

The Chronicle
of Ibn al-Athīr
for
the Crusading Period
from
al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh

Part 1

The Years 491-541/1097-1146
The Coming of the Franks
and
The Muslim Response

Translated by

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ASHGATE

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How the Franks took the city of Antioch

The power of the Franks and their increased importance were first manifested by their invasion of the lands of Islam and their conquest of part of them in the year 478 [1085-6], for [that was when] they took the city of Toledo and other cities of Spain, as we have already mentioned.¹

Then in the year 484 [1091-2] they attacked and conquered the island of Sicily, as we have also mentioned.² They descended on the coasts of Ifrīqiya³ and seized some part, which was then taken back from them. Later they took other parts, as you shall see.

When it was the year 490 [1096-7] they invaded Syria. The reason for their invasion was that their ruler, Baldwin, a relative of Roger the Frank who had conquered Sicily, gathered a great host of Franks and sent to Roger saying, 'I have gathered a great host and I am coming to you. I shall proceed to Ifrīqiya to take it and I shall be a neighbour of yours.' Roger assembled his men and consulted them about this. They said, 'By the truth of the Gospel, this is excellent for us and them. The lands will become Christian lands.' Roger raised his leg and gave a loud fart. 'By the truth of my religion,' he said, 'there is more use in that than in what you have to say!' 'How so?' they asked. 'If they come to me,' he replied, 'I shall require vast expenditure and ships to convey them to Ifrīqiya and troops [273] of mine also. If they take the territory it will be theirs and resources from Sicily will go to them. I shall be deprived of the money that comes in every year from agricultural revenues. If they do not succeed, they will return to my lands and I shall suffer from them. Tamīm⁴ will say, "You have betrayed me and broken the agreement I have [with you]." Our mutual contacts and visits will be interrupted. The land of Ifrīqiya will be waiting for us. Whenever we find the strength we will take it.'

He summoned Baldwin's envoy and said to him, 'If you are determined to wage holy war on the Muslims, then the best way is to conquer Jerusalem. You will free it from their hands and have glory. Between me and the people of Ifrīqiya, however, are oaths and treaties.' They therefore made their preparations and marched forth to Syria.

It has been said that the Alid rulers of Egypt⁵ became fearful when they saw the

¹ See *Kāmil*, x, 142-3.

² See *Kāmil*, x, 193-8.

³ The loose term for the eastern part of the Maghrib (see *El*(2), iii, 1047-50).

⁴ See below p. [279].

⁵ i.e. the Fatimid caliphs.

strength and power of the Saljuq state, that it had gained control of Syrian lands as far as Gaza, leaving no buffer state between the Saljuqs and Egypt to protect them, and that Aqṣı̄s⁶ had entered Egypt and blockaded it. They therefore sent to the Franks to invite them to invade Syria, to conquer it and separate them and the [other] Muslims, but God knows best.

After they had decided to march to Syria, they went to Constantinople to cross the straits into Muslim lands, to travel on by land, for that would be easier for them. When they arrived, the Byzantine emperor refused them passage through his territory. He said, 'I will not allow you to cross into the lands of Islam until you swear to me that you will surrender Antioch to me.' His aim was to urge them to move into Islamic lands, assuming that Turks would not spare a single one of them, because he had seen how fierce they were and their control of the lands. [274] They agreed to that and crossed the Bosphorus at Constantinople in the year 490 [1096-7].

They reached the lands of Qiliġ Arslān ibn Sulaymān ibn Qutlunish, namely Konya and other cities. Having arrived there, they were met by Qiliġ Arslān with his hosts, who resisted them. They put him to flight in Rajab 490 [July 1097] after a battle⁷ and then traversed his lands into those of the son of the Armenian⁸ which they marched through before emerging at Antioch and putting it under siege.

When the ruler Yaġhi Siyān⁹ heard of their coming, he feared the Christians in the city. He sent out the Muslim inhabitants by themselves and ordered them to dig the moat. Then the next day he sent out the Christians also to dig the moat, unaccompanied by any Muslim. They laboured on it until the evening but when they wished to enter the city he prevented them and said, 'You can give me Antioch until I see how things will be with us and the Franks.' They asked, 'Who will look after our sons and our wives?' 'I will look after them in your place,' he replied. So they held back and took up residence in the Frankish camp. The Franks besieged the city for nine months. Yaġhi Siyān displayed such courage, excellent counsel, resolution and careful planning as had never been seen from anyone else. Most of the Franks perished. Had they remained in the numbers they set out with, they would have overwhelmed the lands of Islam. Yaġhi Siyān protected the families of those Christians of Antioch, whom he had expelled, and restrained the hands that would do them harm.

After their siege of Antioch had lasted long, the Franks made contact with one of the men garrisoning the towers, who was an armoured, known as Rūzbah,¹⁰ and

⁶ Alternative name for Aṣisiz ibn Uvāk, a Turkoman chief who attacked Egypt in 1077 (see *Et/2*), i, 750-51).

⁷ Saljuq sultan of Asia Minor (Rūm), died 1107 (see *Et/2*), v, 103-4).

⁸ This is the battle of Dorylaeum, fought, according to Ibn Qal., 134, 'ten days left of Rajab [3 July]'. The accepted date is 1 July.

⁹ Perhaps Constantine I, son of Rupen I (1095-1102) is intended.

¹⁰ Turkish emir, given Aleppo as fief by Sulṭan Malikshāh.

¹¹ According to Ibn Qal., 136, he was an Armenian named Naṣṭutz (Fayruz?).

offered him money and grants of land. He was in charge of a tower next to the valley, which was built with a window overlooking the valley. After they had made an arrangement with this cursed armoured, they came to the window, which they opened and through which they entered. A large number climbed up on ropes. When they numbered more than five hundred, they blew the trumpet. That was [275] at dawn. The defenders were already tired from many sleepless nights on guard. Yaġhi Siyān awoke and asked what was happening. He was told, 'That trumpet is from the citadel. No doubt it has already been taken.' However, it was not from the citadel but merely from that tower. He was seized with fear, opened the city gate and left in headlong flight with thirty retainers. His deputy as governor of the city came and asked after him. He was told that he had fled, so he himself fled by another gate. That was a boon for the Franks. Had he held firm for a while, they would have perished. The Franks entered the city through the gate and sacked it, killing the Muslims that were there. This was in Jumada I [April-May 1098].¹²

When the next day dawned, Yaġhi Siyān came to his senses again. He had been like one distraught. He looked at himself after he had covered several leagues and said to those with him, 'Where am I?' 'Four leagues from Antioch,' he was told. He then regretted his flight to safety and his failure to fight until he either drove them from the city or was himself killed. He started to lament and bewail having abandoned his wife, his children and the Muslim population. Because of the violence of what afflicted him he fell from his horse in a faint. When he fell to the ground, his followers went to remount him but he could not hold on, for he was close to death. They therefore left him and rode away. An Armenian, who was cutting firewood and came across him when he was at his last gasp, killed him, cut off his head and took it to the Franks at Antioch.¹³

The Franks had written to the ruler of Aleppo and of Damascus, saying that they had no designs on lands other than those which had been in the hands of the Byzantines, that they had no other ambitions. This was a ruse and a trick on their part to stop aid being given to the ruler of Antioch.

[276] How the Muslims marched against the Franks and what befell them

When Qiwm al-Dawla Karbughā¹⁴ heard of the Franks' doings and their conquest

¹² The city fell in fact in early June 1098. The sources give varying days and dates, but according to Ibn Qal., 136, it fell on the eve of Friday 1 Rajab/4 June. The citadel surrendered a week later.

¹³ For the background and events leading to the fall of Antioch, see Asbridge, *Principality of Antioch*, 15-38.

¹⁴ Governor of Mosul and other Mesopotamian towns, supporter of Barkyāruq and patron of Zankī. He died either at Marāḡha in 494/1101 (Ibn Qal., 140; *Bāhir*, 16) or near Khoy in 495/1102 (see below pp. [341-2]).

of Antioch, he gathered his forces and marched to Syria. He camped at Marj Dābiq,¹⁵ where the troops of Syria, both Turks and Arabs, rallied to him, apart from those who were in Aleppo. There assembled with him Duḡāq ibn Tunush,¹⁶ Tughlakīn the Aṭabeg,¹⁷ Janāh al-Dawla the lord of Homs,¹⁸ Arslān Tāsh the lord of Sinjār, Suḡmān ibn Artuq¹⁹ and other emirs. The likes of whom are not to be found. Hearing of this, the Franks' misfortunes increased and they were fearful because of their weakness and their shortage of provisions. The Muslims came and besieged them in Antioch, but Karbughā behaved badly towards the Muslims with him. He angered the emirs and lorded it over them, imagining that they would stay with him despite that. However, infuriated by this, they secretly planned to betray him, if there should be a battle, and they determined to give him up when the armies clashed.

The Franks, after they had taken Antioch, were left there for twelve days with nothing to eat. The powerful fed on their horses, while the wretched poor ate carrion and leaves. In view of this, they sent to Karbughā, asking him for terms to leave the city, but he did not grant what they sought. He said, 'My sword alone will eject you.'

The following princes were with them: Baldwin,²⁰ [Raymond of] St. Gilles,²¹ Count Godfrey, the Count [277] lord of Edessa²² and Bohemond the lord of Antioch, their leader. There was a monk there, of influence amongst them, who was a cunning man. He said to them, 'The Messiah (blessings be upon Him) had a lance which was buried in the church at Antioch, which was a great building.²³ If you find it, you will prevail, but if you do not find it, then destruction is assured.' He had previously buried a lance in a place there and removed the traces [of his digging]. He commanded them to fast and repent, which they did for three days. On the fourth day he took them all into the place, accompanied by the common people and workmen. They dug everywhere and found it as he had said. 'Rejoice

¹⁵ The 'plain' near Dābiq in North Syria (see *EI*(2), vi, 544).

¹⁶ Saljuq prince of Damascus, died 497/1104.

¹⁷ Zāhir al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr Tughlakīn, freedman of Tunush and aṭabeg (i.e. regent/guardian) of Duḡāq. Founder of the short-lived Burid dynasty in Damascus, he died in 522/1128 (see *EI*(2), x, 600).

¹⁸ Aṭabeg of Ridwān ibn Tunush, ruled independently in Homs from 490/1097 and was assassinated in 496/1103.

¹⁹ Correct 'Suḡmān' in the text. Suḡmān (died c.1104) was a member of the Turkoman Artuqid dynasty, for which see *EI*(2), i, 662-7.

²⁰ In the original 'Bardwīl', which, as a variant for 'Baghdawīn', represents Baldwin (cf. *Bāḥir*, 18). Baldwin of Le Bourc, subsequently count of Edessa and then King Baldwin II, is intended. In the comparable list in *Zubdat al-halab*, ii, 134, he appears as 'Baghdawīn'.

²¹ Cf. the list in Eddé, *Description*, 246.

²² Count of Toulouse. The text has 'Sanjīl'.

²³ Baldwin of Boulogne, count of Edessa and future Baldwin I, is meant, although he was not present at Antioch. *Zubdat al-halab*, ii, 134, mentions him as 'his [Godfrey's] brother, the count', as does Eddé, *Description*, 246.

in your coming victory', he said to them.²⁴

On the fifth day they went out of the gate in scattered groups of five or six or so. The Muslims said to Karbughā, 'You ought to stand at the gate and kill all that come out, because now, when they are scattered, it is easy to deal with them.' He replied, 'No, do not do that. Leave them alone until they have all come out and then we can kill them.' He did not allow his men to engage them. However, one group of Muslims did kill several that had come out but he came in person and ordered them to desist.

When the Franks had all come out and not one of them remained within, they drew up a great battle line. At that, the Muslims turned their backs in flight, firstly because of the contempt and the scorn with which Karbughā had treated them and secondly because he had prevented them from killing the Franks. Their flight was complete. Not one of them struck a blow with a sword, thrust with a spear or shot an arrow. The last to flee were Suḡmān ibn Artuq and Janāh al-Dawla because they were stationed in ambush. Karbughā fled with them. When the Franks observed this, they thought that it was a trick, since there had been no battle such as to cause a flight [278] and they feared to pursue them. A company of warriors for the faith²⁵ stood firm and fought zealously, seeking martyrdom. The Franks slew thousands of them and seized as booty the provisions, money, furnishings, horses and weapons that were in the camp. Their situation was restored and their strength returned.

Account of the Franks' conquest of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān

After the Franks had dealt with the Muslims as they did, they marched to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān²⁶ and camped around it for a siege. The inhabitants fought them fiercely and the Franks experienced hardship and trouble, as they met with serious resistance and hard-fought opposition. They then constructed a wooden tower to come alongside the city wall. The battle waged around it but with no harm to the Muslims. When it was night some of the Muslims became fearful and were overcome with defeatism and dismay. They thought that, if they fortified themselves in some of the large houses, they could hold out there, so they went down from the wall and abandoned the place they had been defending. Another group saw them and did as they did, so that their place on the wall was also abandoned. Group after group followed their neighbours in descending from the wall until it was quite deserted. The Franks climbed on to it with ladders. When

²³ This is the cathedral of St Peter, called al-Qusayn (Eddé, *Description*, 224, note 4, 231-2).

²⁴ This lance, claimed to be the one used to pierce Jesus' side, was found in the Church of St Peter by a Provençal, Peter Bartholomew.

²⁵ *Mujāhidīn*. Quite probably volunteer auxiliaries were intended, rather than regular troops.

they were up there, the Muslims were quite at a loss and entered their houses. For three days the Franks put them to the sword and killed more than one hundred thousand. They enslaved many and took possession of the town.²⁷

They remained for forty days and then marched to 'Arqa,²⁸ which they besieged for four months. They mined the wall in several places but could not take the place. Munqidh,²⁹ the ruler of Shayzar, sent envoys and reached an agreement with them. They marched on to Homs, which they besieged, until the ruler, Janāh al-Dawla, came to terms with them. Then by way of the Nāqura Pass³⁰ they left for Acre but were unable to take it.

[279] Account of the war between Sanjar and Dawlatshah

Dawlatshah was a descendant of the Saljuq rulers. A number of the troops of Yabghu, the brother of Tughril Beg, who were in Tukhāristān,³¹ gathered to him and they took Walwālīj³² and Kamani.³³ The Sultan Sanjar and his army marched against them. He came to Balkh which he entered in Rājab of this year [June 1098], and then left the town to give battle to Dawlatshah, who did not have sufficient troops to stand against his army. Dawlatshah's troops fought a little and then fled. Dawlatshah was taken prisoner and brought before Sanjar, who spared his life but imprisoned him, and later on blinded him. Sanjar sent an army to the city of Tirmidh, which he conquered and handed over to Tughrilatakin.

Miscellaneous events

During this year Tamīm³⁴ ibn al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs, the ruler of Ifrīqiya, conquered the island of Jerba, the island of Kerkenna³⁵ and the city of Tunis. There was in Ifrīqiya a severe famine in which many people perished.

²⁶ Town in North Syria, two days' journey south of Aleppo (*EI* (2), v, 922-7).

²⁷ For events at Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, see Asbridge, *Principality of Antioch*, 39-40.

²⁸ Situated at the western end of the Homs-Tripoli gap, about 15 miles from the latter place.

²⁹ At this date the ruling member of the Munqidh clan at Shayzar (on the Orontes) was Nasr ibn 'Alī ibn Muqallad (ruled 475-92/1082-98). See *EI* (2), vii, 577-80, s.v. Munqidh.

³⁰ i.e. the Ladder of Tyre, on the coast between Tyre and Acre.

³¹ The region along the southern banks of the middle and upper Oxus River (*EI* (2), x, 600-602).

³² Yāqūt, iv, 940, simply says 'town in Badakhtshān'. It was south of the Oxus and four days' journey east of Balkh, near the site of the more recent Qunduz (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 67; Krawulsky, 107, and cf. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 428).

³³ Unidentified. Is it perhaps identical with K.m.n.j.th, 'village in Transoxania' (Yāqūt, iv, 305)?

³⁴ Fifth ruler of the Zirid dynasty, born 422/1031, died 501/1108. See *EI* (2), x, 172.

³⁵ The name of an archipelago, and its main island, off the eastern coast of Tunisia, see

This year the caliph sent an envoy to Sultan Barkyārūq to seek aid against the Franks, stressing the importance of this matter and the need to deal with it before it became more serious.

This year the following died:

In Sha'bān [July 1098] Abū'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, who was born in the year 412 [1021-2] and was an excellent scholar of Ḥadīth.

Abū'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Wāḥhab ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanbalī. He was [280] a learned and eloquent scholar.

In Shawwāl [September 1098] Tīrād ibn Muḥammad al-Zaynabī.³⁶ For Ḥadīth his chains of transmission had high authority. The office of syndic of the Abbasids was held after him by his son, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Tīrād.

In Dhū'l-Qa'da [October 1098] Abū'l-Faṭḥ al-Muzaffar ibn Ra'īs al-Ru'asā' Abū'l-Qāsim ibn al-Muslima.³⁷ His house was a gathering place of scholars and divines. One of those who frequented it until his death was the Shaykh Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī.

Abū'l-Faraj Sahl ibn Bishr ibn Aḥmad al-Isfara'īmī, one of the leading scholars of Ḥadīth.

EI (2), iv, 650-52.

³⁶ See Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, 183-4.

³⁷ i.e. the son of the caliph's vizier put to death by al-Baṣāsīn (Richards, *Annals*, 121-4).

[281] The Year 492 [1098-1099]

Account of the rebellion and murder of Emir Unur

When Sultan Barkyāruq went to Khurasan, he put Emir Unur in charge of all the lands of Fars. The Shabankara had come to dominate there despite the variety of their clans and tribes. They sought the help of the lord of Kirman, Īrān Shāh ibn Qāwut.¹ Having joined forces, they met Emir Unur in battle and defeated him, so that he retired in disarray to Isfahan. He sent to the sultan asking for permission to join him in Khurasan, but he ordered him to remain in the region of the Uplands, gave him command over Iraq, and wrote to the troops in the vicinity that they should obey him. He stayed at Isfahan, then left to go to his fief in Azerbaijan. When he returned the influence of the Bāḡinis² had spread in Isfahan. He took it upon himself to fight them and besieged a fortress on the mountain at Isfahan.

Mu'ayyad al-Mulk, the son of Nizām al-Mulk, who was in Baghdad, made contact with Unur and left to go to al-Ḥilla. He was well received by Sadāqa and moved on from his court to Emir Unur. Having joined Unur, he and others warned him against Sultan Barkyāruq, stressed the dangers of meeting with him and advised him to keep far away. They suggested he should write to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ma'lik Shāh, who was at that time in Gānja. Unur determined to break with the sultan and discussed that step. This became public, so he became more fearful [282] of the sultan. He assembled about 10,000 mounted troops, known for their bravery, and he marched from Isfahan to Rayy. He sent to the sultan, to say that he was his humble and obedient servant, if he surrendered Majd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī³ to him, but if he did not, then he would rebel and cast off his allegiance.

While he was breaking his fast, for it was his custom to fast several days a week, and when he was close to finishing his meal, three half-breed Turks from Khwarazm, who belonged to his cavalry, attacked him. One collided with the torch and knocked it over, the second ran into the lamp and extinguished it, but the third struck him with a dagger and killed him. His bodyguard was killed with him. In the darkness all were in confusion. They ransacked his treasure chests and the army scattered and broke up. He was left lying on the ground, as nothing could be found to carry him on. Later he was taken to his residence at Isfahan and there buried.

¹ The Saljuq prince, Bahā' al-Dawla, who ruled 490-95/1097-1101.

² The Ismā'īlī Shiite sect (the Assassins), so called from their belief in the esoteric teaching of their Imams (*al-bāḡiyya*).

³ i.e. Abū'l-Faḍl As'ad ibn Muḥammad, a Shiite and senior administrator of Barkyāruq.

News of his death reached Sultan Barkyāruq at Khuwar al-Rayy,⁴ after he had left Khurasan intending to wage war on him, although he was extremely apprehensive about fighting him and about the outcome of the affair. Majd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī rejoiced at his death, although a like fate soon awaited him. Unur was thirty-seven years old. He fasted and prayed frequently, did much good and loved men of piety.

How the Franks (God curse them) took Jerusalem

Jerusalem had been held by Tāj al-Dawla Tutush who assigned it to Emir Suqman ibn Artuq the Turkoman. When the Franks defeated the Turks at Antioch and made slaughter amongst them, the power of the Turks weakened [283] and they lost cohesion. When the Egyptians saw their weakness, they marched to Jerusalem, led by al-Afdal ibn Badr al-Jamālī. There they besieged Suqman and Ḥaghāzī, the sons of Artuq, and also their cousin Sawaj and their nephew Yāqūt. They set up forty and more trebuchets against the town and demolished parts of its wall. The inhabitants fought back and the fighting and the siege lasted somewhat over forty days, until the Egyptians took the city on terms in Sha'bān 489 [July 1096]. Al-Afdal treated Suqman, Ḥaghāzī and their followers well, gave them generous gifts and sent them on their way to Damascus. Subsequently they crossed the Euphrates. Suqman took up residence in Edessa but Ḥaghāzī moved to Iraq.

The Egyptians appointed as deputy in Jerusalem a man called Iftikhār al-Dawla, who remained there until this present time, when the Franks attacked after they had besieged Acre but with no success. After their arrival they erected forty trebuchets or more and they constructed two towers, one on Mount Zion side but the Muslims burnt that one and killed all inside. After they had completely destroyed it by fire, their help was then called for, as the city defences had been overwhelmed on the other side. The Franks did indeed take the city from the north in the forenoon of Friday, seven days remaining of Sha'bān [15 July 1099]. The inhabitants became prey for the sword. For a week the Franks continued to slaughter the Muslims. A group of Muslims took refuge in the Tower of David⁵ and defended themselves there. They resisted for three days and then the Franks offered them safe-conduct, so they surrendered the place. The Franks kept faith with them and they departed at night for Ascalon, where they remained.

In the Aqsa Mosque the Franks killed more than 70,000, a large number of them [284] being imams, ulema, righteous men and ascetics. Muslims who had left their native lands and come to live a holy life in this august spot. The Franks took forty or more silver candlesticks from the Dome of the Rock, each of which weighed 3,600 dirhams, and also a silver candelabrum weighing forty Syrian rolls. They

⁴ A district in N. Persia, south of Damavand. See *El*(2), iv, 1029.

⁵ i.e. the citadel, in Arabic called the Miḥrab of David.

removed 150 small candlesicks of silver and twenty or so of gold. The booty they took was beyond counting.

In Ramadān [22 July–20 August 1099] men came to Baghdad from Syria seeking assistance, accompanied by the Cadi Abū Sa'd al-Harawī. They recounted in the Diwan a narrative which brought tears to the eye and pained the heart. They demonstrated in the mosque on Friday and cried out for help, weeping and reducing others to tears. A tale was told of the killing of men, the enslavement of women and children and the plundering of property that had fallen upon the Muslims in that revered, august place. Because of the severity of their suffering they did not observe their fast. The caliph ordered the following to be sent on a mission, the Cadi Abū Muḥammad al-Damghānī, Abū Bakr al-Shāshī,⁶ Abū'l-Qāsim al-Zanjānī, Abū'l-Wafā' ibn 'Aqīl,⁷ Abū Sa'd al-Ḥulwānī and Abū'l-Ḥusayn ibn Sammāk. They set out for Ḥulwān but news came to them of the death of Majd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī, as we shall relate, so they returned without achieving any aim or any goal. The rulers were all at variance, as we shall relate, and so the Franks conquered the lands.⁸

[286] Account of warfare between the Franks and the Egyptians

In Ramadān of this year [22 July–20 August 1099] there was a battle between Egyptian troops and the Franks. The reason was that al-Afdal Emir al-Juyūsh,⁹ when he heard what had befallen the people of Jerusalem, assembled and mobilised his forces and marched to Ascalon. He sent to the Franks, condemning their actions and threatening them. They sent the envoy back with their reply and, setting out on his tracks, came upon the Egyptians a little after the arrival of the envoy. The Egyptians had no intelligence of their coming or that they had made any move. They were not ready for combat. The cry went up, 'To horse' and they donned their armour but the Franks were too quick for them and put them to flight. Having inflicted losses on them, the Franks took the property, weapons and whatever else was in their camp as booty.

Al-Afdal fled and entered Ascalon. A number of the routed troops went and hid themselves in a grove of sycamore trees, which were abundant there. The Franks set fire to a part so that some perished within and those that came out were killed. Al-Afdal returned to Egypt with his close retinue and the Franks besieged Ascalon and pressed it hard. The population offered a tribute of 12,000 dinars, although another report says 20,000. Then the Franks returned to Jerusalem.

⁶ A prominent Shāfi'i scholar, died 507/1114. See Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, 208–10.

⁷ This is the leading Ḥanbalī, 'Alī ibn 'Aqīl, the subject of Makdisi's *Ibn 'Aqīl et la Résurgence de l'Islam* etc.

⁸ Twenty-two verses by Abū'l-Muzaḥfir al-Abīwardī are omitted at this point.

⁹ Emir al-Juyūsh (Commander of the Armies) was the title used by the viziers, al-Afdal Shāhinshāh and his father, Badr al-Jamālī.

[287] Account of the beginning of the career of Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh

The Sulṭān Muḥammad and Sanjar were brothers who shared the same mother and father. Their mother was an *umm walad*.¹⁰ At the death of his father Malikshāh, Muḥammad was with him in Baghdad. Along with his brother Maḥmūd and Terken Khātūn, his father's wife, he went to Isfahan. When Barkyārūq besieged Isfahan, Muḥammad left in disguise and went to his mother, who was with the army of his brother Barkyārūq. He sought out the Sulṭān Barkyārūq and went with him to Baghdad in the year 486 [1093]. Barkyārūq assigned him Ganja and its districts as an appanage and placed with him as an atabeg Emir Qutluḡ Takīn, whom Muḥammad, when he became strong enough, put to death. He proceeded to seize control of all the districts of Arran of which Ganja was a part. At that time the ambitious energy of Muḥammad came to be recognised.

Sulṭān Malikshāh had taken those lands from Faḍlūn ibn Abī'l-Aswar al-Rawādī and handed them over to Sanḥank Savtakin the Eunuch. He assigned Astarbādh to Faḍlūn, who again took on the farm of his lands. Later he rebelled there when he became powerful. The sulṭān sent Emir Buzān against him, who fought and captured him. His lands were assigned to several persons, including Yaḡhī Siyān, the lord of Antioch. On the death of Yaḡhī Siyān his son took over his father's government of these areas. Faḍlūn died in Baghdad in the year 484 [1091] in a state of extreme poverty in a mosque by the Tigris.

We have already mentioned before this the changes of fortune of Mu'ayyad al-Mulk 'Ubayd Allāh, son of Nizām al-Mulk, how he was with Emir Unur and encouraged him to rebel against Sulṭān Barkyārūq. When Unur was killed [288], Mu'ayyad al-Mulk went to Prince Muḥammad and advised him to break with his brother and strive to win the sultanate, which he did. He stopped the khutbah in Barkyārūq's name throughout his lands and had the prayers said for himself as sulṭān, having appointed Mu'ayyad al-Mulk as his vizier.

Then followed the killing of Majd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī and the army's alienation from Sulṭān Barkyārūq. They abandoned him and went over to Sulṭān Muḥammad, whom they met at Khurraqān and, having joined him, marched towards Rayy.

When Sulṭān Barkyārūq's troops had left him, he travelled by forced marches to Rayy, where he was joined by Emir Ynāl ibn Anūshṭakīn al-Ḥusānī, one of his senior emirs. Bringing considerable forces, 'Izz al-Mulk Maṣṣūr ibn Nizām al-Mulk also came to him, accompanied by his mother, the daughter of the Georgian king. News of the arrival of his brother Muḥammad with an army reached him, so he left Rayy to go to Isfahan, but the inhabitants did not open the gates to him. He went on to Khuzistān, as we shall relate.

On 2 Dhū'l-Qa'da [20 September 1099] Sulṭān Muḥammad arrived at Rayy. He

¹⁰ Literally 'mother of a child', the term for a concubine freed on bearing her master a child.

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the Crusading Period
from
al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh

Part 3

The Years 589–629/1193–1231
The Ayyūbids after Saladin
and
the Mongol Menace

Translated by

D.S. Richards

ASHGATE

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Ferghana with the object of conquering it, another he sent to Tirmidh and yet another to Kalāna (?), a strong fortress on the banks of the Oxus, one of the strongest and most defensible. Each band marched to the place it had been ordered to attack, descended upon it and took control there, perpetrating the same sort of killing, enslaving, plundering, destroying and all sort of wickedness as their comrades did.

When that was done, they returned to their ruler Chingiz Khan at Samarqand. He then prepared a large force with one of his sons and sent them off to Khwārazm. He also sent a second army which crossed the Oxus into Khurasan.

[390] Account of the Tatars' conquest of Khurasan

When the army sent to Khurasan departed, they crossed the Oxus and made for the city of Balkh. The population asked for terms which were granted and the city was surrendered in the year 617 [1220–21]. The Tatars subjected it to no plunder or slaughter but appointed a prefect there and then set out for Zūzan, Maymand, Andkhūd and Qāriyāt. They took all of them and appointed governors in each, not exposing their populations to any bad or harmful treatment, apart from the fact that they were taking the men to use them to fight whoever offered resistance. They came eventually to Ṭāliqān, which is a region comprising several towns and has a strong fortress called Manṣūrkhūh.³⁹ It was beyond reach of missiles because of its great height and tall walls, and it was garrisoned by brave fighting men. The Tatars besieged it for six months, engaging the defenders night and day but without achieving anything.

They sent to Chingiz Khan to inform him of their inability to take this fortress because of the great number of its defenders and its strong position that made it so impregnable. He therefore came in person with the forces he had and joined the siege. He had with him a large host of Muslim prisoners whom he ordered to engage in the attack, otherwise he would kill them. They therefore fought alongside him. He remained there for four more months and a large number of Tatars were killed in their assaults. Seeing this, their ruler ordered the collection of whatever kindling and timber could be collected. This was done and they began making a layer of timber and a layer of earth above it and kept on doing this until it made a high mound, [391] the same height as the fortress. Soldiers climbed onto it and erected a trebuchet which began to shoot into the middle of the fortress. The [defenders] then made a single charge against the Tatars. Their cavalry escaped and survived, traversing those mountains and woods. The infantry, however, were slain. The Tatars then entered the fortress, enslaved the women and children and plundered the money and chattels.

³⁹ According to *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, ii, 1003–13, this fortress was called Naṣīrkūh or possibly Naṣrkūh.

Later Chingiz Khan gathered the people, to whom he had granted safe conduct at Balkh and elsewhere, and sent them with one of his sons to the city of Marv. When they arrived there, more than 200,000 Arabs, Turks and other Muslims who had survived had already assembled there and were camped outside Marv, determined to confront the Tatars, convincing themselves that they could defeat and beat them. When the Tatars arrived, a battle ensued in which the Muslims held firm. The Tatars, however, do not understand what flight is. Indeed, one of their number was taken prisoner and while he was in Muslim hands, he said, 'If it is said that Tatars have been killed, believe it, but if it is said that they have fled, do not believe it.'⁴⁰

When the Muslims saw the Tatars' perseverance and fearlessness, they turned their backs in flight. Many of them were killed or captured and only a few escaped. Their baggage, weapons and mounts were seized. The Tatars then sent to the towns that were around and about to collect men for the siege of Marv. When they had collected what they wanted, they advanced to Marv and put it under siege, making every exertion and keeping up constant attacks.

[392] The inhabitants were weakened by the flight of those troops and by the large number of their own killed or taken. On the fifth day of the siege the Tatars sent to the emir who was there in command of the garrison to say, 'Do not destroy yourself or the inhabitants. Come out to us and we will make you emir of this city and then leave you.' He sent requesting guarantees for himself and the inhabitants, and they were granted, so he went out to them. The son of Chingiz Khan gave him a robe of honour and treated him with respect. He also said to him, 'I want you to review your men for me, so that we may see who is fit to serve us and we will enrol them, give them a fief and have them join us.' When they presented themselves and he had them under his control, he seized them and tied their hands. When this had been done, he said to them, 'Write me a list of the merchants and headmen of the city and the men of wealth and write down the artisans and craftsmen in another list and present that to us.' They did as they were ordered. When he had read the lists, he ordered the inhabitants to leave the city with their families, so everyone did and nobody was left behind. He took a seat on a golden chair and ordered the soldiers who had been arrested to be brought before him. This was done and their heads were struck off in cold blood, while people looked on and wept.

As for the common people, the Tatars divided up the men, women, children and their property. It was a dreadful day with so much shrieking, weeping and wailing. They took the men of substance and beat and tortured them with various methods in the search for money. Some of them died from the severity of the beating, as they had nothing left to ransom their lives with. Then the Tatars set fire to the city and burned down the mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar, having dug up his grave in search of precious objects. They continued in this way for three days. On the

⁴⁰ A similar passage will be found at p. [384]. However, the sentiment expressed here is somewhat weakened by the fact that the Tatar had himself been taken prisoner!

fourth day he commanded the entire population to be killed, saying, 'These people rebelled [393] against us,' so they were all massacred. He ordered the slain to be counted and they were about 700,000. Verily we belong to God and to Him do we return – to be spared what befell the Muslims on that day.

The Tatars then proceeded to Nishapur and besieged it for five days. It held a sizeable contingent of Muslim troops but they were not strong enough for the Tatars, who seized the city and drove the population into the open country where they killed them, enslaved their women and tortured those they suspected of being wealthy, as they had done at Marv. They stayed for five days, causing destruction and searching the dwellings for money.

After their massacre of the people of Marv, the Tatars were told that many of their victims survived and escaped to Islamic territory, so they ordered that the people of Nishapur should have their heads cut off, so that nobody would survive the massacre. When they had completed this, they sent a group of their men to Tūs, where they acted in a similar manner, causing destruction. They ruined the shrine where 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Ridā and al-Rashid⁴¹ are buried. Indeed, they razed it to the ground.

They then went to Herat, one of the best defended cities, and besieged it for ten days before they took it. They granted terms to its population but killed some of them. They placed a prefect over those that survived. Ghazna was their next destination, where they were met by Jalāl al-Dīn ibn Khwārazm Shāh who fought and defeated them, as we shall relate, God willing.⁴² The people of Herat then attacked and killed the prefect, but when those who had been defeated came back, they entered the city by force and killed all there, plundered property, enslaved the womenfolk, ravaged the surrounding countryside and destroyed and burned all the city. They then returned to their ruler Chingiz Khan, who was in Tāiqān, despatching squadrons throughout all Khurasan, [394] where they acted similarly.

Account of their conquest and destruction of Khwārazm

The detachment of the army which Chingiz Khan sent to Khwārazm was the largest of all the squadrons because of the size of the country. They travelled until they came to Khwārazm, where there was a large army and whose inhabitants were known to be brave and numerous. They gave the invaders the fiercest fight that people had heard of. The siege lasted for five months and on both sides a great host of men were killed, although the dead among the Tatars were more numerous because the Muslims were protected by the city wall.

⁴¹ 'Alī (died 203/818) was the eighth of the Twelver Shiite Imams, who was at one stage promoted by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn as his successor. The celebrated caliph Hārūn al-Rashid, father of al-Ma'mūn, ruled 786–809.

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⁴² See below, p. [395].

The Tatars sent to their ruler Chingiz Khan to ask for reinforcements which he supplied to them in great quantity. When they had reached the city, they made a series of assaults, eventually taking a part of it. The inhabitants gathered to oppose them at the place which they had taken but were unable to expel them. They kept up the fight, although the Tatars were seizing district after district from them. Every time they took a district, the Muslims fought them in the next one. Men, women and children fought and continued to do so until the whole city had fallen with everyone in it killed and all it contained plundered. They opened the dam which kept the waters of the Oxus away from the city, so it was completely inundated and the buildings collapsed. The site was left an expanse of water. Not one of the populace survived, although in other cities some of the people had survived; some hid, some fled, some got out and escaped and yet others threw themselves down among the corpses [395] and so were saved. However, from among the people of Khwārazm those who hid from the Tatars were either drowned or died under the rubble. The city became a deserted ruin.

It's as though no person had lived between al-Ḥajūn and al-Ṣafā
And no reveller had whiled away the evening in Mecca.⁴³

Nothing like this had ever been heard of in ancient or modern times. We seek refuge in God from decline after power and from defeat after victory. This disaster touched all Islam and all Muslims. How many of the people of Khurasan and elsewhere were slain, because the visiting merchants and others were very many and all passed under the sword!

When the Tatars had finished with Khurasan and Khwārazm, they returned to their ruler in al-Ṭāliqān

~~Account of the Tatars' conquest of Ghazna and the land of the Ghūr~~

~~After the Tatars had finished with Khurasan and returned to their ruler, he equipped a large army and sent it to Ghazna, where the ruling prince was Jalāl al-Dīn ibn Khwārazm Shāh. The surviving men of his father's army had rallied to him there and, according to one report, were 60,000 strong. When the Tatars arrived at the dependencies of Ghazna, the Muslims went forth to meet them with the son of Khwārazm Shāh to a place called Balq.⁴⁴ There they met and fought a fierce fight, which was kept up for three days. Eventually God sent down victory upon the Muslims. The Tatars fled and the Muslims killed them at will. Those that escaped went back to their ruler at al-Ṭāliqān.~~

⁴³ The poet is Mada'ī ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith al-Jurhumī (*al-Aghāni*, xv, 11, 18, 20, 22, 25). The two places named in the first line are hills near Mecca.

⁴⁴ See note to p. [236].

Account of the return of a group of Tatars to Rayy, Hamadhan and elsewhere

At the beginning of this year [began 24 January 1224] a group of Tatars came from Chingiz Khan, different from the 'westward' group, whose doings before these arrived at Rayy we have already narrated. Those of Rayy's population who had survived had returned there and rebuilt it. The Tatars came upon them before they knew what was happening. They offered no resistance but the Tatars put the populace to the sword and killed them at will, plundering and destroying the town. They went to Saveh and acted in a similar fashion, and then on to Qumm and Qāshān, which had escaped the Tatars initially, for they had gone nowhere near them and inflicted no damage on their inhabitants. These, however, came and took both places, killed their people and destroyed both, adding them to [the list of] other ruined cities.

They then travelled through the land, destroying, murdering and plundering, and subsequently made for Hamadhan, where many of the surviving population had gathered. The Tatars eliminated them through massacre, capture and pillage, and razed the city.

When they arrived at Rayy, they saw there a large force of Khwārazmians, whom they surprised, killing some. The rest fled to Azerbayjan and settled on its borders. Before they were aware, the Tatars fell on them once more and put them to the sword. They fled in rout and some reached [420] Tabriz, to whose ruler Uzbek ibn Pahlawan the Tatars sent, saying, 'If you are with us, hand over the Khwārazmians you have; otherwise, tell us that you are not in agreement with us and not obedient to us.' Uzbek turned on the Khwārazmians with him and executed some and seized others. He carried the prisoners and the heads [of those executed] to the Tatars and also sent with them a large quantity of money, clothings and mounts. The Tatars then retired towards Khurasan. What they did was done by a small number, for they were about 3,000 horsemen, while the Khwārazmians, who were defeated by them, were about 6,000 strong. Uzbek's army was larger than both the others together and yet he could motivate neither himself nor the Khwārazmians to resist them.

We beseech God to provide for Islam and the Muslims someone to undertake to help them. They have already been reduced to a critical situation through the killing of people, the plunder of property, the enslavement of children, the killing and capture of womenfolk and the destruction of towns.

How Ghiyāth al-Dīn took the land of Fars

We have previously mentioned that Ghiyāth al-Dīn ibn Khwārazm Shāh was at Rayy. In addition he held Isfahan, Hamadhan and the territory between, and also Kirman was his. After the death of his father, as we have mentioned, the Tatars came to his land and he resisted in Isfahan. The Tatars besieged him there but could achieve nothing. When the Tatars left his lands and went to the lands of the Qipjaq, he again took control and reconstructed what he could. He remained there until towards the end of the year 620 [ended 23 January 1224]. There then happened to him what we have already narrated.¹

At the end of the year 620 he marched to Fars and the first thing that his ruler was aware of, that is [421] Atabeg Sa'd ibn Dakalā, was the arrival of Ghiyāth al-Dīn at the borders of his land. He was unable to resist, so made his way to the citadel of Iṣṣāḳīr, where he took refuge. Ghiyāth al-Dīn proceeded to the city of Shiraz, the capital of Fars, its largest and most important city, and took it with no effort at the beginning of the year 621 [began 24 January 1224]. Ghiyāth al-Dīn stayed there and took control of most of the country. Only the strong fortresses remained in Sa'd's possession.

When Sa'd had endured this for some time, he came to terms with Ghiyāth al-Dīn on the basis that Sa'd should have an agreed part of the lands, while Ghiyāth al-Dīn had the remainder. Ghiyāth al-Dīn stayed at Shiraz and his period of residence there and his determination to remain grew when he heard that the Tatars had returned to Rayy and the lands he held and ruined them.

How Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī rebelled against his brother al-Ashraf and how Khilāf was taken from him

Al-Ashraf Mūsā, son of al-'Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, had assigned to his brother Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī the city of Khilāf and all the districts of Armenia, and had added to them Mayyāfāriqīn, Hānī and Jabal Jur. That did not content Shihāb al-Dīn until he had been made his heir-apparent in all the lands al-Ashraf held and all the governors and troops in his lands had given him their oath.

When Armenia was handed to him, he made his way there, as we have related, and remained there until the end of the year 620 [ended 23 January 1224]. He made plan that he was angry with his brother al-Ashraf, openly accused him of wronging him, rebelled and threw off his allegiance. Al-Ashraf sent to conciliate him and to find fault with what he had done. However, he paid no notice and did not abandon his course but persisted in it. He, his brother al-Mu'azzam Jāsā, lord of Damascus, and Muza'ffar al-Dīn ibn Zayn al-Dīn, lord of Irbil, agreed [422] to oppose al-Ashraf and to unite to wage war on him. They made this public.

¹ See pp. [415–16].