukid rule, the city was once again attached to a local power of the Jazira, as in the period of the Marwanids and Uqailids (late tenth-eleventh century).

This was a change for the better, for the Artukids and their similarly local successors in Aleppo proved capable of establishing a much closer relation between Syria and the Jazira than the Seljukid governors of Mosul, and consequently man-

³⁹ Harold S. Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States," in *A History of the Crusades* (London, 1969), I, 405.

aged to achieve much more substantial results against the Franks than they had ever done. The aforementioned scholars have also sought the reasons for this difference: the first among these was distance, both physical and psychological. The expeditions launched under the aegis of the Seljukids remained the interventions of a distant power, however colossal, and had an alienating effect on the Muslims of Syria. They also lacked effectiveness because of the fact that the interests and commitments of the emirs who took part in these expeditions lay elsewhere. This made them bent on returning home before long, especially when the campaign did not seem to be promising in terms of personal profit. In contrast, the physical and psychological distance was considerably reduced when the external power was indigenous to the Jazira.

The local polities in this region admittedly looked minute in comparison with the Seljukid Empire, but they had the advantage that they could concentrate most of their energies on the affairs of Syria. Another factor that helped the local emirs in this respect was that they were no longer compelled to defend their independence against the sultan's attempts to reestablish his authority. Despite their modest size, these polities also possessed the economic means needed to intervene in Syria, for unlike Muslim Syria, the eastern Jazira had been spared the ravages of the Frankish wars. The establishment of an alternative political link between the two regions, now via polities independent of Mosul and the Seljukids controlling it, allowed more liberal use of the resources of the one to defend the other, and in the age of the Crusades this new link was realized for the first time by the Artukids.

But it was not only the economic resources of the Jazira that the Artukids used to defend Aleppo against the Franks. They were also the first to introduce the Turkoman troops of Diyar Bakr into Syria since the establishment of the Seljukid

³⁹ Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "Zangi and the Fall of Edessa," in *A History of the Crusades* (Wisconsin, 326

dominion. Before them the Turkomans had been temporarily present in the area, but were then replaced by local units paid by the Seljukids. These in turn had declined in power, when the revenues of the provinces had decreased. Now, with the reign of Ilghazi and Belek in Aleppo, the Turkomans were introduced once more into Northern Syria, and this time their presence did not remain a temporary phenomenon as before. Continuing to stream in from Diyar Bakr at the time of Zangi and Nur al-Din, they were gradually settled in the country, especially in the border areas of Muslim Syria with Frankish territory. The establishment of this army of volunteers in North Syria would alter the numerical and social balance in the Muslims' favor. Indeed the demographic change in question provided the Zangids and Ayyubids with a significant support in their confrontations with the Franks.⁴⁰

Even before that stage, however, the establishment of a new independent link between Syria and the Jazira after Ilghazi's takeover of Aleppo bore its first fruits in the offensive he soon launched against the Principality of Antioch. It is to this subject that we shall now turn.

6.2 Plans and preparations for the offensive against Antioch; an important peace treaty with the Franks of Edessa.

The present section will first relate the preparations that Ilghazi and his ally Tughtekin undertook for their planned campaign against the Principality of Antioch, and then proceed to discuss their specific reasons and motives for launching the offensive. Lastly, it will dwell upon the significance of a treaty that Ilghazi concluded

1969), I, 451-52.

⁴⁰ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 549-50, and III, xx-xxi; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 284. Also see William Barron Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East* (Beirut, 1968), 109; Elisséeff, *Nur ad-Din*, II, 318.

with the Franks of Edessa while marching from Diyar Bakr to invade the Principality.

6.2.1 Preparations for the planned campaign

“By 1119 the Frankish danger [to Aleppo] had become so serious,” remarks Cahen, “that Ilghazi decided to put all at stake.”⁴¹ Ibn al-Athir relates how the Franks invaded and devastated districts of Aleppo when the truce expired. Having captured Buza‘a, among other places, they proceeded to lay siege to Aleppo itself, which scarcely had supplies to last a month. Greatly afraid of the Franks, the people of Aleppo agreed to share even the produce of the lands before the gates of Aleppo. An appeal made to Baghdad, where Sultan Muhammad had died last year, produced no result.⁴²

In the meanwhile Ilghazi was in Mardin, busy with the preparations for a counter-offensive against Antioch. While still in Aleppo he had established contact with Tughtekin, who was in trouble on his part with the Franks of Jerusalem; only lately they had defeated his son Buri near Ascalon. Proceeding to Aleppo, Tughtekin had asked for aid from Ilghazi, who had promised to cooperate with him against the Franks. While in Aleppo they had also received news of a Frankish raid against Hawran, a district of Damascus’s territory. Accordingly they had agreed that Tughtekin would return to Damascus to protect his lands, while Ilghazi would return to Mardin to raise troops. After that they would meet to fight the Franks.⁴³

Basing himself upon this report of Ibn al-Athir, Robert Nicholson argues that the original plan made by Ilghazi and Tughtekin was to launch an operation against

⁴¹ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 284.

⁴² Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi’-t-Tarih*, X, 439 and *Chronicle*, 203-04 (513: 1119-1120).

⁴³ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi’-t-Tarih*, X, 432 and *Chronicle*, 196-97 (512: 1118-1119).

the Franks of the south, but then these plans were soon discarded in favor of a campaign against Antioch.⁴⁴ The case seems rather to have been a pact of mutual aid, Ilghazi promising to help Tughtekin against Jerusalem in return for assistance in the campaign against Antioch. After the latter campaign ended successfully there remained no need for Ilghazi to support Tughtekin against the Franks of Jerusalem, for King Baldwin was distracted from territorial aggrandizement by the necessity of recovering Antioch's losses.

However, Ibn al-Qalanisi tells a somewhat different account of this agreement. He also notes the troubles of Damascus with the Franks: "Owing to the neglect of Islam to make raids upon them and prosecute the Holy War," he says, the Franks were preparing for a large-scale campaign to capture Muslim cities and devastate their territories. Getting news of this, Tughtekin warned the commanders and officials of his districts. In contrast to Ibn al-Athir, however, Ibn al-Qalanisi asserts that Ilghazi went to Damascus to meet with Tughtekin and deliberate about the course to be adopted against the Franks. Before setting out, he adds, Ilghazi had sent a message to the Turkomans of Diyar Bakr, "inviting them to carry out the obligation of Holy War and urging them to instigate one another to enroll for that purpose and to assemble their forces." He relates the agreement between the two emirs in line with Ibn al-Athir, though in a notably confrontational language: reportedly, the two emirs agreed that they would devote their entire means and energies to fighting the "infidel enemy," in order to ward them off before they could realize their plans, and also that Ilghazi would proceed to Mardin and assemble Turkomans by urging them "to destroy the factions of infidelity and error." Differently from Ibn al-Athir, however, Ibn

⁴⁴ Robert Nicholson, "The Growth of the Latin States, 1118-1144," in *A History of the Crusades* (Wisconsin, 1969), I, 412.

al-Qalanisi asserts that Tughtekin would also come with Ilghazi to assist him in gathering the Turkoman troops.

Ibn al-Qalanisi proceeds to report that the two emirs accordingly set out for the Jazira during the first ten days of Ramadan 512 (16-25 December 1118), and that Tughtekin stayed there until his return in Safar 513 (14 May – 11 June 1119). Again in a language replete with tones of religious confrontation, the chronicler states that they resolved with the Turkomans that the latter would “set their affairs in order and make preparations for moving into Syria with their numerous hosts and invincible determination, so that they might unite for the succour of the Faith and the rooting-out of the stiff-necked misbelievers.”⁴⁵ Despite Ibn al-Qalanisi’s tone, however, it remains a rather moot point how far the emirs themselves drew upon jihad propaganda to rally Turkoman troops. The chronicler may only have been grafting his own jihad rhetoric, perhaps colored by his later experiences under Nur al-Din, on to arguments of quite another kind that were actually used by the leaders — such as promises of abundant payment and booty. But Al-Azimi testifies that the *qadi* Ibn al-Khashshab also went east to join Ilghazi and returned to Aleppo with the Artukid troops.⁴⁶ So the jihad propaganda mentioned by Ibn al-Qalanisi may have been carried out by this leader of the jihad proponents in Aleppo rather than by the emirs themselves, and we shall see the same happen before the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*.

As for the question of whether it was Ilghazi who came to visit Tughtekin, and more importantly, whether the latter really accompanied Ilghazi to the Jazira to assist in the assembly of Turkoman troops, it is difficult to assert anything for certain. At first sight it would seem rather implausible that Tughtekin should have abandoned Damascus to go east for several months (from December 1118 to May 1119)

⁴⁵ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 157-59 (512: 1118-1119).

while his southern frontier was being threatened by the Franks of Jerusalem. As usual, Ibn al-Qalanisi may have been trying to magnify his patron's role here, first in having Ilghazi come to him, rather than the reverse, and then having Tughtekin play a prominent role in the mobilization of Turkomans through jihad propaganda. But Ibn al-Adim's testimony does seem to give support to Ibn al-Qalanisi, at least on the latter point. After Ilghazi had marched east, according to this source, Tughtekin went to meet him at Qal'at Ja'bar (Dawsar), and once the two had agreed on a common plan, they proceeded to Mardin. There they assembled a great army by corresponding with the Muslim troops and Turkomans near and far.⁴⁷ It could be accepted in the light of these considerations that Tughtekin probably met with Ilghazi at Aleppo or Qal'at Ja'bar, and spent a rather short time with him in Diyar Bakr, before he went back to his threatened city.

6.2.2 *The reasons and motives behind the campaign*

Returning to Cahen's statement about the seriousness of the Frankish danger in Aleppo, it is time now to examine the factors that caused Ilghazi and Tughtekin to embark on preparations for such an ambitious offensive against the Franks. This is all the more necessary as they had remained neutral or on the defensive since the first Battle of Tell Danith in 1115, even after their abandonment of the Frankish alliance. The answer to this question lies in the extremely precarious situation of Aleppo, as indicated by Cahen, and also in the newly found albeit dangerous freedom of these two emirs once the Seljukid claims and protectorate on their territories had vanished for good with the death of the sultan. Added to this may be the close collaboration between the two emirs that had been going on for some time.

⁴⁶ *Azimî Tarihi*, 34 (Arabic) and 42 (Turkish) (512: 1118-1119).

In this connection Runciman asserts that the capture of Buza'a by the Franks proved to be "more than Ilghazi could endure," as it caused Aleppo to be encircled from three sides.⁴⁸ But this happened only in spring 1119, when Ilghazi was already preoccupied with the collection of troops in Diyar Bakr. Therefore the cause of the campaign cannot have been the capture of Buza'a. On the same issue Carole Hillenbrand contents herself with pointing to Ilghazi's "heightened awareness of the danger" posed by Roger of Antioch, insofar as this prince, by uniting the Franks in Northern Syria and exploiting the divisions between the Muslim rulers, had come to threaten Aleppo itself.⁴⁹ On the other hand, both Runciman and Hillenbrand place special emphasis on the new freedom that the two emirs had found after the death of Sultan Muhammad in 1118, which had rendered them more confident and ambitious. Runciman also suggests that it was because of this ambition that Ilghazi wanted to secure the possession of Aleppo for himself, and argues with some degree of exaggeration that the goal in question turned out to entail "the destruction of Frankish states" that threatened the city — although he admits that this had not been Ilghazi's primary aim from the beginning.

But still the two scholars do not seem to have discerned the full significance of Aleppo as the chief factor behind the campaign, whereas Cahen made the apt observation quoted at the beginning about Ilghazi's determination to "stake all" to avert its capture. It is nevertheless Thomas Asbridge who has best discerned this point, offering a convincing and detailed analysis of the specific goal Ilghazi had in mind when embarking on the campaign.⁵⁰ He explains that the goal in question was to cap-

⁴⁷ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 615-16.

⁴⁸ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 147-48.

⁴⁹ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 171-72.

⁵⁰ Thomas Asbridge, "The Significance and Causes of the Battle of the Field of Blood," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 309-13, 316.

ture al-Atharib and Zardana, and thereby to establish some degree of control over the frontier line between Antioch and Aleppo that ran through these castles. This line began southwards from Azaz and passed east of the hilly, rocky region of Jabal Talat, which formed a natural barrier between Aleppo and the Principality. There was a second frontier line passing west of Jabal Talat, running through Artah, Imm and Harim. Tancred had captured al-Atharib and Zardana in early 1111⁵¹ and his successor had taken Azaz in late 1118, so by 1119 the eastern frontier of Antioch had expanded eastwards from the second, westerly line to the first, easterly one. This situation posed a serious threat to Aleppo while it offered considerable protection to Antioch. For once the Franks controlled the easterly line they had only to cross a flat plain of thirty kilometers to reach the gates of Aleppo, while their own territories lay safe behind natural defence of Jabal Talat and the castles to its west.

In the light of these considerations, Asbridge convincingly argues that Ilghazi's goal in his campaign of 1119 was to push back the western frontier of Aleppo with Antioch from the east to the west of Jabal Talat and thereby to guarantee the continued security of the city. In addition to the formidable danger from the west, the city was also encircled from the north and east after the fall of Azaz and Buza'a. Consequently it found itself in a Frankish stranglehold, isolated and vulnerable against a direct attack. It was to break this stranglehold that Ilghazi launched his offensive against Antioch. Tughtekin on his own part helped him because if Aleppo fell, Damascus was bound to be next in line, and a close cooperation had developed between the two emirs in the last decade.

In the previous section we have seen Imad al-Din Khalil argue that the possession of Aleppo caused Ilghazi and his successor Belek to assume the position of

⁵¹ Asbridge, *Creation*, 65-6.

leadership in jihad against the Franks. It emerges from these considerations that what Ilghazi had in mind was to safeguard his new possession Aleppo against Frankish threat, rather than to use it as a base for waging Holy War *per se*. And it is hard to assume like Runciman that safeguarding Aleppo necessarily entailed the destruction of the Frankish states, although he admits that Ilghazi may not have initially aimed at this. Of course the campaign ended up inflicting considerable damage on the Frankish principality, above all on its manpower, but it can hardly be argued that Ilghazi was striving at the destruction of this state as the only way to safeguard Aleppo. He was only trying to push back its eastern frontier.

But this does not necessarily mean either that the campaign was unrelated with the motivation of jihad, notwithstanding the possible use of this concept to mobilize the Turkoman masses, or that the leaders had “more strategical considerations in mind.”⁵² Such an approach is based on the unwarranted assumption that jihad should have always acted as an independent motivation completely detached from any strategical considerations. It ignores the possibility that for Ilghazi and his contemporaries jihad may have been the form in which the strategical task of defending a Muslim city was perceived and understood whenever the enemy happened to be Christian. A fact that seems to support this possibility is that it was none other than the pietist, pro-jihad circles in Aleppo headed by Ibn al-Khashshab who invited Ilghazi against the Franks: insofar as they constituted the local circle that held the political power in this period, it is quite possible that they may have determined or at least helped Ilghazi to determine the aforementioned strategical aim of the campaign.⁵³ Indeed Sivan observes that the influence of the jihad ideology and pro-jihad

⁵² Asbridge, “Significance and Causes,” 309.

⁵³ Compare Asbridge, “Significance and Causes,” 313.

circles in Aleppo was directly proportional to the threat it faced at the time from its Frankish neighbors.⁵⁴

Thus it would be unjustified to believe that the contemporaries understood jihad in the sense of a selfless, idealistic, wholesale onslaught on the “infidel” enemy, without the pursuit of any specific interests or strategical aims, and on these grounds argue that any campaign taking such factors into account could not have anything to do with jihad. This concept could have had many other ways to function than as an independent motivation to extirpate the “infidels.”⁵⁵ This issue will be discussed at greater length in the final section of the next chapter.

6.2.3 *Galeran’s raid into Artukid territory and Ilghazi’s peace treaty with Edessa*

We have seen that Ilghazi had proceeded east to his home territory Diyar Bakr, possibly in the company of his father-in-law Tughtekin, in order to collect troops for their planned campaign against Antioch. While he was still there, in March 1119, a raid was carried out against his territory by Galeran, lord of al-Bira. Galeran was acting at the time as regent for Baldwin du Bourg, recently crowned as Baldwin II of Jerusalem. It might well be that he undertook this raid to distract the new lord of Aleppo from his preparations for the campaign against Antioch, and also to reduce the military forces at his disposal by striking them at home in Diyar Bakr.

The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle reports that Galeran assembled as many forces as he could, and attacked the camps of the unsuspecting Turkomans in the plains of Mount Hisma to the east of Edessa, on the borders of Ilghazi’s territory. Killing many of them and taking five hundred prisoners, as well as capturing innu-

⁵⁴ Sivan, *L’Islam et la Croisade*, 39, 42.

merable horses, camels, cattle and sheep, he brought these back to Edessa.⁵⁶ As it emerges from the reports of two Muslim chroniclers, however, Galeran did not only raid the Turkomans at this time, but also attacked a castle in the region. For Al-Azimi notes among the events of the year 512/1118-19 that the Franks captured the castle of Sinn and killed Mani' ibn Utair al-Numairi there.⁵⁷ That the individual in question was the emir of this castle is revealed by Ibn al-Athir.⁵⁸ This chronicler reports among the events of the same year that Ilghazi's envoy reached Baghdad to gather troops against the Franks, declaring that they had seized a castle by Edessa and killed its emir, Ibn Utair. The envoy also complained of what the Franks had done to the Muslims in the Jazira, which might be referring to Galeran's raid upon the Turkomans in the region. Letters to this effect were also sent to the new sultan Mahmud, away from Baghdad at the time. This summons of help from the Seljukids seems surprising at first: had not Ilghazi been covertly or openly resisting their armies for the last decade?

Imad al-Din Khalil suggests that by stressing the Frankish danger impending against the Jazira, Ilghazi was trying to awaken the Seljukids to the fact that the Crusader army had come to beat against the gates of Seljukid Iraq itself.⁵⁹ The Artukid emir may have thought that this was the best and perhaps the only way to secure reinforcements from the sultan, even though there is no evidence in the sources that any eventually arrived from the East. Ilghazi's previous attitude against the Seljukid armies under Aksungur and Bursuk would have been enough reason to dissuade the

⁵⁵ Sivan remarks in this connection: "Attempting to detect an act that is due to the idea of jihad taking effect at a 'pure state' would therefore be a vain enterprise; it would be similarly in vain to desire to separate the influence exercised by this factor from that of the others." *L'Islam et la Croisade*, 205.

⁵⁶ "The First and Second Crusaders from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," translated by M. A. S. Tritton with notes by H. A. R. Gibb, *JRAS* 92 (1933), 87-8; *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad A.C. 1234 Pertinens*, translated by A. Aboune (Louvain, 1974), 60-1.

⁵⁷ *Azimi Tarihi*, 34 (Arabic) and 42 (Turkish) (512: 1118-1119).

⁵⁸ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 433 and *Chronicle*, 197 (512: 1118-1119).

new sultan from sending any reinforcements, despite Ilghazi's efforts to win his favor by warning him about the Frankish danger and stressing his own efforts to ward off their attacks.⁶⁰ Even if the Seljukid sultan had been willing to dispatch a contingent of his own, he would scarcely have found any to spare from his struggle against his rebellious brother Tughril and his uncle Sanjar.⁶¹ In the light of these considerations, an alternative and perhaps a more likely explanation is that Ilghazi's envoy was in Baghdad solely to request permission to gather troops from there as well, rather than ask for a new army to be sent west — which is what Ibn al-Athir himself is saying in effect.

It seems that Ilghazi had almost finished collecting troops by the time of Galeran's attack, being ready to set out for Aleppo. So in retaliation he first marched with his army to Edessa and pitched camp in its neighborhood, while it was still harvest time (April 1119). The Anonymous Syriac, apparently unaware that Ilghazi had long been preparing for a campaign against Antioch, represents the emir's mustering of the army and march upon Edessa simply as a result of his anger at Galeran's raid, which he says became "the cause of evils." Nevertheless, he states that Ilghazi kept his distance from the fields and crops, and after securing the release of the Turko-mans captured, departed without inflicting any damage on the city and its lands. This measured retaliation of Ilghazi against Edessa may be taken as evidence that he wanted to avoid distractions from his intentions against Antioch, underlining the seriousness of the latter.

Ibn abi Tayyi (cited by Ibn al-Furat) offers a generally parallel, though slightly different and more detailed account of Ilghazi's dealings with the Franks of Edes-

⁵⁹ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 241, n. 3.

⁶⁰ Vâth, *Geschichte*, 76.

⁶¹ İbrahim Kafesoğlu, "Selçuklular," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, X, 375.

sa.⁶² In contrast to the Anonymous he asserts that Ilghazi did graze his horses on the crops and fertile lands of Edessa; this was to bolster their strength, as there was a severe drought that year. Growing afraid of Ilghazi's movements at the head of numerous troops, the Franks reportedly sent to ask for reconciliation and offered to return the Muslim captives in their hands. Ilghazi agreed to the offer only on condition that they would stay in their lands and refrain from aiding Roger of Antioch when he joined battle with the prince.

Thus the Franks of Edessa managed to avert a siege of their city at the expense of leaving the Antiochenes alone against Ilghazi's offensive. That this caused some degree of embarrassment in the County is evident from the testimony of Matthew of Edessa, who contents himself with noting that Ilghazi remained four days before the city without being able to inflict any harm on it.⁶³ Living in the County of Edessa at the time, Matthew would have been in a better position than most to know that this was only thanks to the agreement made in betrayal of Antioch with Ilghazi. So for understandable reasons he seems to have passed over the agreement in silence.

This measured policy that Ilghazi adopted toward the Franks of Edessa, despite their recent raid and capture of the castle of Sinn, hardly stands in need of explanation. He had little time to lose with them, and in order to gain ground and possibly a victory against the Franks of Antioch, he also had to ensure that they would not get help from those in Edessa. Striking an astute course of action, therefore, he preferred to arrive at a separate agreement with the County of Edessa, without more ado, and, in Khalil's words, "was able by this apt move to isolate one of the most important Crusader powers" from its neighbor on the eve of his campaign.⁶⁴ This

⁶² Ibn al-Furat, *Tarikh* II, 25; cited in Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 241 and Vāth, *Geschichte*, 76.

⁶³ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 223 (III.79).

⁶⁴ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 241.

achievement was all the more significant if Galeran's raid had indeed been undertaken to help Antioch by hindering Ilghazi's efforts to muster troops and launch a campaign against it. Now the Franks of Edessa would have to stand aside and passively watch the outcome of the affair.

Setting out from Edessa and crossing the Euphrates in the company of his vassal Toghan Arslan, emir of Bitlis and Arzan, Ilghazi arrived in North Syria at the beginning of May 1119, as previously agreed with Tughtekin.⁶⁵ Apparently unaware that Ilghazi had already got hold of Aleppo some months before, the Anonymous reports that he first proceeded to Harran and took hold of it, and thence advanced to Aleppo to occupy the city and its territory. "He became more powerful than all the Turkish chiefs," the author comments; "even the governors of Assyria and the East obeyed him. He assembled innumerable troops and invaded the territory of Antioch." Despite this chronological error of the Anonymous, it is still interesting to note his observation that Ilghazi had become the most powerful chief in the East through his occupation of Aleppo, confident and strong enough to attack Antioch itself. Of course the Anonymous is much less astute with his simplistic attribution of the attack to Ilghazi's anger at Galeran's raid, as we have seen earlier.

It was apparently a similarly simplistic explanation for Ilghazi's campaign against Antioch that is offered by Matthew of Edessa,⁶⁶ who attributes it to Ilghazi's anger at Roger's capture of Azaz. He relates that "a deep conflict developed between the emir Ilghazi and Roger" following the fall of Azaz. "The two had formerly been very intimate friends," the chronicler explains, "but now became enemies, because both Aleppo and Azaz belonged to the Turkish emir Ilghazi, the son of Artuk. So Ilghazi fulminated with rage [over this matter]." Collecting a tremendous army of

⁶⁵ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 76.

eighty thousand men, as a result, he marched against Roger.⁶⁷ Matthew's theory about the cause of the campaign seems relatively closer to the truth though than that of the Anonymous, for Ilghazi had indeed begun preparations for his campaign after his invitation to Aleppo during the siege of Azaz. Nevertheless, the chronicler is mistaken in reducing Ilghazi's motivation to his personal feelings of resentment toward Roger for dispossessing him of a castle.

It is still interesting to see Matthew claim that Ilghazi and Roger had been "intimate friends" before the fall of Azaz, even though we cannot know whether this statement is only based on their past alliance against the Seljukid armies (in 1115), or whether their "friendship" indeed went deeper than that, approaching any degree of intimacy. The second possibility would seem far more doubtful. As Michael Köhler observes,⁶⁸ the alliance of Ilghazi, Tughtekin and Roger back in 1115 was far from being the result of a new ideology of tolerance for "Frankish-Muslim friendship;" it was merely the product of sober political calculation. No wonder that another such story of "friendship" dating from that alliance, the one between Tughtekin and Robert fitzFulk, lord of Zardana, would end up with the execution of the latter at the very hands of his "friend."⁶⁹ Matthew's statement that the "intimate friendship" between Ilghazi and Roger instantly turned to enmity once the latter took hold of Ilghazi's possession is also proof that their friendship was not much different in this respect.

This much said, it remains interesting how Matthew could state at all that the Turkish and Frankish rulers had been intimate friends before they joined battle. It is possible to observe here the traces of a secular rather than a religiously confronta-

⁶⁶ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 222-23 (III.78).

⁶⁷ We have already seen Matthew's subsequent report of Ilghazi's halt by Edessa on his way to invade the Principality.

⁶⁸ Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 131-33.

tional view of the battle and its causes: the author describes a battle that did not break out because of the antagonism between the Christians and “infidel” aggressors, but rather because one of two “intimate friends” who happened to be of different religions laid hands on the property of the other, who thereupon grew angry as was only too natural. This is not a view one would normally expect to find in the account of Matthew, a cleric, considering the perspective of religious confrontation often patent in his work.

6.3 Ilghazi’s Syrian campaign and the Battles of *Ager Sanguinis* (Tell Afrin) and Tell Danith

A great number of sources touch upon Ilghazi’s Syrian campaign — Arabic, Latin, Syriac and Armenian — which is in itself a sign of the importance accorded to it by contemporaries. As before, we shall analyze in order the accounts of the Arabic, indigenous Christian and Latin sources about the campaign and the resulting battles.

6.3.1 *The perspectives of the sources*

6.3.1.1 *Ibn al-Adim*

The most detailed Muslim account of Ilghazi’s campaign and the resulting battles of *Ager Sanguinis* and Tell Danith belongs to Ibn al-Adim,⁷⁰ which is no surprise given that he was the local chronicler of Aleppo, Ilghazi’s city at the time of the campaign. Ibn al-Adim relates that after Ilghazi had crossed the Euphrates he spread his forces over the territory of Tell Bashir and Tell Khalid to plunder and take captives. At this time envoys from Aleppo arrived to summon him back, informing him

⁶⁹ Usama ibn Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades*, translated by Philip Hitti (London, 1987), 149-50.

of the incessant attacks made against the city from al-Atharib; these had driven the populace to the brink of despair.

Upon this news, Ibn al-Adim relates, Ilghazi marched to Marj-Dabiq and thence to Muslimiya and Qinnasrin at the beginning of June, and dispatched raiding parties against the Franks in the Ruj valley. Here Ilghazi's troops also captured the castle of Qastun. This incursion was dictated by the best strategy, Grousset observes, for the district of al-Ruj, filled with Frankish castles and covering Antioch from the south, constituted a stronghold of primary importance for them, while it also secured the lines of communication between Antioch and Apamea.⁷¹ Ibn abi Tayyi (cited by Ibn al-Furat) adds that Ilghazi also carried out attacks against Harim and Jabal Summaq from his base at Qinnasrin.⁷² In response Prince Roger advanced to the Iron Bridge and thence to Balat, where he pitched camp on Friday 9 of Rabi' I (20 June 1119). Ibn al-Adim notes that Balat was situated between two mountains near Darb Sarmada, to the north of al-Atharib.

Ilghazi intended to wait for Tughtekin, Ibn al-Adim states, so that they could deliberate about the course to adopt. But his emirs, vexed and frustrated by the prolonged immobility imposed on them, came together and urged him to join battle without waiting any longer for the *atabek*. It might be suggested, however, that the actual cause of the emirs' impatience was their reluctance to share the expected spoils with the troops of Damascus; that would have considerably reduced their share of the booty. Thinking no differently perhaps on this matter, Ilghazi consented to their demand and had them renew their oaths; namely that they would be earnest in the battle, stand their ground when fighting the enemy, and sacrifice their lives in

⁷⁰ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 616-22.

⁷¹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 550.

⁷² Ibn al-Furat, II, 25-6, cited in Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 242; also see Vāth, *Geschichte*, 76.

waging jihad. Like the exhortations that Ibn al-Qalanisi said were deployed by Ilghazi and Tughtekin as they collected Turkoman troops from Diyar Bakr, these oaths are important insofar as they contribute to the discussion of how far Ilghazi himself subscribed to jihad ideology and propaganda — an issue examined in section 7.8.

After the emirs had sworn their oaths in good faith, Ibn al-Adim continues, the Muslims, having left their tents in Qinnasrin, marched in detachments on Friday 16 Rabi‘ I (27 June), and spent the night in close proximity to the Franks. Ibn al-Adim is the only source beside Walter the Chancellor to report that the Franks had begun to construct a castle commanding Tell Afrin. The chronicler notes that the Franks supposed that the Muslim army was besieging al-Atharib or Zardana, and so hardly noticed anything before the morning, when they saw themselves surrounded on all sides by the Muslim army.

At this point another important piece of evidence is provided by Ibn al-Adim about the use of jihad propaganda in Ilghazi’s campaign, although its authenticity is again doubtful for reasons that will be discussed in section 7.8. The *qadi* Ibn Khashshab, with a lance in his hand, reportedly mounted a mare and began exhorting the troops for the fight. But one of the Turkomans exclaimed in contempt: “We did not come from our country for the sake of this turbaned fellow!” Nevertheless the *qadi* did not heed this utterance, and approaching the troops, “delivered them an eloquent address in which he aroused their determination and stirred up their ardor, going between their ranks; he thus caused the troops to weep, and attained to great stature in their view.”

Then the attack was launched with the emir Toghan Arslan in the van, who went around behind the Franks and descended upon their tents; plundering these, he killed those inside. The Franks who rushed to the tents in flight were also killed.

“God granted the victory to the Muslims,” Ibn al-Adim remarks, and relates that at this point the entire Turkish army, “showing themselves loyal to the oaths they had sworn,” made a common charge from all sides and showered the Franks with arrows, putting them to flight. The Frankish cavalry was overwhelmed by the arrows, while the infantry as well as the body of camp-followers and servants were utterly destroyed. All the surviving enemy troops were captured, and Roger was killed in the battle. Ibn al-Adim notes that a mere twenty men were lost by the Muslims, whereas only twenty Franks survived, with losses amounting to almost fifteen thousand troops on their side.

At this point Ibn al-Adim briefly turns to reflect on the confrontation from the perspective of the Aleppans, who were anxiously awaiting the outcome of a battle on which their whole fate hung. They had been assembled in the Great Mosque for the ritual prayers of noontime, with the battle still in full course, when they heard the great outcry of victory from the west, and a messenger arrived to bring the glad tidings of victory. No soldiers were to arrive however before the ritual prayers of afternoon. The way Ibn al-Adim brings the time of the arrival of the news of victory and that of the first victorious troops explicitly in relation to the ritual prayers of noontime and afternoon, and the way he depicts the people of Aleppo prostrate in prayer in the Great Mosque, are probably not merely straightforward indications about the time of the events: they rather seem like conscious devices meant to stress the importance of the battle for the liberation of Aleppo from the “infidels,” as well as to demonstrate God’s support for the victory.

Returning to the battlefield, Ibn al-Adim relates that Ilghazi had settled in Roger’s tent to receive the booty and captives brought in by the troops. Nevertheless he returned all of these to his soldiers, except for some arms that he intended to send

as gifts to other Muslim emirs. Of course Ilghazi did not really have any other option here, for these goods were the primary reason why the Turkomans had come all the way from their home territory in Diyar Bakr.

But Roger's tent also serves Ibn al-Adim as the scene for yet another episode that is intended, like the previous one in Aleppo, to underline the importance of the victory for the Muslims and to demonstrate God's support for their cause. Among the captives brought before Ilghazi, there was reportedly a man of great stature and remarkable strength, who had been captured surprisingly by a short, weak, badly armed man. Asked by the Turkomans whether he was not ashamed to be captured by such a weak man, while he himself was clad in iron, the man reportedly answered: "By God, it is not this man here who captured me, and it is not he who is my master; the case was rather that a tall man of greater stature and strength than my own captured and delivered me to this one. He wore a green dress and under him there was a similarly green horse." This anecdote, representing the battle as a religious confrontation in which God and the Muslim saints assisted the Turkish army, seems to be a Muslim version of the tale about white-clad hosts supporting the Crusader army in the Battle of Antioch.⁷³

After the battle, Ibn al-Adim continues, the Muslim troops spread over the territory of Antioch, which was still tranquil as the news of Frankish defeat had not reached it yet, and took innumerable captives, animals and booty. One of these raiding parties reportedly came across King Baldwin and Count Pons near Jabala, on their way with reinforcements for Roger. Attacking the Franks, they killed and plundered some, while the king and the count were compelled to seek refuge in the mountains. Baldwin hastened from here to Antioch, Ibn al-Adim states, while Ilghazi

advanced upon Artah; he was joined there by Tughtekin and his forces. A comparison with the Latin sources reveals that the chronicler drew upon a remarkable amount of information about the measures taken by the king once he reached the city. After receiving Roger's treasures and possessions from his widow, Ibn al-Adim relates, Baldwin got hold of the houses and possessions of the slain, and wed their wives to the survivors. Reconstituting the cavalry and assembling new troops after this, he made himself master of Antioch.

At this point Ibn al-Adim does not spare Ilghazi a direct criticism: if instead of making for Artah he had headed for Antioch and reached it before Baldwin, the chronicler asserts, the city could not have resisted him. As we shall see, Walter the Chancellor also counts the delay of Ilghazi before Artah as a cause of his failure to march against Antioch. Walter adds to this Ilghazi's habit of heavy drinking and the dispersal of his troops after acquiring booty, which are also reasons brought forward by Usama ibn Munqidh and Ibn al-Qalanisi respectively. Further on, in section 6.3.2 we shall discuss the justice of such criticisms, which have been put forward by many other historians, contemporary and modern alike.

Ibn al-Adim proceeds next to relate the siege and capture of al-Atharib and Zardana. We have seen in the last section that these castles constituted the expanded eastern frontier of the Principality, located east of Jabal Talat, and were therefore Ilghazi's chief targets since the start of the campaign. Accordingly he turned around to besiege al-Atharib, and attacking its lower town, killed and robbed whoever he could lay his hands on. But Ibn al-Adim indicates that it was not before a body of *ahdāth* (urban militia) had arrived from Aleppo and made a breach in the walls that

⁷³ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, edited and translated by Rosalind Hill (Oxford, 1962), 69.

the garrison consented to surrender and demanded safe conduct. The emir granted it to them and took hold of the town.

After this Ilghazi proceeded to Zardana, the defences of which had been fortified and bolstered by the Franks. When the news of the siege of Zardana reached its lord, Robert fitzFulk, he urged the king and other Franks to set out for its relief, particularly since they had learned that the Turkomans had dispersed home with the booty they had collected, leaving Ilghazi with only a small number of troops. On receiving the news of this exchange Ilghazi pressed on with the siege, and spent all his efforts against the castle until its garrison too was compelled to demand safe conduct. The dispersal of the Turkomans and Ilghazi's haste to capture Zardana under these conditions are also reported by Walter the Chancellor.

Thus the major part of Ilghazi's Turkoman army had already scattered at this stage, before the following Battle of Tell Danith and while he was attacking his principal targets, the key Frankish positions neighboring Aleppo. This points once again to the considerable difficulties involved in keeping the Turkomans on campaign for long periods. Another interesting fact revealed here is that both the Muslim and Christian sides were very well aware of what was going on in the opposite camp, down to what the Frankish leaders discussed among themselves. This could be due to an extended network of spies deployed by both sides, and indeed we shall see Walter the Chancellor relate how Ilghazi used spies disguised as bird-sellers to gather information about the composition and movements of the Frankish army.

Ibn al-Adim reports that Ilghazi granted safe conduct to the garrison of Zardana and sent them to Antioch, but on the way they were robbed and some of them killed by a group of Turkomans. As we shall see, Walter the Chancellor accuses Ilghazi of having deliberately sent these men after the Franks. After Ilghazi had gar-

risoned Zardana and sent his baggage and tents back to Qinnasrin, Ibn al-Adim proceeds, he set out for Tell Danith, accompanied by Toghan Arslan, Tughtekin and their troops. Reaching Tell Danith on the same day, 4 Jumada I (13 August 1119), he found that the Franks had pitched camp there on the very day of his capture of Zardana. They had two hundred tents, more than four hundred horsemen, and numerous infantry forces.

Ibn al-Adim offers a fairly detailed account of the rather confused and undecided Battle of Tell Danith fought on the next day. When the fight began, he relates, Robert of Zardana and the major part of Frankish cavalry made a charge upon the troops of Damascus and Hims as well as a group of Turkomans, defeating and routing them. Then the lord of Zardana hurried to relieve his town, expecting besides to plunder the baggage of the Muslim army too, but he was compelled to return upon learning that the town had already been captured by the Muslims and that their baggage had been sent to Qinnasrin. Back on the battlefield, in the meantime, the rest of the Muslim army had attacked the king and his troops, killing some and throwing back the others. At this point, Ibn al-Adim relates, the three emirs Ilghazi, Tughtekin and Toghan Arslan charged with their remaining forces against the Franks and defeated them, killing the major part of the infantry and part of the cavalry. They pursued the fugitives until these sought refuge in the castle of Hab, and collected most of their belongings as booty. Returning after this to the battlefield at Danith, the emirs came across Robert fitzFulk and the other Franks in his company, who were coming back with empty hands from Zardana. They defeated these forces too, killing many of them, while the rest similarly fled to the castle of Hab.

Thus the Turks returned home victorious and laden with booty, Ibn al-Adim states, but the outcome of the battle was not so unequivocal as he has it. We shall see

that some other Muslim sources represent the outcome of the battle rather as a draw, while the Latin sources claim victory for their own side. But Ibn al-Adim's account does offer some hints as to why there was so much ambiguity about the result. Apparently the reason was that both armies had routed some part of the opposing army, while a part of their own ranks had also been put to flight by the enemy. As a result, the news of these various events with contrasting results reached those behind the front separately and at different times, giving rise to considerable confusion. Thus the detachment entrusted with the baggage at Qinnasrin, on learning that the lord of Zardana had defeated the Muslim forces opposing him, forwarded this news to Aleppo where it raised the utmost alarm. But two hours later a new message arrived, this time bringing the news of the success won by Ilghazi, Tughtekin and Toghan Arslan, which "turned their sorrow to happiness and their distress to joy." Reportedly, the reverse of this happened on the Frankish side: the news of the success of the lord of Zardana caused them to decorate their cities with "joy and happiness," but these feelings turned to "sorrow and distress" when Pons of Tripoli arrived with the news of the defeat of his contingent.

Ibn al-Adim notes that Robert of Zardana was also captured upon falling from his horse and brought to Ilghazi; sent by the latter to Tughtekin, he was killed in captivity. Among the other Frankish captives, he notes, Ilghazi released the castellans, the officers, "the son of Bohemond, lord of Antioch" (*sic.*) and the envoy of the Byzantine emperor,⁷⁴ along with a small number of men possessing money, which he

⁷⁴ At this time Bohemond's son was still a small boy of around eleven, residing by his mother's side in southern Italy. Probably Ibn al-Adim confused him with somebody else among the Frankish notables captured. But we have some evidence that Bohemond II did come to the Latin East for a few months in 1122 (see section 7.5), so there is still some possibility that he was paying a temporary visit in 1119 as well, and like the Byzantine envoy had joined Roger's forces as a non-combatant. The capture and ransoming of the Byzantine envoy himself is told in more detail by Orderic Vitalis, as we shall see further on. For the significance of Ilghazi's release of the envoy see section 6.3.2 about Ilghazi's apparent failure to attack Aleppo.

took as the price of their ransom. He had the thirty remaining captives slaughtered, and then set out for Mardin in Jumada I 513 (August-September 1119). According to Ibn al-Adim his purpose was to collect a new body of Turkoman forces and then to return with them to Aleppo, for the city was still economically in too weak a state to support his stay there.

6.3.1.2 *Usama ibn Munqidh*

We have seen Ibn al-Adim criticize Ilghazi for his apparent failure to reach Antioch before Baldwin, which allegedly cost him the golden opportunity of capturing the city. A similar criticism is brought against the emir by a contemporary of the event, Usama ibn Munqidh.⁷⁵ Relating the battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, Usama states briefly that “by the decree of Allah” Ilghazi killed Roger and slaughtered all his troops save twenty in an engagement at Tell Danith. He reports immediately after this that Baldwin marched to Antioch to get hold of it, and was able forty days later to stand in battle array against Ilghazi. This way of telling the story is obviously intended to raise the question of what Ilghazi had been doing in the meanwhile, and Usama seems sure that he has the answer for it. He claims that after his rout of the enemy Ilghazi fell to drinking wine and entered one of his habitual periods of intoxication that was said to last for twenty days. By the time he could recover from this state, King Baldwin had already reached Antioch with his army. The charge implied here is that because of his prolonged drunkenness Ilghazi had lost a golden opportunity to capture Antioch.

Admittedly Ilghazi’s habit of intoxication is attested by other sources as well, notably by Ibn al-Qalanisi as in the case of his capture by Khir Khan in 1115. But it

seems necessary to seek other reasons for Ilghazi's apparent failure to attack Antioch, for all the other sources including Ibn al-Adim testify that he was far from being in a state of drunken stupor throughout the period between his victory at *Ager Sanguinis* and his confrontation with the king at Tell Danith. As Thomas Asbridge points out, he was in fact busy at this time with the siege and capture of al-Atharib and Zardana, among others, which had been his principal goal from the start. Consequently Usama's anecdote should rather be attributed to his desire to tell an entertaining story, or to his general hostility as an Arab noble towards a Turkoman chieftain.⁷⁶

Usama's evaluation of the Battle of Tell Danith, although brief, seems far more sound. He states that the results of this second battle were even: "Certain Franks routed certain Muslims, and other Muslims routed other Franks... from both sides a large number were killed." He adds that the Muslims captured Robert of Zardana.

6.3.1.3 *Ibn al-Athir*

Ibn al-Athir's account,⁷⁷ although shorter than Ibn al-Adim's, provides a number of original details about the battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, and some of these are also corroborated by the Latin sources. He relates that the Franks "realized the strength of Ilghazi's purpose to fight them" when he crossed the Euphrates with twenty thousand men, accompanied by Toghan Arslan. Consequently, they pitched camp with three thousand cavalry and nine thousand infantry near al-Atharib, at a place called Tell Afrin. Ibn al-Athir indicates that this was situated amidst mountains and could be accessed by only three routes.

⁷⁵ Usama ibn Munqidh, *Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior*, 148-49. It must be pointed out though that Usama set down his testimony only in the 1180s, more than sixty years after the event.

⁷⁶ See Asbridge, *Creation*, 79 and "Significance and Causes," 314-15.

Because of the difficult access to the region, Ibn al-Athir relates, the Franks supposed that nobody could move against them. Having recourse to delaying tactics, “as was their habit,” they sent a message to Ilghazi: “Do not fatigue yourself by marching towards us; we shall come to you.” According to Ibn al-Athir, then, this message was a trick of the Franks to dissuade Ilghazi from advancing against them, so that they could wait in their supposedly safe position until the Turkomans would disband or their own reinforcements would arrive. But we shall see it emerge from Walter the Chancellor’s account that the Franks were indeed actively seeking battle and preparing to move against the Muslim army. Ibn al-Athir goes on to relate that Ilghazi informed his followers about the Franks’ message and consulted them about the course to adopt; their answer was that they had better attack the Franks at once. This is in accordance with Ibn al-Adim’s report that it was the emirs in Ilghazi’s army who urged him to join battle without further delay.

The chronicler states that Ilghazi set out immediately upon this, and while the Franks still imagined that nobody could reach them in their secluded position, his army infiltrated Tell Afrin through the three narrow paths leading there. Before the Franks were aware of it, the Muslim vanguard was upon them. This must have been the contingent under the command of Toghan Arslan, as Ibn al-Adim’s account reveals. But Ibn al-Athir’s version of what happened next is quite different from that of Ibn al-Adim, who stated that Toghan Arslan’s contingent successfully attacked the Frankish tents, followed by a united charge of the entire Turkish army. In parallel with Walter the Chancellor, Ibn al-Athir asserts instead that the troops in the Muslim vanguard were put to flight by a charge of the Franks — carried out by the battle lines of St Peter (an elite fighting group) and Geoffrey the Monk, according to Wal-

⁷⁷ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi ’t-Tarih*, X, 439-40 and *Chronicle*, 204-05 (513: 1119-1120).

ter — and turned back only when they met the rest of the Turkish army charging in waves. In the intense battle that ensued, he continues, the Franks were surrounded from all sides and “the sword fell upon them from all directions.” Only a small group escaped, all the others being slain or captured. More than ninety leading knights among the captives were taken to Aleppo, while Roger himself was killed and his head taken. Aware of the importance of the battle, and interpreting it as the triumph of Islam over Christianity, Ibn al-Athir also quotes a number of verses from al-Azimi that celebrate the victory and praise Ilghazi:

Say what you will. Your words are the welcome ones.
After the Creator our reliance is upon you.
The Koran rejoiced when you brought it victory.
The Gospel wept for the loss of its followers.

The aftermath of the battle of *Ager Sanguinis* finds only short shrift in Ibn al-Athir’s account, and his chronology is confused, as he erroneously relates the conquest of al-Atharib and Zardana after the Battle of Tell Danith. All he has to say about the latter battle is that the survivors of the first battle joined with “others” but were again met and defeated by Ilghazi. There is no explicit mention of King Baldwin and the Count of Tripoli, and the outcome is indicated without further details as an unequivocal victory for Ilghazi. Ibn al-Athir concludes his account by noting that Ilghazi returned to Aleppo to put its affairs in order, and then went back to Mardin.

6.3.1.4 Al-Azimi

The author from whom Ibn al-Athir cited the verses above, the Aleppan chronicler Al-Azimi, who was an exact contemporary of Ilghazi, also offers an account of the battle in his short chronicle.⁷⁸ Although this account is quite brief, in keeping with the sparse character of the work, it is still quite detailed in comparison

with the average, one-sentence length of the other reports, a fact that reveals the importance given by Al-Azimi to the event. It even includes some more celebratory verses from the author on the victory. Al-Azimi first states in his usual laconic style that Najm al-Din (Ilghazi) and (Toghan Arslan) Ibn Husam al-Dawla attacked the Franks of Antioch at Tell Afrin, “so that not a single Frank was able to escape.” Then he proceeds to note that before the battle he had written a *qasida* inciting Ilghazi to confront the Franks; from this poem he cites the following verses:

Tell the raging polytheists that one by one
You shall take our revenge from them.
Not even a single messenger escaped amongst them
Since snares surrounded them in your hands.

Al-Azimi swears that the matter actually turned out just as he had foretold here, adding the dictum “the prophecy of poetry never lies.” Halving the number of survivors and losses given by Ibn al-Adim, he asserts that among the Franks nobody but ten men could escape, who died on reaching Antioch, whereas scarcely ten were killed on the Muslim side.

Relating the aftermath of the battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, Al-Azimi indicates that Ilghazi captured al-Atharib and Zardana, and then another group of Franks went forth to engage him at Tell Danith. He remarks that “this was a strange battle,” in reference without doubt to its equivocal outcome whereby each side defeated and was defeated by the other. Nevertheless, he still contends that “the majority of the Franks perished in it.”

6.3.1.5 *Ibn al-Azraq*

Whereas al-Azimi leaves his normally laconic style to dwell a bit longer and even to wax rhapsodic on Ilghazi’s victory against the Franks, the chronicler Ibn al-

⁷⁸ *Azimi Tarihi*, 34-5 (Arabic) and 42 (Turkish) (513: 1119-1120).

Azraq, who served Ilghazi's son and successor Timurtash, offers a surprisingly short and dry account of the event. This is all the more interesting as the victory in question saved Aleppo, Timurtash's one-time possession before his abandonment of it and withdrawal to Mardin. All that the chronicler has to say on this important event is the following: "Ilghazi remained [in Syria] until the year 513 [1119] when he took possession of Aleppo and fought the Franks, inflicting a decisive defeat on them, plundering their possessions and taking a great number of them prisoner. This was the defeat at Balat."⁷⁹

But the brevity of the account and its lack of any rhetorical flourish still constitutes interesting evidence insofar as it demonstrates how little interest the chronicler's patron Timurtash had in fighting the Franks, even when it was strictly necessary to protect his possessions, and how little he took his father as an example in this sense. Were it otherwise, the chronicler might have deemed it profitable to expatiate at some length on the achievement of Ilghazi, possibly drawing upon what he had heard from the mouth of Timurtash himself, who was sufficiently grown up at the time of the battle to remember the events. This last point may again be taken to show how little one spoke of the Franks and Ilghazi's exploits against them in Timurtash's circle.

All this is hardly astonishing, for we shall see in chapter 9 that Timurtash abandoned Aleppo to its fate just at a time when it was besieged by the Franks, refusing to bring reinforcements from the Jazira. This was of course an attitude that stood in stark contrast with Ilghazi's reaction to the Aleppans' summons of aid against the siege of Azaz. Perhaps it was none other than this contrast that led Ibn al-Azraq to give short shrift to the event.

⁷⁹ Carole Hillenbrand, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: the Early Artuqid State* (Istanbul, 355

6.3.1.6 *Ibn al-Qalanisi*

Throughout his account of the battles of *Ager Sanguinis* and Tell Danith⁸⁰ Ibn al-Qalanisi places Tughtekin, rather than Ilghazi, under the spotlights. Although Ilghazi was in fact the victorious general Ibn al-Qalanisi hardly even mentions his name, and, as we have already seen to some extent in his account of the preparations, traces Tughtekin's movements from Damascus to Diyar Bakr, then back to Damascus, thence to Aleppo, and after the battle once more to Damascus, keeping him in the centre of the stage as the protagonist of the story. Moreover, he seems to narrate Tughtekin's movements immediately before the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* in a manner calculated to give the impression that he was actually present in the engagement, and reveals his absence from the battle only when, in an effort to stress the importance of Tughtekin's role still further, he offers it as a reason for the failure of the Muslims to capture Antioch.

Thus Ibn al-Qalanisi states that Tughtekin, after having returned from Diyar Bakr before Ilghazi, remained at Damascus until the appointed time of meeting drew near, and set out for Aleppo on Rabi' I 513 (12 June, 1119). When the *atabek* arrived at Aleppo "to join forces with Najm al-Din (Ilghazi), according to the plan arranged between them, at the expiration of the period specified in their deliberations," Ibn al-Qalanisi states in an effort to underline Tughtekin's punctuality, "he found the Turks already assembled thither from every quarter and every direction, in vast numbers and manifest strength, as lions seeking their prey and gerfalcons hovering over their victims."

The problem here is of course that Tughtekin did not appear on time, as we know from the other Muslim sources. Perhaps the reason for this delay was a conflict

1990), 36.

that Fulcher reports to have taken place by the river Jordan between the troops of Damascus and the forces of Jerusalem under King Baldwin.⁸¹ Fulcher asserts that the king set out north to comply with Roger's call for aid only after driving off the Damascenes, and it could be imagined that Tughtekin was likewise able to set out to meet Ilghazi only after this time, missing his appointment as a result. It is also possible that Tughtekin's skirmish with the king of Jerusalem actually played a very useful role (conceivably a planned one) in preventing the king of Jerusalem from reinforcing Prince Roger before Ilghazi could attack him. This is supported by Fulcher's mention of the king "driving off" the Damascenes, implying that the latter were the aggressors. Whatever the reason for the delay, we know from Ibn al-Adim's account that Ilghazi was forced by his emirs to move against the Franks without waiting further for Tughtekin in Qinnasrin.

Notwithstanding Ibn al-Qalanisi's insistent emphasis, therefore, Tughtekin could not have arrived at Aleppo at the time they had specified, assuming that Aleppo was indeed the agreed meeting place. Even if he did show up in the city, he could not have seen the innumerable Turkoman troops there, for by this time they had departed with Ilghazi to confront the Franks. But taking refuge behind the ambiguity of pronouns,⁸² Ibn al-Qalanisi still continues to tell the story as if Ilghazi and Tughtekin had indeed met at Aleppo, for he next states that the news reached "them" of Roger's departure from Antioch with twenty thousand men, "completely equipped and perfectly armed," to pitch camp at Danith.

As so often, Ibn al-Qalanisi uses a rhapsodic language replete with terms of jihad ideology and religious confrontation when relating the armed clash itself.

⁸⁰ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 159-61 (513: April 1119-1120).

⁸¹ See the analysis of Fulcher's account below.

⁸² This ambiguity is indeed notoriously conspicuous in medieval Arabic chronicles.

When the Muslims learned the whereabouts of the Frankish army, he writes, “they flew towards them with the wings of hawks flying to the protection of their nests,” and upon approaching the enemy “they charged upon them and encompassed them on all sides with blows of swords and hails of arrows.” Despite the rhetoric, Ibn al-Qalanisi’s account of the battle is still in conformity with the other Muslim sources who indicate that the Franks were suddenly surrounded from all sides by the Turks. “God Most High, to whom be the praise, granted victory to the party of Islam against the impious mob,” Ibn al-Qalanisi declares, representing the victory as the triumph of Islam over the “impious” like Ibn al-Adim, Ibn al-Athir and Al-Azimi. He depicts the defeated Frankish army as “one prostrate mass, horsemen and footmen alike, with their horses and weapons, so that not one man of them escaped to tell the tale, and their leader Roger was found stretched out among the dead.” He claims that the Franks were laid to the ground when scarcely one hour of the day of battle had passed, but this must be considered an exaggeration in view of Ibn al-Adim’s testimony that the Aleppans heard the cry of victory at noontime, and the first troops returned only by the afternoon.

Like the other Muslim authors, Ibn al-Qalanisi celebrates the victory in extolling terms, declaring: “This victory was one of the finest of victories, and such a triumph⁸³ was never granted to Islam in all its past ages.” In similar rhetoric he goes on to reflect upon the consequences of the victory for Antioch, suggesting like Ibn al-Adim and Usama ibn Munqidh that the opportunity was ripe for an attack against the city: “Antioch was left without protection and bereft of its defenders and menfolk, emptied of its valiant men and heroes, the prey of whoever rushed for it, and the op-

⁸³ For *naṣr*, instead of “plenitude of divine aid,” as in the English translation. See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Tarikh Dimashq*, edited by Suhail Zakkar (Damascus, 1983), 320.

portunity of whoever desired it.”⁸⁴ But the opportunity was wasted, Ibn al-Qalanisi states, and for this puts forward two reasons different from those offered by Ibn al-Adim and Ibn Munqidh.

According to Ibn al-Qalanisi the first of these reasons was the absence of the *atabek* from the battle, and this is indeed the first place in the account where Tughtekin’s absence is revealed. The cause of Tughtekin’s failure to participate, Ibn al-Qalanisi explains, was that the Turkomans had “hurried ahead to engage the Franks without making preparation for the battle.” This accords well with the account of Ibn al-Adim, but of course conflicts with what Ibn al-Qalanisi had said before about the Turkomans in Aleppo. The second reason according to Ibn al-Qalanisi was the preoccupation of the Turkoman troops with taking possession of the spoils, “wherewith their hands were filled and their spirits fortified, and with whose beauty their hearts were rejoiced.”⁸⁵ Neither of these reasons put forward by Ibn al-Qalanisi is supportable, however, since Ilghazi had his own reasons for choosing not to attack Antioch, as we shall see in section 6.3.2.

It is also noteworthy that throughout the account of the battle Ibn al-Qalanisi keeps speaking of “the Muslims” or “the Turkomans” as the subjects of the action, but never explicitly mentions Ilghazi’s name — at least not after the point where he relates how Ilghazi and Tughtekin agreed upon a meeting time in Syria. This interesting attitude on Ibn al-Qalanisi’s part might be interpreted in various ways: as a result of the chronicler’s willingness to leave his patron Tughtekin as the only important leader on the scene; as evidence of the embarrassment and jealousy caused in Damas-

⁸⁴ For *wa baqiyat antakya shāghiratan khāliyyatan min ḥumātihā wa rijālihā; khāwiyatan min kumātihā wa abṭālihā; farāsata’l-wāṭhib, nuhzata’l-ṭālib*, Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Tarikh Dimashq*, 320, instead of “Antioch was left defenceless and bereft of its protectors and trusty men-at-arms, a prey to the attacker, and an opportunity to the seeker,” as in the English translation.

cus by Ilghazi's great victory in a battle in which Tughtekin had failed to take part, or as a sign of the indignation aroused there by Ilghazi's failure to wait for Tughtekin.

All of these interpretations suggest in fact that there was some degree of rivalry for prestige and power between the two emirs, at least as far as Tughtekin was concerned. Nevertheless, Ilghazi's relationship with Tughtekin as his son-in-law apparently set limits to this rivalry, as it emerges from Ibn abi-Tayyi's aforementioned report about his offer of Aleppo to the *atabek*.⁸⁶ This is probably why Ibn al-Qalanisi avoids directly charging Ilghazi for what he regarded as the waste of a golden opportunity for taking Antioch. Without endorsement from Tughtekin himself, it would have been inadvisable for a discreet chronicler associated with the *atabek* to denigrate his son-in-law.

Probably due to the equivocal results of the following Battle of Tell Danith, and especially because a part of the Damascene army had been defeated in that battle by the lord of Zardana, Ibn al-Qalanisi omits to mention it altogether. Instead he concludes his account with *āyats* from the Qur'an, "These are dwellings wasted," and "Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds." Lastly, he traces Tughtekin back to Damascus, which he says the *atabek* entered on 6 September.

6.3.1.7 *Matthew of Edessa*

After reporting Ilghazi's halt before Edessa, as we saw in the last section, Matthew of Edessa proceeds to relate the rest of the campaign.⁸⁷ He states that Ilghazi crossed the Euphrates and devastated the territories of Tell Bashir and Tell Khalid before coming to Buza'a to pitch camp there. Then he embarks on a criticism of the

⁸⁵ It is interesting to note here that even when making this criticism Ibn al-Qalanisi cannot resist the temptation of using rhetorical flourish, which contributes an unintended irony to the passage.

⁸⁶ Ibn al-Furat, II, 10-11, cited in Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 239, n. 1.

mistakes of Prince Roger, whom he holds primarily responsible for the following debacle. He points out Roger's arrogance and pride; being overconfident in his strength, according to the chronicler, he had neglected to take any precautions. Still more interestingly, Matthew criticizes the prince for his racial pride and corresponding contempt for the Turks: "He remembered the pride of the race from which he descended and profoundly despised the Turks."⁸⁸

But the Turks were far from deserving this contempt, Matthew gives to understand, noting that they "prepared themselves in every possible way and even set up ambushes in a number of places." In stark contrast, Roger showed himself careless enough to go into battle against them "without taking any precautionary measures, without gathering a sufficient number of troops around him, or without even summoning other Franks to his aid." Matthew also gives detailed information about the composition of the Antiochene army: reportedly this consisted of six hundred Frankish horsemen, five hundred Armenian horsemen, four hundred infantry, and a mixed rabble of around ten thousand men.

Matthew's account of the battle itself, which he locates near al-Atharib, conforms with the other testimonies we have seen. He relates that in the "frightful and violent battle" all the Christian faithful were enveloped by the innumerable Turkish forces, being unable to find a means of escape, and were massacred by the sword. While "the great Frankish count" Roger was killed together with his troops, very few could escape. Since the whole Frankish army had thus been practically annihilated, "the Turks ravaged all the country from the Euphrates River to the Mediterranean Sea, bringing bloodshed and enslavement to all the districts they invaded."

⁸⁷ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 223-24 (III.79).

In contrast to the Muslim sources, however, Mathew does not suggest in any way that this situation left the city of Antioch defenceless and exposed it to a Turkish attack. Nor does he mention the capture of the castles of al-Atharib and Zardana.

Matthew then goes on to relate the Battle of Tell Danith, noting that King Baldwin arrived at Antioch, and collecting the remnants of the Frankish forces, marched against the Turks. His evaluation of the outcome of the battle is confused: on the one hand he openly admits like Usama ibn Munqidh that “neither side was fully defeated or victorious,” since both sustained heavy losses and turned to flight. But on the other hand Matthew also stresses the high number of the Turks slain, who reportedly amounted to five thousand. However, he omits the number of Frankish losses, which must have been comparable. Also interesting is Matthew’s note that the Turks lost their men not only “by the sword but also through suffocation from the intense heat,” as if the Franks would not have suffered from the same factor. Not content with all this, he states in conclusion that Ilghazi returned to his country “having been shattered by the king of the Franks.” Thus it seems as though Matthew was aware that the outcome of the battle amounted to a draw, but still tried as hard as he could to represent it as a victory for the Franks.

6.3.1.8 *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*

In his account⁸⁹ the Anonymous also assumes a critical approach to Prince Roger, but represents the outcome of the second battle as an unequivocal victory for the Franks. We have seen in the last section how he related that Ilghazi, angered by Galeran’s raid, first marched against Edessa, then crossed the Euphrates and occu-

⁸⁹ This is the rendering of the RHC edition and translation in *Historiens Arméniens* I, 122. The English translation reads, somewhat more euphemistically: “bringing to mind the greatness of his own people, he was contemptuous of the Turkish forces.”

pied Aleppo, thus becoming the most powerful leader in the region, confident enough to invade the lands of Antioch. When Roger heard of this invasion, the Anonymous states, he marched to meet Ilghazi. In striking resemblance to Matthew's evaluation of Roger's attitude, he asserts that "the proud young man... thought that he could defeat the Turks alone and keep the glory and victory," and so without waiting for the arrival of King Baldwin and Galeran, imprudently drew near the Muslim camp.

Interestingly, the Anonymous asserts that Galeran set out at this point to bring aid to Roger, although we have seen Ibn al-Furat report that the Edessenes had agreed with Ilghazi to refrain from assisting Antioch. This action of Galeran is not mentioned anywhere else, not even in Matthew's chronicle, so it seems sensible to assume that it is a mistake on the Anonymous's part. Alternatively, it may have been the product of a deliberate effort to conceal the Edessenes' betrayal of Antioch, much as Matthew had suppressed the agreement made with Ilghazi while he was encamped before Edessa.

Of course there is also the possibility that Galeran broke his promise to Ilghazi and set out for Antioch at the same time as the king, but arrived like the latter only after the battle. Nevertheless, this latter possibility is ruled out by the testimony of Fulcher of Chartres. The latter reports that after his arrival in Antioch the king sent a delegation to Edessa, summoning its army to join himself at Antioch by a forced march. It emerges from here that in contrast to the Anonymous's testimony Galeran could not have set out for Antioch before the first battle. He had remained loyal therefore to his agreement with Ilghazi. Nevertheless, he did obey King Baldwin's summons before the second battle, as reported by the Latin sources.

⁸⁹ "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," 88.

The Anonymous states that the Turks were equally desirous of fighting before the arrival of Frankish reinforcements. In accordance with the other sources, he relates how they “surrounded Roger like a ring and showered on the camp arrows like clouds of hail.” Resorting to his usual manner of accounting for the result of battles between Christians and Muslims, he remarks that “God was angry with the Franks and turned his face from Roger.” In an effort perhaps to imply that the death of this prince was not an ordinary one, but rather the consequence of divine punishment, the Anonymous asserts in contrast to the other sources that Roger vanished and “was never found, neither among the dead nor the prisoners.” The author also notes that all the baggage and possessions of the Franks were seized as booty by the Turks, but he omits any mention of their depredations or the capture of al-Atharib and Zardana.

The Anonymous goes on to relate that the king arrived at Antioch with the count of Tripoli and was joined there by Galeran. After assuming the rule of the city, Baldwin mustered the troops that were still available and marched to meet Ilghazi. “God was angry with the Turks this time,” the Anonymous remarks in keeping with his previous interpretation, and Ilghazi was defeated as a result. Having lost many of his troops, he barely escaped with a few followers to Aleppo. Thus, among the sources examined so far, the Anonymous goes the furthest in representing the outcome of the second battle as an unequivocal victory for the Franks. But in doing so he clearly oversimplifies the events. For even among the Latin sources only Walter the Chancellor claims that Ilghazi and Tughtekin were so heavily defeated as to return with a handful of men to Aleppo. Even if it is accepted that Ilghazi and Tughtekin had only a few men with them as they entered Aleppo, this may well have been due to the dispersion of the Turkomans in search of plunder, a notorious habit

of these troops after battles, rather than to a disastrous defeat that deprived them of the major part of their army.

6.3.1.9 *Michael the Syrian*

In Michael the Syrian's account⁹⁰ the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* finds rather short shrift. The author relates that Ilghazi (whom he confuses with Gumushtekin Ghazi Danishmend) invaded the region of Antioch with an army of seven thousand, and Roger set out to meet him with numerous infantry. But then the prince fell into the midst of an ambush set up by the Turks, who encircled the Franks and massacred many of them, including Roger himself. This is all that Michael has to say about the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, but some pages later he also cites a more detailed account of this battle, found in an Arabic source he drew upon.⁹¹ Interestingly, this source claims that Ilghazi made a final attempt to conclude peace with the Franks, after he had arrived back in Aleppo and captured Nisibis (14 April). But the two sides failed to reach an agreement, the story goes, so Ilghazi assembled a great number of Turks, "since they were very docile to him." Due to the huge number of these troops, they could not even all be counted, save for the one thousand emirs present among them.

This account by Michael's Arabic source does not seem plausible. Ilghazi had begun collecting troops from Diyar Bakr already by the beginning of the year, as the Muslim sources reveal, and not only after the failure of this alleged attempt to make peace with the Franks following his return to Aleppo in the spring. Once he had arrived with the Turkomans at Aleppo, moreover, he stood little chance of making peace with the Franks and sending the troops home. As always, they had consented

⁹⁰ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, edited and translated by J. B. Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910), III, 204-205.

⁹¹ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 218.

to abandon their home territory only in return for the rewards they were promised. If now Ilghazi sent the Turkomans home without the battle that would have provided them with the booty they sought, he would have to compensate them out of his own resources for their expenses and time. This was certainly beyond his powers in view of the sorry state of the Aleppan treasury. It was also unlikely that the Franks could be persuaded to pay so hefty a sum for peace. There is little possibility therefore that Ilghazi could have restarted negotiations with the Franks after his return to Aleppo with the troops he had collected. In relating the battle itself, Michael's source, like Matthew and the Anonymous, stresses Roger's neglect to wait for the arrival of the king, which he says was the reason why the prince was cut into pieces and Ilghazi obtained a triumph.

In his own account Michael proceeds to relate the depredations of the Turkish troops after their victory. Although the author does not explicitly mention the capture of al-Atharib and Zardana, he does indicate that they captured the fortified places in the region, and adds that they killed a great number of the monks in the Black Mountain (Amanus) as well. He states that the Turks stayed there for a long time and "committed ruthless crimes," until King Baldwin arrived from Jerusalem upon receiving the news.

Although still brief, Michael's account of the Battle of Tell Danith itself seems a plausible alternative to that of Ibn al-Adim's. He reports that the Turks set ambushes for the king as they had previously done for Roger. When compared with Michael's account of the previous battle, this could be taken to mean that Ilghazi's troops tried to encircle the forces of the king from all sides, just as they had done to Roger's forces in the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*. This stands in remarkable conformity with Walter the Chancellor's version, as we shall see. Like the latter chronicler,

moreover, Michael omits any mention of the lord of Zardana and the Frankish troops accompanying him, and concentrates instead on the actions of the king. We have seen Ibn al-Adim relate that Ilghazi, Tughtekin and Toghan Arslan attacked the king's forces, defeating them, killing most of the infantry, and throwing them back to the castle of Hab. Michael relates in contrast that the king advanced against the Turks and defeated them, while a group of the Turks in ambush massacred his infantry from the rear. Noticing this, the king turned round to annihilate these troops in ambush also. He then pursued Ilghazi, who escaped with some of his forces from the battlefield, while others sought refuge in Aleppo.

The only common point with Ibn al-Adim's account here is Michael's admission that the Franks lost the major part of their infantry. He asserts that otherwise "the Turks suffered a great defeat on this day." Further discussion of the precise course of the battle will have to await the examination of the Latin sources, particularly Walter the Chancellor. For now let it suffice to say that although Walter similarly shows Baldwin playing a crucial role that saved the day, even he concedes that the king had to withdraw to Hab at some point, despite adducing various pretexts for this retreat. Fulcher of Chartres admits as well that the Turks scattered a part of the Frankish army up to the gates of Antioch. Hence Michael's assessment of the outcome of the battle appears rather lopsided, even in comparison with the Latin sources.

In conclusion Michael relates how the Frankish captives were set free and how the survivors of the first battle entered Antioch with the king. The account of yet another Syriac author, Bar Hebraeus,⁹² is merely a summary of Michael's, and adds nothing new of interest.

⁹² Bar Hebraeus, *Abu'l-Farac Tarihi*, trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1982), II, 356.

6.3.1.10 *Fulcher of Chartres*

“We do not wish to encumber our history by enumerating all the unfortunate events that took place that year (1119) in the region of Antioch.” Fulcher begins his account⁹³ with these words, revealing his intention to describe the Frankish disaster at *Ager Sanguinis* very briefly and to focus instead on the “sins” of Roger of Antioch and his men as the cause of their defeat. Accordingly, he contents himself with stating that Roger went out to fight the Turks but was killed near Artah. He also gives the number of the slain, seven thousand Franks against twenty Turks; the last number conforms with the one given by Ibn al-Adim.

If Fulcher knew more indeed about “the unfortunate events... in the region of Antioch” than he reveals here, his reticence can be taken as evidence that the crushing defeat and decimation of the Normans of Antioch was felt all too painfully as a great disaster even in the distant Kingdom of Jerusalem. This point is important also for Fulcher’s account of the Battle of Tell Danith, for if Fulcher had indeed felt *Ager Sanguinis* to be too embarrassing an event to relate, it would only be a natural reaction for him to exaggerate the gains of the Franks in the second battle. He would then present it as an unequivocal triumph, in an effort to prove that they had taken full vengeance for the initial disaster. This is all the more so as the second battle was led by the King himself, whom Fulcher always liked to place in the forefront of his accounts as the leader of all Franks and the savior of those in difficulty.

After passing over the disaster of *Ager Sanguinis* with a single sentence, Fulcher embarks on an enumeration of the “sinful” acts of Roger and his men. For like Matthew of Edessa and the Anonymous Syriac he regarded these sins as a direct cause of their subsequent defeat in the battle. It was not to be wondered that God had al-

lowed Roger and his men to be confounded in this way, he declares solemnly, because “reveling in riches of all kinds, they did not fear God or respect man.” He accuses them of neglecting moderation “in the midst of copious delights,” of “living in pride and luxury.” He also charges them with having committed many other sins, particularly touching upon Roger’s adulterous behavior and his alleged deprivation of Bohemond II of his inheritance. These accusations of Fulcher were also taken up by Willim of Tyre, as we shall see.

Fulcher reassures his readers that the massacre of the Antiochenes was followed by “a second great victory which through the favor of God very marvelously fell to the people of Jerusalem.” He relates that the king received Roger’s call to aid while fighting the troops of Damascus by the Jordan. Driving them off, he hurried north in the company of the count of Tripoli and two hundred and fifty knights, also taking along the bishop of Caesarea with the Holy Cross. Upon arriving at Antioch he summoned the forces of Edessa as well to join his planned campaign against the Turks. After the Franks of Edessa and the survivors of *Ager Sanguinis* joined the king, Fulcher relates, the battle was joined near Zardana. He gives the number of the Frankish knights as seven hundred, which seems realistic, but he exaggerates that of the Turks as twenty thousand. This was obviously an effort to magnify what Fulcher wished to represent as a bright victory in vengeance of the preceding disaster.

At this point Fulcher returns to his argument that it had been the sinfulness of the Franks that had brought about their crushing defeat in the first battle. This time he expresses the idea through the mouth of a certain Turkish soldier. Reportedly, the day before the battle this man declared to a Frankish colleague: “Your God has

⁹³ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, translated by Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, 1969), 227-30 (III.iii-v).

abandoned you, seeing that you do not keep your law as you used to,⁹⁴ nor preserve faith and truth among yourselves.” Because of this reason, he said, and also because of their superiority in numbers, the Muslims would doubtless overcome the Franks, who toiled in vain with their many sins and few troops, making a fool of themselves. Fulcher closes this episode by pointing out the shame for Christians in being reproached by “the faithless” for their faith, and finally by calling his readers to correct their errors by tearful penitence. He seems to imply that this was precisely what the Franks did before the second battle, as they attained to victory by God’s help, while the Turks were defeated because of their boastful pride in their numbers.

Despite its relatively greater length, Fulcher’s account of the Battle of Tell Danith is quite confused. Although he asserts that the victory went to the Franks, he also speaks of the dispersion of Frankish troops in a way that tends to corroborate those accounts that represent the outcome of the battle as a draw. In any case, it emerges from the account that Fulcher’s primary concern was not to offer a detailed rendering of what actually happened on the battlefield, but only to depict a confrontation of the “faithless” and the Christian faithful, in which God fought alongside the latter and the Holy Cross played the chief role in the final victory. Although this feature is also present in the other Latin accounts, notably that of Walter the Chancellor, it is not their almost exclusive concern as in Fulcher’s case.

Fulcher states that in the “very severe struggle” that took place on the battle day⁹⁵ “victory for either side was for long in doubt until the Almighty compelled the Turks to flee and invigorated the Christians magnificently against them.”⁹⁶ Howev-

⁹⁴ For “solebatis,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 443, instead of “you should,” as in the English translation.

⁹⁵ This is given erroneously as 19 instead of 14 August.

⁹⁶ For “et contra eos Christianos magnifice vegetavit,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 443, instead of “by wondrously inspiring the Christians against them,” as in the English translation.

er, he does reveal that both sides suffered rout and dispersion at some point: on the one hand, he says, the Turks “attacked the Christians and scattered them so much in companies that they did not stop till Antioch and failed to rejoin their comrades in battle.”⁹⁷ But on the other hand “God did disperse the Turks,” he says, as some of them went inside Aleppo for safety and others fled home to Persia (*sic.*). All this does not conflict with the testimony of Ibn al-Adim. As we have seen, this chronicler asserted that Robert of Zardana and a great part of the Frankish cavalry routed the Muslim forces before them, while Ilghazi and his companions routed the Frankish troops led by Baldwin and Pons, pursuing them up to the castle of Hab. Nevertheless, Fulcher insists like the other Latin sources that Baldwin and his companions stood their ground on the battlefield, “fighting around the Holy Cross constantly and gallantly and not deserting it.”

Indeed the Holy Cross and its influence on the course of the battle constitute the centerpoint of Fulcher’s narrative, much in the same way as he depicts it standing at the center of the battlefield: “Through the power of this most holy and precious Cross,” which Baldwin, Pons and their men “had carried forth into battle just like servants carrying their mistress,...”⁹⁸ God Almighty snatched them powerfully from the grasp of the abominable race of the Turks, and preserved them for some future business of his own.”⁹⁹ After the king stood guard on the battlefield for two days and no Turks appeared for fight, Fulcher concludes, he took up the Cross and marched to

⁹⁷ For “Quos tamen impugnantes adeo catervatim disperserunt, ut usque Antiochiam non cessantes, non valuerint ultra collegis suis in bello regregari,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 443, instead of “Nevertheless the Turks in attacking the Christians in the beginning scattered them in small parties and pursued them as far as Antioch, the Christians being unable to regroup their colleagues,” as in the English translation.

⁹⁸ For “sicut servi dominam,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 443, instead of “as servants of the Lord,” as in the English translation.

⁹⁹ For “ad aliud suum negotium quandoque futurum reservavit,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 443, instead of “saved His people for some future mission in His service,” as in the English translation.

Antioch. The account ends with the relation of how the king, the patriarch of Antioch and the Bishop of Caeserea adored the venerable Cross in tears, offering thanks and prayers to God for having granted the victory to the Christians through its power.

6.3.1.11 Orderic Vitalis

The account of Orderic Vitalis¹⁰⁰ adds little that is new to what we have learned from the sources so far. The only exception is his report of an attack against Antioch made after the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, which is also mentioned by Walter the Chancellor. But his rendering of the events still remains interesting and valuable insofar as it shows how a contemporary historian in Europe, a Norman moreover like the victims of Antioch, regarded this fateful battle and its aftermath.

It is immediately observable in this context that Orderic views the events from a sharp perspective of religious confrontation, depicting an *outramer* Christianity that was defended by its able princes against the “pagan” enemies who were always on the lookout for an opportunity to attack it. Accordingly, he attributes Ilghazi’s campaign to the death of the “unconquered princes” Bohemond and Tancred, who he says had resisted the “infidels” for many years, but then passed away “after many struggles and triumphs in the name of Jesus”: they had left their place to Roger, a prince “dogged by misfortune.” The news of their death, Orderic explains, “caused pagans to rejoice” and encouraged Ilghazi, “a nephew of the sultan,” (*sic.*) to launch a war against the Christians. Accordingly, he took a huge army and besieged Zardana. As we shall see, Walter the Chancellor reports a siege of al-Atharib just before the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, and we have already seen Ibn al-Adim state that

¹⁰⁰ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, edited and translated by Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1978), VI, 104-09 (XI.25).

before the clash the Latins supposed the Muslims to be besieging al-Atharib and Zardana. So there might indeed be a grain of truth in Orderic's testimony.

Like most other Christian sources Orderic accuses Roger of being responsible for the following debacle, but as in the case of Matthew and the Anonymous, his criticisms tend to focus on the character defects of this prince, which led him to move without waiting for the reinforcements, rather than on his "sins" as emphasized by Fulcher. But while the indigenous Christian authors mainly dwelt on Roger's pride, Orderic asserts that he was also "unreliable, obstinate and rash," character traits that he says prevented the prince from being the equal of his predecessors despite his daring and courage. Thus he relates in parallel with Walter the Chancellor that Richard refused to pay heed to Patriarch Bernard's advice to wait for the already summoned king and set out prematurely for war. At this point Orderic attributes to Bernard a lengthy speech in which the prelate reportedly begged Roger to wait for the reinforcements, pointing out the fates of ancient kings defeated because of their rash haste, and warned him that he would drag his subjects with himself into a disaster of the same kind. But "the proud prince set out heeding nothing," and pitched his tents in the plain of Sarmada (*sic.*) with seven thousand men.

Next thing, Orderic proceeds, the enemy raised the siege and suddenly attacked the Franks. "Ilghazi and huge squadrons of pagans (*ethnicorum*) swept down unexpectedly from the mountains nearby into the plain," he says, and "covered the face of the earth like locusts with their swarms." In a way reminiscent of the account of Ibn al-Adim, who told how Toghan Arslan began the attack by suddenly descending upon the Frankish tents, Orderic asserts that the enemy ferociously rushed upon the tents of the Christians while they were still unprepared. Not going into further detail, however, he states that they slew Roger along with seven thousand of his men

on the field of Darb Sarmada. He notes besides that about one hundred and forty men happened to be outside the camp at this time, in search of forage or for hawking. On seeing the sudden Turkish attack these fled to Antioch to warn the populace, “being preserved through God’s mercy to protect the faithful.” Among these were Roger of Vieux Pont, who also appears in Walter the Chancellor’s account as the hero of a skirmish preceding the battle.

Not at this point but slightly further on in his work¹⁰¹ Orderic notes the presence of a Byzantine envoy sent to Antioch among those captured in the battle, which is corroborated by Ibn al-Adim as we have seen. He reports that the envoy in question, named Ravendinus, had been sent by emperor Alexius to request the hand of Roger’s daughter for his son, John. There are some problems in this statement, for Alexius died in 1118 and if it was really he who had sent the messenger, this must have taken place on the very eve of his death. Moreover, John Comnenus was already married by this date, so the prince who was to marry Roger’s daughter should have been another son of Alexius.¹⁰²

According to Orderic, the reason for this offer made by the emperor was his desire to acquire Antioch by means of a marriage connection, after he had despaired of winning it by force of arms. But Ilghazi went on to the attack while Ravendinus was still waiting for the Normans to agree on an answer, and the Byzantine envoy, setting out with Roger against the Muslim army, was taken captive. Orderic indicates that “the Turks did him no harm because he was a Greek,” and “spared him as much out of respect for a neighboring people as for securing the goodwill of the emperor.” Accordingly they let him go in safety, after the payment of a ransom of fifteen thousand bezants. This concern of Ilghazi to avoid alienating the Byzantine emperor is

¹⁰¹ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 128-131 (XI.28).

quite significant, and we shall see in section 6.3.2 that it can be brought into relation with his decision not to attack Antioch.

Orderic is the only Christian source examined so far who states that Antioch was left defenceless and faced with the danger of capture after the debacle. He relates that upon receiving the news Patriarch Bernard took active measures to defend the city, helped by all the clergy and laity he could find, while Roger's widow Cecilia, in an effort to fill the places of the slain knights, invested a number of squires with knighthood. Among these Orderic mentions a certain Gervase of Dol, a semi-legendary character who generally appears in *chanson*-like contexts in the author's work.¹⁰³ But Orderic also goes beyond the Muslim sources in reporting that the Turkish troops actually attacked the battlements of Antioch. "Elated by the massacre of Christians," he asserts, "the pagans (*gentiles*) hurried en masse to the city and plotted to kill the defenders and enter it by surprise; but by God's providence and the strength of a few Christians they were thrown back from the battlements of Antioch." This statement seems highly dubious however, as we know from the other sources that Ilghazi undertook no such attack against Antioch, but preferred instead to besiege al-Atharib and Zardana. So the attack reported by Orderic, even if true, must have been no more than the initiative of some Turkoman bands dispersed in the area in search of plunder. That this was indeed so is revealed by Walter the Chancellor's testimony, as we shall see presently.

Orderic's narrative of the Battle of Tell Danith, like that of Fulcher, is obviously not intended to be a detailed account, but instead to offer relief to the readers by functioning as a triumphant assertion of final Christian victory against "pagan

¹⁰² Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 280-81.

¹⁰³ We shall encounter Gervase also in Orderic's account of Belek's imprisonment of Baldwin and Joscelin; see Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, 108, n.2.

might.” He states that Baldwin and Pons converged on the Castle of Hab, rather than the actual site of the battle at Tell Danith, and “invoking the name of merciful Jesus,” joined battle with the enemy. Orderic has no doubts about the outcome of the battle: “They conquered, breaking the wings of the pagan army.” He does not neglect to have his hero Gervase slay Ilghazi, whereby, he asserts, “Christian courage brought down pagan might.” The author concludes his account by noting how “the Christians were enriched in the spoils of the pagans and gladly gave thanks to God.”

6.3.1.12 *Walter the Chancellor*

Walter the Chancellor’s account¹⁰⁴ is the most detailed one amongst those offered by the Latin sources, and as in the case of the first Battle of Tell Danith, is also valuable insofar as it comes from the pen of an eyewitness of the events, at least up to the end of the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* in which the author fell captive.¹⁰⁵ In the prologue to the second book of his work, which handles *Ager Sanguinis* and its aftermath, Walter puts forward what he thought to be the main causes of the Franks’ defeat after their victory in 1115. He declares that this was nothing other than pride in their own good deeds, by which they became “both ungrateful to God and unmindful of His kindness.” “Because we put the success of the earlier war down to the victory of our forces,” he explains, “in the second detestable war some of us fell suddenly, having become the stuff of death, others indeed were kept alive for long and dreadful torture.”

Walter then embarks on his main narrative, stating: “Ilghazi, prince of the delusion and dissent of the Turkomans, had reached the borderlands of the Antiochene

¹⁰⁴ Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, translated by Thomas S. Asbridge and Suzan B. Edgington (Aldershot, 1999), 110-32 (II.1-6), 136-56 (II.8-12).

lordship in battle array.” As Asbridge and Edgington point out in the notes to the translation,¹⁰⁶ it is noteworthy here that Walter immediately vilifies Ilghazi, whereas he had spoken of him only briefly and in neutral terms in his narrative of the first Battle of Tell Danith in 1115. There, as we saw, Tughtekin occupied the center of the stage, and Ilghazi, at that time not the ruler of Aleppo but the emir of a distant province in Diyar Bakr, found only marginal mention. Since Walter had written that part before the events of summer 1119, as it emerges from the absence of any forward references to these events in the first half of his work, he felt no need to denigrate Ilghazi. But now this emir was the possessor of Aleppo, the greatest obstacle before the Franks in North Syria, and, by the time Walter wrote the second part, he was also the Muslim ruler who had inflicted the greatest damage on the Principality of Antioch since the Battle of Harran. So it is not astonishing that the account directly opens with Ilghazi, and he is depicted as “the prince of delusion and dissent” rather than simply as “the emir of the Turkomans.”

When Roger received the news of Ilghazi’s arrival, Walter continues, he assembled his forces and proceeded to Artah. But although the prince asked Patriarch Bernard to accompany him to the town, he did not want to listen to the prelate’s advice to wait for the king there. In support of the advice of Bernard, whom he uses besides as a mouthpiece for his own opinions, Walter enumerates the advantages of the Franks’ position at Artah. He points out that food and drink were abundant in the region and that the approach there from the direction of Antioch was open and safe. From the direction of Aleppo, in contrast, it was very forbidding and dangerous on account of the mountains and the dense vegetation of the valleys in between. This

¹⁰⁵ This emerges, among other evidence, from his mention of the “experience of the prison-cell” in the prologue to the second book of his work. Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 110.

¹⁰⁶ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 110, n. 8.

rough ground offering protection to Artah from the east was of course the aforementioned Jabal Talat.

As had often been the case during the Seljukid expeditions between 1110-1115, the Frankish army normally avoided a pitched battle with the Muslim forces and preferred to assemble their forces at a well-fortified and well-supplied place like Apamea. In this way they were able to limit the movements of the invading army until it had to withdraw without having accomplished much. The patriarch, as far as it emerges from the account of Orderic Vitalis as well, seems to have argued for the maintenance of that policy in this case too: while waiting for the king to arrive, it would be sufficient for them to preserve their position until Ilghazi's impatient Turkomans disbanded to return home. But Roger "disregarded the warnings of the fatherly priest in favour of his own temerity," Walter states, "and he did not seem to be inspired by fear of the enemy or in any way to be able to be prevailed upon." Nor could the pious advice and requests of many others dissuade the prince from his decision, Walter notes, and, endangering the safety of both himself and his men, he insisted that they should not wait there any longer.

Despite his criticisms of Prince Roger, Walter also points out in his defence a factor that became effective in this fateful decision: the contrary advice of certain barons whose lands on the eastern frontier were devastated every year. Although Walter does not explicitly name these barons, they were probably Alan of al-Atharib, Robert fitzFulk the Leper of Zardana and perhaps also Bonable of Sarmin.¹⁰⁷ All of these towns lay east of Jabal Talat, and the first two were precisely the direct targets of Ilghazi's campaign. According to Walter, it was under the pressure of their lords that Roger "decided to cross over with the tents from the suitable place to a useless

¹⁰⁷ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 112, n. 19.

position.” This is an important point, and suggests the possibility that Roger’s purpose in moving to the new position was to place pressure upon Ilghazi and prevent him from capturing those two towns of vital strategic importance. As we shall see, this possibility is also corroborated by other evidence provided by Walter.

The new position Roger chose was the valley of Balat, situated between two mountains near the Sarmada pass to the north of al-Atharib,¹⁰⁸ as also described by Ibn al-Adim in his account. Walter states with covert criticism that the Franks left Artah and proceeded, “as if braver than lions and more inexorable than tigers,” to pitch camp at this fateful place. It was “called *Ager Sanguinis* (Field of Blood) by the populace,” he remarks, “both in reality and in the name.” As a first person witness he testifies to the disadvantages of the new location, noting the dearth of food and drink which necessitated them to procure these from elsewhere. He also notes that some men were sent to fortify the camp outside, which is corroborated by Ibn al-Adim’s statement that the Franks had begun to build a castle commanding Tell Afrin. But both the new position of the Frankish army and this work of fortification were learned by Ilghazi and his companions by the help of spies disguised as bird-sellers. Walter argues that upon this they pretended to lay siege to al-Atharib, in order to conceal their intention of making a surprise attack on the Franks. According to him, another purpose of the Turks in this move was to survey the paths of approach by which they could attack the Franks with the greatest convenience for themselves. They also intended to inspire fear by displaying their great numbers.

Walter mentions only al-Atharib in this passage, and following him exclusively on this point, Asbridge accepts that Ilghazi besieged only the castle in ques-

¹⁰⁸ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 113, n. 5.
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tion.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, we have seen Orderic Vitalis report a Muslim siege of Zardana instead. If combined with Ibn al-Adim's aforementioned assertion that the Franks "supposed the Muslims to be besieging al-Atharib and Zardana," the testimonies of Walter and Orderic might be taken to indicate that both of these towns had been placed under siege on the eve of the battle. But it still remains unclear to what extent they were serious sieges and to what extent they were undertaken as a cover for scouting purposes and to inspire fear, as Walter argues and Ibn al-Adim seems to imply. When it is taken into account that Ilghazi's main goal for the campaign was to recover al-Atharib and Zardana, it seems more judicious to believe like Asbridge that he was indeed making a serious attempt to capture these castles,¹¹⁰ and not simply using them as a pretext for other tactical aims. His priority was not to join battle with the Antiochene army, therefore, but to capture al-Atharib and Zardana and push back the Antiochene frontier beyond Jabal Talat. It was only when he realized that he could after all penetrate the valley of Balat that he changed his initial plan and ventured to make a surprise attack on the Antiochene forces.

As for the latter, we have seen that they had come to Balat precisely to try to prevent Ilghazi from capturing al-Atharib and Zardana, upon the urging of the lords of these castles. So they must have prepared there to go into attack and raise the Turkish sieges, rather than simply ensconce themselves in their supposedly inaccessible position. This is corroborated in the first place by a clash that Walter reports to have taken place on the day before the battle: the sides involved were the Turkish troops around al-Atharib and a group of Franks who had come from the Frankish camp and the castle itself to confront them. Walter relates that Robert of Vieux-Pont displayed heroic resistance with his companions against the Turks and managed to

¹⁰⁹ Asbridge, "Significance and Causes," 313.

repulse them from al-Atharib. This is supported by Orderic Vitalis, who as we saw noted that Robert was outside the camp at this time. Apparently, as an urgent remedy, Roger had sent a contingent to al-Atharib to help its garrison repulse the besiegers.

Nevertheless, Roger did not intend to content himself with this immediate measure: Walter relates as an eye-witness that in a consultation with his nobles the prince proposed to march to al-Atharib and join battle if the enemy came to confront them; if not, they would march the next day (29 June) against the Muslim camp itself. Roger's proposal was accepted after some discussion, and it was decided that a force of cavalry and infantry would be sent to al-Atharib that night. Next morning Mauger of Hauteville would set out with forty knights and dispatch ten of his men as scouts to the tower on Tell Afrin. These were to notify Roger by a messenger in case the enemy approached al-Atharib again. This reveals still more clearly that Roger was determined to put a definite stop to Ilghazi's plans to besiege and capture al-Atharib and, if the testimonies of Orderic and Ibn al-Adim are taken into account, also Zardana, and that he was fully prepared to venture a pitched battle for this purpose. Further support for this argument is brought by Ibn al-Athir's aforementioned report that the Franks sent message to Ilghazi to say "do not fatigue yourself by marching towards us; we shall come to you," although the chronicler himself believed that they were only playing "a waiting game."

It emerges from all this evidence that *pace* Ibn al-Athir Roger's forces had not simply taken refuge in what they thought to be an impregnable location, waiting for the king to arrive or the Muslims to disperse, but were actively seeking battle to save al-Atharib and Zardana before Ilghazi could capture them. In any case they

¹¹⁰ Asbridge himself makes this suggestion for al-Atharib alone.

could not have planned to stay in Balat for long, since unlike Artah it was short of food and water. Possibly, they may also have been aware that they could be attacked in that position, despite its seeming inaccessibility. Indeed Walter's report about the detachments sent against al-Atharib seems to conflict with the assertion of various sources, including Walter himself, that the Franks thought themselves to be in an absolutely inaccessible position at Balat: if they were able to send forces from Balat to al-Atharib, they had enough reason to consider the possibility that the Turkish forces around that castle could reach them in turn. Under these conditions, Roger could not have thought of ensconcing himself in Balat and applying pressure on Ilghazi till the latter's forces dispersed or the king arrived. His intention was probably to halt at Balat briefly and then to go on to the offensive. But Ilghazi anticipated him by attacking early in the morning.

Such considerations suggest the possibility that Roger had not acted so injudiciously as the Christian sources have it: in order to prevent Ilghazi from capturing al-Atharib and Zardana he moved from Artah to Balat, as also urged by the lords of these castles, and prepared to attack the Turks without further delay. His only other choice was to forgo the two strategically important castles in question, which was the policy adopted by King Baldwin, as we shall see, during Ilghazi's later siege of Zardana. Hence if Roger is to be criticized at all, he must be criticized for placing more than necessary importance on the preservation of these two castles. But it must not be forgotten that giving them up was more difficult for him in view of the pressure of their lords, Robert and Alan. In the contrasting case of Baldwin, who would watch Ilghazi capture Zardana without lifting a finger, its lord Robert was not in a position to apply pressure, having fallen captive at the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*. And Alan's castle, al-Atharib, had already been captured by that time. As for the other frontier

lords, the all-too-fresh experience of Roger's disaster must have prevented them from insisting too much on the preservation of their lands and castles.

In any case Ilghazi was quicker to act than Roger, and this brought him the victory. Aware of the fact that he could not easily take al-Atharib and Zardana without removing the pressure exerted by the Antiochene army in his close proximity, and explicitly informed by the latter that they would advance to join battle, he opted for a pre-emptive strike early next morning: it was best to attack the Franks while they were still in the disadvantageous position of Balat.

Roger first received the news of the Muslim attack, Walter states, as he was making a reconnaissance at the aforementioned tower of observation early next morning. Indeed the author escalates the suspense by reporting the successive arrival of messengers, each bringing news more alarming than the previous one. Thus he relates that the first messenger who arrived riding at top speed informed Roger that there were enemy hordes all over the mountain slopes and valleys, which had seemed inaccessible even for wild beasts; they were "approaching quickly from three directions to wage a threefold war." This conforms with Ibn al-Athir's statement that the Muslims entered the valley by three routes, making use of their superior knowledge of local geography, while the Franks were convinced that nobody could reach them because of the apparent difficulty of access. Upon this news Roger ordered his army to rally for battle. When a second messenger arrived to report that the Muslims were very close, on their side of the Sarmadan district, the army was gathered before the portable shrine in the camp, in front of the relic of the Cross, where the prince confessed his "sins" — which are set out in detail by the other Christian sources, as we have seen, but mentioned only fleetingly by his chancellor Walter.

The author states that the third in this series of messengers was the deputy-steward Alberic, alarming in appearance as well as with the news he brought, since he had been “struck by a lance in his face and pierced by an arrow almost in his eye;” he informed them about the death of most of the forty knights sent before. The leader of these, Mauger of Huteville, was the final messenger. Arriving with a companion on “horses stuck with arrows and overpowered by leaden missiles,” he announced that the enemy was divided into three parts, trying to destroy the Franks with three-fold war, and called for urgent consultation. Upon this, Walter relates, the Franks decided to draw up the army with ordered battlelines around the tents and with the infantry in the front line. This way, they claimed, “they could wait for the enemy’s barbarism more easily and more safely,” forgetful however of God’s own judgement.

When suddenly “the flags and standards of the heathens appeared from the mountainsides among the olives,” Walter continues, the prince exhorted his soldiers to fight “in a successful battle as soldiers of God,” and then instructed a certain Rainald Mazoir to make a flanking or diversionary attack¹¹¹ through the districts of Samada. Combining the elements of chivalry and just war,¹¹² Walter relates that after Roger had commanded his battlelines to march in ranks, he exhorted them to “defend God’s law” and to “bring down the pride of the evil-doers as befits knights.” In corroboration of Ibn al-Athir’s testimony about the initial check suffered by the Muslims, he states that the battleline of St Peter took the lead from the right, scattering the Muslims opposite them, and Geoffrey the Monk similarly routed the detachment confronting him, while Guy Fresnel was also attacking with all his might. But the Franks failed to carry through the attack with force, losing many as a result from different lines, while “the heathen, with the Lord’s assent,” remustered their forces and

¹¹¹ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 125, n. 80.

went into a violent counter-assault. This is again corroborated by Ibn al-Athir, who spoke of the Muslim troops charging in waves and stopping the flight of their comrades in the vanguard.

At this critical moment, Walter states, there took place an event that proved decisive for the outcome of the battle. The battleline commanded by Robert of St Lô, advancing from the left with the Turcopoles, failed to deliver its strike, being unable to withstand the opposition of the enemy, and the Turcopoles went into a headlong flight, from which they could not be called back by any means. Moreover, meeting the battleline of the prince, as he was riding against the enemy, they got in its way and carried away part of it as they scattered. Then, “as one misfortune often follows a worse,” says Walter, a whirlwind sprang up from the north and raised dust from the ground, which got into the eyes of the soldiers and prevented them temporarily from fighting.

Walter then relates Roger’s death, making clear his belief that the prince fell martyr while fighting a “Holy War” and obtained salvation in return.¹¹³ By this time Roger’s troops “lay cut down and dead on all sides,” he states, but with the few men remaining the prince kept up the struggle without retreating, “obeying the command of God and the bishop by fighting energetically against the entire military might.”¹¹⁴ Finally, though, he was struck by a horseman’s sword “through the middle of his nose right into his brain,” and “in the presence of the symbol of the Holy Cross he gave up his body to the earth and his soul to heaven.” Next to be killed was the priest bearing the reliquary of the Cross, and Walter depicts with obvious satisfaction how “the heathens,” in greed for the gold and precious objects on the reliquary, fought

¹¹² Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 125, n. 82.

¹¹³ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 127, n. 95.

and killed each other, being sent as a result to “the lower regions, never to return, for burning by the fires of hell.” As Asbridge and Edgington point out in the notes to the text, Walter does not only offer a miracle of the True Cross here, but also compares and contrasts the fate of these Muslims after death with that of Roger.¹¹⁵

After this Walter proceeds to relate that the Muslims made a common charge, assaulting the Franks “very fiercely from the four corners of the world.” While “the shouts of the heathen swelled again and again and the enemy’s swords prevailed,” he says, most of the Franks, “compelled now by divine revenge and with the agreement of the highest judge,” were killed, wounded and captured. Walter gives the number of regular Frankish troops as seven hundred knights and three thousand foot soldiers, with many others who had joined them for payment or plunder. In accordance with the other sources, he asserts that the major part of these troops were lost.

Walter notes that the detachment sent under Rainald Mazoir to make a diversionary or a flank attack through the district of Sarmada had also been routed after some initial success, with many being killed: Rainald himself, seriously wounded, took refuge with a few of his men in the tower of Sarmada, planning to wait for the arrival of King Baldwin if they could. Nevertheless, the weakness of the tower and the lack of food compelled him to demand safe conduct from Ilghazi, who granted it and additionally gave his ring as a guarantee for Rainald’s release at the end of one month. Walter does not reveal whether Ilghazi, “even more astute” than the “cunning” Rainald, kept his word, but a charter dating from 1122 and bearing Rainald’s name among the witnesses testifies that he did survive these events. As Asbridge and

¹¹⁴ Thus the “justness” of the war Roger was waging is also underlined. Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 127, n. 94.

¹¹⁵ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 128, n. 97.

Edgington suggest, it was probably out of his reluctance to show Ilghazi keeping a promise that Walter failed to report Rainald's release.¹¹⁶

At this point Walter reproaches some of the nobles who had deserted the prince to escape to Antioch, and adds that "they would have preferred the port" to abandon the East altogether. He next relates what happened on the battlefield after the death of the prince. In parallel with the reports of the Muslim sources, who asserted that only ten or twenty Franks were able to survive the battle, Walter sates that "the battlefield was so hemmed in and access and paths to the mountains and valleys so observed, that not a single person trying to escape was able to get through unscathed." Some of them fought back to the tents, he relates, only to find that these had already been "carried off by the hands of the unrighteous." Walter also notes the "martyrdom" of a certain Eutrepios who had attacked the Turkomans plundering the chapel-tent as well as the death of a group of Franks who had taken refuge on a hill and been surrounded there by the Muslims.

At this point Walter goes into a lengthy digression, dwelling on "the tortures and torments and martyrdoms" of the Frankish prisoners taken captive by Ilghazi's forces, very probably as an eyewitness of the events himself; he depicts both Ilghazi and his son Shams al-Din Sulaiman as ruthless and sadistic villains.¹¹⁷ Then he sets out to relate Ilghazi's actions after his victory: the emir first checked al-Atharib, but saw that it was still defended too strongly to storm. He then proceeded to Artah and received the "tower of the bishop" on granting safe conduct to the prelate and his retinue as far as Antioch. In the case of Rainald Mazoir in Sarmada, we have seen Walter's reluctance to show Ilghazi keeping his promises. In this case, he could savor telling how the emir broke his promise by sending robbers to deprive the clergy of all

¹¹⁶ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 129, n. 103; 64 and n. 138.

the silver and gold ornaments they were carrying. Although Walter grudgingly admits that Ilghazi later restored their priestly garments, he asserts that this was only to “conceal his own wickedness with them.”

Walter proceeds to relate that Ilghazi arranged to spend a few days in the camp before Artah, so that he could take the rest of the town and then set out to attack Antioch. Thereby he reveals his belief that Ilghazi’s main purpose after his victory at Balat was to capture Antioch, and he is joined in this by Orderic Vitalis as we have seen. The people of Antioch do not seem to have thought differently, as far as it emerges from the preparations for defence reported by Orderic and Walter himself. Artah was a good place besides to begin the assault upon Antioch, for there was only a flat plain between this town and the city, with no other fortified places in between, and it also controlled the approach to the Iron Bridge. Nevertheless Ilghazi did not attack Antioch in the end, for reasons to be discussed in the next section, and Walter seems to have felt the need to explain this situation, just like Ibn al-Adim, Ibn al-Qalanisi and Usama ibn Munqidh on the Muslim side.¹¹⁸

One of the two explanations Walter hit upon was Ilghazi’s detainment before Artah by the clever machinations of its castellan Joseph, probably an Armenian.¹¹⁹ “Fore-armed by wisdom,” and pretending to bow to Ilghazi’s demand of surrender, this man reportedly begged him to appoint a certain Sahenas as his proxy until he took Antioch. Then all the Frankish castles would capitulate, his amongst them. The pretext he put forward for this request was that he feared for the fate of his son, who was held as a hostage in Antioch, in case he surrendered the castle.

¹¹⁷ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 132-36 (II.7).

¹¹⁸ For this discussion see Asbridge and Edgington’s apt observations in Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 137, n. 127.

¹¹⁹ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 137, n. 128.

But Ilghazi would have accepted this proposal only if he had really been planning to attack Antioch, which was probably not the case as we have already stated. So Walter's story needs correction even though it might contain a core of truth. In recent years certain Armenian lords in the Jazira had been collaborating with the Turks against the Franks.¹²⁰ It may have been the case that after the Frankish debacle this Armenian castellan also changed sides and offered his allegiance to Ilghazi, who accepted it in order not to lose more time before attacking his main targets, al-Atharib and Zardana, as he had been joined in the meanwhile by the expected reinforcements under Tughtekin and reached a power necessary to tackle those strongly garrisoned towns.

It must be pointed out that this first explanation offered by Walter also finds support from Ibn al-Adim: we have seen him accuse Ilghazi of having lost time by marching against Artah instead of Antioch, thus enabling the king to reach and enter the city.

The second explanation Walter offers for Ilghazi's apparent "failure" to take Antioch seems like a combination of that of Usama ibn Munqidh about Ilghazi's drunken stupor and that of Ibn al-Qalanisi about the dispersion of his troops in search for plunder: Ilghazi was keen on drink, Walter states, and forgetting about Antioch "by God's will," he dispatched "thousands of soldiers throughout regions far and near who returned to him day after day refreshed and laden with spoils both of men and of other things."

Like Orderic Vitalis, albeit in much more detail, Walter relates the defensive measures taken in Antioch against the imminent attack that the inhabitants expected now, and not entirely without reason: "Every care, labour, fear, terror or harm to

¹²⁰ For an example see Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 400 and *Chronicle*, 166-67 (508: 1114-389)

Christendom could happen, now that Antioch was deprived of military service and almost the entire military force of Frankish citizens was lost.” As a result, “all came down to the clergy” in ensuring the safety of the city. What was worse, the threat did not only come from the outside but much more seriously from the inside as well: Walter admits with astonishing frankness that the indigenous populace of Antioch, “deprived of their goods by force and deviousness of our people... and often overcome by despair,” could well desire to “return evil for evil” by betraying the city to the Muslims.¹²¹ In order to prevent this, he states, the patriarch, consulting the other Latins, took exclusive charge of the city for himself, the clergy and the remaining Franks, and forbade the indigenous populace to carry arms or to go out without a light at night. He also ordered his tents to be placed by the weakest point in the fortifications and all the towers to be garrisoned by monks and clerics, along with laymen.

Somewhat paradoxically, Walter adds that the patriarch prayed “for the safety and defence of the Christian people,” since he preferred to “fight with prayers rather than weapons,” and yet continuously circuited the walls with “his armed clergy and knights, in the manner of warriors,” to comfort and encourage those guarding them. Thus the clergy “acted the part of military service wisely and vigorously” alongside others, and “with God’s strength” preserved the city until Baldwin could make his long-desired appearance to protect it.

At this point Walter relates that Ilghazi, having heard that the king was hurrying to Antioch in the company of Pons, sent twenty thousand men (obviously an exaggerated number) to intercept them. They were to be “intent on the destruction of

1115).

¹²¹ Actually, perhaps, the fear was not so much that the populace would hand the city to the Muslims but that they might rise against the Latins.

Christianity in whatever way they could.”¹²² Setting out by night towards Latakia, these forces divided into three parts, one to intercept the king, one to seize plunder, and one to attack the port of St Simeon. We have seen Ibn al-Adim relate how a Turkoman raiding party met and routed the Franks near Jabala, compelling the king and the count to seek refuge in the mountains. Walter’s version of the events is a little different, revealing that it was rather the Provençal rearguard led by Pons who were eventually defeated by the Muslims, while, before this, the king had managed to ward off those attacking his army.

Beginning from the latter event, Walter relates that Baldwin met the Turks unexpectedly at Mount Hingro, and by a vigorous assault scattered them over mountains. Setting out early next morning, he ordered the count and his Provençals to follow behind and guard his rear. The latter came across a Turkish raiding band and attacked them, but after some initial success they were defeated. While some were destroyed and some scattered in the mountains, the rest could reach the king’s camp only by night. After some consideration, Walter states, Baldwin gave up the thought of pursuit and decided to go to Antioch instead, so that he could comfort its people, collect information, consult the patriarch, and then pursue the enemy.

Walter also relates in much more detail the attack against Antioch reported by Orderic Vitalis. He reveals that this was rather in the character of a foray into its vicinity, undertaken by a Turkoman raiding band, and not a serious attack against its battlements as presented by Orderic. He states that the Muslim division of around three thousand that had made for the port of St. Simeon suddenly attacked the Frankish forces there and forced the survivors to flee by ship. Having withdrawn through

¹²² For “et, quibuscumque modis possent, christianitatis invigilare exterminis,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* V, 115, instead of “to be watchful for any chance whatsoever of destroying Christianity,” as in the English translation.

the mountains with their captives and booty, they next appeared not far from Antioch, with their banners held high, a sight that raised “an immense clamour” from the city. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether these were indeed the troops who had attacked St Simeon, or the second division that had set out for plunder, or a combination of both. But the fact remains that they were not a part of the main army attacking the city under Ilghazi’s command.

Walter goes on to relate that the clergy, knights and other citizens went out against the Turkomans, and sent some men to reconnoitre the numbers and strength of the enemy. But these were put to flight, and the Turks pursuing them directly charged against the main part of Antiochene troops waiting near the city. They forced some into the river and pursued the rest to the bridge before the Gate of Antioch, killing thirty-seven in all.¹²³ Despite this, the Franks stood their ground on the bridge, and drove off the Muslim troops. Joining the rest of their comrades, these marched away with the booty they had collected.

Next thing, Walter reports in exultant terms the arrival of King Baldwin: “The renowned king; to all the Christian people he was great in prospect, greater in arrival, greatest in the protection he brought.” Idealizing the king as a Christian hero, Walter thus introduces the main theme of the rest of his work, that is, how he saved Antioch from certain capture.¹²⁴ In the same tenor, he relates how sad the king became upon learning about “the infidels’ tyranny,” and hurried to enter the city, not in order to rest, but to pray and receive absolution before he would take on the Muslims. Contrasting Baldwin implicitly with the rash Roger, he notes that the king consulted the patriarch and took his advice. After this, reportedly burning for revenge and inspired to chivalry by his kingly status, Baldwin set out in pursuit of the Turks,

¹²³ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 142, n. 155
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but returned to Antioch upon learning that they were already far off and riding at speed, “as if impelled by fear.” Back in Antioch, Walter states, in concluding his introductory eulogy, Baldwin was elevated by God’s gift to the rank of prince. This was only rightful, he observes, as it was by the king’s hand that “divine Providence took care to return citizens to the ramparts and the city to the citizens.”¹²⁵

Walter then proceeds to relate the defensive measures taken by Baldwin in Antioch, and begins with the one that was apparently the most important and effective in his view: the king and the rest “amended their behavior and watched over other good things,” he says, in keeping with the advice of the patriarch and clergy who pointed out the necessity of “fighting lawfully with true righteousness on their side” in order to defeat the “infidels.” Next, Baldwin quickly assembled troops from regions far and near, arming himself and his men with military equipment “as befits a king.”

Asbridge and Edgington observe that this decision of the king to concentrate all the remaining troops at Antioch enabled him to gather the military strength with which he could eventually put a stop to Ilghazi’s operations in the Principality.¹²⁶ But in the short run it weakened the defences of Antioch, as the castles around it were emptied of their troops and leaders. The Turkish army was reinforced at the same time, being joined before Artah by Tughtekin and his forces. So the time seemed finally ripe for the restoration of Aleppo’s control of the region east of Jabal Talat.¹²⁷

When Ilghazi learned that almost all the remaining troops in the Principality had left their castles to join the king at Antioch, including the lord and garrison of al-

¹²⁴ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 143, n. 160.

¹²⁵ Walter’s claim that Baldwin officially assumed the title of prince should be deemed a little doubtful, all the more so as he was still in captivity at this time. Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 143, n. 163.

¹²⁶ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 145, n. 171.

Atharib, he abandoned the sieges of Artah and Imm (immediately to the south of Artah) and marched upon this castle, which was one of his two primary targets from the beginning. Walter relates how he intimidated the townspeople into surrender by mining the walls and setting fire to their foundations, as well as by bombarding the walls with petraries. The author adopts a critical attitude toward the townspeople, stating that they traveled “tearful and shamefaced to the king” after their “unfortunate and shameful decision.” Ilghazi, having garrisoned the city in the meanwhile, marched next against Zardana, the second of his principal targets.

Walter notes that at this time the king was still preparing to set out for al-Atharib, where he hoped to find the Muslim army. This reveals that Baldwin was concerned like Roger to defend al-Atharib, though probably not at all costs like that prince.¹²⁸ Walter relates how the king, “making no false claim of victory or human praise for himself, but entrusting all to God,” prayed that He may “put down and overthrow the tyrants and assailants of Christianity from their presumptuous elevation and from their strength, by which they thought they would conquer.” Thus he draws a contrast with Roger’s proud attitude, as well as with the “presumption” of the enemy who trusted their greater numbers.

When Baldwin finally set out for al-Atharib, Walter continues, he came across the townspeople who had already surrendered it. So he decided to march instead to Tell Danith, from where he hoped to detect the whereabouts of the Muslim army. “Nor did he lack effectiveness,” Walter remarks, for soon after camping at Tell Danith the king received the news that the Muslims had besieged Zardana. He also learned that they were trying to disrupt the order of his army by continuous skirmishes. To prevent this, Walter relates, Baldwin drew up his men in regular battle lines

¹²⁷ Asbridge, “Significance and Causes,” 314.

before the camp. The Turks, in turn, “full of crafty cunning,” did not retire to their own quarters at night but instead remained around the Frankish army, holding their horses by the reins.

In the meantime Ilghazi had been assaulting Zardana day and night with siege engines, trying to force it into surrender. But Walter notes like Ibn al-Adim that the emir’s army was breaking up into foraging parties. He relates how, on the pretext of procuring supplies and necessities, thousands of Turkomans and Arabs spread throughout the region for plunder, and set out for home once they had collected as much booty as they could. Dubais and other emirs who had accompanied Ilghazi into the battle followed suit with their troops.

Apparently, this was precisely what the king had been expecting, being aware of the difficulties of keeping a Turkoman army on the field, especially during a long siege. Making no attempt to relieve Zardana, therefore, he kept to his defensible position at Tell Danith, following a cautious strategy in stark contrast to that of Roger.¹²⁹ But Walter asserts that Ilghazi was just as aware of what awaited his army, so strove hard to capture the castle with all his forces. In addition to this pressing situation and his long-term strategic aim of restoring Aleppan control east of Jabal Talat, there was probably yet another reason why Ilghazi was so eager to capture Zardana quickly: he must have been concerned that he could be trapped between Baldwin’s troops in his immediate vicinity and the defenders of Zardana. It would have been too dangerous in the forthcoming battle against the king’s army to have an enemy garrison to his rear.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ This difference will soon become clear in Baldwin’s strategy against Ilghazi’s siege of Zardana.

¹²⁹ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 150, n. 197.

¹³⁰ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 566; Ali Sevim, “Artuk Oğlu İlgazi,” *Belleten* 26 (1962), 679.

Walter complains that in order to avoid this danger Ilghazi gave deceitful promises of safe conduct to the townspeople, contravening the oaths he swore although these were binding in Muslim law. Thus he depicts the emir as being ready to flout even the laws of his own religion. He relates how, persuaded by their wounds and weakness as well as by the apparent good faith of the prince, the townspeople assented to the “abominable petition” and “unwittingly placed themselves in the hands of butchers instead of escorts”: for when they left the town, the “unholy prince happily ordered his armies to put the Christians savagely to death.” Walter relates in extolling terms that the king, “second only to the Lord as the lord and defender of Christendom,” suffered greatly on learning that they had all been killed in this way, but being “comforted by the power of the Holy Cross... prepared himself manfully” to fight the Turks on the following morning.

Significantly, all the elements of Walter’s story about the siege of Zardana, the dispersion of Ilghazi’s forces, his haste to press forward the siege, and the massacre of the townspeople display remarkable parallels with the account of Ibn al-Adim. But differently from Walter, Ibn al-Adim does not hold Ilghazi responsible for the massacre of the people of Zardana, presenting it as the work of Turkomans acting on their own.

Walter goes on to relate that Ilghazi took Zardana and garrisoned it, after which he and Tughtekin joined those who had been lying in wait around the Frankish army at Tell Danith. Ilghazi’s intention was to make a sudden attack early next morning, just as he had done with successful results in the previous battle at *Ager Sanguinis*. But the king was not like Roger, and aware of the designs of the enemy, cautiously took all the necessary measures: “God ensured that Baldwin, who had often experienced the enemy’s existence and wars,... arranged for the tents to be gathered

up and the soldiers to be put on alert,” so that if the enemy launched a surprise attack they would find nothing in disorder, “but would discover that by God’s power and His sign the Christians thrived in trading blows and destroying the enemy.” Walter notes that Baldwin also considered the possibility that he could confront the Muslim army *en masse*, instead of being subjected to a surprise attack, and for that prospect undertook preparations to march towards Hab. “Truly only then he welcomed war, and it was inevitable,” remarks Walter, stressing that in contrast to Roger Baldwin was prepared to join battle only when it became strictly necessary.¹³¹

Walter attempts to give a detailed account of the following battle of Tell Danith, but the fact that he was a prisoner in Aleppo at this time, having fallen captive in the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, makes caution advisable in approaching his version of the events. Some confusion arises already in his report of the battle order, which he says consisted of nine lines in total. Three of these were placed in the vanguard, with the infantry positioned to their rear, while the royal forces assumed the task of protecting them. As Asbridge and Edgington point out, however, it remains unclear whether it was the infantry or the royal force that held the rearguard.¹³² The right and left wings, on the other hand, were held respectively by the forces of Tripoli and the remaining nobles of Antioch.¹³³

In agreement with Michael the Syrian, Walter states that the Muslim army, having surrounded the Franks just like at Balat, went on to the attack. Making a loud din with drums and trumpets, and showering down arrows and javelins, they tried to scatter the Frankish army. Failing to achieve this purpose, the Turks then decided to destroy the large Frankish infantry that posed a serious hindrance for them, insofar as

¹³¹ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 152, n. 210.

¹³² Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, Introduction, 55.

¹³³ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 152, n. 212.

it protected the lines in the vanguard. Accordingly they slung their bows on their arms, took out their swords, and assaulted the Franks with such impetus that the latter were scattered. The contingent of Pons, put in entirety to flight, became mixed up with that of the king; only the count himself and a few of his committed soldiers stood their ground to fight. “The greater part of our infantry” confesses Walter, “struck by the Lord’s leave, fell to the enemy’s sword.” This slaughter of the infantry is corroborated by the testimonies of Ibn al-Adim and Michael the Syrian. Walter indicates that following this event the Turks charged from all sides, which would correspond to the charge that Ibn al-Adim reports to have been made by Ilghazi, Tughtekin and Toghan Arslan.

Walter’s account also displays an important parallel with that of Fulcher’s, namely the central role he attributes to the “miraculous influence” of the Holy Cross, which he says turned the tide of the battle at this critical moment. Reportedly, it was the archbishop of Caeserea who was bearing the Cross, without a hauberk and unscathed despite having been hit by an arrow. Observing that the “infidels” were prevailing, he reportedly turned the Cross towards them and cursed that they be routed by the power of the Cross.

On a level more congenial to the modern historian, and in line with Michael the Syrian, Walter also stresses the role of Baldwin’s personal efforts in turning the tide of the battle. “Calling upon the protection and assistance of the Holy Cross,” he relates without neglecting the miraculous factor, the king charged at great speed towards the point where the enemy was more numerous, and managed to scatter successively their vanguard and rearguard. He also asserts in agreement with the Anonymous that Ilghazi and Tughtekin, put to flight in this way, returned to Aleppo

“weaponless and weary,” accompanied by only a few men.¹³⁴ But we have seen Ibn al-Adim reports that the Muslim emirs routed and pursued Baldwin’s troops to Hab. Coming back to the battlefield, according to the same source, they then defeated Robert fitzFulk and the other Franks who had returned from their attempt to relieve Zardana. Accordingly, if Ilghazi and Tughtekin arrived at Aleppo with only a few men as Walter and the Anonymous assert, this may have been due to the dispersion of their troops in search of plunder rather than to a rout they had suffered. It is also notable that Walter does not mention the actions of Robert of Zardana during the battle, but only records his captivity and death.¹³⁵

Despite his claims about the king’s rout of the Muslims, however, Walter admits that “both sides considered they were both vanquished and victors in that battle.” Much like Ibn al-Adim, as we have seen before, he attributes this uncertainty to the fact that parts of both armies were variously victorious or defeated, and that the contrasting news of these events, particularly the exaggerated reports of the defeats, arrived at Aleppo, Antioch, Hab and Tripoli with those in flight.¹³⁶ And yet Walter insists that the Franks were victorious, basing himself on the fact that ultimately the king remained in possession of the battlefield. God granted the victory to King

¹³⁴ This assertion is found a little further on in Walter’s account about how the news of the battle was received by the Frankish prisoners at Aleppo, one of whom was probably Walter himself. Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 158 (II.13). For doubts about Walter’s presence among the prisoners, however, see n. 234 in the same location.

¹³⁵ Basing themselves on this point, Asbridge and Edgington surmise that Robert had not responded to Baldwin’s call to arms before the Battle of Tell Danith and was consequently captured when that town fell: Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 158, n. 240. But this fails to account for the important role in the battle that Ibn al-Adim attributes to Robert, and also for the same author’s statement that he was captured by the people of Jabal Summaq upon falling from his horse.

¹³⁶ For an account of the various contrasting news received in Aleppo and the uncertainty that consequently arose, as witnessed by the Frankish prisoners there, see Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 156-59 (II.13). Walter himself insists however that solely the news about the defeat of the Muslims were truthful, while the rest was only a stratagem of the latter to destroy the morale of the prisoners and to keep up the morale of their own people. See also Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 159, n. 238.

Baldwin, he asserts, “because both the enemy fled and with a few men he even obtained the field of battle freely and absolutely with the triumph of God’s victory.”

As Asbridge and Edgington point out, however, Walter was well aware that there were serious problems with this assertion: one of these was that Ilghazi had seized one of the king’s banners, which was just as important a sign of victory at that time. The other, more important one was that Baldwin left the field for Hab, as Walter himself admits, and indeed we have seen Ibn al-Adim assert that most of his forces had to take refuge there under attack from Ilghazi, Tughtekin and Toghan Arslan, who pursued them up to that castle. Walter spends considerable effort to explain away these facts, presenting that the loss of the royal standard was the consequence of a chance skirmish and that the king’s departure for Hab was solely a result of the need for provisions, which reportedly arose when the Franks in Hab refused to join him on the battlefield.¹³⁷

About the skirmish in question, Walter relates that this happened when a part of the Turkish army came across and attacked a group of Franks returning from the previous charge. Their exhausted horses had been entrusted to a groom, who was carrying one of the banners of the king. Walter reports that they were all killed or captured and their horses struck down with arrows, and although he refrains from mentioning the banner, it was no doubt taken as well. He then states that the king was compelled to proceed to Hab in the evening because of the dearth of provisions, and could only return the next morning. For the Franks who had taken refuge in Hab had rejected his repeated summons to come and join him on the battlefield, “partly as a result of fear and partly because they were overcome by shame.” So Walter seems to suggest that Baldwin had expected them to bring the necessary supplies as well, and

when they refused to come, he was compelled by the depleted provisions to go to Hab himself.

However, the real cause of the king's retreat to Hab may have been a little different. Asbridge and Edgington suggest that Baldwin could have been compelled to seek safety there because of the relative scarcity of his troops who remained on the battlefield.¹³⁸ Evidence that supports this suggestion is Ibn al-Adim's report that the forces under Baldwin were compelled to seek refuge in Hab after being defeated and pursued by Ilghazi and his allies; significantly, the Aleppan chronicler does not explicitly mention Baldwin among those who escaped to Hab at this time. It could be deduced from here as well that the reason why Baldwin went to Hab was the rout of a part of his army, probably the infantry with whom he had shielded the archers and cavalry. With the latter, however, he probably led a successful charge against the Muslim army after the count of Tripoli's knights had been driven inwards toward his own. While this was interpreted as a victory by the Franks, the remaining royal forces were left exposed and vulnerable against an attack by the Muslims, so it proved necessary to seek supplies and security at Hab. This was interpreted in turn by the Turkomans as a victory of their own. After the king's departure Ilghazi and Tughtekin returned to the battlefield, where they came across Robert fitzFulk on his way back from Zardana, and routed his forces. At this point the Turkomans felt at liberty to scatter for plunder, and the emirs themselves returned to Aleppo with a small contingent, having by now secured Zardana. The following morning, Baldwin returned from Hab with the troops and provisions necessary to reoccupy the battlefield, and claimed the victory for himself.

¹³⁷ See Asbridge's observations in Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, Introduction, 29-31; 137, n. 127.

¹³⁸ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 155, n. 221.

The whole of the rest of Walter's account is concerned with the same issue, designed to show the king as the triumphant possessor of the battlefield. Walter insists that he "remained on the battlefield long enough to be certain from sure announcements and sure signs that the infidels had been defeated," and sent his ring to Antioch to "proclaim by this sign the victory of the Holy Cross and announce that the king had won the field of battle." The king is also shown in action as the master of the battlefield, ordering the dead and the wounded to be brought to him and sending his men to collect the left-over booty he had seen while riding. In a further attempt to prove that the result was a victory for the Franks, Walter compares the number of Frankish losses with that of the Muslim dead, which he claims to have heard from the enemy: "Two or three thousand [Muslims] fell to the swords of the Christians," he asserts, against a hundred horsemen and between five to seven hundred footmen lost on the Frankish side.

Walter's account concludes with the celebrations of victory at Antioch, in which, he notes with importance, "all unanimously... reformed their behavior and way of life." He declares that Baldwin was received as a victor in the city, after "the triumph of Christianity had been regained by the life-giving power of the Holy Cross." Thus some of the main themes of the account are recapitulated at the end: the necessity of giving up sinful behavior, which Walter held responsible for the defeat suffered at the hand of the "infidels," and the crucial role of the Holy Cross in what he represented as the victory of the Christians.

6.3.1.13 *William of Tyre*

The account of William of Tyre¹³⁹ is a fairly straightforward summary of that of Walter the Chancellor, with some additions from Fulcher's account, notably on the specific "sins" of Prince Roger which allegedly brought about his defeat.¹⁴⁰ Otherwise William follows Walter very closely in this case, with few modifications or additions of note, so only these differences will be touched upon here.

One significant omission is encountered in the passage relating Ilghazi's capture of Zardana, where William skips Walter's report that the emir broke his promise of safe conduct to the people of the town and had them all killed. This is representative of his approach towards Ilghazi in the rest of the account as well, for he is observed to refrain systematically from the derogatory epithets applied to the emir by his source Walter. The only apparent exception comes at the beginning of his account, where William introduces Ilghazi as "a powerful infidel prince, lord of that wretched and perfidious race, the Turkomans, and a ruler greatly feared among his own people." Even there, though, the derogatory remarks are directed at the Turkomans in general rather than at Ilghazi himself. In keeping with this, William also discards Walter's lengthy depiction of the tortures inflicted upon the captives by Ilghazi and his son Sulaiman.

There is yet another notable difference in William's account. We have seen that Walter emphasized the justness of the war and dwelt on the heroic acts of the Franks in battle, going so far as to describe the "martyrdom" of a certain Frank who attacked the Turks plundering the chapel-tent. In stark contrast to this William adopts an astonishingly condemnatory, one would even say humanistic stance toward all

¹³⁹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, translated by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, 1943), I, 528-35 (XII.9-12).

war, including an allegedly “just” one like this: when relating the Battle of Tell Danith he abruptly drops a passionate remark about what he saw as the fanatical and hatred-filled state of mind with which both sides fought, a psychology that rendered it theoretically problematic to consider those killed in battle as martyrs.¹⁴¹ “Then the closely serried ranks met in bitter combat and a hand-to-hand battle with swords ensued. With scornful disregard of the laws of humanity, with burning zeal and insatiable hatred, both sides fought as if against wild beasts.”

Another interesting difference in William’s relation of the Battle of Tell Danith is that he discards the emphasis on the critical, miraculous influence of the Holy Cross, which had turned the tide of the battle according to his sources Fulcher and Walter, and contents himself with the remark: “our strength was in the presence of the ever-victorious Cross and in the confession of true faith.” This omission leaves the chief role in the final success to the king’s personal efforts and bravery. The difference in question between William and his earlier twelfth-century sources could be attributed perhaps to the gradual development of a more “secular” worldview in twelfth century historiography, as a result of which events came to be explained by earthly rather than divine causes.¹⁴²

William also gives some original information about the measures taken in Antioch by Baldwin, relating how the king gave the goods of those slain in battle to their children or more distant blood relations, and also provided their widows “with worthy husbands, of stations equal to their own.” He adds that Baldwin equipped fortresses with men, food and arms wherever it seemed necessary. The reason he could

¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, William also cites Walter’s assertion that the prince confessed his sins and went into the battle as a true penitent. See Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, Introduction, 23.

¹⁴¹ See H. E. J. Cowdrey, “Martyrdom and the First Crusade,” in *Crusade and Settlement*, edited by Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 46-56.

undertake these measures was that the clergy and people of Antioch had granted him “freehand there just as in the kingdom to institute and remove, and to manage everything according to his own will.” All these stand in remarkable agreement with the testimony of Ibn al-Adim who related how Baldwin got hold of the possessions and houses of the slain, wed their wives to the survivors, reconstituted the army, and made himself the master of Antioch.

6.3.2 *Ilghazi’s “failure” to attack Antioch*

Why didn’t Ilghazi attempt to capture Antioch? Were the contemporary historians justified in thinking that he could and should have attacked it? Many modern historians believe so. Indeed it is interesting from a historiographical point of view how the latter reproduce the judgements of their narrative sources without further questioning. Echoing the judgement of the majority of the contemporary sources, Karl Süssheim states in his article in EI²: “Antioch now lay defenceless at Ilghazi’s feet; but he neglected to take the city.”¹⁴³ William B. Stevenson,¹⁴⁴ Aydın Usta,¹⁴⁵ Robert Nicholson¹⁴⁶ and Imad al-Din Khalil¹⁴⁷ put forward the same criticism. Following Ibn al-Qalanisi and the corresponding passage in Walter the Chancellor, they attribute the reason for Ilghazi’s “failure” to attack Antioch to his mistake of allowing the Turkomans to scatter in search of plunder. Missing the whole point of the ex-

¹⁴² See Nancy Partner, *Serious Entertainments: the Writing of History in 12th Century England* (Chicago, 1980).

¹⁴³ Karl Süssheim, “Ilghazi,” EI², III, 1118.

¹⁴⁴ Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, 104.

¹⁴⁵ Aydın Usta, “Artuklular,” *Türkler Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara, 2002), VI, 473; Aydın Usta, “Artuklular ve Haçlılar, Haçlıların Bölgeye Gelişlerinden Belek’in Ölümüne Kadar (1098-1124),” *İÜ Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 37 (2002), 368.

¹⁴⁶ Robert Nicholson, “The Growth of the Latin States, 1118-1144,” in *A History of the Crusades* (Wisconsin, 1969), I, 413.

¹⁴⁷ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 248-49.

pedition, besides, Nicholson charges Ilghazi with capturing “the far lesser prizes of al-Atharib and Zardana” instead of directly going for Antioch.

Imad al-Din Khalil, on his part, proceeds to lament Ilghazi’s waste of “this rare opportunity to capture Antioch and thereby destroy one of the four Crusader principalities,” pointing out that it managed to survive about two centuries after this. If Ilghazi had succeeded in realizing this goal, he asserts without questioning whether this was indeed a goal of Ilghazi himself, the course of the struggle between the Muslims and Crusaders would have changed, and the emir “would have occupied a position of greater and more firmly established reputation in the history of the Crusades, like the one held by Zangi through his capture of Edessa and Saladin through his capture of Jerusalem.”

On a similar line, Ali Sevim¹⁴⁸ asserts that if Ilghazi had concentrated all his troops and assaults upon the defenseless city of Antioch, he could have easily captured it before the king’s arrival, and the situation of the Crusaders would have taken a turn for the worse. He even claims that the Franks could have been expelled from Syria. But Ilghazi fell to drinking, Sevim states following Usama ibn Munqidh, and therefore failed to take full advantage of this victory “that could have brought about great and significant consequences for the world of Islam.” Runciman similarly draws upon Usama, but combines his explanation with that of Walter the Chancellor.¹⁴⁹ He asserts that Ilghazi “settled down to so pleasant a series of festivities that his health began to suffer,” while raiding bands were sent into the Principality. But Antioch was garrisoned in the meantime, he says, and the fruits of victory were thrown away by the Muslims.

¹⁴⁸ Sevim, “Artuk Oğlu İlğazi,” 678, 691.

¹⁴⁹ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 151-52.

Another scholar combining the explanations of Walter and Usama is Grousset,¹⁵⁰ who recounts how Ilghazi was prevented by Castellan Joseph's trick from acquiring Artah, the key to Antioch. Being "only an uncouth boor (*soudard grossier*)... satisfied and proud with his victory, massacres and booty," he states, Ilghazi "began to drink, not finding anything better to do than celebrating his success with his Turkomans in monstrous orgies." As a result he fell sick and lost precious time, although "Antioch, demoralized by the disaster, emptied of Frankish chivalry, with a very suspicious Syrian population, would have been an easy conquest."

Nevertheless, Grousset goes further than the previous scholars in coming up with an explanation for this attitude of Ilghazi: the emir was "incapable of political conceptions" according to him. What the author means by "political conception" here seems to be the notion of expelling the Franks from the Near East, which he says would have been the aim of a true statesman sent by an organized Muslim power, like the Seljukids of Persia. He also contrasts "the Turkoman shepherds [who] were not made for a sustained war" unfavorably with the regular troops of the Seljukid army.

Clearly, Grousset views the events from a perspective of religious confrontation and what he understands from "political conceptions" are policies determined by religious antagonism. If a Muslim ruler was capable of "political conceptions" according to this view, he had to wage an unrelenting war against the Franks and seek to expel them from the Levant. But Grousset singularly fails to question whether any idea of this kind ever occurred to the Seljukid sultan or his governors. On the contrary, we have seen that their primary aim was to bring the local Muslim emirs of Syria and the Jazira to heel, and not anything like expelling the Franks altogether from the

¹⁵⁰ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 560.

region. It is quite probable in fact that they saw the Franks as an effective counter-balance against the local emirs, just as Byzantium regarded powerful Muslim rulers like Nur al-Din as an effective bulwark against the Franks.

In the light of these considerations, Grousset's depiction of Ilghazi as a "*sou-dard grossier*" incapable of policial conceptions turns out to be little more than a gross caricature: we have seen already that Ilghazi spent this time not in drunken orgies, as Usama and Walter hold, but in trying to realize his realistic conception of pushing the Antiochene border beyond Jabal Talat. Although his attack on Artah and Imm, instead of directly going for al-Atharib and Zardana, seems to belie this at first sight, we have seen Walter indicate that he went to al-Atharib first but then turned to Artah on seeing that it was still too strongly garrized. Asbridge points out in support that no troops from al-Atharib seem to have fought at *Ager Sanguinis*, and plausibly suggests that Ilghazi may have decided to wait for Tughtekin to arrive with his reinforcements before marching upon these strongly garrisoned fortifications.¹⁵¹ After he had been joined by Tughtekin and the garrisons of the two castles had gone to Antioch on Baldwin's orders, the time was ripe for attacking the main targets of his campaign. Indeed it would have been hardly realistic for a local emir in Ilghazi's position to pursue goals like capturing Antioch or expelling the Franks from the Near East, as we shall discuss presently.

Carole Hillenbrand¹⁵² attributes Ilghazi's "failure" to capture Antioch partly to the indiscipline of Turkoman troops, in line with Ibn al-Qalanisi, and partly to Ilghazi's own outlook, like Grousset. She also stands close to Grousset in criticising Ilghazi for his lack of a "master plan," a plan for systematically fighting against and expelling the Franks from their cities, which she accepts to have been possessed by

¹⁵¹ Asbridge, "Significance and Causes," 313-14.

later leaders like Zangi or Nur al-Din. Discussing the first reason, she states that the undisciplined Turkomans, refusing to stay on after the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* and dispersing with their booty, prevented Ilghazi from advancing against Antioch. Thus their short-term tactics thwarted any possible long-term strategy that the emir might have had. But according to Hillenbrand the real problem lay in the fact that Ilghazi himself also lacked such an overall “long-term strategy,” “a master plan” that extended beyond the campaign at hand. Like all his contemporaries, he was busy shifting his allegiance to meet the demands of the moment. She argues in addition that Ilghazi did not possess the “exceptional gifts of imagination, decisiveness and leadership” that she attributes to leaders like Zangi and Nur al-Din. As a consequence of such handicaps, Hillenbrand asserts, Ilghazi did not even think of exploiting what she calls “a rare opportunity” to capture Antioch.

Gerhard Vāth¹⁵³ also believes that this was a rare opportunity to capture Antioch, which he says “lay prostrate, unprotected.” He argues that in spite of the defense measures taken by the patriarch and the clergy, Ilghazi could still have taken the city before the arrival of the king. This is not justified, however, because Baldwin had not been called by the patriarch and clergy after the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, as Vāth assumes, but had set out much earlier than that, having been summoned by Roger himself when Ilghazi had first invaded the Principality. Accordingly it would take him much less time to reach Antioch with the reinforcements. In fact Baldwin probably arrived there in mid- to late July,¹⁵⁴ which provided Ilghazi with only three or four weeks at most. This would have been hardly sufficient to capture Antioch, given the strength of its fortifications and citadel. Moreover, as Vāth himself points

¹⁵² Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazira,” 149-50, 157-58.

¹⁵³ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 78-9.

¹⁵⁴ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 143, n. 157.

out, the Turkomans grew unwilling after an initial success to get involved in further fighting and still less in a siege, a tendency which would not have made Ilghazi's task easier.

Like Grousset and Hillenbrand, Vāth argues that Ilghazi's own outlook was also a factor that contributed to his "failure" to attack Antioch at this opportune moment. Nevertheless, he assesses the emir's conditions much more realistically, not attempting to condemn him for his lack of a "political conception" or a "master plan," or to compare him unfavorably with other leaders in this regard. He points out that Ilghazi would not try too hard in any case to persuade his men to attack Antioch, for he was only an emir with a secure lordship in Diyar Bakr. Outside this region he had managed to set foot only in Aleppo, and even that with difficulty. It could hardly be expected therefore that he would be able to hold on to both Aleppo and Antioch at the same time, complete with the territories they commanded. Vāth observes that it would also have been unthinkable for Ilghazi to solve this problem by giving Antioch to some other emir, since the idea of conquering something for Islam and then giving it gratuitously to another Muslim emir was as foreign to the Artukid ruler as to those before or after him.¹⁵⁵

Claude Cahen¹⁵⁶ does not criticize Ilghazi for having wasted a "golden opportunity" to capture Antioch, in contrast to the previous scholars, but contents himself with the remark that he could have inflicted much greater territorial losses on the Principality, the torso of which remained intact in the event. Analyzing the reasons for this failure, he similarly indicates the haste of the Turkomans to return home with

¹⁵⁵ Indeed Ilghazi had offered Aleppo to Tughtekin before, but it must be noted that he had not dedicated any time, energy or resources to capture that city. There was only an invitation made to him from Aleppo, and what he did on that occasion was simply to notify the *atabek* of such an opportunity before moving himself to take over the city. Moreover Tughtekin was not simply another Muslim emir but connected to Ilghazi as his father-in-law.

their booty, which he says made long campaigns impossible and prevented them maintaining a foothold in the territory of the Principality. He points out further that because the military base of Ilghazi's Turkomans was in the Jazira, they could not be transported en masse to Syria whenever they were needed to defend newly occupied territories. On the other hand, Cahen also criticizes Ilghazi himself for what he regards as the emir's tactical errors. In this connection he points out Ilghazi's deception by Joseph of Artah, like Grousset, and although he admits that al-Atharib and Zardana were appreciable gains, argues like Nicholson that Ilghazi's preoccupation with their siege and capture gave the Franks a respite to get their defences organized.

Cahen also examines Ilghazi's own outlook as yet another factor, in parallel with Grousset, Hillenbrand and Vāth. Like the latter scholar, however, he assumes a more empathetic approach towards the emir. He remarks that Ilghazi was content with having brought the Franks sufficiently in line and secured the safety of Aleppo, which was only a remote dependency for him, and therefore did not aspire to any conquests beyond its basin. He observes further that Ilghazi must have been aware of the still formidable power of the Franks in their own region, and accordingly did not wish to compromise the results he had achieved in inner Syria by an attack on Frankish territory.

What counted for Ilghazi, then, was to secure the safety of Aleppo, and he was neither willing nor able to dedicate his limited resources to any goal beyond that task, not least because his main base was located in Diyar Bakr. But within this limited framework he did have a long-term strategy that extended beyond the immediate campaign, as it emerges from his expeditions following the takeover of Aleppo: this was based on capturing the key fortresses on the borders with Antioch, and thus

¹⁵⁶ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 287.

pushing back the Frankish line of encirclement that had been tightening on the city. For this reason, the charge of strategic short-sightedness brought against Ilghazi can hardly be deemed justified.

Moreover, it is by no means so clear that Antioch was so ripe for capture, even though it had been deprived of its ruler and the major part of its military forces. Indeed none of the aforementioned scholars seems to have considered the possibility that Ilghazi might have weighed up his chances of capturing and holding it, and judiciously given up the idea when he decided that it was not a feasible option.

In fact, as Asbridge observes rightly, making a concentrated attack upon Antioch would not have been realistic in Ilghazi's situation.¹⁵⁷ We have seen that the reinforcements from Jerusalem and Tripoli were already on the way, leaving him with far less than a month to accomplish the task — a period that would hardly have sufficed to take the city, even though it was poorly garrisoned. As the Franks themselves had learned twenty years earlier at their expense, capturing Antioch was not so easy at all, even without Ilghazi's perennial problem of holding the Turkomans on the field. The defences of the city were exceptionally strong, to begin with, and even if Ilghazi succeeded in capturing the lower city, he would still have to take the well-fortified citadel on the mountains — a much harder nut to crack as the Crusaders in 1098 had discovered. The task was rendered still more difficult by the fact that the siege technology of the early twelfth century was still quite backward. In Cahen's words, "neither the Crusaders and their successors, nor the Muslims had a powerful means of attacking cities at the beginning of the 12th century, and could not even besiege walls of long perimeter."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Asbridge, "Significance and Causes," 315.

¹⁵⁸ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 204.

In case the Muslim forces were unable for these reasons to capture Antioch before the king would arrive, there was the serious danger that they could find themselves trapped between the citadel and the enemy reinforcements. And if that happened there was no guarantee that they would manage to emerge unscathed like the Franks on the First Crusade. We have no good reason to assume that Ilghazi was not in a position to take all these factors into consideration as he was about to decide whether to attack Antioch or not.

Ilghazi must also have been aware of the considerable difficulties involved in holding on to Antioch even if he succeeded in capturing it. As we have seen, neither he nor any other emir of his age would have imagined taking a city and giving it to another emir for the sake of enlarging the realm of Islam. And left to his own resources Ilghazi could hardly expect to entrench his rule in Antioch in the face of all odds and against all the powers that would confront him. In this connection Asbridge points out the “extremely fierce resistance” he was certain to meet from a united Latin force in case he attempted to expel the Franks altogether from the Principality.¹⁵⁹

But Ilghazi had still worse to fear, namely a Byzantine intervention and perhaps even a united attack by reconciled Byzantines and Franks. We have seen Hillenbrand compare Ilghazi unfavorably with Zangi and Nur al-Din, who she says possessed the qualities necessary for exploiting the kind of opportunity that now presented itself for capturing Antioch. But it was precisely the same Nur al-Din who, on being urged to march against a similarly defenceless, prostrate Antioch after the battle of Harim in 1164, refused on the grounds of a possible Byzantine intervention, and expressed his preference for having the Frankish prince rather than the emperor as his neighbor. He also pointed out the difficulty of taking the well-fortified citadel,

¹⁵⁹ Asbridge, “Significance and Causes,” 315.

and contented himself with sending raiding bands into the territory of Antioch, just as Ilghazi had done after the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*.¹⁶⁰ There seems no reason to assume therefore that the Artukid emir could not have thought on the same lines, especially as he would be far less capable than Nur al-Din of stopping a possible Byzantine onslaught. Orderic's report about Ilghazi's concern to release the imperial envoy Ravendinus without harm and so to avoid alienating the emperor provides sufficient evidence that he was indeed apprehensive about a possible Byzantine intervention.

It was also possible that the Byzantines would not be alone in such an assault: the dispute over Antioch was a still very hot issue in Ilghazi's day, constituting a bone of contention between the Byzantines and Franks and keeping them divided. If this bone of contention was now removed with the capture of Antioch and the two enemies united in a common front to recover the city, the chances were little that Ilghazi, even with the help of other emirs, could defend the city against their onslaught. In such a case, moreover, not only Antioch but the whole of Muslim Syria could come under threat.

For all these reasons, the fact that Ilghazi did not attack Antioch after the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* must be seen as the result of a deliberate choice on the part of the Artukid emir, rather than as a "failure" stemming from real or supposed factors like the undisciplined nature of his Turkoman troops or his lack of a "political conception" and/or long-term strategy. Discerning that such an attack would not be feasible at all, in view of the difficulties of capturing and holding the city in his hands, Ilghazi preferred to adopt a more realistic course of action. What he did, as he had intended from the beginning, was to besiege and capture the Frankish outposts that

¹⁶⁰ Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, XI, 246-48 and *Chronicle*, II, 148 (559: 1163-1164).

threatened Aleppo from the west, before direct attacks could be made from these against the city. Indeed, this pre-emptive strike succeeded in rescuing Aleppo from the precarious situation in which it had found itself before the campaign.¹⁶¹

6.3.3 *The course of events*

The course of the events related with the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* is quite free of ambiguity, as most of the sources agree with and complete each other. Having collected troops from Diyar Bakr, Ilghazi crossed the Euphrates into Syria with the purpose of relieving Aleppo, especially by taking the strongholds of al-Atharib and Zardana. He ravaged the Frankish territories near the Euphrates, and then waited for Tughtekin at Qinnasrin as they had previously agreed. But the latter failed to show up, probably because of a conflict near Jordan with the forces of Jerusalem, and Ilghazi's emirs urged him to go into attack without further delay. Accordingly the Artukid proceeded to lay siege to al-Atharib and Zardana, so that he could realize his plan of pushing back the Antiochene border beyond the natural barrier of Jabal Talat.

Upon this Prince Roger, with the urging of the lords of these towns, moved from his initial camp at Artah to the nearby valley of Balat. His plan was to attack Ilghazi at all costs, without waiting for the king's reinforcements that were on the way, and so to prevent Ilghazi from capturing the two castles of vital strategic importance. But Ilghazi perceived the vulnerability of the Franks in their new position, and decided to anticipate them with a pre-emptive strike. Toghan Arslan led the attack launched early next morning, passing from the rear of the Frankish army to descend upon their tents, but he was eventually thrown back by the lines of St Peter and Geoffrey the Monk. After this initial check, however, the entire Muslim army made a

¹⁶¹ Asbridge, "Significance and Causes," 315-16.

united attack against the Frankish lines, and charging in waves from all around, nearly annihilated them; Prince Roger himself was among the slain.

Ilghazi did not attack Antioch after his victory, although he had gained a foothold in the key position of Artah. This was because of his awareness of a number of factors. The first of these was that the reinforcements led by Baldwin were already on the way and would probably arrive before he could capture the strongly fortified city, even though it was poorly garrisoned. Secondly, his Turkomans were impatient and quick to disperse in search of plunder, which made it difficult to keep them on the field for a long siege. Finally, even if he did capture the city, it would be very hard to hold and defend it, especially if the Byzantines decided to intervene.

Accordingly Ilghazi proceeded instead to carry out what he had intended from the beginning, to capture al-Atharib and Zardana. In this he was also helped by the fact that the king eventually assembled all the remaining troops in Antioch, depriving the castles of their lords and garrisons. Having in the meanwhile taken Imm and placed a deputy in Artah, where he was joined by the necessary reinforcements under Tughtekin, the emir first marched against al-Atharib and captured it. Then he proceeded to besiege Zardana, but his army began to break into foraging parties and the king drew near to Tell Danith, raising the danger that he would be trapped between the reinforcements and the garrison. Pressing on with the siege despite these odds, he managed to capture Zardana as well; it fell just on the day before the second battle at Tell Danith.

Because of the conflicting source evidence, it seems more difficult to assess the course and especially the outcome of the Battle of Tell Danith. It is not clear which side won the battle, or whether it could be called a draw, and modern histori-

ans have been divided as well on this point. The Muslim historians Imad al-Din Khalil and Ali Sevim, basing themselves mainly on Ibn al-Adim's account, argue that it was a victory for the Muslims, who they say routed and followed the Franks up to Hab.¹⁶² Drawing upon Walter the Chancellor's testimony (in William of Tyre's summarized version), Sevim asserts further that Baldwin put up an effective resistance at Hab against the Turks and could not be defeated completely, but still did not dare to pursue them as they withdrew. Sevim is wrong however in locating the king's fight at Hab, for Walter and William, like Michael the Syrian and Fulcher of Chartres, state explicitly that it took place on the battlefield at Tell Danith. Basing himself on this mistake, Sevim goes on to argue that the king must be counted defeated insofar as he remained at Hab and abandoned the battlefield for good, but we have seen that he returned there next morning after a temporary stay at that town.

Most of the European historians, in contrast, assert that the outcome was a victory for the Franks, basing themselves on Walter the Chancellor's account. Thus Grousset states that it was only the Provençals and some others who escaped to Hab, leaving the king with the remaining troops. This situation, he argues, gave some contemporary historians the wrong impression that the two armies had taken to flight in face of the other.¹⁶³ Despite Grousset's assertion, however, it is stated nowhere in Walter's account that it was specifically the Provençals who escaped to Hab; we only read that they were thrown back and got mixed with the king's line. In the same connection Grousset proceeds to contend that the reason why Ibn al-Adim thought the Muslims won the battle was, beside the Provençals' flight, the defeat of Robert fitz-Fulk on his return from Zardana. But Ibn al-Adim explicitly states that Ilghazi and his allies had attacked the king's forces and put them to flight before that point, pur-

¹⁶² Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 250; Sevim, "Artuk Oğlu İlğazi," 680-81.

suing them up to Hab. Taking Walter's apologetic line of argument for granted, moreover, Grousset asserts in an authoritative tone: "the fact that the battlefield remained at the hands of the king cannot be contested and decides the question." Doing so, he fails to take notice of Walter's all-too-obvious efforts to explain away the fact that Baldwin abandoned the battlefield for Hab, coming back only in the next morning.

Grousset is not justified either when he argues in line with Walter that "despite the various vicissitudes of particular clashes Baldwin was victor, since Ilghazi and Tughtekin had retired towards Zardana, Atharib and Aleppo." We have seen Ibn al-Adim testify that the two emirs did return from Hab to the battlefield, where they met solely the lord of Zardana and not the king: it was only after defeating Robert and his contingent that they retired for good. By the time of their return to the field the king had followed his forces to Hab, as confessed by Walter himself, probably compelled by the vulnerable position of the troops who had remained on the battlefield. It was only in the morning, after the departure of Ilghazi and Tughtekin, that Baldwin ventured out of Hab to claim the battlefield and proclaim himself the victor.

Stevenson,¹⁶⁴ Runciman¹⁶⁵ and Asbridge,¹⁶⁶ on yet another side of the dispute, admit that the results were confused and indefinite, but still contend that the Franks fared better in the end. Although Stevenson accepts that "both sides sustained severe losses" and "part of each army was routed and part victorious," he insists that the "substantial fruits of victory remained with Baldwin." While Ilghazi retired to Aleppo and his allies dispersed, he argues in line with Walter, the king claimed the victory by collecting his forces and occupying the field of battle on the following

¹⁶³ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 566-70.

¹⁶⁴ Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, 105-06

¹⁶⁵ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 153-54.

day. But he overlooks that this argument is undermined by the very fact that Baldwin was able to remuster his army and return to the battlefield only on the next day, having been compelled to abandon it in the meanwhile. As yet more evidence in support of Baldwin's victory, Stevenson points out that soon after the battle, in autumn, the king found himself in a position to launch a campaign against the neighboring Muslim strongholds. Nevertheless, this cannot be taken as evidence for the outcome of the battle itself, for by that time the Turkomans had long dispersed home, being unable to sustain long campaigns, and Ilghazi had returned to Mardin.

Runciman's assessment of the course and outcome of the battle is similar. He relates that the Tripolitans suffered a check at the hand of Tughtekin, although they kept their ranks, and that Robert of Zardana was captured in an ambush after he had charged through the regiment of Hims in an effort to recapture Zardana. "Despite these setbacks," he asserts, "the Frankish centre and left held their ground, and at the crucial moment Baldwin was able to charge the enemy with the troops that were still fresh," putting numbers of Turkomans to flight.

There are a number of rather obvious errors in this analysis. To begin with, there is no indication in Walter the Chancellor or the other sources that it was Tughtekin who pushed back the Tripolitans and caused them to merge with the king's line. Nor do they state that the Tripolitans kept their ranks notwithstanding this check. As for Robert of Zardana, Ibn al-Adim, Runciman's source for the event, reports that he charged through the regiment of Damascus as well as that of Hims, and makes clear that his purpose was not to recapture Zardana, of whose fall he was as yet unaware, but to raise the Muslim siege. We know from the same source besides that Robert was not taken captive upon falling into an ambush on his way to

¹⁶⁶ Asbridge, *Creation*, 79; Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 137, n. 127.

Zardana, but afterwards when he was routed on returning to the battlefield and fell from his horse in flight.

As for the more important issue of Baldwin's successful charge, Runciman fails to note that the king himself was afterwards compelled to seek refuge at Hab, probably because his infantry had fled there before the united charge of Ilghazi, Tughtekin and Toghan Arslan as reported by Ibn al-Adim. Again with no direct basis in the sources, he proceeds to assert that the bulk of Ilghazi's army left the battlefield in good order, despite the flight of a number of Turkomans before Baldwin's charge. Thanks to this orderly retreat, and to the large train of prisoners, Runciman asserts, Ilghazi and Tughtekin "were able to tell the Muslim world that theirs was the victory." Nevertheless, the Turkomans may in fact have scattered in search of plunder after the rout of Robert, compelling Ilghazi and Tughtekin to retire to Aleppo with only a small contingent, as the Anonymous and Walter the Chancellor testify.

We have seen Thomas Asbridge point out the problems with Walter's representation of the result as a Frankish victory. Indicating in addition that most other sources depict the battle as inconclusive, and that both sides had suffered heavy losses, he admits that its outcome was not decisive. Nevertheless, he draws attention to the fact that the king managed to put an end to Ilghazi's campaign against the Principality and repelled the Artukid threat for the rest of the year 1119. On the other hand, Zardana and al-Atharib could not be recovered in that year or the next; the former was only to be taken in 1121 and the latter in 1123.¹⁶⁷ Similarly, Cahen admits that Baldwin could neither win a true victory, nor recover Zardana or al-Atharib, but underlines his success in stopping the conquests of Ilghazi and thus allowing Antioch

¹⁶⁷ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 154, n. 220.

precious time to recover from the disaster.¹⁶⁸ Nonetheless, there remains the fact that the Artukid emir had managed to realize his principal aim: capturing al-Atharib and Zardana, the two key strategic points that had been his targets from the beginning, and thus pushing the Antiochene frontier beyond Jabal Talat.¹⁶⁹ He had also destroyed the major part of the Antiochene manpower, and together these two achievements point to him as the true victor of the entire campaign, whatever the precise outcome of the battle of Tell Danith.

Thus the course of the battle of Tell Danith could be reconstructed as follows: at the beginning Robert of Zardana, with a large contingent of Franks, defeated the forces of Hims and Damascus, while an attack of the remaining Muslim troops threw back the forces of Tripoli on the right wing and caused them to get mixed with those of the king. After this Ilghazi, Tughtekin and Toghan Arslan, with the forces that remained, made an attack towards the Frankish center under the king himself. The infantry forces sheltering the cavalry and the archers were defeated, but Baldwin stood his ground and made a successful counter charge. Nevertheless, the royal forces were left in a precarious position in the middle of the battlefield, now that the infantry had taken refuge in Hab, and so he saw it prudent to withdraw there as well.

At this point Ilghazi and his allies returned from the pursuit to the battlefield, now emptied by Baldwin and his troops. Here they came across Robert fitzFulk and a large group of Franks who had hurried to Zardana to relieve it, but then returned upon learning of its fall. In the fight that ensued the Franks were defeated and the survivors similarly escaped to Hab; Robert himself was captured in flight and later exe-

¹⁶⁸ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 290.

¹⁶⁹ Compare Asbridge's comment: "So the Aleppan campaign against Antioch in 1119 had a specific aim, and it did achieve that aim." "Significance and Causes," 314.

cuted. Seeing nothing left to do after this clash, and perhaps also compelled by the dispersal of their troops in search of plunder, Ilghazi and Tughtekin returned to Aleppo. Next morning the king ventured out of Hab with his men to occupy the battlefield, whereby he could announce that his was the victory.

In any case Baldwin had managed to put a stop to Ilghazi's operations in the territory of Antioch, but the latter in turn had succeeded in taking and holding onto his principal targets, al-Atharib and Zardana, removing thereby the immediate threat against Aleppo. Accordingly Ilghazi must be regarded as the true winner of the confrontation in 1119; he had saved Aleppo from almost certain capture.

6.3.4 *The consequences of the campaign*

The most important consequence of the campaign for Antioch was the loss of its leader and the major part of its manpower, which relegated it to a secondary rank among the Latin states of the East and spelt the end for its predominantly Norman character. As Runciman points out, territories might be recovered, but it was not so easy to replace the knights and infantry slaughtered in the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* within a few years.¹⁷⁰ We have seen Orderic report how Roger's widow knighted squires to replace those lost, while Ibn al-Adim and Walter relate how the king transferred the possessions of the slain to their heirs and wed their wives to others of equal rank in an effort to fill the vacant fiefs and so to reconstitute the Antiochene army. This is in itself an evidence for the extent of the loss in manpower, for no such measures had had to be undertaken after the Franks' defeat in the Battle of Harran fifteen years before.¹⁷¹ Moreover, the Normans slain in the battle were not all replaced by other Normans, but their place was filled gradually by knights from middle

¹⁷⁰ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 155.

and eastern France, which eventually reduced the Norman influence in North Syria.¹⁷²

Among those killed were also contingents and individuals of note, including the battle line of St Peter as well as Robert fitzFulk of Zardana. Of course Prince Roger himself was also among the slain, having left no heir, and this created a political vacuum in the Principality that necessitated the king to take over its government. But Baldwin was able to fulfill this task only imperfectly, since he had to govern the Kingdom of Jerusalem as well. As a result, Asbridge points out, the principality was deprived of strong and sustained leadership precisely when it was needed most after the disaster of *Ager Sanguinis*. These handicaps in leadership and manpower brought about the result that the principality declined considerably in rank among the Latin states of the East. Whereas in Tancred's time it had come second only to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, it now became one of the weakest Latin states, subject to the king himself. Once Tancred had raised claims of suzerainty over Edessa — now it was the count of Edessa who led its forces to battle.¹⁷³

And yet Steven Runciman interprets these developments in a more positive light as well. He argues that the Franks were brought by the disaster to realize that they had to work as a unit, and therefore readily accepted King Baldwin as an active overlord, with the result that the Frankish establishments in Syria were welded together.¹⁷⁴ Admittedly, Baldwin's preoccupation in North Syria also raised the risk of internal division in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁷⁵ But the risk in question does not

¹⁷¹ Asbridge, "Significance and Causes," 307-08.

¹⁷² Vāth, *Geschichte*, 78.

¹⁷³ Asbridge, "Significance and Causes," 305-06.

¹⁷⁴ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 155.

¹⁷⁵ Asbridge, "Significance and Causes," 308.

seem to have been realized in the event, even when Baldwin remained away for about a year after falling captive to Ilghazi's nephew Belek.¹⁷⁶

In contrast to the loss of manpower and leadership, most of the territorial losses suffered by Antioch turned out to be recoverable in the short term, although initially they were of considerable extent. Among these were Sarmada, Artah and Imm, captured by Ilghazi, and Kafartab, Kafaruma, Sarmin and Ma'arrat Misrin, taken by the Munqidhithes.¹⁷⁷ These were all recovered within the next twelve months, primarily due to the efforts of King Baldwin, as will be related in the following chapter. But the remaining few losses that could not be restored within a year were key strategic locations that became a liability for Antioch: al-Atharib and Zardana to its east, annexed to Aleppo, and al-Bara and Ma'arrat al-Nu'man to its south, annexed to Shaizar.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, as Asbridge points out, the Franks fared better when compared with the aftermath of their defeat in the Battle of Harran. The reason for this was that the Byzantines did not seize the opportunity to attack the territory of Antioch as they had done in 1104 when, capturing Cilicia and Latakia, they had reduced the Principality almost down to the city itself.¹⁷⁹

Thus even at their full extent the territorial losses suffered by Antioch in 1119 remained at a modest level in comparison with those in 1104. They were also much less than those following the Battle of Inab in 1149, when the prince of Antioch and his forces were similarly annihilated by Nur al-Din. According to Cahen, this was because as of 1119 the Muslim world was not yet in a position to profit fully from such a victory, while the Frankish world was still capable of reacting speedily and

¹⁷⁶ See section 8.2.

¹⁷⁷ Usama ibn Munqidh, *Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior*, 67-8.

¹⁷⁸ Asbridge, *Creation*, 81.

¹⁷⁹ Asbridge, "Significance and Causes," 303-04.

forcefully.¹⁸⁰ Indeed there was no Muslim ruler at this time who was both powerful and based in Syria, like Nur al-Din, while the Franks, united under Baldwin's effective leadership, could immediately set about the task of recovering their losses. This was brought to completion in 1123, when al-Atharib was taken; Zardana had been recovered two years before. The very next step of the Franks was to attack Aleppo itself, as we shall see in the ninth chapter.

But despite this speedy recovery, the precarious situation that emerged in the immediate aftermath of the debacle must have proved more than sufficient to inspire feelings of insecurity and apprehension in the Franks. So much so that they do not only seem to have realized the importance of unity, as Runciman indicated, but also to have grown doubtful about their chances of maintaining a foothold in the Levant without the military support of the West. It was probably for this reason that the aftermath of the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* saw the first Latin appeal from the East to the West for military aid against Muslims, namely at the council of Nablus in 1120.¹⁸¹

The Muslims in contrast, and especially the people of Aleppo, must have breathed a sigh of relief as the Frankish stranglehold on Aleppo was broken at last, even though temporarily, with the capture of al-Atharib and Zardana. Although Runciman states that "the great Artukid campaign fizzled out" without having achieved anything material for the Muslims, "except for a few frontier-forts and the easing of Frankish pressure on Aleppo,"¹⁸² this had been the original aim of the campaign as we have seen. Indeed it was no mean achievement, considering that these two castles would have enabled the Franks to undertake direct attacks against Aleppo, a mere

¹⁸⁰ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 287.

¹⁸¹ Asbridge, "Significance and Causes," 308, 316; Jonathan Philips, *Defenders of the Holy Land* (Oxford, 1996), 2, 14-15; Hans Eberhard Mayer, "The Council of Nablus," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 531-43; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London, 1990), 91.

¹⁸² Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 155.

thirty kilometers away in flat country. Ilghazi's capture of both prevented this from happening and removed, for the time being at least, the threat posed to the security of his city.¹⁸³ Stevenson observes rightly that Ilghazi "had good cause to be satisfied with the fruits of his first campaign," since he had "loosened the strong hand from the throat of Aleppo" and scored a so far unprecedented victory against the Franks.¹⁸⁴

Indeed the victory considerably increased Ilghazi's prestige in the Muslim world, as is also evident from the comments of Muslim chroniclers and the poems of Al-Azimi. Cahen indicates that Ilghazi's successes drew attention to him and widened his horizon, causing him to be invited for a campaign against Georgia in the distant north.¹⁸⁵ Imad al-Din Khalil goes further in asserting that Ilghazi, through his critical victory in *Ager Sanguinis*, "rose to leadership in the movement of jihad against the Crusaders," following it with "a series of other victories that created an atmosphere of peace, stability and production for the Muslims in North Syria."¹⁸⁶

If jihad is interpreted in a limited, functional, defensive sense here, as the form that the task of averting the encirclement of a Muslim city like Aleppo assumed in the eyes of the contemporaries when the aggressors happened to be Christian, Khalil may be considered right: apart from Ilghazi there was no other leader at the time willing or able to carry out this task. But insofar as the historical "jihad movement" is understood, it is far from certain that Ilghazi had any interest in leading a "Counter-Crusade" as such against the Franks. Even though it may be true that in the process of defending Aleppo he had to come to blows with the Franks more often than any other Muslim emir of the time, and showed himself adventurous enough to

¹⁸³ Nicholson, "Growth," 414.

¹⁸⁴ Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, 106. Ali Sevim similarly asserts — perhaps with some degree of exaggeration — that Aleppo had been surrounded from three sides and its fall had become "only a matter of days" when it was rescued from the danger by Ilghazi's victory in *Ager Sanguinis*. Sevim, "Artuk Oğlu İlğazi," 676.

comply with the summons against Georgia, these are by no means sufficient to argue that he had consciously taken up the leadership of the “jihad movement.” For this movement was yet in its infancy at his time, promoted fitfully by a limited circle of pietists, and far from the mature state it would reach when it was developed and cultivated systematically during the reigns of Nur al-Din and Saladin.¹⁸⁷

And yet Ilghazi seems to have taken pride in his victory against the “infidels,” for he wrote letters to the sultan and the caliph to report his successes. The caliph Al-Mustarshid sent honorary robes in acknowledgement, thanking him for his attacks against the Franks.¹⁸⁸ Runciman claims that he also received the title of “the Star of Religion” (Najm al-Din) at this time from the caliph.¹⁸⁹ Surprised at this assertion, Gerhard Vāth¹⁹⁰ and Imad al-Din Khalil¹⁹¹ point out rightly that this is mentioned nowhere in the Arabic sources. Very probably, Runciman’s claim is based on a simple misunderstanding of the corresponding passage in the French translation of Ibn al-Athir’s work contained in the RHC edition. This reads: “Le khalife Mostarched envoie des habits d’honneur à Nedjm al-Din (l’étoile de la religion) Ylga-zi.”¹⁹² Apparently, Runciman read too much meaning into the translation of Ilghazi’s name in parentheses, which the French translator chose for some reason to insert at this point.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁵ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 287.

¹⁸⁶ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 249.

¹⁸⁷ Sivan, *L’Islam et la Croisade*, 59-130. Further discussion of Ilghazi’s precise relation with jihad awaits the overall evaluation of his career in the following chapter (section 7.8).

¹⁸⁸ Ibn al-Athir, *el-Kamil*, X, 450-51 and *Chronicle*, 214 (514: 1120-1121). The mission from the caliph is reported just before a short duplicate report of the Battle of Tell Danith in the previous year (wrongly stated by the English translation, p. 214, n. 6 as pertaining to *Ager Sanguinis*). This suggests that the “attacks against the Franks” mentioned in the message mainly referred to Ilghazi’s victory in the preceding Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*.

¹⁸⁹ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 151.

¹⁹⁰ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 78.

¹⁹¹ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 246, n. 6.

¹⁹² Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi l-Tarikh*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* I, 332.

¹⁹³ This error shows once again the problems and dangers inherent in relying solely on translations of Arabic sources and not checking them against the originals when they are used. This is especially true

It was not in vain that Ilghazi's fame and reputation grew with the victory. Grousset calls *Ager Sanguinis* the first true disaster suffered by the Franks, as distinct from their previous defeats which had affected only outer districts or failed to inflict any serious losses on the Frankish knights. But far more important than Ilghazi's personal gain of fame and reputation was the fact that such a great victory against the Franks had been scored only by a local emir. Grousset remarks in this connection: "What the regular Turkish armies, the armies of the sultan from Kerbogha to Bursuk had not been able to obtain was achieved at the first blow by a simple emir of Diyar Bakr with his semi-savage Turkomans."¹⁹⁴ Similarly, Hillenbrand points out the interesting paradox that it was of all people a rebellious enemy of the sultan, a Turkoman chief, who had scored a victory against the Franks that had been denied to the previous campaigns launched under the Seljukid aegis.¹⁹⁵

Claude Cahen, in turn, focuses on the lesson that this taught the contemporary Muslims.¹⁹⁶ In the frightful years they had been living through, he observes, they had despaired of victory, but now it dawned upon them that the situation could be reversed after all. What was still better was that for this reversal they did not need a new intervention by the sultan's army, still foreign and unwanted in the region. They could count instead on the resolution of a local emir, even a chieftain of the neighboring Turkomans. Indeed Cahen sees the most important and far-reaching conse-

for the extremely free and mediocre translations found in the RHC, but also valid for the modern translations that are replacing them with far less speed than is due. Despite this, however, the majority of the Crusading historians in the West still seem to consider it unnecessary to add Arabic to their knowledge of Latin, an attitude showing that they regard the oriental sources in this language only as fill-in material beside the Latin sources. Of course this is equally valid for modern Muslim researchers in the field who neglect to add a knowledge of Latin to their linguistic repertoire and content themselves with relying on the translations of Latin chronicles about the Crusades and the Latin East, which they similarly use as fill-in material alongside the Arabic sources.

¹⁹⁴ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 559.

¹⁹⁵ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 158.

quence of *Ager Sanguinis* in this lesson: the success achieved by Ilghazi, together with his similarly local allies Tughtekin and Toghan Arslan, encouraged the other emirs in the Jazira to renew the attack, and the following years would see the Artukid Belek, Aksungur al-Bursuki, and then Zangi on the scene against the Franks.¹⁹⁷ They were to be followed by Nur al-Din and Saladin, immediate neighbors of the Franks in Syria and Palestine.

Now that Ilghazi had captured al-Atharib and Zardana, his next effort would be directed towards adding Azaz to these and thereby restoring the major part of the Antiochene border. He failed in this task however, and suffering many other setbacks due to his preoccupations elsewhere, found himself in a struggle to preserve or recover what he had acquired earlier with his victory at *Ager Sanguinis*.. The next chapter examines this sequel.

¹⁹⁶ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 286-87.

¹⁹⁷ The latter two were indeed governors of Mosul, but had shaken off the tutelage of the Seljukid sultan and acted in effect as local emirs like Ilghazi.

CHAPTER 7

ILGHAZI: DEFENDER OF ALEPPO

Thomas Asbridge observes that the whole period from 1120 to 1126 passed with an unrelenting contest between Antioch and Aleppo over the control of al-Atharib, Zardana and a part of the Jabal Summaq; to these Azaz might be added as well. Largely as a result of the political crises afflicting Aleppo, Baldwin II eventually succeeded in restoring the eastern boundary of Antioch running from Azaz to al-Atharib and Zardana, although he was not so successful in Jabal Summaq, where the Muslims continued to hold al-Bara and Ma'arrat al-Nu'man.¹ It was in this context that the rest of Ilghazi's reign in Aleppo saw the efforts of the Franks to recover the places they had lost after *Ager Sanguinis* and so to restore their access to the east of Jabal Talat. Ilghazi, in turn, tried to counter these efforts as well as to capture Azaz, but was severely hampered by a number of factors. Among these were the indiscipline of his Turkman troops, the divisions in the ranks of his own family, including the rebellion of his son and deputy in Aleppo, and especially his defeat in an ill-judged campaign to Georgia.

There was yet another obstacle before Ilghazi, a monastery at Sarmada that was fortified by the Franks. In the meantime he had razed the fortifications of

Zardana, which was subsequently rebuilt and reoccupied by the Franks. His efforts to recover it, as well as to attack the Principality from an easterly direction, were effectively resisted by the Franks from this monastery. It enabled them to threaten the Artukid emir in the rear whenever he laid siege to Zardana, and also to exert pressure on al-Atharib, which had not surrendered yet. So by the end of his reign Ilghazi turned once more against Azaz, at the northern end of the frontier line, after he had besieged it unsuccessfully in 1120. As we shall see in the next chapter, Ilghazi's nephew and successor Belek, the emir of Kharput, was to develop this strategy further: since the Principality had been secured in the east by the fortified monastery at Sarmada, he attacked it instead from its northeast, Azaz, and the southeast, Jabal Summaq.

The purpose of both emirs in these campaigns was to prevent the Franks from encircling Aleppo again, rather than to wage a "Holy War" *per se* against the Franks. As we shall discuss in the final sections of this chapter and in the next, however, this does not necessarily mean that jihad meant nothing for them. The fact that they launched their campaigns to realize well-defined and limited strategic goals to defend their own city, Aleppo, need not have prevented them from regarding these conflicts as jihad, even if only for their quality of being conflicts in which the adversaries happened to be Christian. These discussions will reveal that it is mistaken to try to liken jihad to a Crusade, and to call it a "Counter-Crusade" in analogy with the latter. It must be understood in its own terms and insofar as what it could have meant to the contemporaries.

¹ Thomas Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), 81.

7.1 Continuing hostilities between the Muslims and the Franks

The months following Ilghazi's departure for Mardin saw the continuation of the hostilities between the Franks and the Muslims. In particular, Baldwin launched a campaign to recover the places that had been lost to the Munqidhites of Shaizar. Thus Ibn al-Adim reports² that the Franks first undertook an assault against Ma'arrat al-Nu'man and carried off some people, but were then forced to withdraw by a group of Turkomans. Next Baldwin set out from Antioch for Jabal Summaq, to the south of Antioch, where the Frankish disaster at *Ager Sanguinis* had caused the loss of several towns to Shaizar. One of these was the castle of Zur, to the west of al-Bara, which had been abandoned to the Franks and then retaken after the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*. After some fighting, Baldwin captured this in September 1119 and allowed the garrison to depart freely. Kafar Ruma, on the other hand, had to be taken by force and all its defenders were killed. From here Baldwin proceeded to Kafartab, which had been burnt and abandoned by the Munqidhites on seeing the Franks approach. After repairing the town and installing a garrison in it, the Franks advanced against Sarmin and Ma'arrat Misrin, which capitulated. But Zardana could not be taken, and after camping briefly before it, Baldwin returned with his army to Antioch.

Grousset asserts that the king's reentry into Antioch was triumphal: "He had avenged Roger and the Norman chivalry. He had reconstituted almost entirely the territory of the Principality."³ As the French scholar admits in a footnote, however, al-Atharib and Zardana had not been recovered, and since these two castles had constituted the main bone of contention, Baldwin's failure to capture them must have made his reentry into Antioch less "triumphal" than Grousset would have it.

² Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 622-23.

Ibn al-Adim notes that the king's cousin Joscelin had come from his fief in the Galilee to join him during the siege of Sarmin, and was appointed as Baldwin's successor in Edessa and Tell Bashir. He now joined in the continuing struggle with the Muslims and carried out two incursions into the Butnan valley, with Buza'a as its chief city, following this with an incursion into the Muslim territories on the western bank of the Euphrates; there he killed and captured almost a thousand people. He next raided Manbij, Naqira and the eastern lands of Aleppo, seizing the horses and capturing the men and women he came across. In corroboration of this report the Anonymous states that Joscelin, having been called from Tiberias and sent by Baldwin to rule in Edessa, mustered an army and attacked the camps of the Turkomans, taking many prisoners. As a result, he says, the count's "fame spread abroad in north Mesopotamia and fear of him fell on the Turks around."⁴

Ibn al-Adim reports that at this point a group of Turkomans crossed the Euphrates to raid the Frankish territories in Syria. As Gerhard Vāth observes, the Frankish debacle at *Ager Sanguinis* and its sequel must have filled the Turkomans of Diyar Bakr with the hope of easy booty in Syria, and led some groups to cross the Euphrates on their own to plunder Frankish territory.⁵ Ibn al-Adim relates that Joscelin advanced to Ravendan in pursuit of these Turkomans, but was defeated in the fight that ensued and lost a number of his men.⁶

Two possible interpretations exist of this incident: one is that the Turkomans were already heading towards Ravendan, probably on their way to the territory of

³ René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-1936), I, 573 and n. 3.

⁴ "The First and Second Crusaders from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," translated by M. A. S. Tritton with notes by H. A. R. Gibb, *JRAS* 92 (1933), 88-9.

⁵ Gerhard Vāth, *Die Geschichte der artukidischen Fürstentümer in Syrien und der Ġazira'l-Furatiya* (Berlin, 1987), 80, n. 244.

⁶ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 623.

Antioch,⁷ and the other is that they were forced to withdraw in this direction when they were repulsed by Joscelin from the territory of Tell Bashir.⁸ Taking into consideration only the second of these, Işın Demirkent rejects it on the grounds that the Turkomans could not have retreated towards Ravendan, as it was already Frankish territory since 1098. So they would have been expected to retreat towards Muslim territory instead.⁹ But Ibn al-Adim does not indicate explicitly that the Turkomans were withdrawing or being pushed in this direction by Joscelin; he only states that the latter marched to Ravendan in their pursuit. As Vāth suggests, therefore, the case might rather be that Joscelin attempted to stop their advance toward the territories of Antioch and caught up with them at Ravendan on their way to the Principality.¹⁰

Ibn al-Adim also notes that around the time of Baldwin's campaign against the Munqidhites in Jabal Summaq the troops of Aleppo kept raiding the Frankish territories in their neighborhood, returning victorious and laden with booty from their incursions.¹¹ Ilghazi had in the meanwhile captured the castle of al-Bira, which guarded an important ford on the Euphrates, as Cahen deduces from its recapture by

⁷ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 80.

⁸ Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps de Croisades et la Principauté Franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 290-91.

⁹ Işın Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu Tarihi* (Vol. 1: İstanbul, 1974, Vol. 2: Ankara, 1994), II, 20-1. Based on this objection, Demirkent goes on to argue that Joscelin's clash with the Turkomans near Ravendan as reported by Ibn al-Adim might be the same as his successful attack on a group of Turkomans sent by Ilghazi in spring 1120 beyond the Euphrates, a report that she attributes to Matthew. The chronicler in question relates that Joscelin collected troops from Kaisun and Behisni, and pursuing the Turkomans, killed a thousand of them. See *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated by Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham, New York, London, 1993), 225-26 (III.82). Pointing out the subjectivity of contemporary authors with regard to the outcome of clashes, especially smaller ones, Demirkent suggests that the two accounts of Ibn al-Adim and Matthew might pertain to one and the same event. This view cannot be accepted, however, for it is quite clear in Matthew's account that the Turkomans attacked by Joscelin in that case were not a detachment sent across the Euphrates by Ilghazi who remained in Diyar Bakr, but rather a group of his troops with whom he had crossed the river. For further discussion of this issue see the next section.

¹⁰ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 80.

¹¹ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 623.

the Franks in 1122.¹² This may have been an attempt to secure Aleppo against possible attacks from Edessa.

The Artukids had recovered al-Atharib after the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, and it was their turn to attack Antioch from this strong bastion. Ibn al-Adim relates that in May 1120 its governor Bulak ibn Ishaq, a companion of Ilghazi,¹³ undertook an incursion against the territory of Antioch with a contingent from Aleppo. In the ensuing battle with the forces of Antioch, which took place at a location between Turmanin and Tell Aghda, in the territory of Lailun, he was defeated and pursued back to al-Atharib.¹⁴ This raid was probably undertaken as a prelude to Ilghazi's expedition that would begin at the end of the same month.

7.2 Ilghazi's Syrian campaign in 1120

In the last section we have seen the Anonymous's report about Joscelin's attacks on the Turkomans encamped to the west of the Euphrates, many of whom he captured. The companions of these captives took refuge with Ilghazi, the Anonymous relates,¹⁵ and persuaded him to avenge them by attacking Edessa. So he gathered a vast army and camped with it near Edessa to devour the crops, cut down the gardens, and ravage the land, after which he departed. Michael the Syrian¹⁶ reveals that Ilghazi's expedition was larger in scope. After he had mustered an army to invade the territory of Edessa and burn the crops, Michael relates, the emir proceeded to enter the territory of Antioch, as he found nobody to confront him, and returned to Diyar Bakr after taking captives there. Nevertheless, the other sources reveal that what the

¹² Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 291 and n. 19.

¹³ Robert Nicholson, "The Growth of the Latin States, 1118-1144," in *A History of the Crusades* (Wisconsin, 1969), I, 415.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 623.

¹⁵ "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," 88-9.

Anonymous represents as a punitive operation against the lands of Edessa to avenge the Turkomans, and Michael as an attack on the same lands, followed by an extemporized incursion across the Euphrates upon meeting no resistance, was in fact a major campaign against the Principality of Antioch.¹⁷

Among these other sources is another indigenous Christian author, Matthew of Edessa.¹⁸ As the only source beside Michael to mention both the Edessene and the Antiochene phases of the campaign, he rightly accords the latter the principal place in the expedition. He relates that Ilghazi mustered an army supposedly of about 130,000 and camped before Edessa, covering the entire plain around the city with his troops. He remained encamped here for four days, ravaging the whole countryside with his army, before departing for the banks of the Euphrates. Crossing the river secretly with his army, he captured all the people of both sexes in the region between Tell Bashir and Kaisun. Matthew depicts Ilghazi's depredations here in graphic detail and probably with some amount of exaggeration as well: "He mercilessly massacred everyone and even had children burnt and roasted with matchless barbarity and in incalculable numbers..."¹⁹ The populations of many villages were put to the sword, and both priests and monks perished by fire and the sword."²⁰

¹⁶ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, edited and translated by J. I. Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910), III, 205.

¹⁷ Compare Demirkent's apt observation in *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 21: "The Anonymous's account of a punitive expedition that Ilghazi conducted against Edessa in retaliation against Joscelin and on the call of the afflicted population should pertain to the campaign made by Ilghazi in May 1120. This report can only be important insofar as it explains the reason why Ilghazi delayed for a few days before Edessa during that expedition." On the other hand, Nicholson brings Ibn al-Adim's report about Joscelin's attack on the Turkomans at Ravendan in relation with this report of the Anonymous, whose explanation he seems to take at face value. As a result, he erroneously attributes the campaign of Ilghazi and the incursion of Bulak (whom he confuses with Belek ibn Behram) to Joscelin's attack and defeat. But the primary target of both Ilghazi and Bulak was the territory of Antioch and not Joscelin's lands. Nicholson, "Growth," 415.

¹⁸ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 225-26 (III.82), and RHC, *Historiens Arméniens* I, 126-27 (III.80).

¹⁹ This is the French version in RHC *Historiens Arméniens* I, 127. The English version reads: "He inexorably massacred everyone and even had a tremendous number of children roasted over fires."

²⁰ Before the mention of the massacre of the village populations and churchmen, the English version reads: "when Ilghazi recrossed the Euphrates with his army." The sequel reveals however that Ilghazi

To put a stop to these ravages, Matthew continues, Joscelin hurried from Ra‘ban to Kaisun and Behisni to collect troops. Pursuing Ilghazi’s army, he caught up with it at daybreak and killed a thousand in the ensuing attack. Matthew is the only source to relate this incident, and it might be referring to a detachment of Turkomans in search of plunder rather than to Ilghazi’s entire army. Be that as it may, Matthew interprets Ilghazi’s subsequent advance south to Azaz as a move of retreat due to this defeat of the Turkomans. This is hardly plausible, however, as Ilghazi would not have thought of moving towards a Frankish castle if he had wanted to avoid Joscelin’s further attacks as well as to allow his forces to recover from their defeat. As we shall see Ibn al-Adim state, marching to Azaz was in fact what he intended from the beginning, with the purpose of capturing this stronghold that constituted the northern end of the Antiochene frontier. Thus he would have completed the task he had begun with the capture of al-Atharib and Zardana, which made up the middle portion of the frontier directly to the west of Aleppo. This reveals that Ilghazi had a certain strategy that he tried to realize as systematically as he could: this involved recapturing all the castles that the Franks had seized from Aleppo in an effort to encircle and apply pressure on it.

Just as the Franks had tried to prevent Ilghazi from capturing al-Atharib and Zardana in the previous year, they now set out to avert the fall of Azaz. “At this point,” Matthew states, “the king of Jerusalem, together with all the Frankish forces, reached Azaz in order to give battle to the Turks;” he was joined there by Joscelin. But the confrontation did not develop into a battle this time. After the Turkish and Frankish forces had stood facing each other for many days without joining battle,

had not crossed back the river to the Jazira, since Matthew says that he proceeded to Azaz next. The French version in the RHC, *Historiens Arméniens* I, 127 reads “having crossed the Euphrates with

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Ilghazi departed to go the district of German in the territory of Melitene, and the Franks returned home, the king to Jerusalem and Joscelin to Edessa.

The longest account of the Syrian phase of the campaign belongs to Ibn al-Adim. His testimony appears rather different from that of Matthew at first sight, but is nevertheless reconcilable with it. He relates that Ilghazi crossed the Euphrates with a great assembly of Turkomans on 26 May 1120 and headed for Tell Bashir. In contrast to Matthew, who reported the depredations of the Turkish army in this region and Joscelin's retaliatory attack, Ibn al-Adim asserts that Ilghazi stayed there for some days without fighting the Franks. This difference can be attributed to the Aleppan chronicler's lack of information about this early phase of the campaign in the East, as is also observable from his failure to make any mention of Ilghazi's attack on the territory of Edessa. It has already been indicated that Ibn al-Adim denotes Ilghazi's target explicitly as Azaz. Nevertheless, he notes that Ilghazi did not allow any of his Turkomans to ravage the lands of that town. This can mainly be attributed to the emir's determination to prevent his forces from scattering in search of plunder and thwarting his efforts to capture the town, as had happened so many times before and almost foiled his capture of Zardana. The latter experience, indeed, may have been precisely the main reason that led Ilghazi to forbid plunder at this stage, a decision that would shortly prove fateful.

Ibn al-Adim gives no indications about the movements of the Franks at this point, but it can be held in accordance with Matthew's testimony that they encamped opposite Ilghazi's army to prevent his capture of Azaz, a move that turned out to be successful. For after having stated that Ilghazi intended to capture Azaz, the Arab

considerable forces," which looks more appropriate in this context, despite being a repetition of what

chronicler reports that he set out for Antioch, without indicating why the emir gave up his initial aim. In turn, Ibn al-Adim supplies more information than Matthew about the events that followed the siege of Azaz, beginning with Ilghazi's advance towards Antioch. The emir's motivation for this move may have been his desire to draw the Franks away from Azaz by ravaging their central lands in Syria, so that he could later return to attack it again. Ibn al-Adim relates that Ilghazi halted before Antioch for a single day and then turned east and proceeded to al-Ruj, where he stayed for some days before moving further east to Qinnasrin. As shall emerge from Fulcher's account, this was probably because the Franks followed him to Antioch and compelled him to withdraw eastwards under the threat of being trapped between themselves and the garrison of the city.

Precisely at this critical point, however, Ilghazi's determination to keep his Turkoman army intact by forbidding them plunder cost him dear. "The Turkomans were disturbed in heart," Ibn al-Adim states, "for they had been hoping for a booty like that in the previous year, but Ilghazi would not fight against a single castle with them, and they could not collect any."²¹ They had other grievances too: the Christian captives from the previous year, who had been ransomed and returned to their lands, did their utmost now to avenge themselves by attacking the Turkomans wherever they encountered them. In keeping with his concern to preserve the army intact, Ilghazi had probably forbidden the Turkomans to answer these hit-and-run attacks as well. He did not content himself with these prohibitions, moreover, but also took severe disciplinary measures to punish those who transgressed them, some of which

Matthew had already stated.

²¹ The statement that Ilghazi did not fight against a single castle with them seems surprising here, in view of the fact that he fought against Azaz at least, but perhaps it might be taken to mean that Ilghazi did not want to deal with minor castles and waste the precious time available for besieging Azaz once more.

amounted to severe insult: Ibn al-Adim relates how he went to the greatest lengths in humiliating a group of Turkomans for something he held against them, even shaving and hamstringing them. This proved too much, and almost all of the Turkomans dispersed to return home, leaving Ilghazi alone against the Frankish army. Only a small number of men remained, and these were scattered over the lands of Aleppo.

How could Ilghazi, this veteran chieftain of Turkomans, have ignored the fact that his troops were nothing like a regular army, that they were only willing to fight as long as they could find the booty that constituted a means of living for them? Ibn al-Athir offers a picturesque description of their attitude in this regard:

Ilghazi was not wont to prolong his stay in Frankish territories, because he mustered the Turkomans on account of their desire [for booty]: each of them would come with a bag in which there was flour and with a sheep, and would count the hours for some booty he hurried to receive, after which he would return home. And if their stay was prolonged they would disperse, as Ilghazi lacked the money to distribute among them.²²

Discussing the possible motives of Ilghazi for this unusual decision, Cahen suggests that he might have taken into account his impending annexation of the province, which he therefore would not like to be ravaged.²³ Carole Hillenbrand similarly contends that Ilghazi might have been unwilling to let the Turkomans pillage the lands he was soon to acquire.²⁴ But it is quite doubtful that Ilghazi could have believed he was in a position to seize al-Ruj and other places for good when the entire armies of Jerusalem and Edessa were present and literally on his heels. Indeed Cahen comes closer the mark when he suggests as another possibility that Ilghazi could have been fearing a surprise attack of the enemy forces. Hillenbrand on her part

²² Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih Tercümesi*, translated by A. Özeydin, A. Ağırakça et al., 12 vols. (İstanbul 1987), X, 450-51, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh, Part 1*, translated by D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2006), 214-15 and *al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh* (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1965-1967), X, 569 (514: 1120-1121).

²³ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 291-92.

²⁴ Carole Hillenbrand, "The History of the Jazira, 1100-1150," Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Edinburgh University, 1979), 153-54.

makes the additional suggestions that Ilghazi might have wished to ensure that his troops would concentrate their energies on fighting, and expected to control them by the promise of battle plunder rather than casual pillage. She alternatively states that the emir could have grown overconfident in his own abilities as a general after his victory at *Ager Sanguinis*. At any event, Hillenbrand concludes, this episode shows that Ilghazi's control over the Turkomans was slackening during the years 1119-21.

Nevertheless, it should be asked whether the result would have been any different if Ilghazi had taken a similar step before this time, say five or ten years earlier. Indeed there does not seem any sufficient ground to assume that Ilghazi's hold over the Turkomans was slackening in this period. The case was probably rather that they had always been quite independent, but for various reasons Ilghazi chose to ignore this fact and attempted to tighten his hold on them to an unprecedented degree, treating the Turkomans almost like a regular army. To put it otherwise, the emir tried to establish a far stronger control on the movements of the Turkomans than they would ever be willing to accept, since he wanted to mobilize the full energy of his troops for capturing Azaz, feared a surprise attack by the nearby Frankish army while his forces were scattered for plunder, and perhaps also placed too much trust on the great reputation he had made after *Ager Sanguinis*.

Ilghazi found himself in a very precarious situation as a result of these ill-judged strong-arm tactics applied against the Turkomans. Mentioning the presence of the Frankish army for the first time, Ibn al-Adim reports that they were encouraged by Ilghazi's predicament and advanced to Danith. Ilghazi would perhaps have met a fate similar to that of Roger in the previous year had it not been for Tughtekin who arrived in the nick of time with forces that could match the Franks, three thousand in number according to Fulcher's testimony. Considering the astonishingly timely arri-

val of the *atabek*, it can be imagined that Ilghazi had already summoned him to join forces at or near Aleppo, perhaps with the aim of attacking Azaz together.

Ibn al-Adim relates that the two emirs marched against the Franks, who numbered a thousand horsemen and a great number of footmen, and surrounded them with their forces from all around, so that not a single Frank could get out of the encirclement. The enemy refrained from turning back towards Antioch, for fear that retreating under these conditions could easily turn into a rout, and marched instead towards the town of Ma'arrat Misrin. They were so closely enveloped during the march that hardly a man dared to leave his ranks, and those who did were immediately killed; the horses that tripped and fell were also abandoned. Thirst was added on top of all this, as those who brought fresh water to the thirsting army were driven away with blows of cane — so much so that the Franks were on the brink of ruin as they came to camp by Ma'arrat Misrin. Ibn al-Adim fails to provide further details, however, and simply notes that at this point the Turks returned to Aleppo, while the Franks returned to Antioch.

What happened at Ma'arrat Misrin and why Ilghazi and Tughtekin failed to capitalise on the advantage they had gained over the Franks is revealed by Ibn al-Athir,²⁵ who covers only this latter part of the campaign. He relates that the two emirs besieged the Franks in Ma'arrat Misrin²⁶ for a day and a night, but then Tughtekin advised Ilghazi to let the Franks go free. For there was the danger that desperate fear could incite them to defy death and make a sortie against the Muslims, from which they might emerge victorious. Ibn al-Athir notes that most of

²⁵ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi 't-Tarih*, X, 450-51, *Chronicle*, 214-15 (514: 1120-1121) and *al-Kamil fi 'l-Ta'rikh*, X, 568-69.

²⁶ The name of the town where the Franks took refuge is written wrongly as Ma'arrat al-Nu'man in the English translation, whereas it is written as Ma'arrat Qinnasrin in the Arabic edition and Turkish translation and as Ma'arrat Nasrin in the RHC edition (*Historiens Orientaux* I, 332). Both of these

Tughtekin's apprehension stemmed from the sore-backed condition of the horses of the Turkomans and the excellent state of those of the Franks.²⁷ So Ilghazi allowed the Franks to depart freely, and they escaped. Ibn al-Athir attributes this act of Ilghazi also to his inability to keep the Turkomans on the field, as we have seen above. But here the army in question was the army of Damascus rather than his own troops, most of whom had already dispersed home.

It was probably also due to this dispersal of his troops that Ilghazi was compelled to make an extremely disadvantageous treaty with the Franks, although the arrival of the Damascene troops had enabled him to save face for the time being. As Cahen points out, he was in no position to resist the Franks if they now undertook a major campaign against the territory of Aleppo or even the city itself.²⁸ On the other hand, Grousset attributes the conclusion of this treaty so advantageous for the Franks to what he considers as Baldwin's "magnificent success": with his "both prudent and tenacious tactics," the French scholar argues, the king remained master of the terrain of operations and was "so much the moral victor of this campaign without battle" that Ilghazi had to conclude a truce by which he literally "avowed himself to be out of fight."²⁹ This judgement is not entirely out of place, for we have seen that it was Baldwin who, with his timely arrival as well as close and tenacious pursuit, prevented Ilghazi from besieging and capturing Azaz. It was indeed the dispersal of his army that actually forced Ilghazi to make the truce, but one reason for his prohibition of

latter names were used for Ma'arrat Misrin, and it is also this town and not Ma'arrat al-Nu'man that is mentioned by Ibn al-Adim.

²⁷ The Arabic original reads: *dabar khail al-turkman wa jawdat khail al-faranj*. The English translation wrongly gives this as "the shortcoming of the Turkish cavalry and the goodness of the Frankish one," making it look like as if Ibn al-Athir was making a general comparison of the quality of the horsemen of the two sides. But clearly *khail* means horses here, and *dabar* refers to the sore, galled condition of the backs of the Turkoman horses in comparison with the Frankish horses that operated close to Antioch. See Lane's definition of *dabar*, infinitive of *dabara*: He (a horse or the like or a camel) had galls, or sores, on his back, produced by the saddle and the like. Lane's *Lexicon*, III, 844.

²⁸ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 291-92.

plunder, the direct cause of that dispersal, was his fear of being surprised by Baldwin's army.

According to Ibn al-Adim the truce, agreed to last until the end of the year 514 (May 1121), stipulated the cession of Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, Kafartab, Jabala and al-Bara, the lands of Jabal Summaq with the tax revenue of Hab, the lands of Lailun with the tax revenue of Tell Aghda, and finally the lands in the territory of Azaz with the tax revenues of that town.³⁰ As Asbridge points out, Aleppo no longer actually controlled any of these sites by this time, so the concessions in question could only have involved Ilghazi's final abandonment of claims to them.³¹ Ilghazi not only failed thus to take Azaz and found himself compelled to abandon his claims on it, but also became uncertain of his ability to retain al-Atharib and Zardana. Mustering new troops from Mardin, therefore, he returned the next month (June 1120) to raze the fortifications of Zardana.³²

The only contemporary Latin account of Ilghazi's Syrian campaign in 1120 is provided by Fulcher of Chartres.³³ Just as in his account of the second Battle of Tell Danith, however, Fulcher focuses much more on the Holy Cross as the centerpiece of his narrative than on the precise course of events. Thus a large portion of his account is dedicated to the story of a dispute that broke out in Jerusalem when King Baldwin,

²⁹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 577.

³⁰ Ibn al-Qalanisi also reports this truce, though he does not touch upon its contents: "In this year a truce was made between Najm al-Din Ilghazi son of Artuk, lord of Aleppo, and the Franks, and it was agreed to establish amicable and peaceful relations and that each of the two parties should refrain from doing injury to the other." Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, translated by H. A. R. Gibb (London 1932), 162 (514: 1120-1121).

³¹ Asbridge, *Creation*, 81-2.

³² Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 625; Al-Azimi, *Azimî Tarihi: Selçuklular Dönemiyle İlgili Bölümler, H.430-538*, edited and translated by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1988), 35 (Arabic) and 43 (Turkish) (514: 1120-1121).

³³ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, translated by Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, 1969), 232-34 (III.ix).

about to set out north to confront Ilghazi, demanded to take along the holy relic. But this story is still valuable insofar as it reveals how seriously even the Franks in Jerusalem took Ilghazi's new campaign, after the experience of *Ager Sanguinis*, and how anxious they were about the results of an engagement that the king considered necessary to drive off Ilghazi.

Fulcher relates that messengers from Antioch arrived in June 1120 to announce that the Turks had crossed the Euphrates to molest the Christians in Syria. Upon this King Baldwin supplicated the patriarch and the clergy, who included the historian himself, to entrust him with the Holy Cross. He asserted that the Turks could not be expelled from the territory of Antioch without a hard battle. For such a battle, said the king, he and his men had to be fortified by the Holy Cross, without which they did not dare to set out for war, since they placed their trust in its protection and in the Lord's help rather than in their own power and numbers. On this request, a hefty dispute broke out between those going to war and those to remain in Jerusalem about whether it was right "in such a crisis for Christianity" to carry off the Cross to Antioch. The fear of the latter camp, headed by the clergy including Fulcher, was that the Church of Jerusalem could be deprived of such a treasure in case of defeat: "Alas, what shall we do if God permits us to lose the Cross in battle as the Israelites once lost the Ark of the Covenant?" But at last they reluctantly consented, Fulcher states, and after a ceremonial procession, Baldwin departed with the Cross.

There are a number of important conclusions to be derived from the story of this dispute. Baldwin's remarks about the necessity of a hard battle to expel the Turks, to begin with, shows how seriously he took Ilghazi's invasion. Just as he had hurried north in the previous year to aid Roger and prevent al-Atharib and Zardana as well as Antioch from being captured, now he hurried north again to preserve Anti-

och, Azaz and other fortified places in the region. And just as before, the king clearly expected that he would have to fight another great battle like that at Tell Danith to put an end to the threat posed by Ilghazi's campaign. As for the story of his insistence to take along the Holy Cross, its inclusion in the account is clearly in line with Fulcher's previous stress on the supposed efficacy of the holy relic in bringing victory to the Franks at Tell Danith. Again as in that case, the story also serves Fulcher to illustrate and underline the piety and humility of a king who trusted in the help of God and the Cross, rather than in his own power and army.

But there seems no reasonable ground either to assume that the entire story about the dispute has been made up. The piety of Baldwin II is also attested by William of Tyre, who notes that the hands and knees of the king had grown callous as a result of continual praying³⁴ — evidence that lends further credibility to Fulcher's story about the king's insistence on taking along the Holy Cross with him. So Baldwin's determination to secure the supposed protection of the holy relic shows once again how serious he felt the Artukid threat to be, and how apprehensive he was about the results of the forthcoming engagement that he considered necessary. This point is equally valid for the insistence of the patriarch and clergy on retaining the Cross in Jerusalem, out of fear that it could be seized by the enemy just as "the Israelites [had] once lost the Ark of the Covenant." Considered together with Fulcher's words "in such a crisis for Christianity," this attitude on their part reveals that the experience of *Ager Sanguinis* had made a profound impression even on the Franks of distant Jerusalem, who consequently viewed any further campaigns of Ilghazi with apprehension. Apparently, the chances that their army could be so severely defeated that it could even lose the Holy Cross, protected in the center of its ranks, seemed

quite serious to them. Indeed a relic of the Cross preserved in Antioch had been similarly lost to the Turks in the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*.³⁵

Fulcher's account of the actual course of events in the North is quite brief and rather confused. Indeed it can only be made sense of in the light of the previous three accounts. He takes up the narrative at the point where Ilghazi had proceeded from Azaz to Antioch: he states that the king and his army went to Antioch, which the Turks had surrounded so tightly that the inhabitants hardly dared to go a mile outside of it. But we have seen from a comparison of the testimonies of Matthew and Ibn al-Adim that the king and his army had actually marched first to Azaz, in order to prevent Ilghazi from capturing it. Due to the presence of the Frankish army Ilghazi had been unable to pursue the siege of Azaz, and proceeded to Antioch. The Franks must have followed on his tracks there, as it emerges from Fulcher's account. For he states that the Turks departed at once on hearing of the king's approach and retired toward the lands of Aleppo which they thought would be safer. This is in accordance with Ibn al-Adim's statement that Ilghazi stayed before Antioch for one day before he turned back east and marched via al-Ruj and Qinnasrin towards Aleppo. Fulcher does not appear informed about the dispersal of Ilghazi's troops, but he does note that the emir was joined near Aleppo by the forces of Damascus, whose number he donotes as three thousand.

Fulcher does not mention Ibn al-Athir's story of the Franks' envelopment by the Turks and their march to Ma'arrat Misrin under difficult conditions. Nor does he reveal that here they were besieged by Ilghazi and Tughtekin. He contents himself instead with the report that although the king approached the Turks to give battle,

³⁴ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, translated by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, 1943), I, 522.

and many on both sides fell wounded or killed by arrows, the latter refused to engage in a pitched battle. After three days of such inconclusive strife, he says, the Franks returned home to Antioch and the Turks to “Persia.” Nevertheless, his version of the events is still reconcilable with that of Ibn al-Athir’s, except that the Arab chronicler gave the duration of the siege as a day and a night rather than three days. The king was probably trying to break through the siege by forcing a pitched battle, but the Turks refused it because of the contrary advice of Tughtekin who pointed out that the Turkoman horses, in their sorry state, could not have withstood a charge by the still fresh animals of the Frankish cavalry. It was also for this reason that the Turks eventually let the Franks go, as we have seen, though Fulcher does not reveal this either, and even makes it seem as if it were the Franks who departed first. All such omissions in Fulcher’s account are in fact quite understandable: it would have been undesirable for the historian and/or his informants to reveal the embarrassing conditions involved in the envelopment and siege of the Frankish army, and the still more embarrassing fact that they owed their liberation to their enemies rather than to their own efforts.

In keeping with the central theme of his narrative, Fulcher concludes the account by noting how the king sent back the “most glorious Cross” “in fitting honor” to Jerusalem, where it was “joyously welcomed back.” The king himself reportedly remained in the territory of Antioch to protect its lands.

The course of events that emerges from these considerations is as follows: after Ilghazi had seized al-Atharib and Zardana in the previous year, which stood at the midpoint of the frontier line with Antioch, he moved against Azaz, at the northern end

³⁵ Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, translated by T. S. Asbridge and S. B. Edgington (Al-448

of this line, in a further effort to break the Frankish encirclement of Aleppo. After a short punitive raid on Edessa, undertaken in retaliation against Joscelin's attacks upon the Turkomans in the area, he crossed the Euphrates and ravaged Joscelin's lands beyond the river before moving on to Azaz. Joscelin, on his part, defeated a contingent of Ilghazi's army and killed around a thousand of them in an effort to put a stop to their depredations. Arriving at Azaz, Ilghazi laid siege to the castle, but Baldwin reached in time to prevent Ilghazi pursuing the siege, just as he and Roger had tried in the previous year to prevent him seizing al-Atharib and Zardana. Realizing that he had to abandon the siege, Ilghazi proceeded to Antioch to draw the Franks away from Azaz by a movement toward their city. Baldwin followed on his tracks. After ravaging the lands near Antioch for a day Ilghazi again set off, not desiring to be trapped between the king's army and the garrison, and turning east, he passed through al-Ruj and Qinnasrin; perhaps his intention was to join forces with Tughtekin and then return to besiege Azaz again.

But at this point the prohibition of plunder that Ilghazi had imposed on the Turkomans to keep them intact as an effective military force, his harsh disciplinary measures against the transgressors, and the hit-and-run attacks of previously released Franks caused his aggrieved army to disband and desert him, with only some scattered troops remaining. The timely arrival of Tughtekin and his army saved the emir from suffering a disaster, however, and together they surrounded the Frankish army. Under their close harassment the Franks proceeded to Ma'arrat Misrin, where they were besieged for a period between one and three days. But the Turks refused a general engagement, despite Baldwin's willingness to join battle to break through the encirclement. At this point Tughtekin advised Ilghazi to let the Franks depart, fearing

a desperate charge of their cavalry with horses that were in a much better state than their own, and so they allowed the enemy to escape.

The dispersal of Ilghazi's army, which had left him in a too weak state to resist a possible counter-attack by the Franks, compelled him to conclude a very disadvantageous truce with them, abandoning his claims on many towns, lands and revenues. Collecting a new army in Diyar Bakr, he returned to raze the fortifications of Zardana, which he believed was no longer defensible. Thus Ilghazi had suffered a very great check in his plans to add Azaz to al-Atharib and Zardana and completely relieve the Frankish pressure on Aleppo. This was largely the result of his ill-judged attempt to treat his Turkoman army like a regular army, of the kind possessed by the Great Seljukids. The factors that led him to this mistake were firstly his concern to realize his strategic aim of capturing Azaz without seeing his troops disperse in plunder, secondly his fear of being subjected to a surprise attack by the Frankish army while they were scattered, and lastly his erroneous belief that after his great victory of *Ager Sanguinis*, which had endowed him with a huge reputation, he could treat his Turkomans with strong-arm tactics. But the influence of that reputation over the Turkomans was far from adequate to let him play the general of a regular army towards them, as the events showed.

7.3 The Frankish offensive against Aleppo during Ilghazi's preoccupation with the Georgian campaign

Our most important source for the year following Ilghazi's Syrian campaign is again Ibn al-Adim. He relates in detail the efforts of the Franks to recover the places they had lost to Aleppo after *Ager Sanguinis*, taking advantage of Ilghazi's absence while he was away in Diyar Bakr and then on a campaign to Georgia during

this period.³⁶ Some of the events he reports are also found recorded in al-Azimi's short chronicle of Aleppo, and these will be noted in their respective places.

Ibn al-Adim reports that "the cursed Joscelin" broke the truce with Ilghazi in Shawwal 514 (23 December 1120 – 20 January 1121), attacking the town of Naqira in the Butnan valley and then Jabal Ahass to the southeast of Aleppo, including its chief city Khunasira.³⁷ He killed or captured everybody and burnt down everything he came upon in these places. The pretext he put forward for this raid was that the governor of Manbij had captured a man of his and then refused to comply with his written pleas to release the prisoner. He may also have besieged Manbij itself, as Al-Azimi reports a Frankish siege of Manbij around this time.³⁸

Ibn al-Adim goes on to relate that Joscelin proceeded after this to ravage the entire valley of Butnan, and returning briefly to collect troops, set out again to repeat his former depredations. Intending to give his readers an idea about the cruelty of these ravages, Ibn al-Adim notes that in his first incursion Joscelin had captured old or infirm men and women, stripped off their clothes, and left them naked outdoors in the winter cold, which had caused the death of all. He also notes that the governor of Aleppo, who was Ilghazi's son Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman at this time, sent a message of complaint to Baldwin, stating that Ilghazi had not left that country emptied of troops for any other reason than his loyalty to the truce. But the king replied that he did not have any authority over Joscelin, and the latter continued to carry out numerous successive raids. This exchange might be taken to indicate that the truce did not

³⁶ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 625-28.

³⁷ See Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 155.

³⁸ *Azimî Tarihi*, 36 (Arabic) and 43 (Turkish) (515: 1121-1122). Al-Azimi mentions this among the events of the year 515, together with the attacks upon Atharib undertaken in late spring and early summer of 1121. As the Muslim year 515 began in March 1121, however, it might well pertain to the incursion Joscelin made in January 1121, since we know that the count attacked Naqira in the Butnan valley, between Manbij and Aleppo at this time. In contrast, the Frankish attacks between May and

cover the County of Edessa but only the Principality of Antioch. Nevertheless, it is also possible that Baldwin used this just as a pretext, and regarded the count's incursions as better than nothing when he himself was forced to abstain from further raids.

At this point Ibn al-Adim turns to Mardin to relate how Ilghazi offered hospitality and protection to Dubais ibn Sadaqa al-Asadi, the Arab emir of Hilla, who had escaped from the caliph and the sultan to seek refuge with the lord of Ja'bar and then come to Ilghazi's side. Arriving with a great sum of money and an abundance of gifts, he married Ilghazi's daughter and increased his power by this alliance; he also received countless presents from Ilghazi.³⁹ But Ibn al-Adim points out that this affair proved a distraction for Ilghazi, preventing him from crossing into Syria, so that the territory of Aleppo was devastated and the Franks occupied the major part of it. However, when it is considered that Ilghazi and Dubais were about to embark on a campaign to Georgia in the summer, it emerges that they were in fact busy with the preparations for that expedition. This was probably the actual reason why Ilghazi was unable to attend to the deteriorating state of affairs in Syria.

Just about the the time of the expiry of the truce with Baldwin, in May 1121, Ilghazi had not flinched from accepting a call for help from Tughril, Sultan Mahmud's brother and governor of Arran, as well as from the inhabitants of Tiflis who had come under the attack of David, the king of Georgia. From the beginning of the twelfth century the Georgians had been undergoing a period of recovery and reconquest that resembled and even benefited from the Frankish expansion that divert-

June were concentrated on al-Atharib and Aleppo rather than anywhere near Manbij, which lay to the northeast of Aleppo.

³⁹ This is also reported by Al-Azimi: "Sultan Mahmud attacked Dubais ibn Sadaqa and plundered Hilla; Dubais fled to Syria and sought refuge by Malik; establishing kinship with Ilghazi, he improved his situation." *Azimi Tarihi*, 35 (Arabic) and 43 (Turkish) (514: 1120-1121). On the other hand, Ibn al-Athir places Dubais's marriage with Ilghazi's daughter in the previous year, when the Arab emir was still in his town Hilla; see Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 445 and *Chronicle*, 209 (513: 1119-1120). For a

ed the energies of the Muslim powers away from the Caucasus. But in this case the reverse happened: Ilghazi was distracted from the affairs in Syria by his campaign to Georgia, and was unable as a result to support his son in Aleppo against the Franks, being obliged to make concessions to buy peace in the west while he was preoccupied in the north. The disastrous defeat he suffered at the hands of David in August was also to benefit the Franks.⁴⁰

Under these considerations Gerhard Vāth calls it “incomprehensible” that Ilghazi could decide in favor of so distant a campaign at such a time, when Joscelin had invaded the valley of Butnan and the truce with Baldwin had expired.⁴¹ Carole Hillenbrand explains Ilghazi’s decision by the fame and self-confidence he had acquired after *Ager Sanguinis*, the money and troops brought by Dubais, and the promise of booty if not new territories in Georgia.⁴² Imad al-Din Khalil, in turn, attributes it to what he calls Ilghazi’s “readiness to assume the responsibility of defending the lands of Islam,” which he argues, stemmed from the emir’s awareness that “the advance of the enemy did not pose a threat for only one state, without the involvement of any other, but was rather a common threat for all the neighboring states.”⁴³

Whether Ilghazi may indeed have regarded himself as the defender of Muslims in a general sense, as Khalil seems to suggest here, will be discussed in the last section of this chapter. Here let us address the more limited question of whether Ilghazi may have considered the Georgian campaign in the context of the security of his own lands in the Jazira. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Ilghazi’s concern that the capture of Aleppo could eventually lead to threatening consequences for

more detailed account of Dubais’s story see *al-Kamil*, 448-49 and *Chronicle*, 212-13 (514: 1120-1121).

⁴⁰ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 287, 292-93.

⁴¹ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 82-3.

⁴² Hillenbrand, I, 145-46, 160.

his principality in Diyar Bakr must have played an important role in his agreement to take over and defend this city. Could he have agreed to the campaign against Georgia with a similar consideration? This is not as likely as in the case of Aleppo, if only for the simple reason that Georgia was much more distant than North Syria from Ilghazi's base and accustomed range of operations, and any advance of the Georgians in the Caucasus was far less likely than similar advances of the Franks in Syria to pose any threat for Ilghazi in his homeland in the Jazira.

Accordingly, the main pragmatic reason for Ilghazi's campaign to Georgia should rather be sought in the fact that he was still much of a chieftain of roaming Turkomans; let us not forget that the range of activities of his father Artuk had been even vaster, extending from Asia Minor to Palestine to Bahrain.⁴⁴ Ilghazi was thus following on the steps of his father as he marched to Georgia, although unlike him he had succeeded in carving out a principality for himself in Diyar Bakr. Rejecting such an attractive offer with its promise of ample booty and prestige, so that he could systematically concentrate his energies on the defense of his "territory" in Syria, might still have been an alien idea for Ilghazi, if not for his successors.

Despite this the Artukid emir tried as best as he could to prevent Aleppo from falling into the hands of the Franks and so enabling them to dominate the region, but this did not change the fact that the city remained a remote dependency for him. His brilliant success in the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* and subsequent capture of al-Atharib and Zardana may also have inspired Ilghazi with the confidence that he could easily recover from the Franks whatever he might lose to them while preoccupied with the Georgia campaign — although the check he had suffered in the Syrian campaign of 1120 should have undermined that confidence a bit. As we shall see in the sixth sec-

⁴³ Imad al-Din Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya fi 'l-Jazira wa 'l-Sham* (Beirut, 1980), 257.

tion of this chapter, Ilghazi was to dedicate a large part of his campaign in 1122 to attempts at recovering Zardana, which he had razed and abandoned, but which was later rebuilt and reoccupied by the Franks. When launching his Georgian campaign he may have calculated that he could undertake such operations after his return to recover possible losses.

Although Ibn al-Adim was thus mistaken in pointing out Ilghazi's preoccupation with Dubais, rather than the Georgian campaign, as the cause of his failure to cross into Syria and defend Aleppo, he was still quite right about the results of this neglect: large-scale ravaging and invasion of Aleppan territory by the Franks, who were increasingly encouraged upon meeting no resistance from Ilghazi's part. Joscelin, for one, raided Siffin and took captive the Arabs and Turkomans there, as well as seizing much of their money, horses and herds as booty. On his way back he attacked Buza'a and burnt down some of its walls before allowing himself to be bought off with a certain sum and returning to his lands.⁴⁵ More significant among the Frankish attacks at this time, however, were those directed against al-Atharib. This castle had become the main bone of contention between Aleppo and Antioch after Zardana had been destroyed by Ilghazi.

Ibn al-Adim reports two Frankish attacks upon al-Atharib made between April and June 1121. In the former in Safar (20 April – 18 May) they killed many inhabitants and burnt down the lower town, capturing those who had failed to take refuge in the citadel. Then in Rabi' I (19 May – 17 June), after attacking Nawaz, they again marched against al-Atharib and burnt down the houses and crops outside the citadel. Al-Azimi similarly reports that the Franks attacked the lower town of al-

⁴⁴ Ali Sevim, *Ünlü Selçuklu Komutanları: Afşin, Atsız, Artuk ve Aksungur* (Ankara, 1990), 46-71.

⁴⁵ Along with Ibn al-Adim see Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 163 (514: 1120-1121); and Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, X, 464 and *Chronicle*, 227 (514: 1120-1121).

Atharib.⁴⁶ From here there was only a short distance over the plain to Aleppo, which next became the butt of Frankish aggression. Baldwin carried out a plundering raid against the city, seizing people and horses from the suburbs as well as from inns. In addition to some fifty captives, he also took as much livestock as he could. But at this point, Ibn al-Adim relates, a small contingent of Aleppan troops made a sortie against the Franks and defeated them, also recovering their cattle, and the Franks returned home. Al-Azimi reports in parallel with Ibn al-Adim that the Franks raided Aleppo, upon which the troops of the city attacked and defeated them.⁴⁷

There is some discord in the literature about the precise identity of the Franks who carried out the attacks following Joscelin's raid of Siffin. Neither Ibn al-Adim nor Al-Azimi, to begin with, give any indications about the Frankish leader who led the attacks on al-Atharib and Nawaz. Röhrich thinks that it was Joscelin,⁴⁸ but Nicholson points out the absence of any concrete evidence to support this assertion. Basing himself on Ibn al-Adim's immediately following indication of Baldwin as the leader of the subsequent raid against Aleppo, he suggests instead that the king might have led the previous attacks on al-Atharib and Nawaz as well.⁴⁹ But the problem is that we are not even sure whether it was really Baldwin who raided Aleppo. Grousset points out that Ibn al-Adim indicates this raid to have taken place sometime around May-June at the earliest, whereas Fulcher asserts that Baldwin crossed the Jordan to fight Tughtekin in the distant Jawlan (adjacent to Tiberias) on 5 July.⁵⁰ Grousset's suggestion is that the raid in question might have taken place in autumn instead,

⁴⁶ *Azimî Tarihi*, 36 (Arabic) and 43 (Turkish) (515: 1121-1122).

⁴⁷ *Azimî Tarihi*, 36 (Arabic) and 44 (Turkish) (515: 1121-1122).

⁴⁸ Reinhold Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem 1100-1291* (Innsbruck, 1898), 150.

⁴⁹ Robert Nicholson, *Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa* (Urbana, 1954), 59, n. 345.

⁵⁰ Fulcher of Chartres, *Expedition*, 234 (III.x).

when Baldwin undertook a campaign against Khunasira.⁵¹ This is unacceptable however, for it means that Aleppo did not come under attack in early summer, which would render it more difficult to explain why Ilghazi hurried to make such a disadvantageous a treaty with the Franks as we shall see.

Nevertheless, Baldwin's presence in Jawlan at so near a date as 5 July to the months of May and June still stands in need of an explanation, all the more so as he was still in Jerusalem while Ilghazi's son Sulaiman conducted negotiations with Joscelin and Geoffrey. Being aware perhaps of the unacceptability of Grousset's suggestion, but still in search of a solution to this problem, Cahen goes further than Röhrich and speaks of "incursions leading up to the gates of Aleppo by Joscelin, helped by Geoffrey of Mar'ash," although Ibn al-Adim clearly attributes these to Baldwin. If it was Joscelin who raided Aleppo, what was the king doing at this time? Cahen's response is that he was in Jawlan fighting against Tughtekin, who attempted a diversion there but was defeated precisely at the same time as Joscelin's raid against Aleppo.⁵² Although more plausible than Grousset's suggestion, Cahen's solution still does not quite ring true, since it ignores Ibn al-Adim's explicit and unequivocal attribution of the raid to Baldwin without bringing sufficient evidence for doing so.

Thus scholarly opinion seems to be divided between attributing all the attacks after Joscelin's raid of Siffin to Baldwin or to Joscelin. Which is more likely? To begin with, Nicholson's point about Baldwin leading the attacks on al-Atharib and Nawaz seems sensible, as long as it can be proved that it was also Baldwin who raided Aleppo afterwards and not Joscelin. And for the latter point the closeness in date between this raid that took place around May-June at the earliest and the campaign to

⁵¹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 578, n. 4. See the next section for the evaluation of this campaign.

Jawlan must be accounted for. This may not be so difficult as it seems at first sight: the key lies in Cahen's suggestion that Tughtekin's campaign in Jawlan could have been an attempt to divert the king. When the Frankish forces under Baldwin pressed hard upon al-Atharib and Aleppo, Tughtekin may have attacked Jawlan in order to draw them away from North Syria. It is also conceivable that he made this move at the bidding of his son-in-law Ilghazi.

Tughtekin's attempt must have proved successful and compelled Baldwin to hurry south to the Kingdom of Jerusalem — which would explain the shortness of the timespan between his raid of Aleppo and campaign in Jawlan. Another factor that would help to explain Baldwin's speed is that he must have hastened south with a small company rather than the army of Jerusalem, since Fulcher states that he mustered the latter upon returning home — probably it was the forces of Antioch that he had commanded in the North. Also significant in this connection is Fulcher's report that Tughtekin gathered up his tents upon Baldwin's approach and, avoiding battle with the king in pursuit, took refuge in his own territories. It shows that Tughtekin's only goal had been to divert Baldwin's attention from Aleppo: once he had achieved it, he withdrew without fighting.

Thus it appears that it was indeed the king who led all the attacks on al-Atharib, Nawaz and Aleppo, once the truce of the previous year had expired. This result is significant insofar as it shows the active role that Baldwin played in the recovery of al-Atharib and other important possessions lost by Antioch in the previous year. Still more importantly, it reveals the large share of the king's activities in forcing Ilghazi once more to accept a very disadvantageous truce. Ilghazi was just about to set out for Georgia at this time, and being eager to use the opportunity provided by

⁵² Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 292.

the temporary relief of Baldwin's pressure, he hurried to conclude peace before the king could return north to resume his attacks on al-Atharib and Aleppo. It was for this reason that the emir now instructed his son, the *ra'is* Makki ibn Qurnass and other men to make a truce on whatever terms the Franks desired. His preoccupation in Mardin with the preparations of the Georgian campaign had enabled Baldwin and Joscelin to carry out successive attacks on Aleppo and its territory, and now, under this intense pressure, he was forced to comply with the demands of the enemy.⁵³

The truce concluded by Ilghazi's deputies in Aleppo stipulated the cession to the Franks of Sarmin, the region of al-Jazr (around al-Atharib and Zardana), Jabal Lailun and the large plain to the north of the city. The castle of Tell Hiraq, situated in the latter region, was also to be demolished, so that neither side would control it any longer. The reason for this last term was probably the reluctance of the Muslims to see it become a Frankish base when the plain around it was ceded to the Franks. The latter would also be unwilling to have a Muslim castle right in their new territory.⁵⁴ Half of the region around Aleppo was also to be granted to the Franks,⁵⁵ so exactly

⁵³ See also Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 23-4; Vâth, *Geschichte*, 82-3; and Asbridge, *Creation*, 82. Imad al-Din Khalil, on the other hand, makes a chronological error when he writes that it was upon Ilghazi's defeat in Georgia that the Frankish leaders intensified their pressure on Aleppo and Baldwin raided the city. Ilghazi was defeated by the Georgians on 15 August, but the raiding of Aleppo, which was the last operation of Baldwin at that time, took place around mid-June at the very latest according to the dates given by Ibn al-Adim and Fulcher. Of course Ilghazi's defeat was to have further negative results, as we shall see in the next section, but it was his stay in Diyar Bakr for the preparations of the campaign that led to the attacks in this case. Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 258.

⁵⁴ Compare Asbridge, *Creation*, 82 who states that the Muslims demolished the castle "to prevent it from being of any real benefit to the Latins." But Ibn al-Adim's report makes it clear that destruction of the castle was a mutually accepted term of the treaty and not a one-sided initiative on the part of the Muslims. Asbridge asserts moreover that the region in question was probably given to Edessa rather than Antioch, without clarifying the reason. Probably it was geographical: Joscelin could easily control this region from Tell-Bashir.

⁵⁵ Cahen confuses two separate terms of the treaty in writing: "Sulaiman had to accept a treaty that gave to the Franks half of the plain to the north of Aleppo." Ibn al-Adim states however that the northern plain was to belong to the Franks, and apart from that, half of the region around Aleppo was to be theirs as well: *wa a 'māl al-shimāl 'alā annahā li'l-faranj wa mā hawla ḥalab li'l-faranj minhu al-niṣf*. Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 292.

indeed that the two sides would even share Raha'l-Arabiyya (the Mill of the Arab Woman) equally.⁵⁶

More astonishingly, however, Ilghazi even showed himself ready to surrender al-Atharib when the Franks demanded it too, although we have seen that together with Zardana it was one of the two most valuable gains and indeed the main targets of his campaign in 1119. But Ibn al-Adim reports that the castle remained in Muslim possession when the garrison refused to surrender it.⁵⁷ Perhaps the reason for Ilghazi's consent to give up the fortress was that he was no longer sure of his ability to maintain a hold over it, precisely the grounds on which he had razed the fortifications of Zardana. Unlike Zardana, however, the castle of al-Atharib still stood erect and would have formed a serious threat against Aleppo. So it could well be the case that Ilghazi just pretended to comply with the Franks' demand, in order to conclude the truce as soon as possible, but then secretly ordered the garrison of al-Atharib to refuse its surrender. In this way he would be able to preserve this strategically vital and practically impregnable stronghold without having to bear the responsibility and complications that would have resulted from rejecting the Frankish demand outright.

Baldwin was in Jerusalem during the negotiations conducted by Joscelin and Geoffrey of Mar'ash.⁵⁸ He ratified it on returning to Syria, Ibn al-Adim relates, and

⁵⁶ Al Azimi also notes this truce between Ilghazi and the Franks without, however, giving its contents. *Azimi Tarihi*, 36 (Arabic) and 43 (Turkish) (515: 1121-1122).

⁵⁷ Asbridge probably commits a mistake in *Creation*, 82 when he states: "Although the terms of the treaty included the return of al-Atharib and Zardana to the Latins, their Muslim garrisons refused to surrender." Ibn al-Adim does not mention Zardana at all in this passage, but only al-Atharib. Asbridge may have made this assertion on the grounds that the region of Jazr surrounding these castles was granted to the Franks. But as the separate terms concerning the cession of the northern plain and the demolition of Tell Hiraq show, the cession of a region did not necessarily entail the cession of the castles in it as well; the issue of their control was decided by individual terms. This is supported by the fact that Ibn al-Adim mentions the Franks' demand of al-Atharib quite apart from the cession of al-Jazr to them. It should also be taken into consideration that Zardana had already been razed and abandoned to its fate by Ilghazi in June 1120.

⁵⁸ The name of Joscelin's companion in the negotiations is given as "Homfroy" (Humphrey) in the Frankish translation, but in the Arabic original it is written as *hfry*, most probably with the loss of a dot in the initial letter. With this dot added, it would read *gfry* — none other than Joscelin's vassal

then began to rebuild and fortify the old ruined monastery near Sarmada. Al-Azimi similarly reports that around the time of their raid on Aleppo the Franks rebuilt what he calls “the monastery of Atharib.”⁵⁹ The fortified monastery of Dair Sarmada, now also called Hisn al-Dair (the Castle of Monastery), was given to none other than Alan, the former lord of al-Atharib.⁶⁰

The reason why Baldwin undertook this construction work was probably the failure of al-Atharib to surrender. From this new stronghold he intended to apply pressure on the castle and check any attacks that the Muslims might make from it. As it turned out following year, the new fortress would also play an important role in the defense of Zardana against Ilghazi’s insistent attacks.⁶¹ In this context Thomas Asbridge stresses the important place that Dair Sarmada gained in the border conflict between Antioch and Aleppo, in which the Franks kept trying to recapture al-Atharib while they protected Zardana from being taken back by the Muslims. Since Dair Sarmada was situated in a valley with only one exit towards the east, they could keep a large army at this location without risking a surprise attack from the direction of Aleppo. The army in question could be deployed to defend Zardana, or to attack al-Atharib when the occasion arose.⁶²

The Franks had gained considerable ground against Aleppo even before Ilghazi had set out for Georgia, while he was still preoccupied with preparations in Mardin. His defeat in that campaign enabled them to gain still further ground, as we shall see in the following section.

Geoffrey of Mar‘ash, a much more likely candidate for the task than the obscure “Humphrey.” It is not certain though whether he also accompanied Joscelin in his previous raids, as Cahen (*Syrie du Nord*, 292) and Asbridge (*Creation*, 82) accept, since he is not explicitly mentioned by Ibn al-Adim in the related passages. Nevertheless, it does not seem implausible that he may have done so.

⁵⁹ *Azimi Tarihi*, 36 (Arabic) and 44 (Turkish) (515: 1121-1122).

⁶⁰ Also see Asbridge, *Creation*, 82.

⁶¹ See section 7.6.

⁶² Asbridge, *Creation*, 83.

7.4 The Frankish gains from the rebellion of Sulaiman ibn Ilghazi

Ilghazi not only concluded peace with the Franks to secure his rear during his Georgian campaign, but also took measures to ensure the stability of his rule in Aleppo. Ibn al-Adim states that he ordered his son and the *ra'is* to expel Ridwan's troops from Qal'at Sharif and then to demolish the citadel. The pretext they found for expelling the troops without a fight was jihad: bringing them out of Qal'at Sharif on the pretext of raiding the lands of the Franks, they closed the gates of Aleppo in their face. Ridwan's children remained in the city however, and shortly afterwards Ilghazi would marry Ridwan's daughter in a further effort to bolster his rule. On the other hand, the destruction of Qal'at Sharif was also an expedient against the Ismailis of Aleppo, who had sent to Ilghazi in Mardin to ask for its grant to themselves. In their hands this citadel of strategic importance could have posed a considerable threat to Ilghazi's authority, so ordering its demolition must have seemed the best solution to this problem as well.⁶³

Ilghazi must have believed that after these measures he would not have to face any challenge to his authority in Aleppo while on campaign, and indeed he would stand in dire need of such security after his disastrous defeat in the mountains of Georgia (15 August). But that challenge did come, and from the least expected quarter: his son Shams al-Din Sulaiman. The story of his revolt against Ilghazi and its consequences is again recounted at length by Ibn al-Adim,⁶⁴ while Ibn al-Athir⁶⁵ and Ibn abi Tayyi (cited by Ibn al-Furat)⁶⁶ also provide independent accounts; Al-Azimi also touches upon the related events in his usual sparse manner.⁶⁷

⁶³ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 176-77, citing Ibn al-Furat.

⁶⁴ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 628-31.

⁶⁵ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi 't-Tarih*, X, 468 and *Chronicle*, 231 (515: 1121-1122).

⁶⁶ Ibn al-Furat, f. 161b, cited in Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 293, n. 24.

⁶⁷ *Azimi Tarihi*, 36 (Arabic) and 44 (Turkish) (515: 1121-1122).

Ibn al-Adim offers two alternative reasons for Sulaiman's revolt. According to the first of these, Ilghazi sent a message to his son at Aleppo to demand certain things which Sulaiman's entourage presented in an unfavorable light to him,⁶⁸ making insinuations that compelled him to rebel against his father. Among these men were the *ra'is* Makki ibn Qurnass and the chamberlain Nasir, who was the *shihna* of Aleppo. Ibn abi Tayyi adds that Ilghazi's nephew, Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman was also among the instigators, but this seems to be contradicted by the fact that he was appointed in his cousin's place after the suppression of the revolt — unless Ilghazi was unaware of his role in it.⁶⁹ Ibn al-Adim's version is supported by Ibn al-Athir, who asserts that several of Sulaiman's entourage incited him to revolt.

What could have been their motivation in pushing Sulaiman to this action? Ibn al-Adim reports that Sulaiman went to great lengths after his revolt in oppressing the people of Aleppo with exactions, confiscations and other sorts of corruption, and we can guess that he was not the only one among his associates to profit thereby; indeed the *shihna* Nasir was to be dismissed by Ilghazi from his post for molesting the population. Accordingly it could be surmised from Ibn al-Adim's account that the instigators had received news of Ilghazi's defeat and decided to take advantage of this situation by inciting Sulaiman, a lad of only twenty years, to revolt, so that they could exploit the populace to swell their own coffers.

Another slightly different but perhaps more likely alternative is that they had already begun taking advantage of Ilghazi's prolonged absence for this purpose, and when the emir sent a message demanding an immediate stop to such practices, they incited Sulaiman to rebel. Fearing punishment and being encouraged by Ilghazi's defeat, they calculated in this way to keep him out of Aleppo and continue their ex-

⁶⁸ For *qubbiḥa 'indahu*.

actions and confiscations as before. This is indeed supported partially by the testimony of Ibn aabi Tayyi, who relates that Ilghazi rushed to Aleppo on learning that Sulaiman had made himself unpopular in the city by financial exactions. Receiving the news, Sulaiman and Ibn Qurnass revolted out of fear. This could again be brought in connection with Ibn al-Adim's testimony: the "certain things" demanded by Ilghazi and shown in an unfavorable light to Sulaiman could well have been the demand to stop the exactions and confiscations. As for the insinuations of Sulaiman's entourage that reportedly forced him to revolt, these may have been to the effect that he could not possibly escape punishment for his abuses unless he revolted against his father — in that case the latter, having been soundly defeated in Georgia, would be incapable of returning to Aleppo to chastise and prevent him from further profit.

On the other hand, Ibn abi Tayyi's assertion that Sulaiman and the *ra'is* rebelled upon Ilghazi's departure for Aleppo cannot be accepted. As we shall see, Ibn al-Adim and Ibn al-Athir state unequivocally that Sulaiman did not get wind of Ilghazi's setting out and speedy march before the latter reached Qal'at Ja'bar, and then sent envoys to ask for an agreement, instead of revolting.

But what to make of the alternative version of the events offered by Ibn al-Adim? According to this, Dubais asked Ilghazi to grant Aleppo to himself while they were en route to Georgia. In return he promised to give a hundred thousand dinars to collect Turkomans, and to help Ilghazi capture Antioch. Ilghazi agreed to this proposal. After the defeat they suffered at the hands of King David, however, he changed his mind. Thinking of a pretext that would enable him to evade his engagement without losing face to Dubais, he sent to Sulaiman, saying: "Pretend that you have rebelled against me, so that the agreement between me and Dubais may become

⁶⁹ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 293, n. 24.

null and void.” But Ibn al-Adim asserts that Sulaiman was a feeble-minded character, and this caused him to really revolt against his father, supported by the *ra’is*, the *shihna* and others.

There seems no good reason to reject this second version out of hand as Ali Sevim does, arguing that Ilghazi’s speed in reaching the city and the drastic punishments he meted out to the instigators, as well as his refusal to forgive his son, show that the revolt was real and not feigned.⁷⁰ Ibn al-Adim explicitly states however that the revolt started as a feigned one but then turned into a real one, which renders Sevim’s objection out of place. It is indeed possible that this strange request of Ilghazi for a pretended rebellion was what initially put the idea of revolt in the minds of Sulaiman and his associates. When this request was followed by orders to stop the exploitation of the populace, it took them only a step to turn the feigned revolt into an actual one, having been encouraged besides by the wretched condition in which Ilghazi and his men had returned to Mardin.

Hence the revolt may have developed in the following way: taking advantage of the prolonged absence of Ilghazi on account of the Georgian campaign, Sulaiman and his counsellors, headed by the *ra’is* Makki ibn Qurnass and the *shihna* Nasir the chamberlain, began to mulct the population of Aleppo by exactions, confiscations and other corrupt practices. When Ilghazi heard this, he rightly feared that it could cause him to lose control of Aleppo by rendering him highly unpopular at a time when he had just been weakened by his defeat in Georgia. Accordingly he sent messages ordering them to stop the exploitation of the populace.

⁷⁰ Ali Sevim, “Artuk Oğlu İlğazi,” *Belleten* 26 (1962), 686, n. 83. Hillenbrand assumes a similar approach, but refrains from a final negative verdict as she accepts that there might be a germ of truth in the story, in view of Dubais’s interest in acquiring Aleppo as evident from his siege of the city in 1124. Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazira,” 478-79.

Possibly, by this time Sulaiman and his counselors were already in a state of feigned rebellion. This was on the order of Ilghazi himself, who wanted to evade his promise to give Aleppo to Dubais in return for the latter's support in capturing Antioch, probably because it exceeded the bounds of his defensive strategy concerning Aleppo and perhaps also because he had lost many troops in Georgia. Upon receiving the emir's messages that forbade further abuse of the populace, and perhaps also included threats of punishment, Sulaiman's companions began to incite the feeble-minded lad against his father. In doing so they may have insinuated that if only he turned this feigned revolt into a real one, all would escape punishment and continue their lucrative business as before. They were also encouraged to act in this way by the miserable state in which Ilghazi had returned from Georgia, calculating (erroneously, as it turned out) that he would not be able to march upon Aleppo and suppress the revolt. Sulaiman was thus persuaded to rebel against his father.

Once he had revolted, Sulaiman began by expelling the Seljukid princes Sul-tanshah and Ibrahim as well as the other associates of Ridwan, who thereupon went to Qal'at Ja'bar. In his precarious situation he may have feared an attempt on their part to wrest control of the city from him. He also arrested and insulted the chamberlains of his father. Not stopping there, Sulaiman made advances toward the Franks as possible allies against his father, at least in order to keep him at bay. Ibn al-Adim states that the Franks grew covetous upon this, and camping before Zardana, rebuilt the castle on behalf of William, the son of its former lord Robert fitzFulk.⁷¹ Raiding

⁷¹ The reading *'ammūhā* in the RHC edition, translated there with some stretching of the meaning of that word as "ils investirent," should be read instead as *'ammarū*, "they rebuilt." Indeed Al-Azimi uses precisely the same verb (in its single form *'ammara*) when reporting that the Franks reconstructed Zardana, although he misleadingly mentions it together with Baldwin's reconstruction of the monastery of Sarmada and his raid upon Aleppo a few months earlier around May and June. The erroneous

the Tayy and other tribes, they next marched to the gates of Aleppo, where they were met by a contingent led by the chamberlain Nasir. The Muslims were defeated and a number of them were killed. Ibn al-Adim does not reveal the identity of the Frankish prince who led these operations, but considering that the chronicler directly goes on to relate Baldwin's campaign against the castles around Aleppo, it is probable that he had been the leader who fortified Zardana and attacked Antioch as well.

Thus the king had broken the truce in July to take advantage of Ilghazi's defeat and his son's revolt, and now he proceeded to capture Khunasira, Naqira and al-Ahass, as well as an unidentified place named Burj Sina. In these places he demolished the castles, enslaved the inhabitants, and burnt and robbed the entire region. Since Ibn al-Adim indicates the time of Baldwin's campaign as Jumada II (16 August – 13 September 1121), these events must have taken place between the end of August, when the news of Ilghazi's defeat on 15 August must have reached Syria, leading Sulaiman to revolt, and the middle of September.

Sulaiman realized that he would not be able to ward off Baldwin's attacks which spread devastation and resulted in the fall of castles around Aleppo one after another. Accordingly he decided to ask for peace. As Baldwin was camping on his way back before Silda', on the river Quwaik, a certain Atsiz ibn Turk, probably the governor of the town, came out to beseech him on Sulaiman's behalf to make a truce. Baldwin agreed only on condition that Sulaiman would surrender al-Atharib to him, promising in return to protect and defend him. It is not denoted against whom this defence and protection was offered, but it could be nobody else other than Sulaiman's father Ilghazi.

reading in the RHC edition and the corresponding translation is apparently what misled Thomas Asbridge into supposing that the Latins "made use of this period of internal strife to besiege and proba-

Baldwin's purpose in launching his campaign becomes clear in this light: he placed great importance on the recovery of al-Atharib, and seeing Sulaiman's attempts to ally with the Franks against his own father, he doubled the reward for the concession of that castle, so that Sulaiman could be persuaded still more easily: if he gave what Baldwin wanted he would not only find a protector in him against Ilghazi, as he had desired from the beginning, but would also avoid further attacks that he could not hope to resist without his father's help. So the whole story reveals once again the importance of al-Atharib and Zardana for the Franks, which were indispensable if they wanted to close down on Aleppo: Zardana had been rebuilt in the same campaign, taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the division in the Artukid family, and now Baldwin tried to use the same division to secure al-Atharib, which was very hard to take by force.

But even Sulaiman and his men could not overlook the castle's vital importance for the security of Aleppo. Ibn al-Adim relates how Atsiz rejected Baldwin's demand, pointing out that it was impossible to inaugurate Sulaiman's reign in Aleppo with the surrender of one of its frontier castles.⁷² He offered instead another place that the king might desire. Baldwin's highly interesting response reveals once more that his whole efforts, including the fortification of the monastery of Sarmada and the rebuilding of Zardana, had been directed systematically toward the purpose of recovering al-Atharib:

The lord of Aleppo is not in a position to preserve al-Atharib, since I have rebuilt the castles surrounding it. And I tell you that today it resembles a knight's horse whose front legs have become powerless. The knight has a granary full of barley which he feeds to the horse with the hope that it will recover and he will win on its back. But the barley in the granary is depleted, the horse ends up powerless, and the expected gain eludes him.

bly capture Zardana," although the town had been demolished by Ilghazi in June 1120. See Asbridge, *Creation*, 82.

⁷² For *thahgr min al-thughūr*.

Ibn al-Adim relates that Baldwin headed after this to al-Atharib and besieged it for three days, before news that arrived that necessitated his departure for Antioch. Perhaps the actual reason was his awareness of the difficulty of taking the castle by force.⁷³

In the meantime Ilghazi was at the end of his tether in Mardin, having learned of Sulaiman's revolt. Ibn al-Adim relates that he kept receiving letters from Aleppo, assuring him that there was no means of defence there to keep him at bay, and so he set out in haste for Syria. When Sulaiman heard that Ilghazi had already arrived at Qal'at Ja'bar, he grew too weak in spirit to defy him. Sending an envoy to his father, he adjured him to pardon and behave well towards himself and the others like Ibn Qurnass and Nasir who had incited him to revolt. After having sworn the required oaths, Ilghazi entered Aleppo on the first of Ramadan (13 November 1121).

This episode is related somewhat differently by Al-Azimi and Ibn al-Athir. The former reports briefly that Ilghazi rushed upon Sulaiman and arrested him. Similarly, the latter asserts that immediately upon learning of his son's revolt Ilghazi set out on a forced march toward Aleppo, and Sulaiman had no inkling of this until he was attacked.⁷⁴ However, there seems no good reason to ignore the details provided by Ibn al-Adim, and their testimonies could be reconciled: presumably, Ilghazi had set out in secret and moved with so great a speed that Sulaiman got wind of his

⁷³ Asbridge refers to Ibn al-Adim's previously cited account and no other source for this event. Surprisingly, however, he asserts that it was Sulaiman who, desiring to make a new treaty with Baldwin after his campaign, offered to return al-Atharib, but that the king "scorned this offer" because of the town's previous resistance as well as Sulaiman's weak position in Aleppo, preferring to lay siege to the town instead. Asbridge, *Creation*, 82-3. It is quite unambiguous in Ibn al-Adim's text that it was Baldwin who demanded al-Atharib and Sulaiman's representative who refused to hand it over, upon which the king was compelled to besiege the town. Runciman states still more erroneously that Sulaiman "made peace with the Franks, ceding to them Zerdana and Athareb, the fruits of Ilghazi's victory." Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Harmondsworth, 1965), II, 160. It was Ilghazi's nephew Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman rather than his son Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman who ceded al-Atharib to the Franks, and this did not take place before 1123; see section 7.7.

⁷⁴ For *hajama 'alayhi*, *al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh*, X, 591, instead of "made his surprise appearance," as in the English translation.

march against the city only when Ilghazi had reached Qal‘at Ja’bar, upon which Sulaiman sent him the envoy mentioned by Ibn al-Adim.

Ilghazi had of course no intention of observing his oaths. Ibn al-Adim relates that he first established himself in the citadel and took measures to secure the full support of the populace, who had come out of the city to welcome him. Among these measures were the remittance of some of the taxes and market dues they paid and the dismissal of the *shihna*, Nasir the chamberlain, who had been molesting them. Ibn al-Athir indicates that Ilghazi refrained at first from proceeding against Sulaiman himself, who had come in person to apologize to him, but set about arresting and punishing his counsellors. Makki ibn Qurnass was blinded and mutilated, dying shortly thereafter as a result, and his brother was also tortured and deprived of his possessions; a certain assistant of the *ra’is* was hamstrung as well. The degree of violence applied was partly due to the ingratitude of Makki, Ibn al-Athir points out, whom Ilghazi had promoted over the rest of the people of Aleppo and made *ra’is*. Following this the chamberlain Nasir, previously dismissed from the position of *shihna*, was similarly blinded, mutilated and deprived of his properties. According to Ibn al-Athir this man was also guilty of ingratitude, having been adopted and brought up by Ilghazi’s father Artuk.

Now the time for the punishment of Sulaiman had come, once his supporters had been deprived of power and rendered harmless. Ibn al-Athir relates how he was brought into Ilghazi’s presence while drunk. The latter wanted to have him killed, but being held back by paternal affection, spared him. Immediately upon this Sulaiman fled to Damascus and Tughtekin sent to intercede for him, but Ilghazi refused to accept his mediation. Then he replaced his son with his nephew Badr al-Dawla Sulaim-

an ibn Abd al-Jabbar as the governor of Aleppo, and appointed Salman ibn Abd al-Razzaq al-Ajlani, a native of Balis, as the new *ra'is*.

Beside these punitive measures, Ilghazi also felt necessary after the revolt to bolster his legitimacy as the ruler of Aleppo. For this purpose he did not only have the children of Ridwan brought back from Qal'at Ja'bar, but also married Ridwan's daughter and consummated the marriage in Aleppo. Following this, Ibn al-Adim reports, the emir made a new truce with the Franks, to last for a full year, and gave them the lands they had possessed in the days of their former mastery over al-Atharib and Zardana. This is rather surprising, however, because the truce concluded in July had already stipulated the cession of the region of al-Jazr that surrounded these castles to the Franks. It could be surmised in view of this situation that the refusal of the garrison of al-Atharib to surrender after that truce had also prevented the Franks from taking full possession of the lands in question.

Carole Hillenbrand argues in connection with these events that neither Ilghazi's "final bid for strong rule in Aleppo" nor the respite he gave to the city through his one-year truce with the Franks could change the fact that "it was too late for the Artukids to gain a firm foothold in Aleppo."⁷⁵ Nevertheless, at this stage of the developments it would be too early to make such an assertion, which is apparently based on a teleological perspective of the events backwards from 1124, the year when Timurtash abandoned the city for good. The enthusiastic reception that the people of Aleppo accorded to Ilghazi on his return is sufficient evidence that they had not altogether rejected Artukid rule. And Belek, Ilghazi's eventual successor in Aleppo, was to gain considerable ground against the Franks before his untimely death and succession by the sedate and indifferent Timurtash.

⁷⁵ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 143.

However, it remains true that the division caused in the Artukid family by Sulaiman's revolt, which was due in turn to Ilghazi's prolonged absence from Syria and his subsequent defeat in Georgia, cost Aleppo further important losses. The chief among these were the Franks' reconstruction of Zardana and capture of other castles in its territory like Khunasira, Naqira and al-Ahass, as well as their actual takeover of the region around al-Atharib; the latter was reduced as a result to a Muslim island amidst a Frankish sea. Aware of the importance of these losses, and in particular of Zardana, Ilghazi set out a few months after the truce, in Muharram 516 (11 March – 9 April 1122), for Diyar Bakr. His intention was to levy troops for a new campaign and return with them to recover Zardana and other places.

Thus whereas Ilghazi may have been toying on the way to Georgia with Dubais's offer of making a go for Antioch, he was now reduced once more to calculating how he could push back the Frankish encirclement around Aleppo, just as he had been doing in 1119 — naturally there could be no question of leaving Aleppo to Dubais in these new conditions. The extent of the damage that the ill-judged Georgian campaign inflicted on Ilghazi's interests in Syria is only too clear from this contrast between the situations before and after it. The only gain of the previous year that remained in his hands was al-Atharib, and in Baldwin's words it had come to resemble "a horse without power in its front legs" after the reconstruction of Zardana and Dair Sarmada.

Before focusing on the next campaign of Ilghazi, we should discuss a curious report of Bar Hebraeus that reveals at first sight the emir's widespread reputation as a formidable adversary of the Franks, but may be found to have a further significance as well.

7.5 A curious report about Ilghazi's defeat of a Frankish army newly arrived from Europe

Among the events of the year 515/1121-22 Bar Hebraeus reports⁷⁶ that the Byzantine emperor (John Comnenus) sent message to Ilghazi, warning him to prepare to fight a great army of Franks sailing towards Syria, and offering to send him thirty thousand troops in case he needed reinforcements. Upon this news, Bar Hebraeus relates, Ilghazi set out immediately, captured the Latin ports, and killed many of the Franks who had arrived; the survivors returned to Europe. The author takes care to underline that this defeat was due to the treachery of the Byzantines.

The event that could have formed the basis of this report, which has admittedly an “apocryphal flavor” to it as Hillenbrand remarks, cannot be determined with clarity. It could perhaps be related to the launching of the Venetian fleet that eventually assisted in the capture of Tyre, but since that event took place no earlier than 1124, the Artukid in question should have been Belek, rather than Ilghazi who died in 1122. For Belek was making preparations to hasten to the aid of Tripoli when he was killed before Manbij, and like Ilghazi had achieved fame as a formidable adversary of the Franks after his capture of Baldwin and Joscelin.⁷⁷

An alternative explanation, however, is that this was a minor Crusading expedition undertaken by a nobleman from Europe in 1121, which went unrecorded in most sources because of its relative insignificance. Evidence that supports this possibility is that two exactly contemporary Arab sources, Ibn al-Qalanisi and Al-Azimi, do report the arrival of such a Frankish leader from beyond the sea in 514/1120-21, almost the same date as that given by Bar Hebraeus. Ibn al-Qalanisi writes that this

⁷⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Abu'l-Farac Tarihi*, translated by Ömer Rıza Doğrul, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1982), II, 357.

⁷⁷ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 642. See further section 8.5.

“count”⁷⁸ arrived with ships to take possession of most of the fortresses in the region,⁷⁹ while Al-Azimi relates that the “son of the sister of the king of the Franks” came out from the sea and gained mastery over the major part of the towns.”⁸⁰

Who could this “son of the sister of the king of the Franks” be? Among Baldwin I and II of Jerusalem and Louis VI of France, who seem the most likely candidates for Al-Azimi’s “king of Franks,” the only one to have a sister’s son who lived across the sea from *outramer* while having interests there, and who was also of an acceptable age to undertake such a voyage, was the latter, Louis VI. His full sister Constance, born like him from the marriage of their father Philip I with Bertha of Holland, had first become the Countess of Champagne upon her marriage to Hugh of Champagne, and then the Princess of Antioch, upon her second marriage with Bohemond I. Louis VI’s sister’s son was thus none other than the future Bohemond II of Antioch, born around 1108.

It is usually accepted that Bohemond II remained in Apulia until 1126, when, having come of age, he came to the East to take over the Principality of Antioch as his rightful inheritance. Nevertheless, he was already fourteen years old by 1121-22, and although this age was perhaps not yet adequate to claim his inheritance, he was certainly old enough according to the standards of the time to pay a visit to the East with a fleet and undertake some minor Crusading operations like many other noblemen of the time. In any case, he would have been accompanied on this voyage by mature members of his family and entourage.⁸¹

⁷⁸ The actual word used here by Ibn al-Qalanisi is *al-KND*, which Gibb has rendered as “count.” This looks sensible enough, but it should still be noted that the usual word for “count” used by Ibn al-Qalanisi and other Arab authors is based on the root *QMS*; see *Tarikh Dimashq*, 228 for an example where it is used in connection with Count Baldwin of Edessa.

⁷⁹ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 162 (514: 1120-1121) and *Tarikh Dimashq*, 322.

⁸⁰ *Azimi Tarihi*, 35 (Arabic) and 43 (Turkish) (514: 1120-1121).

⁸¹ Indeed he may even have visited the Levant before this and fallen captive in the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*; see section 6.3.1.1.

Further evidence that supports this possibility is the reaction of the Byzantine emperor as noted by Bar Hebraeus: if it was indeed Bohemond II who undertook the expedition across the sea, we can better understand why the emperor was so concerned to warn Ilghazi against his arrival, and even ready to offer reinforcements: the Byzantines had always been staunch enemies of the Normans of Antioch, and in particular of Bohemond II's father, Bohemond I. The latter had not only refused to hand over Antioch to the Empire after its capture, but had also attacked Byzantine lands in the Balkans both before and after the First Crusade. Through contacts with the Greek population in Southern Italy, where Bohemond II resided with his mother at Taranto, the emperor would also have been able to receive news of the expedition beforehand and to warn Ilghazi in time, as he did in the event.

If it is allowed in this context to attribute any significance to Ibn al-Qalanisi's mention of Bohemond II as "count," rather than "prince" or something else, it might be due to the fact that his mother Constance was the countess of Champagne from her first marriage and therefore he had a claim, even if remote, to that title also. This might have led some of the Franks in the East to speak of him actually as the "count," especially since he had not yet become the Prince of Antioch.

All this having been said, the three reports in question still stand in need of qualification. Bar Hebraeus's mention of a "great fleet," as well as his assertion that Ilghazi captured the ports and killed the majority of the Franks who arrived, seem rather exaggerated to say the least. Likewise, the assertions of Ibn al-Qalanisi and Ibn al-Adim that the Frankish "count" took possession of most of the fortresses in the region and gained mastery over the major part of the towns also look hyperbolic. Bohemond's campaign was very probably only a seasonal operation with a limited number of troops and narrow scope, during which Ilghazi might have defeated a part

of his army; of course the Artukid emir did not capture any Latin ports. Were it otherwise, the expedition would have been reported in detail by other sources as well, notably by Ibn al-Adim. For the same reason, it is not surprising that the only contemporary Latin source, Fulcher, fails to mention Bohemond's short visit; it may have appeared a minor or embarrassing event, because of the defeat involved, or given the distance from Jerusalem, he may not even have got wind of it. Given that Baldwin was effectively lord of Antioch at this time, Fulcher may also not have been keen to mention this portent of the end of Baldwin's rule in Antioch.

It remains to determine the most likely dates for Bohemond's arrival and sojourn in Syria. Considering that Ilghazi was in Diyar Bakr and then on the Georgian campaign from autumn 1120 to October 1121, but in Syria between the latter date and March-April 1122, and that the sailing season began in spring, Bohemond must have probably arrived in the early spring of 1122. He must have departed sometime before the end of the sailing season in autumn 1122 at the latest, and probably considerably earlier than that, given the failure of important sources like Ibn al-Adim and Fulcher to mention him.

There is also some possibility that the young prince had in fact complied with an invitation from Antioch to cross to Syria and take over his inheritance, but losing face through his defeat by Ilghazi, was advised to return home within the same year, so that he could wait until he had grown mature and competent enough to ward off the Turks. In this case, the Arab chroniclers' reports that he "took possession" and "gained mastery" over the towns and fortresses in the region could be taken to imply pledges of future loyalty, homage, or perhaps simply admittance to meet to the local lords and castellans of the Frankish possessions. In short, it may have been more of a tour of the main places in the Principality to show off the future heir.

Indeed the Norman historian Orderic Vitalis, who was knowledgeable about the affairs of the Principality of Antioch, reports that the men of Antioch “sent messengers on many occasions to invite the true heir to cross in safety to Syria and receive the government of his father’s principality, with the approval of his subjects,” but “his anxious mother held him back.”⁸² Although Orderic dates this to the period of Baldwin II’s captivity in Belek’s hands, that is 1123-24, Bohemond may have first been invited to the East as early as 1122. His mother Constance may have been persuaded to let him go on this occasion, and perhaps she grew “anxious” to restrain him only after this affair. So it might have been the case that Bohemond had originally come for good to the East, but was compelled by his defeat by Ilghazi to return home for another four years. In the absence of further evidence this must of course remain a speculation, but is nevertheless worth considering. On the other hand, if Bohemond had really come to take possession of his inheritance, Fulcher’s failure to mention his visit becomes more problematic.

If it was really Bohemond II against whom the Byzantine emperor sought for allies, it is hardly surprising to see that he hit upon Ilghazi as the best candidate for this purpose. Indeed this choice shows that Ilghazi’s renown after *Ager Sanguinis* as the foremost adversary of the Franks and the chief defender of Muslim Syria had spread as far as the court of Constantinople. The emperor had grown eager as a result to rely on the Artukids as a bulwark against his deadly enemies, the Norman House of Hauteville.

Another point revealed by the emperor’s offer of alliance against the Franks is that *pace* Hillenbrand,⁸³ Ilghazi’s reputation had not seriously suffered as a result of his disastrous defeat in Georgia. Indeed Hillenbrand herself also concedes this fact

⁸² Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 133-35.

elsewhere, and attributes it to the relative remoteness of Tiflis.⁸⁴ Georgia was indeed too far away from Ilghazi's power base and normal field of operations in Diyar Bakr and North Syria to damage his prestige or properties to any considerable degree, apart from the heavy losses suffered by the Turkoman troops. But of Turkomans there were still more than enough in Diyar Bakr, as revealed by the following campaigns of Ilghazi and Belek at their head. It is to their campaign in 1122 that we shall now turn.

7.6 Ilghazi and Belek's Syrian campaign in 1122

The most important loss for Aleppo during Sulaiman's revolt had been the reoccupation of Zardana by the Franks, and the next campaign that Ilghazi undertook in summer 1122 was mainly directed towards this target. How much importance he gave to this campaign can also be understood from the fact that he brought along an additional body of Turkomans as well as his nephew, Belek ibn Behram ibn Artuk, who had a lordship in the region of Khanzit with Harput as its center.⁸⁵ Among the Muslim sources of this campaign Ibn al-Adim's account⁸⁶ is once more the most detailed one, while Al-Azimi⁸⁷ and Ibn al-Qalanisi⁸⁸ provide much briefer accounts that corroborate it on the main lines and will be touched upon in their proper places.

Ibn al-Adim states that Ilghazi crossed the Euphrates on 17 Rabi' II (25 June 1122), after he had summoned Belek from the lands of Rum (Asia Minor) and was joined by many Turkomans in addition to those who regularly accompanied him. Skipping over the movements of the Muslim army within the following month, he

⁸³ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 159.

⁸⁴ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 175-76.

⁸⁵ Runciman asserts that Ilghazi was in fact "urged on" to this campaign by Belek, but no evidence in the sources support this statement. See *Crusades*, II, 161.

⁸⁶ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 631-33.

⁸⁷ *Azimi Tarihi*, 36-7 (Arabic) and 44-5 (Turkish) (516: 1122-1123).

next reports that they laid siege to Zardana on 20 Jumada I (27 July 1122), and captured the first line of walls within a few days. By this time William, the lord of Zardana and the son of its former lord Robert fitzFulk had already departed to seek aid, having heard that Ilghazi had crossed the Euphrates with the intention of descending upon his castle.

Ibn al-Adim relates how William implored the troops of the garrison to stand their ground for fifteen days, while he himself would go to bring help. He swore that in case he failed to return within this period, and they had to surrender as a result, he would redeem their lives with all that he possessed, and reportedly confirmed it with an interesting oath: “Be my witnesses before God that if Ilghazi does not set you free unless I become Muslim, I shall go convert to Islam in his presence for your release, if he accepts it.” The lengths that William was prepared to go in order to persuade his troops to stay and defend the castle, until he could bring reinforcements, reveals once more the strategic importance of Zardana for the Franks and by implication for Ilghazi. Even if we refuse to take Ibn al-Adim’s report of William’s oath at face value, it at least shows how important the Aleppans thought the castle to be for their enemies, which amounts in effect to the same thing.

Ibn al-Adim proceeds to relate that William went to seek help from King Baldwin, who was at Tripoli at this time because of Count Pons’ refusal to pay allegiance, and informed him of Ilghazi’s advance across the Euphrates towards Zardana. As we shall see presently, however, Fulcher of Chartres asserts that it was in fact a certain archbishop from the Principality of Antioch who brought the message to the king, while Walter the Chancellor reports that upon the news Joscelin immediately set out to rescue Zardana with the forces of Antioch and Edessa. So it would be more

⁸⁸ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 165 (516: 1122- 1123).

plausible to agree in accordance with these Latin sources that William went to Antioch rather than Tripoli to seek help, setting out with Joscelin back for Zardana, while the archbishop was sent south to summon the king from Tripoli. Whoever it was that brought the news to the king, Ibn al-Adim asserts that he refused to believe it: “Since we have sworn to him and he has sworn to us,” Baldwin reportedly said, “we have not violated the truce and have spared his country during his absence. We are both mature, respectable men,⁸⁹ and I do not believe that he would act perfidiously.” The only possibility he considered was that Ilghazi had targeted Tripoli or Jerusalem, since the truce he had made only covered Antioch and its territory.

This passage has elicited interesting comments from modern scholars. Runciman, for one, remarks: “Baldwin, when the news was brought to him, refused to believe it. He had made a treaty with Ilghazi, and he believed that a gentleman — the Arab chronicler says sheikh — kept his word. But Ilghazi was no gentleman.”⁹⁰ Grousset goes still further, using the story to wax rhapsodic over what he saw as the superior moral standards of the Frankish nobility *vis-à-vis* their Muslim counterparts: “A passage of capital importance in that it shows to what extent the Frankish nobility established in Syria brought its conception of law and honor to bear on the relations with Muslim feudality. But Baldwin II was mistaken in attributing sentiments of chivalry to the Turkish chief.”⁹¹ Both scholars forget of course that two years later Baldwin would not hesitate to break the oaths he had sworn to Ilghazi’s son Timurtash for his release, and instead of remaining at peace with Aleppo and fighting Du-

⁸⁹ For *shuyūkh*, instead of the rather anachronistic “gentilshommes” in the French translation or “gentlemen” in its English rendering by Runciman (see the next note). Lane’s *Lexicon*, IV, 1629.

⁹⁰ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 161.

⁹¹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 581.

bais, as he had promised, would immediately lay siege to the city together with the Arab emir.⁹²

But Baldwin should not be condemned for his act either: faced with the opportunity of capturing Aleppo, when there was a weak ruler in the city and a Muslim ally by his side, the king, bearing responsibility as the effective leader of the Latin East, simply could not have afforded to bow to the demands of what the modern scholars call “chivalry” or “gentlemanship.” Ilghazi’s own breach of the truce in this case was similarly based on his desire to take advantage of Pons’s insubordination and Baldwin’s absence to recover the strategically vital point of Zardana.⁹³ Like Baldwin, as the leader and defender of Aleppo and Muslim Syria, he could not have afforded to observe his previous agreement under these conditions.

Indeed another point of significance entirely missed by these scholars is that the Muslim chronicler Ibn al-Adim himself does not appear to have been disturbed in the least about attributing such a remark to the king. Whatever its authenticity, this remark seems to modern readers to represent the Muslim emir Ilghazi as a perfidious breaker of truce, and the Christian king in contrast as a noble man of his word astonished at such kind of behavior. However, the author does not appear to have seen anything strange or dishonorable in Ilghazi’s policy. Indeed Ibn al-Adim may even have savored telling an anecdote about how Baldwin was naively caught off guard, being aware from the king’s later relations with Timurtash that he was equally ready to do something similar when the occasion arose. Probably medieval Arab historians were much more aware of the political realities of the age and the problems and responsibilities faced by contemporary rulers than some of their modern counterparts.

⁹² See section 9.1

⁹³ Nicholson, “Growth,” 417.

Whatever the case, this example shows the importance of considering the stance of the sources themselves toward the stories they relate.

Ibn al-Adim proceeds to tell us that although Baldwin was rather incredulous about the news of Ilghazi's attack, he instructed William to return to Apamea and Kafartab and investigate the new developments in the north. When the news arrived that Ilghazi had indeed attacked Zardana, Baldwin immediately made peace with Pons. Cahen takes this report to mean that Pons yielded and agreed to do homage to the king at the news of the Turkish assault.⁹⁴ This is indeed quite probable, considering the greatness of the threat that the Franks felt was posed against them by Ilghazi's campaigns. We have previously seen this in their heated discussions about whether to take along the Holy Cross or not when going to fight the Artukid emir. Pons would not have dared to preoccupy the king's attentions at this critical stage, and risk the opprobrium of having enabled Ilghazi to gain ground against Antioch in Baldwin's absence. The only problem here is Fulcher's testimony that the count had already offered his submission to the king by the time they received the news of Ilghazi's attack. But we shall see that Fulcher had his own reasons for representing the events the way he did, and in the light of the foregoing considerations, his testimony on this issue cannot be preferred over that of Ibn al-Adim.

The king summoned Pons as well as Joscelin to his aid, Ibn al-Adim continues, and proceeding via Antioch made for Dair Sarmada, where he pitched camp on the fourteenth day of the Muslim siege. He states that by the time of Baldwin's arrival at Dair Sarmada Ilghazi's forces had already breached the first line of walls around Zardana, having set up four mangonels against it. When Ilghazi heard of the Franks' advance, however, he moved against them and pitched camp at Nawaz. His

⁹⁴ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 294.

intention was to lure them out of the narrow valley in which Dair Sarmada was situated, into the open plain to the east. When they refused to abandon their position, he made for Tell al-Sultan, also known as Funaidiq; by this time, Ibn al-Adim notes, he had been joined by Tughtekin.

Although the forces of Damascus took part in the campaign only after this point, the Damascene chronicler Ibn al-Qalanisi covers solely the events up to their arrival, basically corroborating Ibn al-Adim. But he also adds an interesting report: after Ilghazi had crossed the Euphrates and encountered the Franks without engaging in battle, the chronicler states, he destroyed whatever he could lay hands on in their territories before retreating towards Tell al-Sultan. This is quite plausible, considering that the region of al-Jazr around al-Atharib and Zardana had been handed over to the Franks by this time. Ilghazi may have devastated these lands in an effort to weaken the resistance of Zardana still further, as well as to reduce the Franks' chances of finding food and fodder.

The contemporary Aleppan author Al-Azimi, on the other hand, offers a slightly different version of this initial part of Ilghazi's campaign before his retreat to Tell al-Sultan. According to his testimony, Ilghazi did not retire to Tell al-Sultan after he had marched to Nawaz to confront the Franks who had advanced against him, but returned to the siege of Zardana instead, and marched off to Tell al-Sultan only after the Franks moved against him for a second time. But the testimonies of Ibn al-Qalanisi and Fulcher of Chartres tend to support Ibn al-Adim's assertion that Ilghazi proceeded directly to Tell al-Sultan from Nawaz, and Al-Azimi fails to make clear where the Franks had advanced in their two moves against Ilghazi before the latter's withdrawal to Tell al-Sultan. In order for his account to be consistent, they must have left Dair Sarmada in one of these two moves, and either marched upon Ilghazi while

he was before Zardana, or alternatively retreated from Dair Sarmada and then advanced back there. But both of these possibilities seem quite unlikely: holding their position was both necessary and sufficient for the Franks to hinder Ilghazi's siege operations, and in view of their reluctance to join a pitched battle with the Muslim forces, it would hardly have been sensible for them to abandon their safe abode to march upon Ilghazi.

Ibn al-Adim goes on to relate that once Ilghazi had retired towards the east, it was the turn of the Franks to advance to Nawaz. From here they attacked the lower town of the castle of al-Atharib, which was just as coveted a prize for them as Zardana was for Ilghazi. They burnt down the outer line of walls and the collected grain. The governor of the town, Yusuf ibn Mir Khan (Yusuf al-Harami according to Al-Azimi), was compelled to take refuge in the citadel. Ibn al-Adim states that the Franks camped after this at a place named Ibbin, and then proceeded to pitch camp at Tell Danith. Ibbin remains unidentified, but in any case Al-Azimi gives the Franks' initial camping place as Zardana instead, which seems much more plausible: here they would have replenished its provisions and reinforced its garrison, and perhaps also aided in the repair of its walls. The march of the Franks southwards from Dair Sarmada to Tell Danith is also significant: they were following a route approximately parallel to that of Ilghazi, probably with the aim of keeping his movements under control and being ready to resist in case he attempted to strike west and enter the territory of Antioch. Indeed Tell Danith was exactly the same location that Baldwin had chosen to survey Ilghazi's movements in the campaigns of 1119 and 1120. But nobody approached the Franks here, and they returned to Antioch in the belief that Ilghazi's campaign was at an end, that they had successfully repulsed his attack against Zardana.

The Franks were quite mistaken however, since almost the same course of events was repeated after this point, as Ibn al-Adim and Al-Azimi testify in parallel. When the Franks had departed Ilghazi returned to the siege of Zardana and attacked its second line of walls this time, killing a number of its garrison. Upon this the Franks also returned to their former position below Dair Sarmada. Ilghazi advanced to Nawaz again and camped there for three days, in order to provoke the Franks to leave the valley and join battle, but once again they refused to emerge from their safe position to engage him. Their intention was clearly not to deliver a pitched battle, which could prove disastrous for them as it had for Roger and his forces, but simply to prevent Ilghazi from conducting his siege of Zardana. In this they were successful. Ilghazi was taken ill upon consuming mixed food of excessive quantity, and had to set out for Aleppo as his sickness kept worsening. Tugtekin and Belek set out as well to return to their lands. Belek was shortly to capture Joscelin and his cousin Galeran on his way home, as we shall see in the eighth chapter. As for Ilghazi, although he arrived at Aleppo and took up quarters in the citadel to receive treatment, he was not entirely cured of his ailment, which was to prove fatal.

Ilghazi's bed-ridden state did not prevent him from sending forth a detachment to carry out a plundering raid against Azaz. Ibn al-Adim reports that a thousand horsemen with a number of emirs marched to Tubbal, in the territory of Azaz, to plunder and gather booty. On their way back, however, they were attacked and routed by William of Zardana and forty knights, losing a number of their companions in the process. The reason why Ilghazi had dispatched this force against Azaz was perhaps his intention to direct at least some of the following attacks on the north, after he had become aware of the difficulties of besieging and capturing Zardana with the Frankish army safely positioned to his rear at Dair Sarmada. As Asbridge observes, a

kind of stalemate had been reached in the region because of the new line of defence between Dair Sarmada and Zardana, with neither side being able to attack al-Atharib or Zardana with impunity. Shifting some of his pressure northwards against Azaz, already targeted in the campaign of 1120, may have appeared to Ilghazi as an apt way to break the stalemate.⁹⁵ Although he was going to be prevented by death from continuing this strategy, it was to be successfully taken up and developed by his nephew Belek.

However, this does not necessarily mean that Ilghazi had given up his intention of capturing Zardana, as Asbridge seems to imply. We shall see Walter the Chancellor relate how he declared his intention to return to its siege with an even larger army of Turkomans and Arabs. This is understandable given the direct threat posed by that castle to the security of Aleppo, which was revealed once more by the attack of its lord on the raiders of Azaz.

The only indigenous Christian source to mention Ilghazi's campaign in 1122 is Matthew of Edessa,⁹⁶ who provides the least detailed and reliable account among those considered so far. He states erroneously that Ilghazi camped at Shaizar, rather than at Zardana, and proceeds to relate that the Franks under Baldwin and Joscelin (with no mention of Pons) marched forth upon this to pitch camp opposite the Turkish forces. Without any engagement the two sides preserved their respective positions for the rest of the summer, and then returned home.

⁹⁵ Asbridge, *Creation*, 83.

⁹⁶ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 228 (III.87).

Among the two Latin accounts of the campaign, those of Fulcher of Chartres⁹⁷ and Walter the Chancellor,⁹⁸ Fulcher's account is the more detailed one and corroborates the Muslim accounts on their main lines. But Fulcher also diverges from the Muslim sources on certain points, as we have seen to some extent. Thus according to his version of the events, Pons had already offered his submission to the king and had been reconciled to him through the mediation of certain nobles, when a messenger arrived: this was an archbishop sent by the people of Antioch, bringing an urgent summons of aid against the Turks: these latter had begun devastating the lands of the Principality without any Christian leader to resist them.

What is noteworthy here is that Fulcher does not present the reconciliation of the king and the count as the result of the urgent need to join forces against Ilghazi, and so take advantage of this opportunity to stress the necessity of uniting against the "infidel." Instead, he prefers to assert that they had already made peace by the time they received the news of Ilghazi's campaign. It has been shown before that Pons probably yielded only on the news of Ilghazi's attack on Zardana, so we must inquire the reason why Fulcher might have preferred to represent the matter otherwise. Possibly, his concern to emphasize the leadership of the king at the expense of other Latin princes had again prevailed in this case: revealing that Pons had agreed to submit only in the face of a Muslim attack and then helped Baldwin against it was something that could have detracted doubly from the particular image of the king that Fulcher liked to present. So apparently he preferred to show Baldwin single-handedly suppressing the insubordination of Tripoli, and then as the undisputed leader defying the Muslim incursion.

⁹⁷ Fulcher of Chartres, *Expedition*, 236-37 (III.xi).

⁹⁸ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 170-71 (II.16).

Fulcher does not seem well informed about the exact details of what happened in the north, including the Franks' camping at Dair Sarmada and Ilghazi's advance to Nawaz to provoke them into battle. He simply reports that the king arrived with three hundred picked knights and four hundred footmen at the place where the Turks had gathered to besiege Zardana, upon which the latter betook themselves away, not wishing to encounter him. Without mentioning the Franks' attack on al-Atharib and descent south to Danith before dispersing home, he states that Baldwin returned to Antioch upon the withdrawal of the Turks. His relation of the latter part of the campaign is similar, without any mention of Ilghazi's second advance to Nawaz to allure the Franks away from Dair Sarmada where they had camped again. He simply reports instead that the emir departed upon the advance of the king.

Apparently unaware of Ilghazi's illness, Fulcher interestingly tries to explain the disbanding of the Muslim troops by reference to his general knowledge about their battle tactics, particularly the feigned flight. He relates that the king rode against the Turks when they returned to the project of capturing Zardana, but

these people, who are truly Parthian in battle tactics and equipment and characteristically never remain long in any one place (more quickly than can be imagined they turn now their faces and now their backs to those opposing them, fleeing unexpectedly in pretense,⁹⁹ and then quickly returning to attack again), did not prepare themselves to fight in a fixed position, but entirely avoided an encounter and fled as if they had been defeated.¹⁰⁰

Of course the chronicler fails to take into consideration that the Turkomans did not return to fight in this case, but retreated for good.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ For "praeter spem simulate fugiunt," RHC *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 448, instead of "suddenly fleeing in pretense of despair," as in the English translation.

¹⁰⁰ For "non se ad bellandum certo statu aptaverunt, sed congressum penitus vitaverunt, et taliter ceu victi abcesserunt," RHC *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 448, instead of "have not trained themselves to fight confined to any certain area, but entirely avoid an encounter and flee as if defeated," as in the English translation.

¹⁰¹ But Runciman takes Fulcher's explanation at face value, see *A History of the Crusades*, II, 161.

Fulcher dedicates the rest of his account to a prayer of thanks to the Holy Cross for having ensured the safety of the Frankish troops, who he asserts were much less numerous than the Turks, only twelve hundred horsemen against their ten thousand. He also relates how the Cross was brought back to Jerusalem, where it was received in joy and honourably deposited in its place. But he notes that Baldwin himself, with the major part of his army, stopped at Tripoli and turned back to Antioch because of an issue that arose there. The issue in question may have been related to Ilghazi's illness, which seemed to offer a good opportunity for retaliation.

Walter the Chancellor telescopes the events still more than Fulcher, collapsing the two parts of the campaign into one. He begins by reporting that Ilghazi returned to besiege Zardana in the month of July, after having gathered as many horse and footmen as possible. He reveals that by the time Baldwin advanced to Dair Sarmada against the emir, Joscelin had already come there with the forces of Edessa and Antioch; he had done so on the patriarch's advice. According to Walter Joscelin's intention in this move was to raise the siege of Zardana by battle, but this cannot be accepted, as we have seen Ibn al-Adim and Al-Azimi testify that the Franks insistently refused to join battle with Ilghazi despite his two attempts to provoke them. They were certainly aware that simply holding their position at Dair Sarmada was sufficient to interrupt the siege, without their having to attack the Muslim forces.

Walter proceeds to relate that the king arrived after Joscelin at Dair Sarmada, where skirmishing Turkish soldiers came to spy on his tents. Without mentioning Ilghazi's advance to Nawaz and the subsequent developments, he asserts that "the enemy's boldness was subdued by fear" on seeing the Christian forces, and breaking

camp at night, they abandoned their efforts to damage Zardana. Ilghazi himself was afflicted with some kind of paralytic illness and returned to Aleppo.

The most interesting part of Walter's account is its conclusion, where the author reveals that Ilghazi was determined despite his illness to recover Zardana. "Since Ilghazi did not want the castle to be given up,"¹⁰² the author asserts, "he pretended he was about to go, and that he would soon bring there a very great horde both of Arabs and of Parthians." However, Walter's own explanation for Ilghazi's insistence on capturing Zardana is not based on the strategical importance of this frontier castle. It is expressed instead in terms of religious confrontation: "Because a man of his religion was ardently intent on the destruction of the Christians."

William of Tyre seems to echo this remark of Walter when, introducing his own account,¹⁰³ he states: "Ilghazi was a determined and unwearied persecutor of the Christian faith and name. Like a gnawing worm he was ever seeking whom he might injure." Dating the campaign wrongly to 1121, and telescoping the events even more than Walter, he relates that Ilghazi took advantage of the king's absence to besiege some of the Frankish castles. "Always ready to respond," Baldwin set out upon the urgent call for help that reached him and, taking along Joscelin as well as the chief men of Antioch, marched in haste against the strong fortress under siege. The Franks had expected to join battle immediately upon reaching their destination, William notes, but it turned out that "the hand of God had touched Ilghazi with apoplexy." This necessitated the leaders of his army to decline engagement and return to Aleppo

¹⁰² For "cum nollet istud prodi," RHC *Historiens Occidentaux* V, 131, instead of "to give up the siege," as in the English translation.

¹⁰³ William of Tyre, *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, I, 536-537 (XII.14).

with their nearly lifeless lord, who was soon to “breath forth his wretched spirit” and “doomed to suffer the eternal fires.”

According to these considerations, the events seem to have developed as follows: Ilghazi was determined to recover the castle of Zardana, which had brought the Antiochene border once again dangerously close to Aleppo, having been refortified and reoccupied by the Franks in the previous year. Assembling a great army, therefore, he crossed the Euphrates with his nephew Belek and laid siege to Zardana. He was also able to take advantage of the absence of King Baldwin, who was busy at the time with the insubordination of Pons, the count of Tripoli. In the meantime William fitzFulk, the lord of Zardana, had hurried to Antioch to ask for aid. Joscelin, who was there at the time, proceeded with the armies of Antioch and Edessa to Dair Sarmada; Baldwin also set out from Tripoli, after he had managed to obtain the submission of Pons owing to the danger at hand. Together the two princes arrived at Dair Sarmada to join Joscelin. By this time it was the fourteenth day of the Muslim siege of Zardana.

Ilghazi was prevented by the Franks' arrival from attacking the second line of walls, after he had breached the first. So he tried to provoke them into a pitched battle by advancing to Nawaz. This town was situated in the plain to the east of the valley around Dair Sarmada, where the Franks were encamped. But since the latter had nothing to gain and all to lose by battle, and just keeping their position was more than enough to hinder Ilghazi's siege by threatening his rear, they refused to engage. Upon this the emir devastated the lands around al-Atharib and Zardana, in an effort to weaken the defences of the latter castle as well as to reduce the Franks' chances of finding food and fodder.

Ilghazi then withdrew towards Tell al-Sultan to the south of Aleppo, so that the enemy would disperse home in the belief that he had given up his efforts to capture Zardana; he would then be able to return to the siege. Indeed during the campaign of 1120 he had attempted a similar maneuver to capture Azaz, though he had been foiled in that case by the disbanding of his Turkomans. Nevertheless, the emir was more successful this time: upon his departure the Franks advanced to Nawaz and made a retaliatory attack on al-Atharib. From here they proceeded to Zardana to replenish its provisions and reinforce its garrison. Then they descended south to Tell Danith, on a route approximately parallel to that of Ilghazi, so that they could keep his movements under surveillance. Finally, they believed that the emir's campaign was at an end and returned home as he had expected.

The same course of events was repeated after this point: Ilghazi came to besiege Zardana once again, the Franks returned to their position by Dair Sarmada to prevent him from taking the second line of walls as well, Ilghazi advanced for a second time to Nawaz to provoke them into battle, and they again refused to budge. Perhaps everything would have been repeated for a third time if the emir had not been taken ill at this point and compelled to return to Aleppo for treatment.

Ilghazi's experiences in this campaign had clearly shown him the difficulties involved in capturing Zardana with a Frankish army positioned to his rear at Dair Sarmada. Accordingly, he gave signs of shifting at least some of his pressure to the northern end of the Antiochene border, against Azaz, dispatching a force to raid its territory. This was a resumption of his strategy in the campaign of 1120, which was shortly to be taken up and developed by his successor Belek. Nevertheless, Ilghazi did not entirely give up his project of recapturing Zardana either, as he expressed his intention to return to its siege with a still greater army. Indeed the lord of this castle

ambushed and defeated the raiding party he had sent against Azaz, revealing once again the persistent threat it posed to the security of Aleppo. But Ilghazi's death at this point prevented him from recovering either Zardana or Azaz. The next section will examine the adverse developments that followed the emir's demise, showing how important his protection had been for Aleppo.

7.7 Ilghazi's death and the subsequent Frankish raids against Aleppo

According to Ibn al-Adim's report, Ilghazi seemed to recover a little in Aleppo and so went to Mardin. From here he set out for Mayyafariqin, but died on the way, at a village near that town, when his illness was aggravated (1 Ramadan 516 – 2 November 1122).¹⁰⁴ The news of his death seems to have occasioned great relief among his Latin adversaries in Syria. Walter the Chancellor celebrates it in no uncertain terms, and apparently he had little doubt about where the emir was to end up in afterlife:

It happened that on his litter, on which he was carried about on account of his rank and his infirmity, his filthy soul issued forth from his anus along with a flux of dung from his belly, and it was dragged away by the claws of infernal scorpions to tumble into the halls of deepest hell, which are full of dreadful fires burning without end, blazing and inextinguishable...¹⁰⁵

For the people of Aleppo, on the other hand, Ilghazi's death was an agonizing experience as the local chronicler Ibn abi Tayyi (cited by Ibn al-Furat) testifies: "They closed their doors and were convinced that one disaster would follow another upon them, since Ilghazi had put an end to the claims of the Franks on Aleppo and curbed their desires for it."¹⁰⁶ The Aleppans were entirely justified in these apprehensions, as Ilghazi's death had broken the precious link between Aleppo and the Turk-

¹⁰⁴ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 634.

¹⁰⁵ Walter the Chancellor, *Antiochene Wars*, 171 (II.16). See *Antiochene Wars*, Introduction, 63-66 for a comprehensive analysis of Ilghazi's image in Walter the Chancellor's work.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn al-Furat, II, 66, cited in Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 262-63.

omans of Diyar Bakr, the sole guarantee of the city's security. His possessions were divided after his death, with Mayyafariqin going to his son Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman and Mardin to his other son Timurtash, while his nephew Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman took over Aleppo, where he had been appointed governor the previous year. With this new division of the Artukid realm (following the one between the branches of Hisn Kaifa and Mardin in 1108), there was left no single authority who could deploy the Turkomans of Diyar Bakr to defend Aleppo against Frankish encroachments or to carry out counter-attacks against Antioch.

Indeed already by the end of Ilghazi's last campaign a great number of Turkomans had returned under Belek to the Jazira, and their withdrawal from Syria sped up after Ilghazi's death. As a result, Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman was left bereft of troops in Aleppo. Ibn al-Adim reveals that the Franks were not late in taking advantage of the helpless situation in which Sulaiman found himself.¹⁰⁷ Since the Turkoman base of Diyar Bakr was controlled by other Artukids, he had to make do with defending only the immediate surroundings of Aleppo. As a result, the city was reduced to almost the same state in which it had been before Ilghazi's takeover, a prey to Frankish raids proliferating everywhere.¹⁰⁸

As the first of these opportunistic raids made upon Ilghazi's death, Ibn al-Adim reports an attack on Tell Qubbasin; this was undertaken in October by a group of Franks from Tell Bashir. The Muslim garrison of the town was defeated and lost ninety men. It is not clear whether it was King Baldwin or only the Franks of the County of Edessa — whose lord Joscelin had just been captured by Belek at Saruj, as we shall see in the next chapter — who made this raid. Nicholson argues that it must

¹⁰⁷ The following reports of the Frankish attacks are in Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 634-35.

¹⁰⁸ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 87; Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 585; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 295.

have been the king, pointing out the commanding role he played in Antioch and Edessa, as well as the absence of the lords of these two principalities. However, Grousset opts for the second alternative,¹⁰⁹ and indeed this seems to have been an extemporized attack that the Franks of Tell Bashir made to avenge the capture of their count.

In any case Baldwin himself took to the field before long, and collecting his army as well as a number of Armenian troops, carried out a devastating attack against the valley of Butnan to the northeast of Aleppo. He exacted the submission of the town of al-Bab in this valley, which agreed to pay tribute. Ibn al-Adim reports that the king then made for Balis and laid siege to it, beating the walls with mangonels, but was less successful there: as the price of peace he demanded an exorbitant sum from its lord, Salim ibn Malik, and in response the garrison of the town made a sortie with the support of a group of Turkomans and Aleppan horsemen who happened to be there at the time. Together they inflicted a sound defeat on Baldwin, killing a number of Frankish notables as well. After this, Ibn al-Adim relates, Baldwin returned to the valley of Butnan, although Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman had also advanced there. He then made for al-Bira and took it by capitulation, bringing its garrison under safe conduct to Antioch. This was by no means the last of the Frankish raids against the territory of Aleppo, which continued until the end of 1122 according to Ibn al-Adim. The Frankish encirclement was once more tightening its grip upon the city, blocking all the caravan routes to its east and northeast, and almost reducing it to famine.¹¹⁰

Under this intense pressure Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman finally yielded, and to buy peace consented to cede the prize that Baldwin had been seeking for so long,

¹⁰⁹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 584; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 64, n. 356.

“the stake of all these battles” in Grousset’s words,¹¹¹ al-Atharib. In contrast to Ilghazi’s previous cession of this castle in the truce of 1120, the new agreement made on 9 April 1123 did not remain on paper, and the town was duly surrendered to the Franks. They turned it over to its former lord Alan, who was to hold it for the rest of his life, while its former Muslim governor was compensated by Sulaiman with the post of the *shihna* of Aleppo. Thus the last of Ilghazi’s precious gains from the campaign of 1119 was lost by the sixth month after his death, and Aleppo reverted to the extremely precarious situation in which it had found itself by the end of 1118.

In addition to the division of the Artukid realm, this was also due without doubt to the skills of the Frankish king who had succeeded in restoring the boundaries of Antioch back to their greatest extent. Thereby he had also become ready for a direct attack upon Aleppo, as Roger had once been. In contrast to his rash predecessor, Baldwin did manage to realize this long-prepared assault, as we shall see in the ninth chapter. In the same connection Cahen and Grousset draw attention to the patience and prudence of the king, who had attained this remarkable achievement “with a minimum of pitched battles, through a series of strategic marches and unrelenting application of economic blockade, and by profiting with remarkable perspicacity from the political divisions of the enemy.”¹¹²

The fact that Baldwin could accomplish this in the absence of the lords of Antioch and (after Joscelin’s capture) Edessa is all the more notable; no doubt, it was rendered possible by the peace and order prevailing in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In this connection Grousset points out the stability and continuity of the monarchical institutions that the Franks had imported from Capetian France. This put them at an

¹¹⁰ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 585; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 295.

¹¹¹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 585.

¹¹² Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 295; Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 585-86. The quotation is from Grousset.

advantage *vis-à-vis* the Turkish principalities, which fragmented according to chance partitions of inheritance and revolts within the ruling families.¹¹³ The minority of Bohemond II was also helpful in this regard. The resulting ability of the king to defy and defeat the Artukids single-handedly, in turn, enabled the Kingdom of Jerusalem to become the *de facto* head and leader of the *outremer*, although it had been established only after the principalities of Antioch and Edessa, and originally possessed no rights of suzerainty over them.¹¹⁴

7.8 A final assessment of Ilghazi's policies toward the Franks: jihad in a context of shifting alliances and enmities

Ilghazi's relations with the Franks have been assessed in contradictory ways by scholars. Thus in a section entitled "Ilghazi, the leader of the Holy War," in his monograph on Nur al-Din Mahmud, the French scholar Nikita Elisséeff states: "While the [Seljukid] sultan and the *atabek* of Mosul were disinterested in Holy War, an emir took it over and by himself, with his Turkoman troops, pursued the jihad against the Franks: Ilghazi of Mardin."¹¹⁵ Similarly, Imad al-Din Khalil, in his doctoral dissertation on the Artukids, calls Ilghazi "a powerful leader, far-sighted in military matters, who was able by dint of his personal abilities and the great number of the Turkomans he commanded, to lead the movement of jihad for five years."¹¹⁶ On the other hand Carole Hillenbrand, another scholar with a doctoral dissertation on this house, seems to put forward a quite different perspective when she remarks: "Ilghazi's relations with the Franks were characterized by flexibility and pragmatism... Since the Franks were a significant power group in Northern Syria, Ilghazi

¹¹³ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 586.

¹¹⁴ Harold S. Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States," in *A History of the Crusades* (London, 1969), I, 409.

inevitably came into conflict with them on occasions, sometimes emerging triumphant, sometimes not.” She proceeds to point out that this policy of his also entailed collaborating with them against other Muslim powers when his territories were at stake.¹¹⁷

In the light of these apparently contrasting approaches, this section seeks to understand Ilghazi’s policies in his dealings with the Franks, and addresses the question whether it is possible to assert that he pursued “jihad ” against the Franks, or at least believed that he was doing so, when all that he did was to act in accordance with his own strategic needs and interests, and in conformity with the system of shifting alliances and enmities that prevailed in the fragmented political geography of early twelfth-century Syria. It is argued here that it is indeed possible to do this, provided that we focus on what jihad may have meant for Ilghazi and his contemporaries, and begin by questioning whether it was for them necessarily a “Counter-Crusade,” a Holy War involving the subordination of their self-interests in an all-out onslaught against the invading “infidel.”

Yet another distinguished historian interested in Ilghazi’s position within the development of the jihad movement, Emmanuel Sivan, regards him as one of the first Muslim leaders who took an interest in the idea of jihad when he was confronted with Frankish aggression and used it for purposes such as keeping up the morale of his troops, consolidating his position as the ruler of Aleppo, and bolstering his prestige.¹¹⁸ Hillenbrand largely disagrees with this view, pointing out that Ilghazi used jihad propaganda only once, to motivate his troops before his victory at the

¹¹⁵ Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, II, 318.

¹¹⁶ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 262-63.

¹¹⁷ Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazīra,” 170-71.

¹¹⁸ Emmanuel Sivan, *L’Islam et la Croisade: Idéologie et Propagande dans Réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris, 1960), 39-42.

Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*. She accepts, along with Sivan, that it worked very well in that case, causing the Turkomans to “fight like lions” and enhancing Ilghazi’s own reputation. Nevertheless, she contends that Ilghazi, lacking vision and being unaware of the “political realities,” failed to build upon this achievement, and consequently wasted the rest of his career with minor military operations as well as foolhardy adventures like his campaign in Georgia.¹¹⁹ In the same connection she attributes Ilghazi’s failure to attack Antioch after his victory at *Ager Sanguinis* to his lack of an “overall strategy,” a “master plan,” in contrast to Zangi or Nur al-Din.¹²⁰

These are all debatable points however. To begin with, even on the single occasion before *Ager Sanguinis*, it is not certain either that Ilghazi had recourse to jihad propaganda on his own initiative, or that it really had any effect on his Turkoman troops. It was probably upon the suggestion of Ibn al-Khashshab, the leader of the pietist pro-jihad circles in Aleppo, that Ilghazi used the theme of jihad during his preparations for the campaign.¹²¹ While collecting Turkoman troops in Diyar Bakr he urged them to “carry out the obligation of Holy War” and to “destroy the factions of infidelity and error,”¹²² and then made his emirs and officers swear to “sacrifice their lives in jihad”¹²³ — assuming that these are not the words of Muslim chroniclers who grafted their own rhetoric on to arguments of quite another kind actually used, like promises of payment and booty. Finally, just before the battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, Ibn al-Khashshab delivered an exhortatory speech on jihad to Ilghazi’s army. Since Ilghazi does not seem to have resorted to similar measures in the campaigns that fol-

¹¹⁹ Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), 109-10; Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazīra,” 173-75.

¹²⁰ Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazīra,” 157-58.

¹²¹ Hillenbrand herself admits this possibility in “History of the Jazīra,” 173-74. Nevertheless, as briefly discussed below, the reason she asserts why Ibn al-Khashshab made this suggestion, namely Ilghazi’s need to keep up the flagging loyalty of his Turkoman troops, is not acceptable.

¹²² Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 158-59 (512: 1118-1119).

¹²³ Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 617.

lowed, he may have given only indifferent assent to these proposals, without any personal belief in their efficacy, and rather with the aim of securing the loyalty of the pro-jihad circles in Aleppo, headed by Ibn al-Khashshab, to consolidate his position as the new ruler of the city.

Indeed, the assumption of Sivan and Hillenbrand that the jihad propaganda of this scholar before the battle had a tangible effect on the fighting fervor and capabilities of the Turkomans, and thus helped Ilghazi to win the day,¹²⁴ is based on the rather implausible report of a single Arab chronicler, Ibn al-Adim.¹²⁵ It could be questioned whether the Turkomans could understand an oration delivered in flowery Arabic, or alternatively that Ibn al-Khashshab could wax eloquent in Turkish, in either case to a degree sufficient to bring tears to their eyes after they had mocked “this turbaned fellow,” as they called him.¹²⁶ It could also be questioned whether the eventual success of the Turkomans was due to the inflaming effect of Ibn al-Khashshab’s speech and not simply to their appetite for booty, as evident in their eagerness to engage the enemy before Tughtekin’s troops would come to share in the spoils, or again to the extremely disadvantageous position of the Antiochene army.¹²⁷ Ibn al-Adim notes that during the Frankish siege of Aleppo in 1124 Ibn al-Khashshab made

¹²⁴ Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazīra,” 174; Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 109; Sivan, *L’Islam et le Croisade*, 41-2.

¹²⁵ Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 617-18.

¹²⁶ Ibn al-Adim does not mention the presence of an interpreter, which seems rather unlikely in any case, and it would be doubtful that an exhortatory speech delivered with the help of one could have such a transforming effect on the Turkomans. It could also be that the part of the story where the Turkomans received Ibn al-Khashshab’s speech with mocking and incomprehension is indeed true, while Ibn al-Adim made up the dramatic sequel, where they were at last moved to tears, in order to cover up the loss of face suffered by this distinguished notable of Aleppo on that occasion. Indeed Ibn al-Adim did not fail to dedicate a place to Ibn al-Khashshab in *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, his biographic dictionary of the famous figures related with Aleppan history.

¹²⁷ See Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazīra,” 175, where the author admits, in contrast to her view about the influence of Ibn al-Khashshab’s jihad oration on the Turkomans, that their ardor to attack the Franks was “not very likely to have been of a religious nature and could more realistically be attributed to their desire to acquire more booty for themselves.” Indeed when analyzing the reasons behind Ilghazi’s success in *Ager Sanguinis* she touches upon the latter two factors only, failing to make any mention of Ibn al-Khashshab’s speech. Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazīra,” 155-56.

a similar speech to the troops of Aksungur al-Bursuki, and, like Ilghazi, this ruler too did not deploy jihad propaganda in his later campaigns.¹²⁸

It seems more likely therefore that Ilghazi's "failure" to have recourse to jihad propaganda to motivate his troops in his later campaigns was due to his awareness of its negligible efficacy on their fighting spirit. For the same reason, Hillenbrand's suggestion that Ilghazi's resort to jihad propaganda was due to his flagging hold over the Turkomans does not seem plausible.¹²⁹ If Ilghazi had resorted to jihad propaganda because of the failing loyalty of his troops, he would have been expected to continue using it because of his increasing practical need to assert his authority — which was clearly not the case.

Hillenbrand's argument that Ilghazi, lacking political vision, wasted the rest of his career in minor-scale operations is not convincing either. As Thomas Asbridge has demonstrated, Ilghazi's main purpose in these operations was to push the border between Aleppo and Antioch beyond Jabal Talat, and thereby to re-establish the security of Aleppo. He had a precise and clear strategy in this respect. His "failure" to attempt an attack on Antioch after the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* also seems to have been the product of a well thought-out decision. As is also shown by his hurry to release the Byzantine envoy to Antioch among the captives,¹³⁰ Ilghazi may have been afraid of antagonizing the Byzantines and of removing what had been the chief bone of contention between them and the Franks. Such a mistake could have endangered Muslim Syria much more seriously than solely the presence of Latins in Antioch. Other important factors like the lack of time, the strong resistance he would have to face when establishing control over the city and principality, the impregnability of

¹²⁸ Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, f.183a, cited in Sivan, *L'Islam et le Croisade*, 43.

¹²⁹ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazīra," 150-52, 173-74.

¹³⁰ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 128-31 (XI.28); Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 622.

the citadel, and the news that Frankish reinforcements led by the king were on the way, may also have contributed to Ilghazi's decision to refrain from attacking Antioch.¹³¹

In conformity with such considerations, Ilghazi did not attempt any later attacks on Antioch either. Indeed Hillenbrand states that he had planned such an attack in a campaign in 1120, but was prevented from realizing it by the desertion of his Turkomans when he forbade them to scatter in search of plunder.¹³² As we saw, however, this campaign was in fact primarily directed at the important castle of Azaz, north of Aleppo, and Ilghazi's goal in marching towards Antioch was merely to raid its territory in retaliation against the Frankish army which had forced him to raise the siege. Another instance Hillenbrand cites for a plan of Ilghazi's to attack Antioch was when, on his way to Georgia, he reportedly agreed to the proposal of his ally Dubais ibn Sadaqa that the latter would help him to capture Antioch and receive Aleppo in turn. But already on the way home he had given up this idea, perhaps because it exceeded the bounds of his defensive strategy as lord of Aleppo, and possibly also because of his heavy loss of troops in the defeat in Georgia.¹³³

¹³¹ Usama ibn Munqidh relates that after his victory Ilghazi fell to drinking wine and entered one of his habitual periods of intoxication that was said to last for twenty days. By the time he could recover from this state King Baldwin had already reached Antioch with his army, and thus Ilghazi lost the opportunity of attacking Antioch. Usama ibn Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades*, translated by Philip Hitti (London, 1987), 148-149. Admittedly Ilghazi's habit of intoxication is attested by other sources as well, including Ibn al-Qalanisi; see *Damascus Chronicle*, 149. Nevertheless all the other sources including Ibn al-Adim testify that Ilghazi was far from being in a state of drunken stupor between his victory at *Ager Sanguinis* and his confrontation with King Baldwin at Tall Danith. On the contrary he was preoccupied with the sieges of al-Atharib, Zardana, Artah and Imm during this period. Consequently Usama's charge should rather be attributed to his desire to tell a saucy story, or perhaps to his general hostility as a member of the Arab nobility towards a Turkoman chieftain. See Thomas Asbridge, "The Significance and Causes of the Battle of the Field of Blood," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 314-15; Asbridge, *Creation*, 79. See sections 6.3.1.2 and 6.3.2 for a more detailed discussion.

¹³² Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazīra," 159.

¹³³ Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 629. Ilghazi invaded the territory of Antioch with a sizeable army next year, only to attack Zardana, so the reason for his final abandonment of this idea cannot simply have been the depletion of his forces after his defeat in Georgia, as Ibn al-Adim implies. In any case this story of Ilghazi agreement with Dubais is based on a rumor that Ibn al-Adim reports as the second of the two alternative explanations offered about the cause of Sulaiman's revolt. According to this

We have seen up to this point that Ilghazi pursued certain limited and well-defined goals both when he made campaigns to protect the borders of Aleppo, and when he avoided attacking the city of Antioch. We observe the same kind of practical, strategically oriented way of thinking in his previous dealings with the Seljukids of Persia and his subsequent consent to taking over Aleppo. As long as the Seljukids tried to reestablish their control over the Jazīra and Syria by launching one expedition after another to the west, Ilghazi either remained in a passive role, merely dispatching a small contingent, or actively collaborated with the Franks against them like the *atabek* of Damascus and the former rulers of Aleppo. Of course through this policy he contributed to the entrenchment of the Frankish occupation of North Syria,¹³⁴ but this was a price that had to be paid if he wanted to consolidate his own position in the Jazira. Yet, the cessation of Seljukid expeditions after the debacle of the last one in 1115 meant that the local emirs including Ilghazi found themselves deprived of external support against the Franks, who proceeded to take advantage of this situation by gradually encircling Aleppo.

Hillenbrand considers Ilghazi's consent to undertake the rule and defense of Aleppo in these circumstances as a serious blunder, not much different from his foolhardy acceptance of the summons of help against the Georgians.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, it was probably not merely out of rash eagerness that Ilghazi agreed to take over Aleppo, as is also demonstrated by his hesitant attitude in doing so. Stemming from the impoverished state of the city and the consequent difficulty of defending it against the Franks, this hesitation even went so far as to make him offer the rule of

Ilghazi, having changed his mind, ordered his son to fake a revolt in Aleppo, with the aim of rendering his agreement with Dubais obsolete, but then Sulaiman turned it into an actual revolt. About the dubious nature of the entire episode see Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazīra," 478-79; Sevim, "Artuk Oğlu İlğazi," 686, n. 83. See also section 7.4 above.

¹³⁴ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazīra," 132, 182-83.

Aleppo to Tughtekin, his father-in-law.¹³⁶ Neither the *atabek* of Damascus nor any other local emir in the region was in a position to undertake the task however, while Ilghazi could use the economic resources and Turkomans of Diyar Bakr for the purpose. In this situation he had hardly any other option than to take over Aleppo, for its capture by the Franks might have tilted the power balance of the region in such a way as to enable them to threaten his interests even in Diyar Bakr. Once Ilghazi thus came to rule Aleppo he did not go beyond what was strictly necessary to avert this danger, and only tried to restore its former boundaries with the Principality of Antioch.

Thus Ilghazi's policies against the Franks were in strict conformity with his strategic needs and interests, and followed restricted goals of practical relevance. Except for the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* he did not have recourse to jihad propaganda to motivate his troops, and in that case he seems to have complied with the wishes of Ibn al-Khashshab. But in contrast to Hillenbrand's contention this does not necessarily mean that Ilghazi's "failure" to launch a full scale jihad campaign, complete with its propaganda and targeting the city of Antioch, resulted from his habit of following a short-sighted, opportunistic realpolitik and his concomitant lack of awareness about the larger-scale political realities. On the contrary, he seems to have been quite aware of these realities, and followed policies in conformity with them. Precisely speaking, he was aware that allowing the Franks to take Aleppo could have dangerous consequences for his hold on Diyar Bakr, but he was also aware that capturing Antioch could lead to the formation of a common Byzantine-Frankish front against him. As Gerhard Vāth indicates, he was hardly in a position as a local emir to hold both Syri-

¹³⁵ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazīra," 139-40.

an cities against the fierce resistance he was sure to meet, and taking Antioch only to hand it over gratuitously to another emir in the name of Islam was a thought that would not have entered even Nur al-Din's or Saladin's mind.¹³⁷

Indeed Hillenbrand seems to look from a teleological perspective backwards from the fall of Edessa and Jerusalem when she attributes Ilghazi's "failure" to attack Antioch after *Ager Sanguinis* to his lack of a "master plan" of the sort she attributes to later leaders like Zangi, Nur al-Din and Saladin. What she means by "master plan," in this context seems to be a long-term strategy for a "Counter-Crusade" to surround and expel the Franks from the East, based on an "awareness" that the Franks were different from other factions struggling for hegemony in the region.¹³⁸ She gives us to understand that this could well have started with the capture of Antioch in Ilghazi's case if he had he possessed such an awareness.

However, the fact of the matter is that although compared favorably with Ilghazi in this regard, neither Zangi nor Nur al-Din nor Saladin betrayed any similar awareness in their actions, as distinct from propaganda (in the case of Nur al-Din Saladin), and nor did they owe the capture of Edessa and Jerusalem to a sustained and systematic campaign of "Counter-Crusade." Zangi advanced upon Edessa and took it in extemporized fashion when, on a campaign against the Artuqid lord of Hisn Kaifa, he learned that the Count of Edessa had left his city to help him.¹³⁹ Otherwise

¹³⁶ According to Ibn al-Furat, Ilghazi notified Tughtekin by a letter that Aleppo had come into his hands, and in case the latter wanted the city, he would gladly hand it over to him. Ibn al-Furat, *Tarikh*, II, f.10b-11a, cited in Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 239, n. 1.

¹³⁷ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 78-9. Ibn al-Adim's aforementioned story about Ilghazi agreeing to Dubais's proposal to grant Aleppo to him if he helped Ilghazi to conquer Antioch, if indeed true, seems to contradict this partly at first sight. Nevertheless, Ilghazi soon went back on his word as we saw above.

¹³⁸ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazīra," 162, 183. This is not the place to discuss whether they were indeed different, but see Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge* for an exhaustive attempt at demonstrating that they were not.

¹³⁹ See on this point Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, 260. Although Ibn al-Athir represents Zangi as having aimed at the conquest of Edessa from the beginning, and attacked the Artukids only to conceal this intention, his assertions on this point should be approached carefully because of his known pro-Zangid bias. See Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kāmil fi't-Tarih*, XI, 94-6 and *Chronicle*, I, 374-75 (539: 1144-505).

he spent the major part of his career trying to annex Muslim principalities and particularly those of the Artukids in Diyar Bakr.¹⁴⁰ Zangi's son and successor, Nur al-Din, differed little from him in this regard: he dedicated a considerable part of his career to fighting Muslims with the aim of territorial aggrandizement, and otherwise rarely went beyond what was strictly necessary to protect his borders against the Franks, as well as to prevent them from seizing Egypt. When he was urged to conquer a defenseless and prostrate Antioch after his victory at the Battle of Harim in 1164, he refused flatly, pointing out the difficulty of capturing the citadel and the danger of seeing the city delivered to the Byzantines. He contented himself instead with dispatching raiding parties into the territory of Antioch.¹⁴¹ To all appearances, his attitude in this respect was little different from that of Ilghazi after the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*.

As for Saladin, he was compelled to undertake the campaign that eventually resulted in the fall of Jerusalem only when he faced the danger that his jihad propaganda would lose all its plausibility in Muslim public opinion. For he had spent only thirteen months fighting the Franks as against thirty-three fighting Muslims, and kept postponing the ambitious large-scale expedition against the Kingdom of Jerusalem that he had promised to launch after pacifying the "collaborationist" Muslim emirs behind his back.¹⁴² When he finally launched this expedition, it was by a scarcely to be expected stroke of luck that he was able to capture Jerusalem, for owing to the

1145). According to Ibn al-Adim Zangi himself confessed later that if the emir of Harrān had not notified him by a letter that the lord of Edessa had departed for Syria, he would not have coveted to capture the city. Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 686; Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, edited by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1976), 259-61 and *Buġyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, translated by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1982), 162-63, in the biography of Zangi ibn Aksungur.

¹⁴⁰ Indeed it was only Zangi's death that saved the Artuqid territories from annexation according to Cahen; see "Diyar Bakr," 252.

¹⁴¹ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, XI, 247-48 and *Chronicle*, II, 148 (559: 1163-1164); Köhler, *Alianzen und Verträge*, 225-26, 239-40, 277-78.

erroneous strategy of the Frankish king, he found the opportunity to catch the Frankish army in an extremely disadvantageous position and annihilate it. Under normal conditions, in contrast, both armies would have kept facing each other for a couple of months and then dispersed, as on so many occasions before.¹⁴³ It was even stated by Al-Qadi al-Fadil, a scholar from Saladin's close retinue, that his decision to leave the Muslims alone and launch this attack against the Franks was only the result of a vow that the *qādī* had exacted from him in the previous year, during a heavy illness.¹⁴⁴ The sustained warfare of Saladin and Nur al-Din against fellow-Muslims is indeed of significance in a comparative perspective with Ilghazi's time, as we shall see at the end.

When the case stood like this even for Zangi, Nur al-Din and Saladin, Ilghazi had absolutely no reason to launch a fully-fledged "Counter-Crusade" to expel the Franks from Antioch or elsewhere, trying as he was to survive in the extremely fragmented political geography of the region. Indeed he had been collaborating with the Franks against the Seljukids until only a few years earlier, and he must have known that if the Seljukids resumed their efforts to bring him to heel, he would need to do so again. What chiefly concerned Ilghazi was thus not a struggle with the Franks *per se*, but rather a perilous dance in a context of shifting alliances and enmities where he was surrounded by all kinds of rivals and threats. His policy was to prevent the remote dependency of Aleppo from being captured by the Franks without spending too much energy and resources on it, and in the meanwhile to preserve and expand his territories as best as he could. He indulged besides in occasional adven-

¹⁴² M. C. Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin, the Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), 239, 248, 253; Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 326, 332-34.

¹⁴³ Also see Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 334, 338-39.

¹⁴⁴ Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, 246.

tures that promised both prestige and booty, as in the case of the campaign to Georgia. He was little different from other local emirs of his age in this respect.

If this was so, is it possible to conclude with scholars like Sivan, Hillenbrand and Asbridge¹⁴⁵ that Ilghazi was not really concerned with jihad except perhaps for practical, provisional purposes, like the consolidation of his position in Aleppo or the motivation of his troops? Not necessarily. Although Ilghazi quickly abandoned the use of jihad propaganda to motivate his troops, probably because of its apparent uselessness, there is evidence suggesting that he may still have regarded and represented himself as a mujahid,¹⁴⁶ or at least responded positively to being seen and shown in this guise by his contemporaries. This is revealed by the letters he sent to the sultan and the caliph to report his victory at *Ager Sanguinis* and the honorary robes he received from the latter in thanks for his attacks on the Franks; by the eulogizing poems of jihad composed in Aleppo to celebrate the same victory; by his acceptance of the summons of aid against the Christians of Georgia; and finally by his positive response to the Byzantine emperor's choice of himself as an ally against the Crusader force coming from Europe. These last two reactions of Ilghazi also demonstrate his

¹⁴⁵ This latter in Asbridge, "Significance and Causes," 309.

¹⁴⁶ In fact the word used by Ilghazi and his Turkomans would have been *ghāzī* rather than mujahid. For the use of the words *ghāzā-ghazī* and jihad -mujahid in medieval Turkish see Şinasi Tekin, "Türk Dünyasında Gazâ ve Cihâd Kavramları Üzerine Düşünceler," *Tarih ve Toplum* 19 (1993), 9-18; "Türk Dünyasında Gazâ ve Cihâd Kavramları Üzerine Düşünceler, II: Gâzi Teriminin Anadolu ile Akdeniz Bölgesinde İtibarını Yeniden Kazanması," *Tarih ve Toplum* 19 (1993), 73-80. Tekin is wrong however in considering Ilghazi's name as a sign of the rehabilitation of the word *ghāzī* on account of the Turkomans' confrontations with the Franks. Ilghazi had been born and received this name some quarter of a century before the arrival of the Crusaders, and his great-grandson Qutb al-Dīn Ilghazi may only have received this name in accordance with the practice of using the same names across generations typical of such dynasties. Also questionable is his assumption that *ghazā* was used at the time for offensive and jihad for defensive Holy War. For this point and further discussion of the contemporary meanings of the words in question see Colin Imber, "What does *Ghazi* Actually Mean?" in *The Balance of Truth. Essays in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Lewis*, edited by Çiğdem Balım-Harding and C. Imber (İstanbul, 2000), 165-78.

appreciation of being widely considered as the chief Muslim adversary of the Franks.¹⁴⁷

The reason why the scholars in question assume the position they do, despite the evidence at hand, probably lies in their conception of contemporary jihad. What they seem to understand from jihad is an ideologically motivated struggle against the “infidels” to keep them away from Muslim territory, quite separate from the daily pursuit of strategic needs and interests incumbent on contemporary emirs. They do not deny in theory that religious motives can exist side by side with others, like expansionism, political and military imperatives, xenophobia, fear of attacks from the West or of economic losses, appetite for booty, the quest of personal prestige and bravura etc., and concede that it would be vain to try to pinpoint an action stemming purely from the idea of jihad, or again to isolate the influence of this factor from others.¹⁴⁸ In practice, however, they still appear to distinguish religious motives sharply from the others, assuming that the presence of the latter should imply some degree of deficiency in the former. Because Ilghazi accepted payment from the Aleppans when he took over the city, and had allied with the Franks before that, for example, Sivan concludes that he was not quite imbued with the zeal of a “champion of the faith,” though he later discovered that jihad propaganda could be advantageous for his personal interests.¹⁴⁹ The religiosity of the contemporary actors is also called into question in this connection: Hillenbrand asserts that the religious commitment of Ilghazi

¹⁴⁷ Hillenbrand points out rightly that this report by Bar Hebraeus bears “testimony to the prestige which Ilghazi had gained at Balāt. It was to him, not Tughtekin, that the Byzantine emperor wrote making this offer of military support.” Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazīra,” 176. It has been shown in section 7.5 that the story is probably based on an actual event involving young Bohemond II.

¹⁴⁸ Sivan, *L’Islam et le Croisade*, 204; Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 248.

¹⁴⁹ Sivan, *L’Islam et le Croisade*, 41.

and his Turkomans was “only superficial” and “pragmatic,” drawing attention to his drinking orgies which were excessive even by the standards of that time.¹⁵⁰

In analogy with what Cemal Kafadar points out in respect of Ottoman *ghāzīs* however, it is not right to look for “straw men relentlessly fighting for their lofty, untarnished ideals” in Ilghazi and his contemporaries, and to conclude that they had little to do with jihad when, being historical entities, they naturally fail to have measured up to this ideal. Similarly, it is more judicious to allow them to have been champions of what they understood from Islam, rather than to pass judgment upon the degree and nature of their religious commitment according to the criteria of the urban Muslim establishment.¹⁵¹ At any rate the problem of religious or personal motivation cannot be solved easily, not least because it is a moot point if such a sharp line between religious motive and personal interest was drawn by the contemporaries themselves. As Richards points out for the case of Saladin, “the question of motives, possibly irrelevant in the last resort, cannot be satisfactorily answered. Ambition and a consciousness of personal worth and fitness for a task are not incompatible with a high moral purpose.”¹⁵²

Misled by the unhappy designation “Counter-Crusade” moreover, some scholars like Michael Köhler commit the additional mistake of trying to see a mirror image of the Crusade in jihad and seek similar features in it, such as being a primarily ideological undertaking with the coalition of many different princes, as well as with the initiative and support of the sultan. Failing to find these elements in a specific case, they reject its existence on that occasion. Thus Köhler rightly refuses to accept that the warfare Ilghazi conducted against the Franks was a Counter-Crusade.

¹⁵⁰ Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazīra,” 178; Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 110.

¹⁵¹ Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds* (Berkeley, 1995), 57, 53.

¹⁵² D. S. Richards, “Saladin,” *EI*², VIII, 910.

One reason he puts forward for this is that the emir acted independently, without the legitimization of the sultan and the participation of Seljukid contingents or other emirs save Tughtekin and Dubais. Another reason is that he only pursued practical goals, such as capturing the castles around Aleppo to secure the city for himself and prevent the Franks growing too powerful in the region.¹⁵³ But asserting that the warfare Ilghazi conducted against the Franks was not a “Counter-Crusade” is not the same as showing that it was not jihad.¹⁵⁴

We do not have any good reasons to assume that the recipes of jihad extracted from idealistic, ahistorical definitions or from attempts to assimilate it to the Crusade — and then used to decide whether the dealings of Ilghazi and other emirs with the Franks could be called jihad or not — had any validity in the eyes of the contemporaries. Even if subordinating one’s interests to an all-out onslaught against the “infidels” on Muslim territory was something that could have been demanded by the pietist pro-jihad circles of the time, it was not something that Ilghazi or other emirs could have afforded. We have evidence besides revealing that the view of the pro-jihad ulama in Aleppo at the time was not so very different from that of local rulers. Their propaganda and level of activity first rose when the Frankish threat to the city increased around 1119, then declined when the threat decreased temporarily after *Ager Sanguinis*, leaving in its place the Sunnite-Shi‘ite tension in the city, and finally

¹⁵³ Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 140-41.

¹⁵⁴ Indeed Albrecht Noth indicates that the Crusades failed to exert any significant influence on the theory and practice of jihad among the Muslims, and never gave rise to a “Counter-Crusade” as such. The reason for this was that the occupation of the Levantine fringe of Islamic lands by the Franks was never perceived to be a major threat to Islam, and as a consequence the conventional means developed long before within the framework of Islam proved more than enough to confront them. In this connection he rightly observes that the question of Islamic “Counter-Crusade” originates from an unjustified application to the study of Islamic history of formulations that are peculiar to European history. See Albrecht Noth, “Heiliger Kampf (Gihad) gegen die ‘Franken’: Zur Position der Kreuzzüge im Rahmen der Islamgeschichte,” *Saeculum* 37 (1986), 258-59. Noth also underlines the personal nature of jihad as against the collective nature of Crusade, citing examples that show how contemporary emirs, including Ilghazi’s brother Sukmān, regarded it as their private affair. See “Heiliger Kampf gegen die ‘Franken’,” 252-53.

rose again with the reemergence of the threat at the time of Timurtash and Aksungur al-Bursuki.¹⁵⁵ Moreover it is also possible, considering the important role of these circles and particularly their leader Ibn al-Khashshab in the rule of the city, that the Artuqid emir may have adopted the strategy of establishing control over Azaz, al-Atharib and Zardana on their demand or at least in collaboration with them.¹⁵⁶

In short, even in the eyes of the pro-jihad ulama of the time, jihad was something closely connected with the strategic conjuncture and the interests of their city – – and even of their own faction. For it is also possible to argue that leading the jihad movement in the city may have accorded the Shi‘ite faction an advantage over their Sunnite rivals. Let us remember that after Ilghazi’s death the Sunnite ulama supported his nephew and successor in the city, Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman, who was highly inefficient against the Franks and even surrendered the vitally important castle of al-Atharib to them, but still founded the first Sunnite madrasa of Aleppo. At the same time, they stringently opposed his other nephew, Belek, who had won fame for his exploits against the Franks and was backed by the Shi‘ites, who eventually helped him to enter and get hold of the city.¹⁵⁷ For this reason it makes little sense to claim that what Ilghazi and other emirs did when they confronted the Franks was not jihad , or that they did not regard what they themselves were doing as jihad, just because their policies against the Franks were determined by such strategic needs and interests.

It is both possible and necessary therefore to make a more realistic and flexible definition of jihad that comes closer to what Ilghazi and his contemporaries may have made of it. According to this, jihad was the form that warfare in the area as-

¹⁵⁵ Sivan, *L’Islam et le Croisade*, 39, 42.

¹⁵⁶ Asbridge, “Significance and Causes,” 313.

¹⁵⁷ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 296; Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 140.

sumed in the eyes of contemporaries when the adversaries who challenged one's claims to certain properties and strategic interests in a particular case happened to be the Franks rather than any other Muslim power, as was just as often the case. For Ilghazi specifically, it was the form assumed by the task of taking the necessary strategic measures to protect a city of his, in this case Aleppo, insofar as those who tried to wrest it away from him were no longer the Seljukids but the Franks. Indeed it is in this limited, practical sense that Elisséeff and Khalil, quoted at the beginning of this discussion, seem to understand jihad when they assert that Ilghazi was the leader of the “jihad movement” or “Holy War” following his takeover of Aleppo. It was “because of his concern to defend the province of Aleppo and his desire to hold the Franks at bay” that he undertook campaigns against the Franks, the former remarks,¹⁵⁸ while the latter states that he ensured “an atmosphere of peace, stability and production for the Muslims in North Syria” by his victories against the Franks.¹⁵⁹

On the other hand, it is hardly possible to count Ilghazi among the first leaders of the historical “jihad movement” that was developed and systematically cultivated on the ideological plane during the reigns of Nur al-Din and Saladin.¹⁶⁰ We have seen that Ilghazi paid only limited attention to jihad propaganda, and although he had to confront the Franks frequently while defending Aleppo, neither he nor the pietist circles in the city seem to have seriously entertained the idea of using Aleppo as the base for a systematic campaign to expel the Franks from Antioch and elsewhere, in the way Nur al-Din and Saladin spoke of expelling them from Jerusalem and the Holy Lands. These later leaders were indeed different from Ilghazi in this respect, but the difference in question diminishes when it comes down to their actual

¹⁵⁸ Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, II, 318.

¹⁵⁹ Khalil, *Al-Imārāt al-Artuqiyya*, 249.

¹⁶⁰ Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade*, 59-87, 93-124.

course of action. We have already seen how Saladin was finally compelled to launch an ambitious offensive against the Kingdom of Jerusalem only under the pressure of his own propaganda, and otherwise followed a practical course of action directed at the defense and enlargement of his territories and the pursuit of his strategic interests. Like Ilghazi he regarded and presented his warfare as jihad when the adversaries who obstructed his way happened to be the Franks, but in his case the enemies turned out much more frequently to be Muslims.

And indeed it is on this last point that another difference of these leaders from Ilghazi emerges: they regarded and presented their warfare as jihad even when they confronted other Muslim rulers as rivals in the struggle for properties and strategic interests. Their warfare of territorial aggrandizement against other Muslim rulers like Qilij Arslan II of Rum, they argued, was a necessary step to grow stronger against the Franks, as well as to get rid of those unreliable emirs who stabbed them in the back by collaborating with the “infidel.”¹⁶¹ Ilghazi, in contrast, considered and presented his warfare as jihad only when the adversary facing him in a particular case happened to be Christian, as is shown by his letters to the caliph and the sultan after his victory at *Ager Sanguinis*, as well as by the eulogizing poems written to celebrate this occasion. One reason for this difference may have lain in the incomparably superior prestige, power and resources that Nur al-Din and Saladin drew upon in comparison with Ilghazi, sufficient to annex whole Muslim principalities to their domain and then to have the caliph confirm and legitimize these “conquests.”¹⁶² Accordingly they could afford to consider and present their warfare as jihad also when certain rivals they confronted during the pursuit of their strategic goals and interests happened

¹⁶¹ For examples see Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, 63-4, 137-38, 144, 239.

¹⁶² Hillenbrand underlines Saladin’s concern to justify retrospectively all his actions and conquests in terms of jihad by obtaining a diploma of investiture from the caliph. See Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 186.

to be Muslims. Their power and prestige were such as to render this both possible and useful, unlike in the case of Ilghazi and most other emirs of his age. Nevertheless, we shall see in the next chapter that Ilghazi's successor Belek went some way towards being a precursor of Nur al-Din and Saladin in this respect.

CHAPTER 8

BELEK: ILGHAZI'S SUCCESSOR AS DEFENDER OF ALEPPO

We have seen in the last chapter that Ilghazi had taken along his nephew Belek on his last expedition against the Principality of Antioch. This was not a coincidence, for Belek would prove his true heir and continue his policy of protecting Antioch against the Franks, who had set out again to encircle the city after Ilghazi's death. Nevertheless, Belek would adopt the method of attacking the northern and southern ends of the Antiochene border, represented by Azaz and Jabal Summaq respectively, rather than attacking Zardana and also al-Atharib after it was lost. Taking these last two had become extremely difficult after the fortification of the monastery of Dair Sarmada, as Ilghazi had discovered in that last campaign. So before his death he had anticipated Belek's policy by sending a raiding force against Azaz. Beside his attacks on Azaz and Jabal Summaq, Belek also contributed to the defence of Aleppo most spectacularly by his capture of King Baldwin and Count Joscelin, who had almost completed the re-encirclement of Aleppo and were about to attack the city itself. Although their capture did not seriously compromise the safety of the Latin East, due to the robust administrative structure of the Crusader states, it did inflict a serious blow on the Franks' long-term plan of taking Aleppo. The present chapter

will trace these events and assess Belek's policies toward the Franks as well as toward jihad.

8.1 Belek's enslavement of the Armenians of Gargar and his evasion of Joscelin

Belek's first encounter with the Franks after Mawdud's expedition in 1110 took place shortly before he accompanied Ilghazi on the latter's last campaign to Syria. The reason was the incursions made by the Armenians of Gargar into his territories, especially Hanzit; they were acting under the protection of Count Joscelin. The most detailed information about the raids, Belek's response, and Joscelin's subsequent reaction is given by Michael the Syrian,¹ who is cited with little change by Bar Hebraeus.² Another Syriac source, the Anonymous chronicle, also mentions in passing an associated event.³ Accordingly we shall mainly follow Michael the Syrian here, indicating the additional information and remarks of the other two where necessary.

Michael the Syrian states at the beginning of his account that Belek was feared by all the emirs at this time. Despite this, he says, the troops of the Armenian lord of Gargar kept devastating his lands by carrying out numerous raids. According to Bar Hebraeus their targets were the city of Kharput and the territory around Babula and Melitene, including the region of Hanzit. Michael relates that Belek, in an effort to end these incursions, proposed to send every year a thousand loads of wheat to Michael of Gargar; he also agreed to cede three villages in his territory. In return the Armenian chief repeatedly swore to prevent his people making such at-

¹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, edited and translated by J. B. Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910), III, 205-06, 210.

² Bar Hebraeus, *Abu'l-Farac Tarihi*, translated by Ömer Rıza Doğrul, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1982), II, 357-58.

tacks against Belek's lands, but none of these promises were fulfilled. What caused Belek finally to lose his patience was a plundering expedition undertaken by "Michael's looters," as Michael the Syrian calls them. This raid took place on the very night following the day when the yearly tribute of wheat was sent to Gargar. Being full of confidence now that the wheat had been dispatched, these looters burnt down two villages in Hanzit, plundered many others, and killed the unsuspecting Turks camping nearby. Michael states that the emir was furious on hearing this, and planned to pursue the Armenians to their destruction.

Thus in the winter of 1121-22 Belek set out to catch the inhabitants of Gargar unawares, while they trusted that the mountains were covered with snow. As a further strategem he pretended to move away from them after crossing the frozen Euphrates, and followed a roundabout route over the mountain of Qaryuna. Here he opened a way through the thick snow by releasing thousands of unharnessed horses. Finally, he crossed the mountain of Gargar at night and descended upon their country (1 January 1122). Michael states that Gargar "could not escape from the hands of the Turks" as Belek carried off the inhabitants, their animals, and everything else he came upon, leaving it deserted. Despite this, the chronicler notes, he showed himself "compassionate toward the people," not executing or even enslaving a single one of them. On the contrary, he allowed them to keep their animals and other possessions, and settled them in Hanzit, where they were given villages. In return he demanded them to swear that they would not return to Gargar, and threatened those who would do so with enslavement.

By this deportation of the Armenian peasants and the following mild treatment he accorded them, Belek must have hoped to strike two birds with one stone: to

³ "The First and Second Crusaders from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," translated by M. A. S. Tritton with notes by H. A. R. Gibb, *JRAS* 92 (1933), 91.

get rid of the plunderers who came in from Gargar, and perhaps more importantly, to populate his own lands with settled Christian peasants who would cultivate it and so increase his revenue in agricultural goods. Indeed the deportation and resettlement of indigenous Christian peasants seems to have been a frequent practice of Turkish chiefs in this period, for the Turkomans did not normally take an interest in leading a settled life based on agriculture, although this constituted the chief source of income for contemporary rulers. The relative scarcity of the settled population, which had thinned down during the upheavals associated with the Turkish incursions, rendered the Christian peasants still more valuable in this respect. Accordingly, Turkish chiefs were eager to attract and keep them through such mild treatment. They refrained from enslaving the peasants, allowing them to keep their animals and possessions, and also did not place any pressure upon them to change their religion. Nor did they allow any of their Turkomans to dispossess them of anything they owned, which would cause the agricultural produce and therefore their revenues to decline.⁴

However, Belek himself was disappointed in this case, as a number of the Armenians did flee and return to their own lands in Gargar. So Michael relates that he launched a new expedition a year later, and this time enslaved all those he found in Gargar, as well as burning down the villages, vines, and olive orchards. The Franks intervened at this point, with Joscelin marching from Edessa against Belek. But the latter fled to the mountains, and the Franks, failing to catch up with him, returned to Edessa. Then Belek returned home as well. Michael of Gargar was unable to stop further Turkish incursions, and found himself compelled in the following year (1123) to offer his castle to the Franks. The latter accepted the offer and installed a garrison there, while Michael received another place in compensation. The Anony-

⁴ Also see Osman Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri* (İstanbul, 1973; repr. İstanbul, 2001), 223.

mous Syriac indicates his new possession as Duluk. In this connection Cahen points out that the threat Belek posed against the right bank of the Euphrates contributed to the voluntary or forced replacement of the Armenian lords by Frankish garrisons in this period.⁵

8.2 Belek's capture of Baldwin and Joscelin, their seizure of Kharput and its recapture

King Baldwin's takeover of Gargar was what eventually led to his capture by Belek, as he went to raise the emir's siege of that castle in spring 1123. By that time Belek had long since taken hold of Joscelin of Edessa and Galeran of al-Bira, having captured them in the previous autumn. Although the imprisonment of these princes did not endanger the existence of their states at all, it still prevented the Franks from attacking Aleppo and also bestowed on Belek a prestige equalling that of Ilghazi after the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*. It is to this subject that we shall now turn.

8.2.1 The perspectives of the sources

8.2.1.1 Ibn al-Athir

Ibn al-Athir's rather brief account⁶ of Belek's capture of the Frankish chiefs and their subsequent, unsuccessful revolt in Kharput is of mixed value. Although in the case of the capture of Joscelin and Galeran it finds corroboration from Matthew of Edessa, it is less accurate about how Baldwin was captured, making it seem like the result of a regular pitched battle rather than an ambush. The chronicler's relation

⁵ Claude Cahen, "Le Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides," *Journal Asiatique* 227 (1935), 240.

⁶ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih Tercümesi*, translated by A. Özeydin, A. Ağırakça et al., 12 vols. (İstanbul 1987), X, 485 and *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil*

of the revolt in Kharput, as well as its suppression, also seems wanting in accuracy when compared with the other sources.

Ibn al-Athir begins by asserting that Belek marched to Edessa and put it under siege, but achieving no success, withdrew. On his way back a Turkoman came to warn him that Joscelin had assembled the Franks to set up an ambush against him. However, no other source mentions a siege of Edessa, including the contemporary Matthew of Edessa, who would have known best if such a siege had indeed taken place. Accordingly Ibn al-Athir's testimony on this point must be rejected.⁷

By this time Belek had only four hundred troops left with him, Ibn al-Athir notes, the rest having been dispersed. Nevertheless, he took up a suitable position and prepared to give battle. "By God's grace to the Muslims," Ibn al-Athir remarks, the advancing Franks got stuck in the ground which had soaked up water and turned to mud. As their horses sank in this mud, they were unable to move quickly under the weight of arms and horsemen.⁸ Seizing this opportunity, Belek's troops showered them with arrows, and "not one of them escaped" as the chronicler asserts. Joscelin was among the captives, together with his cousin Galeran and several other distinguished knights. Ibn al-Athir gives the interesting detail that Belek had Joscelin sewn into a camel's skin, in order to make him surrender Edessa, but the count refused, offering instead a rich ransom including large sums of money and many prisoners. Turning down this proposal, however, Belek took Joscelin and his companions to Kharput, where they were imprisoned.

fi'l-Tarikh, Part 1, translated by D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2006), 76 (497: 1103-1104), 246-47 (517: 1123-1124).

⁷ Thus Gerhard Vāth is unjustified in following Ibn al-Athir on this point. See Gerhard Vāth, *Die Geschichte der Artuqidischen Fürstentümer in Syrien und der Ġazira'l-Furātiya* (Berlin, 1987), 87.

⁸ "Their horses sank into it, and because of the weight of the arms and the horsemen, they were unable to manoeuvre quickly or to gallop," for *ghāṣat khuyūluhum fīhi fa-lam tatamakkan, ma'a thiql al-silāḥ wa'l-fursān, min al-isra' wa'l-carī*, X, 593, instead of "into which their cavalry sank, unable to manoeuvre quickly or to gallop because of the weight of their armour and horses," as in the English translation.

Next thing, Ibn al-Athir reports that Kharput was conquered by the Franks in May 1123. Explaining the cause of this event, he turns back to relate how Belek had captured King Baldwin following his earlier capture of Joscelin and Galeran. He reports that Belek laid siege to the castle of Gargar, and upon learning this Baldwin set out with his troops, fearing that the Artukid could grow too powerful if he captured the castle. When Belek heard of the king's approach he moved to confront him, and in the ensuing battle the Franks were defeated, with Baldwin being taken prisoner along with a number of leading Frankish knights (Safar 517/April 1123). These were imprisoned in Kharput, along with Joscelin and others previously captured.

Ibn al-Athir relates the rest of the story briefly. While Belek was away next month to capture Harran, he states, the Franks deployed a stratagem to win over some of the garrison, and emerging thereby from prison, seized the citadel. Thus in contrast to the Christian sources, who all speak of a rescue operation carried out by a group of Armenians from outside the castle, the Arab chronicler attributes the Frankish capture of the citadel to betrayal by certain members of the garrison. Probably confusing Baldwin with Joscelin, he reports erroneously that the king took a camel at night and made off to his own lands.⁹ When the news reached Belek, Ibn al-Athir relates, the emir returned to besiege his fort, and, placing great pressure on the Franks inside, recovered it. After installing a garrison there, he left again.

⁹ For *ittakhadha al-laila jamalan wa maḍā ilā bilādihi* in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Ta'rikh*, 13 vols. (Beirut, 1965-1967), X, 614, instead of "rode off under cover of darkness and made his way to his own lands," as in the English translation. The translator has treated the word *al-laila* in the sentence as an object of the verb *ittakhadha*, which gives the literal meaning "took the night as a camel;" this has been interpreted in the way we see in the translation. See *Chronicle*, 247, n. 5. But *al-laila* seems to have been used rather as an adverb of time in this context.

8.2.1.2 *Ibn al-Adim*

Ibn al-Adim's account¹⁰ is again brief about how the Frankish leaders were captured and their temporary seizure of Kharput, but he provides very detailed information about Joscelin's depredations around Aleppo after Belek's recapture of Kharput. These amounted to a veritable war of religion, with the destruction of tombs and mausoleums, and the Aleppan authorities headed by Ibn al-Khashshab responded in kind by ordering the conversion of almost all churches in Aleppo to mosques.

Ibn al-Adim supplies much less detail than Ibn al-Athir about how Joscelin and Galeran were captured by Belek. He contents himself with noting that in September 1122 Belek defeated the "cursed Joscelin and Galeran" in the neighborhood of Saruj. In addition to these two leaders and sixty other knights among the captives, Ibn al-Adim mentions a certain nephew of Tancred, who he says had been captured by Ilghazi in a battle at Lailun and redeemed himself at the price of a thousand dinars. He notes in parallel with Ibn al-Athir that Belek demanded Joscelin and Galeran surrender the castles in their possession, and reports the interesting answer they gave in refusal: "We and the castles are like camels and saddle. When [a camel] in a caravan is slaughtered, his saddle is transferred to another; what was in our hands has now passed to the hands of others." Upon this Belek took them to his country.

The response of Joscelin and Galeran is an interesting indication of the robustness and continuity of the administrative structure of the Frankish states, which ensured that their existence did not come under serious threat after the capture of their leaders. Indeed it was the Franks of Joscelin's castle of Tell Bashir who carried out the raids against the Butnan valley following Ilghazi's death,¹¹ while Joscelin was languishing in a pit in Kharput. Of course this offensive in the count's absence

¹⁰ Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 633-40.

was also made possible by the excessively weak state of Aleppo, which resulted from the division of the Artukid possessions after Ilghazi's death. But the fact that the Franks could not undertake anything more than these raids, that there was no serious attempt until 1124 to capture Aleppo itself, was due without doubt to Joscelin's imprisonment, followed seven months later by that of Baldwin. As Nicholson remarks, "The military advantages and opportunities presented to the Franks by the illness of their formidable adversary, Ilghazi, were presently negated by the capture of the Frankish hammer, Joscelin."¹² Similarly, Demirkent indicates that Joscelin's capture was a great blow for the Franks as it altered the power balance between the Franks and Turks in the north in favor of the latter.¹³

This was mainly on account of the increased burden upon the remaining princes. Because Baldwin was compelled to undertake the defence and administration of Jerusalem, Antioch and Edessa he was too preoccupied with this crushing workload to complete the encirclement of Aleppo and attack it before he himself was captured.¹⁴ The same difficulty was equally valid for Joscelin after he escaped from Kharput while Baldwin remained in prison. Indeed it was no coincidence that once the king was released and both rulers were free, the first thing they undertook was the siege of Aleppo. Asbridge's observation in this context is quite justified: although the resources of Antioch had been dedicated from 1121 onwards to reestablishing the eastern border between al-Atharib and Zardana and surrounding Aleppo once again, an actual attack on the city was stalled by the imprisonment of Joscelin and Bald-

¹¹ See section 7.7.

¹² Robert Nicholson, "The Growth of the Latin States, 1118-1144," in *A History of the Crusades* (Wisconsin, 1969), I, 418.

¹³ Işın Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu Tarihi*, 2 vols. (Vol. 1: İstanbul, 1974; Vol. 2: Ankara, 1994), II, 32.

¹⁴ For the increased burden on Baldwin after the capture of Joscelin see Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Harmondsworth, 1965), II, 162; René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-1936), I, 584.

win.¹⁵ And it is here that the real importance of Belek's accomplishment lies: through his capture of the Frankish princes he proved to be a still more effective defender of Aleppo than Ilghazi, and this even before he took hold of the city in June 1123.

Like Ibn al-Athir, Ibn al-Adim relates Baldwin's capture in summary fashion and gives the impression that it was the result of a pitched battle between entire armies, rather than an ambush of Baldwin and his retinue. He reports that on 19 Safar (11 April) Baldwin advanced against Belek, who was besieging the Castle of Gargar, and the two met at Urush (today Turush), near the bridge of Sanja. In the ensuing clash Belek defeated and captured Baldwin, killed most of his soldiers and officers, and plundered his tents. The chronicler notes that a week after this Belek captured Gargar, despite the numerical inferiority of his forces, but he fails to mention the fact that the emir had Baldwin tortured before the town to obtain this result. He reports in concluding this part that Belek placed Baldwin in Kharput beside Joscelin and Galeran.

Ibn al-Adim relates the seizure of Kharput by the imprisoned Franks through the mouth of a messenger who arrived on 12 Jumada II (7 August 1123) to report it to Belek. Like Ibn al-Athir, he does not mention the Armenians coming from outside, but asserts that the rescuers were a group from the garrison of the citadel who had collaborated with the captives to set them free. The released prisoners had then attacked and captured the citadel, and seized all of Belek's riches stored there.

Ibn al-Adim also relates an interesting exchange that took place at this point between Joscelin and Baldwin, showing the latter in a rather unfavorable light. Reportedly, Joscelin urged the other Franks to run off as soon as possible, contenting

¹⁵ Thomas Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), 84.

themselves with as much as they would be able to carry away. They had been saved from the brink of destruction, he said, and therefore it would not be proper to expect more. But Baldwin thought otherwise, being eager to keep the castle and all the riches in it. Accordingly the Franks decided that Joscelin would go out alone, and refrain from changing his clothes, eating meat or drinking wine until he would come back with reinforcements to Kharput. The chronicler fails to mention the fact that the castle had been surrounded in the meanwhile by the Turks living around it, as we shall see other sources report.

Ibn al-Adim notes that by this time Belek had captured al-Bara and was besieging Kafartab, where the bishop-lord of the former town had taken refuge after escaping from captivity. On receiving the news, he relates, Belek set out immediately and reached Kharput with a forced march, taking it by force on 23 Rajab (16 September 1123). This is only partially correct, for as we shall see in the accounts of the Christian sources that the Franks themselves surrendered the castle when a tower was undermined and collapsed after their initial refusal to deliver it. In conformity with his earlier assertion that the captives had collaborated with certain members of the garrison, Ibn al-Adim notes that Belek executed all of his men in the citadel “who had shown themselves ungrateful for his favor.” Killing all the Franks as well, except for Baldwin, his nephew and Galeran, Belek took the three captives to Harran, where they were imprisoned again.

Joscelin had reached Tell Bashir when he learned of these events, having in the meanwhile collected reinforcements from Jerusalem. Ibn al-Adim relates at length the retaliatory incursions he carried out against Aleppo and its territory, and gives to understand that there was a strong element of religious hostility in these attacks — which gave rise to similar feelings and actions on the part of the Aleppans.

According to his report Joscelin first marched with the Frankish army into the valley of Butnan, attacking and burning Buza'a, al-Bab and other towns situated there. Then advancing against Aleppo from the north, he profaned the mausoleums (*mashā'id*) and devastated the gardens on that side of the city, also defeating a group of Aleppans and killing or capturing twenty of them. Moving next to pitch camp to the west, he proceeded to destroy the mausoleums and gardens lying to the south of the city. Not content with this, he desecrated a mausoleum called Mashshad al-Dakka, and finding nothing inside to steal, set fire to it. The Aleppans, for their part, undertook a number of sorties against the Franks, with losses suffered on both sides. Subsequently Joscelin moved his camp to Su'da, but the Franks of Jerusalem parted from him to return home. Their abandoned camp revealed that they had robbed the Muslim dead in the graves.

Ibn al-Adim relates that in retaliation for this display of religious hostility, the *qadi* Ibn al-Khashshab, supported by the authorities (Belek himself was away in Kharput), ordered the churches in Aleppo to be converted into mosques. For this purpose their chancels were destroyed, doors were replaced, and *mihirābs* built in their southern walls. Except for two churches still extant in Ibn al-Adim's time, all the other churches including the cathedral church itself were converted in this way to mosques.

Ibn al-Adim notes that Joscelin undertook a last incursion into the Butnan valley before he returned home to Tell Bashir, and attacked Naqira and al-Ahass as well. In addition to spreading devastation as much as he could, killing and capturing people as well as taking their animals, he also seized more than five hundred of the Aleppans' horses, which were in al-Gharib at this time. Another three hundred of these horses were taken by Alan of al-Atharib, who advanced to al-Hanuta and Hilli-

fa after Joscelin's return, and also got hold of a caravan carrying grain from Shaizar. All these horses had belonged to the troops of Aleppo, Ibn al-Adim indicates, and as a result only fifty horsemen remained in the city who actually had mounts. These latter made repeated sorties together with some bandits, but although they took prisoners time and again, they were unable to put an end to the Frankish incursions.

Ibn al-Adim concludes his account with the report of a new incursion Joscelin conducted, this time across the Euphrates into Shabakhtan, where he attacked the Turkomans and Kurds, capturing and killing them and seizing more than ten thousand sheep and horses. Proceeding next to attack al-Jabbul and its environs, the count seized many beasts of burden and then passed on to Dair Hafir. Here he not only suffocated by smoke the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the caves, but also opened the graves and robbed the dead of their shrouds. For now this was the last display of religious hostility on Joscelin's part, but such acts were to be repeated during the siege of Aleppo a year later.

8.2.1.3 *Ibn al-Qalanisi*

Ibn al-Qalanisi's account of the capture of the Frankish leaders as well as their escape and seizure of Kharput¹⁶ is quite summary, adding little that is new to the testimonies of the previous two Muslim sources. This is rather disappointing, given his contemporaneity to the events, but the reason might be the relative distance of Damascus from the scene of the events. A point where he diverges from the previous sources is that he shows Belek as the sole aggressor at the time of Joscelin and Galeran's capture, omitting to mention the fact that the latter themselves were pursuing the Turks. When relating Baldwin's capture, on the other hand, he follows the

¹⁶ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, translated by H. A. R. Gibb (London 1932), 166 (516: 1122-1123), 167, 169 (517: 1123-1124).

other Muslim sources in representing this as the result of a pitched battle rather than an ambush.

About the capture of Joscelin and Galeran, Ibn al-Qalanisi reports briefly that Belek advanced with his army against the Franks of Edessa in Rajab 516 (September 1122). Attacking them successfully at Saruj, he took captive their commander Joscelin and the latter's cousin Galeran. His report of the king's capture is similarly brief, and also somewhat confused in geography, as he assumes Gargar to be situated in the territory of Aleppo.¹⁷ He relates that King Baldwin marched with his army towards the province of Aleppo to attack Belek, who was at the time besieging the castle of Gargar. As if describing a pitched battle, he states that the emir advanced towards the king in turn, and the latter was defeated in the engagement of their armies near the bridge.¹⁸ Having fallen captive with some of his leading knights, the king was confined in a pit¹⁹ in the castle of Kharput, together with Joscelin and other Frankish leaders.

Ibn al-Qalanisi's relation of the escape of the Franks in Kharput is not only summary, but also riddled with a lacuna in the manuscript. The captives "had devised a strategem among themselves and fled..." begins the report, and after the lacuna, continues: "...King Baldwin, and he escaped, and they could not capture him." With the help of the other Muslim sources, this passage could be reconstructed to indicate that the prisoners had devised a strategem among themselves to escape from the prison, and then Joscelin, arriving at an agreement with King Baldwin, fled from the castle, with the Turks being unable to catch him. No help to the captives seems to be

¹⁷ This error illustrates the intellectual as well as physical distance of the Damascene author to events so far north from his native city — hence the sparsity of his entire account. This sense of distance is also revealed by the chronicler's lack of adequate information about Belek's genealogy, as he skips the emir's father Behram and writes "Belek ibn Artuk."

¹⁸ For *qaṭara* instead of "Manzara," as in the English translation. See *Tarikh Dimashq*, edited by Suhail Zakkar (Damascus, 1983), 332.

mentioned (as indicated by the expression “among themselves”), neither by Armenians from outside nor from the garrison in the citadel. Ibn al-Qalanisi notes that it was on the same day that the bishop of al-Bara escaped from Belek’s hands. Within the same month, he reports in conclusion, Belek marched with his army to Kharput and besieged its citadel until he recovered it from the Franks, installing a new garrison before he left.

8.2.1.4 *Al-Azimi*

Al Azimi’s brief reports on the associated events in his abridged chronicle, when brought together, amount to a basic narrative of the capture and revolt of the Frankish chiefs.²⁰ The chronicler first notes that Belek attacked the Franks near Saruj and captured Joscelin and Galeran; like Ibn al-Qalanisi, he omits the latter’s pursuit of Belek before that point. Similarly telescoping the events, he next reports that Belek besieged the castle of Gargar, defeated the Franks near Sanja and captured King Baldwin, imprisoning him with Joscelin in a pit at Kharput.

Without mentioning any collaboration of the captives with Armenians or the garrison, Al-Azimi then indicates that they rose in revolt and rescued Baldwin; he notes that this happened on the same night as the escape of the bishop of al-Bara from Belek’s hands. Following this, he says, Joscelin left the castle in disguise on 28 July and mustered troops.²¹ When the news reached Belek, he hurried to Kharput and

¹⁹ For *jubb* instead of “dungeon,” as in the English translation. See *Tarikh Dimashq*, 332.

²⁰ Al-Azimi, *Azimi Tarihi: Selçuklular Dönemiyle İlgili Bölümler*, H.430-538, edited and translated by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1988), 37 (Arabic) and 45 (Turkish) (516: 1122-1123), 37-8 (Arabic) and 46-7 (Turkish) (517: 1123-24).

²¹ Basing herself on the simultaneousness of the escape of the bishop of al-Bara and the revolt of the captives, as well as on Fulcher’s report that Joscelin escaped on a full-moon (given that the beginning of the lunar months in the Islamic calendar coincide with new moons), Demirkent argues that the date of 7 August (12 Jumada II) that is given by Ibn al-Adim for the former event should be accepted, rather than al-Azimi’s date of 28 July (2 Jumada II). She suggests that an *ashar* (one in the tens-digit) might be missing from the date indicated by Al-Azimi. However, the date given by Ibn al-Adim is not the date on which he says the bishop escaped, but rather the date on which the messenger bringing the news reached Belek’s camp. Given that Belek was far south this time, dealing with the siege of

captured the castle after a siege. The chronicler states wrongly that Belek returned the captives to the pit in Kharput, whereas we know from Ibn al-Adim that they were taken to Harran.

Al-Azimi reports next that Joscelin marched at the head of the Franks heading for Kharput and passed by the outskirts of Aleppo, but returned in disappointment on learning of the recovery of Kharput by Belek. About the ensuing fight around Aleppo, he only reports a certain episode in which the Franks attacked the outskirts of Burj al-Jisr, but because the Turks had blockaded the river fords, lost many by drowning. The chronicler also notes that the churches in Aleppo were converted to mosques on the orders of Ibn al-Khashshab.

8.2.1.5 *Matthew of Edessa*

On the whole, the indigenous Christian sources offer much fuller accounts about the events than the Muslim sources, probably because they were much closer to the scene of events in the north. Matthew of Edessa,²² in particular, was not only an exact contemporary of the events, but also lived in the County of Edessa, and could even have found the chance to listen to the story from the participants themselves. His Armenian background may also have made him familiar with the details of the rescue operation, for he reports this to have been undertaken by Armenians from Behisni. These factors render his testimony particularly important.

In contrast to the Muslim sources, Matthew does not mention any attack that Belek made against Edessa. According to his version, when the sick Ilghazi returned to Aleppo and Belek, “a brave and vigorous warrior,” set out home for Hanzit, Josce-

Kafartab, the ten days between 28 July and 7 August is indeed the time it would have taken the messenger to travel from Kharput to Belek’s camp. Fulcher’s report about the moonlight must be viewed with some suspicion in the light of these considerations. Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 43-4.

lin and Galeran began to pursue him with a hundred horsemen. They caught up with the emir at the village of Tap't'il (perhaps the same place as Urush/Turush in Ibn al-Adim's account), where he was encamped with eight hundred horsemen in an area surrounded by marshes. "Being mindless and foolhardy," the Franks attacked the Turks despite their position, and as a result were bogged down in the marshy area. Seeing this Belek went on to the offensive, pursuing the Franks and wounding all their horses.

This story accords remarkably well with the version of Ibn al-Athir, who related how the Franks got stuck in the mud as they tried to reach Belek's forces and were mowed down by arrows. The only difference is that Matthew gives the number of Belek's forces as eight hundred rather than four hundred, but this might be the product of an effort on his part to exaggerate the numerical superiority of the Turks. He goes on to relate that Joscelin and Galeran were taken captive and thrown into prison at Kharput, while twenty-five other Franks were imprisoned at Balu; he indicates the date of the event as 13 September. Matthew also reveals the Edessenenes' state of mind at this time, writing: "Thus great sorrow fell upon all the Christian faithful, and they were all horror-struck and in a state of fear and trembling."

The chronicler makes a digression at this point to note that before dying Ilghazi had entrusted all his territories to Belek, who had thus come to rule over a large number of territories. We know that this is not true, since Ilghazi's possessions were distributed among his sons and nephews. Nevertheless, it shows the extent to which Belek was widely perceived to be his uncle's true heir: this was due without doubt to his continuance of Ilghazi's recent struggles against the Franks.

²² Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated by Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham, New York, London, 1993), 228-30 (III.87-90).

In relating Baldwin's capture, Matthew does not speak of Belek's siege of Gargar as what led the king to advance against him. He asserts instead that Baldwin's aim was to avenge Joscelin and Galeran by making war on the emir. Grousset and Nicholson seem to base themselves on this report when they assert that the purpose of the king in moving towards Gargar was to rescue Joscelin and Galeran or to obtain their release.²³ But Matthew states that the king's motive was "to avenge" rather than "to rescue" Joscelin and Galeran, and indeed it is hard to see how Baldwin could have hoped to rescue the count and Galeran by attacking Belek before Gargar. The most he could have hoped to accomplish in that respect was to capture some of Belek's distinguished men and exchange them with the Frankish prisoners, but this was not something that he could have counted upon beforehand. In any case, the motive of revenge suggested by Matthew must have paled beside the king's concern to prevent Belek from acquiring Gargar and becoming a still more formidable power in the region, as observed by Ibn al-Athir.

Matthew relates that Belek was carrying out raids on the border areas of Ra'ban when Baldwin reached that fortress at the head of his forces; the two armies were as yet unaware of each other's presence. By the time the king crossed the bridge of Sanja with a small detachment, however, Belek had noticed the Franks' presence and lain in ambush with his entire army. Having pitched camp at Shen-crig,²⁴ Baldwin was about to go falcon hunting when Belek made a surprise attack and got hold of him together with his sister's son. This nephew of Baldwin may have been Mannasses of Hierges, the son of his sister Hodiena, as Demirkent suggests, or

²³ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 586-87; Robert Nicholson, *Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa* (Urbana, 1954), 64.

²⁴ This is indicated in the notes of the English translation to be a fortress northwest of Samosata, on one of the tributaries of the Euphrates. See Matthew, *Chronicle*, 347.

a brother of Mannasses, as Runciman prefers to assume.²⁵ Matthew does not reveal that Belek had the king tortured before Gargar, as reported by the Anonymous Syriac, but simply states that Baldwin handed over this castle to Belek when he was taken by the emir to its gates. The king and his nephew were then brought to Kharput and thrown into the same “deep dungeon” in which Joscelin and Galeran were imprisoned.

Whereas the Muslim chroniclers attribute the release of the prisoners in Kharput to the collaboration of a part of the garrison, Matthew and all the other Christian sources attribute it to a rescue operation undertaken by a group of Armenians from Behisni or Edessa, though they differ as to whether this was a voluntary act on their part or they were rather commissioned by others to do it. They all relate the story with apparent relish, and dedicate to this failed attempt a far greater place than its importance would seem to warrant in the eyes of a modern historian.²⁶ Nevertheless, contemporary chroniclers were of course not modern historians, and judged the importance of a story according to the contribution it could make to the value of their work as a “serious entertainment.”²⁷ For this reason we shall examine their accounts of this failed rescue attempt at some length as well, in order to see the ways in which they treated this story that was so attractive to them with its promise of ample suspense and excitement as well as the examples of loyalty and self-sacrifice it offered. Of course it also provided them, and especially Matthew, with an opportunity to

²⁵ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 37 and n. 156; Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 165, n. 1. Demirkent remarks that she finds it incomprehensible why Runciman prefers to do so. The reason might lie in Runciman’s statement that elsewhere Michael the Syrian calls the man “Bar Noul,” a name Runciman likens to “Arnulf.” See Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, 225.

²⁶ Indeed Işın Demirkent points out that modern historians have also dedicated more place than due to this event of relatively little consequence. She attributes this to its romantic character, as well as to the unusually detailed narrative offered by the sources. She also suggests that a part of this interest may have been stimulated by the evidence about contemporary mentalities that is revealed by the way in which each source relates the events. Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 39.

²⁷ See Nancy Partner, *Serious Entertainments: the Writing of History in 12th Century England* (Chicago, 1980).

show the Armenians in an active role, and not simply as victims at the mercy of the course of wars between the Franks and the Turks, as was generally the case.

Matthew introduces his version of the story with the following words: “In this same year, five months later, an amazing event occurred, which later turned out to be a disastrous misfortune.” He relates that fifteen men in the fortress of Behisni had got together to plan “a very courageous feat,” whereby “they were to accomplish a deed to be remembered forever.” Leaving Behisni for the impregnable castle of Kharput, they observed that its guards were few and negligent. They approached the gates looking wretched and pretending to be quarreling plaintiffs, and in this way they were able to get one of them inside the citadel. With his help they succeeded in forcing an entry, and reaching the gates of the prison, killed the guards there. Shutting the gates behind them, and with loud cries, they next made for the cell of the citadel²⁸ where the captives were imprisoned, and “very joyfully” released Baldwin, Joscelin and others. Matthew adds that some of the inhabitants of the area had entered the prison as well to aid in the escape of the prisoners. The captives then went out, and seizing the citadel, became masters of Belek’s entire household.²⁹

Whereas the Anonymous, Michael the Syrian and Fulcher of Chartres state that the Turkish forces in the region, on hearing of the event, invested the castle even before Belek’s arrival, Matthew asserts that the Turks fled to another region. Nevertheless, this seems unlikely in view of the detailed testimony of these sources about how Joscelin slipped with difficulty through the besiegers, and Matthew himself states that one night the count departed “in secret.” He goes on to relate that Joscelin

²⁸ This is from the French translation of Matthew’s work in RHC, *Historiens Arméniens* I, 134 (III.86). The English translation reads “dungeon” in contrast, but the translator notes that the actual word in the edition he used is “fortress.” See Matthew, *Chronicle*, 347.

²⁹ This is from the French translation in RHC, *Historiens Arméniens* I, 134 (III.86), whereas the English translation reads “Belek’s entire domain.” But it is hard to imagine how the prisoners could have got hold of the emir’s “entire domain” at this stage.

proceeded with an infantry escort over Kaisun to Antioch, in order to collect troops and return with them to bring succor to the king and others. Thus Matthew seems to have been unaware of the fact that Joscelin went as far as Jerusalem.³⁰

When Belek heard the news, Matthew continues, he immediately set out for Kharput, and “rushing forth with the rapidity of an eagle,” reached it in fifteen days. Laying siege to the fortress, he managed by means of a mangonel and mining operations to demolish a tower and thus to “strike terror into the hearts of the defenders.” As a result, Galeran went in “great fear” to deliver the castle into his hands. Save for Baldwin, his nephew, and Galeran, Belek had all the other prisoners, sixty five men and eighty “beautiful” women (these may have been Belek’s harem, killed after having been left in the hands of the Franks and Armenians, and perhaps collaborated with them as we shall see Orderic relate), thrown down from the summit of the fortress. Matthew seems unaware that the king and his two companions were taken to Harran, since he states that Belek, full of rage, threw them in prison once again. He reports in conclusion that Joscelin and Geoffrey of Mar‘ash heard of the event while marching to Kharput with reinforcements, and so returned to their territories in dismay. The chronicler makes no mention of Joscelin’s retaliatory attacks against Aleppo and Shabakhtan.

8.2.1.6 *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*

The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle offers one of the most detailed accounts of the capture and subsequent rescue of the Frankish leaders.³¹ The author’s story of

³⁰ Matthew was apparently also uninformed about the arrangements of regency in Jerusalem (see the analyses of Fulcher’s and William’s accounts below), for he states that by this time Geoffrey the Monk, the lord of Mar‘ash, had taken up the command of the Frankish forces as well as the defence of all the Frankish territories including Jerusalem, Antioch and Edessa against the Turks. However, Geoffrey does seem to have assumed the regency of Antioch and Edessa during the period in which both Baldwin and Joscelin were both imprisoned. Matthew introduces Geoffrey as a “brave and

how Joscelin and Galeran got caught by Belek is notable for its divergence from the other sources, although it is not necessarily more plausible.

The Anonymous states at the beginning of his account that Joscelin married the daughter of Roger of Antioch, who had been killed in the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*, and received Azaz as her dowry. Going to bring her back to Edessa, he stayed the night in al-Bira. However, we know from William of Tyre that this woman, named Stephanie, was Roger's sister rather than daughter; William had met her in old age, when she was the abbess of the convent of Holy Mary the Elder in Jerusalem.³² Runciman criticizes another aspect of the Anonymous's testimony, pointing out that "there is no mention of her capture and, as Roger endowed his sister, the marriage must have taken place before Roger's death."³³ Demirkent objects to this statement, arguing that the Anonymous does not claim that Joscelin took the bride immediately upon the marriage to his country, and accordingly the woman may not have participated in her husband's campaign and got captured.

Neither of these views seems correct. The Anonymous relates the event in a way suggesting that she was indeed with Joscelin when he attacked Belek, and his testimony is corroborated on this point by Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus. Indeed we shall see Bar Hebraeus explicitly state that the woman was captured as well and taken to Balu. Moreover, this was not an independent campaign against Belek, as Demirkent seems to assume, but an extemporized attack Joscelin made while returning from Antioch, after he had assisted Baldwin during Ilghazi and Belek's campaign in Syria. He could well have married Stephanie at the end of that campaign, as he

mighty man and a most fervent Christian," protecting the Frankish territories "with insuperable energy and effort," and "courageously defending them with all the means at his disposal."

³¹ "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," 90-4; *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon*, II, 64-70.

³² William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, translated by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, 1943), II, 301 (XIX.4).

³³ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 161, n. 2.

was stopping at the city of Antioch before setting out with her for home.³⁴ As for Runciman's objection about Stephanie's endowment, Baldwin, as regent of Antioch, surely had the right to give her in marriage as well as to endow her after Roger's death — unless the marriage and the endowment were agreed earlier, before *Ager Sanguinis*, but took place later.

While Joscelin was halting at al-Bira, the Anonymous relates, messengers arrived from Mariba, Umqa, and the district of al-Bira itself to report that Turks had carried out a raid and captured all those they met. He explains that these were troops from the army of Belek who, coming from Aleppo with four thousand horsemen, had sent them around to carry out raids in all directions. In the meanwhile he camped at the well of Haig, in the territory of Edessa. Hereabouts there was a famous castle, situated opposite the district of Ra's Kaifa. We have seen Ibn al-Adim, Ibn al-Qalanisi and al-Azimi state that the capture took place near Saruj, and since Ra's Kaifa is situated in the neighborhood of Harran, while Saruj is on the road between al-Bira and Harran, the event must be located to the south of Edessa, between Harran and Saruj.³⁵ Probably the village of Tap't'il mentioned by Matthew was also around here.

Like Matthew, and in contrast to the Muslim authors, the Anonymous does not mention any siege of Edessa undertaken by Belek. But differently from Matthew, who asserted that the Franks wanted to catch up with Belek, and from Ibn al-Athir, who stated that they intended to ambush him, the Anonymous gives us to understand that they were only pursuing the raiders, without knowing that Belek himself was camping near with his whole force. He indicates that Galeran was particularly eager to pursue the raiders, since it was his own territory that had been ravaged. The Anon-

³⁴ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 30.

³⁵ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 31.

ymous seems to be wrong however in asserting that Belek was encamped “with his whole force.” Ibn al-Athir states that most of Belek’s forces had scattered, leaving him with four hundred men, and Matthew gives the comparable number of eight hundred; we have seen the Anonymous himself indicate that Belek had sent away his four thousand troops to plunder the Franks’ territories.

The chronicler goes on to relate that the Franks thought to catch up with these raiders in the land of Ra’s Kaifa, and so pursued them from night to midday. They had been consumed by thirst, dust, and heat as well as worn down by the fatigues of the road by the time they reached Belek’s camp, where they saw a whole army before them. The Franks themselves were few, the Anonymous notes, and this accords with Matthew’s statement that they were a hundred strong against eight hundred Turks. Nevertheless, the Anonymous diverges after this point from Matthew as well as from Ibn al-Athir, who asserted that the Franks got stuck in mud as they attacked the Turks. He states instead that they were unable to go back, despite being seen by the Turks, without making clear why. According to his version it was the Turks who attacked first, when the Franks went to water their horses, and showered arrows from the riverbank on whoever approached the water. Subsequently they surrounded the Franks, and having shot many, captured the rest including Joscelin and Galeran.

The Anonymous’s version of the story does not seem preferable over that of Ibn al-Athir and Matthew of Edessa. Even the sole fact that two such independent sources from completely different origins agree with each other would favor their version. Moreover, the Anonymous’s story seems to lack logical consistency as well. It is hard to understand from his account why the Franks did not turn back upon seeing the Turkish army, or alternatively did not go into attack, and instead attempted to water their horses by the riverbank where the enemy was ranged. And the Anony-

mous's statement that the Franks could not turn back would also tend to support the other two sources' assertion that they got stuck in the marshes separating them from the Turkish forces. In the light of these considerations, the Anonymous's version of Joscelin and Galeran's defeat and capture must be rejected.

When Joscelin and Galeran were captured in this unexpected way and brought to Belek, the Anonymous continues, the emir had difficulty believing his eyes and "thought it a dream that such princes should in an instant become prisoners." He does not mention Belek's efforts to make the captives hand over Edessa and other places, as reported by Ibn al-Adim and Ibn al-Athir, but states instead that the emir took them before the gates of Edessa to persuade its inhabitants to surrender. When they refused to do so and abused him, he left the place and imprisoned them in Kharput. Like Matthew, the Anonymous touches upon the public aggrievement felt in Edessa in face of the news. It reached the city on the eve of the Feast of the Cross, he notes, with the result that "there was no procession that year, instead all was lamentation." The chronicler also indicates that King Baldwin came from Antioch to Edessa upon hearing this news, and placed there a garrison under Geoffrey the Monk, to serve until the captive princes' fate would become clear. This partly corroborates Matthew's statement that Geoffrey had taken up the defense of Frankish territories during the captivity of their rulers.³⁶

The Anonymous states that Baldwin's purpose in advancing toward Gargar six months later was to bring grain from Kaisun and Samosata to that castle, which Belek had begun to harass along with Kahta and Hisn Mansur.³⁷ Thus he diverges from the Muslim sources who indicated that the king's purpose was to attack Belek

³⁶ See n. 30 above.

³⁷ The Anonymous counts Samosata among the places Belek was harassing, but this seems to conflict with his assertion that the king brought in grain from there to Gargar.

in order to raise his siege of Gargar, and from Matthew who asserted that it was to avenge the capture of Joscelin and Galeran.

Again, these sources stated that both armies remained unaware of the presence of each other until the very end, but the Anonymous gives us to understand that Belek soon became aware of the king's approach, having heard that he was at Kaisun, and went to the river of Sanja, between Kaisun and Samosata, to meet him. Like Matthew, he indicates that what took place there was not a pitched battle, but rather an ambush against the king and his retinue while they were detached from the main army. But whereas Matthew had reported the king to be on a falcon hunt, the Anonymous relates that he was marching ahead of his army with a few attendants, having crossed the bridge of Sanja. The rest of the cavalry, marching unhurriedly and without precaution, had not even reached the river. At this moment, says the Anonymous, Belek's troops in ambush suddenly "sprang on [the king] like twilight wolves from all sides, armed, equipped, howling for booty," and captured him along with his nephew and many others, while just as many were killed. The chronicler states in parallel with Matthew that Belek took the king before Gargar to make him surrender the castle, and reveals that he had recourse to torture for this purpose. Installing a garrison in Gargar, Belek then took the king and the other captives to Kharput. where they were imprisoned by Joscelin and Galeran.

Interestingly, the Anonymous reports that after Belek had placed Joscelin in prison and was about to leave Kharput he had told him: "I shall bring the king to you, God willing." And now, about six months later, Baldwin indeed joined Joscelin and Galeran in prison. If true, and not simply a bit of hindsight on the part of the author, this anecdote would show Belek's degree of self-confidence in his struggle against the Franks. Perhaps it might also serve as evidence that Belek had adopted it as a part

of his strategy to try and capture these princes, as a way of barring the tide of Frankish aggression following Ilghazi's death.

At this point the Anonymous makes a short digression to praise the peace and security brought to the lands of Gargar by Belek's rule, stating that the region was freed from the thieves and brigands who had been robbing the poor. He also draws attention to the care Belek took to ensure the safety of local Christians against the harassment of his Turkomans, impaling any who would take the smallest bit from a poorman, and even prohibiting any verbal abuse against them. The rationale for this policy of Belek toward the indigenous Christians under his rule has already been discussed in the previous section.

In contrast to Matthew, who presented the rescue operation undertaken by the Armenian group from Behisni as an initiative of their own, the Anonymous asserts that they concocted this plot with Geoffrey the Monk and Baldwin's queen Morphia, who was an Armenian herself. The involvement of Morphia in the plot is indeed also corroborated by Orderic Vitalis, as we shall see. Whereas Matthew stated that the group consisted of fifteen men who went to the castle like quarreling plaintiffs, the Anonymous indicates that they were twenty, disguised as poor peasants, with ten of them carrying grapes, fruit, and fowls. He relates that these latter ten went to the castle as if they wanted to complain of their governor, saying that he was oppressing them and doing them wrong; the others had stayed back to join them when the work began. Hearing their purpose in coming, the porter at the upper gate of the citadel instructed them to wait between the gates while the governor of the castle was informed. There was a banquet going on inside, with wine taking its effect on the governor and his officers, and all guards except for two or three at the gate were watching the banquet. Taking advantage of this situation, while the porter was away, the

Armenians seized the swords hanging between the gates, killed the guards, called their companions waiting outside and, closing the gates of the citadel, rushed on the diners to slaughter them all. This version of how the Armenians penetrated the castle is quite different from that of Matthew, apart from the element of pretended complaint common to both, and the circumstantial details provided by the Anonymous render it more plausible.

The Anonymous proceeds to relate that the Armenians released the prisoners and gained mastery over the citadel. Like Matthew, he notes that many of the Armenians of the town who were able to enter the citadel joined them as well. But whereas Matthew stated that the Turks in the vicinity fled to other regions upon hearing the news, the Anonymous asserts that they “came night and day from all sides and invested the castle closely, so that none could go in or out.” This latter version seems more acceptable as it is also corroborated by Michael the Syrian and Fulcher of Chartres. As we shall see, the latter adds the detail that Joscelin sent back a companion with his ring to inform Baldwin that he had managed to slip through the besiegers. The Anonymous himself reports that on the night of the seizing of the castle Joscelin left on foot with two or three companions, and succeeded in breaking through the surrounding ring of enemies; “God willed that he could escape” remarks the chronicler. He also mentions an oath Joscelin swore to the king, similar to that reported by Ibn al-Adim, to the effect that he would not rest till he had brought back an army from Jerusalem to relieve them. When the count reached that city via Kaisun, Tell-Bashir and Antioch, the Anonymous reports, all rejoiced about the imminent liberation of Baldwin and Galeran, as well as the riches to be captured from the great wealth hoarded at Kharput. That the riches stored in Kharput made a strong impression on the Franks is also revealed by Orderic Vitalis’ half-legendary account as well

as by Ibn al-Athir's report that Baldwin, greedy to seize all the wealth in the castle, refused Joscelin's offer to escape carrying all they could.

But Belek set out at once upon learning what had happened at "his strong fort, the capital of his kingdom, the treasury of his wealth," the Anonymous says, and reached it in only four days, ten days after the fall of the citadel. This period is still shorter than the fifteen days indicated by Matthew, but does not seem plausible given the fact that the messenger bearing the news had only reached Belek's camp ten days after the event, on 7 August. The Anonymous relates that Belek, trying to take the castle before the arrival of the Frankish reinforcements, set up great engines that battered the walls non-stop, but he fails to mention the mining operations reported by Matthew and other sources. He states that Belek finally made a breach in the wall by this means, but being unwilling to take the citadel by force and cause it by damage to lose its defensive capacity, offered safe conduct to those inside. When they still refused to surrender, the great tower over the water supply was razed to the ground, depriving the besieged of their last hope. Accordingly Galerán came in person to request what they had rejected before. This suggests that the besieged may have been rendered desperate when the castle's water supply was blocked by the debris accumulated on it.

The Anonymous goes on to relate that Belek gave his word of honor to spare the lives of those inside, and the castle was surrendered on 16 September 1123. Without comment, he then reports how Belek contravened his promise of safe conduct and punished the Armenians from Behisni by torturing and flaying them alive. But it could also be that Galerán had requested the safe conduct only for behalf of himself, the king and a few other Franks. The Anonymous indicates in any case that Baldwin and Galerán as well as some of their companions were returned unharmed

to where they had been imprisoned. He was apparently unaware that they were taken to Harran.

In the meanwhile, the Anonymous notes, Joscelin was on his way to Kharput with the reinforcements he had gathered from Jerusalem. Passing by Aleppo, he camped for three days on the hill of Jawshan opposite its west gate, and exacted tribute from the townsfolk. According to the chronicler, it was at this point that he learned of Belek's recovery of Kharput. However, it does not make sense that Joscelin should have delayed for three days outside Aleppo when he was hurrying to reach Kharput before Belek. Accordingly, it seems more plausible to accept with Ibn al-Adim that he turned back from Tell Bashir towards Aleppo on receiving the news. This might also serve to explain his sacrilegious depredations around the city, probably calculated to hit the Aleppans on a particularly sensitive spot to exact retaliation. The Anonymous mentions these depredations briefly, revealing that beside the mausoleums and gardens, reported by Ibn al-Adim, he also destroyed two mosques on the hill of Jawshan, one built for Ridwan and the other called Dakka.³⁸ This additional information also clarifies why Ibn al-Khashshab ordered almost all of the churches in Aleppo to be converted into mosques, as we have seen Ibn al-Adim relate. According to the Anonymous, the *qadi* told the Christians of the city to rebuild these two mosques, but the church treasurers objected. Their grounds were that this would set a precedent for the use of church funds to finance the reconstruction of any other mosque to be destroyed in the future.

The Anonymous's report of what happened next reveals that the conversion of the churches into mosques was not carried out in orderly fashion by the authorities, which is the impression given by Ibn al-Adim's testimony, but was in fact the

³⁸ This last must have been at the same place as the mausoleum that the count opened to rob and then burnt down according to Ibn al-Adim.

product of popular fervour, with thousands of Muslims volunteering for the task. This fact shows that the Franks' targeting of mosques and mausoleums in a spirit of religious antagonism also caused the jihad fervour in Aleppo to pass beyond the circle of the learned and spread to the populace. The Anonymous relates that on Ibn al-Khashshab's orders, given significantly on a Friday, these Muslims rushed with axes and spades to the great church of St Jacob, broke the pulpit and the angels of the altar, defaced the pictures, made a *mihṛāb* in the south wall of the sanctuary, and praying there, turned it into a mosque. The same happened with the Greek church of the Theotokos and that of the Nestorians. The zeal of the populace did not stop there, the Anonymous says, and they proceeded to sack the churches and cells of the two bishops in the city, one of them a Jacobite and the other a Melkite. The former fled upon this to Qal'at Ja'bar, and the latter to Antioch.

8.2.1.7 *Michael the Syrian*

Although Michael the Syrian's account³⁹ generally resembles that of the Anonymous, it diverges from the latter source as well as from the others considered so far on some critical points. Thus Michael states in parallel with the Anonymous that Joscelin was taking his bride, Roger's daughter to Edessa, and notes that this was his second wife after the first had died. But whereas the latter stated that the count and Galeran began to pursue Turkish raiders and eventually confronted Belek, he asserts that the emir set up ambushes for Joscelin on the way and captured him. In contrast to all the other sources, Michael states that Joscelin was sent to Balu on his capture, but this might be a confusion stemming from the fact that twenty five companions of Joscelin and Galeran were indeed sent to Balu as Matthew reports.

³⁹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 210-11.

At this point Michael provides valuable evidence that the capture of Joscelin endowed Belek with great prestige among the Turkomans, and caused them to flock to him in order to raid Frankish territories: "He sent [Joscelin] to Balu; and Belek obtained a great fame amongst the Turks. Tribes united around him, and they entered the lands of the Franks again."⁴⁰ Thus the Artukids' confrontations with the Franks neighboring them seems to have increased their power through the Turkomans' attraction to the prestige the Artukids gained thereby, as well as by the promise of booty. This is not so unlike the way in which the later Ottoman *beylik* in western Anatolia could grow in power thanks to its convenient position on the Byzantine frontier, which enabled it to draw new recruits from the freely roaming Turkomans who were eager to share in the prestige and booty to accrue from raids into "infidel" territory.⁴¹ But in the case of the Artukids, their attractiveness to the Turkomans diminished after they gave up Aleppo and after the subsequent collapse of the County of Edessa, events that ended their contiguity with the Franks. This was an important reason for

⁴⁰ Mükrimin Halil Yinanç asserts that the capture of Joscelin, Galeran and Baldwin contributed greatly to Belek's prestige, spreading his fame far and wide, and brought him the title "ghazi." He adds that in reward for his successes the Seljukid sultan Mahmud endowed Belek with the *manshūr* of Aleppo, and appointing him as the commander of the Muslim armies against the Franks, obliged the other emirs to join him with their troops. Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, "Belek," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, II, 470. Nevertheless, it has not proved possible to detect the source on which Yinanç bases these statements. All the sources he lists in the bibliography at the end of his article in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* are those examined here, save for Ibn al-Azraq, and no indications to this effect could be found in that source either.

⁴¹ Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938), 40-1, 45-6. For a more nuanced and convincing reformulation of this thesis see Halil İnalcık, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1980), 71-9; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: the Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, 1995), 133-35. For other important discussions of the Ottoman ghaza thesis see Linda T. Darling, "Contested Territory: Ottoman Holy War in Comparative Context," *Studia Islamica* 91 (2000), 133-63; Linda T. Darling, "Reformulating the Gazi Narrative: When was the Ottoman State a Gazi State?" *Turcica* 43 (2011), 13-53; Colin Imber, "What does Ghazi Actually Mean?" in *The Balance of Truth. Essays in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Lewis*, edited by Çiğdem Balım-Harding and Colin Imber (İstanbul, 2000), 165-78; Ronald C. Jennings, "Some Thoughts on the Ghāzī-Thesis," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76 (1986), 151-61; Gyula Káldy-Nagy, "The Holy War (*jihād*) in the First Centuries of the Ottoman Empire," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4 (1979-1980), 467-73; M. Fuad Köprülü, *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, translated and edited by Gary Leiser (New York, 1992); Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, 1983); Heath Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (New York, 2003). Fuad Köprülü observes as well that the victories scored by some Artukid emirs against the Crusaders "increased not only their moral prestige, but also their material power." M Fuad Köprülü, "Artuk Oğulları," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, I, 621.

the decline of their former power and independence, as we shall discuss more at length in section 9.3.

Under attack from the Turkomans who had flocked to Belek, Michael of Gargar was compelled to hand over his fortress to Baldwin, who compensated him with Duluk and installed a Frankish garrison in Gargar. After this, Michael relates, the king reassembled his army and came to drive the Turks from the territory of Hisn Mansur and Kaisun. All this accords with the Anonymous's report that Belek's troops were harassing Gargar, Hisn Mansur and Kaisun, but Michael seems to telescope the events and makes it appear as if Baldwin marched immediately upon taking over Gargar, without returning to Antioch. Relating the king's capture, the chronicler fails to mention the fact that he had been separated from the main army. He simply states that Belek's troops ambushed the Franks who were camping near the river Sanja, and massacring Baldwin's companions, got hold of his person. Michael reports Belek's capture of Gargar as well, but reveals that before this he had laid siege to Hisn Mansur and taken it by capitulation. Despite this, he remarks, "the cruel Turks took the people captive and burnt the city and the region." As Demirkent points out, this is indeed plausible given that Hisn Mansur was on the road from Saruj to Gargar and much closer to the former town, near which Baldwin had been captured.⁴² Concluding this episode, Michael indicates that Baldwin was imprisoned with Joscelin and other Franks in a ditch in Kharput.

After Baldwin's capture, Michael notes, the Egyptians wanted to take advantage of the fact that he was in prison and his country without a master, and so ventured to capture Jerusalem and other places by sending forces over land and sea. Nevertheless, both of these forces were defeated, and Michael attributes this to the

⁴² Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 36.

aid of God. According to him it was “God and not man who annihilated” the great Egyptian land army as it was crushed before the people of Jerusalem, and he adds with importance that the latter had practised a week of fasting and prayer before the battle. He similarly attributes the timely arrival of the Venetian fleet to God’s disposition, and asserts that “God gave the victory to the Franks” in the ensuing battle at sea. After this, Michael notes, the strengthened Venetians even laid siege to Tyre together with the army of Jerusalem. The idea that God assisted the Franks against the opportunistic Egyptian attacks made in Baldwin’s absence is also found in the account of Fulcher, who expatiates at length on the theme of God as the true king of Jerusalem.

About the seizure of Kharput by the prisoners, Michael presents a different version from those so far examined. According to this, the Armenians who rescued the prisoners were employed at the time to do some kind of work within the fortress, and it is not indicated that they had come from Behisni. These workers reportedly observed that the citadel was well-fortified, with only a few soldiers around, so they assembled near the gate on the pretext of complaining about their salary. Seizing the swords deposited there, they rushed forward to kill the guards at the gate, after which they ran to release Baldwin, Joscelin and the other captives. They then killed the Muslims and captured the citadel. However, Michael’s version does not seem plausible as it begs the question why the Armenians had to begin by killing the guards at the gate if they were already admitted inside as workers.

Michael relates like the Anonymous that the Muslims in the town assembled after the seizure of the citadel to attack the Christians. Despite this Joscelin managed by means of a trick to go out at night with an Armenian companion. He had sworn to Baldwin to return with an army to defend the castle, if they could, or to take him

away if otherwise. Following his departure Belek arrived to batter the walls with four mangonels, and upon their collapse the Franks came out. After the emir had tortured the prisoners and massacred seventy of them, Michael reports in conclusion, he returned in haste with Baldwin, Galeran and the king's nephew, being in a hurry to ravage all the Frankish territories.

8.2.1.8 *Bar Hebraeus*

Bar Hebraeus's account about Belek's capture of Baldwin, Joscelin and Galeran⁴³ is rather confused. Although the author generally follows Michael the Syrian, he tells the events as though it was only Joscelin's bride who got caught in Belek's ambush as the count was taking her from Antioch to Edessa. The woman was sent to Balu, Bar Hebraeus asserts, while Joscelin himself was captured only the next year, after Belek had ambushed the king in his camp by the river Sanja. Upon Baldwin's capture, he relates, Joscelin and Galeran prepared to meet the Turks for the entire summer of 1123, but in the battle that followed they were defeated by Belek and sent to Kharput to join the king in prison. Considering that Bar Hebraeus's version and chronology are contradicted by all the other sources, they must be rejected.

The rest of Bar Hebraeus's account, comprising the revolt in Kharput and its suppression, is almost identical with that of Michael the Syrian. The only difference is that he fails to mention the oath Joscelin swore to the king before his departure, promising to return with an army to defend the castle or alternatively to take away the king, according to their strength *vis-à-vis* the Turks. Instead he cites the first part of this promise out of its context to assert that Joscelin sought out the Frankish army in order to defend the castle and take full control of it in the king's name. He also asserts wrongly that Belek made for Manbij after suppressing the revolt, taking along

Baldwin and Galeran, although the emir would not go there before the following spring.

8.2.1.9 *Fulcher of Chartres*

In his account⁴⁴ Fulcher relates the capture of Baldwin, Joscelin and Galeran very briefly, but dwells at great length on the revolt in Kharput, handling it in conformity with the contemporary view of history as “serious entertainment.” In this connection he underlines the moral implications of the reduction of kings and counts to humble captivity. He also stresses the negligible effect of Baldwin’s capture on the ability of his kingdom to defend itself against Egyptian attacks, and points to God as the true king and defender of Jerusalem.

The only information Fulcher gives about the capture of Joscelin and Galeran is that Belek, “striving with cunning and by means of an ambush, intercepted them.”⁴⁵ While Joscelin was taken prisoner along with Galeran, a hundred of his men were killed. Fulcher reports Baldwin’s capture even more briefly, indicating that Belek also got hold of the king while the latter “had not expected this and was not prepared.” He adds that “nothing could have been more joyful to the pagans or more horrible to the Christians.” In an assembly at Acre, he notes, Eustace of Caesarea and Sidon was chosen as regent by the patriarch and other notables until Baldwin’s fate should become clear. Eustace was to die on 15 June and be replaced by William of Bures, lord of Tiberias.

Fulcher then proceeds to relate the attack of the Egyptian land and sea forces on Ascalon, eager to take advantage of the king’s captivity. After having related how

⁴³ Bar Hebraeus, *Abu ’l-Farac Tarihi*, II, 357-58.

⁴⁴ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, translated by Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, 1969), 237 (III.xii), 239-40 (III.xvi), 245-54 (III.xxi-26).

these were defeated with the help of the Venetian fleet, he asserts like Michael the Syrian that God had helped the Franks in the king's absence, but he dwells on this theme at much greater length and with rhetorical flourish, representing God as the veritable king of Jerusalem:

Oh how good and glorious for men always to have God as their helper! Oh how "blessed are the people whose Lord is God" [Psalm 32:12]. For the pagans said, "let us go and utterly destroy the Christian people and erase the memory of them from the earth. For they do not now have a king; the members are without a head." They spoke truly, for they did not believe that we had God for our king. We had lost Baldwin, but we had adopted God as King of all. We invoked Him in our necessity and through him we miraculously triumphed. Perhaps he was no king whom we had lost by accident, but He who recently won the victory is not only King in Jerusalem but over all the Earth. Truly we must confess that we have had in reality a King in battle, and have now and shall have, since in our undertakings we shall prefer Him to all others. For He is present always, present to all who call upon Him in truth. [Psalm 144:18] For He saw us in our humility afflicted greatly, and mercifully considering our humility He freed us. [Psalm 114:6] Here he fought for us, and here he brought our enemies to naught...

As in the case of Joscelin, Baldwin's capture caused little disorganization in his state. Just as the Franks of Edessa had carried out incursions against the Butnan valley in Joscelin's absence, those of Jerusalem warded off the two-pronged Egyptian attack on Ascalon with Venetian help. Not content with this, they proceeded to besiege Tyre with the help of the Venetian fleet, and obtained its surrender at the end of a year.⁴⁶ Nor was administrative life in Antioch and Edessa disrupted, although the king had been ruling them as well and was indeed "the centrepiece of the whole Frankish fabric" as Runciman puts it.⁴⁷ With three out of four states deprived of a head (the exception being Pons of Tripoli), it was indeed a remarkable situation that the fabric in question remained intact. Whereas Fulcher attributes this to God's lead-

⁴⁵ For "quos siquidem Balac, admiraldus quidam, tam astutia quam insidiis molitus intercepit," RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 429, instead of "they were craftily ambushed by Belek, a certain emir," as in the English translation.

⁴⁶ Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps de Croisades et la Principauté Franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 298.

⁴⁷ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 162-63.

ership of the Franks, modern historians have more practically attributed it to the solidity of the political and military structure of the Franks,⁴⁸ the entrenchment of Frankish domination and the idea of monarchy,⁴⁹ and finally the administrative ability of Baldwin and his predecessor⁵⁰ that had made these possible.

It is only after this point that the main body of Fulcher's narrative begins, and it was probably a conscious choice on his part to touch upon the capture of Baldwin and Joscelin very briefly, while relating their revolt at length. Otherwise it cannot be imagined that the chronicler could draw upon so much information about the events after the revolt, but hardly any about those before it. We have seen Fulcher's tendency to skip over the Franks' defeats but to dwell at length on their successes also in his extremely brief report of the Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* and lengthy description of the subsequent Battle of Tell Danith. For the present case, nevertheless, Fulcher had yet another motive in doing so, an apologetic one: he states that the story of how Baldwin and others escaped from Belek's prison "by God's mercy" is rather long, but "blessed with divine intervention and adorned with miracles." Relating it at length after the report of the victory against the Egyptians would serve to show, through the divine interventions and miraculous events involved, that God was firmly behind the Franks in the Levant, both the people and their leaders. The victory against the Egyptians had shown that God supported those Latin subjects who had been deprived of their princes, and the story of the escape would now demonstrate that He was behind the captured princes as well.

According to Fulcher the rescue operation in Kharput was neither an initiative on the part of the Armenians of Behisni, nor a plot that these concocted in collaboration with Geoffrey the Monk and the queen of Jerusalem, but a plan made by the cap-

⁴⁸ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 295.

⁴⁹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 588.

tives themselves in prison. These latter not only sought aid through messengers sent to friends in various localities, but also tried to conspire with the Armenians living around, so that in case they received aid from outside, these Armenians would not desist from helping them as well.⁵¹

After an agreement confirmed by gifts, promises and mutual oaths, Fulcher relates, fifty agents from Edessa were sent “very craftily” to Kharput for this matter. Disguised as humble pedlars, they managed to reach as far as the doors of the citadel. Here the commander of the guard was carelessly playing chess with a collaborator of the Franks, and approaching him on the pretext of complaining about an injury done to them, they slew him with daggers. As they seized the lances found there and “without hesitation smote and slew manfully,” a great clamor and tumult arose, with the Turks hurrying to the scene, nearly a hundred of them, only to be cut down like their commander. The king and his companions were immediately released from prison and, with some of them still in chains, ascended to the top of the citadel to raise the “standard of the Christians.” When this happened, Fulcher states exultingly, “the truth of the matter was made manifest.” He also notes that in the citadel there was a wife of Belek, dearer to him than the others he had.⁵² This might be the basis of a legendary story found in Orderic’s account about how Belek’s three wives supported and advised the Franks.

Before passing on to the story of Joscelin’s escape, Fulcher pauses to note that one night Belek had dreamed that the count was tearing out his eyes. When he reported this dream to his “priests” to learn its interpretation, they warned him that

⁵⁰ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 162-63.

⁵¹ “They would not desist from being loyal helpers” for “illi adjutores esse veri non desisterent,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 454, instead of “they would continue to be loyal helpers,” as in the English translation.

⁵² For “Et elevato in arcis apice Christianorum vexillo, rei veritas patefacta est. In eadem vero arce uxor erat Balac, ceteris quas habebat sibi carior,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 455, instead of

something like this would indeed happen to him if he ever fell into Joscelin's hands. Upon this, Fulcher relates, Belek sent some of his men to Kharput to kill Joscelin and ensure that this would never happen, but "thanks be to God" Joscelin had already escaped by this time. No doubt, the story of this dream was meant to prepare the ground for Fulcher's story of Belek's last battle with Joscelin, which erroneously shows the emir being defeated and killed. As we shall see, a similar dream is mentioned by Orderic Vitalis, along with a likewise fictitious report on Belek's manner of death.

Fulcher states like most of the other Christian sources that the castle was surrounded by the Turks immediately after the revolt, blocking all exit and entry. Under these conditions, he relates, the king and his men took counsel about the way to save themselves. In accordance with their decision, Joscelin stole away from the castle at night with three servants. Placing his life in danger, and "with fear as well as boldness," he slipped through the besiegers in the moonlight, and in order to assure the king of his safety, sent him his ring with one of the servants. Fleeing and hiding, marching mostly by night, the count reached the Euphrates, Fulcher notes, his shoes were so worn out as to leave him almost bare footed. As he did not know how to swim and there were no boats around, he crossed the river on inflated wine-skins, supported by his companions on each side. Exhausted, starving, thirsty, and out of breath, with nobody around to help him and his companions, Joscelin sent one of the servants to find a peasant and buy bread. Then he dropped off to sleep under a tree, not forgetting to camouflage himself with brambles and brush.

Fulcher proceeds to relate that the servant indeed found an Armenian peasant and brought him to Joscelin, but the man happened to recognize the count despite the

"Thus the truth was made manifest. In this same citadel were the wife of Belek and others dear to him," as in the English translation.

latter's protestations to the contrary. Finally Joscelin relented, however, and related the story of his captivity and escape. He begged the peasant not to betray him but instead to lead him in safety to Tell Bashir, and promised him money as well as new properties in his domain. The peasant replied that he would help Joscelin without taking anything in return, because the count had once kindly allowed him to eat bread with him and now he wanted to return this kindness. At this point Fulcher apparently intended his readers to draw the moral that the great should treat even the humblest of their subjects kindly, considering that they might one day become so lowly as to require their help. We shall see that he touches upon this theme in two further instances in his account.

The humble peasant even wanted to feast the count with a pig, Fulcher continues, but the latter rejected this in order not to arouse suspicion amongst the poor-man's neighbors. In accordance with the agreement they made, the Armenian went to bring back all he had, his wife, little daughter and two brothers, as well as a small ass and two oxen, entrusting himself to Joscelin whom he called "a man prudent and most wise." Reporting that the count mounted the peasant's little ass, Fulcher cannot help observing that in former days he had been accustomed to ride the finest mule. He notes that Joscelin carried the baby girl to appear as if he were her father and thus to camouflage himself better. For some time, however, he was concerned about the crying and screaming of the baby, considering whether it would be safer to proceed alone. But he was unwilling to upset the peasant, and so endured the situation until Tell Bashir. Upon the count's arrival there, Fulcher states with a melodramatic flourish, "we cannot doubt with what great joy all rejoiced, what tears flowed for very joy, and what sighs there were." The peasant was also remunerated without delay for his kindness, receiving two yokes of oxen in place of his existing one.

Fulcher goes on to relate how Joscelin proceeded from Tell Bashir to Antioch and then to Jerusalem, where he thanked God and made an offering of his two fetters on Mount Calvary, “in memory of his captivity and the glory of his liberation.” Interestingly, Fulcher indicates that one of these chains was made of silver. If true, this could be an evidence for the honorary treatment accorded to captives of high rank by Belek and possibly other Muslim emirs. After this, Fulcher reports, Joscelin hurried with the army of Jerusalem and the Holy Cross to the aid of Baldwin and others in Kharput. Before proceeding further, he returns to the morals to be derived from such cases of the great toppled from their position, and drives home the point:

Blessed be the universal God who so regulates His will and His power that when He wishes He casts down the mighty from on high and raises the lowly from the dust. So in the morning Baldwin ruled as king; in the evening, however, he served as slave. No less happened to Joscelin. It is quite clear that nothing in this world is certain, nothing stable and nothing agreeable for long. Consequently it is not good to sigh for terrestrial goods, but it is better to keep the heart always turned toward God. Let us not put our trust in worldly goods lest we lose eternal life.

Fulcher goes on to relate that the army of Jerusalem joined with the troops of Tripoli and Antioch in the latter city and proceeded to Tell Bashir. When they arrived there, however, they learned that the king had been captured again and imprisoned in Harran.⁵³ Upon this they turned around to Aleppo, Fulcher reports in parallel with Ibn al-Adim and the Anonymous Syriac, and “desiring to gain something for themselves,” devastated and destroyed everything outside the walls. They also warded off a sortie made from inside. At this point the troops of Jerusalem decided to return home, suffering a shortage of food and having nothing left to accomplish. Fulcher reports a raid that they carried out on their way against the Muslims east of the Jor-

⁵³ “But when they reached Tell Bashir, it was reported to them that the king had been captured again, and that the town in which he had been shut up this time was called Harran,” for “Sed quum Turbezzel pervenissent, intimatur eis regem denuo esse captum, et oppidum in quo clausus erat Carram nominatum,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 457, instead of “But when they all reached Tell Bashir, they learned that the king and the castle, called Kharput, in which he had been blockaded, were captured

dan. He also notes that Joscelin stayed behind in the territory of Antioch, and we have already seen Ibn al-Adim relate the raids he made against Aleppo and Shabakh-tan.

Returning to the events at Kharput, Fulcher relates that Belek hurried to this castle upon learning what had happened. At first he tried peaceful methods, promising to grant the king hostages and safe conduct to Edessa or Antioch if he would hand over the castle. When this offer was refused, he reportedly went wild with rage and threatened to storm the castle to exact vengeance from Baldwin and the others. Accordingly he ordered mining operations to be conducted on the rock underlying the castle. When the props supporting the mine were set to fire, the nearest tower collapsed with a loud crash.

As the flames flared up amongst the debris, Fulcher states deplorably, the king was terrified by the unexpected event and chilled by his disappointment and dejection, with the result that both he and his men “lost their courage along with their judgment.” In this state of mind, Fulcher writes in a somewhat sardonic tone, they surrendered as suppliants to Belek’s mercy, “expecting nothing more than punishment according to their deserts.” He reports that Belek spared the lives of Baldwin, his nephew and Galeran, but took vengeance on the Armenians who had aided them by hanging, flaying, or cutting them in two. The king and his companions were then taken to Harran. Fulcher’s testimony about Belek’s method of capturing the castle and the punishments he meted out to the Armenians is confirmed by Matthew’s version.

Fulcher concludes his account with the interesting proviso that on account of the event’s distance from Jerusalem, he had experienced difficulty in acquiring cer-

again,” as in the English translation. Compare Harold Fink’s note in Fulcher of Chartres, *History*, 252, n.2.

tain information about it. Despite this, the chronicler assures his readers, he had set down what others had told him as exactly as possible.

8.2.1.10 William of Tyre

William of Tyre mostly follows Fulcher of Chartres in his account, but does not seem wholly dependent on him. Apparently he could draw upon other sources as well, and some of these may have been the descendants of the actors involved in the event, notably Baldwin II and Joscelin I.

Whereas Fulcher had given short shrift to the capture of Joscelin and Galeran, William skips it altogether and begins directly with the story of how Baldwin came to be captured. He relates that the people of Antioch sought help from the king against Belek, “a magnificent and powerful Turkish prince,” who was harassing the region with frequent incursions. At this point William reveals that Belek had captured Joscelin and Galeran by a surprise attack, and explains that it was this event that had rendered him so confident in his raids. Upon Baldwin’s arrival in the north, he continues, Belek lessened his activity and avoided a direct confrontation with him. The historian attributes this to the emir’s knowledge of the difficulty of defeating the king, who was renowned for his success in battles. Despite this, he notes, Belek followed the king at a distance with his light-armed horsemen, being on the lookout for an opportunity to injure his troops. Apparently William was unaware of the fact that Belek was besieging Gargar at the time, and tells the story as if he had been following Baldwin from the start.

Due to this lack of information William also fails to report that the king’s motive in marching towards the Jazira was to raise the siege of Gargar, as the Muslim sources state, or to bring corn supplies in aid to it, as the Anonymous indicates. Nor does he claim like Matthew of Edessa that Baldwin intended to avenge Joscelin and

Galeran. William's explanation is rather that the king wanted to put the defences of the County of Edessa in order and thus to assist its people who were deprived of a leader. He relates that Baldwin first took care of the cis-Euphratian part of the County where he examined the conditions, ensuring that the fortresses were well defended and adequately provided with arms and provisions. Then the king crossed into Mesopotamia for the same task, but while he was on the way one night, accompanied by his private following, all sleepy and marching incautiously, they were suddenly attacked by Belek. William explains that the emir had received intelligence of their march and laid an ambush. In this way he was able to take advantage of the unprepared condition of Baldwin's escort, and as they fled in different directions, carried off the king.

This version of the events cannot be accepted, however, since William seems to be confusing the campaign in which Baldwin fell captive with the trip he made seven months earlier, after Joscelin's capture, to put the defences of Edessa in order.⁵⁴ Cahen seems to have been misled by William on this point when he states that the king, after he had established Geoffrey the Monk in Edessa as his lieutenant, marched to drive off the Turkish raiders on the plateau north of the Euphrates, but was captured just after crossing the Sanja river.⁵⁵ William notes that Baldwin was imprisoned along with Joscelin and Galeran in Kharput, and reports like Fulcher that Eustace Garnier was elected regent in Acre "until the dayspring from on High should visit the king and restore him to liberty."

William diverges from the previous sources in reporting more than one version of how the captives in Kharput were rescued by the Armenians, without directly committing himself to one of them. Thus he first relates an account reminiscent of

⁵⁴ See the account of the Anonymous.

⁵⁵ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 295-96. See Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 586-87 for a similar error.

Matthew's version that certain Armenians, upon hearing that the "great chiefs of the Christian faith were being held in captivity," courageously resolved on their own to attempt a rescue and made a plan for that purpose. However, William also reports in a way reminiscent of Fulcher's account that it was Joscelin who summoned them from his prison, promising a very liberal reward to induce them to undertake this dangerous task. William does not indicate whether the Armenians' hometown was Edessa or Behisni, but like Fulcher gives their number as fifty. He also cites Fulcher in stating that according to one version these men gained admittance into the fortress as merchants selling cheap wares.

Nevertheless, William also presents another version of how the Armenians managed to penetrate the castle. According to this they went to the castle disguised as monks, in tears but with daggers hidden under their robes, as if to complain to the governor about the treatment they had received at the hands of certain individuals. Upon being granted entry to the castle, they cut down all who opposed them and released Baldwin and Joscelin. The Turks living around hurried to besiege the citadel until Belek's arrival, William relates citing Fulcher, but Joscelin managed to set out with three companions to bring aid, as the king had decided, and sent back his ring with the third companion to report his success in eluding the enemy.

Unlike Fulcher, William does not continue with the story of Joscelin's escape at this point, but proceeds to relate how Belek recovered Kharput. He cites Fulcher's tale about Belek dreaming that Joscelin blinded him and sending men to execute the count, and uses this episode to explain how the emir got wind of the events; he relates that the men he dispatched to cut off Joscelin's head approached the citadel only to see that it had been taken by the captives. Thereupon they returned with speed to report this to Belek, who summoned his troops from all around and hurried to

blockade the citadel. William follows Fulcher for the rest of the story, relating that Belek offered Baldwin and his companions safe conduct to Edessa if they peacefully surrendered the castle. But this was rejected by the king who trusted in the strength of the citadel, bolstered further by the captives. The enraged Belek then set the sappers to undermine the cretaceous hill under the citadel, and when fire was set to the tunnel props, one of the towers collapsed. Immediately upon this the king made an unconditional surrender, for fear that the entire edifice might come down.

Citing Fulcher, William indicates that Baldwin, his nephew, and Galeran were granted their life, but the “valiant and faithful Armenians” who had helped them were given over to torture. In addition to the tortures mentioned by Fulcher, he also states that some were buried alive and some used as targets for archery practice. “Though they suffered torture in this world,” the historian remarks, “these men had a sure hope of immortal life; though they were tried in a few things, yet, from another point of view, their reward was great.”

William follows Fulcher also in the account of Joscelin’s march, albeit only in a shortened form and without the episode about the Armenian peasant who helped the count. Marching in constant fear and with great caution, he relates, Joscelin crossed the Euphrates on inflated wine-skins, and despite hunger, thirst and weariness, finally reached Tell Bashir “by the mercy of God.” Proceeding via Antioch to Jerusalem, he begged the patriarch and the princes to send relief without delay. Upon his entreaties “the people of the entire kingdom assembled as one man,” William says, and taking along the Holy Cross as well as the reinforcements, they marched to Tell Bashir. Here they learned about Belek’s recovery of Kharput. In order to have accomplished something before returning home, they decided to attack the city of Aleppo on their way. After defeating the populace who made a sortie against them,

they stayed four days before the city despite the further efforts of the defenders. William ends his account with Fulcher's report of the foray that the returning troops of Jerusalem made into Muslim territory across the river Jordan.

8.2.1.11 Orderic Vitalis

Orderic Vitalis' account⁵⁶ smacks strongly of legend, and is quite confused in chronology and otherwise. And yet it is interesting for the impressions of Belek and his world that it conveys from distant Normandy, where Orderic was writing.

It is interesting to observe at the beginning of Orderic's account that he knows Ilghazi to have been the *shihna* of Baghdad, even though he confuses him with Belek. He also seems aware of the marriage of Ilghazi and then Belek with Ridwan's daughter, though he falsely states that it was through this marriage that Belek received his "kingdom" of Aleppo.⁵⁷ His next statement that the emir "waged fierce war against the Christians for a long time" is also applicable to both Ilghazi and Belek, perhaps more to the former given the indication "for a long time."

With considerable chronological confusion, Orderic makes it appear as if Belek's siege of Manbij on the eve of his death had begun before his capture of the Frankish leaders. He also arouses the impression that all the princes were captured around the same time. According to his version, "this old warrior" was besieging Manbij and "taking pride in the losses of Christians" when he learnt that Baldwin, Joscelin and others were coming to Edessa to celebrate the Easter festival there. So he withdrew quietly from the siege with forty thousand men, and first captured Joscelin and Galeran on the advance guard. Then he hid in a thick wood "like a wolf" to

⁵⁶ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, edited and translated by Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1978), VI, 109-25 (XI.26).

ambush the unsuspecting king at the bridge in that location. After the king was taken prisoner with thirty-five nights, Orderic relates, Belek dispatched his troops like “raging tigers” to slaughter the chaplains and unarmed men who had preceded the king and his escort. He points out as significant that these were all “butchered like sheep on Holy Saturday.” Again with chronological confusion, he asserts that Belek, “overjoyed at his great fortune,” took the captives first to Harran and then to Kharput. The fine and very well fortified tower found here, he informs his readers, was “one of the most famous citadels anywhere of those that make the glory of tyrants.”

Orderic indicates that the Frankish prisoners stayed in Kharput for a year, and counts among them, alongside Baldwin, Joscelin and Galeran, also Pons, vicomte of Gavarret; the young knight Gervase of Dol; Guy the Breton, son of Count Alan; and thirty-two other knights. These latter, especially Gervase of Dol and Guy the Breton are probably based on real figures whose stories later got embroidered in literature and acquired a legendary character. Claude Cahen indicates that episodes involving them in Orderic’s work bear a close resemblance to those in the *chansons des chétifs*, having probably been garnered by the historian from the jongleurs he personally met.⁵⁸ Orderic also notes that the Franks encountered forty Armenian and Jacobite prisoners captured previously and brought to Kharput.

Again with chronological confusion, Orderic states that Belek assembled a great army after this and went to besiege Zardana. This is no doubt a reflection of the campaign that Ilghazi had made in 1122 against that castle, taking along Belek with him. Nevertheless, Orderic’s relation of the episode is still interesting for its perfec-

⁵⁷ For Belek’s marriage with Farkhunda Hatun, Ridwan’s daughter see Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 640; *Azīmī Tarihi*, 39 (Arabic) and 47 (Turkish) (517: 1123-1124); Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kāmil fī ‘t-Tarih*, X, 483 and *Chronicle*, 245 (517: 1123-1124).

⁵⁸ See Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 111, n. 6; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 573-74.

tive of religious confrontation. He asserts that Belek believed the Christians to be leaderless, and so hurried to attack them, but his long siege of the town proved unfruitful as “the mighty Lord of Hosts strengthened the Christian garrisons.”

As for the prisoners back in Kharput, Orderic has apparently lots of things to relate about them, albeit mostly of a legendary character. Before leaving Kharput Belek entrusted them to three hundred and fifty knights, he asserts, and ordered these latter to starve the king into surrendering the castles in his hands. The other Franks save Joscelin were assigned to perform daily tasks under guard, like carrying water, and since they obeyed the commands given and cheerfully carried out their duties, the “pagan guards” treated them kindly and fed them well, as one would do with good beasts of burden. The guards also treated the carefully watched king and count with respect, Orderic states, since Baldwin gave meals to all three hundred and fifty of them, as well as other prisoners, with the desire to purchase their goodwill. In turn the guards disobeyed Belek, who had ordered the king to be allowed food only on Sundays and Thursdays, and secretly feasted Baldwin on the other days as well. Orderic also notes the interesting but rather doubtful detail that the emir of Qal‘at Ja‘bar (Salim ibn Malik), who was reportedly the uncle of a wife of Belek’s, assisted Baldwin by sending him a hundred bezants every week.

So much for the relatively positive portrayal of the “pagan guards” in Orderic’s narrative. It was out of cunning calculation that the “heathens” often regarded the Christians with favor, Orderic stresses again, and utters a curse: “may their dog’s faith perish eternally!” He relates how, during their festivals, they had twice picked up a Christian knight by lot, and binding him to a stake, made sport of the hapless man by shooting arrows at him. This episode might in fact be related with the punishments Belek meted out to the Franks and Armenians after his recovery of

Kharput, since their use as targets for archery practice is mentioned by William among these punishments. Whatever the case, Orderic uses this episode as a convenient transition from his almost idyllic depiction of the prisoners' life to the relation of their uprising, and puts it forward as the reason why they finally decided to revolt: stricken with grief upon seeing their companions perish in this way, the captives had supposedly "resolved that it was far nobler to die than to live wretchedly."

According to Orderic's dubious version of the revolt, the captives thus finally renewed their courage, and after making the guards drunk on one Sunday, following a royal banquet, they killed them all with the aid of the Jacobite and Armenian prisoners, gaining mastery of the entire citadel. Not content with this, and contrary to all the other sources, Orderic adds that they next burst out into the lower city, slaughtering "many thousands of pagans" and taking their goods as booty (although the actual habitants of Kharput were mostly Armenians). In this way, he claims, the captives were able to hold the castle for eight months before they dispatched Joscelin and Geoffrey le Grele (this might be the same person as Geoffrey the Monk, given that "grele" meant pock-marked and Geoffrey the Monk himself was a leper) to seek help from "all Christendom." In this connection Robert Nicholson questions whether Joscelin was indeed accompanied by Geoffrey le Grele, arguing that the danger of their being noticed by the enemy would have been increased.⁵⁹ But we have seen the other Latin sources state unequivocally that Joscelin was accompanied by three others on his escape, one of whom later returned to report the count's safety to the king.

Another element in Orderic's version that seems to have a basis of truth is his report that the queen of Jerusalem, an Armenian by birth, sent "a thousand trustworthy Armenians in Turkish clothes with Turkish weapons" to help her husband. Enter-

⁵⁹ Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 66, n. 363.

ing the citadel upon reaching Kharput, these proved to be of great help to the Franks “because of their knowledge of the language and cunning ways of the Turks.” Evidently the number of the Armenians is grossly exaggerated, and Orderic does not reveal that it was these men rather than the captives who took the initiative in the rescue operation and killed the guards, but still he seems to corroborate the Anonymous’s report that Baldwin’s queen played an active role (together with Geoffrey the Monk) in the dispatch of the Armenians on this mission.

Orderic is the only source beside Fulcher to relate Joscelin’s encounter with a peasant while on his way to bring help. In his version, nevertheless, this is a Turk rather than an Armenian, traveling from Mesopotamia to Syria with his wife sitting on a little ass. On recognizing Joscelin, despite the latter’s denial, he reportedly told the count that he had been a servant in his house for a few years, being delighted to wait upon even the humblest of his dependants. Although he had eventually returned among his countrymen he was now on his way back to join the Christians, for his kinsfolk were “infidels” and he had been living more happily among the Christians than among them. This particular twist that Orderic gives to the story reveals once again the perspective of religious confrontation evident in his account of the seizure of the citadel. Presently we shall see him attribute a similar willingness to convert to Belek’s wives in Kharput.

Orderic proceeds to relate how the Turkish peasant confessed that he had long been distressed by the misfortunes of Joscelin and his men, and was now willing to guide him to Antioch. The count and his “barbarian” companion cheerfully changed clothes upon this, and took turns in carrying the man’s six-year-old daughter as he led the way. Although Orderic asserts on the one hand that they were not recognized while passing through cities and castles, he also states paradoxically that the

count spoke to all they met on the journey and noble Christians followed him like humble slaves, “praying silently to the lord of hosts for the safety of the whole party.” This is no doubt another effort on the part of Orderic to emphasize Christian solidarity, just like his report about how the indigenous Christian captives in Kharput had joined forces with the Franks to kill the guards. Upon arriving home, he states, Joscelin had the peasant baptized with his whole family, enriched them with great possessions, and betrothed the little girl with great honor to a Christian knight. Thus in Orderic’s romantic version Joscelin’s saving angel was rewarded with much more than the mundane gift of two yokes of oxen reported by Fulcher.

Returning to Kharput to relate Belek’s recovery of the castle, Orderic indulges in even more legendary material than so far in the account. We have seen Fulcher mention the presence of Belek’s dearest wife in the citadel of Kharput. Orderic raises this number to three, one of whom he says was “Fatima, the daughter of Ali the king of Medes,” who was the most beautiful and influential; the second was Ridwan’s daughter; and the third was the daughter of the emir of Qal‘at Ja‘bar (or his niece, according to Orderic’s previous indication about the emir’s relationship with Belek). It was reportedly Ridwan’s daughter who notified Belek of the revolt by means of a letter she sent attached to the neck of a dove. At the time, Orderic notes wrongly, the emir was besieging Zardana with a hundred thousand troops. Being alarmed on receiving the letter, he raised the siege at once and hurried back to Kharput, summoning additional forces from far and wide to invest it for eight months.

Orderic remarks that Baldwin and his men put up a noble defence against Belek’s siege, and were encouraged by the abundant riches and goods stored in the castle to stand their ground until Joscelin’s return. In a way that would seem congruent with Ibn al-Athir’s assertion that the king rejected Joscelin’s proposal to leave the

castle because of his greed for the wealth hoarded there, and also with the Anonymous's report that the Franks in Jerusalem and elsewhere rejoiced over the wealth to be captured from Belek's base, Orderic states that immense treasures were kept in great halls and chambers at the citadel: "heaps of gold and silver and precious stones, purple and silk, and an abundance of all riches." Beside this, he indicates, an ingeniously designed underground canal supplied plentiful water for all needs, and there were enough bread, wine and meat stored to "feed a thousand knights for ten years."

Orderic relates that Belek was alarmed under these conditions and repeatedly entreated the king to release his wives. Interestingly the historian had no doubts that the emir shared the notions of courtly culture, only just budding at that time in Latin Europe, about the respect owed to the fair sex by honorable knights. "What a disgraceful crime to treat noble ladies with cruelty and oppress them shamefully!" he has Belek exclaim. "Why do you shackle queens of royal blood as if they were thieves or traitors? Your acts are a disgrace to your race and will be a shameful blot on your religion to the end of time." He reportedly promised to withdraw for a year, until Joscelin would arrive, if his wives were restored to him.

The king and his men were at a loss about how to respond to this proposal, Orderic relates, when Belek's most beautiful and influential wife Fatima spoke up. She implored them not to pay heed to her husband's false promises and informed them that the emir was in fact afraid that his wives' relatives, lords of "the greater part of the lands of the East," would fight to death with him should the Franks kill the women when he attacked them. Pointing out in addition the impregnability of the castle and the abundance of the arms and provisions stored in it, she warned the Franks to guard against the "deadly intrigues of [their] deceitful enemy" and to wait until the arrival of reinforcements. Like her husband, Fatima is also represented as

quite knowledgeable about the culture of chivalry in the making in contemporary Europe: Orderic shows her calling on the Franks to remember the “marvellous deeds of the heroic lords” chanted every day by their jongleurs, and to “fight bravely in Frankish fashion... for fear that a shameful song should be sung about [them] in every land.”

Passing to a different register, Orderic then relates how Fatima declared her willingness to “receive the heavenly sacraments of the Christians” if they could manage to escape safely with the Franks, being heartily joined in this by the other two wives. She reportedly asserted that they were “more willing to endure this imprisonment than to take part with idolaters in the worship of demons,” while they welcomed the Franks’ “kind customs” and “wished well to [their] faith and religion.” Thus, after Joscelin’s one-time Turkish servant, Orderic represents Belek’s wives as willing to embrace the Christian religion too. Whereas Fulcher used the whole story to press home the need of the great to keep in mind that they could be humbled one day, Orderic uses it as an opportunity to vindicate Christian faith through the mouth of “infidels.” He states that the encouragement provided by the words of these “alien women” profited the Christians, emboldening them to hold on to the citadel for many more days.

Nevertheless, the historian states with a covertly critical tone that King Baldwin was finally worn down, and yielding to Belek’s requests, returned his wives against their wish. The five knights who escorted them, including Guy the Breton and Gervase of Dol, were reportedly taken prisoner by the “tyrant... false Belek,” who gave them to the aforementioned “Ali, king of the Medes.” Sent by the latter to the caliph, who turned them over to the sultan, they received their freedom along with many rich gifts, and remained by the sultan for another three and a half years,

being honored greatly, before they returned to Antioch in the fourth year. At this point the historian offers a digression of highly legendary quality about the marvels and riches that the captives saw in the East and the admiration they attracted there, notably from the “daughters of kings.” Nevertheless, Orderic’s statement that David II of Georgia and Thoros of Armenia offered safe conduct to the captives on their way back to Antioch suggests that the princes in question may indeed have played a role in their ransoming, and so this story about the captivity of a number of knights at the hands of the Great Seljukids may have a grain of truth to it.⁶⁰

Upon their arrival in Antioch, Orderic continues, the captives learned that King Baldwin had again fallen into Belek’s hands, and his companions had been butchered. He goes on to relate how this had come to take place: when, after eight months, Joscelin set out with a great army for Kharput, having sent for aid to the Byzantine emperor John Comnenus as well as to the Greeks and Armenians living around, Belek had already laid siege to the castle and was entreating the king to surrender. He repeatedly promised to him on oath that he would be free to go wherever he chose and take whatever he asked for. Going over to explicit criticism this time, Orderic states that the king, “exhausted by the long imprisonment and too ready to trust the treacherous infidel, surrendered the tower to the scandal of the Christians and delight of the pagans.”

When the captives emerged from the castle, Orderic continues, Belek ordered four teeth of the king to be drawn out, after which he was thrown into a dungeon to endure still worse hardships for another four years. He asserts that Galeran was also mutilated, with his left eye put out and the veins of his right arm cut off to prevent him from using a lance ever again. Orderic indicates that Galeran died after this op-

⁶⁰ See Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 122, n. 1.

eration, although we know from Michael the Syrian that he was actually executed by Timurtash two years later.⁶¹ He adds that Belek ordered the other knights, along with the forty Jacobites and Armenians, to be beheaded as well, and offers a prayer on their behalf: “May they live with Christ whose faith they confessed, and whom they served as long as they lived!”

Orderic relates in conclusion that Joscelin received the news of the event on his way to Kharput, and stopped to break into loud lamentations with the entire Christian army. “The news of the calamity,” he says, “spread all over the world, causing Christians to mourn and pagans to rejoice.” Without mentioning the Franks’ depredations around Aleppo, he notes that a council was held after which the Frankish army disbanded and each went about his own business.

Considered overall, what is particularly notable in Orderic’s account is the sharp perspective of religious confrontation, with Belek being portrayed as a treacherous “infidel” waging fierce war against Christians, and with Muslims, including Belek’s wives, shown eager to embrace Christianity.

8.2.2 *The course of events*

In the light of these considerations, the following course of events seems plausible: while Belek was returning from the Syrian campaign after Ilghazi’s illness, he sent off the major part of his four thousand troops to plunder in the County of Edessa, particularly around al-Bira, while he himself remained with four or eight hundred troops near Saruj. Joscelin and Galeran were also on their way home, Joscelin having taken along Roger of Antioch’s sister as his second bride. When the two princes heard of the raids, and perhaps also of Belek’s presence thereabouts, Galeran urged Joscelin to pursue the Turks, since his lordship at al-Bira was the butt of ag-

⁶¹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, 225. See section 9.1 for further details.

gression. Doing so, they reached the place where Belek was encamped with his remaining troops at a spot surrounded by marshes. When the Franks got stuck in the mud the Turks showered them with arrows, and Joscelin as well as Galeran were taken captive (13 September 1122). Belek tried to exploit this hardly expected stroke of luck by pressing them to surrender Edessa and other places, but they refused and were imprisoned in a pit at his central base, Kharput. The other Franks taken captive, twenty-five knights in all, were taken to Balu, possibly along with Joscelin's new wife. Upon this Baldwin came from Antioch to Edessa to put the defences of the County in order, installing there a garrison under the lord of Mar'ash, Geoffrey the Monk, who was to act as regent for Joscelin.

The king returned to the region about seven months later, when Belek ravaged the lands of Kahta and Hisn Mansur and laid siege to Gargar. The latter had been handed over by its Armenian lord to Baldwin, on account of the relentless depredations carried out by Belek's Turkomans. Not wishing to see Belek grow more powerful, Baldwin hurried north to raise the siege as well as to stop the ravages. Probably hearing of the king's approach, Belek abandoned the siege for the time being and set out to confront him. The two armies came near each other around the bridge of Sanja, without being aware of each other's presence at first. But the Turks eventually noticed the Franks and lay in ambush. Attacking the king as he was separated from the main army with a small detachment, either because he had crossed the bridge in the vanguard, or perhaps because he had gone on a hunt after pitching camp, they caught him at Turush (18 April 1123). Belek had more success taking advantage of this opportunity than in the previous case, and received the surrender of Gargar on having Baldwin tortured in front of its walls; he had already received the

surrender of Hisn Mansur before this. Then the king and his nephew (probably Manasses de Hierges) were imprisoned in Kharput together with Joscelin and Galeran.

After Baldwin's capture Geoffrey of Mar'ash assumed the regency of Antioch as well, while in the kingdom of Jerusalem regency was first given to Eustace of Garnier, lord of Caesarea and Sidon, and upon to his death to William Bures, lord of Tiberias. An opportunistic attack made by the Egyptians against Ascalon (May 1123), in order to take advantage of Baldwin's absence, was successfully warded off with the help of the Venetian fleet.

Evidently, the capture of Joscelin and Baldwin did not jeopardize the three Frankish states that were deprived of a head, largely thanks to their solid political and military structure consolidated by Baldwin I and II. But it was still an important event insofar as it prevented the Franks from completing the encirclement of Aleppo and attacking it directly. Baldwin was hampered in his efforts to realize this plan by the increased administrative burden he had to shoulder after Joscelin's capture, and Joscelin saw himself in a similar situation after his escape from Kharput. That Belek effectively acted as a good defender of Aleppo through his capture of these formidable enemies is evident from the fact that the release of the king after his death was immediately followed by an ambitious siege of Aleppo that brought it to the brink of being taken. Belek also acquired great prestige among the Turkomans with this accomplishment, and they came to join him from all around to partake in his incursions against the Franks. This reveals one of the ways in which the Artukids profited from their contiguity with the Franks, when their contacts with Antioch and Edessa were at a maximum.

In the months following Baldwin's capture a plot was hatched to rescue the prisoners in Kharput, with varying degrees of contribution by Joscelin and other cap-

tives, Baldwin's Armenian queen Morphia, Geoffrey the Monk, and the Armenian troops in the nearby castle of Behisni. At a time when Belek was conveniently away in Syria with his troops, between fifteen and fifty men went from Behisni to Kharput, disguised according to different versions as monks/peasants desiring to complain of a certain injury inflicted on them, as sellers of wares, or as quarreling plaintiffs, and succeeded in penetrating the citadel by killing the guards at the gate. Their task was perhaps eased by the drunken state of the governor and the rest of the garrison who were holding a banquet. The prisoners were released and took hold of the citadel, being assisted in this by local Armenians from the lower city who joined them at this stage.

But the Turks in the city and its environs immediately sent a messenger to notify Belek, who was besieging Kafartab at the time, and hurried in masses to invest the castle closely. Either because of the quickness of this blockade, or their desire to weaken Belek by holding on to his headquarters and treasury as long as possible, if not for good, Baldwin and the other Franks did not attempt to flee. Instead they sent off Joscelin on the first night (28 July 1123) to collect reinforcements from Antioch and Jerusalem, so that he could return to garrison the castle, if possible, or at least take them away in safety. Slipping through the ranks of besiegers with a few companions, and assisted by an Armenian peasant whom he met on his way, Joscelin managed to reach Tell Bashir and proceeded via Antioch to Jerusalem.

Belek acted with remarkable speed, however, covering the distance between Kafartab and Kharput within a fortnight. His offer to grant safe conduct in return for the surrender of the castle was rejected by the king, who hoped to defend the apparently impregnable citadel until Joscelin would arrive with reinforcements. It turned out to be not so impregnable as he had imagined, however, since the underlying rock

could be undermined, and consequently the tower on the water supply collapsed. Growing afraid that it would be followed by other sections of the walls, and probably also because the water supply was cut off by the debris, Baldwin sent Galeran to surrender the castle (16 September 1123). Only these two princes and Baldwin's nephew were left alive by the outraged Belek, who took them to a prison in Harran, while the rest were killed with various tortures.

Joscelin and Geoffrey the Monk received the news only when they had reached Tell Bashir with the troops of Jerusalem and Antioch. In retaliation, and also to put the already assembled army to some use at least, they turned around to Aleppo and raided its territory for four days, also repelling a sortie made by the Aleppans. Some degree of religious animosity was displayed by the count in these raids, with the destruction of two mosques as well as mausoleums and tombs. Joscelin continued the depredations around Aleppo and in the Butnan valley even after the departure of the army of Jerusalem, and carried these ravages across the Euphrates, into Shabakh-tan as well. One reaction of the Aleppans against his attacks was to make repeated sorties, although most of their horses assembled in al-Gharib were driven off by Joscelin and Alan of al-Atharib.

The success of these sorties remained very limited, but the destruction of mosques and mausoleums also gave rise to a spirit of jihad among the populace, carrying it beyond the narrow circle of pietists who had so far promoted it: the *qadi* Ibn al-Khashshab demanded the Jacobite and Melkite churches in Aleppo finance the reconstruction of the destroyed mosques, but this was rejected in order not to create a precedent. When he took the retaliatory step of ordering the church buildings to be converted into mosques, thousands of volunteers showed up with axes and

spades to carry out the order. The Jacobite and Melkite bishops also found themselves compelled to flee from the city.

8.3 Belek's takeover of Aleppo and other conquests in the meanwhile

As we saw in the last chapter, the eastern frontier of the Principality of Antioch had finally been restored to its former extent through Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman's cession of al-Atharib in April 1123. Perhaps the next step might have been a direct attack on Aleppo itself, even though the power balance in the north had shifted in favor of the Turks after Joscelin's capture. But this possibility was nullified too when, just at this point, Baldwin himself was caught and sent to prison to join the count. Thus, at a time when Aleppo was still ruled by the highly inefficient Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman, who was moreover deprived of the resources of Diyar Bakr that had been used by Ilghazi, Belek contributed greatly in effect to its defense against the Frankish offensive.

Under these conditions it is not surprising that the first thing Belek undertook after the capture of the Frankish princes was first to seize Harran, which was a key strategic point for the communications between the Jazira and Aleppo, and then to take hold of Aleppo itself. The reason why he chose to do so, instead of directly attacking the Franks, was both because he must have felt that he deserved better to rule Aleppo than his inefficient cousin, thanks to his already great services and ability to bring Turkomans from Diyar Bakr, and most importantly because it was only by actually holding the city that he could hope to provide it with the effective and steady support it needed against Frankish encroachments. As we shall see, this was exactly how Belek himself presented his purpose to the notables of Aleppo: not to annex it for self-aggrandizement, but to ward off the Franks from it. This statement does not necessarily need to be viewed with cynicism. Just as in the case of Ilghazi, Belek's

strategy was strictly limited to the defense of Aleppo, without either making it his main center or using it as a base to try and expel the Franks from Antioch and elsewhere.

In this respect the criticism of some scholars that Belek did not adequately take advantage of his capture of the Latin princes and concomitant prestige to deliver the “death-blow” to the Franks seems hardly more justified than the criticism they direct at Ilghazi for having failed to attack Antioch after his victory at *Ager Sanguinis*. The most succinct example of this approach comes from Runciman who writes: “The emir Belek had conquered a vast prestige; but he used it, not to deliver a death-blow against the Franks, but to establish himself in Aleppo.”⁶² Işın Demirkent similarly remarks that Belek won a great success on behalf of the world of Islam and attained to “inextinguishable fame” with his capture of the king, but then he could not take advantage of this superior position to deliver the death-blow to the Franks. Since the emir concentrated all his attention on seizing Aleppo, she says, his fight against them remained at an inadequate level.⁶³ Coşkun Alptekin expresses the same view in his encyclopaedia article on Belek.⁶⁴

Such criticisms do not seem acceptable. We have seen in the previous section that the robust political and military structure of the Frankish principalities ensured that they remained intact and powerful even after being deprived of their original rulers. Accordingly they were far from lying prostrate, waiting helplessly for the final “death-blow” to be delivered, as these scholars seem to assume. This is also demonstrated by the raids that the Franks of Tell Bashir made against Aleppo upon Joscelin’s capture, or again by the siege of Tyre undertaken during Baldwin’s captivity. Belek himself must also have been aware that the strength of the Crusader states en-

⁶² Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 163.

⁶³ Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 37.

dured even after his capture of their leaders — all the more so as he had not destroyed an important Frankish army like his uncle Ilghazi.

For the same reason, Demirkent and Alptekin are also unjustified when they assert that Belek's aim after capturing Aleppo was to undertake an all-out offensive against the Franks, having bolstered his power in the meanwhile with his new city. Imad al-Din Khalil expresses a similar view when he states that Belek's purpose in taking Aleppo was to use it as a base in Syria to achieve solid results in his jihad against the Crusaders, just as Ilghazi had managed to score many victories against them following his takeover of Aleppo.⁶⁵ Belek's aim, like that of Ilghazi, was not to make war on the Franks and score victories against them *per se*, but to defend Aleppo against their encirclement and thus to ensure that they would not grow too powerful by capturing this strategically vital center. Getting hold of Aleppo itself was of course an indispensable step in this direction.

Once Belek took over Aleppo, therefore, he dedicated his efforts to the limited goal of pushing back the frontiers with Antioch, just as Ilghazi had done. But he adopted a different strategy than the one generally followed by his uncle: Asbridge draws attention to the fact that throughout the period from June 1123 to May 1124, when Belek ruled Aleppo, he "significantly made no attack to recapture either al-Atharib or Zardana."⁶⁶ These two castles lay to the west of Aleppo, and constituted the middle portion of its boundary with Antioch, which extended from Azaz in the north to the region of Jabal Summaq in the south. Apart from the unsuccessful campaign of 1120 and a later raiding attack against Azaz, Ilghazi had mostly fought around al-Atharib and Zardana, variously capturing, defending, or trying to recapture them. But Belek began by attacking the southern end of the boundary line in ques-

⁶⁴ Coşkun Alptekin, "Belek," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, V, 403.

⁶⁵ Imad al-Din Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya fi'l-Jazira wa'l-Sham* (Beirut, 1980), 268.

tion, first recapturing al-Bara, which had been taken by the Franks after Ilghazi's death, and then besieging Kafartab: both of these castles lay in Jabal Summaq.

This strategic choice of Belek was probably based on the same reason as that which had prompted Ilghazi to dispatch raiders against Azaz following his unsuccessful attempt to recapture Zardana: both this fortress and al-Atharib, after its recapture by the Franks, were effectively protected against sieges by the recently fortified monastery at Sarmada, as an army stationed there could threaten the besiegers from a safe position. Accordingly Belek's next attempt to push back the Antiochene frontier bypassed these castles and targeted its other, northern end: Azaz. His offensive against that castle will be the subject of the next section.

The Muslim sources provide the major part of our information on Belek's movements after his capture and imprisonment of the king. Among these Ibn al-Athir⁶⁷ attributes the emir's advance against Aleppo to his dismay at the surrender of al-Atharib by Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman. Fearing the Franks, who had been making many raids in Aleppan territory, and not being strong enough to deal with them, Badr al-Dawla had finally yielded this important castle to stop their attacks. Ibn al-Athir admits that the truce improved the situation of the populace in and around Aleppo, as provisions could be imported once again, but he points out that the significant loss of al-Atharib could only be recovered at the time of Imad al-Din Zangi. Upon this loss, he relates, Belek realized that his cousin was incapable of defending Aleppo, and therefore grew still more eager to get hold of the city. Accordingly he marched upon Aleppo in June 1123, after having taken Harran in the previous month to secure safe communications between Syria and his base in the Jazira. He closely encircled Alep-

⁶⁶ Asbridge, *Creation*, 84.

⁶⁷ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 483 and *Chronicle*, 244-45 (517: 1123-1124).

po, Ibn al-Athir relates, blocking supplies and burning the crops, and finally Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman surrendered the city on terms on 1 Jumada I [27 June 1123]. Ibn al-Athir notes in conclusion that Belek married Ridwan's daughter and ruled the city until he was killed.

The Aleppan historian Ibn abi Tayyi (cited by Ibn al-Furat) gives more detailed information about the strategies that Belek had followed to get hold of Aleppo.⁶⁸ One of these was to place pressure on the citizens by a blockade and the terror of seeing men, women and children from the environs brought before the walls to be tortured and killed in their sight. As this method did not prove sufficient, however, Belek also established contact with the leading men in the city, assuring them that he did not want to take over Aleppo for self-aggrandizement, but only in order to ward off the Franks: "My aim concerning Aleppo is not the possession of it," he is said to have affirmed; "I rather desire to drive the Franks away from it. And I swear to you that if I enter Aleppo, the only important thing for me will be to confront the Franks and disperse them." *Pace* Vāth, Belek does not seem to have meant by this statement that he intended to use Aleppo as a base to destroy the Franks by a general, all-out offensive.⁶⁹ He rather declared his intention to defend Aleppo more effectively against their encroachments. This is corroborated by the policy that the emir followed after his takeover of the city, as we shall see in this and the next section.

If Ibn abi Tayyi is to be lent credence, being the sole source to report this, Belek finally obtained the surrender of Aleppo by an interesting stratagem: he entered the city disguised as a merchant of lambs, and in addition to examining the defense works, started an intrigue with Ibn al-Khashshab and his friends. Thanks to

⁶⁸ Ibn al-Furat, *Tarikh al-Duwal wa'l-Muluk*, II f. 77, cited in Vāth, *Geschichte*, 88-9 and Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 268; Ibn al-Furat, *Tarikh*, f.190, cited in Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 296.

them a gate was secretly opened for his troops, and Sulaiman capitulated. Ibn abi Tayyi notes that the individual who opened the gate was a certain Ibn al-Khallal, who had acted with the silent collusion of Ibn al-Khashshab.

Ibn al-Adim⁷⁰ also seems to have been aware of Belek's collaboration with agents from inside, but prefers to dwell on the pressure he applied on the city by blockade and depredations rather than on this other aspect of his strategy. He relates that Belek first camped to the south of the city. From here the emir proceeded to Banqusa and thence to Nairab and Jabrin, where he burnt down the crops and drove off the beasts of burden. A detachment of his troops made for Hadhadin, and when one of these was killed by a peasant upon seizing a goat, Belek ordered the villagers to be suffocated by smoke in the cave where they had taken refuge, a hundred and fifty people in all. The same fate befell the refugees in the caves of Tell Ubbud and Ta'jin. Ibn al-Adim adds that Belek's men also captured the women of Ufr Tannur as well as their children, selling some of them and enslaving the rest, while Belek himself drove off three hundred horses and livestock belonging to the people of Aleppo. As he burnt down the crops, moreover, prices in the city rose to great heights.

Ibn al-Adim states that the city was finally handed over to Belek on Jumada I 517 (26 June 1123), and gives the names of the men who did this as Muqallid ibn Saqwiq and Mufarrij ibn Fadl. That this was not a regular surrender but a betrayal of the city by collaborators from inside is revealed by the chronicler's report of what followed. He relates that Belek's rallying cry was raised from many directions in the city, while the emir forced open the Gate of Antioch and a breach was made in the walls to the west of the Gate of the Jew.

⁶⁹ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 88-9.

⁷⁰ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 635-37.

This account differs from that of Ibn abi Tayyi as regards the identity of the men who betrayed the city to Belek as well as the exact manner of his entry. But a comparison of the two reveals that Belek's collaborators in the city raised his rallying cry from inside and his troops were allowed in through one gate or another. Whatever the exact identity of the man or men who actively helped Belek from inside, they were in any case the members of the Shi'ite faction in the city, the associates of Ibn al-Khashshab. The Sunnites in contrast were strongly attached to Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman, who had founded the first Sunnite *madrasa* in Aleppo, and they had been largely responsible for the staunch defense that Belek met in his attempts to take hold of the city.⁷¹ One reason why the Shi'ites assisted Belek under these conditions may have been their wish to gain the upper hand over their Sunnite rivals, who had secured the support of the present ruler, by replacing him with another more favorable toward themselves. Another motive of theirs may have been to acquire for the city a more efficient defender against the Franks than the "sluggish" Badr al-Dawla.⁷²

Nevertheless, this latter motive apparently played only a secondary role beside inter-confessional rivalry, as is revealed by the fact that the Shi'ites later intrigued to shake off Belek's overlordship while he was away in Kharput to deal with the revolt there. On his return, as a result, the Artukid took measures against them and expelled their leader Ibn al-Khashshab as well as the Ismailis in the city.⁷³ The reason behind this *volte-face* on the part of the Shi'ites of Aleppo was perhaps the failure of their expectations that Belek would follow a thoroughly pro-Shi'ite policy in return for their assistance in his takeover. Apparently, the effective protection that Belek offered against the Franks was eminently dispensable for either the Sunnites or the Shi'ites in their struggle to gain the ascendancy in the city. This fact also quali-

⁷¹ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 296.

⁷² Cahen, "Belek," *El²*, I, 983.

fies the observation of Cahen and others that the prestige Belek gained from his capture of the king and count allowed him to seize Aleppo and Harran from his Artukid rivals.⁷⁴

Under these conditions, Belek's initial promise to the notables of Aleppo that he wanted to take over the city to defend it against the Franks and not to possess it for himself, if sincere at all, proved self defeating: as long as he did not actually hold the reins of power in the city, there was always the danger that he could be replaced by another who happened to be more favorable toward one faction or another. Thus Belek's expulsion of the *qadi* Ibn al-Khashshab along with Abu'l-Fadail ibn Badi', and his appointment of a native of Harran as *ra'is* of Aleppo, also meant an abandonment of his promise not to alter the existing power structure.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, this was not Belek's first attempt to secure full control of the city. Ibn al-Adim informs us that immediately after Badr al-Dawla's departure from the citadel and Belek's occupation of it on 4 Jumada I (29 June), he had undertaken measures to consolidate his rule in the city, sending off Sultanshah ibn Ridwan to Harran "because of his fear of him."

On the other hand, Belek did keep his promise to ward off the Franks from Aleppo. Once the emir had established himself in the city, Ibn al-Adim relates, he set out without delay for the region of Jabal Summaq, where he first attacked al-Bara. The lord of this town, captured by the Franks after Ilghazi's death, was a bishop, perhaps Peter of Narbonne.⁷⁶ Grousset suggests that this might have been the reason why Belek targeted that town first, expecting it to be less well-guarded for being

⁷³ Cahen, "Belek," 983; Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 640.

⁷⁴ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 296. Also see the remarks of Runciman, Demirkent and Alptekin discussed at the beginning of this section.

⁷⁵ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 298.

⁷⁶ Asbridge, *Creation*, 84.

ruled by a clergyman rather than a warlord.⁷⁷ However, this expectation seems questionable in light of the consideration that the lord of Mar‘ash, Geoffrey, was a former monk, and was none the less warlike for that. Vāth asserts in turn that the lord of al-Bara had become notorious for his particularly cruel handling of the Muslim population, though he fails to indicate the source of this information, and adds that Kafartab was also more strongly fortified.⁷⁸ However, the actual reason might simply have been the fact that al-Bara lay to the north of Kafartab and therefore became the first target of Belek as he advanced south from Aleppo.

After Belek had captured al-Bara, Ibn al-Adim continues, he took the bishop prisoner and placed him under guard. As he proceeded to Kafartab, however, the man escaped by taking advantage of the guard’s negligence and took refuge in the same castle. Asbridge suggests that he may also have organized the defence of Kafartab.⁷⁹ Ibn al-Adim states that Belek was determined to besiege the town until he recaptured the bishop, but then news arrived of the revolt of the prisoners at Kharput. What happened afterwards has been examined in the previous section.

Another local chronicler of Aleppo, Al-Azimi,⁸⁰ adds nothing new to the accounts so far. He reports amongst the events of 517/1123-24 that Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman, who had taken over the citadel of Aleppo in the previous year, handed over the castle of al-Atharib to the Franks and made peace with them. He notes Belek’s capture of Harran in Rabi‘ I of this year (28 April – 27 May 1123). His next report about the events concerned is that Belek besieged Aleppo and captured it in Jumada I (26 June – 25 July). Taking the citadel from Sulaiman, he established himself

⁷⁷ Grousset, *Histoire*, 588-89.

⁷⁸ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 89.

⁷⁹ Asbridge, *Creation*, 84.

⁸⁰ *Azimî Tarihi*, 38 (Arabic) and 46 (Turkish) (517: 1123-1124).

in it. Immediately after this, Al-Azimi states, Belek proceeded to camp at Ain al-Sailam, probably on his way to Jabal Summaq. He reports that the emir attacked the castle of al-Bara, captured its bishop, and advanced on Kafartab.

The account of the contemporary Damascene chronicler Ibn al-Qalanisi is similarly brief.⁸¹ Reporting the peace agreement that stipulated the cession of al-Atharib, he praises its results: “Friendly relations were maintained on this footing, the provinces prospered on both sides, and the roads became safe for travellers between the districts of the two parties.” Indeed it is a marked attitude of Ibn al-Qalanisi’s to approve of the establishment of peaceful relations between Muslims and Franks, on account of the prosperity and security it would bring to the common folk, even when it entailed serious compromises — which is somewhat paradoxical, given the author’s generally confrontational religious approach. Ibn al-Athir may have been citing this passage as he noted how the Aleppans’ state improved as a result of the truce. But this positive evaluation was nullified in his case by the immediately following report that Belek was dismayed at the news and realized Badr al-Dawla Suaiman’s inability to defend the city. Nothing of the sort in Ibn al-Qalanisi’s own account: he only reports further among the events of the year that Belek had descended upon Aleppo, and burning the crops as well as blockading the city, received its surrender from Sulaiman. He notes that by this time the emir had already got hold of Harran, taking it in May.

Ibn al-Qalanisi’s chronology diverges considerably from that of Ibn al-Adim as regards the capture of al-Bara and its bishop. Whereas the latter dated it to July, soon after Belek’s takeover of Aleppo, Ibn al-Qalanisi dates it to the first ten days of

⁸¹ *Damascus Chronicle*, 166-69 (517: 1123-1124).

Rabi' I (28 April – 7 May). Since we know for certain that Belek's siege of Kafartab took place just before the revolt in Kharput, at the end of July, this would put a three months between his capture of al-Bara and the siege of Kafartab. When the proximity of al-Bara and Kafartab (at a distance of around 25 km) is added to this calculation, Ibn al-Adim's chronology seems to be the more plausible of the two: it would have been more natural for Belek to attack one fortress in Jabal Summaq and then to proceed to the other. Moreover, the fact that the bishop was able to take refuge in Kafartab before Belek laid siege to it also suggests that he was still under guard with Belek's troops and had not yet been taken elsewhere to be imprisoned — which would probably have been the case if he had been captured three months earlier.⁸² This point of chronology is not without significance: if Ibn al-Adim's chronology is indeed correct, it reveals that following his takeover of Aleppo Belek launched a systematic offensive against the fortifications in Jabal Summaq. We have seen that these constituted the southern end of the boundary line with Antioch.

The Syriac sources add some information to what the Muslim sources testify, though it is rather confused and dubious at places.⁸³ According to the Anonymous,⁸⁴ after Belek had imprisoned the king and was marching from Kharput towards Harran and Aleppo, he stopped by Edessa for a while to ravage its territory. The Anonymous also claims that Belek laid siege to Edessa, but this must be viewed with doubt given the lack of corroboration by the other sources: at most a short blockade or harass-

⁸² Thomas Asbridge does accept that Belek attacked both castles in the same campaign, but falls in for Ibn al-Qalanisi's erroneous chronology when he writes: "Shortly before coming to power in Aleppo, Belek had led a campaign against the Jabal Summaq. He recaptured Albara in April or May 1123, and then moved to besiege Kafartab... Belek's siege was cut short by the news of the rebellion in Kharput." Asbridge, *Creation*, 84. He fails to note that the rebellion took place only in late July, Harran and Aleppo having been captured in May and June.

⁸³ See also Demirkent's comments in *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 38-9.

⁸⁴ *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon*, 67, and "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," 92.

ment may have taken place.⁸⁵ Belek may have aimed by these moves to intimidate the Franks of Edessa into passivity while he would be preoccupied with taking Harran and Aleppo. In reporting Belek's takeover of these towns the Anonymous contents himself with stating that these were peacefully handed over to him.

Neither the Anonymous nor Michael the Syrian⁸⁶ touch upon Belek's attacks on al-Bara and Kafartab, but both authors testify that he advanced upon Tell Bashir. Michael even makes the obviously false assertion that he captured that town. If correct, this attack may only have been a brief incursion that Belek made after his recovery of Kharput, perhaps to avenge Joscelin's depredations around Aleppo and in Shabakhtan. In addition to this, the Anonymous asserts that Belek advanced against Duluk and Azaz as well, capturing, plundering and "sweeping away the villages like a torrent." We shall examine Belek's offensive against Azaz, which took place in early 1124, in the following section. Duluk may have come under attack at that time too. The Anonymous ends his account by reporting Belek's capture of Hisn Mansur, which had taken place soon after his surprise of Baldwin at Sanja; he also notes the emir's seizure of some lands from Akhlāt. "For a year," he remarks in conclusion, Belek "perpetrated great crimes in Frankish territory." Michael the Syrian, on his part, asserts that in addition to Tell Bashir Belek took three other castles as well from the Turks or Franks. This probably refers to the emir's takeover of Harran and Aleppo and his capture of al-Bara.

Belek's offensive in Jabal Summaq was cut short by the news of the revolt in Kharput, but after suppressing it he did not return there. Instead he launched an am-

⁸⁵ Also see Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 37-8.

⁸⁶ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 211.

bitious undertaking in coalition against the northern end of the Antiochene frontier, Azaz. We shall now turn to examine this campaign.

8.4 Belek's offensive against Azaz

Ibn al-Adim⁸⁷ relates that in the latter half of January 1124 Belek mustered his troops and joined forces with Tughtekin, who had arrived at the head of his forces, as well as with the troops of Aksungur al-Bursuki.⁸⁸ Together the allies went to lay siege to Azaz, and managed to open breaches in the walls, so much so that it became an easy matter to storm it. Assembling at this point, the Franks sought to drive away the Muslims. In the ensuing battle the latter were routed and scattered, with some of them being killed and others captured. Before returning to Aleppo, Ibn al-Adim notes, Belek refortified the castle of Na'ura in Naqira as well as the castle of Maghara on the bank of the Euphrates. Al-Azimi also records that around this time Belek restored the ruined castles in Syria.⁸⁹

Ibn al-Qalanisi relates the campaign against Azaz in much the same way as Ibn al-Adim,⁹⁰ and indeed certain turns of phrase used in common by the two authors reveal that he served as a source for the Aleppan author. However, Ibn al-Qalanisi fails to count Belek among the participants. Another difference between their accounts is that whereas Ibn al-Adim does not make it clear whether Aksungur personally took part in the campaign, or only sent a detachment to join the allies, Ibn al-

⁸⁷ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 640-41.

⁸⁸ In his encyclopaedia article on Belek Mükrimin Halil Yinanç states that Ilghazi's son Timurtash came to join Belek as well, while his other son Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman and Sokman's son Dawud sent detachments of considerable size. Yinanç, "Belek," 471. However, it has not been possible to locate this information in the sources indicated in the bibliography of the article. Previously we have seen Yinanç assert that after Baldwin's capture Belek was appointed by the sultan as the "chief commander of the Muslim forces against the Franks," an information that is similarly unlocated in the sources. Based on it, he suggests that Belek's authority to demand such an assistance from other Muslim emirs derived from that appointment. Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that a local emir of the Jazira had been endowed by the sultan with the authority to demand troops from the Seljukid governor of Mosul.

⁸⁹ *Azimi Tarihi*, 39 (Arabic) and 47 (Turkish) (517: 1123-1124).

Qalanisi indicates him unequivocally as a participant. Ibn al-Qalanisi's chronology seems erroneous as well, since he indicates that Tughtekin returned to Damascus in Jumada I 517 (27 June – 26 July 1123), which would place the campaign in late June — early July 1123. Nevertheless, we know that at this time Belek was still preoccupied with his campaigns against Aleppo and Jabal Summaq. Accordingly, as in the case of Belek's capture of al-Bara (see the previous section), Ibn al-Adim's chronology must be preferred over that of Ibn al-Qalanisi. It emerges from the Aleppan chronicler's testimony that the campaign took place sometime between 15 January 1124, when Belek ordered the expulsion of the Ismailis from Aleppo, and 11 February, when he married Ridwan's daughter.

Ibn al-Adim notes that following his marriage, in the month of Muharram (18 February – 18 March 1124), Belek transferred Baldwin and the other Frankish captives from Harran to a prison in the citadel of Aleppo. The reason for this may have been his wish to avoid another incident like that in Kharput. The fall of Harran as the result of a new revolt would have severed the communications between Aleppo and his base in the Jazira, and produced disastrous consequences for the city. He may also have suspected that the governor of Harran, Barakat ibn Abi'l-Fahm, would collude with the Franks to release the captives, for Al-Azimi reports that he had the governor arrested at this time.⁹⁰ On the other hand, Robert Nicholson attributes this measure of Belek to Joscelin's repeated attacks against Aleppan territory. As a result of this constant pressure, he argues, Belek took the precautionary step of transferring the princes from the more vulnerable Harran to the bastion of Aleppo.⁹² So the reason for the measure was perhaps Belek's fear that Joscelin would collaborate with

⁹⁰ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 169-70 (517: 1123-1124).

⁹¹ *Azimi Tarihi*, 38 (Arabic) and 46 (Turkish) (517: 1123-1124).

⁹² Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 69; Nicholson, "Growth," 420-21.

the governor and the captives in Harran to stage another revolt, and then rush to support the rebels with his own forces.

Ibn al-Adim proceeds to report that in the month of Safar (19 March – 16 April) a detachment of Belek's troops advanced against the district of Azaz. This attack seems to have been rather in the character of a raid, perhaps undertaken with the intention of ravaging the lands around the castle in preparation for a new siege. Indeed it resembles Ilghazi's dispatch of a raiding band to that region before his death.⁹³ In this case, however, the Franks of the town came out to confront the Turks, and in the ensuing clash around the nearby village of Mashhala Belek's troops carried off the day. Ibn al-Adim reports that they killed forty of the Frankish knights and footmen and seized their weapons, while the rest took refuge in Azaz. "There was not a single one among them," he asserts, "without wounds in many parts of their bodies."

We have seen in section 8.2 that Joscelin carried out widescale depredations around Aleppo, in the Butnan valley and across the Euphrates in Shabakhtan on learning of Belek's recovery of Kharput. He had done this mainly in retaliation, but perhaps also because he believed that in their leaderless and vulnerable state, the best method of defense for the Franks lay in offense.⁹⁴ On this basis scholars like Cahen, Grousset and Nicholson have argued that Belek's attacks on Azaz were undertaken in reaction to Joscelin's offensive, with the aim of regaining the upper hand in the struggle.⁹⁵ Other scholars like Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, Aydın Usta and Coşkun AlpTekin have contended in turn that this was the beginning of an ambitious cam-

⁹³ It must also be this attack that Cahen has in mind when he notes that after his defeat at Azaz Belek let his troops raid the environs of Killis (about 20 km. north-east of Azaz). Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 298.

⁹⁴ For this suggestion see Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 69; Nicholson, "Growth," 420-21.

paign that was undertaken in coalition to capture all the Frankish castles one by one, and thus to deliver the “death-blow” to the Crusader states while the king was conveniently imprisoned.⁹⁶

It has emerged clearly enough in the previous section that the Frankish principalities were far from helplessly awaiting the final “death-blow,” as is evident from Joscelin’s offensive and the siege of Tyre, and this fact is enough in itself to undermine the latter argument. Against the former it must be pointed out once again that the offensive against Azaz was far more than a reaction, an extemporized retaliation against Joscelin’s attacks; it was based on an independent initiative, and carried out according to an overall strategy, that of pushing back the the borderline with Antioch at its northern and southern ends. Belek had launched this undertaking with his offensive in the Jabal Summaq, but then broken it off because of the revolt in Kharput. With his attack on Azaz, he now tried his hand at the northern flank of the border. The fact that Belek mustered such a large army to do so, joining forces with Tughtekin and Aksungur, reveals the importance he gave to Azaz for the adequate defense of Aleppo.

Although Azaz was not situated as close to Aleppo as al-Atharib and Zardana, there was nothing but a plain in between, and its siege by the Franks in late 1118 had been enough to set the Aleppans desperately seeking help from all quarters, including Ilghazi himself. Moreover Azaz also lay at a strategical location on the communication lines of both sides. It posed a threat for Belek as he approached the city from the north on his way from the Jazira, and its capture by the Turks, in turn, would have seriously threatened the communications of Antioch, Tell Bashir and

⁹⁵ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 298; Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 595-6; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 69; Nicholson, “Growth,” 420-21.

⁹⁶ Yinanç, “Belek,” 471; Aydın Usta, “Artuklular,” *Türkler Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara, 2002), VI, 474-75; Coşkun Alptekin, “Belek,” *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, V, 403.

Edessa. It was for this reason that Belek attacked that castle with a coalition of forces and then sent a detachment against it, perhaps in preparation for a new assault that he planned to launch.

It is not clear why Belek failed to undertake any further attacks against the Franks during the three months between the siege of Azaz in late January to early February and the raid against the same town in April. It could perhaps be attributed to the heavy loss of morale and men that Belek appears to have suffered in the first, ambitious undertaking against Azaz. But in any case this rather long hiatus serves to prove that Belek's aim had never been to make an all-out onslaught against the Franks and deliver them the "death-blow," as Yinanç and other Turkish scholars have contended. It would have been too much of an anticlimax to return to Aleppo after a single defeat and merely dispatch a raiding band three months later if the emir's initial purpose had been so ambitious. Indeed Belek's next target also shows that he did not have a "death-blow" against the Franks in mind: this was Manbij, a Muslim castle.

8.5 Belek's campaign against Manbij, battle with the Franks and subsequent death

Like Harran, Manbij was situated on the line of communications between Belek's base in Diyar Bakr and the city of Aleppo. This followed a route passing to the east and then south of the territories controlled by the County of Edessa, and the two towns in question were located on the latter half of the route, Harran to the south of Edessa, and Manbij to the further south and west. Accordingly, Manbij's loyalty was essential if Belek wanted to secure the vital link with the Jazira that enabled him to defend Aleppo. His attack upon the town was therefore a necessary complement to his previous takeover of Harran and the later arrest of its governor suspected of

treachery. Indeed Belek may have suspected the emir of Manbij of similar conduct when he proceeded to have him arrested, and we shall see that the man's brother did not hesitate to call Joscelin to aid him when the town came under attack.

8.5.1 *The perspectives of the sources*

8.5.1.1 *Ibn al-Adim*

As usual, Ibn al-Adim supplies the most detailed information about Belek's siege of Manbij, battle with the Franks and subsequent death. In addition to his chronicle *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*, this information is also found in his biography of the emir of Manbij, Hassan ibn Gumushtekin, in *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*.⁹⁷ This biography includes two separate accounts of the related events, which Ibn al-Adim seems to have used alongside other sources to compose the one in the *Zubda*. Consequently the *Bughya* provides very little information that is not already found in the *Zubda*, and we shall mainly follow the account in the latter work here, noting the different or additional information found in the *Bughya* when necessary.

Ibn al-Adim relates that in Safar 518 (19 March – 16 April 1124) Belek turned against Hassan ibn Gumushtekin, lord of Manbij, on account of a certain report that he had received about the man.⁹⁸ Accordingly he dispatched a contingent against Manbij under the command of his cousin Timurtash. Their mission was to request Hassan to join them for a raid against the lands of Tell Bashir, and to arrest

⁹⁷ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 641-43; Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, edited by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1976), 273-74 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, translated by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1982), 171-72, in the biography of Hassan ibn Gumushtekin al-Turki.

⁹⁸ *Tanakkara Nūr al-Dawla Belek 'alā Ḥassān ibn Kumushtakin ṣāhib Manbij li-shai'in balaghahu 'anhu*. In the *Bughya* it is similarly stated that a report about Hassan that reached Belek necessitated him to be emboldened against the man: *kāna qad balagha Belek ibn Bahrām ibn Artuq 'anhu 'kalāmun awjaba yughirruhu 'alayhi*. Compare the translation of Sevim, who has taken the passage in the *Bughya* to mean: "Hassan had said against Belek things that necessitated the latter to take

him when he went out of the town. Doing so with success, they entered Manbij. But Hassan's brother Isa took refuge in the citadel, and the garrison refused to surrender. Ibn al-Adim states in the *Zubda* that Hassan was consequently punished, being stripped and dragged over thorns, and was then imprisoned in Balu. In the *Bughya*, where he cites an account by Marhaf ibn Usama ibn Munqidh, Ibn al-Adim similarly relates that Hassan was subjected to various tortures to make him surrender Manbij, after which he was sent to Balu. But in that work Ibn al-Adim also relates an alternative version, according to which Hassan was sent to Kharput and imprisoned in a pit there.

Ibn al-Adim goes on to relate that Isa refused to surrender the citadel, despite his brother's plight, and sent word to Joscelin, promising to deliver Manbij to him if he came to raise the siege. He even had Joscelin's rallying cry raised in the town. Ibn al-Adim notes in the *Bughya* that Belek had also come to join Timurtash by this time. Upon Isa's call for help, Ibn al-Adim continues in the *Zubda*, Joscelin raised an army of more than ten thousand horse- and footmen, making a tour of Jerusalem, Tripoli and all the other Frankish lands for this purpose. This does not conform with the testimony of other sources, however, and we shall discuss its veracity further on. Ibn al-Adim proceeds to relate that Joscelin advanced upon Manbij to repulse Belek, and the latter marched to confront him. In the ensuing battle on 18 Rabi' I (5 May 1124) the Muslims routed the Franks and pursued them until the end of the day, killing and capturing many.

The rest of Ibn al-Adim's account about how Belek fought in this battle and died on the next day is highly interesting, and worthy of quotation at length. He states that on the day of the battle with the Franks

measures against him." Evidently, this interpretation does not seem to conform with the passage in the *Zubda*.

Belek charged fifty times into their ranks, spreading death amongst them, and emerged safe and sound, without receiving any wounds, although he was struck by swords and pierced with lances. Returning to Manbij, he passed the night performing the ritual prayers and humbly praying to God Almighty for the victory that He had again bestowed through his hands against the Franks.

At dawn on the the next day, Monday 19 Rabi' I (6 May), Ibn al-Adim continues, Belek had all the captives taken in the battle executed. Then he went towards the citadel, with his helmet on and his shield at hand, in order to choose a place to set up the mangonel. Ibn al-Adim explains that Belek had resolved to entrust the siege of Manbij to Timurtash and then to march to the help of the people of Tyre who were besieged by the Franks. He notes that the Franks captured the city at the end of this siege, and proceeds to relate how Belek was killed before he could go to its aid: the emir was standing before the walls, ordering this and forbidding that, when an arrow sent from the citadel, reportedly fired by Isa himself, hit him on the left collarbone. He pulled out the arrow, spat on it, and declared: "This is the slaughter of all the Muslims!" Immediately thereupon he died. According to a slightly less dramatic report cited by the chronicler, he lived for a few hours more before passing away. Ibn al-Adim notes that Belek was carried to Aleppo and buried to the south of Maqām Ibrahim while Timurtash got hold of the city and the citadel on 7 May. Ibn al-Athir and Al-Azimi reveal that it was also Timurtash who had arranged the transport of Belek's body to Aleppo.

In the *Bughya* Ibn al-Adim reports that Belek's other cousin Dawud of Hisn Kaifa, on learning of his death, marched to Balu and captured the castle, after which he released Hassan from the prison there. This is taken from the account of Marhaf ibn Usama ibn Munqidh and agrees with the version in the *Zubda*, which stated that the emir had been imprisoned in Balu. But according to the second version in the *Bughya*, which reported Hassan to have been imprisoned in Kharput, he was taken

out of the pit there upon Belek's death and returned to Manbij. Since we know Kharput to have been taken over by Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman, as Al-Azimi and Michael the Syrian note, it may have been this Artukid who released Hassan if he had indeed been imprisoned in Kharput.

This whole latter part of Ibn al-Adim's account, which begins with Belek's exploits in the battle and continues with the dramatized build-up to his death, seems to have been consciously designed as a set-piece by the author. It was apparently meant to represent Belek as a mujahid *par excellence*, with his great courage and bravura, with his miraculous immunity in battle against the enemy's weapons, implying God's support, and with his profound faith evident among other things in his attribution of his victories to God rather than to his own skills in war. All this is crowned by the emir's dying declaration upon being mortally wounded. In this declaration Belek is shown to feel himself responsible for the security of all Muslims, being aware of his vital role in defending them against the Franks. It could be pointed out with some justification that the whole story seems to reflect a post-Ayyubid sensibility, but still the possibility that Belek actually uttered these last words cannot be denied out of hand. As we saw in the case of Ilghazi, the fact that the Artukid emirs mostly restricted themselves to defending Aleppo need not have prevented them from regarding and showing themselves as mujahids who fought against the Franks on behalf of all Muslims.

Indeed the interest of Ibn al-Adim's account is not restricted to this latter part, and the entire story about Belek's siege of Manbij and subsequent death amounts to a highly ironic and thought-provoking episode. Let us see what we have in it: a Muslim emir who uses the call of jihad and his prestige in fighting the Franks as a ploy to capture another Muslim emir and take his town, in order to bolster his control over

the area. Then another emir, the brother of the captive, who prefers to turn over the town to the Franks rather than cede it to the other Muslim emir, and summons them to help him. This latter emir does not flinch from killing the first emir either, when he sees him resolved to capture the town. And the first emir, upon receiving his mortal wound, declares solemnly that this is “the slaughter of all Muslims,” despite the fact that he had been attacking not a Frankish but a Muslim town, while another Muslim town awaited help against the Franks, and also notwithstanding the fact that he had attempted to exploit the call of *jihad* as a trick to capture it.

The attitude of Isa of Manbij to Belek shows once again that what was most important for the local Muslim emirs was not the possession of a town by Muslims at large but only by themselves, and that it did not make any difference to them whether they would lose it to another Muslim or to a Frank — indeed they might even prefer the latter if feelings of personal hostility and revenge were involved as in this case. The story has still more interesting implications for Belek and his attitude towards jihad, which will be examined in section 8.6.

8.5.1.2 *Ibn al-Athir*

In his account⁹⁹ Ibn al-Athir seems to have been unaware of Timurtash’s role in the siege of Manbij and the arrest of Hassan, as well as of the trick by which the emir was captured. He only reports that Belek arrested Emir Hassan al-Ba‘lbakki, lord of Manbij, and marched to besiege the town. The citadel held out against Belek even after the lower town was captured, he relates, and the Franks advanced against the Artukid to drive him away. Ibn al-Athir does not make any mention of Hassan’s brother Isa and his summons of Joscelin to aid him, but asserts that the Franks undertook this move to prevent Belek from growing more powerful with the capture of

Manbij. In relating the battle Ibn al-Athir supplies a new detail, stating that Belek left a part of his forces by the citadel to blockade it before he marched with the rest to join battle. After defeating the Franks and killing a great many Belek returned to the siege, the chronicler relates, but he was killed by an arrow as he fought against the citadel.

Ibn al-Athir neither mentions Belek's preparations to go to the aid of Tyre, nor gives any indication about the person who had fired the arrow, contenting himself with the statement that the identity of the man remained unknown. Apparently he was also unaware of the fact that Hassan had been sent away to Kharput or Balu, since he asserts that the emir escaped from confinement as Belek's army fell into confusion and dispersed. As the siege came to an end, he notes that Hassan returned to his castle. Ibn al-Athir concludes by reporting that Timurtash got hold of Aleppo on 7 May, after he had carried Belek's dead body and buried it in the outskirts of the city.

8.5.1.3 *Al-Azimi*

Al-Azimi's brief account¹⁰⁰ adds almost nothing new to the previous ones. The only exception is his report that Belek had seized the castle of al-Muhaddad, around eighty kilometers to the southeast of Manbij, before attacking the latter town. This may have been similarly necessary for securing the route from the Jazira to Aleppo. The chronicler goes on to relate that Belek defeated the Franks led by Joscelin and returned victorious to Manbij, but then an arrow fired from the citadel hit and killed him. While the army dispersed Timurtash carried the emir's body to Aleppo to bury him and got hold of the city. Al-Azimi reports like Ibn al-Adim in the *Bughya*

⁹⁹ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 489 and *Chronicle*, 251 (518: 1124-1125).

¹⁰⁰ *Azimi Tarihi*, 39 (Arabic) and 47-48 (Turkish) (518: 1124-1125).

that Dawud ibn Sokman seized Balu, but notes in addition that Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman took over Kharput and married Belek's widow.

8.5.1.4 *Matthew of Edessa*

Among the indigenous Christian sources Matthew of Edessa provides the most detailed account about the events,¹⁰¹ and generally agrees with the Muslim sources. Interestingly, the chronicler begins by reporting that Belek mustered troops and marched against the Franks, but then states that a few days after arriving in Aleppo he went against the — Muslim — town of Manbij. The Anonymous, as we shall see, similarly begins by reporting that Belek launched a retaliatory campaign against the Franks, only to relate thereafter how he attacked Manbij. There is the same incongruity in the account of Fulcher, who reports Belek's siege immediately after stating that he had raised his army and allies once more against the Franks. Perhaps this might be taken as evidence that Belek had originally intended to advance directly against the Franks before Tyre, while Timurtash would take Manbij, but seeing that the capture of that town did not go as smoothly as he had expected, he went to help his cousin first.

Matthew seems to have been unaware of the initial role of Timurtash and the arrest of Hassan of Manbij; he reports straightaway that Belek set up a mangonel against the city and pressed forward the siege with continual assaults, upon which the emir defending the citadel sent to Joscelin for aid. Corroborating the report of Ibn al-Adim, he notes that in return for this aid Emir Isa promised to hand over the town to Joscelin. He also gives the additional information that Isa sent for aid to Geoffrey of Mar'ash as well, and Joscelin and Geoffrey were joined by Mahuis, the count of Dulk, Aintab and Ra'ban. As Işın Demirkent suggests, this last may have been none

other than Michael of Gargar, since we know him to have received Duluk from the king in return for Gargar. But then it is difficult to explain why Matthew gives his name in a distorted form, as Demirkent points out, since the author must have known that Armenian chieftain very well.¹⁰² As we shall see, the same individual is also mentioned under the name of Mahi by the Anonymous.

We have seen Ibn al-Adim report that Joscelin collected troops from all around the Frankish territories, including Jerusalem and Tripoli, but Matthew only states that he gathered together the “remnants of the Frankish troops,” probably referring to those who had not gone to join the main army before Tyre. He also reveals in keeping with this statement that the Franks were fewer than Belek’s forces when he attacked them near Manbij.

Relating the battle, Matthew reveals that the Turks suffered a check at the beginning, as one wing of their army was put to flight while the other was annihilated by the troops led by Joscelin. What caused the defeat of the Franks according to Matthew was that the Turks eventually surrounded a contingent of the Frankish army, including Geoffrey of Mar‘ash and some of Joscelin’s horsemen, and “caused them all to die a martyr’s death.” Upon receiving this news Joscelin turned in flight, and the Franks were defeated.¹⁰³ After noting that the count took refuge in Tell Bashir the next day, Matthew laments the event: “On that day many Frankish noblemen perished, and so it became a disastrous and horrible day for the Christian faithful.” With an error of one day, he indicates the day of the battle as 4 May.

¹⁰¹ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 231-32 (III.95).

¹⁰² Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 50, n. 209.

¹⁰³ This is according to the French translation of Matthew’s work in RHC *Historiens Arméniens* I, 138 (III.90). The English translation reads in contrast: “He turned in flight and spent the night at the same place where the battle had been fought.” Nevertheless, this seems self-contradictory if Joscelin had been compelled to flee and the Franks were defeated.

The chronicler proceeds to relate that Belek returned triumphantly to Manbij after this, and ordered an all-out attack to be made against the town. Overjoyed by his recent success, he had taken off his coat of mail when he was hit in the back¹⁰⁴ and mortally wounded by an arrow shot from the citadel. In contrast to Ibn al-Adim, who reported cautiously that this was rumored to have been fired by Isa, Matthew asserts unequivocally that it was shot by one of the *Arewapasht*, those Armenians in the region who still held on to their ancient pagan faith centred on the worship of sun.¹⁰⁵ He indicates in addition that Belek summoned Timurtash to his side (which is the first mention of this emir in Matthew's account), and handed over his lands and sovereignty to him before dying. Even if this were true, we know that Timurtash's brother Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman got hold of Kharput and his cousin Dawud ibn Sokman acquired Balu before Timurtash could get hold of these towns.

Interestingly, Matthew draws a sharp distinction between the feelings of the Franks and the Armenians when reporting how they reacted to the unexpected death of Belek: "Belek's death brought great joy to all the Franks; however, deep sorrow and a general feeling of loss fell upon the people inhabiting his lands, for he had dealt compassionately with the Armenians under his rule." We have examined Belek's motives for this mild treatment of indigenous Christians in the first section of this chapter. What is interesting here, as far as Matthew is concerned, is a different point: despite the perspective of religious confrontation evident in his works, pitting the Franks and Armenians together against the Muslims, Matthew is less concerned with the fact that Belek was the most formidable adversary of the Franks at the time, as he gives a final verdict about him, and focuses instead on his treatment of his Ar-

¹⁰⁴ Literally "buttocks," see *Chronicle*, 348 n.4; but given as "groin" in the French translation, RHC *Historiens Arméniens* I, 139 (III.90). Nevertheless, it seems more logical for an arrow thrown from the top of the citadel to strike the emir on the collarbone, as asserted by Ibn al-Adim; Matthew's indication of these different parts of the body may have been intended as some sort of humiliation.

menian subjects. It is also remarkable that when mentioning Belek Matthew never uses pejorative epithets like “bloodthirsty beast,” such as he bestowed on Sokman ibn Artuk or Mawdud; he even praises Belek’s courage and military skills, as we have seen before.

8.5.1.5 *Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus*

Michael the Syrian offers a shorter account¹⁰⁶ than Matthew, and although like the latter he generally agrees with the Muslim sources, he also diverges from them on a number of points. Thus according to him Joscelin was promised tribute rather than the town itself. However, the considerable efforts that the count put in to assembling an army and attacking Belek would suggest that he had been promised more than simply tribute. Unlike as was the case with the populace, it would normally make little difference to the emir whether he lost it to Belek or Joscelin, and in this case he would have exacted vengeance from Belek by delivering it to the Franks. He may even have expected to rule the town as the count’s deputy.

Michael states that upon Joscelin’s arrival the two sides fought from the morning to the evening, and indicates like Matthew that Geoffrey the Monk was killed in the battle. Dwelling briefly on the career of “this hero,” as he calls him, Michael relates that he had left Rome while still a monk and was eventually made commander for his exploits in battles around Jerusalem. Baldwin II had then taken him along when he came to the north to act as regent of Antioch, and had entrusted him with Kaisoun, Rab’an and Mar’ash. Returning to the battle, Michael interestingly contents himself with simply stating that it came to an end, without making clear which side emerged victorious. In agreement with Ibn al-Adim, he relates that early

¹⁰⁵ See *Chronicle*, 348, n.3.

¹⁰⁶ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 211-12.

next morning Belek approached the walls in order to choose a place for the mangonels, but at that moment was hit by an arrow fired from top of the wall and died. He does not give any indications about the identity of the culprit. Without mentioning Timurtash by name, he states that Belek's troops fled to Aleppo after his death and adopted a cousin of his as their leader. In corroboration of Al-Azimi, he also notes that a group of Turks returned after this to Kharput, where they adopted Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman as their new ruler.

Bar Hebraeus's account¹⁰⁷ is mainly a summary of that of Michael's. However, he states wrongly that Belek advanced to Manbij immediately after his recovery of Kharput, taking along Baldwin and Galeran. He also notes that the Seljuqid prince of Melitene (Tughril Arslan ibn Kilij Arslan I), who had been Belek's protégé, took over Masara and Gargar after the emir's death.

8.5.1.6 *The Anonymous Syriac*

The Anonymous Syriac¹⁰⁸ diverges from the previous sources in claiming that Belek was defeated in the battle with Joscelin's forces. He also wrongly attributes Belek's attack upon Manbij to Joscelin's depredations around Aleppo a few months earlier. When the emir heard of these movements, the chronicler relates, he hastily gathered his troops, and camping near Manbij, set about ravaging its territory. Without mentioning the events associated with Hassan's arrest and Isa's call for help from the Franks, he reports that Joscelin collected troops upon this move of Belek, and taking along Geoffrey the Monk, another Geoffrey and Mahi,¹⁰⁹ confronted the emir near Manbij. In contrast to all other previous sources, the Anonymous asserts

¹⁰⁷ Bar Hebraeus, *Abu'l-Farac Tarihi*, II, 358.

¹⁰⁸ *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon*, 70 and "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," 94.

¹⁰⁹ This other Geoffrey remains unidentified. For the possible identity of Mahi, see the related discussion in the preceding analysis of Matthew's account.

that in the ensuing battle Belek was defeated and many of his soldiers perished. This is perhaps a result of his knowledge of the initial setback suffered by the Turks, reported by Matthew, and his lack of information about the rest of the course of the battle. The Latin sources also declare the outcome to have been a Frankish victory, but the reason for this is quite different in their case, as we shall see.

The Anonymous proceeds to relate that Belek went back to Manbij to punish the citizens for not helping him. Apparently he was unaware of Isa's collaboration with the Franks, and had also failed to question how Belek could have returned to Manbij with the victorious Frankish army at his back. Belek was attacking the town violently, the Anonymous relates, when he was hit by an arrow shot from the wall and died. The chronicler does not make any suggestions about who had fired it. He concludes by noting that the emir was taken upon his death to Aleppo and buried outside the city by his family.

8.5.1.7 *Fulcher of Chartres*

We have seen Matthew indicate that Belek's death brought great joy to the Franks. This joy is indeed fully reflected in the Latin sources: they do not only show Belek defeated by Joscelin, like the Anonymous, but also have the emir killed by the Franks in the same battle, with only too evident satisfaction. This state of affairs reveals that Belek's campaigns against the Franks, and especially his capture of Baldwin and Joscelin followed by his speedy recovery of Kharput, had made a considerable impression on the Franks, arousing the need to know that they had avenged these wrongs. Apparently it was to this need that the Latin historians, as well as their sources who had participated in the battle, catered.

Thus the major part of Fulcher's account¹¹⁰ is clearly of fictitious character, and this must have been due to the false information he received from Joscelin's squire, who had come from the north to tell those in Jerusalem what they would have liked to hear. Already the way Fulcher begins his account reveals that the Franks' grievances against Belek had become wearisome: "While we were laboring outside Tyre, carefully preparing siege engines," he remarks, "Belek did not cease to raise¹¹¹ his army and allies against us." Apparently unaware of Timurtash's role, he states that at the beginning of May the emir came from Aleppo to Manbij, and gives the number of his forces as five thousand horsemen and seven thousand footmen. Fulcher seems to have possessed some information that the emir of Manbij was lured outside and captured through a trick. But confusing the events and giving a more dramatic appearance to Hassan's capture, he relates that upon the refusal of the emir to surrender the town, Belek summoned him to a meeting outside the walls and then treacherously beheaded him.

Unaware of the call for aid directed from Manbij to the Franks, Fulcher reports that Belek's siege did not escape the notice of Joscelin, who hurried there from Antioch with the troops of the city. He adds that the number of Christians was very small, and despite this Joscelin was not afraid to advance against the "multitude of infidels."¹¹² This conflicts with Ibn al-Adim's assertion that Joscelin collected more than ten thousand troops from Tripoli, Jerusalem and other places. Instead, it agrees with Matthew's testimony that the count had collected the leftover troops who had not gone to Tyre and the Franks were consequently fewer than the Muslims. At any rate Fulcher would certainly have known if Joscelin had come to Jerusalem where

¹¹⁰ Fulcher of Chartres, *History*, 262-64 (III.xxxi).

¹¹¹ For "extollere non cessabat," RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 463, instead of "lost no time in raising," as in the English translation.

the author was residing at this time.¹¹³ On the other hand, Joscelin's men were probably not so few as Fulcher claims either, since we know from Matthew and William of Tyre that he had collected troops from the County of Edessa as well.

Fulcher's description of the battle does seem to give some support to Matthew's testimony that the Turks suffered setbacks on both wings, as he reports that they were repulsed three times "with the help of God," and nevertheless boldly returned to the fight each time. Otherwise it is entirely fictitious, however, since the author relates that Belek was mortally wounded in this *melée* and turned aside in a dying condition, whereupon his men took to flight. "Indeed many were able to flee, but they were not able at all to escape,"¹¹⁴ Fulcher remarks with satisfaction, and claims that against three thousand horsemen slain on their side, the Franks only lost thirty knights and sixty footmen.

Fulcher proceeds with his tale to relate that Belek's corpse was sought and detected among the Turkish dead on Joscelin's orders. His head was reportedly brought back to the count, who dispatched it to Antioch, Tyre and Jerusalem with his squire, so that he would announce and describe the story as a participant in "this memorable battle." Fulcher notes that the news brought by the squire was so welcome for the army besieging Tyre that the Count of Tripoli raised him to the rank of knighthood. The reason why the Franks before Tyre rejoiced so much was probably their awareness of Belek's intention to come to the aid of the city. The news was received with great joy in Jerusalem too, as revealed by Fulcher's celebration: "And

¹¹² For "perfidorum," RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 438, instead of "pagans," as in the English translation.

¹¹³ See Harold Fink's introduction in Fulcher, *History*, 17.

¹¹⁴ For "Potuerunt quidem plerique fugere, sed ne quaquam potuerunt effugere," RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 438, instead of "Indeed many who were able to flee were not, however, able to escape," as in the English translation.

we all praised and blessed God, since that fiercest of dragons, who had oppressed and ruined Christianity for a long time, was strangled.”¹¹⁵

Not content with all this, Fulcher points out with satisfaction that Belek’s dream, in which the emir had seen his eyes torn out by Joscelin, was fulfilled in this way. The fact that Belek’s supposed death, as reported by the messenger, had occurred in a somewhat more mundane fashion than in the dream does not seem to have diluted Fulcher’s merriment. At any rate he makes up for this slight incongruence by pointing out that Joscelin had indeed torn out Belek’s eyes, since he had had his head and members completely removed.¹¹⁶ He concludes his account with an exulting couplet:

Belek neither saw, nor heard, nor spoke, nor sat, nor walked,
Nor was there a place for him in the sky, the earth, or waters.

No doubt, in addition to the pleasure felt at the removal of the final obstacle before the capture of Tyre, these remarks also reflect in a more general sense the fear and hatred in which Belek was held even in distant Jerusalem, feelings that probably stemmed in particular from his capture of the king and the other Frankish princes. As for the fictitious report that Fulcher and other Franks in Jerusalem had received about the outcome of the battle and the manner of Belek’s death, this was due probably to deliberate disinformation coming from the north. It could even have been supported by the “evidence” of a hefty-looking head chosen from among the Turkish slain to present convincingly as Belek’s head. It might be surmised that shortly after the bat-

¹¹⁵ For “Et laudavimus et benediximus omnes Dominum, quia suffocatus est ille drace saevissimus, qui Christianismum diu tribulaverat et pessunderat,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 438, instead of “And we all praised and blessed God because Belek, the raging dragon who had oppressed and trampled upon Christianity, was suffocated at last,” as in the English translation.

¹¹⁶ “Because in a dream he saw his own eyes torn out by Joscelin. Indeed Joscelin tore them out root and branch, for he completely removed his head and members,” for “Videbat enim in visu a Joscelino sibi oculos erui. Vere penitus eruit, quoniam caput et membra illi penitus abtulit,” RHC, *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 439, instead of “For in a dream he saw his own eyes put out by Joscelin. In truth Joscelin utterly destroyed Belek since he deprived him of head and members,” as in the English translation.

tle the Franks in the north heard of Belek's death and the dispersion of his army, and desiring to use it as an opportunity to cover up their defeat, Joscelin sent his squire to spread this brazenly false story. An equally spurious tale about Galeran slaying Belek reached Orderic in Normandy, as we shall see, so all the Frankish participants in the battle seem to have collaborated spontaneously to present the events in a more self-flattering way than the facts allowed.

8.5.1.8 *William of Tyre*

The account of William of Tyre¹¹⁷ is based on that of Fulcher's, though not without some modifications. Beside the usual analyses and attempts at explanation that he usually adds to his source material, William lays special emphasis on the encouragement that Belek's death gave to the Franks before Tyre. This is evident right from the title he chooses for the account: "Belek is slain at Hierapolis [Manbij]. The news causes great joy in the Christian army, and the siege of the city is pressed on with even more vigor."

William begins his account by informing his readers that during the siege of Tyre Belek, "the powerful Turkish satrap in whose chains the lord king was still held," was besieging Manbij. He repeats Fulcher's story about Belek beheading the lord of Manbij, but in a way that brings to the fore what he wishes to represent as the emir's cruel deceitfulness, in contrast to the victim's honest simplicity. As Belek "summoned the governor of the city with conciliatory but crafty words," he recounts, the latter, "a simple and credulous man, trusted Belek and at once repaired to his presence," only to be beheaded promptly on the emir's orders. When relating how Joscelin learned of the siege and mustering troops hurried north, William also tries to explain why he did so. Even though the historian was no more aware than his source

Fulcher of the summons for help that came from Manbij, he still discerned the reason why the count had reacted so promptly to the attack on this “city in his own neighborhood”: his fear that “in case the former ruler got expelled, a tougher opponent would be established there against him.”¹¹⁸

Whereas Fulcher stated that Joscelin made for Manbij with the men of Antioch, William asserts that he assembled troops from his own domains as well, and this is corroborated by Matthew and the Anonymous who mentioned the presence of Geoffrey of Mar‘ash as well as the lord of Duluk, Ra‘ban and Aintab among the count’s companions. Again in contrast to Fulcher, who noted that the number of Christians was very few, William asserts that it was a “large force.” Keeping in mind that Fulcher does not mention Joscelin’s arrival in Jerusalem, the final verdict on this issue must be the following: the count indeed mustered a sizeable force, though probably not equal to that of Belek, by gathering those troops in the Principality of Antioch and the County of Edessa who had not marched to Tyre. In addition to these he also joined forces with Geoffrey of Mar‘ash and the Armenian lord of Duluk, Ra‘ban and Aintab.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ William of Tyre, *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, II, 16-17 (XIII.11).

¹¹⁸ For “timensque ne, priore domino expulso, duriorei pararetur adversarius,” RHC *Historiens Occidentaux* I, 570, instead of “He feared that if the present ruler were driven out, another, far more dangerous to him, might be placed there,” as in the English translation.

¹¹⁹ For further discussion of this issue see Hagenmeyer’s comments in *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, edited by Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 727; Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem 1100-1291* (Innsbruck, 1898), 161; and Nicholson, *Joscelyn* I, 70, n. 183. All three scholars reject that Joscelin could have collected soldiers from Jerusalem and Tripoli on the grounds that he lacked sufficient time and that the troops of these states were besieging Tyre at the time. Işın Demirkent objects to this view, insisting that Joscelin descended as far as Jerusalem, and even charges the scholars in question with deliberately underestimating Joscelin’s forces in order to excuse his defeat at the hands of Belek. She contends on the contrary that Joscelin had assembled a great army, and cites Matthew’s testimony that the count had collected troops from the Frankish territories in the north as well as joining forces with Geoffrey and Mahius. See Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 50 and n. 29. Nevertheless, this does not quite disprove the point made by the three scholars above, for Joscelin’s collection of troops from Jerusalem and Tripoli is not mentioned by Matthew and Fulcher, a contemporary resident of Jerusalem, nor indeed by any other source except Ibn al-Adim. The account of this latter author is much of a set-piece, as we have seen, intending to illustrate Belek’s heroism and success in battle just before relating his death. In these conditions it was only natural for the chronicler to exaggerate Joscelin’s forces, stating that the count

William proceeds to relate like Fulcher that Joscelin rushed to confront Belek and made a sudden attack on his troops, routing and putting them to flight. However, the historian was apparently disturbed by the incongruence we have seen in Fulcher's account about the fulfillment of Belek's dream. In an effort to bring the actual course of events a little nearer the content of that dream, he states that it was in fact Joscelin who both killed Belek and cut off his head, having encountered him in the *melée* without knowing who he was. Content with his new version of the story, William explains: "This was clearly the fulfillment of Belek's dream. For he who cuts off a man's head and puts an end to both his sight and his life may be said with truth to have torn out his eyes."

William also tries to analyse the reason why Joscelin allegedly sent around Belek's head without delay, and interprets this as a deliberate move on the count's part to encourage the army before Tyre through the news of "such a great success." "As Joscelin was a most cautious man who lacked nothing in experience," the historian remarks, "he immediately sent Belek's head with a certain young man, so that it would cause our men to rejoice about his good fortune and victory."¹²⁰ Joscelin was not wrong in his calculations, William gives us to understand, and relates at length how the Franks before Tyre¹²¹ jubilated at the news: "On his arrival the youth¹²² rejoiced the hearts of all and raised the happiness of the Christians to the highest

united the troops of all the Frankish lands, including those of Jerusalem, and showing that despite this he suffered a sound defeat in Belek's hands.

¹²⁰ For "Statimque sicut vir circumspectissimus erat, et cui nihil ad plenam deerat experientiam, eiusdem principis caput, ut nostros de sua prosperitate exhilarasceret et victoria, per quemdam adolescentem dirigit..." RHC *Historiens Occidentaux* I, 571, instead of "Joscelin was a man of foresight and very wide experience. He immediately charged a young man to carry the head of the prince to the army, that it too might rejoice over the news of this good luck" as in the English translation.

¹²¹ That the passage was originally taken from Fulcher's account but then altered is revealed among other things by the fact that William uses the first person plural when speaking about the Franks before Tyre, just like his source: "When those who were with *us* on the expedition heard of this act..." The corresponding passage in Fulcher's account reads: "...*we* all praised and blessed God" (italics are mine). The latter author was nevertheless in Jerusalem at this time, see n. 113 above.

¹²² For "qui adveniens," RHC *Historiens Occidentaux* I, 571, instead of "the arrival of the youth," as in the English translation.

point.” He explains that because of the importance of the mission and his respect for Joscelin, the count of Tripoli raised the messenger to knighthood.

Nevertheless, it is worthy of attention that in citing this passage on the Franks’ joy at Belek’s death, William discards Fulcher’s likening of the emir to a fierce dragon who was finally strangled after he had oppressed Christianity for a long time. Instead, he states that on hearing the news they “raised their hands to heaven and began to praise, bless and glorify God who ‘is terrible in His doing toward the children of men.’” It is hard to understand the reason for his alteration, but we have seen William adopt a similar attitude against those passages in his sources that denigrated Ilghazi. This may have been a reflection of his relatively tolerant attitude, as suggested before, or perhaps simply a result of the fact that for William writing in the 1170s and 1180s, these Muslim figures from more than half a century earlier had lost too much of their actuality to be made the butt of personal attacks.

With the wider perspective provided by hindsight as well as by better histori-anship, William prefers to focus instead on the contrasting effects that the news of Belek’s death exerted on the besiegers and the defenders of Tyre: “Then, indeed, were our troops fired with more ardent enthusiasm. As if they had recovered their strength and found courage once again, they undertook the work they had begun with greater fervor, and through frequent attacks denied all respite to those besieged.”¹²³ By this time, William notes, the latter were already on the point of starvation, and “since no hope of aid supported them now, they began to relax their efforts somewhat.”

¹²³ For “quasi reperiatis viribus, receptoque denuo spiritu, ad opus inceptum ferventius accingitur, crebrisque congressionibus omnem obsessis negant requiem” in William of Tyre, RHC *Historiens Occidentaux* I, 571, instead of “With courage and strength renewed, they pressed on still more earnestly the work which they had undertaken and, by keeping up continual skirmishes, refused to allow the beleaguered city any respite” as in the English translation.

8.5.1.9 Orderic Vitalis

The account of Orderic Vitalis¹²⁴ contains many fictitious elements like those of Fulcher and William, although it is independent of them. It also reflects the same rejoicing at the emir's death, combined with the sharp perspective of religious confrontation found in this author's work. We have seen that Orderic showed Belek besieging Manbij already before his capture of Baldwin and Joscelin. After he had recaptured the king in Kharput and everything had fallen out according to his wishes, Orderic continues, the Artukid brought together all the emirs in the "pagan world" and returned to the siege of Manbij. At this time, the historian notes, Joscelin and other Christians continued to resist the emir bravely in every part of Syria and Palestine, "seeming to forget their king." Welcoming the news of the siege for this reason, they assembled eagerly to fight Belek and his forces. Orderic is the sole source to indicate the location of the battle explicitly, stating that it was fought in the wide plain between between Manbij and Tell Khalid. He remarks that many Muslim emirs fought alongside Belek, "struggling with all their forces to destroy the Christians."

Like Fulcher and William, Orderic shows Belek being killed in the battle. This reveals once again that the Frankish participants tried to take advantage of Belek's death to cover their loss of face, spreading stories — as far as Normandy in this case — about how they had killed the emir and defeated the Turks on the battlefield. In Orderic's version, however, this honor is accorded not to Joscelin but to Geoffrey of Mar'ash, who himself was killed in the battle. The story also allows us a glimpse into Orderic's extremely limited information about the Muslim faith. Apparently, the historian supposed it to be a combination of magic and astrology. He relates how Belek's sister, "a very experienced sorceress," had seen in the stars that Geoffrey and

¹²⁴ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 124-27 (XI.26).

Belek would kill each other on the same day, and so entreated him with tears to take precautions. In order to avert this fate, Orderic says, Belek offered Geoffrey two asses of gold in return for his withdrawal from the battle, but

the pious count scorned the tyrant's gifts as so much dirt, and professed his willingness to sacrifice himself gladly in the faith of God. Avenging the blood of many saints, he killed Belek; he himself perished gloriously, fighting resolutely for Christ. His standard was found on Belek's body; and by Belek's death a heavy and dreaded yoke was lifted from the necks of the Christians.

The rest of the account is in the same tone as this quotation, one long rhetorical flight celebrating the Christians' triumph and expressing their joy at having been rescued from Belek's yoke. It is interesting that this author in distant Normandy told the event with far greater vehemence and sharper language than his contemporary Fulcher in Jerusalem. Perhaps this was a reflection of the attitude of his sources, the Normans of Antioch; differently from Fulcher, these had suffered the consequences of Belek's victories at first hand. Exaggerating numbers grossly, Orderic claims that owing to God's help a mere nine hundred Christians fought and defeated no less than three hundred thousand pagans, with only seventeen of them lost against the thirteen thousand slain on the enemy's side. He represents Belek as a scourge of God, who used him to punish his people for their sins, and attributes the Franks' supposed victory to His softening rather than to their own strength:

The almighty Emmanuel, son of a pure virgin, blessed his Israelites with strength, and caused them to rejoice by overcoming the enemy whom he had used as a hammer or as a rod of his anger to punish the guilty, and allowed them a period of calm and prosperity after the storms of tribulation.

As a result, Orderic concludes, "the horns of the Gentiles were broken" with God's thunder, "and the Christians lifted up their heads and rendered praise to the unconquered Lord of hosts."

8.5.2 *The course of events*

The following account of Belek's siege of Manbij and subsequent death emerges from the consideration of the sources: by the end of April 1124 Belek was in preparations to bring aid to Tyre, which was under Frankish siege since January. In the meanwhile he sent his cousin Timurtash with a detachment to Manbij in order to arrest its emir Hassan al-Ba'lbakki. This town was situated on the lines of communication between Aleppo and Belek's base in Diyar Bakr, and its loyalty was indispensable for the safe transfer of the troops and other resources necessary to defend Aleppo, or to aid Tyre. In this respect it was similar to Harran, the emir of which Belek had arrested on the suspicion of collaborating with Joscelin and the Franks imprisoned there. Probably suspecting Hassan of similar collusion with the Franks, Belek ordered Timurtash to summon him outside to join a raid to Tell-Bashir, and then to get hold of his person and his town.

Hassan and the lower city were indeed captured in this way, but his brother Isa ascended the citadel and refused to surrender notwithstanding the tortures inflicted upon Hassan in his sight. Instead he sent for aid to Joscelin, with the promise of delivering the town to him. While Hassan was sent to be imprisoned in Balu or perhaps Kharput, Belek came to join Timurtash upon the emergence of this issue. Joscelin was staying at Antioch at this time, and went immediately into action. He was eager to get hold of this castle in his region, and concerned to prevent Belek from consolidating his hold on the area by taking it and securing his communications with Diyar Bakr. Collecting troops from the Principality of Antioch and the County of Edessa, and being joined by Geoffrey of Mar'ash as well as by the Armenian lord of Duluk, Aintab and Ra'ban, he advanced against Belek's forces to raise the siege.

The ensuing battle took place on 5 May, on the plain near Manbij. At first the Franks gained the upper hand, putting one wing of Belek's army to flight and destroying the other. But the Turkish center held firm, and surrounding a sizeable detachment of Frankish cavalry, slaughtered most of them; Geoffrey of Mar'ash was among the slain. Upon this the rest of the Frankish army turned in flight, and Joscelin took refuge in Tell Bashir. The next day Belek prepared to entrust the conduct of the siege to Timurtash and then to advance against the Franks before Tyre. As he was choosing a place to set up the mangonel, however, he was killed by an arrow fired from the citadel, possibly by Isa himself or perhaps by an Armenian sun-worshipper. Belek's army disbanded upon his death. Timurtash carried Belek's body to Aleppo and got hold of the city, while Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman took over Kharput and Dawud ibn Sokman seized Balu. Released by one of the latter two, Hassan returned to Manbij.

As Claude Cahen points out,¹²⁵ Belek's death and the division of his possessions among the other Artukids severed the vital link between Aleppo and the Jazira once more as had happened earlier for a time after Ilghazi's death, and this time it could not be established during the period of Artukid rule in the city. None of the successors of Ilghazi and Belek possessed the prestige and the ability of unifying leadership that had enabled them to draw upon the assistance and troops of the other emirs in the family.¹²⁶ As a result, although Timurtash held both Aleppo and Mardin and it seemed as if the link in question could be maintained under his rule, he found himself deprived of the forces needed to defend Aleppo. He was unwilling at any rate to continue the policy of his father and cousin, because of various reasons including his natural disposition. With Timurtash's consequent withdrawal to Mardin Aleppo

¹²⁵ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 298.

¹²⁶ See on this point Usta, "Artuklular," 475.

found itself abandoned once more to its fate, being deprived of the troops and resources of Diyar Bakr. The city was to suffer the grave consequences of this situation before the end of the year.

In the meanwhile the Franks around Tyre and elsewhere jubilated at Belek's death, all the more so as Joscelin and other Franks in his company had spread the story that this was their own feat accomplished in a victorious battle. Indeed from their own perspective the Franks were more than justified in rejoicing, as Belek's unexpected death not only rescued them from a formidable adversary in both Syria and Mesopotamia, but by thwarting his planned advance against the besiegers of Tyre, also sealed the fate of that city. For this was to remain the last such attempt after the failure of previous efforts to obtain aid or a diversion from Tughtekin and the Fatimids. While the last hope of the besieged was thus destroyed, the Franks pressed the siege with more vigor, and capturing the city a few months later, took possession of the whole Syrio-Lebanese littoral — a great strategic gain that would perhaps have been impossible were it not for Belek's untimely death.¹²⁷

8.6 Belek's approach to jihad

In his encyclopaedia article on Belek, Mükrimin Halil Yinanç remarks that he was one of the "bravest heroes" to have emerged from the ranks of Turks and Muslims, one who passed his entire life in waging jihad against the Crusaders. For this reason, he states, the emir's death proved to be a great mishap for the Muslims, causing the Crusaders to recover from their recent defeats.¹²⁸ Even though other students of the subject do not sound so rhapsodic, they agree that Belek was a formidable foe

¹²⁷ On this point also see Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 597, 612, 614-16.

¹²⁸ Yinanç, "Belek," 472.

of the Franks, who united the Muslims in jihad and became, in Cahen's words, "one of the first leaders of the Muslim revival against the Crusaders."¹²⁹

Admitting that Belek was still basically a Turkoman chief, Cahen attributes this leadership to what he calls his "striking personality." Placing similar emphasis on Belek's personality, Runciman asserts that among all the Turkish leaders who had confronted the Crusaders, Belek had displayed "the greatest energy and wisdom," and was therefore justified in declaring that his own death was "the slaughter of all Muslims."¹³⁰ Approving Belek's last words from a different point of view, Grousset asserts that by the time of his death "this energetic Turk had begun to build... the unity of Islam against the Franks," and with more success than Ilghazi owing to his "better sense of government."¹³¹ Aydin Usta brings the two points of view together, stating that Belek pursued a wiser policy against the Franks than his uncles Sokman and Ilghazi, for whereas they had failed to take full advantage of their victories in the battles of Harran and *Ager Sanguinis* Belek, following his capture of the Frankish leaders, had united "the forces of the entire Muslim world" in order to deliver them the death-blow.¹³²

Most of these judgements seem questionable. To begin with, there were numerous and sometimes rather long time gaps between Belek's campaigns against the Franks, and this qualifies the claims that he had spent his entire time waging jihad as an energetic leader. From his capture of Joscelin in September 1122 to his siege of Gargar and depredations in the area, which resulted in the capture of Baldwin in April 1123, there passed around six or seven months without any major undertaking against the Franks. Again, after Belek had captured the king and seized Hisn Mansur

¹²⁹ Cahen, "Belek," I, 983.

¹³⁰ Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 165.

¹³¹ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 597.

¹³² Usta, "Artuklular," 475.

and Gargar, he dedicated his efforts to taking over Harran and Aleppo, and did not march against the Franks until his campaign to Jabal Summaq some three months later, in July. After he had recovered Kharput in September 1123 he similarly did not undertake any new attempts against the Franks until his campaign against Azaz in January 1124. Following his defeat in that battle he again entered a period of inactivity, still recovering perhaps from his loss of men and morale, and it took him another three months before he sent a detachment against the same town in April 1124. Despite the success of this attack, he did not undertake a new campaign against Azaz. Instead he began preparations to go to the aid of Tyre, but marched to Manbij instead when his cousin Timurtash was unable to capture it on his behalf.

Moreover, Belek's purpose in these campaigns was not to deliver the "death-blow" to the Latin principalities, for these were far from a state of weakness that would suggest such a course of action. He rather aimed to defend his home territory against the Franks and Armenians in the Jazira and at the same time to protect Aleppo by pushing back the Antiochene borderline that extended from Azaz to Jabal Summaq. It was also mainly for this purpose that Belek undertook the ambitious campaign against Azaz in which he joined forces with Tughtekin and Aksungur. His alliance with these two Muslim leaders for a single campaign can hardly be taken as evidence that he had set out to unite the "entire Muslim world" in order to inflict a final defeat on the Franks. This is also revealed by the fact that the campaign had no sequel except for a raiding party that he sent against Azaz some three months later. Significantly, Belek turned after this to attack a Muslim town, Manbij.

Indeed when this last campaign of the emir is considered in connection with his previous capture of Aleppo and Harran, the lands of Akhlat and the castle of Muhaddad, the "Muslim unity" he is said to have been striving at assumes a rather

ominuous tone reminiscent of the propaganda of Saladin and Nur al-Din. The content of that propaganda has been accepted by some modern scholars as well.¹³³ Similarly, Imad al-Din Khalil fails to address the full implications of his following apt observation: “Belek’s concern to impose his will on some of the Muslim strongholds and to annex them to his principality prevented him from establishing his authority over the major part of North Syria, and also spared the Crusaders greater defeats at his hands.” Instead he ventures to attribute this policy to the emir’s desire to confront the Franks with a united Muslim principality with abundant resources.¹³⁴

At this point Belek’s own approach to jihad propaganda deserves a closer look. Emmanuel Sivan, who dwells on Ilghazi at length in his study of the rise of the jihad movement, contents himself in this case with noting that Belek, like his predecessor in Aleppo, Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman, scarcely made use of jihad propaganda.¹³⁵ But, Carole Hillenbrand points out in contrast that Belek’s tomb inscription constitutes “a key piece of evidence in any discussion of the evolution of the concept of jihad in Syria in the early Crusading period.” This is all the more so, she notes, as it is one of the few inscriptions about jihad that has survived from the period 1099-1146, when out of the entire Muslim world such inscriptions were only found in Syria.¹³⁶

The text of this elaborate inscription, preserved today in the Museum of Damascus, has been reconstituted by Jean Sauvaget.¹³⁷ It reads as follows:

“Their Lord giveth them good tidings of mercy from Him, and acceptance, and gardens where enduring pleasure will be theirs.” (Qur’an IX, 21)

¹³³ See for example Nikita Elisséeff, *Nur ad-Din: Un Grand Prince Musulman de Syrie au Temps de Croisades* (Damascus, 1967); Hamilton Gibb, *The Life of Saladin* (Oxford, 1973).

¹³⁴ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 275-77.

¹³⁵ Emmanuel Sivan, *L’Islam et le Croisade: Idéologie et Propagande dans Réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris, 1960), 42.

¹³⁶ Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), 110.

¹³⁷ Jean Sauvaget, “La Tombe de l’Ortokide Balak,” *Ars Islamica* 5 (1938), 107-08.

In the name of God, the Clement, the Merciful — “Think not of those who are slain in the way of Allah as dead. Nay, they are living. With their Lord they have provision.” (Qur’an III, 163)

The martyr, the emir in need of the mercy of his Lord, Nur al-Daw[la Belek ibn Balhram ibn Artuk, the pride of religion, the sun of emirs, the sword of those who fight the Holy War, the leader of the armies of the Muslims, the defender of the Imam, the arrow of kings, the vanquisher of the infidels and polytheists, has been called to God. He has found martyrdom — may God be pleased with him, illuminate his grave and show him mercy — in the month of Rabi‘ I, 518.”

By these series of resonant titles, Hillenbrand observes, the inscription extolls Belek as a Muslim leader in the fight against the unbelievers, displaying in this way a clear concern of the emir with jihad against the Franks. She adds that the Qur’anic verses quoted represent Belek as a jihad warrior martyred in the way of God, with Paradise as his reward, while the emir is also directly called a “martyr” in the text. Based on this evidence, she suggests that Belek “might have inspired a Muslim response to the Franks much earlier” if he had lived. This evaluation of Belek is quite different from Hillenbrand’s approach to Ilghazi, who she says had only briefly picked up and then dropped jihad propaganda, and failed to use the opportunity offered by his victory at *Ager Sanguinis* to launch an ambitious offensive against the Franks. She attributes this to Ilghazi’s lack of awareness about the Franks’ difference from other groups contending for power in Syria.

These views of Hillenbrand concerning Ilghazi have been criticized in the final section of the previous chapter, which offers a general evaluation of that emir’s policies toward the Franks as well as of his approach to jihad. In the light of the discussions there, it emerges that Hillenbrand tends to overestimate Belek’s difference from Ilghazi in this respect. As in the case of his uncle, what Belek essentially undertook to do against the Franks was to try and prevent them from capturing Aleppo and tilting the balance of power in Syria and the Jazira in their own favor, all the while as he treated the city as a remote dependency. Accordingly he restricted himself like

Ilghazi to the task of pushing back the borderline between Aleppo and the Principality. However, he focused his attacks on the northern and southern ends of this borderline, Azaz¹³⁸ and the castles in Jabal Summaq, because of the difficulty of recovering Zardana and al-Atharib after Baldwin had fortified the monastery of Dair Sarmada. Again like Ilghazi, Belek does not seem to have made any plans for attacking and taking Antioch or any other Frankish center, being aware of the enduring power of the Franks in their own domains despite the setbacks they had lately suffered at Artukid hands.

Just as in Ilghazi's case, this strategy directed at limited and well-defined goals did not prevent Belek from regarding and presenting himself as a mujahid. Ilghazi had acquired his reputation as the foremost adversary of the Franks after his victory at *Ager Sanguinis*, and we have seen how he acknowledged this renown. Belek had a similar reputation established after his capture of Frankish leaders of such stature as the King of Jerusalem and the Count of Edessa, and likewise he seems to have welcomed it.¹³⁹ Corresponding to Ilghazi's letters to the sultan and the caliph as well as to the celebratory poems of jihad written in his honor, we have in Belek's case the aforementioned inscription on his tombstone. And like the way Ilghazi had answered the call from Tiflis for aid and the offer of alliance made by the Byzantine emperor against Bohemond II, Belek responded positively to the call from Tyre for

¹³⁸ Precisely speaking, Azaz was a possession of the County of Edessa since autumn 1122, when Joscelin had received it as the dowry of his new bride. But geographically it stood on the northern end of the borderline between the territory of Aleppo and the Principality of Antioch.

¹³⁹ Belek's perception of himself as a mujahid against the Franks apparently did not render him a religious fanatic, as is evident from an interesting anecdote reported by the contemporary author Gerard of Nazareth. Gerard relates that a certain Latin hermit-monk by the name of Bernard of Blois, who was living in the Amanos mountains at the time, came to visit Baldwin in Kharput during the latter's imprisonment. When he was taken before Belek he began to preach to the emir, trying to convert him. Belek was seized by wrath upon this, but the monk declared that even if a spear were put through his body he would not give up telling the truth. Nevertheless, Belek eventually let him to get away without any harm. Benjamin Kedar, "Gerard of Nazareth, a Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East: a Contribution to the Intellectual and Monastic History of the Crusader states," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 37 (1983), 67.

aid as it was besieged by the Franks and Venetians — even though he was prevented by his untimely death from actually helping it.

Belek's decision to go to the aid of Tyre was moreover no foolhardy venture as had been the case with Ilghazi's campaign to aid Tiflis, a city completely outside the Artukids' sphere of influence. In this respect Michael Köhler is not justified when he argues that this move of Belek's showed him ready to fight the Franks out of his sphere of influence, and therefore constituted an exception to the general policy of the local emirs, as these latter only aimed to preserve their independence as well as to avert any critical shift in the power balance of the region.¹⁴⁰ Belek had good reason to fear that the capture of Tyre by the Franks could have serious effects on the balance of power in Syria, as it would furnish them with additional troops and resources, including those to arrive from Europe at their new port. Among other results, it would also enable them to increase their pressure on Aleppo.¹⁴¹ For this reason, Belek's response to the summons from Tyre is better regarded in the same class as his and Ilghazi's takeover of Aleppo, namely as a part of the strategy of preventing the Franks from growing too powerful in Syria by defending key strategic points against them. Tyre was just another such strategic location, since its fall to the Franks would have completed their conquest of the entire Syrian littoral — as it did in the event.

While Hillenbrand thus overestimates the difference between Ilghazi and Belek as regards their general approach to jihad, she fails to take notice of a remarkable irony in the inscription, one that might point to an important difference between

¹⁴⁰ Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1991), 143-44.

¹⁴¹ Indeed Ibn al-Athir attributes the eventual Frankish siege of Aleppo to the boost of morale and self-confidence provided by their capture of Tyre (8 July 1124), which he says inspired them with the am-

the two in this respect: although Belek is extolled as a martyr in the text, he had in fact been killed while fighting against a Muslim rather than a Frankish town, and quite possibly by the arrow of the Muslim emir he was besieging in the citadel. This irony is also evident in Belek's exclamation that his death was in fact "the slaughter of all Muslims," as if he had been mortally wounded while fighting against the Franks.

Admittedly, Belek and those who composed his tombstone inscription (perhaps drawing on the emir's suggestions as well) had some apparently solid reasons to speak and write as though he had been martyred in jihad.¹⁴² One of these was that the emir defending the citadel had not flinched from summoning the Franks to aid him against Belek, and he had been compelled to fight a formidable battle with the Christians for this reason. Another was that Manbij, like Harran and the castle of Muhaddad, was of strategic importance for the security of the route over which he brought the troops and resources necessary to defend Aleppo against the Franks, or to march to the relief of Tyre. For the only way to march safely from Kharput to Aleppo was to follow a roundabout route to avoid the territories controlled by the Franks of Edessa, passing to the east and south of them. The three towns and castles in question lay

bition of gaining mastery over entire Syria. Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 492 and *Chronicle*, 253-54 (518: 1124-1125).

¹⁴² Of course Belek's dying declaration, which seems to support the point of view evident in the inscription, may have been placed in his mouth posthumously by common rumor circulating among these pietist circles. Therefore it might be reflecting how he appeared to them in hindsight, rather than how he saw himself. This is all the more so as Aleppo was besieged by the Franks soon after Belek's death, and found itself confronted with the greatest danger and hardships it had met since the arrival of the Franks in the region (see the next chapter for the story of this siege). It could receive no help either from Belek's successor Timurtash, who, being both unwilling and unable to fight the Franks, had already withdrawn to Mardin. Add to this the heightened jihad fervor in the city caused by the danger and the sacrilegious acts of the Franks, and there was more than enough reason for the citizens of Aleppo to believe that the death of Belek had been "the slaughter of all Muslims." Showing Belek himself expressing this idea just before his death would help constitute a memorable image that embodied their longing for his reign. It must be confessed that this possibility cannot be fully excluded. Nevertheless, the perspective evident in Belek's dying declaration as well as in the inscription on his tombstone is also observable in the ground he presented to the notables of Aleppo as he tried to take the city: his willingness to drive the Franks away from it. Due to its less suspicion-provoking context, this statement can be attributed to Belek with more confidence, whatever his own degree of sincerity

on this route of approach to Aleppo, and their loyalty was extremely important to Belek for this reason.

In these circumstances, and especially before he set out to help Tyre, Belek must have deemed it necessary to secure the loyalty of Manbij after he had taken the other two, so that he would be safe against any attempts on Joscelin's part to block that route. Such a blockade would have had disastrous consequences for the proper defence of Aleppo. The task was all the more urgent as Manbij's emir Hassan was suspected of being in collusion with the Franks, just like the governor of Harran whom Belek had previously arrested. This suspicion seems to be corroborated by the speedy summons for aid sent by Hassan's brother to Joscelin, a fact suggesting that the brothers had already been in contact with the count.

Indeed the reason why Belek ventured to take over Aleppo itself, as far as he asserted it during his siege of the city, was also his desire to ensure that it was properly defended against the Franks. He would be able to carry out this task much better than his weak and inefficient cousin who had recently given away the strategically vital stronghold of al-Atharib.

In all these cases, nevertheless, the emirs that Belek wanted to dispossess seem uncannily similar to the types familiar from the propaganda employed by Nur al-Din and Saladin to justify their attacks on other Muslims: one of these was the treacherous Muslim collaborator with the Franks whom the mujahid had to overcome before he could confidently advance against the "infidels" themselves. Another was the inefficient and timorous emir who, because of his inability to wage jihad, forfeited his right to these towns and lands that the mujahid could use and defend better against the Franks.

might have been. In turn it bolsters the possibility that the similar point of view observable in the declaration and the tombstone inscription represented Belek's own way of thinking as well.

Furthermore, the steps Belek used to get hold of these towns or the measures he took after he had obtained them bear a strong resemblance to the cases in which jihad was instrumentalized by Zangi and his successors. The way he used an invitation to jihad and his reputation in fighting the Franks to attempt to trap the emir of Manbij and take his town is exactly the same as the method Zangi would use in 1130 to capture Tughtekin's grandson Savinj ibn Buri and seize his town, Hama.¹⁴³ He used his reputation for jihad similarly when he assured the notables of Aleppo that he wanted to take over its government only to ward off the Franks and not in order to possess it, but then banished them and proceeded to assume full power in the city.¹⁴⁴

When considered together with the immediate context of his dying words and tombstone inscription, Belek's efforts to take possession of Muslim towns, and the grounds and methods he used in the process, reveal an interesting similarity between him and later leaders like Zangi, Nur al-Din and Saladin. These latter regarded and presented their attacks against other Muslim emirs as a necessary part of jihad, and in the process did not flinch from instrumentalizing jihad either. Belek resembled them and differed from Ilghazi in that he could consider his warfare against other Muslims as part of jihad, and sometimes used his reputation in Holy War to make acquisitions at the expense of other Muslim emirs. These techniques cannot be detected in Ilghazi's career.

Nevertheless, Belek was also different from these later leaders. Firstly, his ventures against Muslim towns and territories were comparatively few, and apart from the capture of the lands of Akhlāt, they seem to have been restricted to taking Aleppo and the three towns situated on its communication lines with Diyar Bakr. It should also be noted that among these three towns Harran and probably Muhaddad

¹⁴³ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 200-02 (524: 1129-1130).

surrendered of their own accord, without putting up any resistance. This difference of Belek from Zangi, Nur al-Din and Saladin could perhaps be attributed to the fact that being a local emir with limited powers, he was less capable of annexing other Muslim principalities.

But then these limited powers do not seem to have prevented Belek from attacking the Franks: indeed a second difference of his from the later leaders is that the campaigns he made against the Franks or Armenians far exceeded those against Muslims, notwithstanding the fact that they were sometimes separated by several months of inactivity. Apart from his capture of the Frankish leaders and recovery of Kharput, Belek took Gargar, Hisn Mansur and al-Bara, carried out depredations around Kahta and Kaisun, as well as brief raids against Tell-Bashir and Edessa, unsuccessfully besieged Kafartab and Azaz, and sent a detachment against the latter town. There was also the expedition he planned against the besiegers of Tyre, though he was prevented from realizing it by his death. From other Muslims, in comparison, he captured Aleppo and the lands of Akhlat, in addition to attacking Manbij, and took over Harran and possibly Muhaddad peacefully. This second difference between Belek and the later leaders could be attributed to the fact that in Aleppo and even at his home base in Diyar Bakr he found himself in a more vulnerable position against the Franks, having to fight them frequently as a result: they were surrounding Aleppo once again, and the Armenians under their protectorate kept attacking his territories in Hanzit and elsewhere.

Whatever the reasons for these differences of Belek from the Zangids and Saladin, the fact remains that he dedicated a considerable amount of effort to defending his city Aleppo against the Franks, just like his uncle. This state of affairs sug-

¹⁴⁴ Admittedly, though, he had reason to believe that they had intrigued against him in his absence. See section 8.3.

gests that the justification he offered for his bid for the city was not merely a cynical pretext to get hold of it. Of course this does not mean that Belek was acting selflessly and idealistically as he took Aleppo to defend it against the Franks: just like Ilghazi at the time of his takeover of Aleppo, he was trying to avert its fall to the Franks, a development that could have momentous consequences for the power balance in the region and threaten the possessions and interests of the whole Artukid family in the Jazira. It is also a fact that the other Muslim towns Belek took or attempted to take were not only few, some of them yielding without resistance, but all had a common characteristic, their importance for securing the vital link between Aleppo and the Jazira. Therefore Belek's motive in attacking these towns was again to protect his possessions and interests against the threat posed by his powerful Frankish neighbors.

For this reason, instead of contenting ourselves with a cynical view of Belek's consideration of his warfare against Muslims as part of jihad, we may attempt a further reformulation of the contemporary (early twelfth-century) understanding of jihad to grasp how come he may have seen it in this light. We have already seen that Ilghazi and Belek regarded their warfare as jihad when the rival they had to confront in their efforts to defend and augment their possessions and strategic interests happened to be the Franks. Now Belek seems to have gone a step further and regarded his warfare as jihad also when he had to dispossess a Muslim adversary in order to defend those possessions and interests better against a Frankish rival. Or, to put it in other words, he apparently considered his warfare as jihad also when he had to dispossess a Muslim adversary in order to better defend his possessions and interests against another rival, and when this latter rival happened to be the Franks.

The case was different in respect of Nur al-Din and Saladin, as in their time there had developed a fully-fledged jihad ideology based on the professed aim of expelling the Franks from the Near East and taking all their centers — which was hardly the case in Belek's time. It was due to this ideological magnification and sanctification of their goal in warfare against the Franks, which seemingly carried it beyond the defense of their personal possessions and interests against rivals Muslim or Frank, that they could regard their relatively much more frequent warfare against Muslims still as a part of jihad. The fully developed jihad ideology, with its grandiose aim lingering over the horizon and seeming to require an infinite amount of resources, was what allowed them to take their expansionist policy against other Muslims far beyond their actual warfare against the Franks. Potentially it justified even the conquest of the entire Muslim world before a single arrow would be loosed at the "infidels."

Indeed it is here that the final reason for the difference between these leaders and Belek lies, intellectual in nature but perhaps the most important: their purely ideological understanding of jihad, as against the practical understanding of Belek and his contemporaries in the early twelfth century. Paradoxically, the ideological magnification of their goal in warfare against the Franks, which gave it an idealistic, selfless appearance, resulted in the decrease of their confrontations with the Franks and the increase of those with Muslims, turning the latter into a veritable onslaught of territorial self-aggrandizement at the expense of other Muslims.

Summarizing all these considerations, it can be stated that Belek's approach to jihad resembled that of Ilghazi in its general lines: when he had to confront the Franks in the limited framework of protecting his possessions and strategic interests,

including the preservation of the balance of power in the region, he regarded and presented this as jihad, and enjoying the prestige he derived from his successes against the Franks, considered himself as the protector of Muslims in a general sense. But we have evidence that he may have differed from his uncle in that he regarded and presented his clashes with other Muslims as jihad too, insofar as the conquest of certain Muslim towns rendered it easier and safer for him to defend his possessions and strategic interests against Frankish neighbors. In this respect he partly resembled later leaders like Zangi, Nur al-Din and Saladin, who counted their warfare against other Muslims as a part of jihad.

But Belek also differed from these leaders in two respects. The first was that almost all of his few campaigns against Muslims were restricted to taking Aleppo and a few towns on its lines of communication with the Jazira. This can arguably be attributed to his limited means as a local emir to pursue a truly expansionist policy on Muslim ground. Nevertheless, his second difference from the later leaders was that he clashed much more frequently with the Franks than with the Muslims, which might be due in turn to his more vulnerable position against the Franks in Syria and even the Jazira. But the intellectual and perhaps chief reason for this difference lay in their ideological as against Belek's practical understanding of jihad: since the goal they professed to pursue, the hallowed, grandiose goal of expelling the Franks altogether from the Near East, went far beyond the personal aim of defending their possessions and interests against Frankish rivals, no amount of resources could be deemed sufficient for it. Accordingly, they could justify to themselves even the conquest of the whole of entire Muslim Syria and Mesopotamia, not to mention Egypt, before venturing a serious move against the Franks.

With Belek's death the Artukid period of confrontation with the Franks over Aleppo came to an end, since his cousin Timurtash was to adopt a much different method for dealing with them, as we shall see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 9

ALEPPO ABANDONED: TIMURTASH'S WITHDRAWAL TO

DIYAR BAKR AND ITS AFTERMATH

9.1 Timurtash's release of Baldwin and abandonment of Aleppo

The Franks did not delay in taking advantage of Belek's death; only a few days later Joscelin's deputy in Edessa launched a raid into the region of Shabakhtan. Nevertheless, he was confronted and defeated by Timurtash's commander Umar al-Khass. Ibn al-Adim relates how Umar collected three hundred men and pursued the Franks, catching up with them near Marj-Aqsas. In the ensuing fight Joscelin's deputy and most of his men were killed, and their heads as well as the booty collected were sent to Aleppo.¹ In the meantime Michael, the former Armenian lord of Gargar, recovered both this castle and Babula by exploiting the conflict between Belek's protégé Tughril Arslan of Melitene, who had taken hold of Gargar and Masara, and Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman, who wanted to seize it from him.² Belek's demise and the

¹ Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 643.

² Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, edited and translated by J. B. Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910), III, 219; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated by Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham, New York, London, 1993), 233 (III.97).

consequent divisions among the Artukids soon led to more momentous results, bringing Aleppo to the brink of capture and leading to its loss by the family. It all began when Timurtash decided to release King Baldwin in return for a ransom, a promise of alliance, and substantial territorial concessions.

9.1.1 *The perspectives of the sources*

9.1.1.1 *Ibn al-Adim*

Ibn al-Adim offers the most detailed account about Timurtash's agreement with the king and the subsequent loss of Aleppo. The chronicler seems to have mainly drawn upon the various disparate and sometimes conflicting reports in his biographies of Aksungur al-Bursuki³ and Dubais ibn Sadaqa⁴ in *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab* to form the coherent and more concise account in *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*.⁵ Despite this, the latter also contains some original information that is not found in the *Bughya*, such as the clash of Timurtash and Dubais at Marj-Dabik.

The first part of the account in the *Zubda*, up to the siege of Aleppo and the Franks' depredations, is mainly based on the long chronicle of the contemporary author Al-Azimi, which is no longer extant but quoted at length in the biography of Dubais. The latter half of this account, beginning with the dispatch of Ibn al-Adim's great-grandfather and other envoys to seek aid from Mardin and Mosul, and ending with Aksungur's relief of the city, is based on the information that Ibn al-Adim had heard from his father and grandfather and set down in his biography of Aksungur al-Bursuki. On the other hand, Ibn al-Adim seems to have excluded from the *Zubda* the

³ Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, edited by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1976), 204-15 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, translated by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1982), 126-34.

⁴ *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 224-50 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, 139-57.

⁵ Ibn al-Adim, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* III, 643-50.

information in these two biographies that does not issue from the two sources in question, Al-Azimi and his own family. This information excluded from the *Zubda*, for which Ibn al-Adim indicates no source in the biographies themselves unlike his usual practice in the *Bughya*, contains many chronological confusions as well as some serious errors like attributing the rulership of Mardin to Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman instead of Timurtash. In the following, therefore, we shall mainly follow the chronicler's account in the *Zubda*, noting where appropriate different or additional information of significance found in the *Bughya*.

Ibn al-Adim criticizes Timurtash's ruling skills immediately at the beginning of his account of the emir's reign in Aleppo. "When Timurtash got hold of Aleppo," he states, "youthfulness and play distracted him from setting to work with diligence and seeing to the affairs of the city. As a result, the situation deteriorated and the power of the Muslims in Aleppo was reduced." On 10 Jumada I (24 June 1124), he reports, Timurtash arrived at an agreement with King Baldwin, who committed himself to return Azaz, al-Atharib, Zardana, al-Jazr and Kafartab to Aleppo. Baldwin also promised to pay a ransom of eighty thousand dinars, of which twenty was to be paid in advance. In an additional term Baldwin accepted under oath that he would ally with Timurtash against Dubais ibn Sadaqa and work for the latter's ruin.

Ibn al-Adim explains that Dubais, the lord of Hilla, after he had been attacked and defeated by the caliph Mustarshid, had arrived in Syria to seek refuge by the side of Salim Ibn Malik, the lord of Ja'bar. In search of a new base for himself, he had established correspondance with a group of Aleppans, requesting them to deliver the city to himself in return for a certain sum of money.⁶ This was discovered by the

⁶ In the *Bughya*, probably as a result of a misreading, this appears as *teslīmihimā* instead of *teslīmihā*, and accordingly has been translated as if it were the two Frankish chiefs, Baldwin and Galeran, that Dubais wanted to be delivered to him, rather than the city itself. But there is no mention of Galeran at this point in the text, and with some chronological confusion, it is related that around this time Dubais

ra'is of the city, Fadail ibn Sa'id ibn Badi', and communicated to Timurtash, who had Dubais's collaborators placed under arrest and tortured; some were hung, some had their properties confiscated, and others were burnt. In the *Bughya* Ibn al-Adim reveals that Dubais was encamped before Manbij at this time, having pitched camp there on Wednesday 16 Jumada II 518 (30 July 1124). According to that source, however, it was the *ra'is* who executed and banished the culprits, rather than Timurtash himself.⁷ This event shows that Timurtash was indeed justified in his apprehensions about Dubais's intentions, and these fears may have been one of the primary reasons why he chose to conclude the agreement with Baldwin.

Ibn al-Adim states that the lord of Shaizar, Emir Abu'l-Asakir Sultan ibn Munqidh, acted as mediator in the negotiations, sending his sons and nephews to Aleppo to stand as hostages for Baldwin. Before the king went to Shaizar he was led to the presence of Timurtash, who ate and drank with him and gave him in gift a royal tunic, a cap of gold, and ornamented slippers, along with the prize horse that had been taken from him on the day of his capture. Ibn al-Adim gives the date of Baldwin's travel to Shaizar as Wednesday 4 Jumada I (18 June 1124), about one week before the conclusion of the agreement, so a part of the negotiations seems to have been conducted while Baldwin was already at Shaizar. He waited here until the twelve hostages including his own daughter, Joscelin's son and the children of other Frankish notables were brought to stand as surety that he would abide by the terms of the agreement. He also paid the twenty thousand dinars that he had agreed to pay in advance, and was released on Friday 17 of Rajab (29 August).

made friends with Baldwin and Joscelin at the Castle of Ja'bar. Accordingly it would have been inconsistent for Ibn al-Adim to report that Dubais tried to secure Baldwin's release and at the same time that he made friends with the king at Ja'bar. In the *Zubda*, this episode of alliance at Ja'bar is correctly moved to the point after Baldwin's release. Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 228 and *Buġyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, 142, in "Aksungur el-Porsuki."

But as soon as Baldwin was released from Shaziar, Ibn al-Adim reports with a curse, he betrayed the agreement. Sending a message to Timurtash, he informed the emir that Patriarch Bernard had inquired about the terms of the agreement and ordered him to repudiate the clause about the delivery of Azaz; “Should you find yourself guilty on this account let that guilt be mine,” he had said. The king apologized in conclusion that the Christians could not disagree with the patriarch, and therefore he was incapable of opposing him on this issue.

Işın Demirkent and Michael Köhler have questioned this report of Ibn al-Adim, suggesting that King Baldwin may not have been responsible in fact for a breach of the agreement with Timurtash. Demirkent points out that Azaz belonged to Joscelin of Edessa at this time, having come into his hands as the dowry of Roger of Antioch’s sister, and was therefore not at the disposal of Baldwin as Antioch’s lord. She states that there would have been no problem if it had been Joscelin, rather than the patriarch, who had objected to the delivery of the castle, because Azaz would soon become the bone of contention in a violent struggle between Joscelin and Bohemond II. Even if the patriarch had indeed brought forward such an argument, she observes, he ought to have done so for al-Atharib, Zardana and Kafartab as well, which definitely belonged to Antioch. Moreover, although the patriarch is shown as objecting to the delivery of Azaz only, the king did not surrender any of the other castles either. Based on these seeming contradictions, and on Fulcher’s failure to mention the terms in question as well as the patriarch’s objection, Demirkent rejects this part of Ibn al-Adim’s account.⁸

⁷ Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 232-33 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, 145, in “Dubais ibn Sadaqa.”

⁸ Işın Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu Tarihi*, 2 vols. (Vol. 1: İstanbul, 1974; Vol. 2: Ankara, 1994), II, 56-7.

Demirkent seems to belabor the issue of Azaz, however. At a time when Antioch had no ruler of its own, and the regent Baldwin was still in captivity, such meticulous distinctions of property between Antioch and Edessa were unlikely to be made, though this would become an issue after Bohemond II's arrival. Moreover, the patriarch's religious authority to dissolve the king and other Franks from their oaths to Muslims was general, and not restricted to the territory of Antioch. After learning the term about the surrender of Azaz, Patriarch Bernard may have desired to hear no more of the rest and delivered Baldwin from his obligation to surrender any of them. This may have been reflected in Ibn al-Adim's account as if he had objected only to the delivery of Azaz. As for Fulcher, we shall see that he had his own reasons to suppress the embarrassing details about the agreement and the king's breach of it.

Michael Köhler objects to Ibn al-Adim's story from a different point of view. He asserts that Baldwin could not be easily charged with deceiving Timurtash, given the uncertainty of whether he had a right to surrender the possessions of Antioch in his function as regent. At least for the delivery of Azaz, he suggests, the king may have needed the consent of the patriarch and the princely court.⁹ Nevertheless, Imad al-Din Khalil points out rightly that Baldwin could have coped with such formalities in one way or another, given his position as *de facto* master of Antioch.¹⁰ It is hard to imagine at any rate that the king was ready on his part to deliver the castles and undo all the work of the recent years, but was only prevented from doing so by the constraint of the patriarch and nobles in Antioch. Even if the latter had brought no objections, Baldwin would still have been unwilling to give away Azaz or any of the other castles in question, considering their importance for both the defence of the eastern

⁹ Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1991), 145-46.

¹⁰ Imad al-Din Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya fi'l-Jazira wa'l-Sham* (Beirut, 1980), 280.

frontier of the Principality and the long-run plan of encircling, if possible taking Aleppo.¹¹ For all these reasons, it seems more plausible to accept with Khalil that the objection of the patriarch was hardly more than a pretext, a strategem that Baldwin used to justify his breach of the agreement.

Ibn al-Adim goes on to relate that messengers kept going back and forth between Timurtash and the Franks, without any result being reached, while Baldwin and Joscelin developed intimate relations with Dubais through the intermediacy of Salim ibn Malik. In the previous chapter we have seen Orderic Vitalis claim that the lord of Ja'bar had regularly sent money to Baldwin while the latter was held as prisoner in Kharput. Evidently, the emir regarded his connection with the Franks as a sort of security against the Artukid family. Thanks to him an agreement was concluded between Dubais and the Franks, stipulating that Aleppo would belong to Dubais while the citizens as well as their money and chattels would belong to the Franks; the latter would also receive certain lands in the territory of Aleppo. After this, Ibn al-Adim reports, Dubais advanced toward Marj-Dabik and defeated Timurtash who had come out against him. The latter thus learned of the Franks' betrayal and alliance with Dubais, and set out for Mardin on 25 Rajab (6 September 1124) to collect troops as well as to seek help from his brother Shams al-Din Sulaiman, the lord of Mayyafariqin. The Aleppan chronicler Ibn abi-Tayyi (cited by Ibn al-Furat)¹² testifies that he also desired to keep under watch his brother's movements in the Jazira, ensuring that the latter would not try to occupy his territories.

¹¹ See Thomas Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), 84-5. The next section includes a more detailed discussion of this point.

¹² Ibn al-Furat, *Tarikh al-Duwal wa 'l-Muluk*, II, f.85b-6a, cited in Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 281, n. 4.

In Aksungur's biography in the *Bughya*, Ibn al-Adim offers a different version of the events.¹³ Indicating Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman wrongly as the lord of Mardin, he states that Timurtash went upon his brother's death to take over that city and the other places attached to it. He asserts that it was upon learning of the emir's departure that Baldwin broke the agreement. But in fact Timurtash went to Mardin on 6 September, after the king had renounced the agreement on his release (29 August), and according to Ibn al-Azraq Sulaiman died only on Wednesday 6 Ramadan (16 October).¹⁴ The latter historian also gives the date of Timurtash's takeover of Mayyafariqin as Shawwal 518 (10 November – 8 December 1124), and adds that he thus outstripped Dawud ibn Sokman who was preparing to set out for the same town at that time.¹⁵

Ibn al-Adim's account in Aksungur's biography also differs as to the parties and terms of the agreement over Aleppo that was concluded with the Franks. He states that besides Dubais there was also Ibrahim ibn Ridwan on the Muslim side, whereas the Franks were represented by King Baldwin himself. They agreed that the territory of Aleppo would belong to the Muslims, the city would be given to Ibrahim on account of his deceased father's possession of it, and the money and chattels would go to the Franks. Considering that the *Zubda* mentions Sultanshah ibn Ridwan among the besiegers of Aleppo, it is quite possible that either this prince or his brother Ibrahim, or perhaps both of them, participated in the agreement. As Ali Sevim observes,¹⁶ the city would still belong to Dubais in fact, while the presence of a Selju-

¹³ Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 205 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, 127, in "Aksungur el-Porsuki."

¹⁴ Ibn al-Azraq, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: the Early Artukid State (Tarikh Mayyafariqin wa Amid)*, edited and translated by Carole Hillenbrand (İstanbul, 1990), 48 (English) and 157 (Arabic).

¹⁵ Ibn al-Azraq, *Early Artukid State*, 50 (English) and 158 (Arabic).

¹⁶ Ali Sevim, "Temürtaş'ın Halep Hakimiyeti," *Belleten* 25 (1961), 578 and n. 18.

kid prince was calculated to provide a modicum of legitimacy to the Arab emir's claims on Aleppo as well as to his collaboration with the Franks to secure it.

Ibn al-Adim notes that in the meantime the negotiations between Timurtash and Baldwin still dragged on, with the hostages from the Munqidh family remaining at Aleppo and those from amongst the Franks at Shaizar. Finally, on 18 Shaban (29 September), the messengers returned with the news that the truce had been broken and the king had advanced to Artah to attack Aleppo. From Artah he proceeded to camp by the river Quwaik and devastated the region. Then he marched off again and arrived before Aleppo on 6 October, pitching camp to the west of the city. He was joined before long by Joscelin and Dubais, who had set out from Tell Bashir and wasted the valley of Butnan on their way to Aleppo. Ibn al-Adim notes that Joscelin camped to the north of the city, over the road to Azaz and the areas adjacent to it. Dubais pitched camp to his east, along with Sultanshah ibn Ridwan; they were joined here by Isa, the son of Salim ibn Malik. Still further to their east was the camp of Yaghi Siyan ibn Abd al-Jabbar ibn Artuk, lord of Balis, who had fallen out with Timurtash.¹⁷ Ibn al-Adim notes that the tents of the allies amounted to three hundred in all, two hundred of which belonged to the Franks and the remaining hundred to the Muslims.

Some scholars have wanted to see in this collaboration of the Franks and Muslims an alliance against the Turks¹⁸ or the Artukids¹⁹ *per se*. This does not seem to be true, for the allies included Sultanshah (and perhaps also Ibrahim) ibn Ridwan, Tughril Arslan ibn Kilij Arslan and Yaghi Siyan ibn Abd al-Jabbar, all of whom were Turkish and the latter also an Artukid. So it would be more correct to regard

¹⁷ Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 148.

¹⁸ René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-1936), I, 626.

¹⁹ Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 148.

this as an alliance that the local emirs and the Franks effected against a formidable power based outside Syria, not unlike the similar cases in the first half of the 1110s. Let us remember that before this point the emirs of Harran and Manbij had shown themselves ready to collaborate with the Franks against Belek, and also the emir of Qal‘at Ja‘bar was in collusion with them. Apparently, they regarded the Franks as a guarantee of their independence *vis-à-vis* the Artukids. If Tughtekin did not join the alliance, differently from the first half of the 1110s, the reason for this must be sought in his long history of collaboration with Ilghazi and Belek; he had wed his daughter to the former as well. He may also have felt more secure in Damascus from Artukid domination, either because of distance or trust in his own strength or both.

Ibn al-Adim reports at this point that the Franks destroyed a great number of mausoleums, opened the graves of the Muslim dead, and even, digging out their coffins, took them to their tents to use them as chests for food. Robbing the corpses of their shrouds, they attached ropes to their feet, and dragging them before the walls, they exclaimed “Here is your prophet Muhammad!” and “Here is your Ali!”²⁰ Not content with these acts, Ibn al-Adim relates, they took a copy of the Qur’an from one of the mausoleums outside Aleppo, and said: “Muslims, see your book!” One of them bore a hole in it, and tying it with two ropes, made a crupper for his nag. The nag kept dropping dung on the book, and every time the man saw the dung on it, he clapped his hands and laughed in wonder and amusement. Each time they seized a Muslim, the chronicler tells, the Franks cut off his hands and testicles, after which they sent him back to the Muslims. The latter did the same to those they captured,

²⁰ Another point of interest in this passage is that the Franks seem to have been quite knowledgeable about the Muslim religion: if Ibn al-Adim was not projecting his own knowledge to the Franks, they knew that Muhammad and Ali were not worshipped as Gods by the Muslims, and that the first was regarded as a prophet. Their specific mention of Ali would also suggest that they had some elementary knowledge about the tenets of Shi‘ism as well. Of course this is not surprising, given the presence of a numerous Shi‘ite population in Aleppo and the rest of Northern Syria in this period.

and sometimes they hanged them. Ibn al-Adim's main purpose in stressing these atrocities, which were probably of the sporadic kind perpetrated in most conflicts at the time, must have been to show Dubais in a particularly bad light by pointing out what kind of "infidels" he had allied with.

Ibn al-Adim notes that the besieged did not remain passive during this time, but made frequent sorties as raiding bands to intercept the enemy troops or even to carry them off from their camp; they were able to kill or capture many in this way. From the top of the walls they kept crying out to Dubais: "O Dubais! O Nuhais!" expressing that they saw him as the bringer of bad luck and disaster.²¹ Indeed Ibn al-Adim's own consideration of Dubais was not much different, as it emerges from his comments in the emir's biography. It is worth quoting in full the passage where he vehemently objects to the praise that another author had bestowed upon Dubais:

The reports I cite are the words of Abu Sa'd al-Sam'ani. Perhaps the news about how Dubais allied with the Franks to besiege Aleppo and offered the lives and properties of Muslims to the enemies of religion... has not reached him. If he had learned this condemnable and ignominious act which would not have been committed by anybody with sincere faith — if Dubais ever made the confession of Islamic faith, paying lip service, this would only be on account of a despicable idea or an evil design — he would not have said for him: "Perhaps no Bedouin Arab will be born after him who will be his match," or again "the glory of his house was sealed with him."

And all this despite Dubais knew very well that Baldwin — Timurtash had released him from his imprisonment since his capture by Belek ibn Artuk, and made peace with him on condition that he would not attack himself — had broken the truce with Timurtash and the Muslims, failing to observe the terms agreed with him under oath. So Dubais must have known that if the king took control of Aleppo now, he would probably not remain loyal to him either on what they had agreed about the possession of the city. I swear by my life that Dubais has virtually blotted out the honor and glory of his father Sadaqa as well as his excellent qualities that are beyond doubt, and similarly effaced the celebrated exploits and famous feats of his ancestors that have

²¹ Compare Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 229 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, 143, in "Dubais ibn Sadaqa."

been overshadowed by this vile and abominable act recorded and reported by historians.²²

Of course not all contemporaries of Dubais regarded him from the angle of the Aleppans, including Ibn al-Adim himself, as his alliance with Sultanshah ibn Ridwan, Salim ibn Malik and the Artukid Yaghi Siyan makes clear.

Ibn al-Adim notes that peace negotiations were in progress at this time between the Aleppans and the Franks, but before long the besieged found themselves to be in very dire straits. Aleppo was governed in Timurtash's absence by the *qadi* Ibn al-Khashshab, the leader of the pietist pro-jihad circles. He saw to the defense of the city, as well as to the expenditure of money and the distribution of grain, and also served as the *ra'is*. Emmanuel Sivan states that in his double capacity as chief commander and director of the pietists, the *qadi* launched an energetic campaign of jihad propaganda. According to Sivan, this represented the first time that the jihad movement became the "driving force" of a veritable war against the "infidels," quickly winning over the spirits of the populace. He attributes this development both to the desperate situation of the city, whose inhabitants were almost its sole defenders, and to the sacrilegious acts of the Franks.²³ Nevertheless, there is little to show that this occasion represented anything new, that jihad here was anything more than the form in which the Aleppans perceived their struggle against the Frankish aggressors, albeit in particularly lurid colours because of the desperate situation and, possibly, the sacrileges involved. There seems no ground to support Sivan's assumption that jihad propaganda had become an independent "driving force," inciting the Aleppans to fight the Franks as best as they could: they had hardly any other option in fact, as the earlier Christian massacres in cities captured must have shown.

²² Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 238-39 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, 149-50, in "Dubais ibn Sadaqa."

Ibn al-Adim relates that besides Ibn al-Khashshab there were also present in the city Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman ibn Ilghazi and the *shihna* Umar al-Khass, who commanded an army of only five hundred horsemen. The three administrators resolved to send the chronicler's own great-grandfather, Abu Ghanim Muhammad ibn Hibat Allah ibn Abi Jarrada (who was the *qadi* of Aleppo at the time), the *naqīb al-ashrāf* Zuhra and Abu abd Allah ibn Jilli to Mardin in order to ask Timurtash to come to their aid. But Ibn al-Adim states that the emir was preoccupied at the time with the capture of Mayyafariqin and the other possessions of his brother Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman, who had died in Ramadan (October), and was therefore distracted from attending to the state of affairs in Aleppo. More dubiously, he adds that Timurtash was distracted from the affair also by the negotiations he was conducting with Aksungur al-Bursuki, lord of Mosul, in order to reach an agreement about attacking the Franks together and driving them away from Aleppo.²⁴ So although the envoys kept urging Timurtash to set out for Aleppo, he delayed them with promises that remained unfulfilled.

Ibn al-Adim relates this episode with more detail in his biography of Aksungur, basing himself on the testimony of his great-grandfather Abu Ghanim: he had heard the story related by his father and uncle, grandsons of the envoy.²⁵ Reportedly, Timurtash promised to come to the city's aid when the *qadi* and the other two envoys told him how the people of Aleppo had been brought to the end of their tether. But he began putting them off day after day as they urged him to fulfill his promise. Finally, he cut them short: "Stop talking about the Franks; if they capture Aleppo, I shall return and take it back from them." "Don't do such a thing," the envoys begged, "don't

²³ Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et le Croisade: Idéologie et Propagande dans Réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris, 1960), 42.

²⁴ See the discussion of this report in the next section.

deliver the Muslims to the enemies of religion!” Timurtash asked in turn how he could manage to confront the Franks at that time. Ibn al-Adim’s great-grandfather replied: “Who are they that you should be unable to prevail against them? We are the people of Aleppo, no less; if you come to join us, we should prove an adequate support for you against the Franks.”

But Ibn al-Adim reveals in the *Zubda* that the Aleppans had been reduced to such an extremity by this time that they were forced to eat cats, dogs and carrion, having run short of all the provisions in their stores. The famine brought along an epidemic, and before long they were jumping from their sickbeds to repel Frankish attacks, after which they would fall back on to the beds and continue to groan with pain as before. All this was described in a letter sent by the envoy Abu Ghanim’s son (Ibn al-Adim’s grandfather) from Aleppo to the envoys at Mardin, but it fell into the hands of Timurtash. “See these folks who played the tough men to me!” he reportedly exclaimed. “And they assure me that if I go to Aleppo, its populace will prove an adequate support for me against the Franks. They deceive me so that I may go there with a small number of troops, although their weakness has reduced them to this wretched state.” After this he ordered the envoys to be entrusted to guardians and held under arrest. The reason why Timurtash took such a step, according to Abu Ghanim’s remark cited in the *Bughya*, was the emir’s fear that the envoys could leave his side and go to another emir to seek help.²⁶

In the same work Ibn al-Adim offers an explanation for the reluctance of Timurtash and most other emirs to come to the aid of Aleppo:

At that time emirs showed little interest in Aleppo because of its contiguity with the Franks, its ruined state, and the low amount of its revenues, although

²⁵ Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 207 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, 128-29, in “Aksungur el-Porsuki.”

²⁶ Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 207 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, 129, in “Aksungur el-Porsuki.”

whoever ruled it would need a sizeable treasure, sufficient revenues, and the resources necessary for funding the army.²⁷

The only alternative under these conditions seemed to be the *atabek* of Mosul, Aksungur al-Bursuki, and accordingly the envoys devised a strategem for escaping from the prison and fleeing there to request help from him. Outwitting their guardians, who had fallen asleep, they left Mardin in flight, and proceeded via Dara to Mosul.²⁸ But on arriving they learned that Aksungur was gravely ill and extremely weakened. Ibn al-Adim notes that the news of the *atabek*'s situation also reached Dubais, who had it celebrated to the sound of cheers, applauses and drums in his camp. That Aksungur was indeed Aleppo's only hope at this time can be deduced from Ibn al-Adim's report that the Aleppans nearly died of fear when one of Dubais's associates cried: "The man whose assistance you hoped for is dead!"

Back in Mosul, Ibn al-Adim continues, the envoys finally gained admittance to Aksungur's presence. When they informed him about the sorry state of Aleppo, he committed himself by a vow to God to come to its aid if health was granted him. "Scarcely three days had passed after this when fever left Aksungur," Ibn al-Adim's great-grandfather told him, implying divine intervention. Köhler argues that besides the religious motive of fulfilling his vow, Aksungur may have been impelled to action also by his duty as governor for the sultan to fight the latter's sworn enemy Dubais, as well as by his desire to extend his lordship to Aleppo and inflict harm on his Artukid rival.²⁹ Nevertheless, the most important reason for Aksungur's venture to save Aleppo must have been the same as why Ilghazi had previously agreed to take

²⁷ Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 206 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, 128, in "Aksungur el-Porsuki."

²⁸ In the *Bughya* it is told how the envoys had their servants lubricate the squeaking door of their cell to prevent the guards from waking up. After they had escaped, however, they got lost at night in the thick snow, and were only able to continue their march to Mosul in the morning. See Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 208-09 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, 129, in "Aksungur el-Porsuki."

²⁹ Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 150-51.

over the city: his concern to avert the dangerous consequences involved in a radical shift in the power balance of the region.

Ibn al-Adim goes on to relate that Aksungur marched to Aleppo via Rahba, where he summoned Tughtekin and Kir Khan to join him, and reached the city on 29 January 1125. Upon his approach the Franks and Dubais broke off the siege and withdrew toward Mount Jawshan, but fled from that hill too when Aksungur advanced toward them. The latter pursued them at a rather leisurely pace, until they had been driven far enough from the city, and then ordered his forces to turn back. Ibn al-Adim notes that at this point Ibn al-Khashshab urged Aksungur to continue the pursuit and attack the Franks, given that they were in a state of rout and surrounded by the Turkish troops. Aksungur refused this proposal on the grounds that they would have no safeguard to fall back on if the Franks turned round and defeated them, and it would be far better therefore to return to the city and restore its strength before launching a serious offensive against the enemy. After taking over Aleppo, Ibn al-Adim concludes, “he saw to the interests of the city, increased its power, abolished oppression and market dues, provided for universal justice, and treated them with perfect goodwill.”

9.1.1.2 *Al-Azimi*

It has already been indicated that the first part of Ibn al-Adim’s account in the *Zubda* is mainly based on the account of Al-Azimi found in his long chronicle, which is no longer extant. The same author’s short chronicle also contains a brief account of the events, although it does not contribute anything new.³⁰

³⁰ Al-Azimi, *Azimi Tarihi: Selçuklular Dönemiyle İlgili Bölümler, H.430-538*, edited and translated by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1988), 40 (Arabic) and 48 (Turkish) (518: 1124-1125).

In this account Al-Azimi relates that Timurtash released Baldwin in return for ransom and an agreement, and handed him over to the Munqidhites, who acted as mediators. As soon as Baldwin was set free he broke the truce and besieged Aleppo with Dubais and Sultanshah ibn Ridwan. Timurtash was absent during the protracted siege, being distracted from the affairs of Aleppo by his efforts to take over the possessions of his recently deceased brother, Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman. Finally it was Aksungur who set out to bring succor to Aleppo, after recovering from his illness, and on his arrival the Franks departed from the city. Al-Azimi adds that he was returning at the time from Damascus to Aleppo, and joined Aksungur's troops on the way. As in his account of Ilghazi's victory at *Ager Sanguinis*, he cites a verse from a qasida he had written to celebrate the occasion and to praise Aksungur: "You have defended the frontier cities against his oppression."

9.1.1.3 *Ibn al-Athir*

Ibn al-Athir does not mention Timurtash's release of Baldwin or his agreement with the king, and offers a completely different reason for his departure for Mardin. He asserts that Timurtash entrusted Aleppo to a deputy after taking it and returned to Mardin, "because he saw that Syria was a frequent battle-ground with the Franks and he was a man who loved the calm and the easy life."³¹

Parallel to this remark of Ibn al-Athir is an interesting anecdote in his *History of the Atabeks of Mosul* about an exchange that took place between Timurtash and Zangi, who reportedly rebuked the former for his love of comfort and reluctance to fight the Franks. According to the anecdote, Zangi learned that a group of peasants from the lands of Mosul had departed to settle in the territory of Mardin, and sending

a message to Timurtash, demanded that he return them. Timurtash rejected to do so on the grounds that he himself treated the peasants well, levying from them only a tenth of their produce, and added that the peasants would not have abandoned Zangi if had treated them similarly. Zangi replied with the following words:

If you took only a share of one-hundredth that would still be too much for you, because you are occupied with your pleasure in the citadel of Mardin. But if I were to take two-thirds that would still be too little for me, on account of my preoccupation with attacking my enemies and with jihad. Were it not for me, even drinking a cup of water in Mardin would feel as if it took longer than would be safe for you, and the Franks would have captured the city.³²

It should be noted that Cahen questions the vast difference between the tax rates in Mardin and Mosul that is implied by this exchange, and points out that the taxes recorded in inscriptions in what had been Timurtash's territories are the same as those that obtained everywhere else.³³ Evidently, this calls into question the veracity of Ibn al-Athir's report as a whole. However, against this argument Imad al-Din Khalil points out the enormous costs involved in the war with Franks, and states that in the reign of Timurtash, who did not interest himself in war with the Franks, tax rates may indeed have been lower than those in the territory of Zangi, or for that matter in the Artukid territories themselves at the time of Ilghazi and Belek.³⁴

Ibn al-Athir offers a quite different account from that of Ibn al-Adim about how Aleppo was lost by Timurtash.³⁵ Without touching upon Baldwin's release, he attributes the Frankish siege of Aleppo to the bolstering of their ambition and morale after their recent capture of Tyre (8 July 1124), which he says convinced them that they could take the whole of Syria. He notes that these ambitions were fed still further by Dubais ibn Sadaqa, who urged them to attack Aleppo and assured them that

³¹ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih Tercümesi*, translated by A. Özeydin, A. Ağırakça et al., 12 vols. (İstanbul 1987), X, 489 and *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh*, translated by D. S. Richards, 3 vols. (Aldershot, 2006), I, 251 (518: 1124-1125).

³² Ibn al-Athir, *Tarikh al-Dawlat al-Atabakiyya*, *RHC Historiens Orientaux* II.ii, 141.

³³ Claude Cahen, "Artukids," *El*², I, 665.

most of its inhabitants, being Shi'ites like himself, would easily surrender the city when they saw him. He promised to serve them in Aleppo as an obedient deputy if they supported him, and made many other promises as well.

Probably basing himself on this passage, and pointing out the previous attempt of Dubais to capture Aleppo, Ali Sevim insists that it was Dubais and not Baldwin who persuaded the other side to besiege Aleppo.³⁶ But it appears that neither side of the alliance needed much persuading, and each had their own motives for the siege: Dubais coveted Aleppo as a replacement for his former power base Hilla, of which he had been deprived by the caliph, while Baldwin desired to crown the long-time efforts of encircling Aleppo with its capture. The Franks had already begun working in this direction at the time of Baldwin's accession, and would probably have attacked the city sooner or later, with or without Dubais's help, however important it may have been in this critical conjuncture.

But Ibn al-Athir's story is still valuable insofar as it shows how Dubais approached the Franks and what grounds he put forward to have them admit himself as an ally. Earlier, in the case of Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman and Belek in Aleppo, we have seen that a leader's efficiency in fighting the Franks was less important for the Sunnite and Shi'ite factions in the city than his support for their own sect, and Dubais seems to have relied on this fact. Nevertheless, the following developments would show that Dubais had gone too far in his reliance on this religious schism: the Shi'ites were far from being ready to betray Aleppo to the Franks backing him. Indeed it was none other than Ibn al-Khashshab himself, the most prominent leader of the Shi'ites, who assumed the task of organizing the defences of the city.

³⁴ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 460-61.

³⁵ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 492-93 and *Chronicle*, 253-54 (518: 1124-1125).

³⁶ Sevim, "Temürtaş'ın Halep Hakimiyeti," 577 and n. 17.

Ibn al-Athir proceeds to relate that the Franks laid siege to Aleppo and prepared themselves for a long stay, building houses against heat and the cold, as they had resolved not to leave before capturing the city. On seeing this the defenders' morale was shattered, and they became convinced that they were doomed, all the more so as "the weakness and incompetence of their lord Timurtash became clear to them;" they had also run short of food.³⁷ Seeking a way of escape from the end in sight, they realized that there was only Aksungur al-Bursuki to whom they could turn to for help.

Without mentioning the Aleppans' request of help from Timurtash, Ibn al-Athir reports that they thus sent to Mosul and asked Aksungur to come to their aid, promising to surrender the city to him. While on his way to Aleppo, Aksungur sent to ask for the surrender of the citadel to his men, so that he could take refuge there with his troops in case of defeat; otherwise, he warned, not one of them would survive and Aleppo would fall to the enemy along with other places. This was accepted and the citadel was delivered to Aksungur's deputies, who must have somehow leaked into the city, after which he continued his march to Aleppo. Probably an important motive of Aksungur's in taking this step was to guarantee that the city would remain in his hands after he had raised the siege.

When Aksungur came in sight of the city, Ibn al-Athir continues, the Franks began to withdraw and the emir contented himself with watching them. Whereas we have seen Ibn al-Adim report that Ibn al-Khashshab urged Aksungur to attack the retreating Franks, Ibn al-Athir states that it was his vanguard who wanted to charge the enemy. The ground he says Aksungur put forward in rejecting this idea is similar to that reported by Ibn al-Adim. For the moment, Aksungur said, it was enough for

³⁷ *For wa zahara lahum min shāḥbihim Timurtāsh al-wahn wa 'l-'ajz, wa qallat al-aqwāt 'indahum, al-Kamil fi 'l-Ta'rikh* (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1965-1967), X, 623, instead of "Their lord Timurtash's weak-

them to have spared the city from the Franks' evil purposes, and the best course was to attack them only after the affairs of Aleppo had been put to right and its provisions and finances had been restored. Once the Franks had retired the populace of Aleppo went out with joy to welcome Aksungur, Ibn al-Athir states in conclusion, and the emir stayed there until he had settled its affairs.

9.1.1.4 *Ibn al-Qalanisi*

In his account that also served as a source for Ibn al-Athir,³⁸ Ibn al-Qalanisi fails to mention Timurtash and his release of King Baldwin. He reports directly that the Franks assembled from their provinces to besiege Aleppo, and relates how the siege was prolonged until the provisions in the city were depleted and the citizens came to the brink of destruction. He also fails to mention the mission to Mardin, and instead reports that the Aleppans wrote to Aksungur in Mosul to inform him of their sorry situation and beg him to “deliver them from the hands of the infidels.” Aksungur was reportedly much distressed at this, and making preparations to set out for their assistance, reached Aleppo in January 1125. On his approach, the chronicler relates, the Franks “fled in panic and withdrew in defeat” before the great might of Aksungur's army, with the Muslim vanguard pursuing and capturing some of them, and did not stop till they had reached Antioch.

Evaluating the whole incident, Ibn al-Qalanisi draws attention to the fact that the Franks, being determined to persist with the siege, had even built houses and huts to protect them against the heat and cold. Despite this, he remarks thankfully, “God Most High — to Him be the praise — showed mercy upon the people of Aleppo and delivered them from disaster and snatched them from the coils of destruction.” “By

ness and incompetence were plain to see and they were short of food,” as in the English translation.

this noble action,” he adds, “Aksungur al-Bursuki acquired great merit and renown.” He concludes by reporting how the emir set the affairs of Aleppo in order and “made every effort to defend the city and keep the enemy at a distance from it.”

9.1.1.5 *Matthew of Edessa*

Matthew of Edessa offers the most detailed account among the indigenous Christian sources.³⁹ He reveals that Joscelin and Baldwin’s queen Morphia took part in the negotiations with Timurtash, and notes that “this was the second time that Baldwin was freed from captivity through Joscelin’s efforts.”⁴⁰ He reports that Joscelin and Morphia made an agreement with Timurtash to ransom the king, and handed over to him Baldwin’s daughter, Joscelin’s son and fifteen other persons. This makes seventeen hostages in all, five more than the number indicated by Ibn al-Adim. It should be noted further that Matthew fails to mention Abu’l Asakir Sultan ibn Munqidh’s role as intermediary of the lord of Shaizar, who had in fact received the Frankish hostages. Matthew also indicates the sum promised as a hundred thousand pieces, instead of the eighty thousand reported by the Arab chronicler. He reports that Baldwin was released in September and arrived at Antioch to the joy of the Christian faithful, but his nephew and Galeran remained in Timurtash’s “clutches” and were eventually put to death.

Matthew proceeds to relate how Baldwin and Joscelin gathered all the Frankish troops and marched against Aleppo. He notes that Dubais joined Joscelin with his troops, after the two had made an alliance of peace and friendship. This is corroborated by Ibn al-Adim’s report that the two leaders in question arrived before Aleppo

³⁸ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, translated by H. A. R. Gibb (London 1932), 172-73 (518: 1124-1125).

³⁹ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 234 (III.100).

⁴⁰ The first one had taken place in 1108, see section 4.3.

separately from King Baldwin, having set out together from Tell Bashir. So perhaps it had been only Joscelin who established a connection with Dubais and the lord of Ja‘bar, and not he and Baldwin together as we have seen Ibn al-Adim report in his account. Joscelin may even have travelled in person to Ja‘bar, since, in the French translation of Matthew’s chronicle, differently from the English version, it is stated that Joscelin went to see Dubais and the latter joined him with his troops after their agreement.⁴¹ Matthew also reveals that Tughril Arslan of Melitene came in the company of Joscelin and Dubais. What he expected from this alliance was probably to secure some support for protecting his domain against Shams al-Dawla Sulaiman and other dangerous rivals who threatened it on all sides.⁴²

Matthew goes on to relate that the imposing force thus assembled against Aleppo put the city in dire straits through continual assaults and famine, until the townspeople sent an urgent call of help to Aksungur in Mosul. Assembling a large number of troops, the latter arrived before Aleppo to drive away the Franks, who thereupon returned home without having suffered any losses. Matthew indicates the duration of the siege wrongly as six rather than four months. He reveals in conclusion that Dubais, in retiring, carried out some raiding in the territory of Mosul and other lands of Aksungur.

⁴¹ In the French translation of Matthew’s chronicle in RHC *Historiens Arméniens*, I, 142 (III.95) it reads: “Joscelin went and saw the king of the Arabs, Dubais, the son of Sadaqa and son-in-law of Ilghazi; they made an alliance of peace and friendship, and the king of the Arabs joined Joscelin with his troops.” Compare this with the English translation: “At this time the Arab chieftain Dubais, the son of Sadaqa and son-in-law of Ilghazi, joined Joscelin. This chieftain made an alliance of peace and friendship with Joscelin and so came to the aid of the count with his troops.”

⁴² Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 148; Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps de Croisades et la Principauté Franque d’Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 300.

9.1.1.6 *The Anonymous Syriac*

The account of the Anonymous Syriac⁴³ seems to have been suffered some sort of mutilation, for under the heading “The release of Baldwin and the death of Galeran” he relates the assassination of Aksungur in 1126, without touching upon the events in question. But he still provides some interesting details in the following section about the course and the ending of the siege.

The Anonymous mentions the count of Tripoli among the Frankish leaders in the siege, which is corroborated by the Latin sources, but on the Muslim side he only mentions Dubais; he claims that the emir came to Antioch and submitted to the Franks. However, given that Dubais and Joscelin had proceeded to Aleppo together from Tell Bashir, it seems unlikely that the Arab emir ever came to Antioch. Like Matthew, the Anonymous also exaggerates the duration of the siege, indicating it as nine months instead of the actual four. He notes in parallel with Ibn al-Adim that because of the resulting famine the Aleppans were reduced to eating unclean animals.

The Anonymous fails to mention the Aleppans’ call for help from Timurtash and Aksungur. He only reports that by the time they had come to the point of surrender, they received a message stating that Aksungur, the “governor of Assyria,” had come to help them. He reveals that at this point Dubais requested the Franks to provide him with an army, so that he could try and prevent Aksungur from crossing the Euphrates (at Ja‘bar probably) until they would be able to capture the city. “But the Franks were obstinate and would not take his advice,” laments the Anonymous. Probably the actual reason why they rejected the proposal was their fear that if Aksungur succeeded in defeating Dubais’s contingent and crossing the Euphrates, the rest of their forces would not stand any chance of resisting the Muslim army.

As a result of this decision, the Anonymous continues, Aksungur crossed the Euphrates without meeting any resistance, and boldly entered the town at night. Next morning the citizens emerged with him from the gates and attacked the Franks, who withdrew to pitch camp on the hill of Jawshan. Ten days later they set out for Antioch, while Aksungur pursued them till al-Atharib, cutting down stragglers and plundering the baggage. After this, the Anonymous concludes, he returned to Aleppo “with great joy.”

This version of the raise of the siege diverges from most other accounts, according to which the besiegers retired on the approach of Aksungur and not after his arrival. But it is supported by the testimonies of Ibn abi-Tayyi (cited by Ibn al-Furat) and the twelfth-century chronicle *Bustan al-Jami*.⁴⁴ These sources state that Aksungur arrived at night, and fought and defeated the Franks in the next morning. They add that the latter had suffered from a flood of the River Quwaik on the previous day, losing many tents, chattels and men. As we shall see presently, they partially agree with Fulcher on this issue.

9.1.1.7 Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus

The other two Syriac sources, Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus, content themselves with noting that the ransom money fixed for Baldwin was a hundred thousand dinars, which supports Matthew’s figure against the eighty thousand given by Ibn al-Adim.⁴⁵ Bar Hebraeus makes a mistake however in stating that this ransom was agreed to secure the release of Baldwin’s nephew as well. We have already seen

⁴³ *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad A.C. 1234 Pertinens*, translated by A. Abouna (Louvain, 1974), 73 and “The First and Second Crusaders from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle,” translated by M. A. S. Tritton with notes by H. A. R. Gibb, *JRAS* 92 (1933), 96-7.

⁴⁴ Claude, Cahen, “Une chronique syrienne du VI^e/XII^e siècle: le ‘Bustān al-Jāmi’,” *Bulletin d’Études Orientales* 7-8 (1937-1938), 119-20 and n. 1.

⁴⁵ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, 212; Bar Hebraeus, *Abu'l-Farac Tarihi*, translated by Ömer Rıza Doğrul, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1982), II, 358.

Matthew report that Baldwin's nephew as well as Galeran remained in Timurtash's hands and were later executed on his orders.

Michael the Syrian gives more details about this execution, revealing that Timurtash had acted under pressure in ordering it.⁴⁶ He relates that the emir was actually reluctant to execute Galeran and Baldwin's nephew, and it was Aksungur who compelled him to take this step, threatening to ravage his territories if he refused. Complying with this demand, Timurtash had them put to death, but repented his action when news arrived shortly afterwards that Aksungur had been assassinated by the Ismailis.⁴⁷ This is indeed an interesting episode: Aksungur may have been afraid that Timurtash would release the two Frankish princes to the Muslims' detriment, as he had done before with Baldwin. Timurtash, on his part, may have been expecting to use the captives to recover at least a part of his losses resulting from the king's failure to pay the full ransom.

9.1.1.8 *Fulcher of Chartres*

In his account⁴⁸ Fulcher of Chartres seems to have been embarrassed by Baldwin's betrayal of his agreement with Timurtash, and therefore sought out excuses to explain it away. We shall see that he is followed in this by William of Tyre, who drew upon him as a source. Fulcher begins his account by stating that King Baldwin was released from captivity "by the favor of almighty God," and gives the

⁴⁶ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, 225.

⁴⁷ Demirkent questions the truth of this report, firstly pointing out the lateness of the year given by Michael (1129, three years after Aksungur's death), and arguing further that Aksungur could not be in a position to solicit or apply pressure on a man like Timurtash, who belonged to the Artukid family with which Aksungur had been at loggerheads for a long time. See Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu*, II, 58, n. 245. But the erroneous date is not sufficient in itself to discredit the report; the development of the events makes it clear that they took place on the eve of Aksungur's assassination, in 1126. Moreover, Aksungur did not have to be a friend of Timurtash and the Artukids to press him into doing something by threats. It cannot be argued either that there was no communication between Aksungur and the Artukids, for he sent a contingent to join Belek's campaign against Azaz and may have entered negotiations with Timurtash to bring aid to Aleppo.

same date as Ibn al-Adim, 29 August. Nevertheless, he states, the king did not depart entirely free, for he had had to provide hostages, obliging both them and himself to be “uneasy with a hope uncertain and doubtful.”⁴⁹ Fulcher does not mention any other terms to which Baldwin had committed himself, including the payment of ransom money and the surrender of Azaz and other castles. This may have been because he was unaware of these, or more probably because their mention would have made it still harder for him to excuse the king’s breach of agreement.

Fulcher goes on to relate that Baldwin took counsel about how to solve the problem of hostages, and then set out for Aleppo; his intention was to force the Aleppans through a blockade to release the hostages. But Fulcher adds that the king also harbored some hope that he could capture the city as well, since he had learned that it was already hard hit by famine. It is noteworthy that the historian omits any mention of the fact that Baldwin allied against Aleppo with other Muslims. As in the previous case, he may have been unaware of this in distant Jerusalem, but perhaps he chose to suppress it because of the embarrassment involved.

It is mainly on Fulcher’s testimony that Michael Köhler seems to base himself when he argues that the Franks did not mean to annex Aleppo to their domains:

The sources very clearly say that the Franks did not intend to annex Aleppo to the Principality of Antioch or to found another Frankish lordship there. The purpose of the Franks was restricted to the rescue of the hostages and to customary booty-making, leaving aside the surrender of some villages to them. The existence of the lordship of Aleppo was to remain untouched. However, it was planned to subjugate it to the Crusader states, since Dubais declared himself ready to govern Aleppo as the deputy of the Franks... There was no word of Baldwin’s establishment of a Frankish garrison in Aleppo.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, translated by Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, 1969), 273-75 (III.xxxviii-xxxix).

⁴⁹ “Cum se et illos incerta et pendula spe anxius obligaverit,” RHC *Historiens Occidentaux* III, 468, instead of “He and the hostages were obliged to be anxious about a future that was uncertain and doubtful,” as in the English translation.

⁵⁰ Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 147-48.

All this sounds highly inconvincing. It is quite implausible that the enormous costs and efforts involved in a full-scale siege operation were undertaken merely for the sake of rescuing the hostages and collecting booty. Besides Fulcher confesses very clearly that the king intended to get hold of the city if he could, and as we shall see, he openly laments at the end of his account that the capture of Tyre was not followed by the capture of Aleppo. His testimony on this point must be taken quite seriously, as he was an exact contemporary of the event and also acquainted with the king. Moreover, the agreement with Dubais stipulated that the people, money and chattels in Aleppo would belong to the Franks, which meant that they were leaving Dubais only an empty shell — and perhaps not even that. For we have seen Ibn al-Adim indicate in the *Bughya* that considering Baldwin's previous breach of the treaty with Timurtash, there was a strong degree of probability that he would not leave the city to Dubais either.

Indeed the Franks did not have any more reason to observe their agreement with Dubais than in the case of their agreement with Timurtash. We have seen in the sixth and seventh chapters that all their efforts since 1118 had been directed at the end of encircling and capturing Aleppo, an achievement that would have tilted the power balance of the region in their favor, and perhaps even provided them with mastery over the whole of North Syria. In these conditions there seems no ground to assume with Köhler that the Franks would have desisted from capturing Aleppo if the opportunity offered itself. And what better opportunity was there than when they were twice as numerous as their Muslim allies, with no other Muslim power in sight to intervene? There was little that Dubais could do against the Franks if they decided that they wanted to take the entire city after all, and Köhler's argument seems far from being persuasive. So the prospects for Dubais do not seem to have been very

bright in this alliance, but he may have considered that they would at least let him have some share in the daily administration and revenues of Aleppo.

Fulcher proceeds to relate that Baldwin and his troops besieged Aleppo in vain for five months. At this point the Turks, “alert as usual,” crossed the Euphrates and hastened to relieve Aleppo, for fear that it would soon be captured unless they acted quickly. Fulcher gives the number of enemy troops as seven thousand horsemen, in addition to the four thousand camels carrying their provisions, and indicates the same date as Ibn al-Adim for their arrival, 29 January. Like the Anonymous, Ibn abi Tayyi and *Bustan al-Jami*‘ he states that the Muslim army came at night, and adds that for this reason they found the Franks unprepared and confounded them. Unable to prevail against the enemy, these latter had to abandon the siege. In this Fulcher seems to diverge from the majority of the other sources, who assert that the besiegers withdrew on learning of Aksungur’s approach. But we have seen Ibn al-Adim report that the Aleppans plundered the tents left behind by the besiegers, and this suggests that some kind of clash may indeed have taken place between Aksungur’s forces and the Franks, whether at night, as Fulcher seems to imply, or in the next morning, as the Anonymous, Ibn abi Tayyi and *Bustan al-Jami*‘ testify.

Telescoping the development of the events, and omitting the Franks’ initial withdrawal to Mount Jawshan, Fulcher relates that they retreated to al-Atharib, to which they were pursued by Aksungur’s troops according to the Anonymous. During this pursuit, Fulcher reveals, the Turks lost two men while the Franks lost a camp-follower and six tents. He states that Baldwin and Joscelin finally arrived at Antioch, and the troops of Jerusalem and Tripoli returned home, but the Frankish hostages remained unredeemed.

At the end of his account Fulcher delves into the morals to be derived from this failure, which he says was “most vile to say, most dishonorable to know, tedious to report, and shameful to hear,” though he had still related it because of his reluctance to depart from the truth. He points out that God had withdrawn his hand from the Christians after he had granted them the “powerful and glorious city of Tyre.” He seeks the reason for this in their failure to return to God the thanks they owed Him as well as to fulfill the promises they had made to Him, doing less when they had more. Concluding, he remarks: “Perhaps He has reserved His vineyard for the more faithful husbandmen to cultivate who would desire and be able to return from it rich fruit in due season.”

9.1.1.9 *William of Tyre*

William of Tyre, as usual, mainly follows Fulcher in his account, though with some additional information and slight but interesting modifications and explications of his source.⁵¹ Differently from Fulcher, he does mention the ransom money Baldwin promised to give, and indicates its sum as a hundred thousand dinars like Matthew and Michael the Syrian, rather than eighty thousand as given by Ibn al-Adim. He states that Baldwin was perplexed as to the means by which he could raise the ransom and redeem the hostages, and on consulting his men received the advice of besieging Aleppo. Like Fulcher, William represents the city as already suffering from famine by this time, and adds to this the effects of depopulation. Interestingly, however, he diverges from Fulcher in asserting that the only goal of this siege was to press the citizens into restoring the hostages or paying the ransom money, and omits his source’s statement that the king considered capturing the city too if he could. He

⁵¹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, translated by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, 1943), II, 21-2 (XIII.15).

also leaves out Fulcher's concluding lament that God had denied Aleppo to the Christians after he had given them Tyre. Taken together, these differences could be attributed perhaps to William's uneasiness at the breach of agreement involved in the king's attack on Aleppo, a fact that he may have learned from other sources.

William proceeds to relate that in accordance with the advice given to him, Baldwin assembled all his cavalry and blockaded Aleppo. He denied the citizens all ingress and egress, forcing them to make do with scanty amounts of food. In contrast to Fulcher, William was apparently aware of the Aleppans' call of help from Timur-tash and Aksungur: he reports that they sent repeated summons of aid to the princes of the orient, notably to those beyond the Euphrates, describing their critical situation and warning that the city would soon fall without instant aid being brought. Indeed this is the only place where William gives away the fact that the real purpose of the siege was to capture Aleppo, rather than to solve the problem of hostages and ransom money. He states that the Muslim princes were "filled with the solicitude for an allied city" upon hearing the news, and mustering their forces in haste, crossed the Euphrates to relieve Aleppo. He follows Fulcher in giving the number of the horsemen as seven thousand, in addition to those in charge of the baggage.

William again diverges from Fulcher and is closer to the majority of the other sources in asserting that the Franks retreated before Aksungur's arrival at Aleppo, preferring to secure their safety rather than to risk a battle with his superior forces. Nevertheless, he repeats Fulcher's mistake in reporting that the Franks directly withdrew to al-Atharib, whence they proceeded to Antioch and parted ways. He concludes by relating how the king was welcomed in Jerusalem after an absence of about two years.

9.1.1.10 Orderic Vitalis

Orderic Vitalis' account⁵² mostly consists of legendary material, as is usual with his reports about events in the *outramer*. Interestingly, however, he is the only Latin source to mention Timurtash (whom he calls "Ghazi"), although he was writing in far-away Normandy; this must be thanks to his sources of information among the Normans of Antioch.

The most interesting part of Orderic's account is the beginning. Here the author makes an unfavorable comparison of Timurtash's rule with that of his predecessor Belek, who receives lavish praise in the process. It must be noted however that Orderic seems to attribute the difference between the two emirs more to the limited resources of Timurtash than to his personal lack of qualities:

The emir Ghazi, nephew and heir of Belek king of Aleppo, succeeded him, but because of recent changes and the dwindling of his treasures he was unable⁵³ to undertake the great tasks or carry on the difficult enterprises which his predecessor, a man of great experience, had begun and which he had been shrewd and resourceful enough to support and maintain by force.

For this reason, Orderic reports, Timurtash released Baldwin from prison in return for a ransom and hostages. He gives the fixed sum and the number of hostages differently from all other sources, as fifty thousand besants and forty sons of the Jerusalemites. He notes that Timurtash also demanded security for the Muslim prisoners in Frankish hands.

Orderic makes no mention of the siege of Aleppo, but offers instead a fictitious account about how the Franks attacked and captured Timurtash in the castle of Gis, near Caeserea, where he was supposedly waiting for them to bring the ransom money. He states that they released the emir in return for a hundred thousand gold

⁵² Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, edited and translated by Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1978), VI, 126-27 (XI.26).

⁵³ For "nequiuu" instead of "unwilling" as in the English translation.

Bezants and the promise of long-term peace with the Christians, but his reign lasted only a little while after this.

9.1.2 *The course of events*

The consideration of the sources allows for the following reconstruction of the events: after negotiations with Joscelin and Baldwin's queen, Timurtash released King Baldwin in return for an agreement. This stipulated the delivery of Azaz, al-Atharib, Zardana, al-Jazr and Kafartab and the payment of a sum of eighty or a hundred thousand dinars, twenty thousand to be paid in advance. It also included an alliance against Dubais ibn Sadaqa, who was trying to get hold of Aleppo as a new base for himself after he had been forced out of Hilla by the caliph and had sought refuge with Salim ibn Malik, the lord of Ja'bar. But Baldwin had no intention of observing the terms of the treaty and undoing the fruits of all his previous efforts for controlling the borderline between Antioch and Aleppo, with the ultimate aim of capturing the great Muslim city. Accordingly he refused to deliver the castles as well as the rest of the ransom money, putting forward as a pretext that the patriarch of Antioch had prohibited him to do so.

The next thing Baldwin did, through the intermediacy of Joscelin and Salim ibn Malik, was to cement an alliance with Dubais, the very man against whom he had promised to help Timurtash. The Franks and Dubais agreed to besiege Aleppo together. If they succeeded, the city would belong to Dubais, who promised to act as an obedient deputy of the Franks; he had also drawn into the agreement a son of Ridwan's (Sultanshah or Ibrahim) to legitimize this arrangement. The Franks, on their part, would receive the people, money and chattels in the city, along with a share from its territory. However, they were also in a position to take hold of the entire city and its territories if they wished to do so, and given their strength, they could have

done this with impunity: it would have sufficed to violate their agreement with Dubais, after they had already breached the one with Timurtash. Although Dubais must have seen this, he still harbored hopes of gaining some sort of foothold in Aleppo by this agreement, even if he would be dependent on the Franks, while the latter expected to top their long-time efforts to encircle the city by actually taking possession of it.

After the conclusion of the agreement, Dubais attacked and defeated Timurtash near Marj-Dabik. Thereupon Timurtash went to Mardin to muster forces from Diyar Bakr. He also intended to get help from his brother Shams al-Din Sulaiman of Mayyafariqin, as well as to keep the latter under control and prevent him from annexing his territories while he was busy with the defense of Aleppo. Negotiations with the Franks continued, but these were little more than a stratagem on their part to gain time for the siege preparations. Together with their Muslim allies they laid siege to Aleppo at the beginning of October, with Baldwin arriving from Antioch and Joscelin, Dubais and Ridwan's son from Tell Bashir. Among the other allies were Pons of Tripoli, Salim ibn Malik's son Isa, Tughril Arslan of Melitene, who wanted to secure allies for protecting his domain under threat, and Yaghi Siyan, the Artukid lord of Balis, who had fallen out with Timurtash. This Franko-Muslim coalition against the Artukid presence in Syria was not unlike the one that had emerged against the Seljukids in 1115, a pan-Syrian alliance against a Muslim power based outside the region.

The Aleppans soon found themselves in great hardship, because of the dearth of provisions and resultant sickness, and they had only five hundred horsemen left to fight. In Timurtash's absence the *qadi* Ibn al-Khashshab had taken up the task of administering the city and organizing its defences, and by the help of jihad propaganda

he mobilized the desperate populace. The *qadi* and his companions in government, Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman and the *shihna* Umar al-Khass, sent three notables of the city to summon Timurtash from Mardin. But the emir proved unwilling to help, not least because he was preoccupied with securing the possessions of his recently deceased brother Sulaiman of Mayyafariqin before their cousin Dawud of Hisn Kaifa would be able to do so.⁵⁴ The envoys proceeded from Mardin to Mosul, where their only remaining option, Aksungur al-Bursuki, was governor. Indeed Aksungur agreed to help them, as he was all too aware of the dangers involved in the fall of Aleppo to the Franks.

Accordingly Aksungur mustered a great army of seven thousand horsemen and set out for Aleppo. On the way he sent some of his men ahead to leak into the city and take over its citadel, purportedly to have a refuge in case of defeat, but probably also to ensure his possession of the city. Dubais's proposal to prevent him from crossing the Euphrates until Aleppo would fall was rejected by the Franks, and on his arrival at night the besiegers had to abandon their positions; some clash may also have taken place between his forces and the Franks in the next morning. They withdrew to the nearby hill of Jawshan, and then proceeded to al-Atharib, being pursued there by Aksungur's troops. The latter then returned to Aleppo, whereas the Franks marched on to Antioch and dispersed home. Aksungur had become the new lord of Aleppo.

9.1.3 *The perspective of the Aleppans*

Timurtash had thus turned out to be thoroughly dispensable for the Aleppans, once he had failed to bring them succor against the assault of the Franks and their allies. As Cahen indicates, it was only on account of the Mesopotamian emirs' capac-

⁵⁴ For a detailed analysis of Timurtash's motives in denying help see section 9.2.

ity to protect them from the Franks that the Aleppans had been willing to accept them as rulers. Seeking another guardian when Timurtash proved a failure in this regard, they hit upon Aksungur al-Bursuki. Aksungur's reception as the new lord of the city thus represented the second time that the Frankish threat against Aleppo had led to its annexation by an emir from the Jazira.⁵⁵ Sivan observes similarly that the reign of the Artukids in Aleppo began and ended in the same way in 1118 and 1125: it was due in both cases to the initiative of Ibn al-Khashshab and the pro-jihad circles in the city who offered its rule to an emir from the Jazira, one who they hoped would prove more successful than the current weak ruler in warding off the Franks.⁵⁶

Cahen notes that Aksungur himself had already been rejected before Ilghazi's takeover on the grounds that the Aleppans wanted nobody from the East. But at that time his lord, the Seljukid sultan, was still powerful enough to pose the danger of annexation, and moreover Aksungur lacked the adequate financial and military resources to protect Aleppo, being only the lord of Rahba. Now, in contrast, Aksungur's power had been greatly enhanced with his appointment as the governor of Mosul (1124), while the Seljukids had been much weakened, so that Aksungur's association with the sultan did not render him a threat in the view of the Muslims of Syria. On the contrary, through the legitimacy it provided, it made him appear as an element of stability. Moreover during his long rule in Rahba, situated on the borders between Syria and Jazira, Aksungur had come to be seen as one of the local emirs of Syria, participating with Tughtekin in fights against the Franks, and this also prevented him from being regarded as an alien intruder in Aleppo.⁵⁷

Comparing the power of Aksungur with that of the Artukids, Grousset argues that during the period of Artukid rule Aleppo was able to play only an intermittent

⁵⁵ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 301.

⁵⁶ Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade*, 43.

role in the fight against the Franks, and contrasts this with period following the annexation of the city to Mosul. He contends that this event constituted a beginning for the reunion of Muslim territories, which would eventually bring about the demise of Frankish Syria.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, this seems to be a much too teleological view of the developments. Nur al-Din and Saladin did not have direct access to the troops and economic resources of Mosul either, when they fought effectively against the Franks. What really counted was the connection established between Aleppo and Diyar Bakr, the storehouse of Turkoman troops, and this connection had already come to exist in the days of Ilghazi and Belek. Nor did it end after Timurtash's abandonment of Aleppo, *pace* Hillenbrand.⁵⁹ On the contrary, the Turkomans of Diyar Bakr continued to play an increasingly important role in the defense of Muslim Syria, being settled by Zangi and Nur al-Din in the border regions with the Franks to tilt the social and demographic balance in the Muslims' favor.⁶⁰

9.2 The causes and consequences of Timurtash's alteration of the Artukid policy toward the Franks and his withdrawal to Diyar Bakr

It is time now to address some of the most important questions raised by these events: why was Timurtash so willing to make the fateful agreement with the Franks, and later so unwilling to rescue Aleppo from their clutches? In what respects did his policy toward them differ from that followed by his father and cousin? What were his motivations in opting for this change? It will be the task of this section to try to answer these questions. After that we shall consider the consequences of Timur-

⁵⁷ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 300.

⁵⁸ Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 631.

⁵⁹ Carole Hillenbrand, "The History of the Jazira, 1100-1150," Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Edinburgh University, 1979), 487-88.

⁶⁰ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 185, 284.

tash's withdrawal to Diyar Bakr and the loss of his possessions in Syria, for it had an important bearing on the Artukids' relations with the Franks.

There are mainly four motives that historians variously attribute to Timurtash for coming to an agreement with Baldwin and releasing him. The first was to acquire the strategically important castles to the west of Aleppo, the second was to receive a large ransom and set his finances straight, the third was to win an ally against Du-bais, and the fourth was to secure by this means a peaceful state of affairs in Aleppo and Syria, so that he could occupy himself with defending and expanding his home territories in Diyar Bakr against the other Artukids. Related with the last was his desire to escape the difficulties and problems he faced in administering the much-coveted Aleppo as an inexperienced youth.

Thomas Asbridge emphasizes the first motive, pointing out that the terms for the surrender of Azaz and other castles demonstrated the continuing preoccupation of both sides with the frontier between Aleppo and Antioch. He observes that Timurtash was exacting an extremely high price for releasing Baldwin, as it amounted to the loss of the borderline running through Azaz, al-Atharib and Zardana. Since this would have been crippling for the Principality, he says, Baldwin was forced by strategic needs to break the agreement.⁶¹ Ali Sevim similarly observes that Aleppo would have profited greatly from the agreement if it had been put into effect, and blames Timurtash's failure to enforce it on his laxity in military and political affairs.⁶²

Nevertheless, Runciman and Grousset argue that it was in fact only the ransom that really mattered for Timurtash, and point out that even after Baldwin refused to return the castles the emir continued to negotiate with him, being eager to secure

⁶¹ Asbridge, *Creation*, 84-5.

⁶² Ali Sevim, "Timurtaş," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, XII.i, 370.

the unpaid portion of the ransom money.⁶³ But this attitude could be attributed just as well to Timurtash's concern at least to prevent Baldwin from allying with Dubais and attacking Aleppo. Indeed Cahen stresses that Dubais had already demanded Aleppo from the Artukids, in return for the services he had rendered to Ilghazi, in order to make it a new base for himself. As an additional factor, he points out Timurtash's desire to keep under watch his brother Sulaiman's ambitions and then to succeed to the latter's city Mayyafariqin. For it was only by securing the peace in Syria, releasing Baldwin and allying with him against Dubais, that he could hope to dedicate his attention to Diyar Bakr.⁶⁴ While this does not seem entirely correct, given that the issue of Sulaiman and Mayyafariqin arose in the autumn of 1124, when Timurtash had already released Baldwin in June, it was probably true that he wanted to set the affairs in order in Aleppo and then turn to deal with what was really important to him, his lands in Diyar Bakr.

Michael Köhler brings all these factors together, stating that Timurtash wanted to secure his control of Aleppo through this agreement with Baldwin. Thereby he would win an ally against Dubais, bolster the city's finances with the ransom money, and also recover Azaz and other castles from which the Franks controlled the access routes to Aleppo and raided its territory. Through these means he hoped to restore the power balance with the Franks to such a degree that it would become possible for him to withdraw to Diyar Bakr without endangering Aleppo. He would then be able to occupy himself with his home territories, as these had suffered after Ilghazi's and Belek's deaths from the aggression of his Artukid and Seljukid neighbors.⁶⁵

⁶³ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Harmondsworth, 1965), II, 171-72; Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 625.

⁶⁴ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 299.

⁶⁵ Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 144-45.

Carole Hillenbrand approaches this intention of Timurtash to secure his control of Aleppo and then withdraw to Diyar Bakr from a different perspective, pointing out the continuous pressure exerted by the conflicting interests of various emirs and factions who coveted the city, the most important among them Dubais, Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman and the Franks. Under this pressure, she observes, Timurtash must have soon “felt out of his depth” in Aleppo, all the more so as he was only a lad of eighteen at the time, and in charge of a city that was particularly difficult to rule. So his hurry to settle the affairs of Aleppo by an agreement with the king and then to return to Diyar Bakr also stemmed from his desire to escape these pressures and difficulties. Hillenbrand notes that negotiation, rather than military confrontation, would be Timurtash’s preferred method in the later years as well. But in 1124 he was still too inexperienced to negotiate successfully with “such seasoned practitioners of the political art as Baldwin.”⁶⁶

Even if Timurtash had been more experienced, though, it is highly doubtful whether the goals that Ilghazi and Belek had been pursuing for years, with only modest results, could be attained so easily by negotiation. In the light of the foregoing considerations, it emerges that Timurtash had expected to hit too many birds with one stone by this agreement: through releasing King Baldwin he calculated to win an effective Frankish ally against a rival Muslim emir, just as Danishmend, Chakarmish and Ibrahim ibn Sokman had done, and at the same time to easily recover the frontier line of Azaz, al-Atharib, Zardana and Jabal Summaq, which Ilghazi and Belek had struggled for years and with many battles to take from the Franks. On top of this he would receive a hefty sum in ransom, and find himself free to leave the problematic city of Aleppo in a relatively secure state to deal with his central lands in Diyar Bakr.

⁶⁶ Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazira,” 486.

But dazzled with the thought of how much he could achieve by this one move of releasing Baldwin, Timurtash failed to see that the Franks would not so easily give up this borderline that they had spent so much effort to establish and reestablish after *Ager Sanguinis*. He could not discern that this time it was different, that Aleppo had been the Franks' target for a long time, and therefore resorting to their aid against a Muslim emir who similarly coveted his city was like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire.

Accordingly the agreement only ended up cementing an alliance between Timurtash's two enemies, and the gains promised by his seemingly bright idea dissolved like a mirage, leaving him in a very difficult position indeed. The young emir was brought to realize his mistake and taste the bitter reality when Baldwin immediately went back on his promise to deliver the castles, and a few days later Dubais, apparently not intimidated at all by his "alliance" with the king, defeated him at Marj-Dabiq. As it was too late now to undertake anything, Timurtash sought refuge in Mardin. But he still continued the negotiations, hoping to avert a common attack by Dubais and the Franks on Aleppo, and perhaps also to recover the rest of the ransom money.

Timurtash's initial purpose in retiring to Diyar Bakr may have been to collect troops and return with them to Aleppo. Perhaps he also planned to win over his brother and rival Sulaiman of Mayyafariqin for an alliance against the Franks, and thus to divert his designs against the territories of Mardin as well. But his worst fears were realized in the meanwhile and the Franks, allying with Dubais and other Muslim emirs, laid siege to Aleppo. About two weeks after this, when Sulaiman died, Timurtash had not set out yet to relieve the city, and now the death of his brother necessitated him to take hold of Mayyafariqin before his cousin, Dawud of Hisn Kaifa.

As was the case with all Artukids, the defense and enlargement of his home territories in Diyar Bakr carried much more weight for Timurtash than the fate of Aleppo, which was at best a remote dependency.⁶⁷ If he was to proceed to its aid, moreover, he would need the troops and resources of Mayyafariqin as well.

But even after he had taken hold of Mayyafariqin and returned to Mardin, Timurtash kept postponing a march to the aid of Aleppo, despite all the urgings of the Aleppan envoys. By this time he seems to have lost hope of being able to relieve the city on his own, lacking confidence in his forces and commandership. He was all in all an inexperienced youth of eighteen years of age, possessing neither interest in nor ability for war. He was also aware that the Aleppans were in a wretched condition and in no state to help him, having read the letter sent from the city to one of the envoys. Getting help from the other emirs did not seem a viable option either. Requesting reinforcements from Dawud ibn Sokman, whom he had just deprived of Mayyafariqin, was out of question. Ibn al-Adim reports that Timurtash carried on negotiations with Aksungur al-Bursuki to join forces with him, but this seems rather dubious at first sight: if that had been the case, would he have tried to prevent the envoys departing to ask help from other emirs, among whom Aksungur was obviously the first choice? Wouldn't he have joined the governor at least as the latter proceeded south to raise the siege?

Nevertheless, it is still possible that negotiations were indeed started, but then collapsed when Aksungur asked for the citadel of Aleppo to be delivered to him, just as he did later to the Aleppans, and Timurtash rejected this on the grounds that he could later use it to take full control of the city. In other words, Timurtash may have feared that in case he allied with Aksungur, perhaps at the expense of delivering him

⁶⁷ See also Gerhard Vāth, *Die Geschichte der artukidischen Fürstentümer in Syrien und der Ġazīra'l-Furatiya* (Berlin, 1987), 92-3.

the citadel, he would be forced to give up Aleppo and return humiliated and empty-handed to Mardin. The only option that remained for him under these conditions was to abandon the city to its fate.

We do not know whether Timurtash believed in his own words as he assured the Aleppan envoys that he would take back Aleppo if the Franks captured it. But the fact that he refused to ally with Aksungur and seemed to prefer that the city go to the Franks rather than to the lord of Mosul suggests two alternative reasons for his attitude. The first of these is as follows: it has been emphasized in the course of the present study that the capture of Aleppo by the Franks would render them far too strong, tilting the power balance of the entire region in their favor; as Zangi said later to Timurtash, it would not even be possible for him to peacefully drink a cup of water in Mardin. It might be that because of his young age and lack of experience Timurtash failed to discern this fact, which had been so well perceived by Ilghazi and Belek that they had done their best to defend this remote dependency against the Franks.

In this connection, Hillenbrand does not seem justified when she argues that Timurtash's abandonment of Aleppo was a logical extension of the policy of Ilghazi, who deemed the city unfit to serve as his base.⁶⁸ Regarding Aleppo as an outer dependency that had been taken over to protect it from the Franks was quite different from abandoning it altogether to their hands; the second was not a logical extension of the first. Hillenbrand goes on to argue that Timurtash's decision to abandon Aleppo and pursue his limited territorial ambitions in Diyar Bakr was a sign of his political maturity. She contrasts him in this respect with Ilghazi, who she says lacked the maturity to concentrate his efforts in a small area, harboring unreal aspirations later rejected by his son, and indulged in grandiose military endeavors over an excessively

⁶⁸ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 143.

wide area from Tiflis to Aleppo and Hulwan to Mardin.⁶⁹ Against this it should be stressed once again that Ilghazi's takeover and defense of Aleppo was a strategical step that cannot be considered in the same category as his foolhardy adventures in Tiflis and elsewhere.

For this reason Imad al-Din Khalil seems more justified when he argues that Timurtash's abandonment of Aleppo for the sake of expanding his Mesopotamian lands and evading any struggle in North Syria point to his political short-sightedness. Aleppo was a strategic guarantee that enabled the Artukid to confront the Franks, so giving it up meant that he would henceforth be unable to check their ambitions. And these ambitions were not as far as he imagined from eventually coming to threaten him in Diyar Bakr itself.⁷⁰ When looked at from this perspective, and in reverse to Hillenbrand's argument, Timurtash's abandonment of Aleppo to the Franks and his rejection of an alliance with Aksungur seems to have been precisely due to his lack of political insight and maturity, along with other handicaps in manpower, military skills and leadership.

But there is an alternative explanation for this choice of Timurtash as well, doing more justice perhaps to his political skills and insight: incapable of relieving Aleppo by his own means, and faced with the prospect of seeing it taken by the Franks or by Aksungur, he may have considered that in case the lord of Mosul annexed Aleppo he would grow powerful enough to seize his lands in Diyar Bakr as well. He might have calculated the likeliness of this to be higher than the prospect that the capture of Aleppo would eventually enable the Franks to threaten him in Diyar Bakr.

⁶⁹ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 180-81, 486-87.

⁷⁰ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 285-86.

If this was indeed the case, Timurtash was not entirely unjustified in his apprehensions. Only ten years ago (and at that time Timurtash was a boy of eight years old, sufficiently grown up to be impressed by the events), when Aksungur was the governor of Mosul, he had directly targeted the Artukids and attacked Mardin. Aksungur's consequent defeat and dismissal from the governorship of Mosul, not to be restored there until 1124, could hardly have increased his sympathy for this family, as Timurtash must have been aware. Furthermore, the commander of the next expedition, Bursuk al-Bursuki, had advanced upon Aleppo to demand its surrender, and Timurtash's father Ilghazi had worked hard with the Franks to prevent this. Later developments also revealed that Timurtash was justified in his concerns about what would happen if Aleppo became attached to Mosul: the Artukids found themselves reduced to vassaldom soon after Zangi, the next lord of Mosul, had taken hold of Aleppo (1128), and within fifteen years their lands came to the brink of annexation, being situated on the route between Mosul and Aleppo. Almost the sole refuge they could find at this point turned out to be the County of Edessa, and after the capture of its capital they were only saved from being dispossessed by Zangi's assassination.

When Timurtash became convinced that he would not be able to relieve Aleppo on his own, therefore, he may have opted for the alternative that he believed would pose relatively less danger for his interests and even existence in Diyar Bakr: the capture of Aleppo by the Franks, rather than its takeover by the lord of Mosul. Nevertheless, he was probably mistaken in this belief, for if Aksungur had not been able to bring succor to Aleppo and the Franks had captured it, the resulting danger would hardly have been less. Compared with ten years earlier, when the armies of the sultan had still some balancing role to play in Syria and the Jazira, the Franks were much more powerful and self-confident. They had now reached a position

where allowing them to make any more gains was no less dangerous than submitting to the Seljukids had been a decade before.

There is yet another consideration that could have played a role in this decision of Timurtash, if we are allowed for a moment to assume that he really believed his own words as he claimed that he would recover Aleppo in case the Franks took it. He may have believed that seizing the city from the Franks would be relatively easier than wresting it from Aksungur, even though this was probably yet another mistake of calculation based on his underestimation of the power and intentions of the Franks. Especially, Aksungur's nominal position as the representative of the Seljukid sultan may have convinced Timurtash that trying to take the city from the Franks would be more legitimate and less difficult in that respect than attacking the governor of the sultan in Aleppo. But still the chances that the emir was serious as he spoke of recovering Aleppo seem rather low.

Mistaken or not, Timurtash's abandonment of Aleppo and his apparent preference that it go to the Franks rather than to the lord of Mosul is revealing of the general attitude of the local Muslim emirs. They lacked any notion that a city they might lose should at least remain in the hands of Muslims, as they did not view the events through the perspective of a Muslim-Christian confrontation. The only thing that counted for them was to preserve their possessions, and accordingly they acted calculating who posed the less danger for them, regardless of the adversaries' religion. Hence they not only failed to make any difference between losing their possession to a Muslim or a Frankish ruler, but sometimes seemed quite ready to prefer the latter on account of such calculations and even personal animosities.

Thus it becomes clear once again that jihad was not an independent motivating factor for Timurtash and his contemporaries, but rather the form that warfare

with defined strategic goals assumed in their eyes when the rivals they had to face in a particular case happened to be Franks. If they believed rightly or wrongly that they did not have to confront the “infidel rival” militarily, but could adopt peaceful methods to preserve their strategic interests and possessions, or if they calculated that it would cost themselves less to give up the strategic interests or possessions at stake, then there was simply no war against the Franks, and *ipso facto* no jihad.

In the light of these considerations, it is possible to conclude that Timurtash effected a true *volte-face* in the Artukid policy followed against the Franks since Ilghazi’s takeover of Aleppo, represented by his attempted deal with Baldwin. This alteration consisted of a return to the pre-1118 policy of neutrality toward the Franks or alliance with them against other Muslim powers, but, paradoxically, it was also calculated to attain the goal of the jihad of Ilghazi and Belek, namely to break off the Frankish encirclement of Aleppo — albeit through negotiation rather than war. Among the reasons for the dramatic change were Timurtash’s peace-loving nature, as also documented by his court historian Ibn al-Azraq, his lack of necessary resources after the division of the Artukid possessions, which was aggravated by his inability to act as the leader of the family, and his rivalry with the other emirs in the Jazira.

Whatever its reasons, the new policy was far too ambitious and therefore misfired, resulting in the formation of a pan-Syrian, Franko-Muslim coalition against the Artukid presence in Syria, not much different in character from that in 1115 against the Seljukids. Even after this point, however, Timurtash stuck to the same policy of trying to avert the takeover of Aleppo by the lord of Mosul, which he probably thought would be more dangerous for his rule in Diyar Bakr than the Franks’ capture of it — not least because Aksungur had been a long-time enemy of his father and the other Artukids. As for the alternative of relieving the city on his own, he had appar-

ently given up all hope of that due to his lack of confidence in the size of his army and in his skills of generalship. For this reason Timurtash chose to remain passive in the confrontation between Aksungur and the Franks, but his policy misfired for a second time, for the better or the worse for him, and Aleppo passed to the hands of the lord of Mosul.

Coşkun Alptekin argues that Timurtash's ill-judged abandonment of Aleppo caused the Artukids to lose all hope of expanding into Syria, with the result that they were reduced to vassal status and confined within a limited area from the end of the twelfth to the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁷¹ However, other scholars consider this development in a much more positive light, regarding it as an important step in the consolidation of the Artukid principalities and the conversion of the Artukid emirs from chiefs of Turkoman bands to settled rulers. Gerhard Vâth states that Timurtash's loss of the territories in Syria had a stabilizing effect on the area under his rule, insofar as the borders of his territories came to coincide to a great extent with their natural boundaries.⁷² Hillenbrand similarly argues that Timurtash's retreat to Diyar Bakr marked the end of the grandiose Artukid ambitions which had taken Artuk and Ilghazi to the farthest corners of the Islamic world. She states that Timurtash's more limited horizons, restricted to the pursuit of territorial ambitions in the Jazira, enabled the Artukids to secure a permanent domain in the remote and difficult terrain of Diyar Bakr until the fifteenth century. In this sense she considers Timurtash's decision to retreat to Mardin as a realistic and astute move.⁷³

Nevertheless, all this was not necessarily conditional on abandoning Aleppo and less the result of a personal decision based on realism and astuteness than a consequence of the gradual transformation undergone by the Artukid polities: whereas

⁷¹ Coşkun Alptekin, *The Reign of Zangi* (Erzurum, 1978), 79.

⁷² Vâth, *Geschichte*, 96.

these had been little more than a conglomeration of castles and connecting lands that were controlled by a wandering nomadic chieftain, they began to evolve at this time into territorial princedoms with relatively well-defined boundaries and a ruler residing at a fixed center. As Cahen points out, it would not have made much sense for the first two generations of Artuk, Sokman and Ilghazi to delimit their possessions, while the case was different for their successors.⁷⁴ This is supported by the fact that despite his more energetic character Sokman's son Dawud did not seek to gain possessions outside Diyar Bakr either. They represented the first generation of Artukids settled in their domains in Diyar Bakr, having succeeded to the generations of wanderers. Cahen observes that it was only from their time onwards that an Artukid state could be said to exist.⁷⁵ This was also evident from their assumption of some of the paraphernalia of a classical Muslim ruler, like the minting of coins.⁷⁶ Hillenbrand asserts that it was also at this time that the Turkomans and the people of the cities first established a symbiotic relationship, though real sedenterization took much longer.⁷⁷

9.3 The end of the Artukids' contiguity with the Franks — and the end of Artukid power and independence

After Timurtash thus abandoned Aleppo, and Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman's last bid to rule it was thwarted by Zangi's takeover of the city,⁷⁸ the Artukids did not have any further relations with the Franks of Antioch. As for the Franks of Edessa, they still confronted them from time to time. In 1126 Joscelin raided the lands of Amid, where he robbed the Turks and Kurds of the Asuma mountain and plundered

⁷³ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 487-88, 503; Hillenbrand, "Timurtash b. Ilghazi," EI², X, 528.

⁷⁴ Claude Cahen "Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides," *Journal Asiatique* 227 (1935), 237.

⁷⁵ Claude Cahen "Diyar Bakr," 241-42.

⁷⁶ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 500-01.

⁷⁷ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 136-37.

all the villages up to the gates of the city. His pretext was that the the troops of Amid had participated in an incursion against Edessa while he was staying in Antioch. In retaliation Dawud ibn Sokman attacked the count and drove him as far back as Edessa.⁷⁹ In 1133 a certain emir of the Artukid family, called Muhammad Shams al-Hajib according to Michael the Syrian, received the region of Shabakhtan from Timurtash. He used it as a base to raid continuously the territory of Edessa. But he was eventually defeated and probably executed by Joscelin, who then set about destroying those castles in the region which he would be unable to defend. In this way the count created a no man's land that stood as a buffer zone between his and Timurtash's lands and prevented the Muslims from setting foot in the region until 1144.⁸⁰

The next confrontation between the Artukids and the Franks took place at the time of Emperor John Comnenus's expedition against Syria, during his siege of Shaizar along with the Latin princes. To help Zangi, Dawud ibn Sokman sent his son Fakhr al-Din Kara Arslan and a sizeable force across the Euphrates,⁸¹ while Timurtash surrounded Edessa, attacked and captured a caravan that had set out to bring there supplies from Samosata, and seized the castle of Kissos.⁸² Together these ac-

⁷⁸ Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 216-21 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, 135-38, in "Khutlugh Aba."

⁷⁹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, 225; Bar Hebraeus, *Abu'l-Farac Tarihi*, II, 361; Al-Azimi, *Azimî Tarihi*, 44 (Arabic) and 52 (Turkish) (523: 1128-1129); Cahen "Diyar Bakr," 242-43; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 305.

⁸⁰ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, 233; Cahen, "Diyar Bakr," 249-50 and n. 1; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 356. In the footnote Cahen observes that there is no Artukid with the name Muhammad Shams al-Hajib in Ibn al-Azraq's genealogy, and suggests that the man may have been Hajib Shams al-Din Savinj instead. The ground he puts forward is that Shabakhtan was given by Timurtash's son to Savinj after his father's death, which he says might only have been a confirmation of his tenure of the *iqta'*. But Michael the Syrian explicitly reports that the Artukid in question was burnt by Joscelin before the gates of Edessa. In keeping with his suggestion Cahen prefers to omit this, merely stating that the Artukid was imprisoned by the count.

⁸¹ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 251 (532: 1137-1138); Al-Azimi, *Azimî Tarihi*, 53 (Arabic) and 62 (Turkish) (532: 1137-1138); Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat Halab*, 678; Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 288; Alptekin, *Reign of Zangi*, 80; Vâth, *Geschichte*, 102; Claude Cahen "Diyar Bakr," 246; Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 183.

⁸² "Anonymous Syrian Chronicle," 278; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, 246; Bar Hebraeus, *Abu'l-Farac Tarihi*, II, 375; Ibn al-Azraq, *Early Artukid State*, 97 (English) and 181 (Arabic); Nicetas Choniates, *Die Krone Der Komnenen*, translated by Franz Grabler (Graz, 1958), 63; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 363; Demirkent, *Urfa Haçlı Konluğu*, II, 125-27.

tions may have contributed to the raise of the siege and the emperor's hasty withdrawal.

But the Artukids also collaborated with the Franks of Edessa against Zangi, who had defeated their combined forces in a battle in 1130 and then systematically set about subjugating them, with the ultimate purpose of annexing their territories.⁸³ Especially the Artukids of Hisn Kaifa were subjected to relentless pressure, being deprived of Buhtan, the eastern part of Diyar Bakr, and the territory between Hisn Kaifa and Kharput.⁸⁴ In addition, when Fahr al-Din Kara Arslan succeeded his father Dawud, Zangi used the claims of Kara Arslan's elder brother Arslan Toghmish to the succession as a pretext for trying to annex his territories.⁸⁵ In the face of this situation, the Artukids of Hisn Kaifa effected a rapprochement with Joscelin II, the count of Edessa. Even though Timurtash had been a vassal of Zangi since 1130, he too may have sought an alliance with the count and Hisn Kaifa at this point, since Zangi's capture in 1139 of certain castles attached to Mardin had rendered him aware that the *atabek* was no longer prepared to brook any resistance from his part.⁸⁶

Zangi responded to this alliance between the Franks and Artukids by occupying the castles in Shabakhtan and the high basin of the river Khabur, in order to cut off the routes of communication between them, and proceeded to attack Amid, which

⁸³ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, X, 524-25 and *Chronicle*, 283 (524: 1129-30); Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, 240; Grousset, *Histoire*, I, 671. Remzi Ataoğlu claims that Zangi did not intend to annex the Artukid territories, but only wanted to "intimidate" the Artukids and other local emirs so that all together they could wage jihad in unity against the Franks. This is contradicted however by Zangi's annexation of large chunks of Artukid territory, and seems to be based on Ibn al-Athir's tendentious representation of the *atabek*'s actions in an effort to plead for Muslim unity in his time as well as to satisfy his Zangid parons. Ataoğlu also contradicts his own argument when he confesses further on that Zangi's assassination "saved the Artukids from coming to a bad end that could have been their lot." See M. Remzi Ataoğlu, "Hisn-ı Keyfâ Artuklu Devleti" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Ankara University, 1989), 74-6.

⁸⁴ Claude Cahen, "Artukids," 664.

⁸⁵ Alptekin, *Reign of Zangi*, 82; Aydın Usta, "Artuklular," *Türkler Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara, 2002), VI, 476.

⁸⁶ Hillenbrand, "History of the Jazira," 493.

was allied with Hisn Kaifa.⁸⁷ Summoned to help by Kara Arslan, who offered the castle of Babula in turn, Joscelin II set out to create a diversion. The emir of Harran promptly notified Zangi that Edessa had been deprived of its lord and troops, upon which the *atabek* besieged and captured the city.⁸⁸

In seeking the help of the Franks of Edessa the Artukids had resorted to the sole counterweight they could find in the Jazira against Zangi,⁸⁹ but ironically they had also brought about its downfall. As a result they were reduced to an extremely precarious situation. Indeed Cahen remarks that the capture of Edessa was a disaster for both Timurtash and Fakhr al-Din Kara Arslan. Their chances of drawing upon Frankish support against Zangi disappeared, and the Artukid territories, especially those belonging to Hisn Kaifa, escaped annexation only thanks to the assassination of Zangi in 1146.⁹⁰

Imad al-Din Khalil overlooks this function of Edessa as a counterweight against Zangi, focusing exclusively on the benefits that the Artukids would have derived from the removal of their Latin neighbor. He points out that the pressure of the County had prevented them from expanding their territories in the western and north-western parts of the Jazira, and the County's territories east of the Euphrates, deeply penetrating Diyar Bakr, had directly threatened their possessions.⁹¹ Nevertheless, by this time the Artukids were no longer in a position to draw much benefit from the elimination of their Frankish rivals, for the fall of Edessa had served further to

⁸⁷ Nikita Elisséeff, *Nur ad-Din: Un Grand Prince Musulman de Syrie au Temps de Croisades* (Damas, 1967), II, 378-79; Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "Zangi and the Fall of Edessa," in *A History of the Crusades* (Wisconsin, 1969), 460-61.

⁸⁸ Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 259-61 and *Buğyetü't-taleb fi Tarihi Haleb*, 162-63, in "Zangi ibn Aksungur;" Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, 260; "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," 280-81; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 368-69.

⁸⁹ The only other ally they could find against Zangi was Sultan Mas'ud of Rum; see Aydın Usta, "İmadeddin Zangi ve Artuklular," *Trakya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 9 (2007), 130.

⁹⁰ Cahen, "Artukids," 664; Cahen "Diyar Bakr," 251-52.

⁹¹ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 289-90.

strengthen their Muslim adversary, while it had destroyed the only power in the region that could effectively resist him.

Zangi's death removed the immediate danger of annexation, and Nur al-Din established more friendly relations with the Artukids, not least because he did not hold Mosul and therefore did not have to control the territories between that city and Aleppo. However, his power still brought about the result that the Artukids gradually slid into being his vassals.⁹² When most of the territories of the Zangids were taken over by Saladin, who acquired Aleppo in 1183, the Artukids found themselves subjected in turn to him. This was especially true after he had established his domination at the heart of Diyar Bakr by installing an Artukid protégé in Amid in 1183 and capturing Mayyafariqin in 1185.⁹³ Throughout all this period the Artukids had no Frankish neighbors to fall back on as a counterweight to their vastly superior Muslim neighbors occupying the lands of what had been the County of Edessa. Nor did they have any opportunity to gain prestige like the latter from their own battles with the Franks, which would have provided them with additional Turkoman forces and a legitimate pretext for territorial self-aggrandizement at the expense of other Muslim principalities. We have seen that the situation was completely otherwise when, at the time of Ilghazi and Belek, they were neighbors not only with the Franks of Edessa, but also with those of Antioch.

The Artukids themselves did receive a fair share from the spoils of the County of Edessa as it was partitioned among Muslim rulers, and also derived some power and prestige from these acquisitions. As is evident from the aforementioned developments, though, whatever they gained in this way would pale beside what they had lost through the dissolution of the County. In the partition of its remaining lands be-

⁹² Vâth, *Geschichte*, 108; Cahen, "Diyar Bakr," 261; Cahen, "Artukids," 665.

⁹³ Cahen, "Diyar Bakr," 266; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 421-22; Cahen, "Artukids," 665.

tween autumn 1149 and summer 1051, which began after Raymond of Antioch's death in the Battle of Inab and accelerated with Nur al-Din's capture of Joscelin II in 1150, Fakhr al-Din Kara Arslan of Hisn Kaifa was the emir to act first: he got hold of Babula and Kaisun as well as the citadels of Gargar, Kahta and Hisn Mansur on the right bank of the Euphrates. Downstream of the same river Timurtash took Samosata, al-Bira, Khurus and Kafarsut and installed a deputy in Qal'at al-Rum, where the Armenian catholicos resided.

These new acquisitions of Timurtash amounted in fact to a new province added to Mardin's lands, even though some time after his death the Artukid governor of the more distant al-Bira, Shihab al-Din Muhammad, revolted and declared his allegiance to Nur al-Din.⁹⁴ Apparently, it was the modest increase in power and prestige provided by the conquest of this new province that brought Timurtash caliphal recognition, in the form of a honorary robe and a *manshūr* of sovereignty.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, in the face of the growing power of Nur al-Din and the corresponding subjugation of the Artukids, this ascendance proved only short-lived. In 1172 Nur al-Din demanded and received from the caliph an entitlement (*taqlīd*) to Diyar Bakr, among other territories, with which the subjection of the Artukids was sealed officially as well.⁹⁶

The partition of the County of Edessa put an end to the Frankish presence in the Jazira, so the Artukids' relations with the Franks were reduced to participating as

⁹⁴ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, 294-95; Bar Hebraeus, *Abu'l-Farac Tarihi*, II, 380, 388; Ibn al-Azraq, *Early Artukid State*, 133-34 (English) and 203 (Arabic); Ahmed Savran, *A Critical Edition of the Artukid Section in Tarikh Mayyafariqin wa Amid by Ibnu'l-Azrak al-Fariki* (Erzurum, 1987) 113-14; Vartan, RHC *Historiens Arméniens* I, 434; Kirakos of Genjaket, RHC *Historiens Arméniens* I, 415; Grousset, *Histoire*, II, 306-7; Cahen, "Diyar Bakr," 251, 254; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 384-87; Elisséeff, *Nur ad-Din*, II, 435, 448-50, 456, 461-62; Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 327; Vāth, *Geschichte*, 109; Monique Amouroux-Mourad, *Le Comté d'Edesse, 1098-1150* (Paris 1988), 89.

⁹⁵ Osman Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri* (İstanbul, 1973; repr. İstanbul, 2001), 177-78; Hiltenbrand, "Timurtash b. Ilghazi," 528.

⁹⁶ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, XI, 315, 317 and *Chronicle*, II, 213, 215-16 (568 : 1172-73); Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 137, 298-99.

vassals in Nur al-Din and Saladin's campaigns against the Crusader states. To cite the most important of these occasions, in 1159 they joined Nur al-Din's army against Emperor Manuel and his Frankish allies during their expedition in Syria.⁹⁷ In 1161 the Artukid Shihab al-Din Muhammad, lord of al-Bira, defeated and captured the Prince of Antioch, Reynald of Châtillon, and handed him over to Nur al-Din.⁹⁸ In 1163 the same emir rescued Nur al-Din from almost certain capture, when he had suffered a surprise Frankish attack at Ra's al-Ma' and found himself surrounded by them.⁹⁹ The next year Shihab al-Din Muhammad and Fakhr al-Din Kara Arslan personally took part in Nur al-Din's victorious campaign against Harim, while Najm al-Din Alpi of Mardin sent a contingent.¹⁰⁰ The Artukid emirs also contributed to the raids that Nur al-Din carried out in 1167 and 1171 against the Crusader positions around Antioch and Tripoli, the first in retaliation against a Frankish attack on the

⁹⁷ Ibn al-Azraq, *Tarikh Mayyafariqin wa Amid*, 128; "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," 302; Cahen, "Diyar Bakr," 256. Ibn al-Azraq attributes Manuel's abrupt truce with Nur al-Din and retreat from Syria to a riposte made by Najm al-Din Alpi, the lord of Mardin, and also to the awe in which the Artukids were reportedly held by the Franks since the days of Artuk in Jerusalem and Ilghazi in Aleppo: "The king of the Greeks [Manuel] heard that the troops from the East had arrived and that the emirs of the house of Artuk and the Turkomans had assembled, with Najm al-Din Alpi himself amongst them. The king of the Greeks was dejected at this news, because the house of Artuk had a great name and a standing of long past amongst the Franks and Greeks, coming from the days of Artuk in Jerusalem as well as from the days of Ilghazi. So the king of the Greeks sent an envoy to Nur al-Din. Najm al-Din Alpi sat down for the envoy's address and listened to the letter. In response he let the envoy hear an excellent answer, in the most spirited and elegant language. He made a lasting impression on them, all the more so as there was a terrible fear among the Franks against this house, coming from the past. The king of the Greeks returned home, and the reason for this was none other than Alpi's address of the envoy. The Muslim troops dispersed too, and Alpi returned to Mardin." Needless to say, Ibn al-Azraq seems to have exaggerated the role played by his lord Najm al-Din Alpi's rejoinder, as well as the effect of the fear and respect that the Artukids reportedly still inspired among the Greeks and Franks. The Anonymous, in turn, attributes Manuel's withdrawal to the news of an insurrection back in Constantinople, but this was probably no more than a pretext. As Runciman suggests, the actual reason may have been the emperor's desire to preserve Nur al-Din as a counterbalance against both Kilij Arslan II and the Franks. See Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 354-55.

⁹⁸ Ibn al-Azraq, *Tarikh Mayyafariqin wa Amid*, 135.

⁹⁹ Ibn al-Azraq, *Tarikh Mayyafariqin wa Amid*, 148-49.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, XI, 246-48 and *Chronicle*, 146-48 (559: 1163-1164); Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatain fi Akhbar al-Dawlatain*, RHC *Historiens Orientaux* IV, 126; Ibn al-Azraq, *Tarikh Mayyafariqin wa Amid*, 149-51; "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," 303-04.

Turkomans and Arabs near Hims, and the second in return for a breach of the truce they had committed.¹⁰¹

After the Artukids were subjected to Saladin, Nur al-Din Muhammad of Hisn Kaifa, rewarded by the Ayyubid emir with Amid, personally took part in Saladin's campaigns against Baisan in 1183 and Karak in 1184. In the latter campaign Qutb al-Din Ilghazi of Mardin participated as well.¹⁰² The Artukids also joined Saladin's forces in the Battle of Hattin, in the subsequent siege of Tyre, in the campaigns of the next year against the crusader ports in North Syria, and during the preliminary stage of the Frankish siege of Acre in 1189.¹⁰³ Toward the end of the Third Crusade, in 1192, Qutb al-Din ibn Kara Arslan participated in the siege and conquest of Jaffa.¹⁰⁴

But the Artukids do not seem to have taken part with particular willingness in these campaigns, which were not their own as they had been in the days of Sokman, Ilghazi and Belek. Thus the Artukids of Hisn Kaifa and Mardin refused to join Saladin's army during the final and most critical stage of the siege of Acre. They put forward as excuse their fear of the expansionist policies followed by Saladin's nephew Taqiy al-Din Umar, who was tarrying at the time in Diyar Bakr. Saladin himself would later point this out as one of the major causes of the fall of Acre.¹⁰⁵ Even when the Artukids lacked such an immediate excuse, however, they still showed them-

¹⁰¹ For the raid in 1167 see: Ibn al-Azraq, *Tarikh Mayyafariqin wa Amid*, 122-23; Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, XI, 266 and *Chronicle*, 165-66 (562: 1166-1167); Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri*, 183; Robert L. Nicholson, *Joscelyn III and the Fall of the Crusader States, 1134-1199* (Leiden, 1973), 52. For the raid in 1171 see: Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi't-Tarih*, XI, 300 and *Chronicle*, II, 200; Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 298; Hüseyin Kayhan, "Haçlılar Karşısında Artuklular," *I. Uluslararası Mardin Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, edited by ed. İbrahim Özcoşar and Hüseyin H. Güneş (Mardin, 2006), 58.

¹⁰² Baha al-Din Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin or al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa'l-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya*, translated by D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2001), 64-5; Abu Shama, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* IV, 249-56; Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 148, 300-01 and n.3; Grousset, *Histoire*, II, 739; Aydın Usta, "Artuklular," 478.

¹⁰³ Ibn Shaddad, *Saladin*, 71-2; Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 303-04.

¹⁰⁴ Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *al-Fath al-Qussi fi'l-Fath al-Qudsi*, edited by Muhammad Mahmud Subh (Cairo, 1965), 596, 599; Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 307-08.

¹⁰⁵ Abu Shama, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* V, 4, 17; Imad al-Din Isfahani, *al-Fath al-Qussi*, 520; Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 305-08.

selves reluctant to take part in the jihad of Nur al-Din and Saladin, especially during the anticlimactic but very hard and protracted campaigns following the Battle of Hattin and the Fall of Jerusalem. Gerhard Vāth points out that the compulsory participation of the Artukids in these campaigns without being able to derive any personal gain (that was reserved for the suzerain and his family) weakened them considerably because of the huge and continuous expenditures involved. As a result, it was with steadily decreasing eagerness and punctuality that they showed up for battle.¹⁰⁶

This is only too understandable. As long as the Artukids did not have to confront the Franks in order to defend their own strategic interests and possessions, as it had proved necessary during the time of Ilghazi and Belek, when their territories bordered the Frankish principalities around Antioch and Edessa, jihad did not constitute an independent motivating force for them. At best, it could be an external pressure exerted on the emirs by the pietist-minded ulama who had come under the influence of the jihad propaganda spreading from Syria. Otherwise they preferred to fight their own neighbors, who were now all Muslim, for the sake of defending those possessions and interests. Such was the case of Fakhr al-Din Kara Arslan, who showed himself extremely unwilling to obey Nur al-Din's summons for the campaign against Harim. Ibn al-Athir has preserved his initial reaction for us, when he was asked what he had decided to do. "To stay where I am," he reportedly answered. "Nur al-Din has worn himself out with much fasting and praying, as well as throwing himself and his people with him into dangers." But he changed his mind the very next day, and when asked why he had done so, replied:

Nur al-Din has taken a certain course with me; if I do not aid him, my subjects will rebel against me and take my lands from me, for he has written to the local ascetics, pious men and those who have renounced this world, telling them what the Muslims have met with from the Franks, the killing and

¹⁰⁶ Vāth, *Geschichte*, 121-23.

captivity they have suffered, and begging the support of their prayers and asking them to urge the Muslims to take up the struggle. Each one of these men has taken his place in public, with his supporters and followers, and is reading out Nur al-Din's letters, while weeping and delivering imprecations and curses against me. I have to go with him.¹⁰⁷

Another reason why Kara Arslan initially showed himself reluctant to join Nur al-Din was probably his struggle with his father-in-law, the Danishmendid Yaghi Basan of Sivas, who had prevented him from capturing Amid, ravaged his lands and carried off the populace there. As Kara Arslan and Najm al-Din Alpi were about to join battle with Yaghi Basan near Sivas, Nur al-Din's envoy arrived to reconcile them, asking: "Is it right that you Muslims fight each other when the Franks are attacking?"¹⁰⁸ Kara Arslan's greater interest in continuing his fight with a fellow Muslim ruler, and the disparaging remarks he made about Nur al-Din's jihad, are indeed highly significant: they reveal how that leader's struggle with the Franks neighboring him in Syria and Palestine appeared to an emir who looked from the secure heartlands of Diyar Bakr, so distant now from the Frankish borders, and who had only other Muslims to fight for possessions and interests at stake. Of course the outlook of the ulama who applied pressure on Kara Arslan was quite different, as they were profoundly influenced by the vigorous jihad propaganda orchestrated by Nur al-Din. The prolific Arabic literature on jihad produced around this time in Syria must have found a ready audience in the lands of the Artukids, which remained in the sphere of Arabic language and culture in contrast to the other Turkish polities in Asia Minor.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Ibn al-Athir, *El-Kâmil fi 't-Tarih*, XI, 246-48 and *Chronicle*, II, 147 (559: 1163-1164).

¹⁰⁸ Ibn al-Azraq, *Tarih Mayyafariqin wa Amid*, 137-38, 149-50; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, 320-21; Claude Cahen "Diyar Bakr," 258-59; Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri*, 181; Hüseyin Kayhan, "Artuklu-Danışmendli İlişkileri Hakkında," *Belleten* 72 (2008), 479-80.

¹⁰⁹ Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 471-72, 509; Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri*, 256; Cahen, "Artukids," 665; Vâth, *Geschichte*, 210-11. The pressure of these circles also led Kara Arslan to forbid the construction of new churches or the reparation of the existing ones, as was the practice in Nur al-Din's lands where the Hanbalite movement of religious rearmament was in full swing. See Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 337, 340, 347, 350; Cahen, "Diyar Bakr," 269.

When the attitude of the Artukid emirs in the period after the collapse of the County of Edessa is considered in this light, it becomes clear that it was out of question for Timurtash to have attempted an attack on the far-away kingdom of Jerusalem, as is claimed on the basis of a report by William of Tyre. In this report William relates how “certain Turkish satraps surnamed Hieraquin, powerful men of distinguished lineage among their own people, assembled a great number of Turks and determined to go to seize Jerusalem as belonging to them by hereditary right.” After they had stopped briefly at Damascus to replenish their provisions, without paying heed to the warnings of the Damascenes, these reportedly proceeded to Jerusalem, but were cut down by the Franks on the road that crossed the rough terrain between the city and the river Jordan (23 November 1152).¹¹⁰

Wilken has identified the leader of this Turkoman contingent as Timurtash, which is accepted by Röhrich, Stevenson and Runciman.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, other scholars like Grousset, Hillenbrand and Khalil have expressed doubts about the story. They rightly point out its absence in other and especially Muslim sources, the vast distance of Jerusalem from Artukid territories, and the consequently arduous and foolhardy nature of the undertaking. As such it ran directly counter to Timurtash’s prudent, lethargic personality as well as to his preference for negotiation rather than war.¹¹²

All this is true, but a new dimension could be brought into the discussion by considering the issue in the light of the contemporary understanding of jihad. As we have seen, when the local emirs, finding the Franks as neighbors and rivals, had to

¹¹⁰ William of Tyre, *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, II, 214-17 (XVII.20).

¹¹¹ Friedrich Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge nach morgenländischen und abendländischen Berichten*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1807-1832), IV, 17; William Barron Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East* (Beirut, 1968), 171; Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 337.

¹¹² Grousset, *Histoire*, II, 347-48; Hillenbrand, “History of the Jazira,” 497-8; Khalil, *Al-Imarat al-Artuqiyya*, 294, n. 5.

confront them for a particular interest or possession at stake, this was jihad for them. It would hardly have crossed their mind by 1152 to conceive of it as something that necessitated them to put aside their interests and leave their lands to attack a distant country, one they could never hope to keep for long. Although such an idealistic move would seem to be endorsed by the jihad ideology and propaganda developed under Nur al-Din and Saladin in the latter half of the twelfth century, the actual attitude of those leaders was not much different in fact from that of their predecessors. Despite the unrelenting, vigorous jihad propaganda that Saladin sponsored, for example, he had reached almost the end of his career when he dared to launch a great campaign against the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the one that ended with Hattin, and he gathered a vast army from the whole of Syria and the Jazira before venturing such a move. Moreover, in contrast to the Artukids in 1152, he stood to make lasting acquisitions in case of victory.

So the only possibility that remains is that William's story concerns a minor raid carried out by a group of independently acting Turkoman nomads on the move. Indeed, based on the similarity between "Hieroquin" and the name of the Turkoman group called *Yaruqiyya*, and also on the fact that William mentions it as the common name of a group of emirs rather than a single individual, the following suggestion could be made in line with Grousset:¹¹³ the campaign in question was a rather insignificant raid made into the Kingdom of Jerusalem by a group of the *Yaruqiyya* Turkomans, who had been previously transferred from Diyar Bakr into Syria by Zangi and Nur al-Din.¹¹⁴ William's report about their claim to Jerusalem as their ancestral heritage might be explained by their previous presence there, during the Artukid rule of the city, or perhaps more plausibly attributed to the possibility that they were mov-

¹¹³ Grousset, *Histoire*, II, 347-48.

ing under the leadership of some minor, landless member or members of the Artukid family. The insignificance of the event would also explain its lack of mention by other sources, including the contemporary Damascene author Ibn al-Qalanisi.¹¹⁵

We have seen that with the end of the Artukids' contiguity with the Franks, following the dissolution of the County of Edessa, their direct, independent contacts with the Franks ceased. But this also meant the end of their former power and independence, as they completely lost the chance of protecting these by a "diplomatic dance" between the Franks and the great Muslim powers trying to dominate the region, as Ilghazi had done and even his successors had partially managed to do at the time of Zangi. They were also unable now to derive prestige from fighting the Franks in their own domain and on their own account, rather than on someone else's, and to use this prestige like Belek to attract Turkoman forces and dispossess their Muslim neighbors. Indeed the fact that the Artukids' power and independence went into decline after the end of their relations with the Franks of Antioch, and quickly diminished to naught after the collapse of the County of Edessa, with the result that they became vassals of Nur al-Din and Saladin, is quite telling and ironic, and certainly no mere coincidence. Their power and independence decreased in parallel with the decline of their free and direct relations with the Franks, and the concurrent end of these brings this study to a conclusion.

¹¹⁴ Also see Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 185-86; Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler): Tarihleri – Boy Teşkilatı – Destanları* (İstanbul, 1992), 117.

¹¹⁵ Ibn al-Qalanisi and Ibn abi Tayyi (cited by Abu Shama) report an incursion of group of Turkomans against Banyas, who defeated its lord Humphrey of Toron (December 1151). Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, 311 (546: 1151-1152); Abu Shama, RHC, *Historiens Orientaux* IV, 74-5. Since this amounted to a break of the truce between Damascus and the Franks, the Damascenes sent an army to chastise the Turkomans and recover their booty, which they returned to the Franks. It has been suggested in passing by Grousset and more seriously by Köhler that this incident was in fact the basis for William's story. See Grousset, *Histoire*, II, 346-47; Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, 215-16. But there is scarcely any evidence to support this possibility, apart from William's note that the Damascenes tried to dissuade the "Hieraquins" from attacking Jerusalem. Neither the identity of those who overcame the Turkomans (the Damascenes versus the Franks), nor the geographical locations in question (Banyas versus Jerusalem, with a distance of almost 200 km. between), nor the dates given (separated by a year) agree with each other.

Thus the present study, which started with the Artukids' new contiguity with the Franks of Edessa, and developed with their becoming neighbors of the Franks of Antioch as well, comes to a conclusion with the end of their contiguity first with the Principality of Antioch and then the County of Edessa. These events also represent the turning points in their fortunes, the first coinciding with the start of their ascent to power in Diyar Bakr, the second with the beginning of their strongest period, the third with their relegation to an inferior status *vis-à-vis* Zangi, and the last with the start of their final decline into the vassaldom under the Zangids and Ayyubids.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this study, it was pointed out that rather than comparing bits of evidence from the sources, the method adopted here was a close reading of the existing accounts of an event, considering each as a whole, with its individual standpoint, distortions, legendary elements and all, and to compare these close readings with each other. What are the general observations that have emerged from this procedure, regarding the outlook of medieval chroniclers from diverse backgrounds? And how do the Artukids seem to have fared in the eyes of chroniclers of different ethnic and religious origins? To begin with the first question, it has become clear in the course of this study that all the contemporary historians treated their accounts, of momentous events especially, as set-pieces intended to illustrate certain moral points. Chief among these was the need to preserve or restore unity against the opposite religious camp, and most chroniclers busied themselves with showing how their patron contributed to this unity while his rivals undermined it by collaboration with the enemy. And in those cases where their own patron (or his ancestor for that matter) had collaborated with the other side, the same chroniclers usually did their best to cover this up. Thus there was a marked spirit of religious animosity and confrontation in both the Latin sources, indigenous Christian authors and Arab chroniclers, who all

seem to have taken for granted that there were two religious blocks confronting each other in the region, locked in a constant struggle. Accordingly they dedicated a large place in their narratives to the role played in battles and sieges by the assistance of God or Muslim or Christian saints and by religious elements and symbols like the Muslim ritual prayers or the Holy Cross, and dwelt at length on the insults perpetrated against religious values by the opposite side on such occasions. Paradoxically, however, this did not prevent them from openly welcoming the peace and prosperity brought about by truces, nor from praising the rulers on the opposite side when these acted benevolently (even for their own benefit) toward the Muslims/Christians under their rule.

When we turn to the second question in this respect and examine the chroniclers' attitude toward the Artukid rulers in the first half of the twelfth century, Sokman and Ilghazi evidently do not fare well in the eyes of Christian authors. They do not hesitate in calling the first a bloodthirsty beast and portraying the second as a determined persecutor of Christianity as well as a sadistic trooper who enjoyed roasting babies or torturing Frankish captives of war. Belek is judged somewhat better, especially by the indigenous Christians, because of his mild treatment of the populous Armenians living under his rule. As for the Latin authors, although they openly gloat over Belek's death and call him a fierce dragon oppressing Christianity, they still acknowledge what they see as his shrewdness and resourcefulness. Timurtash, no wonder, does not receive much attention from the Latin chroniclers, and his court historian, as an exception to the general attitude of Muslim chroniclers, does not seem interested in past or present battles with the Franks either. From the point of view of Muslim authors, on the other hand, Ilghazi fares relatively the worst despite his success in *Ager Sanguinis*, because of his supposed failure to take Antioch, and in

this context he is even portrayed as a clueless sot (which has been taken too seriously as we saw by some of his modern students). In contrast they offer a far better image of Sokman and Belek, who are represented as heroic defenders of the faith and Muslims who fell martyrs in trying to save Tripoli and Tyre respectively. In this quality they are held up as models to the rulers of the early thirteenth century. Timurtash, in contrast, is criticized for his abandonment of Aleppo in dire straits, and because of his subsequent lack of interest in fighting the Franks, he is even ridiculed as one who would not be able to drink a cup of water in peace in Mardin were it not for Zangi.

We have seen that the praises and criticisms directed by medieval chroniclers at the Artukid rulers, as in the case of other princes and emirs of the time, reflected a strongly confrontational religious outlook, which constituted the main criterion in their evaluation. The specific approach adopted in this study, treating contemporary accounts as set-pieces and focusing on analyzing their individual narratives as a whole, rather than directly using them as repositories of evidence, has not only yielded interesting insights into this outlook, but also enabled a more complete detachment and distancing from it. This in turn has allowed for the emergence of a picture of their acts and strategies that is very different from the prevailing representation in the chronicles. It has thus become possible to reach a better understanding of the true concerns of the Artukid princes, evaluating them from the perspective of what they themselves were trying to do, rather than what the chroniclers thought they should have done — views taken all too often for granted by contemporary historians following a more traditional method.

The present study has revealed in this way that the Artukids themselves never considered it as their aim to wage Holy War *per se*, to expel the Franks from Antioch, Edessa or elsewhere: they did fight them, but this was either for the sake of pre-

serving their own possessions or to prevent the Franks from becoming too powerful in the region, just as they did until 1115 against the Great Seljukids. On the other hand, this did not hinder the Artukid emirs from seeing and presenting their conflicts as jihad insofar as these were against the “infidels.” Sokman was the first to display this attitude: on the one hand he fought the Franks who had become his neighbors in Diyar Bakr, trying to recover Saruj from them, and later inflicted a serious check upon them as he played the major role in thwarting their venture to capture Harran. He also set out to protect Damascus and Tripoli, the fall of which would have similarly given the Franks a huge advantage. On the other hand, he showed himself uninterested in protecting Antioch against the advancing army of the First Crusade, and tried to use the already assembled Muslim forces to secure his lands in Diyar Bakr. He also abandoned the field after the victory at Harran, on the pretext of a dispute with his ally Chakarmish, and did not join forces with him to lay siege to Edessa. He probably thought it safer to avoid an Edessa attached to Mosul, with his lands in between, than to expel the “infidels” from Edessa. However, despite this pragmatic policy directed solely at preserving his possessions and strategic interests, and the fact that he never considered a more general onslaught against the Crusader presence, Sokman reportedly made utterances which, if true, show that he thought of himself as a mujahid and the protector of Islam and Muslims in a general sense.

The same attitude is also observable in Sokman’s brother Ilghazi. The latter, not long after his arrival in Diyar Bakr, did not flinch from diverting an expedition of Ridwan against the Franks of Antioch upon Nisibis, a town of the Seljukid governor of Mosul, in an effort to carve for himself a principality in the Jazira. When the Seljukid sultan began to send armies to subjugate the Franks as well as the local emirs and so to regain control of his lands in the west, Ilghazi took part only in the first of

these and for the rest contented himself with sending a contingent under his son. He preferred instead to use his army to attack his northern neighbor at Akhlāt. Like the other local emirs, he was determined to preserve his *de facto* independence acquired during the Seljukid interregnum. When the next two armies appeared to have the direct mission of bringing Ilghazi and other local emirs to heel, he did not flinch from attacking the first and collaborating against the second with the Franks, joined by the emirs of Damascus and Aleppo. Even when the Seljukid expeditions ceased after this and the Franks began to grow bolder due to the resulting power vacuum, Ilghazi did not immediately assume an inimical attitude against them.

It was only when the Franks began in earnest to encircle Aleppo and Ilghazi was summoned as a desperate last resort to take over the city that he began seriously to confront them. Even then his aim remained restricted to breaking the encirclement of the city. He especially tried to push back the borderline with Antioch running through Azaz, al-Atharib and Zardana. His first victory against the Franks came unexpectedly as he besieged the latter two castles and the prince of Antioch desperately tried to prevent him, without waiting for reinforcements. And despite this crushing victory, Ilghazi did not make any attempt to take Antioch — it was no aim of his to use Aleppo as a base to wage jihad against the “infidels” and expel them from the Principality. He rather saw Aleppo as a remote dependency and did only what was necessary to prevent it falling to the Franks and altering the power balance in the region. And he stuck to this policy until the end of his reign: in the year after *Ager Sanguinis* he tried unsuccessfully to add Azaz to his previous two conquests and complete the recovery of the northern half of the borderline (the southern half extending to Jabal Summaq). When his son and deputy in Aleppo revolted after his defeat in Georgia and the Franks took advantage of this to seize Zardana, he prepared

an ambitious campaign to take it back, but was again unsuccessful because of the nearby monastery of Dair Sarmada that the Franks had fortified and now used to threaten him in the rear. He then resumed his offensive against Azaz, but died before he could proceed further.

Hence all of Ilghazi's contacts with the Franks, from his collaborations with them to his clashes including the spectacular victory at *Ager Sanguinis*, are perfectly understandable in terms of the strategies he needed as a local emir to survive and thrive in the fragmented political geography of the twelfth-century Syria, making sure no power Muslim or Christian would establish a hegemony. Fighting the Franks *per se*, for religion's sake, was not a motivation for him. He never saw himself obliged to stick to the interests of one "religious block" against the other. What he would not be able to keep for himself, like the city of Antioch, he did not attempt to take in the name of Islam. But all this did not prevent him from presenting himself as a mujahid to the sultan and caliph and acknowledging his renown as the foremost adversary of the Franks in the region, responding to requests to fight them as well as the Georgians. Jihad for him was not a motivating factor, but he saw what he did as jihad when he happened to clash with the Franks for his possessions and interests.

This attitude of Sokman and Ilghazi is also observable in their nephew Belek, whom Ilghazi had taken along in his last expedition against the Franks. At the end of this campaign, while returning home to Kharput, Belek captured Joscelin and Galerian, following this some months later with the capture of the king himself. This was a great check on the ambitions of the Franks to capture Aleppo, as they had also wrested al-Atharib from Ilghazi's nephew and feeble successor there, Badr al-Dawla Sulaiman, and were preparing to attack the city. Belek acquired great renown from this huge success and Turkomans flocked around him, but he did not use this ad-

vantage to attack Antioch and Edessa, to deliver the “death-blow” to the Frankish presence in the region. Like his uncle after Ager Sanguinis, he was aware that the Franks, with their robust administrative structure, were still far too powerful for that, and more importantly, he had a practical strategy that excluded such grand designs motivated by religious ideology, focusing instead on the defense of Aleppo and its relief from the Frankish stranglehold. Accordingly Belek advanced to the city and captured it from his inefficient cousin, who had been isolated from the resources of the Jazira necessary for its defense; he also secured the town of Harran that lay on his communication lines from Diyar Bakr. Then he set out to push back the borderline between Aleppo and Antioch, just like Ilghazi had done.

Nevertheless, Belek followed a different tactic, and putting aside al-Atharib and Zardana for the time being, because of the recent fortification of Dair Sarmada, attacked the castles of al-Bara and Kafartab at the southern end of this border in Jabal Summaq. Although he had to interrupt this campaign because of the revolt of the Frankish leaders and other captives at Kharput, he continued his attacks on the borderline with an ambitious campaign against its northern end, Azaz. He also joined forces with Tughtekin and Aksungur, lord of Mosul for this purpose. What he did, however, was far from uniting the Muslim emirs against a Frankish world that supposedly lay prostrate after the capture of its leaders, awaiting the death-blow: it was the same as Ilghazi’s strategy in 1120 and in the last raid he organized before his death, namely pushing back the Antiochene frontier at its northern end of Azaz as well as securing his approach from Diyar Bakr. He was not on a “Counter-Crusade” motivated by the religious aim of destroying the “infidel block,” but on a strategic campaign to restore the security of Aleppo and prevent any group from acquiring hegemony in Syria. This is also clear from the fact that Belek followed his unsuccessful

venture against Azaz with only a raiding band he sent against the same town, just like Ilghazi had done before his death.

The steps Belek took in the last month of his life continued to follow this overall strategy. On the one hand, in order to secure the line of communications from his base in Diyar Bakr to Aleppo, which was vital for the defense of the latter, he arrested the suspected governor of Harran, where the Frankish prisoners were held, and sent his cousin Timurtash with a detachment to arrest the emir of another town on the same route, Manbij. On the other hand, he prepared to set out for the relief of Tyre, besieged by the Franks, just as Sokman had set out to help Tripoli; the fall of this important port could also tilt the power balance of the region in the Franks' favor, as it did in the event. But Manbij could not be taken after the arrest of its emir, and having to proceed there first, Belek was killed before the walls by an arrow just after defeating the Frankish forces summoned by the arrested emir's brother.

"This is the slaughter of all Muslims," Belek had reportedly declared upon pulling out the arrow that proved his undoing. Like his uncles, despite having pursued strategically limited goals to preserve his possessions and interests, he saw himself as the protector of Muslims in a general sense, and as is also evident from his tombstone epitaph, replete with jihad rhetoric, acknowledged his renown as the foremost adversary of the Franks — which derived in this case from the capture of their leaders. Although his motives in fighting the Franks were strictly practical in nature, he regarded these clashes as jihad inasmuch as the rivals he faced were Christians. Up to this point he resembled his predecessors, but diverged from them on one point: in fact he made the declaration in question and was then extolled as a martyr in his tombstone although he had been killed while attacking a Muslim castle. And before this he had sought to legitimize his capture of Aleppo by his wish to protect it

better against the Franks. Together, these hint that differently from his uncles he could also regard his fight with fellow Muslims as part of jihad, inasmuch as this helped him to defend his possessions and interests against the Franks better. In this respect he resembled later leaders like Nur al-Din and Saladin, but because his practical understanding of jihad excluded any ideological aim of expelling the Franks altogether from the Middle East, which potentially justified the conquest of all Muslim lands to gather the necessary resources, his attacks on Muslims remained at a modest level when compared with his attacks against the Franks.

The fact that fighting the Franks did not constitute a religious aim for the Artukids but was only a means of preserving their own possessions and interests is also evident from the case of Belek's successor, Timurtash. On the one hand, Timurtash's basic strategy was no different from that of his predecessors in that he wanted to secure the borderline between Azaz and Jabal Summaq. On the other hand, like Ilghazi at the time of the Seljukid expeditions, he also had Muslim enemies to fear, chiefly the Arab emir Dubais ibn Sadaqa. So he supposed that he could both secure the borderline and ward off Dubais by arriving at an agreement and alliance with the captive Frankish king. Thereby he would have realized the strategic aim of his cousin and father and at the same time returned to the family's former policy of alliance with the Franks against other Muslim powers. Aleppo was a remote dependency for him as well, so he may have also wanted to render it safe enough to be able to retire and deal with his central lands in Diyar Bakr. Thus jihad did not motivate the young emir to keep the king imprisoned and take advantage of the lack of his unifying leadership to attack the Franks. Whenever the "infidels" were needed as allies against Muslim rivals, Holy War was eminently dispensable.

Timurtash's ambitious but all-too-neat-and-easy tactic misfired however, as the Franks also coveted Aleppo and had no intention of foregoing their threateningly advanced border with Aleppan territory that had cost them so much effort to build and rebuild. Dubais and other emirs in the region were also willing to unite with the Franks against the presence of a power based in the Jazira, just as such local emirs had done a decade earlier against the Seljukids. So all came together and laid siege to Aleppo. What Timurtash chose to do when he saw himself incapable of relieving the city on his own is also revealing in this respect. The only hope of rescuing Aleppo from the clutches of the Franks lay in joining forces with the governor of Mosul, Ak-sungur, and the young Artukid not only refrained from doing so, but also tried to prevent the Aleppan envoys from proceeding to Mosul and requesting aid from that emir. Apparently, he preferred the city to be taken by the Franks rather than by Ak-sungur, as the governor of Mosul was an old enemy of the family and the Artukid homeland in Diyar Bakr would remain in a vulnerable position between his two bases at Mosul and Aleppo. So once more the chess of shifting alliances had proved superior to any allegiance theoretically owed to the "Muslim block."

Thus in the policies of the Artukid emirs we see the same calculation and realpolitik that prevented them from acting as part of a religious block and fighting the Franks for being "infidels," with the ultimate aim of expelling them from Antioch or elsewhere; all they did was to try and preserve their own possessions and interests. When they seemed to undertake more general tasks, as in the case of Ilghazi agreeing to take over and defend Aleppo, or Sokman and Belek accepting to help Tripoli and Tyre, they were still acting on the same principle, trying to prevent any group Muslim or Christian from growing so powerful as to threaten them in Diyar Bakr. As in the case of Timurtash, when they thought rightly or wrongly that they could reach

their aims through negotiation rather than by war, they did not hesitate to do so. And yet all this did not prevent the Artukids from regarding and presenting their actions as jihad when they had to confront the Franks in defense of their possessions and interests, from acknowledging their renown as the Latins' foremost adversaries and responding in this quality to summons of aid from various quarters. In this respect their case also offers a good opportunity for historicizing the concept of jihad, for ceasing to judge the contemporaries' attitude by the yardstick of textbook prescriptions and instead trying to understand how the contemporaries may have seen it in practice.

More research needs to be done in this direction for the early twelfth century. In the teleological reading of Muslim unity evolving against a Christian block, the local emirs of this period have been used sometimes to provide a sorry contrast to Nur al-Din and Saladin, who are represented to have understood the value of unity and striven to attain it with the express purpose of expelling the Franks. Trying to understand the predicament and strategies of these emirs with empathy and taking seriously what they might have made of jihad could help to balance this picture, revealing that despite their elaborate propaganda pitting the Muslims against the "infidels," those later leaders were perhaps not so very different in their actual strategies and understanding of jihad. Whatever difference they had was conditioned by the progressive development of their own hegemonic position — the more dominant they themselves became, the more they chose to take a somewhat altered attitude to jihad. For this reason, other local Muslim rulers of the time like the Burids of Damascus and the Seljukids and Danishmendids of Anatolia should also be examined from this perspective, with an assessment of their strategies against the Franks and Byzantines as well as of their attitude toward jihad.

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APPENDIX – MAPS

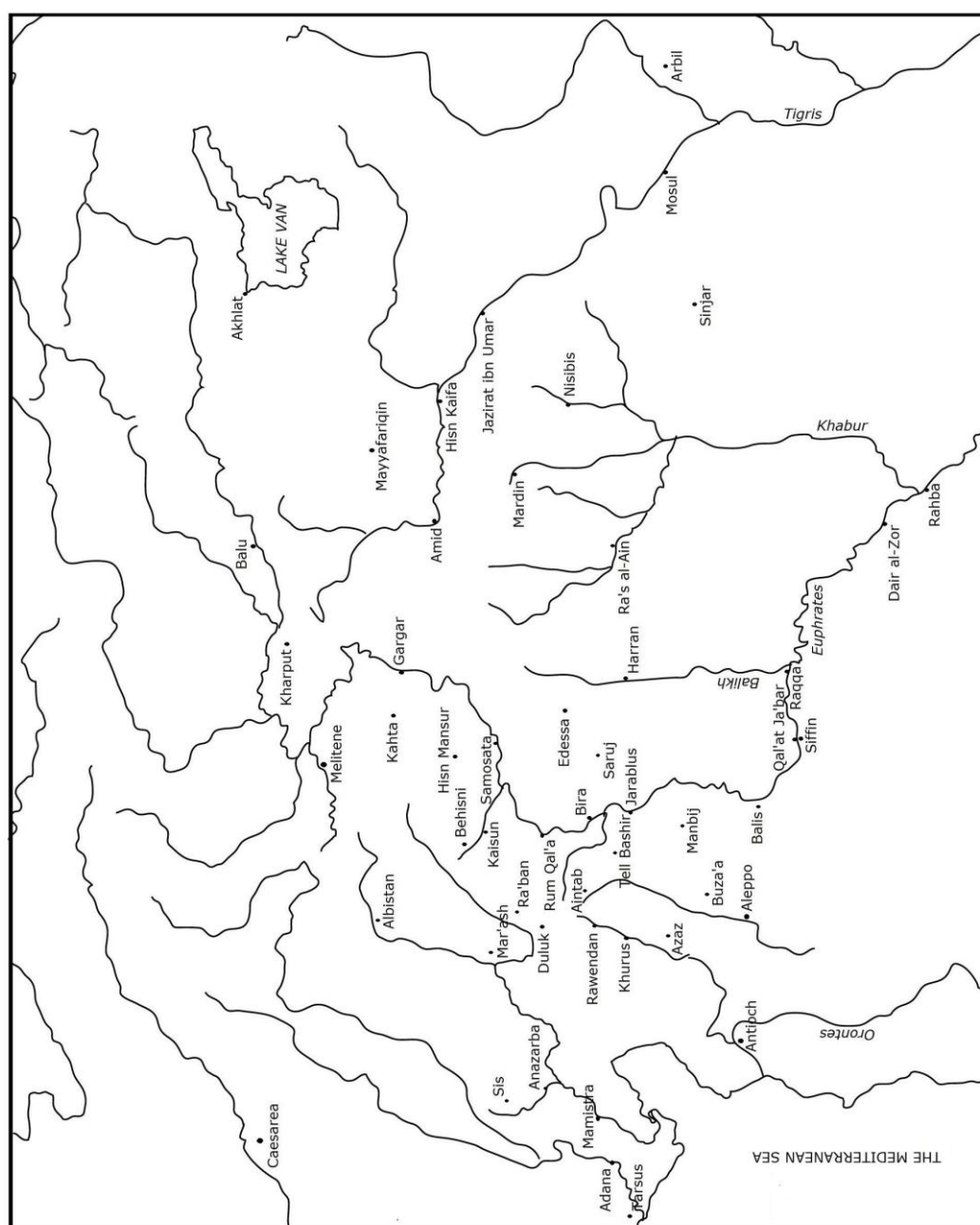


Figure 1 – Al Jazira

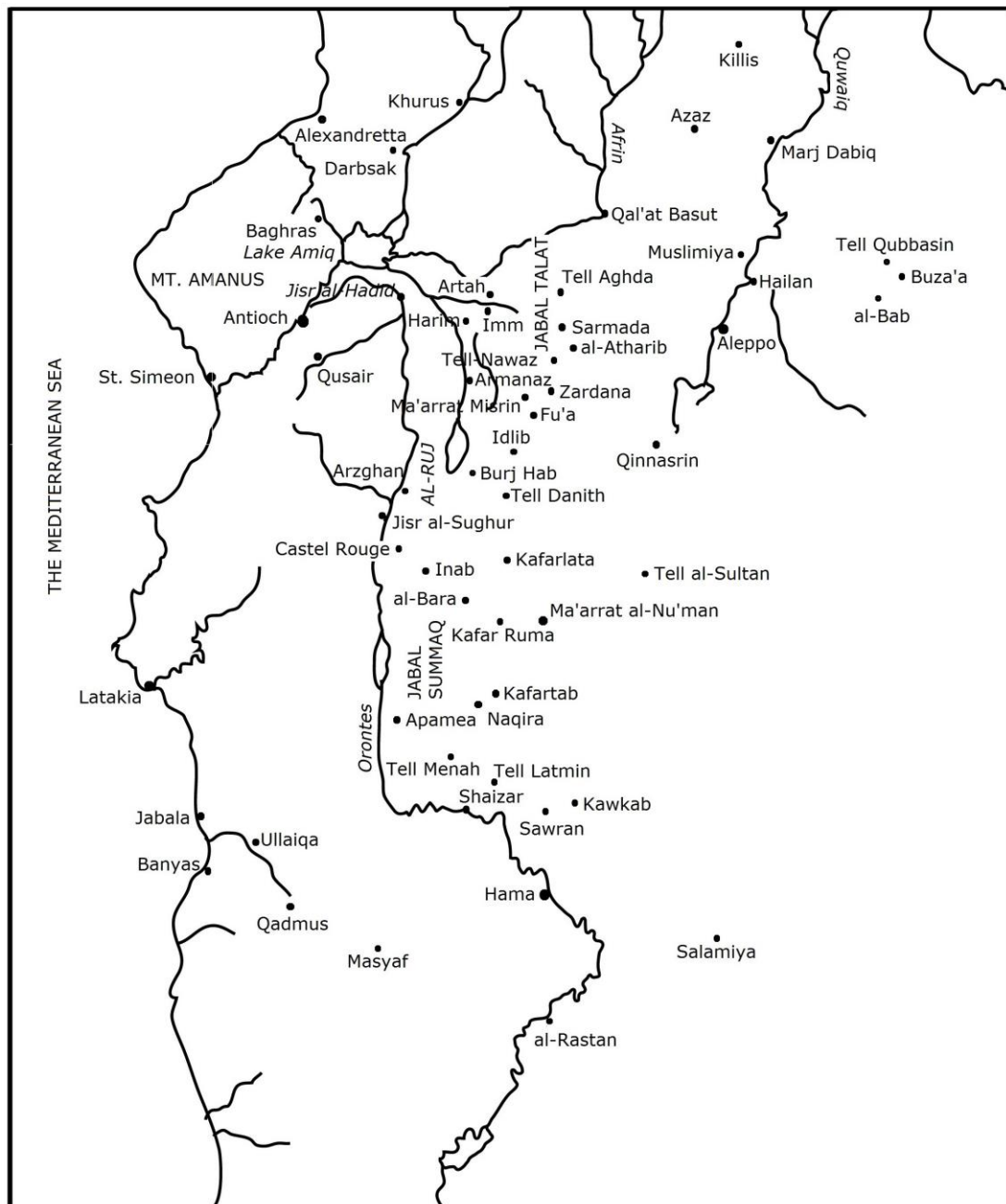


Figure 2 – North Syria¹

¹ The two maps presented here are based on the maps in the following works: René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-1936), I; Thomas Asbridge, "The Significance and Causes of the Battle of the Field of Blood," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 304-05, 310.