

THE COMPOSITION OF IBN AL-ATHIR'S

HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES

A.H. 490-516 - A.D. 1097-1122

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P R E L I M I N A R Y

1. OBJECT OF THESIS AND BRIEF SKETCH OF IBN AL-ATHIR.

The objects of the present inquiry are two-fold: to assess the reliability of Ibn al-Athir as an historian of the Crusades from the Muslim standpoint, and to distinguish the various strands of information upon which he drew for his crusading material, as far as that may be done in the absence of known sources. Before proceeding to the consideration of these questions, it is proposed to note briefly his situation with respect to the crusades, and to indicate previous work which has been done in this field.

Abu'l-Hassan 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn al-Athir al-Shaibani al-Jazari, who later received the title Izz al-Din, was born in A.H.555 (A.D.1160), sixty-one years after the first arrival of the crusaders, and died in A.H.630 (A.D.1234), seven years after what we call the sixth crusade.<sup>(1)</sup> His life was therefore passed in a period when continuous warfare with the crusaders was the normal state of affairs in Syria; moreover, the events of their first arrival were still recent enough to live on in anecdote as well as in official reports, yet were already ancient enough to be assessed as history.

His home, after he grew up, was in Mosul, the capital of Diyar Rabi'a. Every type of report, including oral reports,

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(1) As Stevenson points out, it is misleading to refer to the crusades by numerals, as 'first' and 'second', and so on, since the crusades were part of a continuous movement.

(Crusaders in the East p.3)

letters, and despatches from the Palestinian war area, were bound to pass that way, since Mosul was on the direct route from Syria to Baghdad. On the other hand, both Mosul and his childhood home, Jazira ibn Omar, were beyond the range of Frankish attack.<sup>(1)</sup> Had Ibn al-Athir not chosen to go himself on the Jihad, he would never have encountered the crusaders. Thus, just as the period when he wrote enabled him to observe the crusades from the standpoint of a contemporary as well as an historian, so the district in which he lived was both near enough to the crusading battlegrounds to afford him constant contact with eye-witnesses, and was also far enough away to afford him a comprehensive, almost a detached, view. Such a detached view toward the holy war was further encouraged by wars closer at hand, those triangular conflicts between Caliph, Sultan, and Atabak, which could bring a besieging army to the city walls at any moment. It is true that Mosul itself had not changed hands since the advent of Zanki in A.H.521, but such stability was far from normal in the cities of Syria and Iraq.

Even in these local conflicts Ibn al-Athir would have been disposed to take a detached view: as his patronymic, al-Shaibani, shows him to have been of Arab stock, his natural loyalty would not have been involved in the rivalries of the Turkish rulers. So too in the larger field of Muslim against Christian he could take an objective standpoint, even recording an example of Christian probity which is not such as a bigoted

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(1) The eastern boundary of the Latin principedom of Edessa touched Diyar Bakr on its western extremity, but where the Armenian population ended, Frankish territorial expansion also ceased.

Muslim would have preserved. (1)

Another factor which contributed inevitably to a detached attitude, was his social background. Until A.H.576, his father, Athir al-Din, was governor of Jazira ibn Omar under the Atabak of Mosul, Kutb al-Din Mawdud ibn Zanki. The later careers of his elder brother, Majd al-Din, (2) and of his younger brother, Diya al-Din, (3) show them as members of the highest government circles, characteristically undertaking extensive literary activity in the midst of what would have been to those of a different background, onerous administrative and diplomatic duties. Bland indifference to the pomp of government, usual in those accustomed to it for more than one generation, is well illustrated in the story of Majd al-Din's refusal to be cured of an infirmity which deprived him of the use of his legs, on the ground that his condition delivered him from the necessity of frequenting the homes of the great, and treating them with the ceremony to which their rank entitled them: (4) it may be, of course that this indifference arose partly from the fact that those who were then possessed of power in Mosul owed their position, as did the majority of Muslim governors, to an initial act of rebellion and usurpation; consequently an aloof, unconsciously arrogant attitude to them would be natural to a man of scholarly mind. Diya al-Din's indifference to others, and sense of his own competence, "a man" as he described himself, "of prudence and judgement, to whom all the elegancies of style

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(1) Atabaks in Rec. Or. Vol. II, Part II, p.281-2

(2) Ibn Khallikan, de Slane's translation, Vol.II p.551

(3) Ibid. Vol.III p.541

(4) Ibid. Vol.II p.553

are obedient", reached colossal proportions. He became vizier in Damascus to Saladin's son, al-Afdal, and his misgovernment forced his master to leave the city, and brought upon himself the murderous rage of the populace in Damascus, and later in Cairo; passing into the service of al-Afdal's brother at Aleppo, he left him almost immediately in a fit of anger, and subsequently was unable to find employment for his talents for some ten years; nevertheless he remained too arrogant even to grant an audience to Ibn Khallikan, who came in vain to Mosul from Arbela more than ten times for that purpose. (1)

Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir, the middle brother, was of a different temperament. He appears of course as a characteristic product of his background, a leisurely and learned man of the world, welcome at the home of the governor of any of the local principalities. Ibn Khallikan met him in Aleppo, on his arrival there towards the close of 626, and records that Ibn al-Athir was then "receiving the kindest attention and every mark of esteem and respect from the Tawashi, Shihab al-Din Tughril, atabak of the Prince of Aleppo, and was living with him as his guest." (2) Where Ibn al-Athir differs from his contemporaries in the same circle, is that he continued his studies in jurisprudence and traditions and the other usual subjects, much longer than did they; and at no time became deeply involved in administration and diplomacy. In fact, apart from fulfilling his religious duties by making the pilgrimage and going on the Jihad, he spent his time from 584 until his death in 630, in

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(1) Ibn Khallikan, de Slane's translation, Vol III p.543

(2) Ibid Vol.II p.289

gathering materials and compiling his five literary works. Of these, one is on rhetoric, another on patronymics, and a third on the Companions of the Prophet: the remaining two are historical.

The first of the latter, the Atabaks of Mosul, is used only for reference in the present inquiry. It gives in eulogistic form, the history of Zanki's father, Aq Sunqur, of Zanki himself, and of his descendents, who ruled in Mosul with great vigour from 521 until 607, and thereafter continued as nominal rulers until 631. It is not, of course, surprising, that Ibn al-Athir should have eulogised the Zankids, who had been de facto rulers of the district in which he was born, and under whom he had served in the holy war: the mushroom dynasties of the east seldom lacked eulogists among their courtiers. This dynasty had, moreover, honoured his father, Athir al-Din, and had reposed such confidence in his elder brother, that when the latter was confined to his house after his retirement as chief Secretary of State to Nur al-Din Arslan Shah, he could say with truth, "I remain at home, but whenever anything serious occurs, they come in person to ask my advice."<sup>(1)</sup> Evidence even of genuine affection was shown by the dynasty for Majd al-Din, for when the latter died, Nur al-Din Arslan Shah came himself in the heat of summer to read the funeral prayer, although he was already suffering from the illness which caused his own death seven months later.<sup>(2)</sup> Praise for the Zankids

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(1) Ibn Khallikan Vol. II p. 553; see also Ibn al-Athir's statement in Atabaks Rec. Hist. Or. Tome II 2<sup>me</sup> Partie p. 349

(2) Atabaks Rec. Hist. Or. Tome II 2<sup>me</sup> Partie p. 368

was not altogether undeserved, since they had given Mosul stable government from the date of Zanki's formal entrance in 521 until the year in which Ibn al-Athir began writing the Atabaks, 607: prior to 521 the transfer of government from one would-be ruler to another had been as frequent as it was sanguinary. Ibn al-Athir completed the Atabaks in the following year, 608, and by that time, since Nur al-Din Arslan Shah's successor was a minor, effective control had passed into the hands of a vizier, Badr al-Din Lulu. Thus we have the unusual spectacle of an eastern writer, a Sunnite, eulogising benefactors, when they, being dead, could no longer confer benefits. Moreover he built up his case for them by anecdote upon anecdote illustrative of genuine piety, and of gracious consideration for others. He did not fail, however, to add at the end of his eulogy, a further eulogy, brief but fulsome, for the vizier who was supplanting the family of his erstwhile heroes: in fact he closed the Atabaks with praise for this supplanter, even making the promise, "we shall accomplish more on this subject in the history, the Mustaqsa." (1)

The "Mustaqsa fi'l-Tarikh," which Ibn al-Athir later called "al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh," was undertaken, according to the preface, by the command of this Badr al-Din Lulu, which suggests that it was not commenced until the latter became chief minister in 607. We know, however, that Ibn al-Athir was collecting, and probably compiling, information, some years before that date

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(1) He fulfills this promise under the years 607 and 615 in the Kamil.

since he says in reference to the Temple at Jerusalem, "it still exists now, that is, in the year 603."<sup>(1)</sup> Again he says, but in reference to the Mosque at Mosul, "in the year 603 I saw on the wall of the Mosque an inscription, which is still there."<sup>(2)</sup> Since the sections of the Kamil in which these references to the year 603 occur, are widely separated, we may assume that it was a year of revision. On the other hand, it may have been a year of travel for the purpose of collecting information: the mobility displayed by Ibn al-Athir in the years 626-627, when he was over seventy and he visited Aleppo twice, as well as Damascus and Baghdad, shows that he may well have been collecting information in places as widely separated as Mosul and Jerusalem in a single year. That 625-6 were years of revision we know from more than one reference - for instance under A.H. 495 a reference to Suqman, "his heirs possess it to this day, the year 625,"<sup>(3)</sup> and under A.H. 499, "This time of ours, the year 626."<sup>(4)</sup> The task of reducing his materials to written form was carried on in a village near Qasr Halb in the vicinity of Mosul; of this he says, "near it is a village which belongs to us; we built a monastery there for the Sufis and bequeathed it to the village. I put together a great part of this book in a house there."<sup>(5)</sup> From the few references which Ibn al-Athir has given

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(1) Tornberg I: 232, 1,16

(2) Tornberg VI: 51, 1:7-8

(3) Cairo X p.143, "the year 620," but Tornberg and Rec. have 625

(4) Ibid X p.173; Rec. has "the year 625."

(5) Tornberg V:438, 1,

us, we may assume that the year 603 was a year of collecting information from widely separated localities, that 607 was the year in which the Kamil began to take a finished form, and might be called the year of the first edition: finally, that the years 625-628, were the years in which he inserted further material, the recension he then made being the final one. The manuscripts of the Kamil bear out the idea of recension. The last recension, that is, the last to leave the author's hands, would be of course the fullest: this is represented by the manuscript which Törnberg designated as A, and on which he based his edition; passages appear in it which are missing from the manuscripts C and P, and usually from the manuscript B. Thus C and P probably represent the earliest manuscript to leave the author's hands: B may come down from a second recension. Evidence which will be discussed later suggests that the material from the Damascus Chronicle was inserted during the final recension of 626-628. For the purpose of the present inquiry the Cairo edition, which is also based on the A manuscript, has been chiefly used, but Törnberg's edition has been consulted when possible.

Those sections of the Kamil which deal with the crusades form the earliest general history from the Muslim angle for this period. All later Muslim historians appear to be indebted to it. Earlier Muslim works which touch the subject are not general histories, but consist either of local chronicles, such as the chronicles of Aleppo or Damascus, or else biographies,

such as those of Nur al-Din and Saladin, or biographical dictionaries, such as that of Ibn Asakir, or memoirs, such as those of Usama ibn Munkidh, or else the works of travellers or geographers, such as Ibn Jubair or Yaqut. Ibn al-Athir's conflation of these varied strands of material, with the information he derived through his ready access to the secretariats of the local principalities, and from oral tradition, has produced a general history of the early years of the crusades. The objects of the present inquiry, as was stated at the beginning are to assess the extent of reliance which we should place upon this history, by comparing Ibn al-Athir's versions of events with the source, or sources, from which he drew them, when the sources in question can be ascertained: and parallel with that to separate the strands of which Ibn al-Athir's narrative is composed, as far as that can be done in the absence of known sources.

## 2. EARLIER WORK IN THIS FIELD.

The question of Ibn al-Athir's reliability was approached by Carl Brockelmann, who, in his "Das Verhältnis von Ibn al-Atirs Kamil fit-ta'rih zu Tabaris Ahbar er-rusul wal-muluk,"<sup>(1)</sup> analysed the first part of the Kamil. As the title implies, the thesis consisted of a detailed textual comparison of the Kamil with Tabari, Ibn al-Athir's chief source, and did not extend beyond the year 309, when Tabari's history ends. For a variety of reasons Brockelmann's method cannot be followed in the section 490-516, which is being considered in the present inquiry. For instance, in the early section, since the chief source was available, and the Kamil could be compared word for word with its original, variations, omissions, and additions, would at once become apparent. For the period 490-516, however, the chief source for crusading matters, if there was in fact a chief source, is unknown. Another difference, almost equally important, arises from the fact that for the early part Ibn al-Athir was in the position of a summariser and redactor only; the materials had been collected, the general picture, even the framework, was ready to his hand; he had only to retouch, expand, abridge, in order to present a finished literary work. How near that early section of the Kamil approaches to being merely an abridgement of Tabari, comes out in Brockelmann's statement, "we may almost feel tempted to view the later work as a sort of improved edition of the earlier."<sup>(2)</sup> Thus we see

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(1) Strassburg 1890.

(2) Brockelmann, Das Verhältnis etc. p.2.

that for the commencement of the Kamil Ibn al-Athir used a general source which for the most part he either reproduced verbatim or abridged; and which he supplemented only occasionally; he was not attempting to produce an original work. In the section 490-516, however, he himself collected the materials, and fitted them into a general picture. These materials consisted, as we have already noted, of local histories, biographies, diplomatic correspondence, and oral tradition. In fact for this later section of the Kamil Ibn al-Athir was himself a pioneer, giving us the first connected account of that period, just as Tabari had been a pioneer for the earlier period. That Ibn al-Athir became himself the accepted general historian for the post-Tabari period, we know from the extent to which all later historians availed themselves of the Kamil. Brockelmann, in stating the object of his inquiry, referred to the attitude to Ibn al-Athir prevalent at that time, namely that "even if his (Ibn al-Athir's) general trustworthiness is not to be denied, the older works, especially those of Tabari would be given the preference ... over him. Yet, as in our case, when Ibn al-Athir's dependence upon Tabari is established beyond doubt, there remains the question of how far this dependence extends, and whether the more recent work may not here and there draw upon other sources ... our intention in what follows is to bring this question somewhat nearer to a final solution."<sup>(1)</sup> In the course of the argument Brockelmann shows how Ibn al-Athir did in fact

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(1) Brockelmann, Das Verhältnis, p.2

draw upon such other, mostly un-named, sources, since Tabari's history, as it approached his own time, became increasingly meagre. At the conclusion of the thesis Brockelmann restates his original object somewhat more broadly, as, "the question of the value we are to attribute to the Kamil, as far as our knowledge of history is concerned."<sup>(1)</sup> He then puts his findings thus: "In a consideration of those parts taken from Tabari, we must always return to the source ... but use Ibn al-Athir's work as a check. This cannot be entirely evaded, since, as we have seen, he has here and there used other works, which, up to the present time, are not available to us."<sup>(2)</sup> Concerning the portions for which Ibn al-Athir has used these unknown sources Brockelmann states, "it must be presumed, after as much verification as possible, that here too he has used good sources, and that he has treated them in the same careful way in which he treated Tabari, and that his guidance is therefore to be trusted without prejudice."<sup>(3)</sup>

No one would dissent from the conclusion that, where Ibn al-Athir has used written sources, these would be the best he could find. Reasons to doubt the assumptions, however, that Ibn al-Athir treated his sources with care, or that his guidance is to be trusted without prejudice, have been given subsequently both by W.B. Stevenson, in his "Crusaders in the East," and by H.A.R. Gibb in his "Notes on the Arabic Materials for the Early Crusades."

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(1) Brockelmann, Das Verhältniß etc. p.57

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

Professor Stevenson points out five characteristics of Arabic historians of which Ibn al-Athir is not free, and which give rise to errors. First, the system of grouping events from different years under one year, if these refer to the same subject.<sup>(1)</sup> This question is fully dealt with in the subsequent investigation. Secondly, the habit of setting down without comment or explanation accounts of the same event drawn from different sources, which leads to duplicate accounts, "not recognised as such by modern historians." Thirdly, the failure to give the day of the week, the only reliable guide to the actual date, when there is confusion between "calendar dates" and "observation dates," in the lunar year. Fourthly, textual errors in the names of numerals, and in the names of the Muslim months, and in numerals themselves. Fifthly, confusion in dates arising from giving, for instance, the commencement of a siege, or the end of a siege, as the date of the siege itself.

Professor Gibb in his "Notes on the Arabic Materials for the Early Crusades,"<sup>(2)</sup> has suggested how Ibn al-Athir's methods may result in misleading or suspect information. He gives illustrations under five heads. The first shows how Ibn al-Athir sometimes suppresses elements of the original narrative, and occasionally uses the rest to support a false interpretation. The second notes Ibn al-Athir's changes in date, and suggests his anti-Fatimid bias. The third shows how Ibn al-Athir sometimes groups together a number of entirely

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(1) Stevenson: Crusaders in the East, Appendix A, The Chronology of the Arabic Historians, pp 356-361

(2) Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol.VII part 4, p.739 fol.

unconnected items which, as a result of this grouping, present, whether by accident or design, a false picture. The fourth shows Ibn al-Athir's occasional habit of supplementing the information contained in his sources with picturesque anecdotes, often having no basis in fact, which merely sum up the historian's own view of a situation. The fifth contains two illustrations of accounts which are, apparently, no more than romantic inventions. These findings, and those of Professor Stevenson, must be kept constantly in mind by all students of Arabic Historians.

P A R T I

SOURCES AND METHOD OF COMPILATION

1. SOURCES

(a) Written Sources

There is at present available in Arabic no general history anterior to the Kamil which gives an account of the arrival of the crusaders and their activities for the period 490-516. One which purported to cover this period is referred to by Kamal al-Din, "History of the Franks Who Came Forth to the Land of Islam," by Abu'l-Fawaris Hamdan 'Abd al-Rahim, who died in 1159, (1) and who is also referred to by Ibn Muyassar. (2) Unfortunately there is nothing extant of this history, and it was apparently not used as a source by any historian whom we know except Kamal al-Din: and his use of it must have been very limited, since he says, "only a few leaves came into my hands." (3) The possibility that Ibn al-Athir used Hamdan is discussed under the section on Kamal al-Din. Thus in the absence of general histories, we have to look for the written sources which Ibn al-Athir could have used among the local chroniclers, and the works of biography, geography, travel and memoirs, already referred to compiled by writers immediately prior in date, or by his younger contemporaries.

The historian himself has named no chief source for this period as he named Tabari for the early section of his work.

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(1) Rec. Hist. Or. Vol. III p.726.

(2) Ibn Muyassar: Annales d'Egypt, ed. Masse, Cairo 1919, p.70 lines 6-7.

(3) Rec. Hist. Or. Vol. III p.726.

Hamza  
ibn Asad  
Ibn al-  
Qalanisi  
(4?? - 555)

In the printed text chiefly used there appears only one reference to a source, and that reference is merely incidental. (1) The name mentioned is Hamza ibn Asad, and since the information there attributed to him is to be found in the Damascus Chronicle of Hamza ibn Asad Ibn al-Qalanisi, we assume that the Damascus Chronicle was the source used: thus we are assured of at least one source for purposes of comparison. Ibn al-Athir's use of the Damascus Chronicle is fully discussed later.

Comparative silence on the subject of his sources was as characteristic of Ibn al-Athir in the early sections of the work as in the later ones. Of this Brockelmann says, "Invariably he makes only chance references to other works (i.e., other than Tabari), and when he does so it is either because he wished to use their acknowledged authority to confirm his own statements, or because he wished to warn others against errors to be found in them." (2) Brockelmann lists sixteen authors to whom he has found such incidental references in the early sections. (3) Of these, only one, Ibn abi'Usama, presumably to be identified with 'Usama ibn Munkidh, born 488, could have served as a source for crusading matters. 'Usama's memoirs have been compared with the Kamil, but have not proved useful. (4)

Usama  
Ibn  
Munkidh  
488-584

Of other older contemporaries of Ibn al-Athir whose extant works also bear on the crusades we have Ibn Asakir, Ibn al-Jawzi, 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, Ibn Shaddad and Ibn Jubair.

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- (1) Cairo vol. X p.237 Line 21. Amedroz p.202 Line 8.  
(2) Das Verhältniss p.25-26.  
(3) Das Verhältniss p.25-26.  
(4) An Arab Syrian Gentleman, etc. ed. Hitti, translation (Columbia University Press 1929); text, "Usama's Memoirs" (Princeton University Press 1930).

Ibn Asa-  
kir 499-  
571

It has not been possible to consult Ibn Asakir's Biographical Dictionary of Famous Men of Damascus. Of the original eighty volumes only a few odd volumes have survived, now scattered in various European libraries.<sup>(1)</sup> As the information which they contain is of course biographical in arrangement, it is unlikely that it was actually used as a source by Ibn al-Athir.

Ibn al-  
Jawzi  
510-597

Ibn al-Jawzi's history of the world, which at present exists only in manuscript,<sup>(2)</sup> has also been inaccessible. It is possible that here too an examination would not reveal anything of independent value, since his grandson, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzi, is believed to have drawn largely upon his grandfather's work for his Mirat al-Zaman, so that conclusions based upon a comparison of the Kamil with the Mirat al-Zaman<sup>(3)</sup> and given later in sections on Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzi, may apply equally to the earlier work on which it was based.

'Imad al-  
Din al-  
Isfahani  
519-597

'Imad al-Din's history of the conquest of Syria and Palestine by Saladin, deals with a later period than 490-516.

Baha al-  
Din Ibn  
Shaddad  
539-632

A cursory examination of Ibn Shaddad's biography of Saladin<sup>(4)</sup> has shown nothing relevant to our period.

Ibn  
Jubair  
540-614

Ibn Jubair's book of travel<sup>(5)</sup> has also proved disappointing. Although he journeyed extensively in Syria and Iraq, visiting Mosul, and describing it, at a time when Ibn al-Athir was residing there, that is, between 580 and 583, he has made no reference to this famous family, one member of which, soon to become the chief power in Mosul under the Zankids, might well have been pointed out to a visitor.<sup>(6)</sup>

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(1) Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. II p.363

(2) Ibid. vol. II p.372.

(3) Chapter II § 3.

(4) Rec. Hist. Or. Vol. III

(5) Ed Wright, Gibb Memorial Series Vol. V. (Leydon 1907)

(6) e.g. in 587 Aḥabaks P.341.

From the foregoing it is clear that the only writer prior in date to Ibn al-Athir, whose work may be usefully compared with the Kamil, is Hamza ibn Asad Ibn al-Qalanisi. Under these circumstances it is necessary to consider also Ibn al-Athir's younger contemporaries, who might have preserved one of the other sources of the Kamil. Of these we have Yaqut, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzi, Kamal al-Din, Abu Shama, Jirjis al-Makin, Ibn Muyassar, Ibn Khallikan and Bar Hebraeus. It is of course true, as Brockelmann points out, that all later Arabic historians had the Kamil at their disposal, and a brief examination usually serves to reveal the extent of their indebtedness. Several of the younger contemporaries of Ibn al-Athir, however, may have commenced their compilations before the Kamil was completed. Of these younger contemporaries three at least were known personally to Ibn al-Athir: Yaqut, the encyclopaedist and geographer, Ibn Khallikan, the author of the Biographical Dictionary, and Kamal al-Din, the historian of Aleppo.

Yaqut  
AL-Rumi  
573-626

Yaqut's geographical dictionary is another work which has been inaccessible. Yaqut's interest, however, apart from geography, was centred in belles lettres and genealogy, so that perhaps there would be little of an historical nature which Ibn al-Athir would have used for the crusading period. Yaqut's strictly historical works, the Kitab al-Mabda' w'al-Ma'al, and the Kitab al-Duwal,<sup>(1)</sup> are not extant. Of course, seeing that Ibn al-Athir and Yaqut were contemporaries, if any similarities exist, they might point to a common source, rather than to the dependence of Ibn al-Athir on Yaqut. On the other hand, Ibn al-Athir had ample opportunity to consult Yaqut's works at the very time when he was engaged in completing the Kamil, namely on his

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(1) Encyc. Islam Vol IV p.1153 (Yaqut)

visit to Aleppo in 626. Yaqut was then living in an inn outside Aleppo, where he died, leaving to Ibn al-Athir the task of conveying his works to Baghdad.<sup>(1)</sup> This task Ibn al-Athir carried out, although he was then in his seventy-second year.

Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi  
582-653  
Kamal al-Din  
588-660  
Abu Shama  
599-665

The relationship between Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi's *Mirat al-Zaman* and the *Kamil*, is discussed later, and also the relationship between Kamal al-Din's history of Aleppo, and the *Kamil*.

Abu Shama's *Kitab al-Raudatayn*,<sup>(2)</sup> consisting as it does of biographies of Nur al-Din and Saladin, lies beyond the dates of the period under consideration. Since, however, it reproduces the work, now lost, of an earlier writer, Ibn abi Tai, it was subjected to a cursory examination which revealed nothing useful.

George al-Makin  
602-672

Jirjis al-Makin<sup>(3)</sup>, a Christian writer, was consulted for a common source on Egyptian matters: the examination revealed that he had condensed accounts of Egyptian matters from the *Kamil* itself.

Ibn Muyassar  
died 677

Ibn Muyassar was also consulted for a source dealing with Egyptian matters, and is discussed later.<sup>(4)</sup>

Ibn Khallikan  
608-681

Ibn Khallikan's *Biographical Dictionary*, to which reference is constantly made, is of course of no direct value as a source: it was not commenced until 654, nor completed until 674. Ibn al-Athir had known Ibn Khallikan's father, and so when the boy (he was no more than eighteen) came with his brother to Aleppo to college towards the close of 626, he became, as he tells us, Ibn al-Athir's constant visitor. Ibn al-Athir left Aleppo before the end of the

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(1) Ibn Khallikan Vol. IV p. 22  
(2) *Receuil (Orientaux)* Vols. IV and V  
(3) *Historia Saracenicæ* Latin Translation by Expenius (1625)  
(4) Below Chapter II § 2.

year, to take Yaqut's works to Baghdad, and later to visit Damascus; but when he returned to Aleppo in the following year, Ibn Khallikan "continued to cultivate his society with unceasing assiduity."<sup>(1)</sup> It is open to us to assume that during these interviews Ibn al-Athir might have derived oral traditions from Ibn Khallikan, which the latter might have had from his father, or other elderly men who had stories to tell of the early crusaders. It is much more likely, of course, that Ibn al-Athir was the purveyor, not the recipient, of information, and that the young Ibn Khallikan was already showing the temperament of the "newshound", he was later to become, when he was to go more than ten times from Arbela to Mosul for a single interview. Ibn Khallikan's constant attendance on Ibn al-Athir gives a good picture of how oral information was transmitted, for which full allowance must be made in considering the sources used by Ibn al-Athir.

Bar  
Hebraeus  
624-685  
(1226-  
1286)

The relationship between the Kamil and the Arabic and Syriac Histories of Bar Hebraeus is fully discussed in a later section.

(b) Oral Information

The nearer the period approaches to the historian's own time, the greater the allowance which must be made for the use of information received orally, and incorporated in the Kamil. This is the reverse of what is found in Tabari; of him Brockelmann points out that the nearer the period approached his own time, the less comprehensive his history became; Brockelmann's explanation for this increasing meagreness is based partly on the historian's advanced age, and partly on the lack of written records upon which

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(1) Ibn Khallikan, Vol.II p.289

Tabari could draw.<sup>(1)</sup> The lack of written records was apparently no inconvenience to Ibn al-Athir, who gives, if anything, fuller accounts as the period dealt with becomes more nearly contemporary. From this we infer that Ibn al-Athir possessed what Tabari lacked, the technique for dealing with contemporary events. To cast oral reports into historical form obviously calls for different capacity than does the amassing of information from written records. The extent of the oral information used by Ibn al-Athir is startlingly revealed in his statement in the Atabaks, "I have quoted most of this from my father, (may God have mercy on him), who was full of stories about their <sup>i.e.</sup> (the Zankids') heroic way of life ... much of what I heard from him has now eluded me, because I only formed the purpose of recording it after his death, and had not written it down during his lifetime."<sup>(2)</sup> Of course the information thus transmitted from memory, although only recalled after the lapse of many years, need not be suspect, since the training then in vogue which involved hearing traditions, for instance, and committing them to memory as they were heard, developed a capacity to remember which was more photographically accurate than is usual today. It so happens that some of the information in the Atabaks which Ibn al-Athir here declares was derived from his father, also appears in the Kamil, and must be assigned accordingly to oral tradition. This would have been oral tradition current in Mosul, of which the assassination of Mawdud in A.H.507 is an example: no doubt it was Ibn al-Athir himself who first gave it written form in the Atabaks. Of course not all oral reports

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(1) Das Verhältnis, pp.2-3.

(2) Rec. Hist. Or. Tome II 2me partie, p.10

were dependent on memory to recall them after a lapse of many years: from an incidental reference by Ibn al-Athir to personal inquiries he had made among the Shi'ites about the genealogy of the Ubaidids,<sup>(1)</sup> we may infer that he would incorporate into his history the oral information resulting from such inquiries without delay. The contemporary technique of turning oral reports into history is described by Ibn al-Qalanisi, "...the materials which I took down from the mouths of trustworthy persons, I have here transmitted, after exerting myself to make the fullest investigations so as to verify them. As I have been prevented by other duties since the year 635 from making the fullest inquiries into those current events which required to be set down in this book ... I have left a blank space after the events of each year"... in order to insert therein at a later date, "those narratives of events the truth of which had been ascertained."<sup>(2)</sup> From this we infer that when a writer received information about what was going on, he made a note of it at once; if he considered that it required verification he sought this before inserting it in his chronicle; the notice which would eventually appear would be a version composed from notes, and emended in accordance with his investigations. It is assumed that this practice was the norm, and that Ibn al-Athir followed it, no doubt leaving gaps in his narrative, as had Ibn al-Qalanisi, for the insertion of material which had been verified, or for the incorporation of fresh material relevant to each year. As already pointed out,<sup>(3)</sup> the manuscripts bear this out, manuscript A giving a copy of the Kamil as it last left the author's hands,

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{1} Tornberg VIII:19:7  
{2} Amedroz p.283 lines 2-9  
{3} P. 8 above.

with all the gaps filled in, while manuscripts C, P and B, having been made from earlier editions, represent the different stages of recension.

Western Sources.

The western sources relevant for this period are William of Tyre, Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Agiles, Albert of Aix, Gesta Francorum and the Gesta Tancredi. These were consulted in the Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux, but no indication was found that Ibn al-Athir was in any sense dependent upon any of them.

## 2. METHOD OF COMPILATION

There are certain broad general principles which guided Ibn al-Athir in his treatment of sources. These principles fall into two classes. The first class contains those which constitute the framework and the method which he himself describes at the commencement of the Kamil.<sup>(1)</sup> The framework, according to Brockelmann,<sup>(2)</sup> he took from Tabari. The method, however, we have to admit was his own. The second class contains those principles which he has not referred to, and of some of which he was no doubt unconscious. Nevertheless these last have been applied quite as consistently as have the former, and have produced many of those modifications which he regularly made, as will appear later, in the extracts he took from the Damascus Chronicle when adapting these for insertion into the Kamil. This second type can only be deduced from a detailed comparison of the text of the Kamil with that of the sources from which it has been taken.

In addition to these two sets of guiding principles, there is another point to be considered - namely what appears to be a change in style on the part of the historian. It has been well said that he did not exercise the same critical faculty nor aim at the same precision towards the end of his life as he had at an earlier period.<sup>(3)</sup> This may account to some extent for the sharp distinction between what seems to be an earlier and a later style. Another factor, however, which might have contributed to a change of style has been the effort, during later recensions,

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(1) Cairo, Vol. I, p.3, 1.25

(2) Das Verhältniß p.8

(3) Michaud Bibliothèque IV<sup>me</sup> partie p.xii, note 2.

to incorporate fresh material into portions of the work which had been previously completed. Such later additions would stand out sharply from their context. Thus a later period is represented by sections in which extracts, sometimes entirely unrelated, have been set down with little or no effort at co-ordination. Such insertions are not to be confused with the introduction of notices into the blank spaces left at the end of each year for that purpose, but are obviously definite attempts to insert fresh material into completed work. Those polished sections, however, in which the extracts from different sources have been so painstakingly worked over and have had their edges so neatly joined that they appear as the creation of a single hand, belong to the earlier period, and it is these which exemplify Ibn al-Athir's own avowed methods.

The later period is dealt with in the chapter on Ibn al-Qalanisi, since many of the extracts which Ibn al-Athir has taken from him have been incorporated in the Kamil as unrelated matter.

Before proceeding with the detailed consideration of any source it is necessary to state briefly the description of the framework given by the historian at the commencement of the Kamil: it is as follows:

"In every year, for each event which is important and well-known, I have composed a special section, with title. For all minor events (of which each one did not require a section to itself), I have set aside one section at the end of every year and entitled it *ذكر عدة حوادث* also at the end of every year I have mentioned such learned persons, dignitaries and worthies as died during its course."<sup>(1)</sup> From this description

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(1) Kamil, Vol.I, p.3, l.27 to p.4, l. 1

we see that the order for events within the framework in each year was as follows; first the individual named sections dealing at length with important topics; second a "miscellany section" for minor unrelated events; third, at the end of this miscellany section, a list of obits. This order is chiefly of interest to us in the places where Ibn al-Athir appears to have departed from it.(1)

From the description of the framework, we turn to the hint which the historian has given of his chronological and literary method. It is as follows: "I have grouped events together in a single place and have mentioned each one of them in the month or year in which it occurred: they follow in consecutive order, each linked to the next."(2) As regards the chronological aspect, the words, "I have mentioned each of them in the month or year in which it occurred," might suggest a purely annalistic method in the manner of the earlier chroniclers. This, however, would only be strictly true of two classes of entries; first, entries in the miscellany section - these usually appear under the year or month of their occurrence, except where an error of the historian or his copyists has decreed otherwise;(3) second, any important event which serves as the climax of an individual named section. It is very far from being true, however, as regards the countless minor events which appear as the contributory causes of any such climax. For instance, the arrival of Khalaf Ibn Mula'ib at Afamiya which occurred in A.H.489 (where it appears in

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{1} E.g. A.H.506

{2} Kamil, Vol. I, p.3, 11. 25-26

{3} E.g. the entries concerning the Damascus caravan and the Batini at Shaizar which wrongly appear in A.H.502.

Ibn Muyassar<sup>(1)</sup>) is entered by Ibn al-Athir under the year A.H. 499. This apparent violation by Ibn al-Athir of his own words brings us to the heart of the literary method suggested by the rest of the quotation, "I have grouped events together in a single place .....each linked to the next". This describes precisely what Ibn al-Athir did to produce those polished sections which display his earlier style; that is, he grouped together in a single section all events which had contributed towards one particular important event, even if some of these contributory events had occurred many years before. Contributory events had been collected, perhaps from many different sources, and had been dovetailed one to the other, "each seizing the neck of the next," so as to produce a concrete presentation of the narrative in which the specific important event appeared as climax. Such a composite section would take its title from the climax and would be inserted under the year and month in which the climax occurred. The above scheme which might be called the framework for the events within each section, may be illustrated in the section entitled "Frankish Capture of the Fortress of Afamea" in A.H.499. Every characteristic is present in this section. It takes its title from the climax, and the climax itself is summed up in the first sentence. This is followed by the usual formula "and the cause of that was....." which introduces the reference back to contributory causes in earlier years. In this case, the first event which contributed to the capture of Afamea by the Franks is given as the eviction of Khalaf Ibn Mula'ib from Hims many years before. The introduction consists of the varying fortunes

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(1) Ibn Muyassar (Cairo 1919) p.37, 1.16 (A.H.489)

of Khalaf until he became governor of Afamea. The body of the section is that part which describes how the Qadi of Sarmin outwitted Khalaf, and installed himself in the fortress. The conclusion returns to a son of Khalaf who, being actuated by a desire to avenge his father's murder, deserted to the Franks. The climax tells how it was on his instigation that they captured the fortress.

Of course every section in the Kamil could not have been treated in accordance with the above scheme, since the events in history do not uniformly lend themselves to presentation in such a way; this is a further reason why Ibn al-Athir could not always adhere to the method. In spite of this, the framework within the sections themselves has been maintained with fair consistency, and it should be borne in mind that every effort the historian made to adapt material to fit such a scheme, could not be without effects on his treatment of his sources. These effects are discussed, with the other types of "Internal Modifications", in the chapter on Ibn al-Qalanisi.

PART II

IBN AL-QALANISI AS A SOURCE OF IBN AL-ATHIR

(1) THE AUTHOR

Ibn al-Qalanisi died in 555, the year of Ibn al-Athir's birth, but cannot be classed even among the oldest contemporaries of the historian, since his death took place in First Rabi', whereas Ibn al-Athir was not born until Shawwal, two months later. The exact date of Ibn al-Qalanisi's birth is not known, but it is implied by al-Dhahabi that he lived for nearly a century: thus we may assume that he was born between 460 and 465. In any case he was of mature age when the first reports of the crusaders' advance began to reach Palestine and Syria, and he is therefore a contemporary chronicler of these events, the only contemporary whose work is extant.

As the title of Ibn al-Qalanisi's work implies, "Dhail Tar'ikh Dimashq,"<sup>(1)</sup> he intended it as a continuation of an earlier chronicle, that of Hilal al-Sabi', which closed with the year 448, in which Hilal died. The emphasis in Ibn al-Qalanisi's work, however, was on Damascus, and not, as in the earlier work, on the world at large, and it touches on events outside Damascus only so far as Damascene interests were involved. Since Ibn al-Qalanisi, as a secretary in the Diwan al-Rasa'il (Correspondence Bureau), and later as head of the department, had access to all reports, oral or written, his information is of the

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(1) Arabic text, ed. Amedroz, Bairut 1908

highest value. From time to time, however, allowance has to be made for his having given an official Damascene version of events. Needless to say, Ibn al-Athir has "corrected" these versions by the view then current in Mosul. An example of such correction occurs in Ibn al-Athir's account of the assassination of Mawdud, which occurred in Damascus.<sup>(1)</sup> We have already noted that Ibn al-Qalanisi took down oral reports as soon as he received them, or at least while they were still fresh in his memory, which gives us the measure of his value as a contemporary source. This "on the spot" transcription of reports led Ibn al-Qalanisi to include the day of the week, which Ibn al-Athir and others who have copied from the Damascus Chronicle have omitted. Thus, since the day of the week is the sole infallible guide to fixing the exact date of an event, wherever reference to the Damascus Chronicle is possible, errors arising from the lack of congruity between the various dating systems can be corrected.

(ii) IBN AL-ATHIR'S USE OF THE DAMASCUS CHRONICLE.

For formal proof that Ibn al-Athir used the Damascus Chronicle as a source, there is of course the incidental reference to Hamza ibn Asad, already mentioned.<sup>(2)</sup> It so happens that the character of this incidental reference is disparaging, and the manner by which Ibn al-Athir has rendered it so, by his manipulation of the very words he is transcribing, is most instructive. The item concerns a report that the tombs of the Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, had been opened, which

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(1) Cairo X p.209  
Amedroz p.187  
Both accounts appear to be biased.  
(2) P.19 above.

Ibn al-Qalanisi had entered under the year 513.<sup>(1)</sup> His notice runs as follows: And in this year someone coming from Jerusalem related the discovery of the tombs of the prophets, al-Khalil and his two sons, Isaac and Jacob, (blessing from God, and peace be upon them): they were together in a cave in the territory of Jerusalem, and were as if alive, their bodies not having decayed, nor their bones having rotted, while suspended over them in the cave were lamps of gold and silver: the graves were restored to their former state. This is the story as the narrator related it, but God knows the truth better than does any other." These concluding words make it perfectly clear that Ibn al-Qalanisi was not prepared to sponsor the story.

Ibn al-Athir has also entered the story under 513, having placed it in his "Miscellany Section" for that year. His adaptation of the wording runs as follows: And therein (i.e. in this year) the grave of Abraham, al-Khalil, was discovered, and the graves of his two sons, Isaac and Jacob, (peace be upon them), in the vicinity of Jerusalem; many of the people saw them, and their bodies were not decayed; beside them in the cave were lamps of gold and silver; such is the account as Hamza ibn Asad narrates it, but God knows best."<sup>(2)</sup> We see that Ibn al-Athir has deliberately substituted the name "Hamza ibn Asad" at the point where, in the Damascus Chronicle appeared the word "the narrator," and has thereby made it appear as if Hamza ibn Asad sponsored the story of the miraculous preservation of the bodies

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(1) Amedroz p.202

(2) Cairo X: 237

whereas Hamza ibn Asad had made it clear that he did not do so. Ibn al-Athir shows that he would not vouch for its truth himself, by the words "God knows best." Thus by a very slight manipulation of his source material he has cast doubts on the reliability of Hamza ibn Asad, putting him in the category of a gullible reporter.

Apart from this incidental reference, which would not have occurred had Ibn al-Athir not wished to disown responsibility for the truth of the story, there is nothing which could be used for formal proof that Ibn al-Athir used the Damascus Chronicle, but formal proof is not really necessary since a cursory comparison of the Kamil with the Chronicle at once makes a connection between them obvious. Perhaps not more than one-fifth of the crusading material is derived from it, but this is sufficient to show Ibn al-Athir's attitude to his sources, and to make clear the types of internal modification he regularly made.

It is proposed to consider first these types of internal modification, and then to discuss the specific relationship between the extracts from Ibn al-Qalanisi and their context in the Kamil.

(1) INTERNAL MODIFICATION

i. MODIFICATION DICTATED BY FRAMEWORK.

The framework within each section required that the date of the climax should be stated at the beginning of the narrative. In a long section Ibn al-Athir would state the date at the beginning, but would make no alteration in the position of the date as given in the source, merely copying it when he came to the climax. In such cases Ibn al-Athir gives the date twice, <sup>(1)</sup> and as it is quite clear that the date given at the commencement refers to the climax, no great harm is done. In the case of a short extract, however, Ibn al-Athir would take the date out of its original position in the source, to place it at the commencement only. This of course resulted in modification of the source. There are very many examples of this type of modification in the material taken from Ibn al-Qalanisi, and at times they undoubtedly produce confusion. A typical example occurs in the account of Jocelyn's Surprise attack on Mawdud in the Miscellany Section of A.H. 506. Here Ibn al-Athir has taken the month *في المحرم* and placed it close to the commencement of the account instead of leaving it where it appears in the original, and does so incorrectly, since it gives the false impression that the campaign commenced in Muharram, whereas it ended in Muharram. <sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) E.g. In the Capture of Tarabulus entered in the year 503, Ibn al-Athir puts the date of the capture at the commencement of the section, and again at the climax.

(2) Another alteration in date, partly dictated by the framework, occurs in "Capture of Rafaniya" etc. in A.H. 509. It is dealt with on pp.

Another effect of the framework is that in taking passages out of their original context in order to weave them into his framework Ibn al-Athir sometimes omitted the date of the original altogether. An example of this has been already noted in the case of the arrival of Khalaf Ibn Mula'ab at Afamiya, which occurred in A.H. 489, but is entered by Ibn al-Athir in A.H. 499 without an indication of the original date.<sup>(1)</sup> In this episode, perhaps no great harm results from the fact that the original date is not indicated, although, for all Ibn al-Athir tells us, Khalaf might have arrived at Afamiya no more than a month or so before the Franks gained possession of it. In view of this it is necessary to proceed with caution when founding chronological data upon any undated events which appear in the Kamil as contributory causes. As a rule, however, the dates Ibn al-Athir assigned to main events are correct, but not invariably so.

It is naturally obvious that certain other types of modification, apart from these relating to date, were bound to result from Ibn al-Athir's practice of taking extracts out of their context in order to fit them into a fresh context in his framework. For instance, the beginning and ending of such an extract would have to be emended in order to adapt it to the fresh context. Such emendations, of which there are many examples, were at times made without due care, so that the meaning of the original has been obscured or so altered that a certain false impression has been produced.

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(1) Kamil X, p.170, 28-29.

As an example of the "emendation" of the beginning of an extract, Ibn al-Athir's account of the attacks by Baldwin I on Tyre and Sidon in A.H. 501, may be taken. This passage is in the "Miscellany Section" of that year, and it runs as if it were a continuous narrative. In Ibn al-Qalanisi, however, the attack on Tyre and that on Sidon are distinct and widely separated accounts, the first appearing at the very commencement of the year and the second at the very end. The first word in the account of the attack on Sidon in Ibn al-Qalanisi is *و فيها* and if Ibn al-Athir had retained this word it would have remained as a hint that the account of the attack on Sidon was not originally integral to the account of the attack on Tyre. Ibn al-Athir, however, "emended" the beginning of the passage by suppressing *و فيها* in the interests of weaving the two passages together. Thus by placing the two extracts in juxtaposition (as he so often does when dealing with his material from Ibn al-Qalanisi) and suppressing *و فيها* Ibn al-Athir wrongly gives the impression that the attack on Sidon followed immediately upon the attack on Tyre, although there is nothing in Ibn al-Qalanisi or Sibṭ<sup>(1)</sup> (both of whom give these accounts) or in Ibn Muyassar<sup>(2)</sup> (who gives the first account) to indicate this.

## ii MODIFICATION DICTATED BY THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE FRAMEWORK.

Another rather more interesting type of modification arises from the fact that the framework within each section required that all events should be stated strictly in chronological order. One result of this is often rearrangement of the source

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(1) Sibṭ Rec. III, p.534 (Tyre) and p.535 (Sidon)

(2) Ibn Muyassar (Cairo 1919) p. 42, last line.

material. For instance, an unimportant event which had been expressed in a subordinate sentence in the source, but which was anterior in date to the event in the main sentence, would no longer be expressed in a subordinate sentence by Ibn al-Athir, but in a co-ordinate sentence, and be placed before the event to which it was anterior. This of course gave prominence to any unimportant event which had been dismissed in a subordinate sentence in the source. The balance of the original narrative would thus be altered. An example of this type of rearrangement occurs in a narrative which records the deaths of Basil Kogh and of Tancred under A.H. 506. Here Ibn al-Athir takes the substance of Ibn al-Qalanisi's parenthetical reference to Basil Kogh's death *وكان قد ملك* and, rendering it by *وهيما تزعم بسبيل الارمني* opens his account with it. This completely alters the balance of the original narrative, by making his account appear as if it were Basil's obituary notice, instead of, as in Ibn al-Qalanisi, an account which deals chiefly with Tancred's death and Roger's accession.

### iii. SIMPLIFICATION AND ATTEMPTED CLARIFICATION.



There are two groups of modifications which seem properly to come under this heading; first those modifications (alterations and omissions) made definitely for the purpose of simplification; second, those modifications (alterations and additions) made primarily for the sake of clarity, but which also tend to simplify.

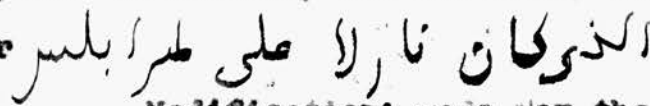
The first group includes two types. The first of these consists in alterations involving the substitution of a general term for a specific one. The second consists in the omission of explanatory clauses. Both result in simplification at the expense of accurate detail.

To illustrate the first type - that in which a specific term is discarded for a more general one - a good example which occurs more than once is the substitution of the more general *الفرنجة* for the specific *الجنوينة*. One instance occurs in the "Miscellany Section" of the year A.H. 501 in the passage concerning Baldwin's activities at Tyre and Sidon. Here *أصطول الفرنج* is substituted for *مراكب الجنوينة*. This substitution is unjustifiable since "Genoese vessels" were not the "Frankish fleet" in any sense corresponding to the "Egyptian fleet". Perhaps Ibn al-Athir was influenced to make the change by the belief that *الجنوينة* would not be understood by his readers without an explanation of who the Genoese were. Ibn al-Qalanisi, on the other hand, distinguishes clearly not only between the Franks and Genoese but also between these and the Venetians. This is of course because he lived in Damascus and what was known to a Damascene writer would not be common knowledge in Iraq and Baghdad.

This difference in orientation between Iraq and Damascus might also account for such a substitution as, for instance, *صاحب* for *والى*. This substitution occurs in the obituary notice of Qaraja of Hims under A.H. 506. Qaraja was Tughtakin's *صاحب* so the description of him as *صاحب* instead of *الوالى* is a sacrifice of accuracy and

definiteness. No doubt Ibn al-Athir was unaware of the relationship in which Qaraja stood to Tughtakin, and he perhaps thought

...  a curious way of expressing 

In some cases these details which give accuracy and definiteness are omitted altogether. An example occurs in Ibn al-Athir's version of the capture of Tarabulus for which his source was Ibn al-Qalanisi. Here the latter, when introducing Bertram, son of Raymond of St Gilles, refers to him as "Raymond (sic) son of the St Gilles who formerly blockaded Tarabulus." This brief description of Bertram's father "places" the newcomer in the reader's mind by linking him up with an earlier and well-known figure. The brief reference in fact gives background and colour to the narrative. When Ibn al-Athir, however, introduces Bertram, he omits the reference to Bertram's father, and merely describes him as "a great count Raymond ibn St Gilles by name." The resulting vagueness is not diminished by Ibn al-Athir's gratuitous addition of the words "a great count"; words which, as applied to Bertram, are certainly not a satisfactory substitute for  as applied to his father.

Modifications made for the sake of clarity include two types; the grammatical and the inferential. The grammatical types are those which consist in alterations made to avoid, for instance, the ambiguity of suffixes; and also those which involve the alterations of subordinate clauses to co-ordinate. The inferential are those which consist in the addition of explanatory clauses; that is setting down in words what the author of the source had left to be inferred.

As regards suffixes, modifications of these are generally a gain in clarity, as for instance, when the noun is used instead of the suffix. (1) The result of changing subordinate clauses to co-ordinate however, is sometimes more far-reaching, and even causes the original emphasis of a passage to be changed, or the balance of its presentation to be obscured. An example of this change has already been noted in the passage which appears as Basil Kogh's obit in A.H. 506 where Ibn al-Athir completely obscures the balance of Ibn al-Qalanisi's narrative by rendering the subordinate clause *وكان قد ملك* as an independent sentence and commencing his account with it. (2) Another example of making a subordinate sentence co-ordinate occurs at the end of the same extract when the subordinate sentence

*التي ان اصلح* is rendered *فاصلح*.

The second type of modification made for the sake of clarity - the addition of information which is only inferred from the original - is represented by examples ranging from single words to entire sentences. In great part they seem due to Ibn al-Athir's reluctance to leave anything to the imagination of the reader. In the account of Qilij Arslan's illness under A.H. 500 (Kamil X, p.173, .30) occurs a typical example. Ibn al-Qalanisi's account reads *ومرض مرضا اوجب له العود الي* *ملطية واقام اصحابه بحران* (Amedroz, p.150, .10) from which it is surely clear that Qilij Arslan returned to Malatiya. Nevertheless we find that Ibn al-Athir has inserted *فعاد مريضا* after

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(1) E.g. substitution of *المدينة* for the suffix. Kamil X, p.192 .8. Amedroz, p.159, .9.

(2) Kamil X, p.208, .7. Amedroz, p.183, .19.

. اوجب عوده الكي ملطبة .

As a longer example of an inferential addition we may take the concluding line in the section on Ascalon under A.H. 504 (Kamil X, p.203, .21). This line which Ibn al-Athir has inserted into Ibn al-Qalanisi's narrative reads "thus that which had caused fear to them both (al-Amir and al-Afdal) was brought to an end and ceased to be." It is of course pure inference, having no equivalent in the Damascus Chronicle, but it is at least no more than the reader would have inferred unaided. From Ibn al-Athir's standpoint it served not only to give concrete expression to what should have been obvious but also to give a touch of finality to the whole account. This example and the one noted before, do not go beyond the bounds of legitimate inference. This is also the case with the majority of such additions. There are indications, however, that all inferential additions are not so innocent, just as there are omissions and alterations which though appearing primarily as due to the wish to simplify, are in reality due to bias. Before proceeding to examine these, however, it is desirable to sum up the effect as a whole which is produced by the simplifications already noted. This effect may most easily be seen in an extract already referred to, in which six examples of simplification appear in the brief course of three lines. The original version in Ibn al-Qalanisi runs as follows:

... وصر ريند بن صنيبر الذي كان نازلاً على طرا بلس من بلاد  
الفرنج من جملة ستين مركباً في البحر مشحوناً بالافرنج والجنوبيين  
فنزول على طرا بلس ووقع بينه وبين السرداني ابن اخت صنيبر  
مشاجرة ...

Ibn al-Athir has adapted the original thus:

وعد اصطول كبير من بلاد الفرنج في البحر و قدامهم قمر كبير اسمه  
 ريمند بن صنجيل و مرآ كبير منسوبة بالرجال والسلاح والبيرة  
 فنزل على طرا بلس وكان نازلا عليها اقبله السرلاني ابن اخت صنجيل  
 ويسر يابن اخت ريمند مذابرو قمر اخر فحرت بينهما فتنة (1)

The first modification which Ibn al-Athir has made is the inversion of Ibn al-Qalanisi's order - with Ibn al-Qalanisi it is Raymond who arrives - with Ibn al-Athir it is a fleet. Ibn al-Athir makes this change by taking the substance of the descriptive phrase *في جملة ستين مركبا* and making it into an independent sentence and opening the account with it. This emphasis on the fleet rather than the man commences the atmosphere of vagueness. The second modification is the substitution of the indefinite *اصطول كبير* for the definite *ستين مركبا* again an increase of vagueness, this time by the sacrifice of accurate detail. The third modification is the omission of the descriptive phrase *الذي كان نازلا على طرا بلس* already noted - also a sacrifice of definiteness. The fourth modification is another example of the substitution of a general term for a particular - the substitution of the vague *بالرجال* for the specific *بالفرنج والجنوبيين*. The fifth modification is the insertion of the words *والسلاح والبيرة* - an insertion which is based on pure inference. Ibn al-Athir was no doubt convinced that the ships must have contained arms and provisions and he therefore felt impelled to state the fact. The sixth modification is another insertion, namely the explanatory clause about *السرلاني* (Guillaume Jourdain comte de Cerdagne). Ibn al-Qalanisi simply records the mistake that de Cerdagne was "a son

(1) Amedroz p.163, Cairo X p.200-201

of the sister of St Gilles." Ibn al-Athir seeks to correct this by adding "but he was not the son of a sister of this Raymond (i.e. Bertram) but another count." This is true as far as it goes because de Cerdagne was not a nephew of either Bertram or Raymond, but a grandson of an aunt of Raymond's (Grousset I, p.243). Ibn al-Athir was evidently conscious of some confusion but having followed Ibn al-Qalanisi in the initial mistake of calling Bertram Raymond, he hardly improves matters by his "explanation" which might lead one to believe in yet a third Raymond, son of some other Sinjil from whom apparently de Cerdagne was descended. Leaving on one side such minor changes **بلد** for **بلار** and **فرنج** for **أفرنج** the cumulative effect of these modifications is the same, whether they were made to clarify or to simplify, and that is, the alteration of the clear-cut impression made by Ibn al-Qalanisi's accurate and detailed narrative by substituting for it a vague tale peopled by unknown counts.

**iv** UNWARRANTED ADDITIONS

We now come to a much more serious type of inferential addition. An example occurs in the first line of the section "The Capture of Rafaniya by the Franks and its Recapture from them", in A.H. 509. Ibn al-Qalanisi, whom Ibn al-Athir clearly used as his source, states at the end of his account, "that occurred on Thursday the second of Latter Jumada." This referred to the capture of the town by Tughtakin, but Ibn al-Athir has taken the month, Latter Jumada, out of its position in the source and placed it at the commencement of his own account, as he so often does. This would not matter very much, were it not for a further point. Ibn al-Qalanisi's commencement runs thus, "In this year the strength of the Franks in Rafaniya increased." Ibn al-Athir's commencement, however, runs: "In this year in Latter Jumada the Franks captured Rafaniya." Here is clearly an unwarranted addition, since Ibn al-Qalanisi's words suggest that the Franks had already held the place for some time. On coming to the end of the account Ibn al-Athir was obliged to omit the date of the capture of the place by Tughtakin; having already written that the Franks had captured the place in Latter Jumada it would hardly have been logical for him to write that Tughtakin had recaptured it from them on the second of Latter Jumada. Thus not only does Ibn al-Athir infer wrongly that the Franks captured Rafaniya in this year, but on

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account of his framework, or on account of having misunderstood his source, he states that their capture of the place occurred in the month which his source gives for its capture by Tughtakin.

#### V. MODIFICATIONS DUE TO MISCONCEPTIONS

An example of an omission of an important element of his source through a misunderstanding of his source material, occurs in the section "Capture of Jubail and Banyas", inserted by Ibn al-Athir under A.H. 503. He begins by saying that this activity was subsequent to the capture of Tripoli, which took place in Dhu'l-Hijja; what his source, Ibn al-Qalanisi, says, however, is that Tancred, who was the author of the Jubail and Banyas activity, had left and made his way to Banyas during the siege of Tripoli. Ibn al-Athir made his error through applying to the Franks Ibn al-Qalanisi's **قد عاد** which really referred to Tancred's withdrawal from Tripoli; once having made this error, Ibn al-Athir was obliged to omit the date, Shawwal, given by Ibn al-Qalanisi for the capture of Banyas, in order not to contradict his statement that it occurred after the capture of Tripoli in Dhu'l-Hijja.

Another example of a blunder arising out of a misconception of the course of events is the much more serious one occurring in the section "Conquests by the Franks in Syria", under A.H. 494, and dealt with by Professor H.A.R. Gibb in his "Notes on the Arabic Materials for the History of the Early Crusades."<sup>(1)</sup>

As already suggested, the omission of the date of Tughtakin's capture of Rafaniya, should perhaps also come under this heading.

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(1) S.O.S. Bulletin, vol. VII, part 4, pp.746-7.

vi MODIFICATIONS ARISING FROM A LATER HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

At the period of the composition of the Kamil Muslim feeling had undergone a change with regard to relations among the Muslims themselves. The possession of a common non-Muslim enemy had brought about a solidarity which was absent at the time when the Damascus Chronicle was written. It is this changed attitude which is seen in an addition by Ibn al-Athir in his account of a surprise attack by Joscelyn on Mawdud under the year A.H. 506<sup>(1)</sup> Here Ibn al-Qalanisi had written.

وغير من غفلة غير متحفظ من عدو يطرقت و مسلم يرفق

This is no less than a frank admission that Mawdud might have to fear an attack from Muslims as much as from any other enemies.

To Ibn al-Athir, however, the conception of Muslims attacking Muslims had become repugnant and he consequently omitted the suggestion, emending Ibn al-Qalanisi's words as follows

واصل الفرج

ولم يحتر منهم There are two further types of modification also due to the fact that Ibn al-Athir was not contemporary with the source he was using.

The first of these is the insertion of proper names after, or instead of, the titles of honour as

regularly used by Ibn al-Qalanisi. As examples we may take the

insertion of "Buri" after Taj al-Muluk and the substitution of

"Tughtakin" for "Zahir al-Din".<sup>(2)</sup> To Ibn al-Qalanisi, a con-

temporary and a Damascene, these titles were of course not

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(1) Kamil X, p.207, .26. Amedroz, p.171, .22.

(2) E.g. Insertion of "Buri", Kamil X, p.129, .23. Substitution of Tughtakin for Zahir al-Din, Kamil X, p.216, .3. Amedroz, p.192, .11.

ambiguous but quite natural, but to Ibn al-Athir's readers it would have been far from clear which of the many "Taj al-Maluks" was intended without the addition of the proper name. Other non-contemporary compilers such as Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzi, make the same emendations. (1)

The second type is the regular omission of Ibn al-Qalanisi's *ورد الأخبار* and equivalent phrases such as *حكى* *من ورد*. This omission is also of course due to the difference between the contemporary and the later historian, who would naturally wish to present his material as statements of fact and not as current reports. One case of the retention, not the omission, of *حكى من ورد* has already been mentioned in which this expression, although it is retained, an entirely unjustifiable alteration is made in it. The case is in the account of the opening of the tombs of the patriarchs under A.H. 513. Where Ibn al-Qalanisi, after narrating the wonders alleged to have been beheld there, guarded himself from having inadvertently transmitted any mis-statement of the truth, by disclaiming all responsibility for the story in the words *هذه صورة ما حكاهما العاكر* *والله اعلم بالصحيح* *من غيره*. When Ibn al-Athir reached the words *هذه صورة ما حكاهما* he rendered them *مكذبا ذكره* and then substituted Ibn al-Qalanisi's own name where Ibn al-Qalanisi had written *العاكر* with the result that Ibn al-Qalanisi does not merely appear as a transmitter of the tale, but actually as its sponsor. Thus it is Ibn al-Qalanisi's own disclaimer which is manipulated to place him in the light of a miracle-monger; perhaps this result was unperceived by Ibn al-Athir.

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(1) Sibṭ Rec. III, p.524.

vii MODIFICATIONS DUE TO BIAS

It is but a short step from modifications intended to clarify, to modifications intended to mould the source material in accordance with the compiler's conception of religion and politics.

As an example of the historian's bias we may take his attitude as an Orthodox Sunni. This appears, for instance, in the fact that he refers to the Fatimid Caliphs as *صاحب مصر* when the reference is of his own composing.<sup>(1)</sup> He does not, however, necessarily alter his source material to make it conform with this practice, because there is at least one occasion of a reference to a Fatimid Caliph where he has preserved the *خليفة* of the original.<sup>(2)</sup>

Sunnite orthodoxy is also seen in Ibn al-Athir's attitude to those who, like Rudwan of Aleppo, sympathised with the Batini. In Rudwan's obit, under A.H. 507, we find that Ibn al-Athir has omitted to copy the benediction which Ibn al-Qalanisi had vouchsafed to that prince. Ibn al-Athir has also inserted an explanation of his own to account for Rudwan's alleged evil conduct, namely that such conduct was due to "the paucity of his religion". What this insertion should be taken to mean, of course, is, "the paucity of his orthodoxy".

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(1) Kamil X, p.113, .5-6. But Ibn al-Athir may have adapted this from one of his Egyptian sources.

(2) Kamil X, p.250, .30.

Strong anti-Fatimid bias is shown by the manner in which Ibn al-Athir introduces the material he has taken from Ibn al-Qalanisi for his account of the siege of Tarabulus. Although there is no justification for it in the original, Ibn al-Athir introduces the account with the statement that the cause of the capture of Tarabulus by the Franks was that it "had come under the control of the lord of Egypt," as if, apparently, Tarabulus could have held out indefinitely had it been in any other than Egyptian hands. The way in which he seeks to justify this view is by perverting Ibn al-Qalanisi's statements in the later part of the narrative, so that Ibn al-Qalanisi's unbiassed record of events is turned into an accusation against the Fatamid government. As this accusation against the Egyptian government is the best example of Ibn al-Athir's anti-Fatimid bias it has been cited by Professor Gibb as follows: "The revelant passage in the latter (Ibn al-Qalanisi) reads:

ذلت نفوسهم الاشمال اليأس من تأخر وصول الاسطول المصري  
من البحر والميرة والنجدة وقد كانت علم الاسطول وسير الزبح  
ترده لما يريد الله من نفاذ الامر المقضى

("Their spirits were lowered by universal despair at the delay of the Egyptian fleet in bringing provisions and reinforcements by sea, for the stores of the fleet had been exhausted and the direction of the wind remained contrary, through the will of God that that which was decreed should come to pass."). Ibn al-Athir, to begin with, places this (wrongly) under the year 503, and renders the passage above by:

ذلت نفوسهم وزاد هم ضعفاً تأخر الاصلطون<sup>(عنه)</sup> المصري عنهم  
بالميرة والتجدة وكان سبب تأخره له انه فرغ منه والحمت  
عليه واختلفوا فيه اكثر من سنة وسار فرددته الكريح فتعذر  
عليهم الوصول الى طرابلس ليقتضى الله امراً كان مفعولاً

("Their spirits were lowered and their weakness was increased by the delay of the Egyptian fleet in bringing them provisions and reinforcements. Now the cause of his (presumably al-Afdal's) dilatoriness in regard to it (the fleet) was that he did not give his attention to it and to hastening its preparations, and they (? the Egyptian ministers) disagreed (or shilly-shallied) about it for more than a year; it set off, but the wind drove it back, so it became impossible for them to reach Tripolis, in order that God should bring about a matter which was to come to pass.").

"The difference between these two versions is obvious. Ibn al-Qalanisi implies that the stores and provisioning for the fleet and the town of Tripolis were not available until the harvest in the spring of 1109, that the necessary measures were then taken without any stinting (cf. Damascus Chron. p.91), and that the delay was a fatality due to the contrary wind. If he does not explicitly absolve the Egyptian government from the charge of dilatoriness, at least he says nothing to incriminate it. Ibn al-Athir, on the other hand, makes a definite accusation against the Fatimid government, and particularly asserts that the fleet was detained in Egypt "for more than a year". There is, fortunately, no dubiety in this instance; Ibn al-Athir's statement

is untrue. For Tripolis fell in July, 1109; in August 1108, the Egyptian fleet was in Syrian waters, and had very effectively come to the assistance of Sidon, defeating a considerable squadron of Italian vessels and relieving (and presumably reprovisioning) the town. It had therefore returned to Egypt only in the late autumn, and the story that it was kept back "for more than a year" is a fiction due to anti-Fatimid bias. Whence, then, did it find its way into Ibn al-Athir's chronicle? That he derived it from another written source seems to be excluded by his otherwise close following of the text of Ibn al-Qalanisi. There can therefore, it would seem, be little doubt that the source is a certain oral tradition current in Mosul, in accordance with which Ibn al-Athir "corrected" the statement of his written authority."<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Notes on the Arabic Materials for the History of the Early Crusades, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol.VII, part 4, p.747



Viii VARIANT ACCOUNTS

The first example to be considered is less interesting for its content, than for the example of cross-referencing it contains, which, as it were, "shows the historian at work". It is concerned with the death of Abu Tahir the Isma'ili missionary and is the final paragraph of the extract dealing with Rudwan's death and the subsequent expulsion of the Isma'ili's from Aleppo, which Ibn al-Athir derived from Ibn al-Qalanisi and entered in the "Miscellany Section" of A.H. 507. According to this account Abu Tahir was killed, together with other Isma'ilis, by Ibn Badi', the Ra'is of Aleppo; the account then concludes with a cross reference which, since it is missing from Tornberg (and from the Cairo text), is quoted from the Recueil text: it runs thus, "Abu Tahir's death in another fashion appears in the year 499 - Allah knows the truth."<sup>(1)</sup> On turning back to 499 we find at the end of the section "Franks capture the fortress of Afamiya", the following: "and they (the Franks) seized Ibn Al-Sa'igh and killed him - it was he who openly proclaimed the doctrine of the Batini in Syria." Then comes this cross reference to the 507 account, "thus do some relate that the Franks killed Abu Tahir al-Sa'igh in Afamiya, but it is also stated that Ibn Badi', the Ra'is of Aleppo killed him in the year 507 after the death of Rudwan; we have already recorded it in that place - but Allah knows the truth." Here, as we see,

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(1) Recueil, Vol. I, p.291, .10-11.

Ibn al-Athir uses the past tense **ذكرنا** although referring to an event which he inserted under a much later year. A possible explanation is that Ibn al-Athir when inserting the Ibn al-Qalanisi material, at some later date, in the Miscellany Section of A.H. 507, remembered having mentioned Abu Tahir's death in an earlier account, and was able to turn back to it and insert there this reference to the later account.

The two obituary notices of Kogh Basil, under A.H. 506 and A.H. 508 form another pair of variants. The A.H. 506 obit, derived by Ibn al-Athir from Ibn al-Qalanisi, is a brief, unrelated notice, among other brief, unrelated notices. The A.H. 508 obit, however, consists of a separate section in the "earlier" style, and was derived by Ibn al-Athir from the originally Syriac source which he had in common with Bar Hebraeus, and which was one of his principal sources for the Crusades. This source, as we know from the account in Bar Hebraeus, referred to Basil as an Armenian, but Ibn al-Athir omitted this detail from his A.H. 508 obit, and refers to Basil with characteristic vagueness as merely "one of the leaders of the Franks". Having come upon the Damascus Chronicle at some later date, he found there another notice of Basil's death, wherein Basil was also identified as an Armenian, and on this occasion Ibn al-Athir did not omit Basil's nationality when entering this second obit under A.H. 506. He failed, however, to make any reference to the variant in A.H. 508. Probably Ibn al-Athir was quite unaware that he had already devoted another obit to Basil, because he did not recognise Ibn al-Qalanisi's **كوسبيل الارمنى** as the same person as

... بعض كتبه الفرنج ويعرف بكونه سبيل

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Two more variants - those narrating the conquest of Sidon - have already been discussed on page .

### ix ALTERATIONS IN CHRONOLOGY

There are a number of more or less important events in this part of the Kamil which appear under another year than that in which they occurred. In several cases Ibn al-Athir is indebted to Ibn al-Qalanisi for his account of them, and there arises the question of whether he has deliberately altered Ibn al-Qalanisi's date, or whether the alterations could be due to the errors of a copyist.

Unfortunately an explanation can only be offered for the alteration in date of two of these extracts: an account of a raid on a caravan, and an account of an attack on Shaizar by the Batini. In Ibn al-Athir the caravan incident provides one of the few examples of duplicate accounts. The earlier of these two duplicates has been entered in the "Miscellany Section" of A.H. 502 and the second in the "Miscellany Section" of A.H. 507. There are only two divergences between the two duplicates and these are of the slightest character. The clause <sup>فَأَمَدَمَ أَجْمَعِينَ</sup> of the A.H. 507 version appears as <sup>وَإِذَا كَلَّ مِنْ فَيْسٍ</sup> in the A.H. 502 version and the clause <sup>وَلَمْ يَسْلَمْ</sup> of the A.H. 507 version appears as <sup>وَلَمْ يَنْجِ</sup> The incident as it appears in Ibn al-Athir, seems to be an extremely compressed version of the account in the Damascus Chronicle of a raid by Baldwin on a caravan, which is entered under A.H. 506. Ibn al-Athir's account gives the substance of that in the Damascus Chronicle, but no additional information, and follows the same sequence of ideas.

Furthermore the A.H. 502 version in the Kamil immediately precedes a passage which has been undoubtedly extracted from Ibn al-Qalanisi, namely the account of the attack by the Baṭini on Shaizar, and, as we have already noted, Ibn al-Athir is inclined to group together extracts from Ibn al-Qalanisi. Owing to the extreme compression, verbal similarities are few; but one of the divergences supports the view that Ibn al-Athir has taken the passage from the Damascus Chronicle, since where the Damascus Chronicle has *نهض* Ibn al-Athir has followed his usual practice of avoiding this word and of replacing it by *سار*. The question to be determined is whether the A.H. 507 entry, or its duplicate in A.H. 502, is the one originally inserted by Ibn al-Athir. Now in A.H. 502 the entry appears more than half-way through the "Miscellany Section" but it commences with the words *وفى هذه السنة* which - without *و* - more often introduce the first entry in a section. Now the duplicate entry in the "Miscellany Section" of A.H. 507 is in fact the first entry in that section. This suggests that the A.H. 507 entry is more probably the one which occupies its original position and that the entry in A.H. 502 has crept in through an error. This view is strengthened by the fact that A.H. 507 is so much nearer to the date - A.H. 506 - given for the incident in the Damascus Chronicle.

As regards the attack on Shaizar by the Batini, the account of this appears in the Damascus Chronicle under the year A.H. 507. This is probably the correct date as A.H. 507 was the year in which the Batini were expelled from Aleppo, following

upon Rudawan's death, and so were seeking strongholds wherein to establish themselves. In the Kamil, however, the account of the attack on Shaizar by the Batini appears immediately after the entry of the caravan incident in the "MiscellanySection" of A.H. 502. We have already seen, however, that this, the earlier entry of the caravan incident, has itself been transferred from A.H. 507 which was its original position, and where its duplicate still stands. There seems no reason, therefore, why the Batini account should not also have stood originally in the year A.H. 507 to which it belongs, and then have been transferred to A.H. 502 when the caravan incident was transferred. Duplicates of both accounts might have been left in A.H. 507. A later copyist, however, coming on the A.H. 507 entry of the Batini attack on Shaizar would probably have recognized it as an event which he had copied before, and so have omitted it as a duplicate. Thus the Batini account would have remained only in A.H. 502. The caravan incident, being less striking, would have been less likely to catch a copyist's eye and so would have been left both in A.H. 507 and in A.H. 502.

(2) RELATION TO CONTEXT

With few exceptions the extracts from Ibn al-Qalanisi either disturb, or fail to comply with, the framework. Extracts which had been altered to fit into the framework would not reveal where one source left off and another commenced. The extracts from the Damascus Chronicle, however, all stand out sharply from their context as they would be bound to do if they were added in a recension and not interwoven. The most convenient methods of inserting material in a recension without disturbing sections already completed would be to collect it in an independent section or to add it as a postscript to the previously completed sections or to insert it as an isolated event in the Miscellany Section. Most of the material from Ibn al-Qalanisi has been added in one of these three ways, but there is a suggestion that on one or two occasions a brief entry might have been added as an interlinear or marginal note. The material added as independent sections will first be considered.

i. EXTRACTS WHICH FORM INDEPENDENT SECTIONS.

That a section should be composed entirely of extracts from Ibn al-Qalanisi is of course no proof that it was a late addition. On the other hand when such a section exhibits the "later" style it may be considered suggestive of its having been added later. Of the seven sections in the period under consideration four exhibit, more or less, the later style. None of these conform to the characteristic framework of "introduction, body and conclusion." Moreover none of these possesses a definite climax, nor does it sum up the climax in the first sentence, continuing with the stock formula which usually introduces the account of contributory causes in the typical sections. Having no definite climax they cannot of course take their title from the climax and so the title is used to cover more than one event, which is misleading.

The first of the extracts exhibiting the later style is entitled "Frankish Conquests in Syria". It is entered under the year A.H. 494. Here are a series of three unrelated incidents. The first, which concerns Godfrey's death and Baldwin's subsequent march to Jerusalem, is not a contributory cause of the second, which concerns Saqman b. Ortoq at Saruj, nor are either of these made to appear as contributory causes of the third incident, which concerns the capture of Haifa and Caesarea. Accordingly this section may be said to consist only of isolated incidents, loosely strung together and without

climax. In fact the only connecting link between the incidents is that they all concern the Franks. Ibn al-Athir's usual method of compilation would not lead us to expect that such unrelated incidents would be grouped together, but rather that each would have been inserted as a contributory cause in some section where it had a bearing on the climax. If, however, Ibn al-Athir had been unable to relate them to a climax, we should have expected him to insert them in the Miscellany Section. These incidents are somewhat longer than the average extracts inserted in that section; nevertheless there are sufficient examples of even longer extracts having been inserted<sup>(1)</sup> to show that it would not have been out of the question. The fact that these incidents all appear together in Ibn al-Qalanisi<sup>(2)</sup> is no reason why Ibn al-Athir should not have separated them in order to relate each to its appropriate context, since as he himself says, he always preferred to insert all the incidents dealing with one event in the same place, even when such a method interfered with strict chronological sequence. (He has stated this in an explanatory note near the end of the section entitled "The affair of the Qadi of Jabala in the year A.D. 494").

Most of the above remarks apply to the second section to be considered, which is entitled "Frankish Conquest of Jubail and Banyas". It appears in the Kamil under the year A.H. 503, although in Ibn al-Qalanisi it appears in the year A.D. 502.<sup>(3)</sup>

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- (1) E.G. Death of Rudwan and extermination of the Batini in A.H. 507.
  - (2) Although Ibn al-Athir has kept these extracts together to form one section he has regrouped them.
  - (3) An anomaly may be noted with reference to the section entitled "Frankish Capture of Jubail and Banyas". The entry of these events in Ibn al-Qalanisi is under the year 502, but Ibn al-Qalanisi says with reference to the last of these events (the enfeoffing of Fakhr al-Mulk b. 'Ammar) that it occurred in 503. In the Kamil on the contrary all the events appear under 503, but Ibn al-Athir says of the enfeoffing of Fakr al-Mulk b. 'Ammar "that occurred in 502".

This section has been adapted from Ibn al-Qalanisi without a great deal of rearrangement and follows no definite thread of narrative. It is also without climax.

The third section to be considered is entitled "Frankish Conquest of Jubail and Akka in Syria" in A.H. 497. It also has been adapted from Ibn al-Qalanisi without sufficient rearrangement to produce that impression of "introduction, body and conclusion" characteristic of Ibn al-Athir's "earlier" style.

The last of these sections to be considered is that entitled "The Franks Capture Rafaniya but it is Recaptured from them" in the year A.H. 509. In spite of this long title the section is an unusually short one consisting only of some half dozen lines. It also has been derived from a consecutive narrative in Ibn al-Qalanisi with little rearrangement (but several errors).

There are two further characteristics which are common to the four sections just discussed. The first is that none of these sections is a compilation of scattered extracts, but that all are merely adaptations of what is either a consecutive narrative or a series of consecutive entries in the Damascus Chronicle. The second is that no effort has been made by the historian to insert into these sections any relevant extracts which might have been collected either from other sources or from other parts of the Damascus Chronicle.

As has been already said, only three of the seven sections composed entirely of extracts from Ibn al-Qalanisi, have been compiled in conformity with the characteristic method.

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The fact that these sections should exhibit "introduction, body and conclusion" and a title referring to the conclusion, should not necessarily exclude the possibility that they were inserted during a recension. It has been noted that a convenient spot for inserting fresh sections would be at the beginning of a year, or at its close, after the obits. Two of the three sections which exhibit the characteristic method - Frankish Capture of Tarabulus and Beirut in A.H. 503, and the Frankish Capture of Sidon in A.H. 504 - appear as the first entries in their respective years. Chronologically, however, the first of these sections should have been placed in the year preceding the one in which it appears. Apparently it has been moved forward a year - either by Ibn al-Athir himself or by a copyist.

The second section - Frankish Capture of Sidon, - is interesting as affording a further indication of material added in a recension. This is because it is actually a variant account, for Ibn al-Athir has also dealt with the Capture of Sidon, very briefly, in the section "Frankish Capture of Atharab and Other Places".<sup>(1)</sup> This brief account had probably been all Ibn al-Athir could find about the capture when he made his original edition; then, later, having found the very full account in Ibn al-Qalanisi, and having added it as an independent section in his recension, he forgot to delete the original entry which remains as an indication of the earlier edition.

Since these sections are typical it is unnecessary to examine them in detail. There is one point, however, in the

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(1) Kamil, X, p.203, second to last line

section "The Frankish Capture of Tarabulus" which has a bearing on the question whether it was inserted during a recension. The climax of this section as usual is summed up in the first sentence and this is followed by the usual reference back to earlier contributory causes, "the cause of that was that Tarabulus had come under the authority of the Lord of Egypt, his lieutenant was there and supplies had come to him from Egypt". This is followed by a cross-reference, "we have already mentioned that in the year 501." If we turn back to the mention of this event in the year 501 we find that it too is an extract from Ibn al-Qalanisi appended as a brief postscript to the section entitled "Ibn Ammar's journey to Baghdad to ask for help". (The reasons for believing that this postscript is a late addition are given when the other postscripts are discussed). It suffices to say here that since the present section "The Frankish Capture of Tarabulus" was written after the postscript, as this note shows, it too must be a late addition.

ii. EXTRACTS ADDED AS POSTSCRIPTS.

Of postscripts there are four examples in the period under discussion. What is in some ways the most interesting of these four is an extract concerning Taj al-Muluk Buri at Jabala. This has been added at the end of the section entitled "The Affair of the Qadi of Jabala" under the year 494. The preceding matter in this section deals exclusively, as the title suggests, with the affairs of the Qadi himself, viewed from the Qadi's angle. This preceding matter seems to be complete in itself, having introduction, body and conclusion. In fact the section would be typical of Ibn al-Athir's earlier style if it were not for the presence of the Buri material. We have, as the introduction, the account of the Qadi's earlier exploits against the Franks: the body of the section sets forth the increasingly straitened conditions in which he found himself as a result of the Frankish attacks - his consequent application to Tughtakin for a governor to take his place - his subsequent departure from Jabala on the arrival of the governor (Buri) - his sojourn at Damascus - his eventual journey to Baghdad with all his treasures; then comes the climax - the treasures are commandeered by the Sultan. After this the Buri material appears as an anti-climax. If the unity of the section were to be preserved the only place for its insertion would be after the mention of Buri's arrival at Jabala, and not, as is the case here, after the climax of the whole story. Where it stands now, the Buri material is neither integral to the preceding

matter nor is it covered by the title of the section. Of course the preceding matter was not drawn from Ibn al-Qalanisi, but from a different type of source. Quite possibly, judging from the romantic note, this source might have been an oral tradition current in Iraq, whither the Qadi had betaken himself and where he may well have boasted of having killed three hundred Franks single-handed in one night. To Ibn al-Athir, however, the fact that the Buri material was from a different source would not have been a reason for failing to interweave it at the correct point in the narrative, had it been available when the section was originally composed.

A further proof that the Buri material was inserted at a later date is to be inferred from the explanatory note which immediately precedes it. This note commences: "We should really have inserted all these events, which are subsequent to the flight of the Sultan Muhammad, (four pages earlier in the Cairo Edition) up to this point (i.e. this paragraph) after the slaughter of the Batini, for these events took place at the end of the year, whereas the slaughter of the Batini took place in Sha'ban." The note concludes that the chronological order was altered for the sake of the sequence. Now this note clearly refers, not to the brief paragraph about Buri, which it seems to introduce, but to the following and lengthy sections about the Batini. The note should, therefore, immediately precede those sections and not be separated from them by the Buri paragraph, which is thus clearly seen to have been a later

insertion.


The next postscript to be considered occurs at the end of the section "The activities of the Franks" in A.H. 495.<sup>(1)</sup> It has been formed by the combination of two extracts from Ibn al-Qalanisi: a short extract chronicling an abortive attack on Beirut by Baldwin of Edessa, and a slightly longer one dealing with the defeat of Baldwin I of Jerusalem by the Egyptians. These extracts are separate entries in the Damascus Chronicle, but have been combined and loosely woven together by Ibn al-Athir. The preceding matter in the section is not such a good example of Ibn al-Athir's characteristic method as the "Affair of the Qadi of Jabala". It consists of unrelated incidents having as their only common link the fact that they all concern the Franks. In any event, the Ibn al-Qalanisi material, coming as it does at the end of the section, could have been a late addition since it is not related to what precedes and has not been interwoven with it.<sup>(2)</sup>

The next postscript of interest occurs at the end of the section "Capture of Afamiya by the Franks" in A.H. 499. As it is connected with a variant account (of the death of Abu Tahir the Isma'ili), it will be dealt with under the heading of "Variant Accounts".

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(1) Kamil X, p. 144, 1.12

(2) This extract dealing with King Baldwin's defeat is a variant of the account of the same defeat entered in A.H. 496 in the section entitled "Tales of the Franks in Syria". The latter was derived from another source, probably Egyptian in origin, which is dealt with under Ibn Muyassar.

The last postscript to be considered occurs at the end of Ibn Ammar's journey to Baghdad to seek aid", which is entered under the year 501. As would be expected in a section entered under this year, the major portions of it - that is, all that portion of it which precedes the extract from Ibn al-Qalanisi - deals with events in 501 and such earlier events as led up to them. The extract from Ibn al-Qalanisi, however, commences with an event - Ibn Ammar's capture of Jabala - which is definitely stated to have occurred in the following year, 502. Incidentally this event which is subsequent to the Qadi's return to Syria from Baghdad, is not interwoven with the rest of the section, and is not covered in the title. All the preceding portion, which is complete in itself, deals only, as the title implies, with the Qadi's journey to Baghdad and the welcome accorded him there; and concludes with the arrangements which he was able to make with the Sultan for aid to be sent to Syria. Now it is at this point that the usual concluding formula occurs  which seems to be a good indication that this was the original end of the section. Thus we see that not only does the Ibn al-Qalanisi material belong to a later year, and that it is not interwoven with the rest of the material, and not covered by the title, but also that it is preceded, and not followed, by the usual concluding formula.

iii. EXTRACTS INSERTED IN THE "MISCELLANY SECTIONS".

The extracts from Ibn al-Qalanisi which Ibn al-Athir has relegated to the "Miscellany Sections" are not all so unconnected with other events but that some could have been interwoven as subsidiary causes in main sections; not are they all so unimportant in themselves but that some would have justified being treated as the climax to a main section; finally they are not all so short but that some might have themselves formed independent sections.

As an example of the first type - the extracts which are connected with other events - we may take the brief account of an attack on Afamiya by Bohemund in the "Miscellany Section" of A.H. 493. As it stands in the Kamil, the impression is conveyed that the attack was merely an abortive expedition of the Franks, abandoned without reason. In the Damascus Chronicle, however, where the event is not isolated, but is closely connected with the context, a definite reason is given for the abandonment of the attack. This reason is that news arrived that Ibn al-Danishmand was before Malatiya. "On learning of this Bohemund returned to Antioch... and marched against the Muslim army,"<sup>(1)</sup> thus does Ibn al-Qalanisi account for Bohemund's withdrawal. By taking the event out of its context, and suppressing this explanation, Ibn al-Athir has conveyed a false impression. It so happens, however, that Ibn al-Athir had already dealt with Bohemund's march to Malatiya, and with his capture by Ibn al-Danishmand, in the preceding

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(1) Amedroz, p. 138, 11. 3-4

section, "Victory of the Muslims over the Franks". The question is, then, why he should not have inserted the account of Bohemund's siege of Afamiya, which was so closely connected with his march to Malatiya, in the correct place in the preceding section. As it is, we find the siege, which occurred in Rajab, placed after the capture of Bohemund, which occurred in Dhu'l-Qa'da. If, however, Ibn al-Athir had come across this passage from Ibn al-Qalanisi after he had completed his account of Ibn al-Danishmand's activities, he might well have been unwilling to rewrite that account in order to weave in this additional information. Furthermore in the earlier account Ibn al-Athir did not know who Bohemond was -

but *هو من صفد من الفرنج* in the Afamiya section, derived from Ibn al-Qalanisi, he quotes the latter's *صاحب انطاكية* (although he omits his *ملك الفرنج*)

The extracts which will serve as examples of the second and third types - events which are neither unimportant nor brief - are the "Batini attack on Shaizar" and "The Expulsion of the Batini from Aleppo consequent upon the death of Rudwan". Both the extracts are many times longer and much more important than the average entry in the "Miscellany Section". Furthermore there is reason to believe that these two extracts, the first of which appears in A.H. 502, and the second in A.H. 507, originally stood together in A.H. 507. (This point was dealt with under Chronology). Together they would certainly have made an entry of very unusual length indeed for a "Miscellany Section".

In addition to the above points it should be noted that all the extracts from Ibn al-Qalanisi which Ibn al-Athir has relegated to the "Miscellany Sections" are a very great deal more numerous than those which he inserted as independent sections or postscripts. In fact, the material which comes under this head forms the bulk of the material for which he is indebted to Ibn al-Qalanisi. To relegate so large a proportion of extracts from any one source to these sections might be looked on as an indication that this source was regarded as of a very secondary importance. Alternatively, and much more probably, it might be looked on as an indication that the bulk of the history had been more or less completed before this material became available to the historian, who thus found it impossible to interweave it into the main part of those completed sections to which it was relevant.

iv. EXTRACTS INSERTED AS BRIEF NOTES.

There are only two sections in which material from Ibn al-Qalanisi appears to have been interwoven into the main body of a section. Both the examples are very brief; the first consisting of two lines, and the other of only a few words.

The first appears in the main body of "Ibn Ammar's Journey to Baghdad to Seek Aid" in A.H.501, which contains a postscript from Ibn al-Qalanisi which has been already referred to. Considered as a whole, "Ibn Ammar's Journey" must have been derived from a very much fuller source than Ibn al-Qalanisi. Not only must such a source have given such details as the invitation to the Qadi to sit upon the Sultan's cushion, but even the details of matters in Damascus, such as the invitation to bathe in Tughtakin's baths, on which the Damascus Chronicle is silent. This source was nevertheless closely parallel to the Damascus Chronicle as we see from the three lines describing Ibn Ammar's parting arrangements in Tarabulus. Here the information given is not very different from that in the Damascus Chronicle, but the verbal differences preclude the assumption that it could have been derived from that source. It is with the two lines which immediately follow these that we are concerned. They read as follows, "His cousin however revolted against him and declared his allegiance to al-Afdal son of the Amir al-Juyush. When Fakhr al-Mulk learned of that he wrote to his officers commanding them to seize him and clap him in the fortress of al-Khawabi. They accordingly carried out this command." Since Ibn al-Athir's chief source for the

section was so full it could very well have contained this reference to the cousin's defection. It is obvious, however, that the content of the two lines is practically identical with the content of the corresponding two lines in Ibn al-Qalanisi, and that the only variations in wording are of so minor a character that they do not affect the sense; (1) moreover we know from the postscript that Ibn al-Athir used Ibn al-Qalanisi for part, at least, of this section. It seems almost certain, therefore, that the two lines were derived from Ibn al-Qalanisi. With regard to the question of whether these lines were interwoven when the section was first composed or inserted, possibly as an interlinear or marginal note, it may be observed that, with the exception of the first four words, they are absent from the Recueil text, (2) thus showing that they had dropped out of one manuscript at least, as might well occur in the case of some interlinear note, or, that they had never been inserted in it.

The second example of a very brief extract from Ibn al-Qalanisi, is in the section entitled "Engagement with the Franks, and the Routing of them, and the Assassination of Mawdud", in A.H. 507. The second portion of this section, that

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(1) Kamil X, p.190, 1.24, Amedroz, p.160, 1.27. Substitution of the general term *المصريين* for Ibn al-Qalanisi's definite *الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش بمصر* (This substitution of the vague *المصريون* for the definite *الأفضل* occurs also in cases where Ibn al-Athir was using a source used by Ibn Muyassar). Another variation of minor importance is the substitution by Ibn al-Athir of *ذلك* for *ما بعد* | *منه* | *ذلك* Kamil X, p.190, 1.25. Amedroz, p.160, 1.27

(2) Rec. I, p.255, 1.5.

concerned with the assassination of Mawdud, Ibn al-Athir has adapted from his account in the Atabaks, with the addition of six words and the dates. Now the history of the Atabaks was written at a much earlier date than the Kamil, and it contains no indication that Ibn al-Athir drew upon the Damascus Chronicle during its composition, indeed it was almost entirely drawn from oral information, as already noted. The account in the Atabaks of the assassination of Mawdud is certainly, therefore, not derived in any way from Ibn al-Qalanisi. Not only are there no verbal similarities but the content is quite different. This is what would be expected, because Ibn al-Athir would have had abundant material in Mosul itself, for a history of the Atabaks of Mosul, and would have had no need to apply to the Damascus Chronicle for information concerning the assassination of a Mosul governor although he was pre-Zankid. Moreover, seeing that the assassination occurred in Damascus, a Damascene account of it would be suspect, and not without reason. In fact the suspicion of Tughtakin's complicity was by no means confined to Mosul and we find it stated even in Christian Chronicles.<sup>(1)</sup> That this source was oral tradition is well suggested by the romantic note - it is in just this way that popular fancy would tend to heighten the effect of Tughtakin's hinted treachery by

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(1) E.g. Matthieu d'Edesse ed. Dulaurier 3me partie - Chap. CCXIII, p. 285 (Bib. Hist. Armenienne Paris 1858); Tughtakin's guilt is stated in plain words, as it is also stated in the Syriac Chronography of Bar Hebraeus. (Vol. I p. 246 & Vol. II p. 86 col. 2 l. 16)

the simple detail, "he was walking hand in hand with Tughtakin". Ibn al-Athir has made the most skilful use of his material, for he has nowhere stated Tughtakin's guilt as his own opinion, but he has enshrined Mosul feeling by concluding the evidence against him with the supposed letter from Baldwin.

Now if this account in the Atabaks was composed independently of Ibn al-Qalanisi, the same is true of the adaptation of it in the Kamil, with the exception of the dates and the additional six words. These read, "his head (i.e. the assassin's) was taken off but no one recognised him so he was burnt." This is a condensed version of the corresponding passage in Ibn al-Qalanisi.<sup>(1)</sup> The similarity of this passage in both the Kamil and the Damascus Chronicle might produce the impression that the whole account in the Kamil had been derived from the Damascus Chronicle. In that case the divergences would appear as deliberate alterations by Ibn al-Athir. If it is seen, however, that the account in the Kamil was taken from the Atabaks, and that this last was certainly not derived from Ibn al-Qalanisi, then the six words, and the dates, are seen not to have been integral to the original version, but to have been utilized only after Ibn al-Athir had come across Ibn al-Qalanisi, presumably when he made his last journey to Damascus in 626-7, when he was engaged in his final recension of the Kamil.

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(1) Amedroz, p. 187, ll. 17-18

II LATER WORKS WHICH MAY HAVE PRESERVED A SOURCE  
OF IBN AL-ATHIR.

1. IBN MUYASSAR

The work attributed to Ibn Muyassar treats Syrian affairs from the Egyptian standpoint, and so has been consulted for sources drawn upon by Ibn al-Athir for his Egyptian material. Ibn Muyassar could, of course, have used the Kamil, since as far as is known, the date of his death was 677; but as will appear from the following comparison of parallel passages, the evidence points to his having used another source. The question of the authorship of the work attributed to Ibn Muyassar, and of whether these particular passages were, or were not, interpolations in that work, has to be left entirely on one side. In any case, even if the passages were interpolations, it would not alter the findings.

In Ibn Muyassar at least two sources are to be distinguished: an official source similar to that used by Ibn al-Qalanisi, and copied from him by Ibn al-Athir, and a second source chronologically inaccurate, having the orientation of Egypt, which was used by Ibn al-Athir, but not by Ibn al-Qalanisi.

As regards the official source, those passages in Ibn Muyassar which are similar to passages in the Damascus Chronicle -- and also to those copied from the Damascus Chronicle by Ibn al-Athir -- were not copied by Ibn Muyassar either from the latter or from Ibn al-Athir's version of it, since they contain many

additional items indicating a fuller source. For instance, in Ibn Muyassar's account of the Capture of Jerusalem by the Egyptians, <sup>(1)</sup> he has these additional words, *ظلم يهدا بدأ من الأذعان* which do not appear either in the Damascus Chronicle or the Kamil. All that can be said of this source is that the order of events in it probably followed the version preserved by the Damascus Chronicle, because, for instance, in the accounts of Baldwin at Tyre and Sidon in A.H. 501, which Ibn al-Athir adapted from the Damascus Chronicle, but altered the order, we note that Ibn Muyassar follows the order of the Chronicle, and not that of the Kamil. In Ibn Muyassar the account of Baldwin at Tyre is the first entry in the year as it is in the Damascus Chronicle, but it contains much additional information showing clearly that Ibn Muyassar could not have derived it either from Ibn al-Athir or from Ibn al-Qalanisi. Two illustrative passages cover the capture of Jerusalem by the Franks and the subsequent defeat of al-Afdal near Ascalon. <sup>(2)</sup> In the Kamil these events are separated, and, in fact, appear as two different sections. In Ibn Muyassar they are consecutive as they are in the Damascus Chronicle. The account of the capture itself in Ibn Muyassar is in the main closely similar, from line 2 to line 7, to that in the Damascus Chronicle. There is a brief piece of information in line 6, however, on the plunder taken from the Sakhra, which is not contained in the Damascus Chronicle, but which Ibn al-Athir has given much more at length in the Kamil. <sup>(3)</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi

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(1) Ibn Muyassar p.38, line 17

(2) Kamil (Cairo) X, p.117, lines 19 to 22

(3) Ibid., p.118, lines 24-29.

has here apparently abridged the "official" source. In Ibn Muyassar, after the date of al-Afdal's arrival in Ascalon, in line 7, which also appears in the Damascus Chronicle, similarities to the latter cease, and with the account of al-Afdal's defeat, which follows largely the account in the Kamil,<sup>(1)</sup> it is obvious that Ibn Muyassar has commenced to use another source. This account of al-Afdal's defeat is the first of these passages to be compared with Ibn al-Athir's version. Ibn Muyassar gives information which does not appear in the Kamil. For instance, in the Rec. text of Ibn Muyassar, which is here fuller than the Cairo text,<sup>(2)</sup> we have on p.464. line 1, فانهزم و معه من حو بهم  
الى داخل مسقلان (He fled, accompanied by those who could join in his precipitate escape, to the interior of Ascalon). Ibn al-Athir, on the other hand, has only

فانهزم الا فضل و دخل مسقلان

(al-Afdal fled and entered Ascalon). He has thus omitted

to الى داخل و معه من حو بهم and altered الى داخل  
و دخل making the latter a co-ordinate sentence,

which is, as we have seen, characteristic of his methods of change, and which strongly suggests that Ibn al-Athir was using the source used by Ibn Muyassar, and not that Ibn Muyassar was amplifying the Kamil. Another point which strengthens this impression is that we have in the Kamil version expressions which are either more compressed, or more vague than those in Ibn Muyassar. For instance, in place of Ibn Muyassar's

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(1) Ibid., p.118, lines 24-29

(2) Ibn Muyassar p.39, line 8.

عن رسولاً, Ibn al-Athir has أرسل much more significant is that in place of Ibn Muyassar's definite "al-Afdal", (or singular suffixes referring to him), Ibn al-Athir has the vague "the Egyptians," or plural suffixes referring to them. Thus in the Kamil we have فلهزموهم (the plural suffix refers to the Egyptians), while in Ibn Muyassar we have هاجموا على الأفاضل Furthermore where Ibn al-Athir has هاجموا على الأفاضل وقاتلوا منهم Ibn Muyassar has هاجموا على الأفاضل وقاتلوا من مسكره (the singular suffix refers to al-Afdal himself). This virtual substitution of هاجموا على الأفاضل for هاجموا على مسكره is interesting, since it has already been noted that Ibn al-Athir actually made this particular substitution when adapting a passage from Ibn al-Qalanisi.<sup>(1)</sup> Since, therefore, these changes are typical of Ibn al-Athir's handling of material from the Damascus Chronicle we may assume that Ibn Muyassar's version preserves the words of the original.

It is probable also that Ibn Muyassar preserves the order of the original, for, as we have already noted, Ibn Muyassar relates the defeat of al-Afdal immediately after the capture of Jerusalem, whereas Ibn al-Athir places the two events in separate sections, and between the two sections is much extraneous matter, Since, however, the events themselves were consecutive, it is probable that the original source so presented them, as do Ibn Muyassar and Ibn al-Qalanisi.

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(1) Kamil (Cairo) X p.190, line 24, Amedroz, p.160, line 27

The next passage of interest from this second source is an account of the activities of Sharaf al-Ma'ali Ibn al-Afdal in Syria. (1) Both Ibn Muyassar and Ibn al-Athir have entered the account under the year A.H. 496, but in the Kamil a small portion concerning Baldwin, which Ibn al-Athir took from Ibn al-Qalanisi appears as a duplicate account under A.H. 495.

Ibn Muyassar's account, although very similar to that in the Kamil exhibits both divergences and additional items. For instance, Ibn Muyassar says that the forces of Sharaf al-Ma'ali joined those under Sa'd al-Dawla, which had been sent on ahead, "and the two askars united and attacked and defeated the Franks."

اجتمع العسكران بيا زور والتقى مع عسكر الفرنج فلهزم موهم

Ibn al-Athir, on the other hand, has

فالتقوا مع والفرنج بيا زور... فانهمز م الا فضل

The additional items given by Ibn Muyassar are the following:

(a) The month of al-Afdal's mustering of the Askar

في أول رمضان

(b) The dispatch of the fleet

وسير الأفضل في البحر

(This is not mentioned at all in the Kamil).

(c) The year of the dispatch of the Askar under Sa'ad al-dawla

سنة خمس وتسعين

There is no hint of this date in this section of the

Kamil since Ibn al-Athir merely states that Sa'ad al

Dawla had been sent and that Sharaf al-Ma'ali had been sent

عدو

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(1) Ibid. X pp. 152-3. Ibn Muyassar, pp. 40-41.

( ) The information that the castle attacked by Sharaf al-Ma'ali had been built by al-Afshin:

قصر لان الافشين قد بناء قريبا من اكرملة  
Ibn al-Athir's brief version of this قصر بالكرملة  
appears to be a compression of it.

Since Ibn Muyassar gives the only additional information it seems clear that here too he could not have been drawing upon the Kamil, but upon the source of the Kamil.

The last passage to be compared is an account of the sequestration of al-Afdal's treasures after his death. This account has been entered under the year 515 both by Ibn Muyassar and by Ibn al-Athir.<sup>(1)</sup> The first divergence of importance between the two versions is that Ibn Muyassar has the plural of "houses" (دور) followed by an enumeration of these houses - دار الوزارة - دار الملك etc. Ibn al-Athir on the other hand has the singular "house" and consequently omits the enumeration, so here again it appears that Ibn Muyassar represents the original source and that Ibn al-Athir has compressed it. Finally we note in this passage that Ibn al-Athir has only four words which do not appear in Ibn Muyassar, whereas Ibn Muyassar has thirteen words which do not appear in Ibn al-Athir. The evidence thus seems conclusive that Ibn Muyassar was not using the Kamil itself but one of the unknown sources of the Kamil.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Kamil X, p.251, l.2 following. Ibn Muyassar, p.56, last line & p.57 top.

(2) Whether this could have been the source mentioned by Ibn Muyassar (p.70), "History of the Franks Who Came Forth to the Land of Islam," by Abu'l-Fawaris Hamdan, is considered on p.118.

In the Kamil there are three threads of Egyptian material discernible. The first which presents the "official" source already mentioned, used both by Ibn Muyassar and by Ibn al-Qalanisi, and which Ibn al-Athir has copied from the latter: in one case, however, Ibn al-Athir apparently copied it from Ibn al-Qalanisi, and also possibly from some other version, thus giving the duplicate accounts of Baldwin's activities, as already mentioned, both under A.H. 495 and 496. This "official" source was chronologically accurate and was mainly free from the romantic atmosphere of oral tradition. It seems to have had its origin in Egypt. As the only form of it which appears in the Kamil, as far as can be said with certainty, is a copy or adaptation of Ibn al-Qalanisi's version, it does not concern us further at this point.

The second thread of Egyptian information is one which should perhaps be called Syro-Egyptian, since it has the orientation of Syria rather than of Egypt. An example of material derived from it is Raymond of St Gille's victory with only three hundred men near Antartus in A.H. 494. It was one of Ibn al-Athir's chief sources for crusading matters, but as it was used neither by Ibn al-Qalanisi nor by Ibn Muyassar, it is discussed in the section on the Syriac Chronography of Bar Hebraeus.

Finally we have the third thread of Egyptian information which was used by Ibn Muyassar, but not by Ibn al-Qalanisi, and which is represented by the three passages just discussed; namely the rout of al-Afdal near Ascalon in A.H. 492, the activities of Sharaf al-Ma'ali in A.H. 496, and the sequestration of al-Afdal's treasure under A.H. 515.

## 2. BAR HEBRAEUS.

John, later known as Gregory John Abu'l-Faraj Bar Hebraeus, was the son of Aaron, a Jewish physician of Malatiya. He owed the nickname Bar Hebraeus to his Hebrew ancestry: no reasons have been discovered for his Arabic sobriquet, Abu'l-Faraj. Whether or not Aaron the physician was baptised remains unknown, but both his sons became Jacobite monks. Bar Hebraeus took the vows at Antioch in A.D. 1244, which was probably the eighteenth year of his age. In A.D. 1246 he was consecrated Bishop of Gubbos, a year later translated to Lakabhin, and in A.D. 1253 to Aleppo. Although he was obliged to withdraw from this See on account of the dissensions over the Patriarchate, he was restored in A.D. 1258, and in A.D. 1264 he was elected Maphrian, with his seat at Mosul. He fulfilled this office, which involved constant travelling, with unbounded vigour, and with time to spare for massive literary and building activities, until his death in A.D. 1286.

His brother, Bar Sawma, records that Bar Hebraeus, "from the time he was twenty years old until he drew his last breath, never ceased from reading and writing. He composed and wrote many books, and he could translate from one language into another."<sup>(1)</sup> Indeed his capacities in this respect were nearly on a par with the encyclopaedic performances of his Muhammedan contemporaries, while the range of his interests far exceeded theirs. The titles of the thirty-one works which

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(1) Budge, Vol. I, p.xxx.

Bar Sawma lists show him as physician, historian, theologian, philosopher, grammarian, mathematician, poet, Bible commentator, and astrologer. The two works which are of interest for the present inquiry are the Syriac Chronography Part I, and the Arabic Summary Histories of the Dynasties.

Of his compilation of the Syriac Chronography, Bar Hebraeus wrote; "Having entered the library of the city of Maraghah of 'Adhorbijan, I have loaded up this my little book with narratives which are worthy of remembrance from many volumes of the Syrians, Saracens, and Persians, which are herein."<sup>(1)</sup> His ability as a linguist seems to be undoubted: Noldeke considers him a master of literary Syriac, while he "wrote Arabic almost as fluently as Syriac, and not more incorrectly than most Muhammedan writers of his time."<sup>(2)</sup> Bar Hebraeus was also a sound critic of source material: a good illustration of his industry and care in checking reports, as well as of his familiarity with Arabic, is a chance remark concerning some adulterated coinage, "I have read through five different Arabic manuscripts, but have not found this story in any of them."<sup>(3)</sup> An even better illustration of his scholarly acumen occurs under the year "1430 of the Greeks," where he not only rejects an error of the Patriarch Michael, but also accounts for it, "The blessed Mar Michael saith 'Ghazi the son of Danishmand broke the Franks and slew Roger:' perhaps the mistake is due to the similarity of the name 'Ghazi' with 'Il-Ghazi.'"<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) Budge, Vol. I p.2

(2) Noldeke: Sketches from Eastern History, p.238-9.

(3) Budge Vol.I p. 274

(4) Budge Vol. I p.249

Thus we see that Bar Hebraeus was in a position to consult Ibn al-Athir's works, and also the Arabic sources upon which the latter had drawn. Moreover he was well situated to have had access to them. His life overlapped the life of Ibn al-Athir by about eight years. He became Bishop of Aleppo within thirty years of Ibn al-Athir's last visit there, (A.H. 628),<sup>(1)</sup> and within forty years of Ibn al-Athir's death he was established as Maphrian at Mosul, close to the scene of Ibn al-Athir's literary activities. Bar Hebraeus himself probably did most of his writing and compiling at the library at Maragha. His brother mentions by name two works which he completed there; the book of Euclid, and the Megista of Ptolemy. He also mentions the Arabic Summary History of Dynasties which he had all but completed before his death at Maragha in A.D. 1286. The two works relevant to the present inquiry are the Arabic Summary just referred to, and Part I of the Syriac Chronography.

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(1) Ibn Khallikan Vol. II p.289

A. THE ARABIC SUMMARY HISTORY OF DYNASTIES.

c | For reasons of convenience it is proposed to consider the Arabic Summary before the Syriac Chronography, although the Syriac was the first to be compiled.

In the last year of his life, his brother induced Bar Hebraeus to go to Maragha, on the ground that he would there be safe from death at the hands of possible Mongol raiders. It may be that Bar Sawma hoped his brother would find occupation in the famous library, and that this would take his mind off a horoscope on which he was brooding, and which predicted his death in that year. He soon found occupation, for after reaching Maragha Bar Sawma records that "the foremost men among the Arabs asked him to turn the Chronography which he had composed in Syriac, into the Saracenic language."<sup>(1)</sup> From this, no doubt it was inferred by Reinaud,<sup>(2)</sup> followed by Noldeke, Budge, and Brockelmann, that the Arabic was mainly an abridged translation from the Syriac, although Reinaud had noted that fresh sources had been used. The sections of this work which are here relevant have been minutely compared with the corresponding sections of the Syriac and of the Kamil. What has emerged is that the Arabic Summary in these sections is quite independent of the Syriac: it is in no sense a translation. It is true that, as would be the case with an abridged translation, some events mentioned in the Syriac do not appear at all in the Arabic;

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(1) Budge, Vol. I p.xxviii-xxix  
(2) Bibliotheque des Croisades Vol. IV p.xxx  
(3) Arabic text ed. Salihani (Bayrut 1890)

on the other hand, there are events mentioned in the Arabic which do not appear at all in the Syriac.<sup>(1)</sup> Furthermore, where the same events are mentioned in both histories, the treatment differs: not only does the Arabic pass briefly over that part of the narrative which was treated at length in the Syriac,<sup>(2)</sup> but for the part which was passed over briefly in the Syriac, the Arabic gives a detailed account.<sup>(3)</sup> Thus we have in the Arabic fresh information about the same events, as well as entries of some entirely different events. The form which the later work takes, is not an Arabic rendering of the earlier work, but a supplement to it. In compiling his Arabic version, Bar Hebraeus appears to have tried deliberately to fill in the gaps in his Syriac narrative; taking the two together, we have a much more detailed picture; the Arabic Summary and the Syriac Chronography form two halves of one whole. That, at least, seems to have been the intention of the compiler, when making the selection of the items he wished to include in the Arabic.

The result of these investigations for our present purpose has been to establish that the source used by Bar Hebraeus for his Arabic History, that is, the source from which he filled

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- (1) e.g. (1) Capture of Jerusalem by the Egyptians under A.H. 492.  
(ii) Defeat of Muhammad by Barkiyaruk under A.H. 496.
- (2) e.g. (i) War between Barkiyaruk and Muhammad in A.H. 492  
(ii) Accession of Malik Shah b. Barkiyaruk, and events immediately subsequent thereto.  
(iii) Muhammad's attempt to take Mosul from Jikrimish.
- (3) The capture of Jerusalem by the Franks, dealt with fully in the city, but only touched on in the Arabic, under A.H. 492.

in his gaps, was the Kamil. A cursory examination shows at once that in the Arabic, Bar Hebraeus has reproduced such accounts of Syrian and Iraqi events as appear in the Kamil, only adding such information as he had gained from his personal knowledge. In fact the sole item of importance not derived from the Kamil is a poem.<sup>(1)</sup> So close is the Arabic Summary in its textual resemblance to its source, that Rainaud's failure to recognise the interdependence seems quite extraordinary.

The clearest indication, of course, that Bar Hebraeus copied from the Kamil, is that he has reproduced Ibn al-Athir's version of material the latter had adapted from the Damascus Chronicle. Bar Hebraeus' entry for the year A.H. 506 is a typical example. His initial entry is a verbatim copy of the first entry which appears in the Kamil under that year. It concerns the activities of Mawdud. In the Damascus Chronicle it had been entered under A.H. 505, but Ibn al-Athir had transferred it to the following year. Moreover he had placed the month, Muharram, at the beginning of the entry, which, in the Damascus Chronicle, appears at the end. Bar Hebraeus has followed Ibn al-Athir in both these rearrangements. The next entry in Bar Hebraeus is an obituary notice of Kogh Basil.<sup>(2)</sup> He selected this item from among several others in the same paragraph of the Kamil from which he had taken the Mawdud material. Bar Hebraeus was interested in the Armenian Kogh Basil; he had devoted several paragraphs to the activities of Kogh Basil's widow in the Syriac Chronography,<sup>(3)</sup> which, of course, he had derived

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(1) Tar'ikh, Bayrouth, p. 348

(2) According to Matthew of Edessa Kogh Basils death occurred in the year "561 of the Armenian Era" on the 24<sup>th</sup> Arek, which corresponds to August 1112, ~~Aug~~ of A.H. 506, Dulaurier: Chronologie p. 305.

(3) Budge Vol. I p. 247

from some other source. Ibn al-Athir had not identified the subject of this obit with the "Kurwasil" of whom he again inserts an obituary notice in A.H. 508. The notice in A.H. 506 he has composed from a parenthetical reference to Kogh Basil in the Damascus Chronicle; it is this little item, composed by Ibn al-Athir, which Bar Hebraeus has copied, slightly expanding it from his own knowledge.

We have already noted that Bar Hebraeus, in selecting extracts with which to compose his Arabic Summary, was influenced by the desire to supply what was lacking in his Syriac Chronography; it so happens that much of what he selected for this "gap filling," is precisely the material which Ibn al-Athir had adapted from the Damascus Chronicle to fill in his own gaps in the Kamil. It is possible that Bar Hebraeus, when he received the request of the Arab notables to translate his Syriac Chronography into Arabic, felt that it would be simpler to make an Arabic abridgement of an Arabic work, rather than an Arabic translation of his own Syriac. Being in Maragha, he went to the library and there found a copy of the Kamil, a final recension we may infer, since it contained the extracts from Ibn al-Qalanisi. Noldeke noted that Bar Hebraeus wrote Arabic "not much more incorrectly than most Muhammedan writers of his time;" this is not surprising, since the Arabic he wrote was the Arabic of Ibn al-Athir.

B. THE SYRIAC CHRONOGRAPHY.

Although the Syriac Chronography was compiled ten years earlier than the Arabic, the latter was considered first because of its obvious dependence on the Kamil. Had there been the same degree of dependence obvious in the Syriac, we could have dismissed the possibility that Bar Hebraeus had preserved any of the unknown sources of Ibn al-Athir. This, however, is not the case. Many of the same events appear in the Syriac which appear in the Kamil, and while the dissimilarities are sufficiently clear to make dependence on the Kamil highly improbable, the similarities encourage the suggestion of a common source.

The date at which Bar Hebraeus commenced the Syriac Chronography is inferred from his statement that he wished to supply a history of the eighty years which had elapsed since the last year recorded by the Patriarch Michael.<sup>(1)</sup> The Patriarch's Chronography ends with the year 1196; consequently the addition of eighty years gives us 1276 as the year when Bar Hebraeus entered the library at Maragha, to "load up his little book with narratives worthy of remembrance."

When Bar Hebraeus had filled the gap between the conclusion of his predecessor's work and his own time, by completing the history of the intervening eighty years, he determined

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(1) Michael the Syrian (Jacobite) Patriarch, died 1199.  
(Dulaurier in *Journale Asiatique*, Oct. 1848, and April-May 1849)

to carry his researches into the earlier period; and so he eventually compiled his great Chronography. It is generally assumed that he based this work on that of the Patriarch; as there are references to Mar Michael scattered throughout the Chronography, he probably kept his predecessor's work constantly before him. The story of the bribe in false coin, already referred to,<sup>(1)</sup> for which Bar Hebraeus consulted the five different Arabic manuscripts, is a case in which he was entirely indebted to the Patriarch, "only the blessed Mar Michael records it."<sup>(2)</sup> He was, however, in no sense tied to what his predecessor had written. Another reference shows his independent attitude, and also his respect for royalty, worthy of a Non-Juring divine, for, having given Mar Michael's version of a story, he rejects it with the comment, "but such a vulgar thing as that would never be said by one king to another."<sup>(3)</sup>

Whatever the extent of Bar Hebraeus' indebtedness to the Patriarch in other sections of the work, he appears to have used entirely different sources for the period relevant to the present inquiry. The version of "Michel le Syrien"<sup>(4)</sup> given in the Recueil has been compared line by line with the Syriac of Bar Hebraeus for the period under consideration, and it is clear that in this period at least Bar Hebraeus has drawn no entries at all from the earlier work. His only reference to the Patriarch in this period is in connection with Mar Michael's

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(1) Above p. 83

(2) Budge Vol. I p. 274

(3) Ibid. p. 222

(4) Rec. Hist. Armeniens, Tome I p. 309 following

error about the vanquisher of Roger at the Agar Sanguinis, an error which arose, as Bar Hebraeus saw, from confusion of the name Ghazi, with Il-Ghazi.<sup>(1)</sup> It is thus clear that Mar Michael is not a common source of Ibn al-Athir and Bar Hebraeus.

Before proceeding to the comparison of passages from the Kamil with passages from the Syriac, there is a difference to be noted between the Syriac and the Arabic, namely that whereas in the Arabic all events are listed under the Hijra date, many are entered in the Syriac under "the year of the Greeks," that is, according to the Seleucid or Macedonian Era. The entries are about evenly divided under these respective headings. For a few entries Bar Hebraeus gives both "the year of the Greeks," and the "year of the Arabs." In one case, when referring to an event which he gives under "the year of the Greeks, 1413," he says, "in certain Arabic manuscripts we have found 1412."<sup>(2)</sup> If Bar Hebraeus did not make the computation himself, we may infer from this that events were sometimes dated "in the year of the Greeks," in Arabic manuscripts, and that therefore we need not dismiss a passage which appears to preserve a source of the Kamil purely on the ground that Bar Hebraeus has given it under a Seleucid instead of a Hijra date. Further to this point, there is one case where Ibn al-Athir has himself preserved from a source the Syrian-Greek name of a month, "Ilul."<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Budge Vol. I. p.249

(2) Budge Vol. I. p.237

(3) Cairo Vol.X p.215 line 11 ايلول "Ilul," or "Elul," the first month of the year, according to the Syrian Greeks.

A glance at the parallel passages from Bar Hebraeus in Appendix B reveals at once that the difference in era usually marks a difference in subject matter. Those events which are entered under the "year of the Greeks" treat of Armenia and Celicia, while those which are entered under the year of the Arabs, treat of Mosul, but this is not invariable. The source dealing with Armenia and Celicia, records in detail the activities of Syrian or Armenian Christian leaders such as Kogh Basil, Gabriel the Greek, and the sons of Ruffin; of northern Muslim leaders such as Kiliç Arslan and Ibn al-Danishmand; of Edessa and its surrounding territories, and its Christian leaders. It would be a reliable source for checking dates, as it evidently gave the day of the week which Bar Hebraeus gives in his account of the surrender of Meletene.

In his account of the earth quake in 1426, he gives the day of the month according to both Macedonian and Muslim eras.

It is proposed to set out a passage from the Kamil in parallel columns with the corresponding passage from the Syriac Chronography, to illustrate that Bar Hebraeus, since he gives so much additional information, could not have used the Kamil as his source, but that both he and Ibn al-Athir were using a common source. This material concerns the activities of Aq-Sunquer Al-Bursuqi's troops, and had been collected and rearranged by Ibn al-Athir, and entered under A.H. 508. Bar Hebraeus has entered the first paragraph under "the year 507 of the Arabs, which is the year fourteen hundred and twenty-five of

the Greek," but the remainder of the material under A.H. 508.<sup>(1)</sup>  
Because the subject matter does not follow the same sequence, the passages have been subdivided into numbered sections.

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(1) References to the Syriac Chronography are here to the Syriac text (Budge vol.II), but in the Appendix the references are to the English translation (Budge vol.I)

Kamil (Cairo Vol.X p.211)

Entry of the Year five hundred and eight.

First section under that year in the Kamil, "Despatch of Aq-Sunqur al-Bursuqi to Syria to fight the Franks."

(The entry commences with the activities of Aq-Sunqur in Mosul and the adjacent territory, probably derived by Ibn al-Athir from local sources.)

... thence Al-Bursuqi went to Edessa with fifteen thousand horse, and encamped there in Dhu'l-Hijja, and besieged it.

The Franks, however, held out against him.

(i) By a ruse, they lured some of the Muslims to turn aside into an ambush, and they captured nine of them, whom they impaled on their wall. For a time the fighting became very fierce: the Muslims were on the defensive, so they fought and killed fifty Frankish knights, from among their leading men.

The siege of Edessa continued for two months and some days. The Muslims then found it difficult to obtain provisions, so they marched away from Edessa, for Sumaisat, after

(ii) having devastated the territory of Edessa, Saruj, and Sumaisat. The ruler of Mar'ash submitted to him (al-Bursuqi), as we shall relate. Thereafter he returned to Shabakhtan, and took prisoner Ayaz, ibn Il-Ghazi, because the latter had not come himself: then he plundered the home farm of Mardin.

Syriac Chronography (Vol.II p.86 Col.2 line 19)

(Last paragraph under the year 507 of the Arabs, "which is the year fourteen hundred and twenty-five of the Greeks.")

... and Mawdud being dead, there rose up a captain of soldiery, the Amir Aq-Sunqur Bursuq (sic), and he and fifteen thousand men encamped against Edessa for two months.

(i) And in the year five hundred and eight of the Arabs, the Franks were continually making sorties from Edessa, and killing the Arabs. On one occasion they went out and captured eleven, and brought them into the city. And they impaled them on the wall in the sight of the Turks, after they had cut off their hands and their feet.

And Aq-Sunqur being grieved that matters were thus, brought fifty Frankish prisoners, and killed them.

(iiA) The Turks being sorely afflicted by hunger left Edessa, and went to Sumaisat over which the wife of Kogh Basil ruled, together with Mar'ash, Kaishim, and Raban.

(Syriac  
iv)

Kamil (Cont'd)Section "Submission of the Ruler of Mar'ash." (iiA)

(ii)

In this year there died a certain unbelieving Frank, known as Kawasil. His wife took possession of the kingdom and fortified it against the Franks.

She treated her troops well.

Syriac (Cont'd)

The husband of this woman being dead, she ruled over these places with great wisdom.

She gathered together a large number of horsemen: each month she gave twelve gold dinars to each horseman, and three to each foot soldier.

(p.86<sup>v</sup> col.1 line 2)

(iiB)

{(Details about Armenians, which interrupt narrative)

She sent to Aq-Sunqur while he was still at Edessa, requesting him to send one of his officers to her, so that she could make her submission. He sent the amir Sunqur Dizdar the lord of al-Khabur.

When he reached her she treated him generously, and gave him a large sum of money. While he was with her, lo a company

(iii)

(iii)

of Franks came, and attacked his company, which numbered about one hundred horse: they fought a great fight, but the Muslims were overcome by the Franks, who killed a large number of them.

(Vol.II p.86<sup>v</sup> col.1 line 35)  
Then when the wife of Kogh Basil saw the Turkish troops who had invaded her territory, and were laying it waste, she sent to Ak-Sunqur, the amir of Khabur, and promised him love and help. And he sent to her an envoy, a man whose name was Sunqur Dharaz, that is, "long." And she sat on the royal throne, and placed her handmaidens round about her, arrayed in gorgeous apparel. And when Sunqur entered her presence, she set a throne for him before her, and discoursed craftily with him in humble phrases in Arabic. When the Turks who were with Sunqur were pitching their tents outside the city, she said unto him, "command thy men to come into the city. Do not let them pass the night outside, for my spies have informed me that the Franks are waiting ready to capture them. Sunqur, in his pride, paid no attention to her, and would not accept her advice, and seven hundred Frankish horsemen came and captured the Turks, and only a few of them escaped.

Kamil (Cont'd)

Sunqur Dizdar returned (to al-Bursuqi), accompanied by gifts for al-Malik Mas'ud, and for al-Bursuqi, which the chatelaine had sent: she had also agreed to render obedience.

Syriac (Cont'd)

After this she sent Sunqur back being careful to furnish him with gifts and presents for Aq-Sunqur the amir.

(iv)  
(Kamil  
ii)

And so he removed from her territory, and went to Saruj, and besieged it for five days: the troops with him devouring the vegetables and crops. From there he went to Shabakhtan, where he gave a great feast. Thereto came the Sultan's son, al-Malik Mas'ud, who had remained behind at Harran, not having crossed the Euphrates with Mawdud. Then he made prisoner Ayaz the son of Il-Ghazi, the son of Ortuq, the lord of Mardin, and he also took the territory of Mardin.

In the Syriac we note that the events are given as follows:

- (i) Aq-Sunqur before Edessa to his departure for Sumaisat.  
(Vol.II p.86 col.2 line 19)(Vol.I p.246)
- We note that this paragraph commences at the conclusion of A.H. 507, and continues into A.H. 508.
- (ii) The former ruler of Sumaisat, Kogh Basil, being dead, his wife is now ruling -- her payments to her troops.  
(Vol.II p.86 col.2 line 33)(Vol.I p.246)
- (iib) Details about the Armenians which interrupt the progress of the narrative. (1)

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(1) The way in which this material not only interrupts the progress of the narrative, but also introduces quite irrelevant matter suggests that Bar Hebraeus introduced it from another source: it is odd, to say the least, to find Kogh Basil referred to as "thief" Wasil.

(iii) Depredations in the territories of Kogh Basil's widow; troops of Aq-Sunqur's envoy is surprised by a Frankish troop: the chatelaine sends him back to Aq-Sunqur with gifts. (Vol.II p.86<sup>v</sup> col.1 line 35)(Vol.I p.247)

(iv) Aq-Sunqur departs from her territory -- lays waste Saruj -- goes to Shabakhtan -- gives a feast -- takes prisoner Ayaz ibn Il-Ghazi. (Vol.II p.86<sup>v</sup> col. 2 line 17)(Vol.I p.247)

Bar Hebraeus has followed strict chronological sequence in the order of events given above. Ibn al-Athir, on the other hand, has departed from the chronological sequence except for the first section, and has rearranged the material as follows:

(i) (Kamil X, p.211, 1.12 *فسار عن البرسقي* to 1.16 *من الكرها الى سيباط* ... As in Bar Hebraeus this first section narrates the activities of al-Bursuqi before Edessa and his subsequent departure for Sumaisat. (Similarities and divergences between the two versions are discussed later).

(ii) (Kamil X, p.211, 1.16 *بعد عن خرجوا بلاد الكرها* to 1.18 *وهب سواد ماردين* ... This second section in the Kamil corresponds to the fourth and concluding section in Bar Hebraeus. From the chronological standpoint it should also have been placed last in the Kamil, since it occurred after the defeat of "Sunkur Dizdar" by the Franks, and his return to al-Bursuqi with gifts from Kogh Basil's widow. This section narrates the departure from Sumaisat (which had only been brought about by

the gifts just referred to), the march to Saruj then to Shabaktan and the making prisoner of Ayaz ibn Ilghazi, just as in the concluding section of Bar Hebraeus. Supposing for a moment that both Ibn al-Athir and Bar Hebraeus were drawing upon a common source, which of the two was it who deviated from the order of events in the original? Fortunately the Kamil preserves a slight indication that it was Ibn al-Athir who did so, since he says "and the lord of Mar'ash submitted to him, "as we shall relate."(1) This, the usual formula for "to be continued" suggests that Ibn al-Athir's source narrated the submission of the "lord" of Mar'ash and Sumaisat at this point (i.e. the promise of "love and help" to al-Bursuqi by Kogh Basil's widow and her subsequent dispatch of gifts) just as we find in sections ii and iii of Bar Hebraeus. Ibn al-Athir, however, evidently preferred to omit the details at this point about Kogh Basil's widow and her submission to al-Bursuqi, and to continue with the rest of al-Bursuqi's own activities such as his march to Shabaktan, seizure of Ayaz ibn Ilghazi and plundering near Mardin. The details about Kogh Basil's widow he saved for a separate section entitled "The submission of the lord of Mar'ash and other places, to al-Bursuqi". There is a further indication in the Kamil that Ibn al-Athir had altered the order of his source. This is the fact that he has not made the connection between sections i and ii very smooth. It reads, "they departed from Edessa to Sumaisat after they had devastated the territory of Edessa, Saruj, and Sumaisat." (Kamil X, p.211, 11.16-17).

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(1) Kamil X, p.211, 1. 17

It certainly seems as though the words "after they had devastated the territory of Edessa, Saruj and Sumaisat" mark Ibn al-Athir's transition to a portion of his source which actually narrated events subsequent to the devastation of Sumaisat, that is, his transition to what is section iv in Bar Hebraeus.

(iii) (Kamil X, p.211, 1.20 from the beginning of the section

وامست الى الاجناد 21-22 to ذكر طابعتها صاحب مرعش

This third section of Ibn al-Athir's corresponds to the second section in Bar Hebraeus. It gives the information that Kogh Basil's widow was ruling over his domains, and that she treated her troops well. It occupies its natural position in Bar Hebraeus where it stands immediately after the statement that Aq-Sunqur's troops had gone to Sumaisat, and thus comes in as a natural explanation of why a woman was ruling there. As was suggested above, Ibn al-Athir probably took it out of its context in order to gather together all the material about Kogh Basil and his territory into a separate section which he has entered as if it were Kogh Basil's obit by commencing with the words

وهي مؤثر Now in Bar Hebraeus the death of Kogh Basil is merely referred to in a parenthesis which is put in as an explanation of the fact that a woman was ruling in Sumaisat - "The husband of this woman being dead, she ruled over these countries with great wisdom". Furthermore Bar Hebraeus does not say in what year the death had taken place. Therefore Ibn al-Athir's

فرد سنة may be an unfounded inference. In any case

it is incorrect, because Basil Kogh had died two years before in A.H. 506, and Ibn al-Athir has devoted another obituary notice to him under that year. The fact is that here Ibn al-Athir, with the finite verb *توفى* is making an independent sentence and a concrete statement out of what is merely a passing mention in a parenthesis, and this is exactly the same as the method he pursued in his earlier obit of Basil Kogh. There he rendered Ibn al-Qalanisi's parenthetical (Amedroz, p.183, 1.19) by the definite *ولما ن قد هلك (1) وفيها توفى*

(iv) (Kamil, p. 211, 1.22 *وراسلت اقسنقر* to 1.26 *والذعت بالطاعة*) This fourth and last section in Ibn al-Athir, which deals with the activities of Sunqur Dizdar in the territory of Kogh Basil's widow, has, of course, been grouped with the section before it, in order that the two together might form an independent section in the Kamil. In Bar Hebraeus it appears second to last, which is the correct chronological position for it, since, as was mentioned before, it concludes with the despatch of gifts to al-Bursuqi, and it was these which induced him to remove from her country, as is recorded in the fourth and final section in Bar Hebraeus, but in the second section in the Kamil.

The alterations in chronological order just dealt with, seem, on the whole, to point to Ibn al-Athir having used the source of Bar Hebraeus, rather than that Bar Hebraeus used the Kamil.

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(1) Discussed on p. 53 above.

This seems to be precluded also by the nature of his divergences and additional information. The divergences are as follows:

- (a) Dates. Bar Hebraeus enters the arrival of al-Bursuqi and his fifteen thousand men at Edessa, at the end of the year A.H. 507. Ibn al-Athir, on the other hand, enters this under A.H. 508, but states that the actual arrival had taken place in Dhu'l-Hijja. This would presumably be the last month of A.H. 507, but Ibn al-Athir, according to his usual custom, entered it under A.H. 508, because the final event in this series of circumstances took place in A.H. 508. Bar Hebraeus puts the continuation of al-Bursuqi's activities under A.H. 508, but if he had been copying from the Kamil, it is unlikely that he should thus have divided up the material before him, entering the first sentence under A.H. 507 and the remainder under the following year.
- (b) Bar Hebraeus states the length of time - two months - during which Aq-Sunqur remained at Edessa, at the beginning of the narrative, immediately after mentioning Aq-Sunqur's arrival. Ibn al-Athir, on the other hand, mentions the two months practically at the end of this first section, immediately after the killing of the fifty Franks.
- (c) Bar Hebraeus gives the number of Arabs impaled as eleven whereas Ibn al-Athir gives it as nine.

## Additional information:

- (a) "In the sight of the Turks", (that the captured Arabs were impaled.)
- (b) That this was done "after they had cut off their hands and their feet."
- (c) Payments to her troops by Kogh Basil's widow.
- (d) Details about her reception of Sunqur Dizdar, seated on her throne with the maidens about her, and the details of her conversation with him.
- (e) The number of the Frankish horsemen -- seven hundred.
- (f) The length of time -- five days -- that Aq-Sunqur besieged Saruj.
- (g) The mention of the feast. It was presumably because Il-Ghazi did not accept the invitation to the feast that Aq Sunqur took his son into custody as a hostage.
- (h) The fact that "al-malik Mas'ud" had remained behind when Mawdud crossed the Euphrates. In reference to this last detail, we need not seek to account for it in Bar Hebraeus on the ground that Bar Hebraeus was drawing on a different source we know that the source Ibn al-Athir had before him contained information about Mas'ud, since he states that Kogh Basil's widow sent gifts by Sunqur Dizdar for Mas'ud as well as for Aq Sunqur. (Mas'ud was a son of the Sultan Muhammad, and Mawdud had been his Atabak: upon the assassination of Mawdud, Aq Sunqur had been made Atabak to Mas'ud).

If we have here in the Syriac Chronography one of the sources of the Kamil, it is obvious, from the abundant details about Kogh Basil's territories, that it was Syrian or Armenian in orientation, although it is entered by Bar Hebraeus under the "year of the Arabs", he gives also the "year of the Greeks" at the commencement of the account. A further suggestion of a Syriac or Armenian source occurs in the account of Bursuq's<sup>(1)</sup> campaign in A.H. 509. Here again the accounts in the Kamil and the Syriac are very similar, but additional details preclude the possibility that Bar Hebraeus derived his version from Ibn al-Athir. The point which is of interest here, however, occurs in Ibn al-Athir's account of the part of the campaign which preceded the defeat. Bar Hebraeus, unfortunately, does not give the earlier stages of the campaign, but in the Kamil version of them is preserved the Syrian-Greek name of a month, 'Ilul,<sup>(2)</sup> already referred to, which is a hint that Ibn al-Athir was drawing on a source which was Syrian or Armenian in orientation. Further to this possible use of a Syriac source, is the fact that in still another passage<sup>(3)</sup> parallel to one in the Syriac Chronography, Ibn al-Athir has used the verb 'break,' for the routing of an army, which is a literal rendering of the Syriac verb there used by Hebraeus. For the routing of an army Ibn al-Athir usually employed

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(1) Bar Hebraeus puts Aq-Sunqur, *continuing to confuse Aq Sunqur al-Borsuqi with Borsuq ibn Borsuq.*

(2) Cairo Vol X p.215 line 12, *ايلول*

(3) Section, "Account of St Gilles the Frank, etc." in A.H. 495 The root *كسر* occurs in line 22 and line 24 (Cairo Vol.X p.143). In the Chronography, the verb *كسر* occurs in line 10 (Vol.II p.83<sup>v</sup>)

We have already noted that this common source could not have been Michael the Syrian.<sup>(1)</sup> The same negative results have come from a consideration of the brief "First and Second Crusade from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle."<sup>(2)</sup>

There remains another source which merits consideration, the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa:<sup>(3)</sup> this has been consulted in the French translation of Dulaurier, as it is unfortunately not possible to use the Armenian text.

The compiler of this chronicle, although the dates of his birth and death are unknown, must have lived until the end of 1138, the year in which his chronicle terminates. Thus he probably experienced the capture of Edessa by the Franks in 1099: he must have been also a contemporary of Kogh Basil, the day of whose death he gives. In later life he retired to Kaishum,<sup>(4)</sup> at one time part of Kogh Basil's territory. It is true that he does not mention Kogh Basil's widow, except to say that her diadem was sent to Tancred's wife,<sup>(5)</sup> among the treasures taken, apparently, from the royal palace, by Basil D'gha, Basil Kogh's adopted son, and distributed by him as largesse to secure friends for what proved to be a successful attempt to mount the throne. It may be that the widow resented this action, as it amounted to looting the royal palace. In any case we read in the Kamil and in the Syriac Chronography two years later, that

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(1) Above p. 91

(2) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Jan. and April 1933, translated A. S. Tritton.

(3) Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse, trans. Dulaurier, Paris 1858.

(4) Ibid. Chapter CCLIII.

(5) Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse. Chapter CCX.

she had taken over the government.<sup>(1)</sup> It is regrettable that Matthew tells us nothing of this. He gives, however, some information on Aq Sunqur al-Bursuqi,<sup>(2)</sup> which shows considerable similarities to the corresponding passage in the account in the Kamil, the last two lines of which have already been quoted on page 125, in comparison with the account in Bar Hebraeus. More obvious similarities, however, occur in a passage about the death of Baldwin I of Jerusalem, and this will be set out in parallel columns with the corresponding passage from the Kamil.

Kamil<sup>(3)</sup>

(Under A.H. 512)

Death of Baldwin King of the Franks, etc.

In Dhu'l-Hijja of the year five hundred and eleven, Baldwin, the King of Jerusalem had gone to the province of Egypt, with an army of Franks, with the intention of taking possession of it. His hope thereof had been strong.

When he was opposite the island of Tanis, he went for a swim in the Nile, and an old wound opened. Sensing the approach of death, he turned back toward Jerusalem, and expired, having left his lands by will to the count, the lord of Edessa ... This count happened to have gone to Jerusalem

Chronique

Chapter CCXXV

In the year 567 of the Armenian era (20th February 1118 -- 19th February 1119), Baudouin du Bourg, count of Edessa went ... to Jerusalem during Lent. The King of the Holy City, Baudouin, brother of Godefroy, having set out for Egypt, in order to bring those barbarians into his obedience found the land a desert, and the population in flight. He turned back towards Jerusalem, but during the journey he became ill and died. Before he breathed his last, he willed that Baudouin should be brought from Edessa, and established as lieutenant-general of the Kingdom of Jerusalem until his brother Eustace should come ... those who accompanied

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(1) The later history of Basil D'gha is given by Matthew in Chapters CCXXI and CCXXIII: in the (Armenian) year 664 Baldwin had declared war on him, and Basil D'gha's father - in-law betrayed him to Baldwin, who took his territories, and obliged him to seek refuge in Constantinople. Basil D'gha

(2) Chronique chapter CCXVI.

(3) Cairo Vol. X p.229 line 12

to visit the church of the Resurrection. Since Jerusalem had been willed to him by the king, he accepted it, and united Jerusalem and Edessa under himself.

him, having found Baudouin du Bourg at Jerusalem, were astonished and ravished with joy, believing that his presence was an evidence of divine beneficence. In accordance with the last will of the King, they conferred the regency upon him. Baudouin ... promised to wait a year, stipulating that if that time passed without seeing the return of the king's brother, he would be free to ascend the throne ... at the end of the year the crown was placed on his head.

If we have behind these passages a common source used by Ibn al-Athir and Matthew of Edessa, it must also have been used by Bar Hebraeus, and we must ask what language it was written in originally. Dulaurier holds that the antagonism between the Jacobites and the Nestorians was such that it "implies not only a complete absence of intercommunication (between the two sects), but also puts beyond the pale the possibility that any idea or expression could have stemmed from a Syrian source."<sup>(1)</sup> He also says, "should I hazard an opinion, I would say that he (Matthew) drew ... upon books and contemporary memoirs, written in Armenian, which are now lost."<sup>(2)</sup> If we accept this dictum, that Matthew of Edessa would not have used a Syriac source, the source must presumably have been written in Armenian. Bar Hebraeus' linguistic gift leaves us in no doubt that he could have learned Armenian, had he wished to, but of Ibn al-Athir there is no evidence at all that he was bi-lingual: even so, Armenian would hardly be a language studied by a scholarly Arab.

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(1) Chronique p.xv.

(2) Ibid. p.xvii.

Of one thing, however, we have evidence, namely that there was an Arabic speaking public which was interested in translations of historical works: this we know from the fact that Bar Hebraeus was asked to translate his Syriac work into Arabic. We can therefore surmise that such translations were not unusual and that Ibn al-Athir could have used such a translation from the Armenian for events in the vicinity of Edessa, as well as for items concerning the Franks which might appear in it for other parts of Iraq and Syria, and Palestine. We have already noted the name of the month, 'Ilul,' and to it may be added the Syriac word, "bi'a"<sup>(1)</sup> meaning church, both of which might point to a Syriac, rather than an Armenian source. These are interesting because we have already noted how Ibn al-Athir alters unfamiliar words to what is more familiar. If he had felt that "Ilul" as the name of a month, or "bi'a" with the meaning "church," would not be understood by his readers, we may be sure he would have altered them. Since he did not do so, we may infer that these Syriac words were quite familiar to him, and this fits in well with the extraordinarily multi-lingual character of the Syria of that period. In Edessa in particular, Armenian, Syriac, Greek, Persian, and such languages as the crusaders brought, would have been familiar. That Matthew might have known Syriac is not impossible, so the matter must be left at this point in the absence of further information.

Turning now to the similarities and divergences between Matthew and Ibn al-Athir, we note at once that in Matthew's

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(1) Cairo Vol.X p.229 line 17 قيامه being a deliberate alteration for قيامته "resurrection."

version Baldwin of Edessa is stated to have gone to Jerusalem at the beginning of the account, whereas in Ibn al-Athir's version, this item is only brought in parenthetically at the point where he is discovered to be in Jerusalem, and the terms of Baldwin's Will made known to him. This conforms to Ibn al-Athir's re-arrangement of source material. He could have chosen between making either Baldwin I or Baldwin of Edessa, the subject of the section, and it was natural that he should have chosen the former, taking what in the source was no doubt a parenthetical reference to Baldwin's Egyptian expedition and death, and beginning his account with it. Assuming that the source was fuller than either Matthew's or Ibn al-Athir's versions, we may assume also that Ibn al-Athir took from it his account of Baldwin's swim, which Matthew omitted, as being without interest to his Edessene readers. Ibn al-Athir, on the other hand, naturally omitted Matthew's statement that Baldwin of Edessa's opportune presence in Jerusalem was looked on as a sign of divine providence. He omitted too all reference to the proposed regency: since Baldwin of Edessa became king within the year, reasons for the delay could hardly interest a Muslim. As to the month given by Ibn al-Athir for Baldwin's death, we find it also in Ibn al-Qalanisi, whose account, apart from the detail of date, is extremely meagre.<sup>(1)</sup> From this we assume that Ibn al-Athir might have had the Damascus Chronicle before him, and taken the date from it, although preferring to follow the much more detailed account given in the source presented by Matthew of Edessa.

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(1) Amedroz p.199 line 16

### 3. SIBT IBN AL-JAWZI.

There are two points which may be stated at the outset.

In the first place we know from Sibt's transcriptions in the *Mirat al-Zaman* of Ibn al-Qalanisi, that when he copied he did so with little or no alteration. This applies also to the many passages which Sibt condensed from the *Damascus Chronicle* without acknowledgment.<sup>(1)</sup> Therefore, since Sibt was accustomed to reproducing his sources with fair fidelity, a large number of verbal differences between the *Mirat al-Zaman* and the *Kamil*, in passages which otherwise give substantially the same story suggest that Sibt was deriving his account from the source of the *Kamil* rather than from the *Kamil* itself.

In the second place it is certain that Sibt did, in fact, have access to the *Atabaks*, for we find in the *Mirat al-Zaman* an accurate reproduction of a passage in the *Atabaks*<sup>(2)</sup> which is nowhere to be found in the *Kamil*.

Close verbal similarity, therefore, between Sibt and the *Kamil* in a passage which also occurs in the *Atabaks*, can not be taken as proof that Sibt was using the *Kamil*.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Sibt only mentions Ibn al-Qalanisi as his authority when copying from him verbatim.

(2) *Atabaks* p. 44, 1.10 foll.  
Sibt, p.511; 1.10 foll.

In the *Atabaks* this passage refers to al-Bursuqi's second appointment to al-Mosul in A.H. 515, whereas in the *Mirat al-Zaman* it is inaccurately applied to al-Bursuqi's first appointment to al-Mosul in A.H. 507.

(3) Arabic text of the *Mirat al-Zaman* (to which reference is made) in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades (Historiens orientaux)* Vol.III

There are six passages in the *Mirat al-Zaman* between A.H. 490 and A.H. 516 which are worth comparing with the *Kamil*:-

The first passage, which contains two poems, commences with the account of a Syrian deputation to Baghdad. The two versions are substantially the same but several additional items of information in *Sibt*, as well as many differences, show that he could not have derived his account from the text of the *Kamil* as we have it. Two examples of divergences are worth noting. The first is that the second of the two poems in *Sibt* is entirely different from the corresponding poem in the *Kamil*. The second point is that whereas Ibn al-Athir attributes both the poems to al-Abiwardi, *Sibt* attributes the first one to al-Harawi the second one he attributes to "Anon." *Sibt* allows, however, that some attribute the first poem to al-Abiwardi. It is obvious that if *Sibt* had only our present text of the *Kamil* he could not have known of the attribution to al-Harawi.

The next passage is the notice of an earthquake which occurred in A.H. 508. This is a passage which Ibn al-Athir derived from a source used by Bar Hebraeus in the *Syriac Chronography*. *Sibt's* account could not have been derived from the *Kamil* since it contains the additional item of information that "There fell down one hundred houses and half the citadel of Balash." It so happens that this additional item also appears in the *Syriac Chronography* and is thus an indication that *Sibt's* source here was the one Ibn al-Athir had in common

with Bar Hebraeus.

The next two passages contain Sibt's account of the campaign of al-Bursuqi in A.H. 508, and two accounts of the campaign of Bursuq ibn Bursuq - whom he continues to confuse with al-Bursuqi<sup>(1)</sup> - which took place in the following year. He is confessedly using two sources here. His first source covers the campaign of al-Bursuqi, his defeat by Il-Ghazi, the despatch of an army by the Sultan, the imprisonment of Il-Ghazi by Khirkhan, the defeat of the Sultan's army by Tancred<sup>(2)</sup> (sic) and the death of Ayaz Ibn Il-Ghazi: at this point his second source commences, and reiterates the sending of the army by the Sultan, then covers the campaign in much more detail, and concludes, again in much more detail, with the defeat of the army by Tancred<sup>(2)</sup> and the death of Ayaz Ibn Il-Ghazi.

Sibt's first source could not have been the Kamil although the account of the campaign of al-Bursuqi is somewhat similar to that given by Ibn al-Athir; but his account of the campaign of Bursuq ibn Bursuq is quite different from Ibn al-Athir's. Conversely Ibn al-Athir's account of Bursuq ibn Bursuq's

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- (1) It was probably Sibt, or a copyist, and not the sources, who was responsible for the confusion, since, in the first source we see "al-Bursuqi" represented as being "exiled to Hamadhan"; and in the second source we find him represented as having a "brother, Manlaki, prince of Hamadhan" and also a brother Zanki, all of which makes it clear that Bursuq Ibn Bursuq was intended and not al-Bursuqi. Bar Hebraeus carries the confusion one step farther by dropping "al-Bursuqi" and putting merely Aq-Sunqur in place of Bursuq Ibn Bursuq.
- (2) This should be Roger as in Ibn al-Athir and Bar Hebraeus.

campaign is closely similar to that given in Sibṭ's second account. Finally it may be noted that in spite of this similarity between Sibṭ's second source and Ibn al-Athir's account of the 509 campaign, the second source could not have been the Kamil, because Sibṭ gives so many items of information which the Kamil did not furnish; for instance, the statement that Il-Ghazi crossed the Euphrates at Zur and came to meet Bursuq ibn Bursuq with two thousand horse; the message addressed by Mankali ibn Bursuq to Tughtakin, the information about the sons of Ali the Kurd at Hama - and several other items.

The explanation which best seems to cover the facts is that Ibn al-Athir had access to both Sibṭ's sources, and that he used the first source to some extent, in his account of al-Bursuqi's campaign, but that he changed to the second source for his account of Bursuq ibn Bursuq's campaign, because it was so much more detailed for the events of A.H. 509.

In determining the nature of the first source from Sibṭ's narrative, it is interesting to note that the middle portion of it - that dealing with Il-Ghazi's drunkenness and his capture by Khirkhan - is almost identical with the account in Ibn al-Qalanisi. Ibn al-Qalanisi, however, was not the source since he has not given any reference at all to the first part of the campaign - that dealing with al-Bursuqi's arrival, his defeat by Il-Ghazi, and Il-Ghazi's alliance with Tughtakin against the Sultan. Ibn al-Qalanisi of course had deliberately

passed over these events in silence, since it would hardly have been politic for him as a contemporary Damascene to have mentioned the rebellion of his lord against the Sultan. What seems to have happened is that Sibt, who was living in Damascus, had sources of information similar to those used by Ibn al-Qalanisi, but of which Ibn al-Qalanisi had only inserted the part which did not compromise Tughtakin. Some such report might well have survived in the archives of Damascus and of the other principal towns such as Mosul. Whatever its nature Ibn al-Athir seems to have collated it with his chief source for al-Bursuqi's campaign, the one he had in common with Bar Hebraeus. Such items as we see from Bar Hebraeus to have been lacking in the chief source, Ibn al-Athir clearly drew from this other source.

Sibt's second source here, being the same as Ibn al-Athir's source for Bursuq ibn Bursuq's 509 campaign, must be the other source which Ibn al-Athir had in common with Bar Hebraeus. It is the one from which Ibn al-Athir copied the name of the Syrian month "Ilul". This is the third example of Sibt having used a source also used by Bar Hebraeus. (The other two examples are his account of the capture of Jerusalem by the Franks, and his account of the earthquake in A.H. 508).

In the next passage to be considered occurs a quotation from a letter which Ibn al-Athir, on the authority of his father, says was written by Baldwin to Tughtakin after the assassination of Mawdud. The text of the letter itself is identical with that in the Kamil and is the only portion of the six passages under consideration which might have been taken verbatim from

that work. Ibn al-Athir, however, has also given it in the Atabaks, to which, as we know, Sibt had access. Moreover, both in Sibt and in the Atabaks the inference is that what is given of the letter was actually the whole letter, whereas in the Kamil Ibn al-Athir states that what is given of the letter is merely an extract. From this it may be felt that Sibt's version is somewhat closer to the Atabaks than to the Kamil, although the text of the letter itself is identical in all three works.

To sum up; four of the five passages which are parallel to passages in the Kamil do not sufficiently resemble that work to have been derived from it. The remaining passage although very close to the Kamil, bears slightly more resemblance to the Atabaks. Of these five passages, those giving Ibn al-Athir's and Sibt's account of al-Bursuqi's campaign were probably derived from some semi-official source, as was the Damascene deputation. The remaining three passages sufficiently resemble their counterparts in the Kamil to have been derived from a common source; this was an originally Syrian or Armenian source which Ibn al-Athir had in common with Bar Hebraeus.

4. KAMAL AL-DIN

Although Kamal al-Din according to his own statement, derived certain material from Ibn al-Athir<sup>(1)</sup> it is not clear whether he actually availed himself of the Kamil or derived it orally from the historian himself. The three cases in his Biographical Dictionary where he refers to Ibn al-Athir by name as his source certainly suggest that the information was acquired orally because he says <sup>قال لي شيخنا</sup> (3) and <sup>اخبرني</sup> (2) and <sup>قال لي</sup> (4) whereas material which he acquired

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(1) E.g. The account of the dream which al-Bursuqi is said to have had on the night before his assassination (Aleppo Chronicle, Recueil III, p.654, l.12 to p.655 l.2

Biographical Dictionary Recueil, p.726, ll.1-7).

(2) Recueil III, p.705, ll.4-10

(3) Recueil III, p.723, l.12 to p.724, l.6

Here the Recueil text has

<sup>ابو الحسن علي ابن محمد بن الجوزي</sup>  
this, with the exception of <sup>الجوزي</sup> is Ibn al-Athir's name and the quotation was undoubtedly derived from him because it appears in the Kamil X, p.270, ll.8-13

Therefore <sup>الجوزي</sup> should be corrected to <sup>الجزري</sup> both here and in the index. p.734 under "Abou 'l-Hacan Ali" Ibn al-Athir was <sup>نسب</sup> called from al-Jazira, the place of his birth. (Ibn Khallikhan: Biographical Dictionary trans. <sup>ص 288</sup> Vol.II p.288)

(4) Recueil III, p.726, ll.1-6

by reading he introduces by <sup>قرأت</sup> (1). If, in fact, Kamal al-Din did not have the Kamil, and therefore only quotes what he acquired orally from Ibn al-Athir, it might account for the scantiness in the Aleppo Chronicle of material similar to any in the Kamil. In any event there is no closely similar material between the years 490 A.H. to 516 A.H. There are some passages, however, which are perhaps not too divergent to preclude the possibility of a common source. For instance, Ibn al-Athir's account of the assassination of Badr al-Din Lulu<sup>(2)</sup> might have been formed by the collation (and compression) of Kamal al-Din's second version of Lulu's departure from Aleppo<sup>(3)</sup> together with his third version of the assassination itself.<sup>(4)</sup> The reason given by Ibn al-Athir for Lulu's departure is that he left to join Ibn Malik, while the reason given by Kamal al-Din in his second version is that he left to join Ibn Malik "in order to collect the money which he had deposited with him." Ibn al-Athir's account of the actual assassination is that some Turkomans accomplished it at the fortress of Nadir by pretending to shoot at a hare. This corresponds to Kamal al-Din's third version of the shooting except that Kamal al-Din records the name of a particular soldier - Sunqur al-Jikrimishi - as the instigator of the ruse. So far it will have been noted that any additional material has appeared in Kamal al-Din, but



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(1) Biographical Dictionary Recueil III, p.726, l.8.

(2) Kamil X, p.224, l.1.

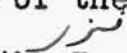

(3) Kamal, p.610, l.13 foll.

(4) Ibid., p.611, l.5 foll.

Ibn al-Athir has one extra detail, namely that Lulu had dismounted at the fortress of Nadir "for a drink of water". Other extra material in the Kamil appears after the words "a hare, a hare" and consists in the explanation "they tush made him imagine they were chasing a hare." This is so typical of Ibn al-Athir's explanatory insertions that one may assume it was not in the original source. It will be noted that the name of Ibn Malik's fortress appears as  in the Kamil and as  in the Aleppo Chronicle. This alone, however, could not invalidate the supposition of a common source because there seems to be little precision about place-names in these accounts.<sup>(1)</sup> Another divergence is that of date. Evidently two at least of the sources differed on this point, for Kamal al-Din, who enters the assassination under A.H. 510, notes that "some say it occurred in 511", and conversely Ibn al-Athir, who enters it under A.H. 511, notes that "some say it occurred in 510".

On the whole, the evidence does not seem sufficient for a definite conclusion on whether Ibn al-Athir was here using any of Kamal al-Din's sources or not. There are three other passages<sup>(2)</sup> which have the same sort of general similarity to the Kamil. Perhaps this similarity is the result of Kamal al-Din and Ibn al-Athir having used semi-official reports of the

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(1) For instance the name of the place where the assassination occurred appears as  in the Cairo text of the Kamil and as  in the Recueil text.

(2) (i) Mustering of the Muslim Amirs for the Relief Antioch.  
(ii) Sortie of the Franks from Antioch.  
(iii) Bursuq Ibn Bursuq's campaign in A.H. 509.

same events - reports which contained the same general facts as basis, but which differed in detail according to the interests of the town in which they were preserved.

Before leaving Kamal al-Din we may ask whether a source from which he quotes in his Biographical Dictionary, and which is also referred to by Ibn Muyassar, could have been used by Ibn al-Athir. The title is given as "History of the Franks who came forth to the Land of Islam", and the author's name as Abu'l Fawaris Hamdan ibn 'Abd al-Rahim.<sup>(1)</sup> There is not much evidence to go on. Ibn Muyassar records the name of the author and the title of the history under A.H. 520, stating that the author "brought despatches to Egypt from Aleppo during these years." It is natural, therefore, that the author of the Aleppo Chronicle should also have known of him. We must infer from what Kamal al-Din says, however, that a few pages only of the history came into his hands, so that he cannot have used it extensively. Oddly enough the one passage which Kamal al-Din quotes from it (assassination of Aq-Sunqur al-Bursuqi) is immediately preceded by a version of the same event furnished him by Ibn al-Athir, and the one shows no trace of any dependence upon the other. This, however, is the only example we have, so it cannot be held to disprove the possibility of Hamdan having been a common source of Ibn Muyassar and Ibn al-Athir.

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(1) Recueil III, p.726. Ibn Muyassar, p.70

### CONCLUSION

In considering the sources for the Kamil we noted in the first part of our inquiry that there were only two sources of which we could speak with certainty: the Damascus Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi, because Ibn al-Qalanisi was named by Ibn al-Athir; and the source of oral information which Ibn al-Athir tells us in the Atabaks he received mostly from his father.

Turning to Ibn al-Athir's methods of presenting information we found that they would inevitably have the effect of altering source material. Such alterations involved transposition or omission of the date, and also the suppression of introductory words; to make information conform to his framework, Ibn al-Athir would alter subordinate clauses to coordinate, and change their position; in the effort to simplify, or clarify, he would substitute a general term for a specific, or omit it altogether; he would substitute a proper name for a suffix, or vice versa; he would also insert explanatory clauses, make, sometimes unjustifiably, inferential additions, and changes dictated by personal bias. All these changes made his sections conform to an invariable and recognisable pattern, beneath which the original form of source material could be discerned.

In considering Ibn al-Qalanisi it became apparent that the material drawn from him and inserted in the Kamil did not conform perfectly to this pattern, since it either disturbed the

framework, or was added as a postscript to sections already complete in themselves, or was inserted in the "Miscellany Sections." On the other hand there was exhibited in it the other types of modifications mentioned above. As to the actual material drawn from Ibn al-Qalanisi, however, it was obvious that Ibn al-Athir had added it in a late recension, probably when he was revising the Kamil in the years 626-28 sometime during the course of which, as we know, he visited Damascus.

Since no other earlier work offered a source, it became necessary to seek traces of the unknown sources in contemporary and later works.

In the second part of our inquiry parallel passages in the Kamil were compared with other works with varying results. With regard to Kamal al-Din, the evidence was insufficient to warrant the conclusion that he had used any source used by Ibn al-Athir, although he derived information from him by word of mouth. With regard to Sibte Ibn al-Jawzi, a common source appeared to have been used, and this source was one of the sources which Ibn al-Athir shared with Bar Hebraeus: the nature of this source was accordingly discussed in the section treating of the Syriac Chronography. Ibn Muyassar also appeared to have preserved a source which Ibn al-Athir used for matters relative to Egypt. Finally, the Syriac Chronography of Bar Hebraeus revealed two of the principal sources of Ibn al-Athir: the one

used for the activities of the Governors of Mosul, and the relations with the Seljuq Sultans, was probably official in Character; in the Syriac Chronography, material derived from this source is entered under the "year of the Arabs," and the source was undoubtedly Arabic in language and Muslim in orientation. The other source, which was used extensively by Bar Hebraeus, and which was obviously abridged by Ibn al-Athir, gives detailed accounts of the activities of Syrian and Armenian Christian leaders such as Kozh Basil and Gabriel the Greek: of northern Muslim leaders such as the Seljuqs of Rum, and Ibn al-Danishmand; it also gave information of Edessa and the surrounding territories, and followed the fortunes of Baldwin of Edessa to Jerusalem, as we see from the parallel passages in Matthew of Edessa and the Kamil. Material from this source is usually entered by Bar Hebraeus under the "year of the Greeks," and in copying from this source Ibn al-Athir has transcribed the name of the Syrian month, "Ilul," and so the evidence may be held to be conclusive that this source was Armenian or Syriac in origin: many passages suggest that it was also Christian. As we know from Bar Hebraeus that Arabic manuscripts sometimes dated events in the "year of the Greeks," and as we know too from the request made to him to translate his Syriac Chronography into Arabic, that there was a public which enjoyed such translations, we may assume that Ibn al-Athir had this source in an Arabic translation; it was his principal source for crusading matters.

Comparison of this material with the Kamil confirms the conclusion drawn from the consideration of Ibn al-Qalanisi,

that Ibn al-Athir seldom transcribes verbatim; his object was to rearrange all items of information so as to produce a readable, consecutive narrative, of such main events as he selected for presentation. His emendations, though sometimes pointless, and sometimes almost malicious, as in the unjustifiable emendation in the story of the tombs of the Patriarchs, which is actually damaging to the reputation for veracity of Ibn al-Qalanisi. Thus Carl Brockelmann's opinion that Ibn al-Athir would be found to treat his unknown sources with the same care which he exercised when using Tabari, cannot be substantiated. On the other hand, Ibn al-Athir's bold disregard for the letter of a source marks his attempt to break away completely from the annalistic method, and shows his stature as an historian. It was his task to collect and compile the first general history of this period, and he accomplished the task, perhaps without meticulous accuracy, but with a clear appreciation of literary form, and the art of the story-teller.

## APPENDIX

A. List of parallel passages in the  
Kamil and the Damascus Chronicle.KAMILDAMASCUS CHRONICLE

A.H. 493

A.H. 493

Cairo X p.124

Amedroz p.137, last line -- p.138,  
end of year.Heading: "Victory of the  
Muslims over the Franks."Al-Danishmand -- battle with  
Bohemund near Malatiya in Dhu'l-  
Qada Bohemund is captured.  
Al-Danishmand's victory.  
Bohemund at Afamiya.Bohemund at Afamiya. Al-Danishmand --  
battle with Franks near Malatiya in  
Rajab Bohemund brings assistance --  
is captured. Al-Danishmand's victory.(compare parallel in Syriac  
Chronography<sup>(1)</sup>: account  
derived from Bar Hebraeus'  
source, but note concerning  
Bohemund at Afamiya inserted  
in late recension).

A.H. 494

A.H. 494

Cairo X p.128-9

Amedroz p.139 line 9 -- p.140 line 4

Heading: "The Affairs of the  
Qadi of Jabala."Introduction -- Qadi seeks a  
Governor from Damascus --  
Taj al-Muluk Buri deputed --  
Qadi goes to Baghdad -- his  
wealth appropriated.Qadi seeks a Governor from Damascus --  
Taj al-Muluk Buri deputed Qadi goes  
to Baghdad -- his wealth appropriated.

Explanatory note.

Taj al-Muluk Buri at Jabala.

Taj al-Muluk Buri at Jabala.

---

(1) Part of Appendix B.

KAMIL

A.H. 494 (cont.)

Cairo X p.135

Heading: "Frankish Conquests in Syria".

Death of Godfrey

Baldwin attacked by Duqaq and Janah al-Dawla on the road from Edessa  
Suqman at Saruj

Capture of Haifa, Arsuf, and Caesarea.

(note alteration of order of events by Ibn al-Athir)

DAMASCUS CHRONICLE

A.H. 494 (cont.)

Amedroz p.138, commencement of year  
-- p.139, line 3

Suqman at Saruj

Baldwin attacked by Duqaq and Janah al-Dawla on the road from Edessa

Capture of Haifa, Arsuf, and Caesarea.

A.H. 495

Cairo X p.144

Heading: "Activities of the Franks".

"The Frankish count, the lord of Edessa," at Bairut.

Reinforcements from Egypt for Ascalon and the coastal towns.

Baldwin attacks and is defeated -- hides in a thicket of rushes.

A.H. 495

Amedroz p.140, 3rd line from commencement of year.

"The count of Edessa, the commander of the Franks," at Bairut.

Reinforcements from Egypt for the coastal towns.

(cf Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi for correct text).

A.H. 497

Cairo X p.155

Heading: "Capture of Jubayl and Akka by the Franks".Frankish fleet at Laodicaea.  
St. Gilles at Tarabulus.

He gains Jubayl by capitulation -- betrays the terms.

A.H. 497

Amedroz p.143, from the commencement of year for six lines.

Frankish fleet at Laodicaea.  
St. Gilles at Tarabulus.

He gains Jubayl by capitulation -- betrays the terms.

KAMIL

(continued from preceding page)

From Jubayl Franks go to Akka -- capture Akka helped by Baldwin's reinforcements. Egyptian governor seeks quarter -- goes to Damascus -- then to Egypt.

A.H. 499

Cairo X p.171, last three lines.

Heading: "The Franks Capture Afamiya."

Death of capture of Abu Tahir. Fate of Abu Tahir.

(cross reference to entry under A.H.507 concerning Abu Tahir, not in Cairo text).

A.H. 499 (cont.)

Cairo X p.173

Heading: "Miscellaneous Items."

Kilij Arslan -- his illness.

A.H. 501

Cairo X p.191 (line 12 to end of section)

Heading: "Ibn Ammar's Journey to Baghdad to appeal for Holy War."

Ibn Ammar returns to Damascus, accompanied by the 'Askar -- he captures Jabala in the following year.

Meanwhile Tarabulus has obtained a governor from Egypt.

DAMASCUS CHRONICLE

(continued from preceding page)

Amedroz p.143, 1st line -- p.144, line 10.

Baldwin captures Akka, helped by the Genoese vessels. Egyptian governor seeks quarter -- goes to Damascus -- then to Egypt.

A.H. 499

Amedroz p.150, line 15

A.H. 499 (cont.)

Amedroz p.150, lines 8-11

Kilij Arslan -- his illness.

A.H. 501

Amedroz p.161, lines 16-21

Ibn Ammar, after returning to Damascus, captures (Jabala) helped by a detachment of the 'askar.

The word "Jabala" is missing from the printed text. (Gibb, trans. p.86)

Tarabulus has obtained a governor from Egypt.

KAMIL

Cairo X p.192, lines 6-8

Heading: "Miscellaneous  
Items."

Baldwin at Tyre.

A.H. 501 (contd.)

Cairo X p.192, lines 8-11

Baldwin at Sidon  
Victory of the Egyptian Fleet.

A.H. 502

Cairo X p.199, lines 19-27

Heading: "Miscellaneous  
Items."Damascus caravan captured  
by the Franks. Slaughter  
of the Batini at Shaizar.

A.H. 503

Cairo X p.200, from  
beginning of year -- p.201,  
end of section.Heading: "The Franks Capture  
Tarabulus and Bairut<sup>(1)</sup> in Syria."Egyptians hold Tarabulus --  
arrival of Raymond (sic)  
son of St. Gille -- quarrel  
with de Cerdagne -- arrival  
of Tancred and Baldwin.Siege of Tarabulus -- delay  
of Egyptian fleet because of  
disputes in Egypt -- Franks  
capture the town.DAMASCUS CHRONICLEAmedroz p.159, commencement of year  
to line 3

Baldwin at Tyre.

A.H. 501 (contd.)

Amedroz p.161, line 11 to end of  
year.Baldwin at Sidon  
Victory of the Egyptian Fleet.

A.H. 502

Amedroz p.183, lines 1-10

Damascus caravan captured by the  
Franks. Slaughter of the Batini  
at Shaizar.

A.H. 502

Amedroz p.163, line 7 - end of  
paragraph.Arrival of Raymond (sic) son of  
St. Gille -- encamps -- quarrel  
with de Cerdagne -- arrival of  
Tancred and Baldwin.Siege of Tarabulus -- delay of  
Egyptian fleet because of contrary  
winds -- Franks capture the town.

---

(1) Ibn al-Athir has not included an account of the capture of Bairut, which took place in this year (503 -- Amedroz p.167, 4th line from bottom): Ibn al-Athir refers to it, however, in the following year (Cairo X p.202) as if he had already recorded it.

KAMIL

Cairo X p.201, complete section.

Heading: "The Franks Capture Jubail (Jabala) and Banyas (Balanea) in Syria."

Tancred takes Jabala and then Balanea by agreement with Fakhr al-Mulk ibn Ammar. Arrival and departure of Egyptian fleet after distribution of stores.

Fakhr al-Mulk visits Shaizar and Damascus, and is granted a fief.

Ibn al-Athir adds, "That was in the year five hundred and two." (numerals in writing).

---

A.H. 504

Cairo X p.202 entire section.

Heading: "The Franks Capture the town of Sidon."

Arrival of crusading<sup>(1)</sup> fleet.

Baldwin and fleet attack Sidon.

Inhabitants granted terms.

Baldwin returns and imposes tribute of 20,000 dinars.

---

Cairo X p.203, complete section.

Heading: "The Egyptians Establish Control over Ascalon."

DAMASCUS CHRONICLE

Amedroz p.163, last line -- p.164, end of paragraph.

Tancred takes Jabala and then Balanea by agreement with Fakhr al-Mulk ibn Ammar. Arrival and departure of Egyptian fleet after distribution of stores.

Amedroz p.164, last line -- p.165, end of year.

Fakhr al-Mulk visits Shaizar and Damascus, and is granted a fief. Ibn al-Qalanisi adds, "That was in the year 503," (numerals in figures).

---

A.H. 503

Amedroz p.171, line 9 - end of year.

Arrival of crusading fleet.

Baldwin and fleet attack Sidon.

Inhabitants granted terms.

Baldwin returns and imposes tribute of 20,000 dinars.

---

A.H. 504

Amedroz p.174, line 5 - end of paragraph.

---

(1) Stevenson (Crusaders in the East, p.59), calls it a "Norwegian" fleet, but does not mention his source.

KAMIL

(continued from preceding page)

Egyptian governor, Shams al-Khalifa, having come to terms with Baldwin, al-Afdal sends a force against him, but he rebels, planning to hand over to Ascalon to Baldwin. Al-Afdal allays his suspicions -- he brings in a company of Armenians -- The Kutama assassinate him -- al-Afdal content.

---

A.H. 504 (contd.)

Cairo X p.204, lines 6-7

Heading: "The Franks Capture the Fortress of al-Atharab, etc."

Egyptian merchant vessals captured by the Franks.

Cairo *ibid.*, line 8 - end of section.

In Baghdad, a company from Aleppo appeal for aid in the Holy War.

---

Cairo X p.204, lines 19-22.

Heading: "Miscellaneous Items."

Embassy from the Emperor at Constantinople, to exhort to Muslims to join in expelling the Franks.

(Ibn al-Athir has, "the people of Aleppo said to the Sultan, "Do you not fear God, that the King of the Greeks is more zealous for the cause of Islam than you are ... ?")

DAMASCUS CHRONICLE

(continued from preceding page)

Egyptian governor, Shams al-Khalifa, having come to terms with Baldwin, al-Afdal sends a force against him, but he rebels, planning to hand over Ascalon to Baldwin. Al-Afdal allays his suspicions -- he brings in a company of Armenioans -- the Kutama assassinate him -- al-Afdal content.

---

A.H. 504 (contd.)

Amedroz p.171, commencement of year -- p.174, line 4.

Egyptian merchant vessals captured by the Franks.

Amedroz p.173, line 7 - end of paragraph.

In Baghdad, a company from Aleppo appeal for aid in the Holy War.

---

Amedroz p.173, beginning of last paragraph -- p.174, end of paragraph.

Embassy from the Emperor at Constantinople, to exhort the Muslims to join in expelling the Franks.

KAMIL

A.H. 506

Cairo X p.207, commencement  
of year for 5 lines.No Heading.Mawdud's cavalry horses  
pastured at Edessar, and  
then at Saruj -- Joscelyn  
surprises and captures  
many of them.DAMASCUS CHRONICLE

A.H. 505

Amedroz p.181, lines 19-26.

Mawdud encamps before Edessa, and  
consumes the crops -- then before  
Saruj, where Joscelyn makes a  
successful raid on the horses at  
pasture.

A.H. 506

Cairo X p.208, lines 7-11.

Death of "Basil the Armenian:"  
Tancred sets out to take his  
domains, but falls ill, and  
dies on returning to Antioch.  
After some dispute, he is  
succeeded by Roger.

Amedroz p.183, lines 18-22.

Tancred sets out to take the domains  
of "Kurwasil the Armenian leader"  
who has died, but falls ill, and dies  
on returning to Antioch. He is  
succeeded by Roger.

A.H. 505

Cairo X p.208, lines 11-12.

Death of Karaja of Hima, and  
accession of "Qirjan" (sic)<sup>(1)</sup>

A.H. 507

Amedroz p.182, lines 1-4

Death of Karaja of Hims and accession  
of Khirkhan.

A.H. 507

Cairo X p.209, lines 11-12.

Heading: "Battle with the  
Franks: their defeat:  
Assassination of Mawdud."The head of Mawdud's assassin is cut off,  
is cut off, but no one recognises it.  
it.Amedroz p.187, lines 12-13 after  
commencement of year.(The whole account of the  
assassination appears in the  
Atabaks, with the exception  
of these words, which Ibn al-  
Athir inserted from Ibn al-  
Qalanisi into his already  
completed account in the Kamil).

---

(1) Ibn al-Athir's error in putting "Qirjan" where Ibn al-Qalanisi has "Khirkhan", possibly arose from his inadvertently copying the third consonant of the father's name, K-R-J-

KAMILDAMASCUS CHRONICLE

A.H. 506

Cairo X p.210, lines 1-2

Amedroz p.183, lines 1-10

Heading: "Miscellaneous  
Items."Plundering of the Damascus  
caravan. (Duplicate account  
appears under A.H. 502, Cairo  
X p.199).

Plundering of the Damascus caravan.

A.H. 507

Cairo X p.210, lines 4-16

Amedroz p.189, line 11 - p.190, line 3/

Death of Rudwan and accession  
of Alp Arslan: the eunuch  
Lulu advises him to put down  
the Batini: the Batini leader,  
Abu Tahir, and others, are  
killed.Cross reference to another  
account of Abu Tahir's death  
is missing from the Cairo text.Problems of Alp Arslan: slaughter  
of the Batini at Shaizar. (This was  
copied by Ibn al-Athir and inserted,  
presumably under this year, then  
transferred by a copyist to A.H. 502  
-- Cairo X p.199 -- discussed in  
Section on Ibn al-Qalanisi)

A.H. 509

A.H. 509

Cairo X p.216, first section.

Amedroz p.192, lines 1-11 from  
commencement of the year.Heading: "Capture of Rafaniya  
by the Franks, and its Recapture."The Franks, having fortified  
Rafaniya, use it as a base for  
destructive forays, Tughtakin  
catches them off guard, retakes  
the town without loss.The Franks take Rafaniya. Tughtakin,  
learning that it is undefended, re-  
takes it by storm, and returns safe  
and sound.

A.H. 511

A.H. 511

Cairo X p.224, lines 1-2  
of this section.

Amedroz p.199, lines 9-10.

Heading: "Miscellaneous  
Items."Eclipse of the moon --  
the Franks raid Hama.The Franks raid Hama during an  
eclipse of the moon.

KAMIL

A.H. 513

Cairo X p.237, lines 6-8  
after commencement of section.

Report of the opening of the  
tombs of the Patriarchs "thus  
narrates Hamza ibn Asad." (Ibn  
al-Qalanisi).  
(Ibn al-Athir's only reference  
to a source in the period  
490-516).

A.H. 514

Cairo X p.249, first entry  
in this section.

Heading: "Miscellaneous Items."

Balak crushes Ghafras the Greek. Balak crushes Ghafras the Greek.  
(The source used by Bar  
Hebraeus in the Syriac  
Chronography may have been  
Ibn al-Athir's source here:  
Bar Hebraeus states the amount  
of the ransom. Budge Vol. I  
p.249).

Cairo X p.249, second entry  
in the same section.

Joscelyn raids an encampment  
of Arabs and Turks at Siffin.

DAMASCUS CHRONICLE

A.H. 513

Amedroz p.202, lines 8-12.

Report of the opening of the tombs  
of the Patriarchs.

A.H. 514

Amedroz p.202, lines 5-7 after  
commencement of year.

Amedroz p.203, lines 3-5.

Joscelyn raids an encampment of Arabs  
and Turks at Siffin.

B. List of parallel passages in the Kamil  
and the Syriac Chronography of Bar Hebraeus.

KAMILSYRIAC CHRONOGRAPHY

A.H. 491

"1498 of the Greeks"

Cairo X p.113, line 24 -  
p.114, line 8

Budge I p.234-5

Heading: "The Franks  
Capture Antioch."Nine months the Franks  
besiege Antioch --  
arrangements with the  
Armenian "Ruzba" --  
entry of the Franks --  
flight and death of Yaghi  
siyan.Nine months the Franks besiege  
Antioch -- arrangements with Ruzbah,  
an Armenian -- entry of the Franks --  
flight and death of "Gaisgan."Cairo X p.115, complete  
section.

Budge I p.235

Heading: "The Franks Capture  
Ma'arras al-Nu'man."The Franks take Ma'arras --  
Shaizar -- Arqa -- Hims.The Franks take Ma'arras -- Mount  
Lebanon -- Shaizar -- Arqa --  
Emesa.

A.H. 492

Cairo X p.117, lines 8-21

Budge I p.235-236

Heading : "The Franks, may  
Allah imprecate them, capture  
Jerusalem."The Egyptians capture Jerusalem  
-- appoint a governor.The Franks attack -- the  
siege lasts 40 days -- the  
two siege towers -- entry  
from another side -- massacre  
of 70,000 inhabitants in the  
Mosque of al-Aqsa -- the  
pillage from the Sakhra.The Franks attack Jerusalem --  
siege lasts 40 days -- an  
Egyptian commands the city --  
-- the two siege towers -- entry  
from another side -- massacre of  
70,000 in the Temple of Solomon --  
pillage from the Sakhra.

A.H. 493

"Year of the Arabs 493 ... year  
of the Greeks 1413 (in certain  
Arabic manuscripts 1312)."

KAMIL A.H. 493

Cairo X p.124, complete section.

Heading: "Victory of the Muslims over the Franks."

Information concerning al-Danishmand. In Dhu'l-Qada he fights Bohemund. The ruler of Malatiya<sup>(1)</sup> had sent for Bohemund.

Danishmand puts Bohemund to flight, and captures him.

Danishmand besieges Malatiya and takes it.

A.H. 495

Cairo X p.143, last line of section.

Heading: "St. Gille, and his activities ..."

Danishmand releases Bohemund, and takes from him 100,000 dinars.

SYRIAC CHRONOGRAPHY

"In the year of the Arabs 493 ... year of the Greeks 1413 (in certain Arabic mss. 1412)

Budge I p.237

Gabriel, the ruler of Meletene being harassed by Bar-Danishmand, sends for Bohemund. Khoj Basil and others warn Danishmand to ambush Bohemund...

Danishmand lays an ambush, captures Bohemund, and sends him to Sebastia.

Danishmand besieges Meletene, and it is surrendered to him (18th Ilul, 1413 of the Greeks, "in some Arabic mss., 1412").

Danishmand brings Bohemund to Meletene, and sells him for 100,000 dinars.

As above, from beginning of section.

"1414 of the Greeks"

Budge I p.237

St. Gilles flees from Cilicia with only three hundred men. The governor of Tarabulus informs Damascus and Hims that St. Gilles has only a small force, and the armies of these three gather against him, at the gate of Tarabulus<sup>(2)</sup>. St. G. drew up his men there. He sent 100 against the men of Damascus, 100 against the men of Tarabulus, 50 against the men of Hims, and kept 50 himself. He finally routed the combined forces.

St. Gilles is in Tarsos (in Cilicia). The Arabs hear he has only a small force.

The Turks from Tripoli, Hims and Damascus gather together against him.

Because St. Gilles has only 300 men, he sends 100 against the men of Damascus, 100 against the men of Tripoli, 50 against the men of Hims, and kept 50 himself. He finally routed the combined Muslim forces, of whom 7,000 were killed. He then sallied forth from Cilicia.

(1) Note that Bar Hebraeus names the ruler of Malatiya, "Gabriel the Greek", but Ibn al-Athir leaves him nameless. It is probable therefore that the name was in the source.

(2) Note that Ibn al-Athir implies that St. Gilles met The Muslim forces in Syria, near Tripoli, whereas Bar Hebraeus implies that the battle took place in Cilicia.

KAMIL

(continued from preceding page)

He then forced Tarabulus to come to terms, and captured Antaradus.

A.H. 500

Cairo X pp.176-177

Heading: "March of Jawali Saqaw to Mosul, and the imprisonment of Jikrimish, the governor."

Jawali had been granted Mosul as a fief, because Jikrimish had shown signs of disloyalty. Jikrimish marched out to meet Jawali, but was defeated and taken prisoner. His followers in Mosul sent for Kiliij Arslan. Death of Jikrimish. Trouble in Mosul.

Cairo X pp.178-179

Heading: "Kiliij Arslan takes possession of Mosul."

Kiliij Arslan installed in Mosul. Has his own name proclaimed in the Khutba.

Kiliij establishes his son in the "house of government," with an emir<sup>(1)</sup> to manage his affairs.

Kiliij marches to the Khabur. Jawali enlists Rudwan's help. Engagement at the Khabur -- conspicuous bravery of Kiliij, but defeat of his troops. He casts himself into the Khabur so that he may not be taken alive, and is drowned.

SYRIAC CHRONOGRAPHY

(continued from preceding page)

He then besieged Tarabulus, and captured Antaradus.

"Year of the Arabs 500"

Budge I pp.239-240

Jagarmish had been plotting rebellion in Mosul, and so it was granted to Jawali as a fief. Jagarmish marched out to meet Jawali, but was defeated and taken prisoner.

His followers in Mosul sent for Kiliij Arslan. Death of Jikrimish (Jagarmish) Problems for Mosul.

Budge X p.240

Kiliij Arslan installed in Mosul. Has his own name proclaimed in the Khutba.

Kiliij leaves his son as king, under the tutelage of his mother, and a governor named Bazmish.<sup>(1)</sup>

Kiliij marches to the Khabur. Jawali enlists Rudwan's help. Engagement at the Khabur -- conspicuous bravery of Kiliij, but defeat of his troops. He casts himself into the Khabur so that he may not be taken alive, and his horse's feet sink in the mud through the weight of his armour, and he is drowned.

(1) Note that Ibn al-Athir leaves the governor appointed by Kiliij Arslan nameless, while Bar Hebraeus supplies the governor's name, Bazmish.

KAMIL(continued from  
preceding page)

Jawali is admitted to Mosul --  
khutba restored for the  
Sultan Muhammed -- fate of  
followers of Jikrimish --  
Jawali goes to Jazirat ibn  
Omar, where Habashi, son of  
Jikrimish pays him 6,000  
dinars --  
Jawali returns to Mosul --  
sends the son of Kiliij  
Arslan to the Sultan.

A.H. 502

Cairo X pp.192-193, complete  
section.

Heading: "Mawdud and the  
'Askar of the Sultan gain  
possession of Mosul ..."

Jawali rebellious --  
Mawdud (sent by the Sultan)  
attacks -- Workmen deliver  
Mosul to Mawdud --

Jawali and Ilghazi --  
Jawali liberates his  
prisoner, Baldwin of Edessa --  
Baldwin sends Joscelyn as a  
hostage, and Jawali frees  
Joscelyn -- Jawali and  
Baldwin overcome by Tancred  
and Rudwan --  
Jawali seeks the Sultan,  
shroud in hand.

A.H. 504

Cairo X p.203, line 27-  
p.204, line 6

Heading: "The Franks Capture  
the fortress of al-Atharab, etc."

SYRIAC CHRONOGRAPHY

(continued from preceding page)

Jawali admitted to Mosul -- deals  
with the followers of Jikrimish  
and Kiliij Arslan -- sends the son  
of Kiliij Arslan to the Sultan.  
Jawali goes to Jazirat ibn Omar,  
where Habeshi, son of Jikrimish  
pays him 6,000 dinars and a horse.

Jawali returns to Mosul --

"Year of the Arabs 502"

Budge I pp.241-243

Jawali rebellious -- Mawdud (sent  
by the Sultan) attacks --  
Jawali, who had left Mosul,  
liberates his prisoner, Baldwin of  
Edessa --  
Baldwin sends Joscelyn as a hostage,  
and Jawali frees Joscelyn --  
Workmen deliver Mosul to Mawdud --  
Jawali and Ilghazi --

Jawali and Baldwin overcome by  
Tancred and Rudwan -- (1)  
Jawali seeks the Sultan, cloak  
(Athir, "shroud") in hand.

"1421 of the Greeks"

Budge I pp.243-244

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(1) The point of the account here is that Jawali carried his shroud into the Sultan's presence, indicating that he deserved death: the gesture succeeded, and he was pardoned.

KAMIL

(continued from  
preceding page)

Franks at Zaradna, Manbij,  
and Balash.

The amirs of Aleppo, Tyre,  
Shaizar and Hama buy a short  
respite from Tancred.

A.H. 505

Cairo X p.205-206, complete  
section.

Heading: "March of the  
"Askars to fight the Franks."

Mawdud and others on the  
Jihad --  
attack Edessa --  
Rudwan refuses entrance to  
Aleppo --  
Tughtakin's secret negotia-  
tions with the Franks.

A.H. 507

Cairo X pp.208-209  
complete section

Heading: "Rout of the Franks  
and Assassination of Mawdud."

Mawdud routs Baldwin and  
Joscelyn.  
Assistance for the Franks  
comes from Tarabulus and  
Antioch --  
Franks entrench themselves  
on a mountain for 26 days.  
The Arabs, growing short of  
provisions, go to Damascus.  
Assassination of Mawdud.  
Suspects.

SYRIAC CHRONOGRAPHY

(continued from preceding page)

Franks take several fortresses --  
they go to Mabbugh and Balash.

The amirs of Aleppo, Tyre, Ascalon,  
Shaizar and Hama buy a short respite  
from Tancred.

"Year of the Arabs 505"

Budge I p.244

Mawdud on the Jihad --

attacks Edessa --  
Rudwan refuses entrance to Aleppo --  
Tughtakin's secret negotiations  
with the Franks.

"Year of the Arabs 507"

Budge I pp.245-246

Mawdud routs Baldwin and Joscelyn.

Assistance for the Franks brought  
by "Bar Sanjel" and Roger --

Franks entrench themselves on a  
mountain for 26 days. The Arabs  
growing short of provisions, go  
to Damascus.  
Assassination of Mawdud.  
Suspects.

(cf Matthew of Edessa)

KAMIL

A.H. 508

Cairo X p.211, Complete section.

Heading: "Expedition of Aq-Sunqur al-Bursuqi to Syria to fight the Franks."

The Franks before Edessa  
 -- imprisonment of Ayaz ibn Ilghazi -- Death of Kogh Basil  
 -- activities of his widow -- she sends to Aq-Sunqur -- his envoy comes to her -- the Franks surprise his train outside the town -- Kogh Basil's widow promises submission to Aq-Sunqur.

A.H. 508

Cairo X p.214, first entry in section.

Heading: "Miscellaneous Items"

Earthquake in Edessa, Harran, Sumaisat and Balash.

A.H. 509

Cairo X p.215, line 19

Heading: Flight of the Sultan's 'askar from the Franks.

Roger routs Bursuq ibn Bursuq and his brother Zanki.

SYRIAC CHRONOGRAPHY

"Year of the Arabs 507"  
 "Year of the Greeks 1425"  
 Aksankur in command.  
 "Year of the Arabs 508"

Budge I pp.246-247

The Franks before Edessa --

Kogh Basil's widow sends to Aq-Sunqur --

his envoy comes to her -- the Franks surprise his train outside the town -- Kogh Basil's widow promises submission to Aq-Sunqur -- further activities of Aq-Sunqur --  
 -- imprisonment of Ayaz ibn Ilghazi

"Year of the Greeks 1426"

Budge I p.247

Earthquake at Mar'ash, Samosata, Edessa, Harran, Balash, and Khisum.

(also in Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi)

"Year 509 of the Arabs"  
 "Year 1427 of the Greeks"

Budge I p.247-8

Roger routs Aksenkur<sup>(1)</sup> (i.e. Bursuq ibn Bursuq) and his brother Zanki.

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(1) Bar Hebraeus is here confusing Aq-Sunqur al-Bursuqi with Bursuq ibn Bursuq

KAMIL

A.H. 514

Cairo X p.249, first entry  
in this section.

Heading: "Miscellaneous  
Items."

Balak and Ghafras the Greek.

SYRIAC CHRONOGRAPHY

"Year of the Arabs 512 --  
year of the Greeks 1430"

Budge I p.249.

Balak and Ghafras the Greek.

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