

ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

Walter the Chancellor's
The Antiochene Wars

Thomas S. Asbridge
Susan B. Edgington



CRUSADE TEXTS IN TRANSLATION

About the volume:

Walter the Chancellor's account of the wars of the Antiochenes against the Muslims in the early twelfth century is a vivid first-hand account of a dramatic period in the history of the northern Crusader states, and an important balance to the more usual focus on Jerusalem. Here it has for the first time been translated into English (from the Latin edition of H. Hagenmeyer). It is prefaced by a substantial introduction, discussing the author and his work in the context of the history and historiography of the Latin settlement, and is followed by a selection of comparative sources.

Walter the Chancellor's history will be of interest both to students of the Crusades and to a wider readership for its perspective on life in a medieval frontier society.

About the authors:

Thomas Asbridge is Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Reading. His monograph study of the early history of Antioch will appear shortly.

Susan Edgington teaches in further and higher education and has written on many aspects of the crusades. Her major work is an edition and translation of Albert of Aachen's history of the First Crusade.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Walter the Chancellor's
The Antiochene Wars

Crusade Texts in Translation

Editorial Board

Malcolm Barber (Reading), Bernard Hamilton (Nottingham),
Norman Housley (Leicester) and Peter Edbury (Cardiff)

Titles in this series include:

The Conquest of Jerusalem
and the Third Crusade
Sources in Translation
Peter Edbury

The Song of the Cathar Wars
A History of the Albigensian Crusade
Janet Shirley

Chronicle of the Third Crusade
A Translation of the *Itinerarium
Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*
Helen J. Nicholson

Crusader Syria in the
Thirteenth Century
The *Rothelin* Continuation
of the History of William of Tyre
with part of the *Eracles* or *Acre* text
Janet Shirley

Walter the Chancellor's
The Antiochene Wars

A Translation and Commentary by

THOMAS S. ASBRIDGE
and
SUSAN B. EDGINGTON

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 1999 by Ashgate Publishing

Reissued 2018 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © 1999 by Thomas S. Asbridge and Susan B. Edgington

Thomas S. Asbridge and Susan B. Edgington have asserted their moral right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1998 to be identified as the authors of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original copies may be apparent.

Disclaimer

The publisher has made every effort to trace copyright holders and welcomes correspondence from those they have been unable to contact.

A Library of Congress record exists under LC control number: 99072047

ISBN 13: 978-1-138-36218-5 (hbk)

ISBN 13: 978-0-429-43222-4 (ebk)

CRUSADE TEXTS IN TRANSLATION 4

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<i>Chronology</i>	viii
<i>Map</i>	ix

Introduction

Introduction	
Walter's subject matter	1
Walter as a historian	
Our knowledge of Walter	5
Historiographical background	8
Walter's purpose in writing <i>The Antiochene Wars</i>	11
Roger of Salerno	12
Baldwin of Le Bourcq	26
Bernard of Valence, patriarch of Antioch	34
The historical value of Walter's account	
Walter and the early history of the principality of Antioch	43
Walter as a military source	49
The depiction of Islam and eastern Christendom	59
Walter's attitude to religion and piety	69
Summary	73
Walter the Chancellor's <i>The Antiochene Wars</i>	
Book One	77
Book Two	109

Other Texts

Fulcher of Chartres	173
Albert of Aachen	181
Matthew of Edessa	184
Orderic Vitalis	190
William of Tyre	193
Charter (a)	205
Charter (b)	207

<i>Bibliography</i>	209
----------------------------	-----

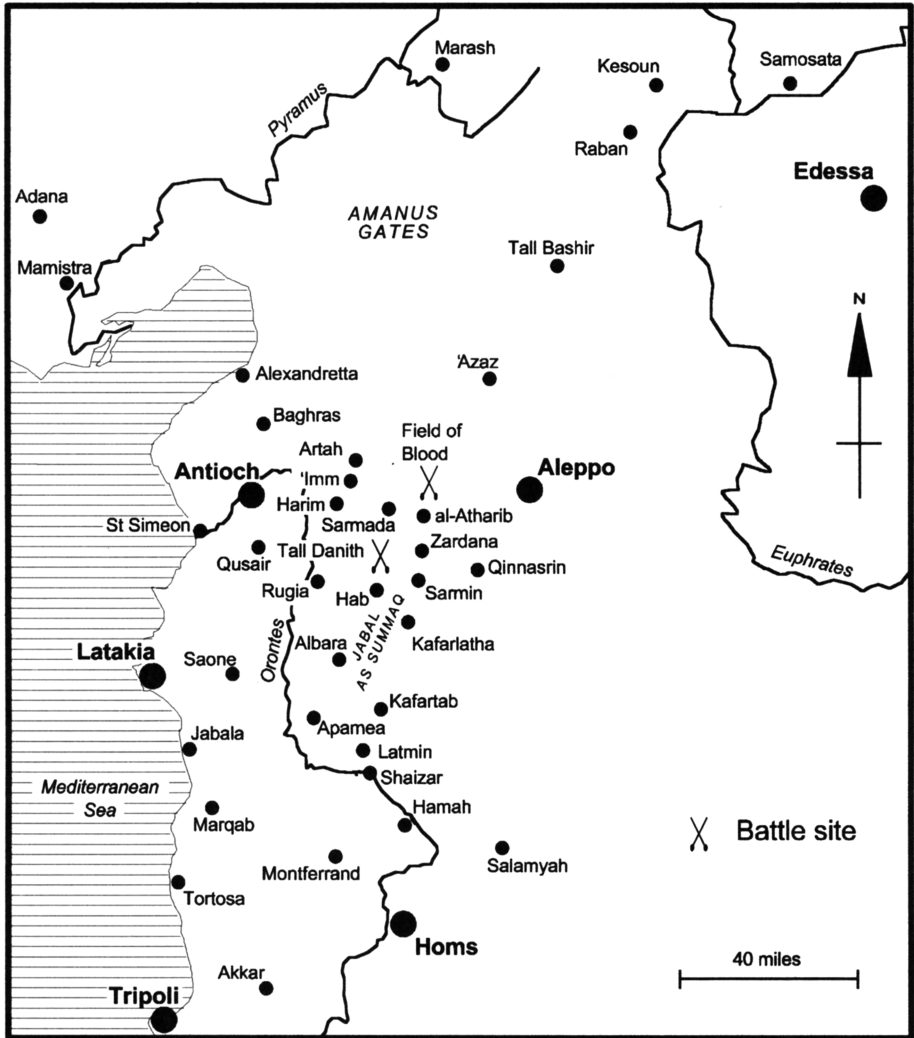
<i>Index</i>	213
---------------------	-----

Acknowledgements

In a collaborative venture of this kind our first debt of gratitude must be to each other. Help on specific points from colleagues, students and friends has been noted at the appropriate points in the text. In addition we should like to thank especially Professor Bernard Hamilton, who read the text and made many valuable suggestions, and Dr Jonathan Phillips who supported and encouraged us from the inception of the project. We are very grateful to William Zajac who produced the index and bibliography as well as reading the text at different stages and doing his best to eliminate our grosser errors. A grant from the Miss Isabel Thornley Bequest to the University of London helped in the publication of this volume.

Chronology

- 29 November 1114 Earthquake damages Antioch
- Early Summer 1115 Meeting between Roger, Tughtegin and Ridwan
- June 1115 Antiochene forces move to Apamea to counter Bursuq
- August 1115 Arrival of King Baldwin I and Pons at Apamea
Bursuq feigns retreat
- 12 September 1115 Roger assembles Antiochene forces at Rugia
- 14 September 1115 First battle of Tall Danith, Bursuq defeated
-
- June 1119 Il-ghazi gathers forces at Qinnasrin
- c.20 June 1119 Roger advances to Artah
- 27 June 1119 Il-ghazi attacks al-Atharib
- 28 June 1119 Battle of the Field of Blood, Roger killed
- July 1119 King Baldwin II arrives at Antioch
- August 1119 Il-ghazi takes al-Atharib and Zardana
- 14 August 1119 Second battle of Tall Danith
-
- 1121 King David II of Georgia meets Il-ghazi in battle
- 1122 Death of Il-ghazi



Northern Syria



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Introduction

Walter's subject matter

In the aftermath of the First Crusade and the conquest of the cities of Edessa, Antioch and Jerusalem between 1097 and 1099 the Latins of western Europe established settlements in the Levant which were to endure for almost two centuries. In northern Syria the principality of Antioch was created by Bohemond of Taranto (1098-c.1105) and subsequently ruled by his nephew Tancred de Hauteville (c.1105-1112) and Roger of Salerno (1113-1119).¹ In these first decades the principality became increasingly powerful, second only to the kingdom of Jerusalem in standing amongst the Latin settlements.

Walter the Chancellor, an Antiochene official, wrote a first-hand narrative account of events within the principality between 1114 and 1115 and from 1119 to 1122. His work, *Bella Antiochena (The Antiochene Wars)*, is the most detailed source for the region in this early period of Latin settlement. Walter was also one of the few writers who did not approach the history of the Levant from the perspective of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Instead he provides us with a unique insight into Latin life in northern Syria during a formative period of Antiochene history.

The first book of Walter's account focuses upon the events of 1115, perhaps the apogee of early Antiochene power, when the principality was invaded by Bursuq of Hamadan. Roger of Salerno's initial response to this threat was to make a temporary alliance with the Muslims Tughtegin (d. 1128), atabeg of Damascus, and Il-ghazi ibn-Artuk of Mardin (d. 1122), who was at the time trying to extend his power over Aleppo. Roger also called upon his fellow Latin rulers in Tripoli and Jerusalem for assistance. A composite force was duly mustered at Apamea in July in order to counter Bursuq's army at Shaizar. The allies were unable to bring him to battle and when his army appeared to break up each member of the alliance returned home. Bursuq had, however, only feigned retreat and returned to attack the Jabal as-Summaq region to the south of Antioch. Roger elected to meet him in battle, with only Antiochene and Edessene troops, at Tall Danith on 14 September where he won a resounding victory which secured the principality's

¹ Roger was the son of Richard of the Principate, a southern Italian Norman. See, p. 77, n. 1.

safety and status in the short term.²

The theme of Walter's second book is very different. Instead of glorying in victory, he attempts to explain the disastrous Latin defeat and death of Roger in the battle of the Field of Blood on 28 June 1119. This was the first time that a Latin ruler in the Levant had been slain in battle and it was certainly the most serious military setback since the battle of Harran in 1104. Walter recounts the causes and consequences of the Field of Blood in great detail. In early June an Aleppan army under the command of Il-ghazi, Roger's former ally, gathered on the principality's eastern frontier. Roger responded by marching his own forces to Artah, and then on to a site near Sarmada around 20 June. On 27 June Il-ghazi's army attacked the nearby town of al-Atharib and then on the morning of the 28th launched a surprise attack upon the Latin camp. In the ensuing battle the Antiochene army was defeated and Roger slain in hand-to-hand combat.

The Muslim army, now reinforced by Tughtegin of Damascus, proceeded to capture a number of towns on the principality's eastern frontier and raided the region around Antioch itself. Initially the defence of the city was organized by the Latin Patriarch Bernard of Valence (1100-1135), but it was only with the arrival of Latin reinforcements under the command of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem in August that an effective military response could be made. Baldwin met the Muslims in an indecisive battle, again in the region of

² Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene Wars*, I. Prologue-7, pp. 77-108; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), II.53, pp. 582-3; Albert of Aachen, 'Historia Hierosolymitana', *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1879), XII.19-20, pp. 701-2; William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis archiepiscopi chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1986), 11.23, pp. 529-31; 11.25, pp. 532-4; Matthew of Edessa, *The chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. A.E. Dostourian (Lanham, New York, London, 1993), III.70, pp. 218-19; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascian chronicle of the crusades*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London, 1932), pp. 150-51; Usamah Ibn-Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian gentleman and warrior in the period of the crusades*, trans. P.K. Hitti (New York, 1929), pp. 101-6, p. 149; Kemal ed-Din, 'La chronique d'Alep', *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens orientaux*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1884), pp. 608-10; Ibn al-Athir, 'Kamel Altevarykh', *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens orientaux*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1872), pp. 296-8; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord a l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), pp. 272-5; S. Runciman, 'The kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East 1100-1187', *A history of the crusades*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 130-33; R.C. Smail, *Crusading warfare 1097-1193* (Cambridge 1956), pp. 143-8, pp. 178-9; H.E. Mayer, *The crusades*, 2nd ed., trans. J.B. Gillingham (Oxford, 1988), p. 71; J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The crusades. A short history* (London, 1987), p. 83.

Tall Danith, on 14 August, as a result of which Il-ghazi retreated to Aleppo. The immediate threat to the principality had been staved off, but the grave consequences of the Field of Blood had a profound long-term impact upon the history of Antioch and the Latin East. Roger died without a direct heir and thus Baldwin II was forced to assume the regency of Antioch until the arrival of Bohemond II from southern Italy in 1126. The principality's status within the Levant was shattered, while Baldwin's pre-occupation with northern Syria destabilized his rule in Jerusalem. The Field of Blood is also thought to have prompted the first Latin appeal for military aid from Europe.³

These momentous events form the backbone of much of Walter's writing and perhaps the central theme of his work is the attempt to compare, contrast and ultimately rationalize the impressive success of 1115 and the grim failure in 1119. Much of Walter's historical value derives from the step-by-step account of this short period and the rich detail he records in an attempt to explain Antioch's changing fortunes.

Walter was, of course, not the only writer to comment on these events. In order to place his work within its historical context this volume also contains translations of the other Latin sources for events in northern Syria in 1115 and 1119 as well as two early Antiochene charters. This corpus of primary material highlights the wealth of information supplied by Walter, while also demonstrating that other contemporaries could provide different perspectives and revealing some cross fertilization between sources.

In order to provide the reader with some background information this

³ Walter the Chancellor, II.Prologue-12, pp. 109-71; Fulcher of Chartres, III.3-7, pp. 620-35; Orderic Vitalis, *The ecclesiastical history*, vol. 6, ed. & trans. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1978), XI.25, pp. 104-8; William of Tyre, 12.9-12, pp. 556-62; Matthew of Edessa, III.79, pp. 223-4; Ibn al-Qalanisi, pp. 159-61; Usamah Ibn-Munqidh, pp. 148-50; Kemal ed-Din, pp. 616-22; Ibn al-Athir, pp. 323-5; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord*, pp. 283-90; S. Runciman, *A history of the crusades*, vol. 2, pp. 148-55; R.C. Smail, *Crusading warfare*, pp. 179-81; H.E. Mayer, *The crusades*, pp. 73-4; J. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land* (Oxford, 1996), p. 2, pp. 14-15; H.E. Mayer, 'The Concordat of Nablus', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 33 (1982), pp. 531-43; H.E. Mayer, 'Jérusalem et Antioche au temps de Baudouin II', *Comptes-rendu de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Novembre-Décembre 1980 (Paris, 1981), pp. 717-33; H.E. Mayer, 'Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem', *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, nouvelle série 5 (1984), pp. 126-30; H.E. Mayer, 'Die antiochenische Regentschaft Balduins II. von Jerusalem im Spiegel der Urkunden', *Deutsches Archiv*, vol. 47 (1991), pp. 559-66; H.E. Mayer, *Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, vol. 1, pp. 66-7, p. 455; T.S. Asbridge, 'The significance and causes of the battle of the Field of Blood', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 23.4, pp. 301-16.

introduction will outline our knowledge of Walter the Chancellor as an individual, discuss his sources of information and the relationship of his text to other sources, and trace the manuscript tradition of his account. It will also speculate about his reasons for writing and analyse how his different aims and agendas shaped his account. Walter's value as a source will also be discussed, with specific reference to our knowledge of the early history of the principality of Antioch, military practice and cross cultural interaction in the Latin East, and the importance of popular devotion and relics in the medieval Levant.

Walter as a historian

Our knowledge of Walter

Walter, the chancellor of Antioch, is known to us only through *The Antiochene Wars*. He named himself as 'the author Walter' at the start of Book One and then 'I myself, Walter the chancellor' in the Prologue to his second book.¹ He made only one explicit reference to his own actions throughout the account, noting that the chancellor was 'secretly called' by Roger for consultation on the eve of the battle of the Field of Blood.² He probably held this office from at least c.1114 to c.1122, the period which he covered in his account, but outside his narrative no evidence exists for the office, or links a name to it, before 1127, when Ralph the chancellor appeared as the third witness to a charter issued by Bohemond II.³ Although the chancellor's basic role was to head the chancery and oversee the production of documents, Walter did not appear in any charters.⁴

As chancellor we can expect Walter to have had a close relationship with Roger of Salerno, to have been privy at some points to the process of decision making and to have been an eye-witness to many of the events in the principality. He probably accompanied Roger to Apamea, Rugia and Tall Danith in 1115, and at the start of Book Two he noted that he had personally 'experienced' the principality's successes and failures.⁵ It is almost certain that Walter was present at the Field of Blood and was taken prisoner by Ilghazi's forces in the aftermath of the battle.⁶ On a number of occasions he mentioned the fact that he had himself been held captive in Aleppo in 1119, noting at one point that his memory might be 'dulled by the experience of the

¹ Walter the Chancellor, I.Prologue, p. 77; II.Prologue, p. 109.

² Walter the Chancellor, II.3, p. 120.

³ 'Liber Jurium republicae Genuensis, I', *Monumenta Historiae Patriae*, vol. 7 (Augustae Taurinorum, 1853), pp. 30-31, no. 20.

⁴ This does not mean that we should doubt that Walter was chancellor of Antioch. In this period only two chancery staff appear in charters, the notaries Amico de Foro and Peter the subdeacon. H.E. Mayer, *Varia Antiochena: Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert* (Hannover, 1993), pp. 75ff.

⁵ Walter the Chancellor, II.Prologue, p. 109.

⁶ Walter the Chancellor, II.2, p. 114. He noted that prior to the battle 'we ... forced our way to pitch camp at the Field of Blood'.

prison cell' and later commenting that he would describe the prisoners' 'wretched fate ... just as I saw and heard with my own eyes'.⁷ We should, therefore, probably assume that Walter was absent from the principality for at least the remainder of 1119 and thus treat his account of Baldwin II's actions in this period with some caution.

It is probably safe to assume that Walter came from a clerical background. Chancellors were often drawn from this pool of experience, Walter's writing is filled with references to divine will and he has an obvious fascination with piety, and, as we shall see, his account contains a number of scriptural allusions.

i) Walter as a historian

Walter seems to have made a conscious attempt to write a historical record of events in northern Syria which would be of use to future generations. At the start of Book One he wrote that God had 'deigned to instil in me from heaven the power of writing' and, as we shall see, he did try to convey specific messages about divine sanction and human behaviour throughout his work.⁸ He also had a fairly keen sense that he was writing a work of historical significance. In Book One he noted that he 'wished to put in writing the sequence of events and commend them to the memory of posterity' in order to preserve a record of the period which 'no previous history has ever told'.⁹ In Book Two he reflected on the fact that 'in earlier times ... some historian' would surely have chronicled the events of 1119, but as it was, he noted, 'we are compelled necessarily to speak, since there is no history-writer who can describe the succession of events in full'. He did not wish it to 'seem entirely to slip the memory' and thus he wrote his 'treatise, commending it to the memory of posterity'.¹⁰

This historical imperative seems to have given Walter a strong awareness of the need for narrative continuity. On a number of occasions in Book Two he commented upon the fact that he must not forget 'the order of events' or indulge 'in too great a digression'.¹¹ Like many medieval writers

⁷ Walter the Chancellor, II.Prologue, p. 110; II.7, p. 136; II.15, p. 166.

⁸ Walter the Chancellor, I.Prologue, p. 77. See: Walter's purpose in writing *The Antiochene Wars*, pp. 11-12.

⁹ Walter the Chancellor, I.Prologue, p. 77; p. 80.

¹⁰ Walter the Chancellor, II.Prologue, pp. 109-10.

¹¹ Walter the Chancellor, II.2, p. 115; II.6, p. 130; II.8, p. 136; II.13, p. 156.

Walter, of course, made this sort of comment precisely when he was engaged in an aside. He also showed some desire to establish the credibility of his sources, commenting on his own eye-witness status and on one occasion noting that he received his knowledge from 'reliable intermediaries'.¹²

In line with this 'historical' approach, Walter did date most important events within his account, primarily in relation to religious festivals. We learn, for example, that the first battle of Tall Danith took place on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 14 September, and the second battle on that site on the eve of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, 14 August.¹³ Walter's detailed account of day-to-day events also enables us to place other incidents in relation to these specific dates. Thus it is possible to calculate that the town of Zardana fell to Il-ghazi on 13 August.¹⁴ H. Hagemeyer did assert that Walter dated events by the Pisan calendar, in which the year begins on 25 March, but this appears to have been an erroneous suggestion.¹⁵ Perhaps Walter's most surprising failure is in providing no specific date for the battle of the Field of Blood, the key event of Book Two.¹⁶ This omission is difficult to explain.

ii) Walter's allusions and influences

The assumption that Walter was a cleric is borne out by a study of his citations and allusions. Most of his references are to the Bible, and most of these are from the Psalms and the Epistles, the books of the Old and New Testaments which play a prominent part in the liturgy of the Church. There are, additionally, several quotations from collects and prayers. Walter also used phrases from classical authors, notably Vergil and Ovid. Many of these are the sort of hackneyed expressions which would have been current in

¹² Walter the Chancellor, II.8, p. 140.

¹³ Walter the Chancellor, I.5, p. 98; II.12, p. 155. Walter also dated the earthquake which affected Antioch to 29 November, the assembly of Latin forces at Rugia to 12 September and the general meeting in Antioch after the first battle of Tall Danith to 1 November. Walter the Chancellor, I.1, p. 80; I.4, p. 96; I.4, p. 97.

¹⁴ Walter the Chancellor, II.11, p. 151. Walter also noted that earthquakes continued to affect northern Syria for five months, that is from November 1114 to March 1115. He specified that Antiochene forces waited two months at Apamea, between mid-June and mid-August 1115. He may also have implied that Robert fitz-Fulk the Leper died on 19 August 1119. Walter the Chancellor, I.1, p. 84; I.3, p. 90; II.14, p. 159.

¹⁵ See: Walter the Chancellor, I.1, p. 80, n. 24.

¹⁶ The specific date of 28 June 1119 is supplied by Ibn al-Qalanisi, p. 160; Kemal ed-Din, p. 617; Matthew of Edessa, III.79, p. 224.

educated society, and it is not possible to claim on this basis that Walter had read the entire works from which these clichés were drawn.¹⁷

iii) The date of composition

It seems likely that Walter wrote *The Antiochene Wars* in three stages. Book One appears to have been composed before the summer of 1119 because there are no forward references to the disaster at the Field of Blood and, more importantly, because Il-ghazi is styled neutrally as ‘emir of the Turcomans’, whereas in Book Two he is consistently demonized, from his first appearance being characterized as the ‘prince of delusion and dissent’.¹⁸ This would date the composition of Book One between late 1115 and mid-1119.

Book Two may well have been composed in two sections. The text from the Prologue to the end of chapter twelve appears to form a distinct entity, contrasting the defeat at the Field of Blood with the success at the second battle of Tall Danith. Walter also chose to conclude this section with a religious exhortation.¹⁹ The remaining chapters of Book Two, describing the fate of Latin captives, Il-ghazi’s defeat by David of Georgia and his eventual death, lack the narrative focus of Walter’s earlier work and sit rather uncomfortably with the rest of the text. One might, therefore, tentatively suggest that Walter composed the earlier section of his second book relatively soon after 1119 and then added chapters thirteen to sixteen at a later date. We can, however, suggest no precise dates given that we know neither the date of Walter’s release from Aleppo nor the time of his death.

Historiographical background

i) Manuscript tradition

H. Hagenmeyer described seven extant manuscripts of Walter’s account. He concluded, no doubt correctly the oldest and best of them (A) was the exemplar of the other six.²⁰ This codex, now BN. 14378, was prepared

¹⁷ We acknowledge with thanks the assistance of Dr Neil Wright, Cambridge University, in the matter of Walter’s classical borrowings. H. Hagenmeyer listed many more classical references in his exhaustive annotation of the *Bella Antiochena*, but we have omitted those which appeared to strain resemblances too far.

¹⁸ Walter the Chancellor, I.2, p. 87; II.1, p. 110.

¹⁹ Walter the Chancellor, II.12, p. 156.

²⁰ *Galerii Cancellarii, Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896), pp. 52-5.

by William of Grassegals as a gift for Louis VII of France and comprises the works of Fulcher of Chartres, Walter and Raymond of Aguilers. Hagenmeyer conjectured for this collection a date soon after Louis' accession in 1137, or immediately before his departure for the Near East in 1146. In any event, its exemplar - possibly Walter's autograph copy - is lost. In five of the six other codices precisely the same order of contents is preserved; only in the sixth, a fourteenth-century manuscript, is Walter separated from the other two authors. Therefore we might conclude that in manuscript form Walter was probably read in combination with Fulcher and Raymond.

The work was edited by J. Bongars in 1611, using a Bern codex still extant, and this same edition was used in the *Patrologia Latina* of J. Migne (vol. 155) in 1853. In 1876 H. Prutz published a new edition using three manuscripts, and in 1895 P. Riant used all the manuscripts to establish a much better text for the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades (Occidentaux, vol. 5)*.²¹ The edition used as a basis for this translation is that of H. Hagenmeyer which was published, with exhaustive notes in German, in 1896.²²

ii) The relationship of *The Antiochene Wars* to other primary sources

Hagenmeyer suggested that Walter drew on another Latin history, that written by Fulcher of Chartres, for the events of 1119.²³ While it is possible that Walter did take a limited amount of information from Fulcher regarding events in the kingdom of Jerusalem, it seems unlikely that he would have needed to do so for the principality of Antioch. He was much closer to those events, and in fact Fulcher only dealt very briefly with the battle of the Field of Blood, expressing a reluctance 'to relate all the wretched events which occurred in this year in the Antiochène region'.²⁴ William of Tyre certainly drew upon both Walter and Fulcher when writing about events in northern Syria between 1114 and 1119, copying many details directly from *The Antiochene Wars*. As we shall see, William also had a tendency to attempt to reconcile these two sources when they differed on points of detail or

²¹ *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. 1, ed. J. Bongars (Hannover, 1611), pp. 441-67; *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 155, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1853), pp. 995-1038; *Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte d. Kreuzzüge*, vol. 1, ed. H. Prutz (Danzit, 1876), pp. 1-55; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 5, ed. R. Riant (Paris, 1895), pp. 75-132.

²² *Galterii Cancellarii, Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, pp. 61-115.

²³ *Galterii Cancellarii, Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, pp. 39ff.

²⁴ Fulcher of Chartres, III.3, p. 621.

interpretation.²⁵

It is not clear whether Orderic Vitalis drew any material from Walter. His account bears some marked similarities to *The Antiochene Wars*, particularly in its portrayal of Patriarch Bernard as a 'prudent' advisor and its references to specific individuals such as Robert of Vieux-Pont. Elsewhere it differs strongly, depicting Roger as 'an arrogant prince' who was 'not the equal of his predecessors'.²⁶ The accounts written by Albert of Aachen and Matthew of Edessa should, almost certainly, be viewed as independent from Walter.

iii) Walter the Chancellor's impact on secondary sources

Walter provided by far the most detailed narrative account of the principality's history in 1115 and 1119. This wealth of information, much of it from an eye-witness perspective, allows the historian to piece together a fairly clear picture of events in this period.²⁷ R.C. Smail used Walter's account to assess the duration of Roger's campaigning season in 1115 and subsequently reached important conclusions about military levies in the Latin East.²⁸ It is a testimony to the precision of Walter's account that Smail made so many references to the Antioch wars of 1115 and 1119 in his seminal work on *Crusading warfare 1097-1193* of 1956.²⁹ Indeed, Smail argued that it was impossible to produce even an approximate reconstruction of the three battles of 1115 and 1119 without examining Walter's account.³⁰

²⁵ See: Roger of Salerno, p. 23; Walter as a military source, pp. 56-7.

²⁶ Orderic Vitalis, XI.25, pp. 104-8.

²⁷ I certainly would not have been able to propose an analysis of the causes and impact of the battle of the Field of Blood without access to the evidence presented in *The Antiochene Wars*. T.S. Asbridge, 'The significance and causes of the battle of the Field of Blood', pp. 301-16.

²⁸ R.C. Smail, *Crusading warfare*, pp. 147-8.

²⁹ R.C. Smail, *Crusading warfare*, pp. 143-8, pp. 179-81.

³⁰ R.C. Smail, *Crusading warfare*, pp. 167-8.

Walter's purpose in writing *The Antiochene Wars*

Walter began each of his two books with a prologue commenting on the purpose of his work. He began Book One hoping that 'when men capable of reason and defenders of the true faith heard the truth, they would cleave strongly to the power and service of their Creator'. Thus he seems to have recorded the successes of 1115 in order to preserve an example to future generations of how 'miracles' and God's favour brought victory. 'For truly', he wrote, 'when they have heard the power of miracles and the deeds of worthy men the wicked will more easily be brought low and the good will also be spurred on to do better.'¹ Thus, perhaps, the most obvious theme in Book One is that Christian warfare must be carried out with divine sanction and pure intention.

His purpose in Book Two is far more problematic. Instead of being able to glory in victory he chose to record Antiochene disaster at the hands of Il-ghazi of Mardin. In the second prologue Walter stated that he would describe the 'grief of griefs' and 'complete unhappiness' of the Field of Blood 'commending it to the memory of posterity'. Walter maintained that he was forced by duty to write of these events. He wrote that 'for this reason we are compelled necessarily to speak, since there is no history-writer who can describe the succession of events in full'. As in Book One, where he asserted that God 'deigned to instil in me from heaven the power of writing and the means of expression', he noted that in Book Two he was writing 'with the assistance of Himself' lest the events of 1119 be forgotten and 'because it may be considered worthy of recital for the good of those who hear it'.²

Walter's primary remit seems to have been to rationalize the Latin defeat at the Field of Blood and, not surprisingly given the medieval context, he turns to God to find his explanation. He wrote that pride caused the Antiochenes to be 'both ungrateful to God and unmindful of His kindness' and that 'because we put the success of the earlier war down to the victory of our own forces, in the second detestable war' the Latins were defeated. 'What happened to us' he wrote 'was not the result of that multitude's strength, but the just judgment of God for our sins and wickedness'.³ Walter tried to draw

¹ Walter the Chancellor, I.Prologue, pp. 77-8.

² Walter the Chancellor, I.Prologue, p. 77; II.Prologue, pp. 109-10.

³ Walter the Chancellor, II.Prologue, p. 110; II.2, p. 115.

a distinction between the two wars by claiming that in 1119 the Latins did not act as true 'soldiers of Christ' and he seems to have hoped that by drawing a stark contrast between the success of 1115 and the disasters of 1119, he would demonstrate the importance of spiritual purity in warfare.⁴

As we shall see, however, Walter does appear to have pursued a number of other sub-themes within his narrative. He seems to have been reluctant openly to criticize Roger of Salerno, instead wishing to demonstrate that he died having been spiritually purified. He also goes beyond the explanation of the Field of Blood later in Book Two, to demonstrate the return of God's favour by focusing upon the salvation of the principality under King Baldwin II of Jerusalem and God's omnipotence through the eventual defeat and destruction of Il-ghazi. These aims may have prompted Walter to distort his presentation of figures such as Baldwin II and Patriarch Bernard and at times there is evident tension between his different motifs which produces inconsistency within the text.

Roger of Salerno

Upon first inspection Roger, the ruler of the principality of Antioch from 1113 to 1119, would appear to be the central protagonist of Walter's account. As commander of the Antiochene forces at both Tall Danith in 1115 and the Field of Blood he plays a pivotal role in the narrative of these battles, and in a sense the story of *The Antiochene Wars* is the story of Roger's successes and failures. Walter's attitude to this figure must, therefore, be regarded as a central aspect of his entire work. We must, of course, automatically expect Walter's depiction of Roger to be biased because, as we have seen, he was a high-ranking official in the Antiochene court and a close advisor to the 'prince'.

There are, however, major historical questions regarding Roger's career which are not immediately apparent from a simple reading of Walter's text. Did he rule Antioch as a prince in his own right or simply as regent for the young Bohemond II? To what extent was he personally responsible for the crushing defeat at the Field of Blood which inspired the writing of Walter's second book?

⁴ Walter the Chancellor, II.Prologue, pp. 109-10.