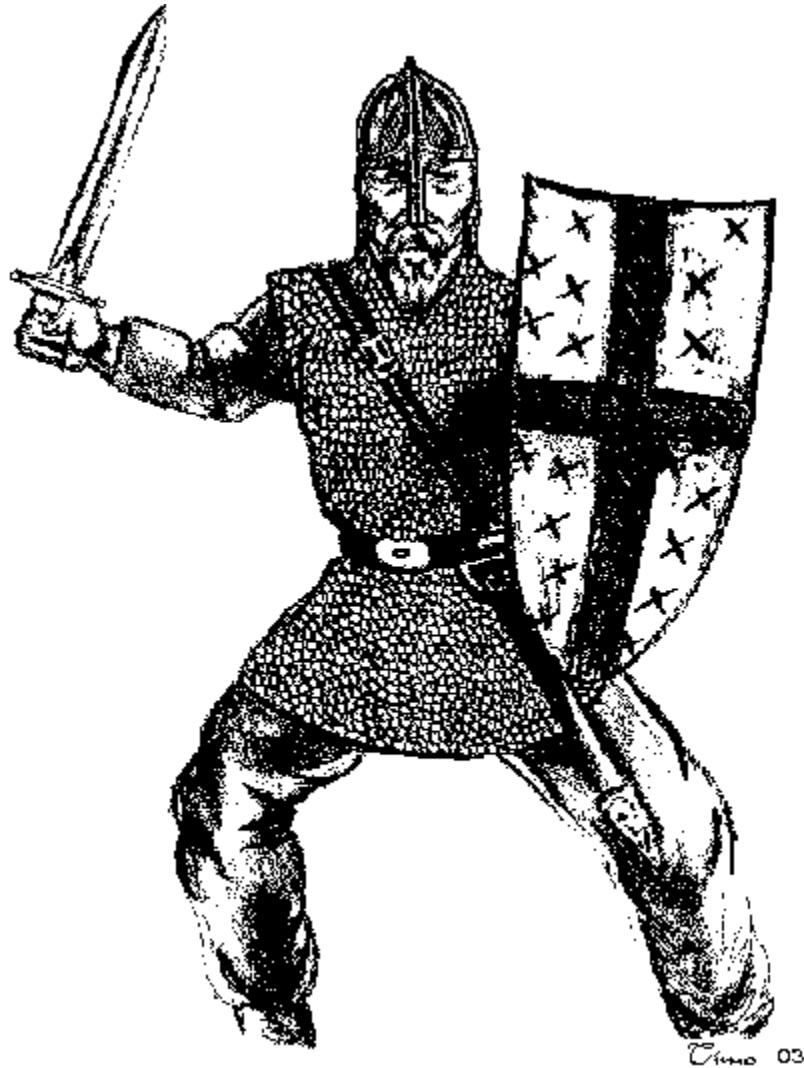


We've got Maille



A Study of Weapons Effects on Chain Mail
by
Evian Blackthorn

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Evian Blackthorn

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We've got Maille

I. Introduction

Before this study is dismissed as nothing more than the rantings of one of 'those' combat archers simply trying to protect and expand what 'they' do, at the expense of everyone else, I'd like to set the record straight. **I am not a combat archer.** I have never been a combat archer. I will never be a combat archer. About sixteen years ago, I discovered the SCA. After a while, I took up combat in a limited way. I fought both rapier and rattan occasionally. I have been shot by arrows and crossbow bolts, and have been hit by javelins. A couple of years after taking up combat, I retired from combat for health reasons. I know I will never again go on the combat field as any form of participant, because I simply cannot do it anymore. But that does not mean I'm not interested in all of our various forms of combat, including combat archery. I have never used any missile weapon on the combat field. I have used them on the target range. I am an archer, but not in combat. I do throw various missile weapons, but not in combat. In fact, the only authorization I currently actively hold is as a Thrown Weapons Marshal.

So why did I undertake to do this study? An Email was forwarded to the Missile Combat Email list I am on, stating that a proposal was recently sent to the Society Earl Marshal to make major changes to our fighting rules. This forwarded Email contained the complete proposal. If this proposal were to be accepted and the changes proposed were to be enacted, it would greatly affect combat archery. The rules changes would make combat archery almost totally ineffective on the field, as one provision would restrict an arrow's target to the face-plate of a helmet only. There were several other provisions also, but this one provision alone would be sufficient to restrict combat archery so much I felt many combat archers would simply stop doing combat archery. Additionally, this provision was based on what I thought to be a false premise. That basic premise is contained in the following quote from that submitted proposal.

'Extensive research has shown that the armor of any period was generally proof against arrows of the same period and could not penetrate the armor worn by knights, and arrows were effective mainly against their horses or against unarmored auxiliary levies. Each other weapon we use is effective against armored areas because it is historically shown that they either penetrated the armor causing grievous wounds or crushed the armor and the body beneath to cause grievous wounds. This is not the case for medieval arrows, which were mostly effective only against unarmored areas, represented in our armor standard as the open face.'

My own readings over several years told me the part about the effects of arrows, and even other weapons, was untrue. And having just had a similar argument about six months before with someone else on the Missile Combat Email list, I did have a few references to back up my beliefs. The person I had been arguing with had also produced his own set of references. I had checked his set of references, and found all of his references to be flawed, in one way or the other. I have read a lot, and a lot of that reading was on historical subjects, though not necessarily in historical documents. I have done quite a bit of that as well, but I wasn't keeping notes, or copying references, or

anything like that. I was just reading, not studying or researching. In all of my reading, I couldn't remember ever reading about arrows bouncing off of someone in armor. I vaguely remember some instances where an arrow might have glanced off someone because it hit at an angle to the surface, but I have no idea where I might have read of these instances. And the little bit of reading and research I had done before for that earlier argument had pretty well convinced me that my memory has not yet gone bad.

Some of the others on that Email list kept bringing up my research (such as it was), and trying to use it to counter a few people on the list in the 'discussion' that followed the announcement of that proposal. I knew how inadequate my limited research was at that point, but I was left in the position of being the chief 'spokesman' for one side of the issue, from a 'documentation' presented point of view. I realized that the defense being offered by the affected sector of the SCA was at best 'inadequate', as it was based almost exclusively on my own rather inadequate documentation. What was worse, what little was being presented was being dismissed simply because the presenters did have a vested interest in the outcome because they were combat archers. This is very important to remember. Since I no longer participate actively in SCA combat, I have nothing personally to gain or lose from how it is conducted. I also realized that no other 'disinterested' person was stepping up to address this controversy, so I started this study, or rather, expanded my earlier study, to address what I saw as a potential injustice based on a historical fallacy. Am I the only one qualified to do this study, to address this injustice, or to straighten out this historical fallacy? No! I don't even consider myself the best qualified. All I consider myself is a person who is willing to do so, when others don't seem willing, or are not able to do so, for whatever reasons.

In this study, I present several quotes from historical documents. I identify the documents in the body of the text, and give a complete citation in the bibliography, including telling where they can be found, when possible. I wanted the facts revealed in these documents to be readily available so anyone can verify my work. I mostly use sources that are available online. Unfortunately, a very few of my sources are simply not available online, and when the text is not available online, I still give information on where a copy might be found, if possible. I tried to use only currently available books, when possible. I also present several conclusions and opinions drawn from these facts. It will be up to the reader to determine if my conclusions and opinions are justified by the facts presented. I think they are.

II. The SCA and Historical Evidence

The validity of certain approaches to the investigation of the effects of weapons on armor, with notes on documentation and how to use and evaluate it.

I think a few quotes might be a good way to start this section also. The first quote is the SCA 'presumed' armor standard, as quoted from the "**Marshal's Handbook**", November, 2000 edition

V. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF BLOWS

A. When judging the effect of blows, all fighters are presumed to be fully armored. Special tournaments or combat may be held which may redefine what areas of the body are armored, and to what extent, so long as all the participants are made aware of the special conditions prior to the start of combat.

1. All "fully armored" fighters are presumed to be wearing a hauberk over a padded gambeson, with boiled leather arm and leg defenses and an open-faced iron helm with a nasal. The helm may be presumed by Kingdom convention to include a very light chain mail drape, permitting vision and resisting cuts by the mere touch of a bladed weapon.

a. Under this standard, an acceptable cutting blow to the face would be lighter than to other portions of the head or body. Areas deemed illegal for attack (the wrists from 1 inch or 25.4 mm above the hands, from 1 inch or 25.4 mm above the knees and below) shall be considered safe from all attack.

b. An acceptable thrusting blow to the face shall be a directed touch and shall be substantially lighter than to other parts of the body.'

It is on this 'presumed' armor standard that all our examinations of weapons effects on armor must be based, if it is to be applied to SCA combat. Accounts of armor that does not meet this 'presumed' armor standard cannot generally be used to apply here. Armor with better resistance to weapons can possibly be applied in those instances that the armor fails to resist the weapon, but not in those instances where it successfully resists. Armor with less resistance to weapons can possibly be applied in those instances where it successfully resists, but not in those instances where it fails to resist.

There are some who question the reliability of period texts compared to 'research and examples' (tests on re-creations of period artifacts) as they can be applied to combat archery. To quote a statement from someone who believes that chain mail armor would stop arrows, exactly as I received it, *'and the historical accounts of most battles were written by men of low birth. as such it is suggested that they exaggerated the tales of their brethren. it is clear by research and example that reconstructed items (arrows, bows, and maille) simply did not react the way some of these tales suggest.'*

I disagree somewhat with this 'suggested' exaggeration. First, most men of 'low birth' could not read or write. Those few who could read and did write, and especially those who did write historical accounts of battles to satisfy the demands or requests of their superiors, were obviously writing for it to be read. Most of their potential readers were men of 'high' birth, and the writer knew it. These men of high birth were also the ones who would judge and decide if the writer's words were worth preserving for posterity, and the writer knew it. These same men of high birth, in many instances, had been involved in the battles, so knew basically what had been going on there, and the writer knew it. The writer of 'low birth' would have known, or at least should have known, that gross exaggerations in favor of 'low birth' persons over 'high birth' persons would doom

their works to the trash bin. The fact that these persons of 'high birth' found the writings of these men of 'low birth' worthy of preservation is evidenced by the very existence centuries later of those very works I use here. So the 'suggestion' they exaggerated the tales, to make the persons of 'low birth' look better is at best a very questionable 'suggestion', certainly not proof of their being unreliable. But still, every source must be looked at critically, and its reliability established as much as possible.

The Internet Medieval Sourcebook, located at the Fordham University Center for Medieval Studies, has an excellent article online entitled "Why Study History Through Primary Sources" which was adapted from James Harvey Robinson, "The Historical point of View", in *Readings in European History*, Vol I, (Boston: Ginn, 1904), that I highly recommend. It can be found at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/robinson-sources.html>

Before I get into the texts, I'm going to address the statement '*research and example that reconstructed items (arrows, bows, and maille) simply did not react the way some of these tales suggest.*' from the above quote. To make re-constructed items needed for this '*research and example*' requires that, first, the original item must exist, and in a manner that it's original properties can still be determined. Secondly, the person making the re-constructed items must have access to that original item, and the capability of running all the necessary tests on that item to determine fully all it's original properties. Or the actual re-constructor must have access to the information produced by someone with such access that has run those tests. Most artifacts dating from the Medieval era are held under lock and key, in museums or private collections, and while possibly accessible to 'view', it is a scant handful of experts that have access to a scant handful of these artifacts in such a way they can determine the exact properties of the originals. It is extremely difficult to determine tensile strength, shear strength, composition, hardness, brittleness, ductility, and a plethora of other physical and chemical properties on the 'wire' used in a chain mail shirt without causing some pretty severe damage to at least one link of that shirt. And most museums and private collectors are not going to allow their artifacts to be damaged in this way, except under some very highly controlled circumstances, by recognized experts, and only for some special reason, usually done to satisfy the owner's needs or desires, not the expert's.

While some of this data has been compiled and is available, on some very few of the existing artifacts, there is simply not enough data on enough artifacts to allow a complete and systematic study of the effects of arrows on chain mail for our entire period of study. If an arrowhead, and a piece of chain mail, both 'provenanced' to be from the Battle of Hastings actually existed, and were to be re-constructed exactly, and the arrowhead placed on a shaft of the exact type and material determined by the recognized experts to have been used at Hastings, and the arrow were then shot at the chain mail, from a bow of the exact type, material and strength of a bow determined by the recognized experts to have been used at Hastings, the results of that test may be valid, depending on the exact parameters of the test shooting. They may be valid for Hastings. They would not be valid for the Siege of Acre, the Battle of Bannockburn, or any other battle. Artifacts from each of those battles would have to be checked in the same way to determine what would have happened there. There simply aren't enough artifacts, and there certainly isn't enough data on all the various factors and artifact properties that would enter into such a test to be able to do this for all the battles of our period and area of study. I rather doubt there is

enough such data to do this for any one specific battle, much less the thousands of battles that took place in Western Europe before 1600 AD.

If we cannot do this systematic testing on -reconstructed artifacts, and we generally cannot, the only other way to find out what happened when arrows hit chain mail in the Middle Ages is to look at textual accounts from the time to see what they may tell us about what actually happened at that time. While it is very difficult, if not downright impossible, to give hard and fast rules about how to study, analyze, and use period texts for our purposes in a study like this, I can show a few things about how NOT to do it. I have the story of a single incident I have received four times, from three different people, and I have the story of the same incident where I found it in a translation of a period text also. I'll give these examples, and quickly analyze them to show what I mean about how NOT to use texts.

First story: *'King Louis on Crusade (mid 13th century) climbed up on hillside by making use of a large tree root and cut with his sword in his other hand. Many archers fired at him, but according to the chronicler who witnessed the sight, he was kept safe by his hauberk.'* This story was sent to the Missile Combat Email list in response to a request by me for documentation on armor stopping arrows. This story does not tell us any source for the information given, and because of what I did discover from the historical text I have, I know it contains some wrong data. The incident happened in 1148, which is one hundred years before the time given. This makes it a different King Louis, on a different crusade. In addition, the chronicler who reported this incident did not witness it happen, by his own admission. As such, while this 'story' is very roughly based on an incident that actually did happen, it is not acceptable as documentation. It is not even a very good attempt at documentation.

Second story, same incident: *'Odo of Douil concerning the ill-fated second crusade (mid-12th century):*

"During this engagement the King lost his small but renowned royal guard; keeping a stout heart, however, he nimbly and bravely scaled a rock by making use of some tree roots which God had provided for his safety. The enemy climbed after, in order to capture him, and the more distant rabble shot arrows at him. But by the will of God his armor protected him from the arrows, and to keep from be captured he defended the crag with his bloody sword.." ' This story was sent to an Email list I'm not on. It was copied from that Email list, and sent to me directly by someone who saw it on that other Email list. This shows the flaw in the previous story, by placing the incident in the right crusade and century here. The 'quote' given is possibly a true quote from a translation of Odo's work, but we don't know which translation. But the name of the author of this story is misspelled, and there is a typo in the last line of the story. The word 'be' should be 'being'. These can be small things, but should be avoided as much as possible. One reason why it needs to be avoided as much as possible is because in a story like this, to verify and validate it a person may have to find the source text used, and that misspelling of Odo of Deuil as Odo of Douil ('o' used instead of 'e') can cause difficulty in locating the source text. As things worked out, the misspelling caused very little problem, but had I searched in a different manner, it might have. What did cause problems was that no text name is given. It took me several weeks of work using Google on the Internet to locate the correct text name. Using the text name in English, which I found rather easily still didn't get me to a copy of the text. To find that, I had to have the original Latin name for

the book. It was trying to find that original Latin text name that took the time. Once I had that, it took only about an hour to have a copy of the book on order, so I could check this reference.

Third story, same incident: *'Odo of Douil concerning the ill-fated second crusade (mid-12th century):*

"During this engagement the King lost his small but renowned royal guard; keeping a stout heart, however, he nimbly and bravely scaled a rock by making use of some tree roots which God had provided for his safety. The enemy climbed after, in order to capture him, and the more distant rabble shot arrows at him. But his armor protected him from the arrows, and to keep from be captured he defended the crag with his bloody sword.." ' This was sent some time later to the Missile Combat list by the person who had posted the earlier copy of this story on the other list. He probably didn't know I had already received it from that other list, or he wouldn't have tried to get away with what he did here. Note that Deuil is still spelled with an 'o', and 'being' is still shown as 'be'. Other similar items of typos and such are identical between the two posts in other parts of the total Email. However, notice that there are five words 'missing' from inside the quote itself. These did not get left out inadvertently during the 'cut and paste' operation this person did to get this ready to send this second time. Of course, by this time, I had already sent to the Missile Combat list a short refutation of this text. That refutation was based on the missing words *'by the will of God'*. I don't know if the person who posted this 'altered' copy of this quote had read my refutation, or not, but I do know in the same posting, he 'refuted' other documentation I had posted at the same time. So it looks like he at least knew that those five words would blow his case, so he simply 'removed' them from the quotation of Odo's words. Regardless of his reasons, such 'alteration' of a direct quote from a period text is not only not acceptable in documentation, it is intolerable to attempt to mislead persons in this manner in any venue. It is falsification of evidence. I did call him to task on this, and gave a fuller refutation of the text indicated, on the Missile Combat list.

Fourth story, same incident: *'Odo of Douil concerning the ill-fated second crusade (mid-12th century):*

"During this engagement the King lost his small but renowned royal guard; keeping a stout heart, however, he nimbly and bravely scaled a rock by making use of some tree roots which God had provided for his safety. The enemy climbed after, in order to capture him, and the more distant rabble shot arrows at him. But by the will of God his armor protected him from the arrows, and to keep from be captured he defended the crag with his bloody sword.." This appears to be another 'cut and paste' from the original post on the other list, as the same typos and other identifying items are present in this, and in other portions of the whole Email. This was forwarded to the Missile Combat list on the request of a different person from before, after that person who had it forwarded had quit the list. He was on the list when I gave my previous refutation, and when I called the other provider of this same quote to task for his falsification. At least, this person gave the original quote, not the modified one. But he does not add anything new to defend this quote from the refutation I gave, nor does he seek to correct the typos, or attempt to better identify the text. He just repeats what others have already given, even though he was in a position to know it had been refuted already.

Fifth story, same incident: **"De protectione Ludovico VII in orientem"**, by Odo of

Deuil, Translated by Virginia Gingerick Berry, copyright 1948, Columbia University Press. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc, New York. ISBN 0-393-09662-9 Also known as "The Journey of Louis VII to the East". This book may be available 'used' through Amazon.com. This passage is near the end of 'Book Six'. Quoting from the Berry translation:

'During this engagement, the King lost his small but renowned royal guard; keeping a stout heart, however, he nimbly and bravely scaled a rock by making use of some tree roots which God had provided for his safety. The enemy climbed after, in order to capture him, and the more distant rabble shot arrows at him. But by the will of God his cuirass protected him from the arrows, and to keep from being captured he defended the crag with his bloody sword...' In this story, the original text is identified by name, the author of that original text is identified, the translator is identified, the copyright date is given, along with the copyright holder's name, the publisher is identified, the ISBN number is given, and where the book might can be found is given. Then the approximate location of the quote in the text is given. This is about all the identification and location information that can be given. With this information, just about anyone should be able to secure a copy of the book to check the quote. In addition, I will now give the original Latin wording for this incident. *'In hoc rex parvulum sed gloriosum perdidit comitatum regalem; vero retinens animum, agilis et virilis, per radices cuiusdam arboris quam saluti eius Deus providerat ascendit scopulum. Post quem populus hostium ut eum caperet ascendebant, et turba remotior eum ibidem sagittabat. Sed Deo volente sub lorica tutatus est a sagittis, cruentatoque gladio ne capi posset defendit scopulum, ...'*

Now, I cannot translate this Latin into English, but I know enough Latin to know the major words, and can see how they would fit together to come at least pretty close to what the translation I found renders it. *In hoc* is 'in this', like in the saying "In hoc signo vinces" (In this sign conquer), *rex* is 'king', *sed* is 'but', and *gloriosum* would be the root word for 'glorious'. *Agilis* (agile), and *virilis* (virile) are easy, *arboris* refers to plants (arborium), *Deus* (Deity), *providerat* (provide), *ascendit* (ascend), and *scopulum* (I would make this 'escarpment') and *sagittabat* (something to do with arrows or archers, like in Sagittarius) are also easily figured out, even with very little Latin knowledge. Just that bit shows that at least this small section of the translation is fairly accurate. Other easy words are *populus* (people), *hostium* (host), *remotior* (remote), *lorica* (armor), and *defendit* (defend). Other slightly harder words are *comitatum* (root for committee), *regalem* (regal, referring to royal), *retinens* (retaining), and *volente* (volition). The English translation has all the right elements to make the translation seem accurate.

I believe the first person may have seen the original post, and from memory wrote what he remembered of it when he sent in that first story. The second time I saw the story, I know that person had found the account posted on an Email list, and had copied it verbatim from that list, and then reposted it there again later. He admits as much, and credits the person who originally provided the research. He probably didn't check it for validity, or he probably would have caught the typos, but I can't prove he didn't check it. The third time I saw this, I again know the person copied it verbatim from his own earlier post, and then deliberately changed portions of the quotes given to make his case 'stronger'. Again, I don't know if he actually checked it for validity. After I had refuted it twice on the Missile Combat list, the third person to bring it forward had been on the list at the time of my second refutation, at least, so knew it was in question, and contained

typographical errors. He did not bother to correct the errors, but sent it in verbatim, probably without checking it for validity either, though I can't prove he didn't check it's validity. I seriously doubt that any one of the three persons whose Emails I quote have actually seen a copy of Odo of Deuil's book, in the original Latin, or in translation, though they quote it as though they have. That is not research. That is not the way to locate or present documentation.

Now that I have given a bit about how to document, and a lot about how not to document, I'm going to address how to refute a text, and how not to refute a text. I'll use the same incident. To refute this text, the real one cited in the fifth story, it can be done in several ways. One would be to show the text does not exist. The next would be to show the translation does not exist. In either of these instances, in this case, it will be impossible, as they do exist. The next way would be to show the 'quote' does not exist in the text. Again, in this instance, impossible, because it does exist. The next way would be to show the translation used is not according to the original text, or in other words, is mis-translated. To do this, it is required of the person making this claim to show what the original text says, from a locatable and accessible form, and to provide an alternate translation to the original. I showed above that this might be hard. Another way would be to show from other texts about this incident that it happened differently than Odo has it. But again, it is required of the person making that claim to show these 'other' texts, in an as verifiable and reliable a manner as this one is shown. The next way is to show that, in the context in which it is used, or in the context of the whole book, what it says may have a different meaning than what the raw words of the text might seem to mean. Or, as I chose, to show how the words used exactly describe what happened, and why. Odo ascribes Louis's survival more to the will of God than he does to any specific quality or ability of Louis's armor. The fact may be that Louis's armor would normally stop arrows. Or the fact may be that Louis's armor would not normally stop arrows and this time, something aided it to perform this feat. That is the situation Odo describes. Others of a less religious bent, or 'other' religious bent, than Odo might have ascribed this to karma, luck, fate, or something else, but even replacing Odo's *'by the will of God'* with one of these other expressions does not give the credit to the armor, but to some outside agent. Now, it might still be possible to defend the text as an example of armor that would normally stop arrows, but to do so, the person making that claim would be required to show some evidence either from inside the text itself, or from some other equally reliable account of Louis's armor stopping arrows that this was in fact the case, or the refutation stands, at least as making this reference 'questionable'. But remember, it is required of THEM to provide this information, totally. It is not acceptable to make a half-hearted quote of some unlocatable text that may hint at this being the case. It must be shown as positively as this text and refutation are shown, from equally reliable and verifiable sources. That is the same with any refutation or defense of a refuted text. Another thing that is not really acceptable is trying to discount a text solely because it is the 'only' source that shows a particular point. Frequently, we only have ONE text that covers a specific incident. To make this case will again require the person making the case to provide the other sources that describe the same incident, and show that they do not mention the point in question, or that they mention it as happening differently.

III. Arrows penetrating chain mail armor

A look at accounts in period texts recounting arrows penetrating chain mail armor

The texts referred to here will be found fully identified and cited in the bibliography section of this study, instead of in the body of the text. That bibliographic entry will also include information on where the specific text used can be found, either in print, or online, where possible.

1. "The Siege of Amida" by Ammianus Marcellinus. This is the story of Romans in the city of Amida (359 AD) being attacked by Persians. The quote used is from BOOK XIX, Chapter 1 entitled 'Sapor, while urging the people of Amida to surrender, is attacked by the garrison with arrows and spears. While King Grumbates attempts the same thing, his son is slain.'

'The king, rejoicing in the wretched imprisonment of our men that had come to pass, and anticipating like successes, set forth from there, and slowly advancing, came to Amida on the third day. And when the first gleam of dawn appeared, everything so far as the eye could reach shone with glittering arms, and mail-clad cavalry filled hill and dale.'

This chapter has the Persian cavalry in mail. In the next chapter, when the assault actually began, we find the following:

'And hardly had Grumbates hurled a bloodstained spear, following the usage of his country and the custom of our fetial priest, than the army with clashing weapons flew to the walls, and at once the lamentable tempest of war grew fiercer, the cavalry advancing at full speed as they hurried to the fight with general eagerness, while our men resisted with courage and determination.

Then heads were shattered, as masses of stone, hurled from the scorpions, crushed many of the enemy; others were pierced by arrows, some were struck down by spears and the ground strewn with their bodies, while others that were only wounded retreated in headlong flight to their companions. No less was the grief and no fewer the deaths in the city, since a thick cloud of arrows in compact mass darkened the air, while the artillery which the Persians had acquired from the plunder of Singara inflicted still more wounds.'

This account has men in mail pierced by arrows. And elsewhere in the description of the siege, we find not only that the Persian cavalry was involved as shown, but also which gate each unit was assigned to attack. This is a very detailed account, as such accounts go. I'm not going to quote the whole document to show everything that happened. To see everything written, you will have to go read the whole document.

2. "Gesta Danorum" by Saxo. Quoting from Book Eight, from the twelfth and thirteenth paragraphs, about a battle at Kalmar between the Danes and Swedes in about 940 AD.

'The same man witnesses that the maiden Weghbiorg (Webiorg) fought against the enemy and felled Soth the champion. While she was threatening to slay more champions, she was pierced through by an arrow from the bowstring of Thorkill, a native of Tellemark. For the skilled archers of the Gotlanders strung their bows so hard that the shafts pierced through even the shields; nothing proved more murderous; for the arrow-points made their way through hauberk and helmet as if they were men's defenceless bodies.

Then at last the Danes suffered a great defeat, owing to the Thronds and the dwellers

in the province of Dala. For the battle began afresh by reason of the vast mass of the archers, and nothing damaged our men more.'



FIG. ONE

This account does not give a description of the actual armor being worn, other than to call it '*hauberk and helmet*'. However, the picture above (fig. one) of a pre-viking helmet from Vendel, Sweden, identified as probably 6th -7th century, clearly shows that chain mail was known and in use well before the time of the story above, in the general area of the world in which the story takes place. The helmet is in the Upplandsmusset, Upsala, Sweden, and the photo used was provided by the Werner Forman Archive, London.

Since we know almost nothing about the author, I was not able to 'qualify' his credentials. Now Saxo may have been 'low-born'. We know he was Danish. If he was exaggerating to make his fellow 'low-born' Danes look better, then it must have been in actuality even worst for them at this battle than he describes, because this story is in no

way complementary to the Danes, as they lost. Saxo is generally considered the only historian for the period covered by him in Danish history, so his account should be as reliable an account as we are likely to get of this occurrence.

3. "Heimskringla - The Chronicle of the Kings of Norway" by Snorri Sturlson
Quoting from Heimskringla, SAGA OF HARALD HARDRADE, Part 3, Chapter 65
entitled "BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE OF NIS-RIVER." This tells of a battle
between Danes and Norse. The year is 1063 AD.

*'It was late in the day when the battle began, and it continued the whole night. King
Harald shot for a long time with his bow. So says Thiodolf: --*

*"The Upland king was all the night
Speeding the arrows' deadly flight.
All in the dark his bow-string's twang
Was answered; for some white shield rang,
Or yelling shriek gave certain note
The shaft had pierced some ring-mail coat,
The foemen's shields and bulwarks bore
A Lapland arrow-scat(2) or more." '*

Here, the reporter describes the armor worn simply as 'ring-mail'. In other places in the text he mentions 'ring-linked coat' sewn on to an unspecified backing, and calls it ring-mail also. The 'ring-linked coat' seems pretty much a description of what we in the SCA would call chain mail. What we in the SCA would call 'ring-mail' is not 'linked' rings, but separate rings sewn on a backing, and the terminology probably owes more to Gary Gygax and D & D (Dungeons and Dragons) than to any archeological artifacts of this type of armor. And again, the picture of the helmet (fig. one) from Vendel above shows chain mail in use in that general area well before the time of either of these stories from "Heimskringla". To show his description of ring-linked coat I'm quoting from Heimskringla, KING OLAF TRYGVASON'S SAGA, Part 2 Chapter 43 entitled. "BATTLE WITH THE JOMSBORG VIKINGS". The year is 988AD.

*'The ring-linked coat of strongest mail
Could not withstand the iron hail,
Though sewed with care and elbow bent,
By Norn (4), on its strength intent.
The fire of battle raged around, --
Odin's steel shirt flew all unbound!
The earl his ring-mail from him flung,
Its steel rings on the wet deck rung;
Part of it fell into the sea, --
A part was kept, a proof to be
How sharp and thick the arrow-flight
Among the sea-steeds in this fight.'*

Again, Snorri may be 'low-born'. But in the first story, about Harald Hardrede, so if he is exaggerating, he is exaggerating to make a high-born person look good, not a 'low-born' person. Also, Snorri's accounts are generally accepted as the best accounts we have of the times he reports. This is another example of arrows penetrating chain mail.

4. "Bayeux Tapestry" - Battle of Hastings (1066 AD)



FIG. TWO

Not a literary source, but an artifact from the period, showing a pictorial history of the Battle of Hastings. At the bottom can be seen a Saxon with an arrow in his face, and a second arrow in his thigh. He is the one with his head to the right. He is shown to be armored the same as all the other fighters around him, on both sides. It is generally acknowledged that chain mail was the armor being worn at Hastings in 1066 AD, so this is a picture of an arrow penetrating chain mail. It is not a photograph, as photography was not invented at that time. Instead, the people of the day did what they could to provide a visual record of what happened, and William's half-brother Bishop Odo is credited with commissioning and overseeing the embroidering of the Bayeux Tapestry. Does this embroidered picture prove that the Norman arrows penetrated the Saxon chain mail? NO! What it does prove is that very shortly after the battle, the people working on this tapestry, including Bishop Odo, who was actually present at the battle of Hastings, 'believed' that arrows could penetrate chain mail and had in fact penetrated chain mail during the battle. There must have been some reason for that belief. The complete picture of the Bayeux Tapestry can be found online at <http://hastings1066.com/>

5. "Historia Hierosolymita" by Albert of Aix, describing the battle at Nicaea (1096 AD) during the "People's Crusade" of Peter the Hermit,

'But the Franks, unaware of Soliman's approach, advanced from the forest and the mountains with shouting and loud clamor. There they first beheld the battle lines of Soliman in the midst of the field, awaiting them for battle. When they had seen the Turks, they began to encourage one another in the name of the Lord....

There Walter the Penniless fell, pierced by seven arrows which had penetrated his coat of mail. Reinald of Broyes and Folker of Chartres, men of the greatest renown in their own lands, fell in like martyrdom, destroyed by the enemy, though not without great slaughter of the Turks.'

"**The New Encyclopaedia Britannica**" calls Albert of Aix "...the chief authority on the First Crusade...", and lists his work "The sole document on the People's Crusade of 1096..." I'll accept that as 'qualification' of his credentials. Albert names three specific individuals as dying. The last two may be discounted as having been killed in some way other than by arrows, but Walter the Penniless is specifically shown as dying by seven arrows that pierced his coat of mail. And earlier in his account, Albert did comment on the chain mail armor of the other two men, so we know they also had chain mail armor available to them. This is another example of arrows penetrating chain mail.

6. "The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin Through Wales" (1188 AD), by Giraldus Cambrensis. Quoting from the end of Chapter IV, "The journey by Coed Grono and Abergevenni"

'It seems worthy of remark, that the people of what is called Venta are more accustomed to war, more famous for valour, and more expert in archery, than those of any other part of Wales. The following examples prove the truth of this assertion. In the last capture of the aforesaid castle, which happened in our days, two soldiers passing over a bridge to take refuge in a tower built on a mound of earth, the Welsh, taking them in the rear, penetrated with their arrows the oaken portal of the tower, which was four fingers thick; in memory of which circumstance, the arrows were preserved in the gate. William de Braose also testifies that one of his soldiers, in a conflict with the Welsh, was wounded by an arrow, which passed through his thigh and the armour with which it was cased on both sides, and, through that part of the saddle which is called the alva, mortally wounded the horse. Another soldier had his hip, equally sheathed in armour, penetrated by an arrow quite to the saddle, and on turning his horse round, received a similar wound on the opposite hip, which fixed him on both sides of his seat. What more could be expected from a balista? Yet the bows used by this people are not made of horn, ivory, or yew, but of wild elm; unpolished, rude, and uncouth, but stout; not calculated to shoot an arrow to a great distance, but to inflict very severe wounds in close fight.'

Giraldus here is quoting William de Braose, a person known to Giraldus (they were neighbors), and Giraldus gives verifiable evidence of the power of the bows when he mentions the arrows in the door. Giraldus was the son of a Norman Noble and descended from Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr, the last independent Prince of South Wales, through his mother, Rhys granddaughter. No lowborn person here, but the great-grandson of a Prince and the son of a noble, writing to his superior in the Church. This is another example of arrows penetrating chain mail.

There was a refutation of this text sent to me. I include it here, along with my defense

of the text.

6. Refutation - *'Ah, Geraldus Cambrensis - the "National Inquirer" of the Medieval period. Interestingly, Gerald is the only one who has such apocryphal stories about the longbow. It cannot be corroborated from any other source I know of.*

so..while I cannot dispute that this passage exists...scholars who's opinion holds FAR more weight than mine feel its of a dubious nature...'

6. Defense of the text - The comment about 'the "National Inquirer" of the Medieval period' and the use of the word 'apocryphal' is designed to set the idea of unreliability in the reader's mind, and is just an attack on Giraldus's work without facts to back it up. I also have found no other sources that tell of the use or power of the Welsh bow of the late 1100's, one way or the other. There is no reason to question Giraldus's facts based merely on lack of corroborating sources, unless we are going to question every incident in every period text that lacks corroborating additional sources. Giraldus does not call it a longbow, by the way. There is some indication from other things I read the Welsh may have used a relatively short, heavy bow, but such things as bow type are totally unimportant to this defense of the text from this refutation. Who are these scholars? He names none of these scholars who feel it is of a dubious nature. What are their credentials? What are their sources for their opinion?

Giraldus was writing to his 'Superior' in the church, the Archbishop of Canterbury. While some passages in his writings get somewhat fantastical, with several things out of the ordinary being commented on as an act of God, this particular portion about the arrows in the door, and the naming of William de Broase as a witness to his men being shot has no such religious connotations. It is not very likely that a churchman, writing to his Superior, would deliberately write untruths, and then provide that Superior with information on how he can verify the truth or fallacy of the statements. It would be different if he were crediting to God some outstanding, and unexplainable event, but in this incident, while sort of praising his own countrymen, the Welsh, there is nothing to be gained by exaggeration, and potentially, a lot to be lost, like his own position in the clergy. It is not put in to glorify the Welsh, though he was Welsh (half, at least) himself, as the general tone of the work is not complimentary to the Welsh on the whole. Remember, he is telling the story of what the arrows were capable of doing to show proof of his assertion that the 'Venta' were 'more expert in archery' than other Welshmen. If the Archbishop didn't question his 'proof', I don't see why we, over 800 years later, should question it.

7. "Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae" by Jan Dlugosz, Quoting from the account of the year 1241 AD, concerning the battle at Liegnitz, Poland.

'The Prince arrays his army on level ground near the River Nysa in five ranks: the first consists of crusaders and volunteers speaking several languages, and some gold miners from Zlotoryja; the second line is made up of knights from Cracow and Wielkopolska; the third of knights from Opole; the fourth of the Grand Master of the Prussian Knights with his brethren and other chivalry; while the fifth consists of Silesian and Wroclavian barons, the pick of the knights from Wielkopolska and Silesia and a small contingent of mercenaries, all under the command of Prince Henry himself. There are many Tatar units, each more numerous and more experienced in battle; indeed, each consists of more men than the combined Polish force. Battle is joined. The Poles attack first and their

initial charge breaks the first Tatar rank and moves forward, but, when the fighting becomes hand-to-hand, they are surrounded by Tatar archers, who prevent the others coming to their assistance. These then waver and finally fall beneath the hail of arrows, like delicate heads of corn broken by hail-stones, for many of them are wearing no armour, and the survivors retreat.'

Jan Dlugosz was not present when this happened, but according to "**The Catholic Encyclopedia**", *'He was not content to repeat the statements made by other chroniclers, but examined for himself the oldest Polish, Bohemian, Hungarian, Ruthenian, and German documents, to understand which thoroughly he studied, in his old age, several foreign languages. His works offer abundant and reliable material not only for Polish, but also for general, history.'*

In this account, we read of Tatar (Mongol) archers killing people with arrows. Now, Jan Dlugosz does mention that *'many of them are wearing no armour'*. But if 'many' are wearing no armor, then the remainder must be wearing armor, or the sentence would have been 'none of them are wearing armor'. The armor being worn is not specified, and no individual is specifically named as being killed through his armor, but this account does show, by deduction, armored persons being killed by archery, and the normal armor at that time and place (1241, Liegnitz, Poland) was generally considered to be chain mail, so this is another example of arrows penetrating chain mail.

8. "The Memoirs of the Lord of Joinville" by John of Joinville. Quoting from Chapter XIV, entitled "HOW THE KING AND ALL HIS MEN FELL INTO THE HANDS OF THE SARACENS, THE MASSACRE OF THE SICK, AND THE CAPTURE OF THE FUGITIVES IN THE BOATS."

'The mounted Saracens on the bank shot arrows at us because we would not come to them. My people had dressed me in a jousting hauberk, which I had put on so that the arrows which fell into our vessel should not wound me.'

Now, in this account, he was sick, but his men had been engaged with the enemy before putting out from shore, so in all probabilities, they were already armored, and it is possible he was also. Yet they had dressed him in "jousting" armor to protect him from the arrows. "Jousting" armor is not the normal chain mail of combat, but special armor designed to protect from a couched lance being driven forward by a man on a 2000 pound horse at about 20 miles an hour, while the person wearing the armor is traveling about 20 miles an hour in the other direction on a 2000 pound horse. This is considerably more than any force that could be exerted by any arrow, so of course, if it would stop the penetration of a lance tip, it would probably stop arrows. But it was not 'just' chain mail. The chain mail was what he had been wearing before his men dressed him in armor that WOULD protect him from arrows. So, though this is not a pure example of arrows penetrating chain mail, it is evidence that chain mail was not considered by him or his men as sufficient to stop arrows. They were there, and they had faced the Saracen arrows, so I think their opinion might be a bit better than ours.

9. "The Chronicles of Froissart" by Jean Froissart. Quoting from his account of the battle of Poitiers:

'II. The Battle of Poitiers

4. Of the Battle of Poitiers between the Prince of Wales and the French King

As soon as the men of arms entered, the archers began to shoot on both sides and did slay and hurt horses and knights,

True to say, the archers did their company that day great advantage; for they shot so thick that the Frenchmen wist not on what side to take heed, and little and little the Englishmen won ground on them.

Anon the prince with his company met with the battle of Almain, whereof the earl of Sarrebruck, the earl Nassau and the earl Nidau were captains, but in a short space they were put to flight: the archers shot so wholly together that none durst come in their dangers: they slew many a man that could not come to no ransom: these three earls was there slain, and divers other knights and squires of their company.'

In this story, Froissart does not specifically say that anyone was wearing armor. But really, does he have to do so. It is generally accepted that at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356 AD, armor was worn, generally chain mail armor, at least by the mounted Knights and nobility. This account indicates that the archers were primarily responsible for the death of many men who could have been ransomed, had they been captured alive, including three French Earls who were slain there, and several others, including '*knights and squires*'. Common persons were not usually held for 'ransom'. Only those with power, money or position were worth holding, as they were the only ones who could pay a ransom. And if they had money for ransom, it stands to reason that they had money for armor. Froissart is considered as the main and most important chronicler of the first half of the Hundred Years War, though he was not 'high-born'.

10. "The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet" by Enguerrand de Monstrelet
Quoting from vol. 1. referring to the battle of Agincourt in 1415.

'When the French observed the English thus advance, they drew up each under his banner, with his helmet on his head: they were, at the same time, admonished by the constable, and others of the princes, to confess their sins with sincere contrition and to fight boldly against the enemy. The English loudly sounded their trumpets as they approached, and the French stooped to prevent the arrows hitting them on the visors of their helmets; thus the distance was now but small between the two armies, although the French had retired some paces. Before, however, the general attack commenced, numbers of the French were slain and severely wounded by the English bowmen. At length the English gained on them so much, and were so close, that excepting the front line, and such as had shortened their lances, the enemy could not raise their hands against them. The division under sir Clugnet de Brabant, of eight hundred men-at-arms, who were intended to break through the English archers, were reduced to seven score, who vainly attempted it. True it is, that sir William de Saveuses, who had been also ordered on this service, quitted his troop, thinking they would follow him, to attack the English, but he was shot dead from off his horse.'

This account of the famous battle of Agincourt comes from Enguerrand de Monstrelet (d.1453), governor of Cambrai and supporter of the French crown. The French here tried to keep the arrows from hitting their visors because they knew the arrows might go through that relatively 'unarmored' area easily. This may be the only thing the French ever learned in relation to the English longbow, as they repeatedly failed to change their tactics when facing archers. It did them little good to keep the arrows from their visors, as it states above, '*numbers of the French were slain and severely wounded by the English*

bowmen.' And it mentions that 800 men-at-arms were reduced to 140 (seven score) before they could attack the archers. And it mentions Sir William de Saveuses as being shot dead from off his horse. Note, it does not say the horse was killed out from under him. While this account does not specifically state that any of these men were 'armored', other than with helmets, the term men-at-arms usually was used to refer to men wearing armor, not just men using weapons, as the term 'armed' or 'unarmed' was used in the Middle Ages frequently to distinguish between armored or unarmored persons. It is generally thought, with the French being so 'station' conscious, that horsemen at this time, were almost all 'armored', especially on the French side. The cavalry were the 'elite' of the French army. They wouldn't let some unarmored farmer on his plow horse join them in a charge. It was their very attitudes along this line that led to their repeated defeats at the hands of the English. They would rather lose with their 'honor' and 'station' intact, than to change to using tactics that they considered were 'below their station'. And they did. Lose, that is. For a reference to men-at-arms (actually referred to in the text as men of arms) refer to **Number 9.** above, about Poitiers, where will be found, '*As soon as the men of arms entered, the archers began to shoot on both sides and did slay and hurt horses and knights,*'

IV. Chain mail armor stopping arrows

A look at accounts in period texts submitted to me supposedly recounting chain mail armor stopping arrows

This was the most difficult chapter to write. In my own independent search through texts I knew of and could find, I found no examples of chain mail armor stopping arrows. Thanks to the efforts of three people who believe chain mail would stop arrows, I was led to many "examples" supposedly recounting chain mail stopping arrows. Unfortunately, every one of these "examples" is 'flawed' in one way or another. If I simply ignore these 'flawed' examples, I leave myself open to charges I simply ignored the other side's case because I couldn't refute it. But if I give these examples, and show their flaws, I stand the chance of being accused of attacking the messenger, instead of addressing the message. Several of the examples are so badly cited that I simply could not identify the text or author, others simply could not be found in a readily available translation, and at least three were sent with provably falsified quotes. Picking what I considered the least of two possible evils, I chose to give the examples, show the flaws, the bad citations and the falsifications, and let the chips fall where they may. And while doing this, provide an honest refutation to the legitimate and locatable quotes. I cannot do this without giving a bit of an attack towards the person who provided the falsified quotes, as he is the very person who claims credit for the proposal this study is designed to address. It is his proposal that claims "extensive research" showing chain mail stopping arrows, after all. One other submission contains a falsification, but it is not provable as a deliberate act. I have named the three people who provided these "examples" Person One, Person Two, and Person Three, for simplicity's sake, and to hide their identity. All bolding and the reference numbers at the start of each entry are mine. Long before I started this study, in fact long before the proposal was sent to the SEM, Person One sent me these four accounts. This is the first account.

11a. 'King Louis on Crusade (mid 13th century) *climbed up on hillside by making use of a large tree root and cut with his sword in his other hand. Many archers fired at him, but according to the chronicler who witnessed the sight, he was kept safe by his hauberk.'*

Later, after I began this study, Person Two sent the following to an Email list, where a friend found it, and forwarded it to me for my study. I call this Person Two's first submission.

11b. 'Odo of Douil *concerning the ill-fated second crusade (mid-12th century): "During this engagement the King lost his small but renowned royal guard; keeping a stout heart, however, he nimbly and bravely scaled a rock by making use of some tree roots which God had provided for his safety. The enemy climbed after, in order to capture him, and the more distant rabble shot arrows at him. But by the will of God his armor protected him from the arrows, and to keep from be captured he defended the crag with his bloody sword.."*

Later yet, Person Two, stating, 'Here are some of the examples of what I mean by documentation I posted on another list....', sent this to the Missile Combat list in what I call his second submission.

11c. 'Odo of Douil *concerning the ill-fated second crusade (mid-12th century): "During this engagement the King lost his small but renowned royal guard; keeping a*

stout heart, however, he nimbly and bravely scaled a rock by making use of some tree roots which God had provided for his safety. The enemy climbed after, in order to capture him, and the more distant rabble shot arrows at him. But his armor protected him from the arrows, and to keep from be captured he defended the crag with his bloody sword.." ' '

Wait a second! What happened to the words, "*by the will of God*" in that sentence about his armor protecting him. Notice that Douil is misspelled the same (it's supposed to be Deuil), and in the last line, the word 'be' is used instead of 'being'. This is a 'cut and paste' from his earlier post, so this removing of the five words is an obvious deliberate falsification of the quote.

Still later, Person Three, in what I call his second submission, after I had already sent a refutation of the above to the Missile Combat list, had this sent to the Missile Combat list by someone else, as Person Three had just quit the list and could not send it directly.

11d. 'Odo of Douil concerning the ill-fated second crusade (mid-12th century):
"During this engagement the King lost his small but renowned royal guard; keeping a stout heart, however, he nimbly and bravely scaled a rock by making use of some tree roots which God had provided for his safety. The enemy climbed after, in order to capture him, and the more distant rabble shot arrows at him. But by the will of God his armor protected him from the arrows, and to keep from be captured he defended the crag with his bloody sword.." ' '

This is again an obvious 'cut and paste' from some source common to both of the above, as the same two typos are still present. At least, he cut from a non-falsified version. This, of course, does invalidate the first account, from Person One, who missed the date by 100 years. That could have been a simply typo, but I think the rest of his accounts will remove that as a probable excuse. I found, after several days of searching using Google, "**De profectione Ludovico VII in orientem**", by Odo of Deuil, 'used', through Amazon, and bought it. It took so long because of the misspelling of the author's name and lack of a text name. This passage is near the end of 'Book Six'.

"During this engagement, the King lost his small but renowned royal guard; keeping a stout heart, however, he nimbly and bravely scaled a rock by making use of some tree roots which God had provided for his safety. The enemy climbed after, in order to capture him, and the more distant rabble shot arrows at him. But by the will of God his cuirass protected him from the arrows, and to keep from being captured he defended the crag with his bloody sword..."

11 Refutation - There is only one difference in what I found, and the second and last times this was submitted, and that is the word 'cuirass' being used in the copy I have, and 'armor' being used in the previous versions. The copy I have has the original Latin text of facing pages to the translation, so I checked, and the Latin word used is 'lorica'. As far as I know, either cuirass or armor would be an acceptable translation, and in fact, I think I prefer 'armor'. However, there is still the issue of the 'missing' words in the version I claim to be falsified. The Latin version of this story reads, *'In hoc rex parvulum sed gloriosum perdidit comitatum regalem; vero retinens animum, agilis et virilis, per radices cuiusdam arboris quam saluti eius Deus providerat ascendit scopulum. Post quem populus hostium ut eum caperet ascendebant, et turba remotior eum ibidem sagittabat. Sed Deo volente sub lorica tutatus est a sagittis, cruentatoque gladio ne capi posset defendit scopulum, ...'* I underlined the critical words, which shows that the phrase

"by the will of God" is part of the text. I call them 'critical words' for a reason. Louis hears that some of his people are being attacked, so he and his 'Royal Guard' of about forty people ride out of camp to go to their aid. Upon arrival, the people being attacked run away, and the Moslems attack Louis and his men. In the ensuing battle, all of his Royal Guard are killed or captured, and Louis is unhorsed. Then the above story happens. It soon becomes clear to the Moslems, who have not recognized Louis, that this person is going to be too hard to capture, so they pull back, because night is coming and they are afraid of a possible additional attack. Louis escapes, makes his way to the rest of the pack train. Now Odo's story continues. *'When he came upon it (referring to the baggage train), the king, who was on foot, secured a horse and accompanied the men through the evening, which had already fallen. At that time breathless cohorts of knights from the camp met him and groaned when they saw him alone, bloody, and tired, for, without asking, they knew what had happened and mourned inconsolably for the missing royal escort, which numbered about forty...'* About forty people ride out on a rescue mission, and only Louis survives intact. Odo credits this to *'the will of God'*. Several places in the text, when unusual occurrences happen, Odo ascribes such unusual things to the intervention of God. He is, after all, writing to his superior, the Abbot Suger. This incident is no different. Something unusual happens, in that Louis was not injured by the arrows shot at him. Had it been normal and expected that his armor would stop arrows, Odo would not have ascribed it to God. I'll accept Odo's story exactly as he wrote it. It was *"by the will of God"* that Louis's armor protected him, not to some quality of his armor to turn arrows. If we discount the reason given by Odo for this, we discount Odo's reliability, unless we can show some reason, either in this text, or from other sources describing the same incident, to discount the reasoning of Odo. I used this incident and the five accounts of it given here in Chapter 2 where I showed how not to document.

Included in that same Email from Person One was the following:

12a. *'At the assault on the gates of Bruges in the 1170's, hundreds of knights charged the gate all day, which was protected by spearmen and archers. The chronicler describes the knights taking the beating of the arrows until they couldn't stand it any more, and then turning back. Some were tougher than others and made it all the way to the gate, where the spears turned their horses away. The chronicler says that "by the Grace of God, no one was slain there." Maille was the armor there.'*

As received from Person Two, submission one.

12b. *'Galbert of Bruges on the siege of Bruges (1127-1128)[attack on the gate of the town, protected by archers and infantry]: "By the special grace of God no one died in this multitude which was entering." and "I could not begin to describe the crowd of those who were hit and wounded." and "...as to those wearing an armor, they were exempted from wounds but not from bruises..." '*

This shows Person One again misplaced the date, but he is getting closer. He was only fifty years off this time, not one hundred. Now, as received from Person Two, submission two.

12c. *'Galbert of Bruges on the seige of Bruges (1127-1128)[attack on the gate of the town, protected by archers and infantry]: "By the special grace of God no one died in this multitude which was entering." and "I could not begin to describe the crowd of those who were hit and wounded." and "...as to those wearing an armor, they were exempted*

from wounds from the arrows but not from bruises.." '

This time, when Person Two falsified this quote, he added the words '*from the arrows*' in the last quote. Based on the order of these accounts, the misspellings in the other accounts, and several other identifying characteristics, this was another 'cut and paste' from his earlier post. Then, again after a refutation was sent, Person Three sends, in his second submission:

12d. '*Galbert of Bruges on the seige of Bruges (1127-1128)[attack on the gate of the town, protected by archers and infantry]: "By the special grace of God no one died in this multitude which was entering." and "I could not begin to describe the crowd of those who were hit and wounded." and "...as to those wearing an armor, they were exempted from wounds but not from bruises.."* '

This was also a 'cut and paste' from that common source. And again, he at least cut the unfalsified version.

12. Refutation - "The Murder of Charles the Good" by Galbert of Bruges tells of three times large groups of armed men entered through the gates of the town. Quoting Galbert of Bruges on the siege at Bruges which started March 9, 1127 concerning the city gates, from Chapter 28 concerning March 9:

'Meanwhile Gervaise, violently pursuing them, went toward the west to the gate of the town, and there, after exchanging pledges of fidelity with the citizens, rushed in with a very strong band.'

And again, quoting from Chapter 31:

'On March 11, Friday, Daniel, one of the peers of the realm; who before the betrayal of the count had been allied in strong friendship with the provost and his nephews, hastened to the siege together with Richard of Woumen, Thierry, castellan of the fortress of Dixmude, and Walter, butler of the count. And so each one of these barons had come with his whole following to avenge the death of his count and lord. Now after meeting with our citizens, and also summoning all the leaders of the siege, they all took an oath, before they were permitted to enter the town, to respect as inviolate the area and property of the town out of consideration for the safety and welfare of our citizens.'

And again, quoting from Chapter 33 concerning March 14 and 15:

'There was certainly a strong and enormous army of them. When they had reached the gates of the town, they dared to enter forcibly, but all the men of the siege, who ran up from the inside, resisted them face to face, and there would have been a general struggle if the wiser ones in both ranks had not come to terms. For, after giving and receiving hands, the men of Ghent pledged themselves by faith and swore an oath that they would join them in the siege and share fully their efforts and arms and counsels, while respecting the place and the property of our citizens, and that they would keep with them only their own men and those who were expert in fighting, and send the others away. Then the men of Ghent came in with a great crowd'

Although it almost became a fight in the third entry, it did not quite come to that. So, of course, '*By the special grace of God no one died in this multitude which was entering.*' or as was stated in the one early reference, '*by the Grace of God, no one was slain there.*'. But Galbert does not use those words here or elsewhere in the text I found. Galbert does tell of conflict at the gates of the castle of Charles the Good, well inside of the town walls. The first incident, on March 9th, is described thus, '*Now a great tumult and clash of arms and thunder of shouts disturbed all the citizens who ran to arms and got ready;*

some who knew absolutely nothing about the pact prepared to defend the place and the town against Gervaise, while others, who did know about it, rushed to Gervaise with all their forces and chased the fleeing traitors back into the castle. When the citizens learned about the pact with Gervaise, sealed by his faith and oath, then for the first time they acted in unison, rushing over the castle-bridge against those who, on behalf of the traitors, were continuing to resist from the castle. At another bridge, which led toward the house of the provost, a great conflict took place in which they fought at close range with lances and swords. On a third bridge, which lay on the eastern side of the castle and led up to the very gates of the castle, such a fierce combat was going on that those who were inside, not able to bear the violence of the attack, broke the bridge and closed the gates on themselves.'

Then, when the actual assault on the castle gate began, on March 12th, Galbert tells this story, *'On March 12, Saturday, the barons ordered all those who had settled down for the siege to attack the castle at every point where they had access to it. And so about noon the knights armed themselves together with the citizens and they made the circuit, setting fire to the gates of the castle, in this enterprise they burned a postern which stood near the house of the provost. But when they were attacking the main gates of the castle, where they had piled up dry hay and straw and summoned a knight to set fire to it, those who were advancing were overwhelmed by stones, sticks, lances, and arrows from within the castle. A great number were wounded by stones as large as millstones hurled from the battlements, and their helmets and shields were crushed so that they could scarcely flee in safety from the shelter of the gates under cover of which they were setting the fires. Therefore when anyone was hit by a store hurled from above, he suffered most grievous injury, regardless of his courage or strength, so that he fell prostrate and broken, dying or dead. In this conflict one squire outside expired, his heart pierced by an arrow. There was tumult and clamor on both sides, and heavy fighting, and the clash and clank of arms reverberated in the high vault of heaven. The fight was still going on at evening, and when those outside had gained nothing but death and destruction, they drew back from the walls and towers of the castle...'* It seems like there were people killed there, one even killed by an arrow through his heart. So this sort of blows the whole incident as an example of armor stopping arrows to bits, since the main contention given is that since no one was killed, the arrows must not have penetrated the armor. Note that in one quote given, people are described as being hit and wounded, and in another quote, they are described as being exempt from wounds. Unfortunately, Galbert does not write any of these words, although I did find a passage that 'almost' matches one of the quotes, the one that states, *'I could not begin to describe the crowd of those who were hit and wounded.'*, but Galbert tells it thus, referring to the assault on the church attached to the Castle on March 19th, where the besieged had finally been driven, *'For in the gallery the besieged had made defense posts for themselves out of chests and altar tables and choir seats and stools and other furniture of the church, and had tied them together with the ropes of the bells. They broke into pieces the bells and the leads which had formerly covered the roof of the church, using them to crush those below. Within the church, that is, the choir, the fight raged most fiercely, but from the tower and the doors of the tower such slaughter went on that I cannot describe or consider further the multitude of those who were struck down and wounded.'* Galbert describes this as a 'slaughter', and uses 'struck down', instead of 'hit', signifying they were killed. So this incident is not usable evidence for the

idea of armor stopping arrows. The text cited by them does not even say what they claim it to say, nor does it show what they claim it to show. Not a single one of them even put the battle at the correct gate. Wonder if any one of them actually read Galbert.

The next account I received from Person One was not sent by anyone else, though Person One, sometime later, clarified it a bit in an Email to the Missile Combat list in response to someone else's post there.

13. 'Arrows against Steel by Hurley tells a story of knights "who had from 1-10 arrows in the back, and yet trudged on at ordinary pace and did not fall from their ranks...."

King Richard rode into the Saracen host at Jaffa, and emerged with several arrows and a javelin hanging out of his maille shirt yet he was unharmed." '

His clarification, received later, was,

'The one you may be referring to is from the Moslem leader Bo-ha-din

On p.176-77 of Arrows Against Steel, by Hurley: "I noted among them (the Christians) men who had from 1-10 arrows in the back, and yet trudged on at ordinary pace and did not fall from their ranks...." ' '

13. Refutation - Victor Hurley wrote "Arrows Against Steel", and lists the following sources as ones he consulted, according to a friend who found the book in a Library and sent me the following:

'Here's the note from his preface relating to sources:

"The following original sources were examined during the course of the writing of Arrows Against Steel.

Yuen Chao Pi-Shi 'Secret History of the Mongols', 1240, trans 1931

Juveini 'History of the World Conqueror', 13th C, trans 1862

Patkanoff 'History of the Mongols', Russian trans 13th C

'Travels of Marco Polo', 1299, various trans

Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo 'Embassy to Tamerlane', 1403, various trans

Carpini, Giovanni de Piano, 1245, Legate of Pope Innocent IV at the Court of the Khan of Tartary

'History of Herodotus', 440BC, various trans

Thucydides 'History of the Peloponnesian War, c430BC, various trans

'Plutarch's Lives' c100AD, various trans

Xenophon 'Education of Cyrus', various trans

Publius Cornelius Tacitus 'Annals' c100AD

Titus Livius 'The History of Rome', c30BC

Ch'ang Ch'uns 'Journey to Jenghis Khan' 1888 English publication

Villehardouin 'Chronicle', 13thC

Joinville 'Chronicle', 1309

Jean Froissart 'Chronicle' late 14th C

Falvius Vegetius Renatus 'De Re Militari', 10th C manuscripts exist

Polybius, c130BC, various trans

Procopius, c520AD, Byz military history

Sun Tzu 'The Art of War', c500BC"

The endnotes also reference:

"Byz Emperor Leo IV 'The Tactica' 886-912AD" ' '

Hurley does not list Bo-ha-din as a source, so I forgot about Hurley, and instead concentrated on finding Bo-ha-din's work. Better a primary source than a secondary source who doesn't even list the primary source as one he used. What I eventually found was "**What Befell Sultan Yusuf**" by Abu el-Mehasan Yusef ibn-Rafi ibn-Temun el-Asadi ("The Life of Saladin" by Beha ed-Din, more commonly known as Bohadin), which I here quote from Chapter CXVII, entitled, "The Enemy March Upon Ascalon, Along the Shore of the Western Sea.

'The marksmen were posted in front, and the arrows shot by both sides fell thick as rain. The enemy had already formed in order of battle; the infantry, drawn up in front of the cavalry, stood firm as a wall, and every foot-soldier wore a vest of thick felt and a coat of mail so dense and strong that our arrows made no impression on them. They shot at us with their great arbalists, wounding the Moslem horses and their riders. I saw some with from one to ten arrows sticking in them, and still advancing at their ordinary pace without leaving the ranks.'

I find Bohadin's account of "The Life of Saladin" to be a well written, detailed, factual, and very believable account of the period. There are a few minor problems with it, such as Bohadin's insistence on calling 'Guy de Lusignan' by the name of his brother 'Geoffrey'. And calling Frederick, Duke of Swabia, the 'King of the Germans'. But those minor problems certainly do not invalidate the work. And the story about the arrows seems to check out as being legitimately from Bohadin.

The amount of detail Bohadin includes may make his 400 plus page book a bit hard to read, especially his manner of naming all the Moslems, frequently using not only their given names, but all the names, titles and other appellations. But, on the other hand, his frequent inclusion of dates (frequently converted to modern CE dates by the translators) for major, and sometimes minor, events certainly helps greatly in putting his whole story in perspective. This very attention to detail is what makes the above quote about the Franks continuing to advance with from one to ten arrows sticking in them such a good reference to arrows penetrating chain mail.

"BUT WAIT!" You say, "I thought this was presented as an example of chain mail stopping arrows."

And it is just that. It is an example of chain mail stopping arrows. It is, unless you look at this isolated incident in the general context of the whole book. Out of a six year conflict between Saladin and the Crusader States and European Crusaders, starting at the Battle of Hattin on July 1-3, 1187, and running until September 2, 1193, the armor worn DID stop arrows on this one day, September 1, 1191. I'm not going to quote the whole book, though. I would suggest you purchase the book and read it for yourself, as I did. It is not available on-line, YET. Since it is no longer in copyright, I plan on scanning it into my OCR (converts scanned text to word processor text) software and putting it on-line. But that is still quite a ways into the future. It is available for purchase online at <http://IslamicBookstore.com>. This is where I bought my copy.

On this one single day of September 1, 1191, Bohadin, for the first and only time in his entire story, in Chapter CXVII, comments on the armor of the Franks. *'every foot-soldier wore a vest of thick felt and a coat of mail so dense and strong that our arrows made no impression on them'*. It is written as though such an occurrence was a surprise to the Moslems. On August 23, 1191, which was the last major battle before the day in question, the arrows were effective (Chapter CXVII). Bohadin describes the battle that

day thus: *'A desperate encounter took place, and el-Melek el-Afdal, the Sultan's son, sent back to tell his father that he had cut off one division of the enemy in such a way as to prevent its receiving any support from the others, and that his men had attacked it so smartly that it had been obliged to retire in the direction of the camp.'* While this specific passage does not mention arrows, the Moslem's major way of attacking was by mounted archers, with very few references to the Moslems engaging in 'hand-to-hand' combat in the whole of Bohadin's story, and just a couple of sentences later, Bohadin does mention arrows, saying that they would be wasted in following the division, which had now managed to regroup with the division in front of it. It seems to me that if the Moslems could cut off and force one-fifth of Richard's army to retreat, the arrows must have been doing something. On every other day previous to this, the arrows are shown as effective. So I can see why it seemed like the Moslems were surprised. What is missing before is any description of the armor being worn. If Bohadin had just described the Frankish armor as chain mail anywhere but this one time, I would have several more accounts for Chapter 3 about arrows penetrating chain mail.

On the 7th of September, 1191, the arrows were effective, as evidenced by Bohadin's story (Chapter CXXI) of that day. *'On Saturday, the 14th of Sh'aban (September 7, 1191), the Sultan was informed that the enemy were marching on Arsuf. He mounted forthwith, and drew up his troops in order of battle, being resolved to come to close quarters with the enemy that day. The marksmen drawn from each battalion went out in advance, and rained a shower of arrows on the enemy, who were approaching the thickets and gardens of Arsuf. The Moslem troops harassed them on every side, some advancing, led by the Sultan in person, others remaining in position to cover them in case of retreat. They charged the enemy furiously; the fire of war burst from the marksmen, and killed and wounded.'* Now there were some minor engagements on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, with very little detail given of them by Bohadin, but this was the next major battle after September 1. By the way, when the Franks used their Cavalry in an all-out charge, they threw the Moslems into confusion, leading to a rout of Saladin's forces. The Franks, fearing an ambush, withdrew, instead of pressing the attack. They were afraid, because that was a tactic Saladin had used on several occasions. Use his archers to kill them at a distance, until the Franks decided they either had to charge, or be picked off by arrows. Then, when they charged, the attacking Moslems would flee, and lead the Frankish Cavalry into a trap, usually of footmen who tried to simply overpower the Franks under the cover of archer's and take them prisoner. This was the same tactic the Moslems used on almost every one of the Crusades, and it worked repeatedly. Again, every other time after this, the arrows are shown as effective. Again what is missing is any description of the armor being worn. If Bohadin had described the Frankish armor as chain mail anywhere but this one time, I would again have several more accounts for Chapter 3 about arrows penetrating chain mail.

But we can see from this above that this one day, September 1, is the only time during this almost half a month, encompassing three major battles, that the protective materials the Franks wore stopped the arrows. It is the only time in a six year struggle where the protective materials the Franks wore stopped the arrows. But it was not just chain mail, nor was it just chain mail over a 'padded' gambeson. Bohadin does not specify, but I believe the thick felt vests were worn over the chain mail, with the normal padding being worn under the mail. He had to see it to know it was being worn, and had it been under

the chain mail, he probably wouldn't have been able to see it, as he was, by his own statements, not up close to the action. I have made felt. It requires almost no training, takes very little time, compared to other methods of providing protection, and can be made as thick and as hard and dense as you want. Thick hard felt is very difficult to puncture, even with something as thin and sharp as a needle, and is also almost cut proof, from either a chop, as in an axe strike, or in a slice, as in a sharp knife. It also provides excellent shock absorbing and spreading of impact. But it is almost totally impractical to wear in those thicknesses in the heat of September in the Middle East. In fact, it is fairly heavy and cumbersome any time, and if it gets wet, with rain or sweat, it gets really heavy fast. It was an experiment they tried. 'The operation was a success, but the patient died', as the saying goes. It worked to keep the arrows from killing, but it just wasn't worth the other problems of heat, weight, encumbrance, etc., so they abandoned the idea. While this account is a plus for the side claiming chain mail would stop arrows, it is not an absolute proof, but is, at best, somewhat questionable because of the addition of the words 'thick felt vests'.

There is still one more 'account' provided above, supposedly from Hurley, supposedly ascribed by him to Bo-ha-din. That is, *'King Richard rode into the Saracen host at Jaffa, and emerged with several arrows and a javelin hanging out of his maille shirt yet he was unharmed.'*

Bohadin does not have this account in his book. In fact, he tells a story of Richard at Jaffa (Chapter CLXVI) thus, *'I have been assured by men who were there, that on that day the king of England, lance in hand, rode along the whole length of our army from right to left, and not one of our soldiers left the ranks to attack him.'* Quite a different story than his riding INTO the host and emerging with arrows and a javelin sticking out of him, isn't it? And that account from Bohadin's text is the only account in the whole text that even comes close to what was presented. Again, I wonder if Bohadin was actually read by the person who sent this in. Perhaps, if he had, he would have found the 'other' reference Bohadin has to arrows having no effect.

Quoting from Chapter CIX, *'One of the Moslems, who had leapt the trenches, reported that he had seen a man, a Frank of enormous stature, who, all alone on the top of the parapet, was holding the Moslems at bay by his own unaided strength; his comrades stood on either side and handed him stones, which he hurled down at our men as they advanced to the scarp. 'This man,' said he, 'had been struck by more than fifty arrows and stones, but nothing distracted him from his work. He kept on fighting and driving back the men who were coming on, until at last he was burnt alive by a bottle of naptha, hurled at him by one of our pyrotechnists.'* This was on July 2 or 3 of 1191. Now, if Bohadin had only indicated what type of armor and/or other protective gear this Frank of enormous stature was wearing, it might be usable to show his chain mail stopping arrows. But, like I said before, the only time Bohadin describes the Frankish armor is on that one day of September 1, 1191, where it is shown being worn in conjunction with thick felt vests. The next account will justify my belief about the texts not being read, I think.

Also included in that Email from Person One, was the following account:

14a. *'Cattalan Vengeance gives numerous examples of the members of the Grand Cattalan Company discarding their armor, typically mail, once the threat of enemy archers was eliminated. I think you'll agree they would hardly have worn it if it could not*

stop the missiles.'

Person One later identified this text a bit thus:

14b. *'Cattalan Vengeance is the title of the Chronicles of the Grand Cattalan Company written in the early 14th Century. I don't recall the author's name at the moment, but he was a Chronicler with the Company at the time. It's been translated into English, and good university libraries will have a copy. I think a search with Alfonso Lowe as the Author will bring it up, but he may just be the translator.'*

14 -Refutation - Person One, who sent in these two references to this text, has a persona as a Catalan who is supposedly a member of the Grand Catalan Company, so I would think he might have done some actual research on this mercenary company. The title of the text is "**The Catalan vengeance**". No, that small 'v' is not a typo. It is a modern work by Alfonso Lowe about the Grand Catalan Company, not a translation of a 14th century chronicle of the company. I got this information from the Main Branch of the Houston Public Library. They didn't have a copy, but it had the wrong Dewey Decimal number to be a period translation. When the librarian saw the Dewey Decimal number while checking for a possible inter-library loan, after I told her it was supposed to be a translation, she almost laughed. She gave a whole list of reasons how she could be absolutely sure it was not a translation, but the number alone was enough to convince her. She's the expert in the field of Library Science, not me, so I'll take her word for it. So, either Person One has read the book, and thereby knows it is not a translation, or he has not read the book and thereby doesn't know what it contains. Either way, this claim of it being a translation of a period text is still a falsification, it is just not provable as a deliberate one. Now, look at the actual story he tells. The Grand Catalan Company, once the threat of enemy archers was eliminated, discarded their armor during battle? The book may say that. The book may not say that. But the story itself seems too far-fetched for me to waste my time trying to chase a lead based on falsified information, especially when the supplier of that falsified information previously missed one date by a hundred years, a second date by fifty years, and has given quotes and stories that are not contained in the original sources to which he refers. He blew his first reference, missing the date by 100 years, making it a different Louis on a different crusade, blew his second reference by missing the date by 50 years, telling a story that didn't happen, and even provided a "quote" that doesn't exist. He got lucky one time, on Bohadin, from Hurley, but blew it again on the second "quote", which also does not exist, and totally missed a reference in the same text that is as good as the one he sent. By the way, I found "**The Catalan vengeance**", by Alfonso Lowe, available "used", through Amazon, for just under \$50.00. Buy it if you want. I'm not going to do so. But that now ends all of the information I received from Person One, so we will now continue with information sent by Person Two, and Person Three.

Sent from Person Two, submission one:

15a. *'From Joinville (mid 13th century), referring to the day following his being wounded in five places and his horse in fifteen by Saracen darts: "I got up, threw a quilted tunic over my back, clapped a steel cap on my head, and shouted out to our sergeants: 'by Saint Nicholas, they shall not stay here!'.*

My knights gathered round me, all wounded as they were, and we drove the Saracen sergeants away from our own machines and back toward a great body of mounted Turks

who had stationed themselves quite close to the ones we had taken from them. I sent to the king for help, for neither I nor my knights could put on our hauberks because of the wounds we had received."

It seems the padded jackets were enough protection in this emergency, and that they could have fared even better against the enemy had they been able to wear their hauberks.'

Sent from Person Two, submission two:

15b. 'From Joinville (mid 13th century), referring to the day following his being wounded in five places and his horse in fifteen by Saracen arrows: "I got up, threw a quilted tunic over my back, clapped a steel cap on my head, and shouted out to our sergeants: 'by Saint Nicholas, they shall not stay here!'".

My knights gathered round me, all wounded as they were, and we drove the Saracen sergeants away from our own machines and back toward a great body of mounted Turks who had stationed themselves quite close to the ones we had taken from them. I sent to the king for help, for neither I nor my knights could put on our hauberks because of the small wounds we had received."

It seems the padded jackets were enough protection in this emergency, and that they could have fared even better against the enemy had they been able to wear their hauberks.'

Sent from Person Three, submission two:

15c. 'From Joinville (mid 13th century), referring to the day following his being wounded in five places and his horse in fifteen by Saracen darts: "I got up, threw a quilted tunic over my back, clapped a steel cap on my head, and shouted out to our sergeants: 'by Saint Nicholas, they shall not stay here!'".

My knights gathered round me, all wounded as they were, and we drove the Saracen sergeants away from our own machines and back toward a great body of mounted Turks who had stationed themselves quite close to the ones we had taken from them. I sent to the king for help, for neither I nor my knights could put on our hauberks because of the wounds we had received."

It seems the padded jackets were enough protection in this emergency, and that they could have fared even better against the enemy had they been able to wear their hauberks.'

It will be noticed that in 15b, as twice before, Person Two changed a quote by deleting words (11c.), or adding a word within the quote (12c). This is falsification. The word added is 'small', in the last line of the quote. He also changed a word in the introductory part of this account, changing 'darts' to 'arrows', but that is not necessarily a falsification. All three entries share a common source, as evidenced by 'by Saint Nicholas, they shall not stay here!'. which ends with an exclamation point, single quotation mark and period. And they were all three contained in posts with various other typos and other identifying items in the same places in the posts.

15 Refutation - First, the quote, as I found it in "**The Memoirs of the Lord of Joinville: A New English Version**" by Ethel Wedgwood: 'I got up, and slipped a tunic over my shoulders, and clapped an iron cap on my head, and cried to our sergeants: "By Saint Nicholas! they shall not stay here!"'

My knights joined me, all wounded as they were; and we drove the Saracen sergeants out from among the engines, and back onto a large squadron of mounted Turks, who

were close to the engines we had captured. I sent to the King asking for help, for neither I nor my knights were able to put on hauberks, because of the wounds we had received; and the King sent us my Lord Walter of Châtillon, who placed himself in front, between us and the Turks.'

Okay, that is close enough to 15a and 15c to see that they are both legitimate quotes. Different translator perhaps, but still the same basic information. I read the account of Joinville where he got wounded five times and his horse fifteen earlier that same day, not the day before. He says the wounds were caused by 'fire-darts', in the translation I have.

This account given above specifically says he was not wearing armor, other than an iron cap. So this account is totally inapplicable to armor of any kind stopping arrows, or to arrows penetrating armor of any kind. The account where he got wounded five times would be applicable to arrows penetrating armor, if Joinville had stated he had been wounded by arrows, but my translation says otherwise, so I didn't use it.

Sent from Person Two, submission one:

16a. 'From an English chronicle of the Battle of Poitiers : *"Our bowmen of the vanguard stood safely in the marsh, lest the horsemen should attack them, yet even so those did prevail there somewhat. For the horsemen, as has been said, had the special purpose of overrunning the archers, and of protecting their army from the arrows. Standing near their own men they faced the archers with their chests so solidly protected with plate and mail and leather shields, that the arrows were either fended off directly or broken in pieces by the hard objects or were diverted upwards.."*

Sent from Person Two, submission two:

16b. 'From an English chronicle of the Battle of Poitiers (1356): *"Our bowmen of the vanguard stood safely in the marsh, lest the horsemen should attack them, yet even so those did prevail there somewhat. For the horsemen, as has been said, had the special purpose of overrunning the archers, and of protecting their army from the arrows. Standing near their own men they faced the archers with their chests so solidly protected with plate and mail and leather shields, that the arrows were either fended off directly or broken in pieces by the hard objects or were diverted upwards.."*

Sent from Person Three, submission two:

16c. 'From an English chronicle of the Battle of Poitiers (1356): *"Our bowmen of the vanguard stood safely in the marsh, lest the horsemen should attack them, yet even so those did prevail there somewhat. For the horsemen, as has been said, had the special purpose of overrunning the archers, and of protecting their army from the arrows. Standing near their own men they faced the archers with their chests so solidly protected with plate and mail and leather shields, that the arrows were either fended off directly or broken in pieces by the hard objects or were diverted upwards.."*

16. Refutation - First, let me say I'm surprised. Person Two only adds the date 1356 to this account in his second submission, and changes nothing and leaves nothing out. I notice Person Three adds the same date. But such an addition is perfectly permissible, as it is not part of a quote. Again, a common source is indicated, as evidenced by the double period at the end. The opening and closing single quotation marks are mine. However, this account, totally unidentified as to text name and author's name, is disqualified, not because it is unidentified, but because, as stated, it refers to plate armor used with chain

mail, and does not specify which of the three protective methods were doing the protecting, the plate, the mail, or the shields.

Continuing on, but this time without any references sent by Person Three. Sent only from Person Two, submission one:

17a. *'Joinville, his account of the battle of Monsourah, speaks of receiving five arrow wounds and continuing to fight, many of his knights also received multiple arrow wounds and continued fighting. He removes the several arrows from his maille so he can remove the haubergeon and his gambeson to have his minor wounds cleaned and then re-dons his armour to rejoin the battle. The only mention in his chronicle of a knight who was killed by archery describes the wound as being in the exposed throat.'*

Sent from Person Two, submission two:

17b. *'Joinville, his account of the battle of Monsourah, speaks of receiving five arrow wounds and continuing to fight, many of his knights also received multiple arrow wounds and continued fighting. He removes the several arrows from his maille so he can remove the haubergeon and his gambeson to have his minor wounds cleaned and then re-dons his armour to rejoin the battle. The only mention in his chronicle of a knight who was killed by archery describes the wound as being in the exposed throat.'*

17 Refutation - Oh, so close, but yet so far away! It would surely help them make their case if the persons who send in documentation actually read the books to which they refer, instead of taking someone else's word for what they say. Person Two (we have already seen the same thing about Person One) seems not to have read the actual accounts from Joinville. But at least, he didn't use any quotes he had to falsify this time. I would quote "**The Memoirs of the Lord of Joinville: A New English Version**" by Ethel Wedgwood, about all of Joinville's accounts of his participation at Mansoorah, but it is too long, spanning several chapters. What I will do is tell of when Joinville got wounded five times. This is in Chapter X, by the way, entitled, "The Battle of Mansoorah". which is a town on the Nile in Egypt:

'In front of us were two of the King's serjeants, one of whom was named William of Boon, and the other John of Gamaches. Those Turks who were between the brook and the river brought up peasants on foot, who pelted these two serjeants with clods of earth; but they could never get them to attack us ourselves. Finally, they brought up a peasant, who threw Greek fire at them thrice. Once William of Boon caught the vessel of Greek fire on his buckler, for if it had set light to anything on him, he would have been burnt. We were all covered with the fire-darts that missed the serjeants. By good luck, I found a Saracen's oakum tunic; and I turned the split side towards me, and made a shield of the tunic, which served me in good stead, for their fire-darts only wounded me in five places and my pony in fifteen. It chanced too, that one of my burghers from Joinville brought me a banner with an iron spear-head; and every time that we saw them crowding on the serjeants, we charged them, and they fled. By this time the good Count of Soissons was beginning to joke with me and to say: "Seneschal, let these hounds yelp; for, by God's head cloth! (which was his favourite oath) we shall yet talk over this day in the ladies' bowers."

In the evening, just as the sun was setting, the Constable brought us the King's cross-bowmen on foot, and they ranged themselves in front of us; and when the Saracens saw our feet in the stirrups of the cross-bows, they fled.'

The earlier reference to Joinville, account Number 15, happens later this night, not the next day, as described in Numbers 15a, 15b, and 15c. It is also at this location, but days later, just before Joinville is captured, that account Number 8, in Chapter 3 of my study, happened. The only thing in Joinville's account about him in battle at Mansoorah that matches the above story is his being wounded five times. I could stop my refutation right here. The story above simply did not happen, or at least Joinville's accounts do not tell of it happening. So it is just a made-up (false) story instead of a deliberately falsified quote.

But I do know what the base for this story actually is, because I have read Joinville. In all fairness, I'll tell what really happened, according to Joinville. In Chapter XVII, we find this story happening in Mansoorah, after the King has been captured and taken there.

'First of all I will tell you about my Lord Walter of Châtillon: how a knight named Lord John of Monson, told me that he saw my lord of Châtillon in the walled village where the King was taken. A street ran straight through the village, so that one could see the fields on either side. In this street was my Lord Walter of Châtillon with his naked sword in his hand. As often as he saw the Turks entering this street, he charged upon them, sword in hand, and hustled them out of the place; and whilst the Turks were fleeing before him, they (who shoot as well backwards as forwards) would cover him with darts. When he had driven them out of the village, he would pick out the darts that were sticking all over him; and put on his coat-of-arms again; stand up in his stirrups, and brandishing his sword at arm's length cry, "Châtillon! knights! where are my paladins?" Then, turning round, and seeing that the Turks had come in at the other end of the street, he would charge them again, sword in hand, and drive them out. And this he did about three times in the manner I have described.'

This has a few more of the elements of the story of Person Two, but not all, and it is not Joinville it is happening to. The weapons used are described as 'darts' not 'arrows', and in the battle of Mansoorah, Joinville says: *'And know, that there was a patch of ground behind the Templars, the size of a day's work, so covered with the darts that the Saracens had thrown, that the soil could not be seen for the density of them.'*, which indicates these could have been just what he called them, 'darts', possibly meaning hand thrown darts, not arrows shot from bows. Joinville does comment about the 'Turks' ability to shoot backwards as well as forwards, but does not specify that these darts were shot. Note also that Walter takes off his "coat-of-arms", not his armor and gambeson. Joinville, again referring to this engagement in and around Mansoorah, describes a 'coat-of-arms' thus: *'These things took place on the first day of Lent. On that same day, a valiant Saracen whom the enemy had made captain instead of Scedin the son of Seic, whom they had lost in the battle of Shrove Tuesday, took the coat belonging to the Count of Artois, who had died in that battle, and showed it to all the host of the Saracens, and told them: It was the King's coat-of-arms and that he was dead. "And this I show you" said he, "because a body without a head is in no wise to be feared, neither a people without a King.'*

I can even identify where he may have gotten the idea of the Knight dying from an arrow wound to the exposed throat. Referring to the death of Walter, Joinville has this to say: *'Only Lord John Frumons, that good knight, told me that, when they were leading him away prisoner to Mansoorah, he met a Turk who was riding Lord Walter of Châtillon's horse, and the horse's crupper was all bloody. And he asked the Turk what he had done with him whose horse it was; and the Turk answered, that he had cut his throat*

on horseback, as might be seen from the crupper that was all covered with the blood.'

Of course, since Joinville does tell about a Knight dying from being shot in the throat, in Syria, much later, but by a crossbow quarrel, not an arrow, he could possibly have been referring to that instance, *'In the retreat of the Teutons, the Saracens wounded a knight of mine, named Lord John of Bussy, with a quarrel through the throat; and he fell right in front of me.'*

Joinville does not say the throat was exposed, but I'll give on that point. But Person Two is correct in that this is the only time in Joinville's memoirs that he specifically tells of a knight killed by archery. He hints at it all through the stories, as he indicates lots of deaths, and indicates archery being the main method of combat by the 'Turks'. So none of this from Joinville actually shows chain mail armor stopping arrows as claimed, and the story that is claimed to exist simply didn't happen in Joinville's account. So this time, instead of falsifying quotes, he falsifies the whole story, by taking elements out of several incidents and blending them together. Again, I don't think the persons sending me these accounts are actually reading the books.

The next account was also sent by Person Two, in his submission one

18. 'Villehardouin, *in his account of attacking the Cumans who were horse archers, speaks of the horses being wounded but no mention of the knights who rode them being wounded, and none listed as being killed. These from the horsebow which was far more powerful than the European bows of the same period. It was after the French had installed their Emperor in Constantinople when the Wallachians were attacking them with Cuman auxilliary horse archers.'*

Person Two, in his second submission, sent this again, but without changes, except to leave off the last sentence, so I'll not repeat it this time.

18 Refutation - I'm not sure which of Villehardouin's accounts he means here, so I'll give all of them, and refute them all together.

The first account is when Johannizza, King of Wallachia comes to relieve Adrianople, *'Thus they remained till the Wednesday of Easter week, and Johannizza had by that time approached so near that he encamped at about five leagues from us. And he sent his Comans running before our camp, and a cry was raised throughout the camp, and our men issued therefrom helterskelter, and pursued the Comans for a full league very foolishly; for when they wished to return, the Comans began to shoot at them in grievous wise, and wounded a good many of their horses.*

So our men returned to the camp, and the barons were summoned to the quarters of the Emperor Baldwin. And they took counsel, and all said that they had dealt foolishly in thus pursuing people who were so lightly armed.'

The above was on Wednesday of Easter week. The next account is when the Crusaders are defeated and Baldwin is taken prisoner on Thursday of that week, *'Count Louis went out first with his battalion, and began to follow after the Comans, and sent to urge the emperor to come after him. Alas! how ill did they keep to what had been settled the night before! For they ran in pursuit of the Comans for at least two leagues, and joined issue with them, and chased them a long space. And then the Comans turned back upon them, and began to cry out and to shoot.*

On our side there were battalions made up of other people than knights, people having too little knowledge of arms, and they began to wax afraid and be discomfited. And Count

Louis, who had been the first to attack, was wounded in two places full sorely; and the Comans and Wallachians began to invade our ranks; and the count had fallen, and one of his knights, whose name was John of Friaie, dismounted, and set him on his horse.'

The next account in when the Franks are defeated near Rusium, *'And the Comans and Wallachians and Greeks pressed them very hard, and wounded many of their horses. Loud were the cries and fierce the onslaught, so that by main force and pure distress they drove the rear-guard back on the battalion of Andrew of Urboise and John of Choisy; and in this manner the Franks retreated, suffering greatly.*

The enemy renewed their onslaught so fiercely that they drove the Franks who were nearest to them back on the battalion of Thierry of Tenremonde, the constable. Nor was it long before they drove them back still further on to the battalions led by Charles of the Frêne. And now the Franks had retreated, sore harassed, till they were within half a mile of Rusium. And the others ever pressed upon them more hardily; and the battle went sore against them, and many were wounded, and of their horses. So, as God will suffer misadventures, they could endure no further, but were discomfited; for they were heavily armed, and their enemies lightly; and the latter began to slaughter them.

Alas! well might Christendom rue that day! For of all those six score knights did not more than ten escape who were not killed or taken; and those who escaped came flying into Rusium, and rejoined their own people. There was slain Thierry of Tenremonde, the constable, Orri of l'Isle, who was a good knight and highly esteemed, and John of Pomponne, Andrew of Urboise, John of Choisy, Guy of Conflans, Charles of the Frêne, Villain the brother of Thierry the seneschal. '

The first account does fit exactly what was claimed. But the second account has Count Louis wounded twice before the Comans and Wallachians engaged in close combat (*'began to invade our ranks'*), so it must have been at a distance, like from arrows, and it does say the Comans were shooting. The third account tells of both men and horses being wounded. Also, the Comans, Wallachians, and Greeks are characterized as being *'lightly armed'*, which is the way he described the Coman horse archers a bit earlier in the text, referring only not to their armor, but their weapons. And here, they *'began to slaughter'* the heavily armed (or armored) Franks. Notice that it states they drove the Franks *'nearest'* them back, not the Franks they were engaged in combat with. So again, everything here points to this being horse archers against armored Knights, and the Knights are getting slaughtered. No mention of the Knights being wounded? No listing of any being killed? That's not what I read, except in the first account. I would have used these second two to show arrows penetrating chain mail, except that Villehardouin does not say they were armored, or if they were, how. Heavily armed, yes. And that could mean armor or weapons, so I'm not going to use them to support my side of the debate, but they sure don't support the other side. Even in the first account, where only horses are wounded, the quote does not say a single person was hit with an arrow. No arrow hitting, no armor stopping the arrows. Anything else is just a surmise.

From Person Two, submission two

19. 'From a published article called... "the Physics of Medieval Archery"

"The obvious question now is what would such an arrow have been capable of doing? Most of the soldiers at whom these heavy war arrows were directed would have been wearing armour. At the time of Agincourt, a typical suit of armour had a mass of between

30 and 45 kg and was made of wrought iron, which is rather soft. Obviously, carrying this extra mass was a great inconvenience to the soldier inside the armour, and, to try to keep the mass down, the thickness of the armour varied according to the part of the body being protected. The thickest armour was up to 4 mm thick, and the thinnest about 1 mm. Experiments (not using live-targets!) suggest that, while arrows would easily penetrate 1 mm of armour, the vital areas of the body would have been very unlikely to be hit. Probably the effect of a massive hail of fast-moving heavy arrows, such as the French encountered at Agincourt, would have been to cause very many disabling injuries, but perhaps only one arrow in a hundred would have killed the man it struck. Naturally, the chance of an unarmoured man surviving a blow from such an arrow would have been very much less." ' "

19 Refutation - Who wrote it? Who published it? When? In what publication was this article? What were his sources? And this article is obviously about plate armor, not chain mail, so needs no further refutation, nor consideration. The only other thing I received from Person Two was the refutation to Giraldus Cambrensis's work I used in Chapter 3, which I gave there, and defended against there. Since you have probably already read this refutation, remember, it is Person Two, the person who resorts to falsification of his own documentation, who is questioning Giraldus's "reliability".

Now, to start on accounts I received only from one source, Person Three. This is from the first set of accounts I received done by him.

20. 'The Supposed Invincibility of the English Archers at Agincourt *Contrary to popular ideas, English arrows were not very effective against plate armor at the time of Agincourt. Arrows would penetrate the arm and leg armor with a reasonably direct hit from close range, but would be ineffective against the head or body. Reference: Peter N. Jones, "The Metallography and Relative Effectiveness of Arrowheads and Armor During the Middle Ages." Materials Characterization, vol. 29, pp.111-117 (1992). [A periodical published by Elsevier Science Publishing Co., Inc., 655 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10010. Be prepared for some serious metallurgy.]'*

20. Refutation - I received the following from a friend: 'Peter N. Jones, "The Metallography and Relative Effectiveness of Arrowheads and Armor During the Middle Ages." Materials Characterization, vol. 29, pp.111-117 (1992).

This research included metalurgical analysis of armor and arrow from a number of museum collections including the Tower of London collection. The author notes that mail was ineffective against longbows and that mail was the "principal protection worn by the French cavalry at Crecy" in 1346, but that plate armour was in wide use by the time of Agincourt in 1415, the last great victory of the longbow.

The author notes that though out the period of the Hundred Years War the quality of armor improves dramatically. In the early 1400's the armor samples exhibited a typical Vickers hardness of 100-140 and by 1550 the quality had increased to a Vickers hardness of around 3240-250. Bodkins though out the period had a hardness of around 350. Plate armor of the period ranged in thickness from about 1.2mm to 4.5mm with the thinner armor on the arms and legs with the ticker armor on the head and torso.

Bodkins of period design were constructed out of the determined materials and they were fired at appropriate metal plates in a thickness of 1mm, 2mm, and 3mm. They were fired from a 70# yew longbow at a range of 10 meters. The bow is probably at the low

end of the range that what would have been used in combat during this period but it was also shot at a much closer range. Penetration was achieved on the 1mm thickness plate when shot straight on or at angles up to 20 degrees but no useful penetrations were achieved on 2mm or 3mm plates.

The author concluded that; "These results indicate that the pattern of damage inflicted on an advance of armored infantry at the Battle of Agincourt would have been one of many disabling wounds [esp. to the arms and legs] and few fatalities. ... It also shows that in the earlier battles (Crecy in 1346 and Poitiers in 1356) the longbow would have been extremely lethal and that in later battles, when armor had been further improved, it would become marginal."

This paper represents serious research published in a very reputable scientific journal. I am convinced that very good plate from late period clearly did provide excellent protection against arrows' This came in over a month before the reference to Jones by Person Three, so was not meant as a refutation of him. The provider and I were having a 'discussion' on plate armor, and he sent this to me to demonstrate a point. I do not have access to this periodical, but I am going to assume both these people do have such access. By the second (first received) reference to Jones, we see this is mostly about plate armor, not chain mail. And the first reference had no quote about chain mail stopping arrows, but only referred to plate also, so this is inapplicable.

The next submission was sent from Person Three, submission one, but I'm not sure it was really supposed to be documentation showing chain mail stopping arrows. Just in case, I'll give it, and refute it.

21. 'Does this mean that the English archers were ineffective? Not at all. They were devastating against foot soldiers, and even the knights were at severe risk, as their horses couldn't carry enough armor to protect them at all. Knights were very protective of their horses. See Henry V, Act III, Scene VII, where the French are trading boasts about the battle to come.'

21 Refutation - Right! This is a reference to Shakespeare. But since how protective French Knights were of their horses has little to do with armor or arrows, it is also inapplicable to the point under discussion.

Also from Person Three, submission one.

22. 'An accounting of the battle of Agincourt:

Henry laid out his forces in the traditional English fashion, with men-at-arms flanked by wedges of archers, protected by large pointed stakes. (Horses won't charge at big pointy things.) The archers at the ends of the lines were positioned forward from the rest of the troops to give covering fire along the main front. This is an excellent defensive position, but it gives very little scope for attack.

After the forces were arranged, they sat and stared at each other for four hours. The English had no desire to attack, and the French were presumably not pleased at the idea of wading through a mile of mud.

About 11 AM, as some of the French were sending their servants back to camp to bring lunch, Henry decided to force the issue. He ordered his troops to move the line forward, and to reset the positions within extreme longbow range from the French lines. He didn't have enough men-at-arms to form a reserve or to guard the camp. This was to have

dramatic consequences later on.

As Henry had planned, the first volley of arrows goaded the French into attacking. The first attack was from the mounted knights on the flanks of the French position, intending to overrun the longbowmen protecting the English flanks. It was a disaster. While an English arrow would not normally penetrate a knight's plate armor, a horse cannot carry enough armor to be effective. Wounded horses threw their riders into the mud and trampled through the close-packed ranks of French foot soldiers. They also churned up the mud in front of the English positions, making things more difficult for future French attacks.

A brief bibliography;

Hibbert, Christopher, Agincourt, Dorset Press, 1978, ISBN 0-88029-054-4. A somewhat (ahem!) imaginative description of Henry and the battle. Contains a lot of information about the events surrounding the battle, such as the siege of Harfleur and Henry's march to Calais. Appendices contain the complete text of Henry's Ordinances of War and Challenge to the Dauphin. Some interesting but not overly useful illustrations. Wildly pro-English viewpoint.

Peter N. Jones, The Metallography and Relative Effectiveness of Arrowheads and Armor During the Middle Ages. "Materials Characterization", vol. 29, pp.111-117 (1992). This is a periodical published by Elsevier Science Publishing Co., Inc., 655 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10010. Heavy metallurgy.

Stuart, Desmond, The Hundred Years War; the English in France 1337-1453; Atheneum, New York, 1978, ISBN 0-689-10919-9. General overview of the Hundred Years War, with emphasis on personality issues. Generally favors the French view.'

22. Refutation - This seems to be Person Three's version of Agincourt, based on the versions contained in the three referenced modern texts. Person Three throws Hibbert's text into question himself, so I don't have to do so. But this story seems to be just about the way I understood the battle went from my own reading. However, since the only armor he mentions is plate, this story is also inapplicable to the issue of chain mail and arrows. There is not a single quote contained in this story., so there is no source document to refute. The bibliography he gave, to three modern texts, would have been so much better if he had read the bibliographies in those three texts, had gone to those source documents and read them to extract quotes that might apply, and then had given these source texts in a bibliography. But he didn't do this. No source documents, no 'documentation'.

Earlier, I gave several accounts drawn from Person Three's second submission, where he had simply repeated items from a common source used for also Person Two's accounts. Now I will cover the rest of Person Three's second submission, and give the items I had not received from others.

From Person Three, submission two:

23. 'However, recently two military historians, John Keegan and Claude Gaier, have cast doubt upon the thesis of the English longbow "invincibility." In particular, Keegan, in a study of the battle of Agincourt, has shown the tactical use of English archers at this battle, and, for that matter, in all of the battles since the beginning of the fourteenth century, with the longbowmen either skirmishing in a "shoot-out" with their opponents' archers or flanking their infantry troops, could not have caused the losses of life

attributed to them by historians. In fact, there is little evidence that the longbowmen, needing to fire with an extremely steep arc to cover the distance between themselves and the enemy and thus unable to penetrate their opponents' armor, did any more damage than the killing of a few horses and the wounding of even fewer men. While the archers did not kill many men, however, they did harass their enemy to such an extent that they broke into a disordered charge, a charge narrowed by continual flanking fire until it reached and stopped at the solid infantry line. This then caused the victory-not the archery fire itself, but the archery-induced disordered charge into a solid infantry line, which was neither penetrated nor defeated. (Devries, Kelly, Medieval Military Technology, Broadview Press, 1992, p. 38)'

23. Refutation - Again, these are his words, evidently drawn from the modern work of the two named individuals, as it appears in the modern work of a third individual. At least, there are no quotation marks to distinguish it as a quote, from a period text, from Keegan or Gaier, or from Devries. But again, since what he sent does not mention chain mail at all, nor any reference to any period text, it is again inapplicable to chain mail and arrows. No source documents, no 'documentation'.

Another item (actually four items) from Person Three, submission one:

24. 'Infantry Warfare:

Bannockburn: *English and Scottish archers also engaged in the battle. But they had very little effect, at least according to John Barbour, who is the only source which mentions their participation in detail: the Scottish archers only annoyed the English cavalry, while the English archers might have been more effective had not Robert Bruce sent a contingent of horsed warriors . to successfully disperse them (p. 81)*

Boroughbridge: *The Earl [of Lancaster's] cavalry, when they tried to cross the water, could not enter it because of the number and density of arrows which the archers discharged into them and their horses. No one appears to have been killed by the archery assault, but progress was slowed and confused.(p. 96)*

Dupplin Moor: *The infantry was greatly aided by the archers on their flanks. It seems that most of the Scottish soldiers either wore no helmets or helmets unequipped with visors, and that the disinherited archers.'blinded and wounded the faces of the first division of the Scots by an incessant discharge of arrows.' This may have caused little death, but in fact is so disrupted the Scots that their attacks fell on the infantry with disarray and confusion. (p. 119)*

Halidon Hill: *The archers again played a role in this defeat. As at Dupplin Moor they attacked the Scots as they rushed into the infantry lines, and they continued to fire into their flanks and rear as the fight continued. In this, as at Duplin Moor, they blinded many of the Scots, creating disorder in their ranks and adding to the slaughter. The Lanercroft chronicler writes: "Now the Scots approaching in the first division were so grievously wounded in the face and blinded by the host of English archery, just as they had been formerly at Glendenmore (Dupplin Moor), that they were helpless, and quickly began to turn away their faces from the arrow flights and to fall." (p. 124) Further: It was at this point in the two battles when the archers made their presence felt. Although it may be too much to say, as Jonathon Sumption does, that these battles 'were [both] won by the archers,' the archers did play a major role in the battle, although not the one - as a decisive killing machine - which has been bestowed on them traditionally by scholars.*

(Sumption is in error on pp. 125-26 in describing 'some thousands of Scots [dying] of arrow wounds.' There is no record of this in the contemporary battlefield narratives. (p.127)'

24. Refutation - First, John Barbour's romantic poem, "**The Bruce**", glorifying Robert the Bruce, was written by a man who was not born until six years after the battle of Bannockburn, and was not written until sixty-four years after the battle. I could find no copy of it online, nor for sale, in an English translation. I found what I believe may be a copy online in the original Scots, but since I don't read Scots, I'm not even sure about that. But my search did turn up the following information 'about' the poem. According to "**The Columbia Encyclopedia**" at Bartleby.com, it is a romance, not history, and was probably done as a commissioned work by Barbour for King Robert II, as evidenced by payments ordered from the treasury of Aberdeen by the King to Barbour very soon afterwards. I did not continue the search indefinitely to see if I could purchase an English translation of a 'romantic poem' (like "**The Lay of The Cid**" or "**The Song of Roland**") to look up historical '*details*', based on this Columbia information. None of this means that Barbour's '*details*' are wrong, just questionable, because we don't know his 'source' for these details when he was writing 64 years after the fact.

I searched for "Lanercroft Chronicle", and Google had no references to that spelling of it. But they did ask if I meant "Lanercost Chronicle" (without the 'r'), so I checked this out. "**The Chronicle of Lanercost**" was translated into English by Sir Herbert Maxwell in 1913, and there is a project underway at the University of Durham to do a new translation, but this is not completed. I did find a few 'excerpts' from Maxwell's translation on-line, but what I could not find was a full copy of it, on-line, or available to purchase. I used BookFinder.com, and their search of 50,000 booksellers failed to turn up a single copy available. I also discovered it had been translated by Joseph Stevenson, but again, BookFinder.com could not find a single copy of this more recent translation either. I also checked Amazon.com, and AllBookStores.com, and could not find a copy of either translation.

The most complete excerpt I found was the one on The Society for Medieval Military History website, which does cover the Battle at Bannockburn, as well as Haltwhistle, Tynedale, Corbridge, the valleys of North and South Tyne, the monastery of Lanercost, Norham, Hexham and Corbridge, Durham, Berwick, St John, [Perth], Roxburgh Castle, Edinburgh Castle, Stirling, and Carlisle, before Bannockburn was fought, and Bothwell Castle, Stanemoor, Brough, Appleby, Kirkoswald, Gillesland, the invasion of Ireland by Robert the Bruce, Hartlepool, Carlisle (again), Berwick (again), Richmond, and another invasion of Ireland after Bannockburn. This excerpt does not cover Bourroughbridge, Dupplin Moor or Halidon Hill.. But I also found in my searches a reference to "**Scalacronica**" by Sir Thomas Gray, also translated by Sir Herbert Maxwell, (Glasgow, 1907). A search like before did not turn up a single copy for sale, (50,000 plus booksellers), nor an on-line version, except the one I found on The Society for Medieval Military History website, which I believe is just an excerpt also. Durham University is also working on a complete translation of "Scalacronica", but it is not finished. By the way, Maxwell's translation of "Scalacronica" is only a partial translation, not the complete text.

In all of the excerpts of these two texts I could find, there are no references to arrows penetrating armor, or armor resisting arrows. The passages from them concerning arrows

and archers are:

"Scalacronica" - *'The castles of Roxburgh and Edinburgh were captured and dismantled, which castles were in the custody of foreigners, Roxburgh [being] in charge of Guilleming Fenygges, a knight of Burgundy, from whom James de Douglas captured the said castle upon the night of Shrove Tuesday, the said William being slain by an arrow as he was defending the great tower.'*

"Scalacronica" - *'The constable, Roger de Horsley, lost there an eye by an arrow.'*

"Lanercost" - *'On every day of the siege they assaulted one of the three gates of the city, sometimes all three at once; but never without loss, because there were discharged upon them from the walls such dense volleys of darts and arrows, likewise stones, that they asked one another whether stones bred and multiplied within the walls.'*

"Lanercost" - *'There they set up long ladders rich (sic) they climbed, and the bowmen, whereof they had a great amber (sic), shot their arrows thickly to prevent anyone showing his head above the wall. But, blessed be God! they met with such resistance there as threw them to the ground with their ladders, so that there and elsewhere round the wall some were killed, others taken prisoners and others wounded; yet throughout the whole siege no Englishman was killed, save one man only who was struck by an arrow (and except the man above mentioned), and few were wounded.'*

"Lanercost" (about Bannockburn) - *'On the morrow an evil, miserable and calamitous day for the English; when both sides had made themselves ready for battle, the English archers were thrown forward before the line, and the Scottish archers engaged them, a few being killed and wounded on either side; but the King of England's archers quickly put the others to flight.'*

No Medieval texts, or even excerpts, were found on-line or for purchase that detailed the other three battles mentioned. I found references to those battles, but the only Medieval texts referenced for any one of the four of them are "**The Bruce**", "**The Lanercost Chronicle**" and "**Scalacronica**". There may be more out there, but that's all I found. I put this whole commentary in only to show the way I have conducted my searches, and how intensively I searched. And I consider these searches a 'quick' search, at best, compared to some of the searches I did for the production of this text. I even searched for information on 'Glendenmore', thinking it might give a reference to the battle of Dupplin Moor under that name. Google does not show any online reference under that name, but did suggest 'Glendenmoor'. But the 90 plus references to 'Glendenmoor' all refer to some fictional city in some role playing game, so obviously, this was not what was meant.

The page numbers in parenthesis in the account above possibly refer to one or the other of two books by Kelly Devries, a noted Military Historian, that Person Three cites in this submission, but I'm not sure. But none of the above accounts submitted deal specifically with chain mail armor, nor even show any armor being worn, nor do any of the accounts I could find mention armor, so again, this is inapplicable to chain mail stopping arrows.

Another selection from Person Three, submission one;

25. 'Crecy: {Referring to the killing of the Genoese--HTK} Most importantly, claims Giles li Nuisit, the Genoese could not withstand the English archery onslaught as they had no armor and carried no shields. (p. 169) {This implies that of the Genoese had had their armor they wouldn't have suffered the same level of casualties.-HTK} Further: Most

commentators report that the arrows of the English longbows caused the death of many men and horses. However Geoffrey le Baker, the Grandes chroniques, and the Chronigraphica regum Francorum, report only the wounding and slaying of horses during this part of the attack. (p. 170)

Devries, Kelly, Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century, The Boydell Press, 1996.'

25. Refutation - I have no idea what the (HTK) refers to, but again, the page numbers evidently refer to Kelly Devries text, but I have no idea if this is a quote from Devries, or Person Three's story about what Devries has to say. I noted the misspelling of Lanercost above. I also noted difficulties I had in locating referenced texts. This was just more of the same. Google had no listings for "Giles li Nuisit", nor did they even offer a possible alternative spelling. I tried several alternate spelling myself, and got no returns. "Chronigraphica regum Francorum" was the same. No returns, under that name or several alternate spellings I tried. Geoffrey le Baker returned 29,800 entries, but the first entry listed showed this: *"Excerpts from Geoffrey le Baker's Chronicle, from Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (Oxford, 1889), pp. 75, 101. ... "* The site it referred to only had two one paragraph excerpts though. Without going into detail on all the searches I performed, suffice it to say that I did not find an online copy of this book, nor a copy for sale, so this wound up a dead end. I did find, under the "**Grandes chroniques**", a site that has most or all of the pictures from the text, but none of the written text, and again, I did not find an online source for the book, and the few copies I found for sale were extremely high in price, as they are collector's editions. However, the submission itself does not refer to armor being worn, but instead to armor not being worn, so this is another account that is inapplicable for showing chain mail stopping arrows.

This ends the section dealing with references I received supposedly recounting chain mail armor stopping arrows. As will be noticed, only two of those referenced texts actually checked out as containing the accounts claimed to refer to chain mail and arrows, but the references led me to two other accounts in the same texts that were as good as or better than the accounts sent. Accounts which the opposing side 'missed'. While it is not my job, as part of this study, to do the research the opposing side did not do, to locate texts they have not read, and to present a case they did not present, just so I can offer a refutation to those accounts, I did a lot of this anyway. If those who want to show chain mail stopping arrows want to use John Barbour, Giles li Nuisit, and Geoffrey le Baker, or the Lanercost Chronicles, Chronigraphica regum Francorum, the Grandes chroniques, or even the Chronicles of the Grand Catalan Company, if this actually exists, or any other period text, they need to provide accurate quotes from a readily accessible translation of the text and specify how to find that text. These quotes, if provided, should also be germane to the topic, which is the effect of real weapons on real armor equivalent to our presumed armor standard. The proponents of this proposal are the ones claiming "extensive research" showing them to be correct. I've seen, and here presented, 'extensive' information provided by them. I've not seen evidence of much research, though. Only two accounts, both somewhat questionable, even come close to supporting their view, and those came in before the proposal was sent to the SEM, and were provided by someone who, as far as I know, does not actively support the proposal.

But one thing needs to be noted about the proposal sent to the Society Earl Marshal to

change the Missile Combat Rules to restrict Combat Archery. That one thing is the origin of the proposal, and who was responsible for it. Remember, the proposal claims:

'Extensive research has shown that the armor of any period was generally proof against arrows of the same period and could not penetrate the armor worn by knights, and arrows were effective mainly against their horses or against unarmored auxiliary levies. Each other weapon we use is effective against armored areas because it is historically shown that they either penetrated the armor causing grievous wounds or crushed the armor and the body beneath to cause grievous wounds. This is not the case for medieval arrows, which were mostly effective only against unarmored areas, represented in our armor standard as the open face.'

As I received it, except for the withheld name, 'Yes, (name withheld) was the one who did the actual physical writing of the proposal...as such I credited him for the writing of it. I commissioned it, and collaborated on it and it was submitted to the Standardization Committee by me (I am one of my Kingdoms representatives on the committee) and then forwarded on to the SEM by me. hence it ends up being my responsibility' The person who wrote the above is the person I have called Person Two in this section. This is the same person who deliberately falsified at least three of the quotes he submitted as evidence of this 'extensive research', and in his refutation of Giraldus, questioned Giraldus's 'reliability'. Any 'research' received by anyone in support of this proposal, from him especially, needs to be checked very carefully for such falsifications. I did not throw a cloud of suspicion on the persons who support this proposal. Person Two, by his own falsifications, did that. Had he not falsified the quotes, and/or had he not also been the person responsible for the proposal, the cloud would not be nearly so thick and dark. And, if what we have seen here is the sum total of the 'extensive research' claimed, it seems that it has failed to support the claims made, even before the cloud of suspicion is thrown on it. It has not been my intention to discredit the persons involved so I could discredit the opposing side's arguments based on their being discredited. The arguments and citations do that discrediting on their own. That at least one of the persons involved stands discredited as 'less than reliable' does not discredit anyone but him. Nor does his being discredited mean that new 'research' presented is discredited. It does not even mean that what he has already given is automatically discredited. Each piece of research should be allowed to stand or fall on it's own merits. Each piece of research, even what I presented here, should be checked for validity, before it is accepted or rejected.

V. Chain mail armor stopping swords

A look at accounts in period texts recounting chain mail armor stopping swords

There are also a few accounts I ran across in my searches that show that chain mail providing protection against sword blows. Now, according to the section of the **"Marshal's Handbook"** concerning the acknowledgement of blows, *'Blows must be delivered with effective technique for the particular type of weapon used, and must strike properly oriented and with sufficient force, to be considered an effective, or good, blow.'* Unfortunately, what constitutes that 'sufficient force' is not clearly defined. But I doubt that most persons would think that a sword blow that knocked a person down lacked 'sufficient force'. In fact, a person repeatedly throwing blows so hard that their opponents are knocked off their feet consistently may very well be called down for 'excessive force'. Yet some of these accounts indicate blows landing with that much force.

26. "Heimskringla - The Chronicle of the Kings of Norway" by Snorri Sturlson
Quoting from Heimskringla, HARALD HARFAGER'S SAGA, PART 1 SECTION 13.
DEATH OF EARLS HAKON, AND ATLE MJOVE. (A.D. 869) *'So says Eyvind Skaldaspiller: --*

*"He who stood a rooted oak,
Unshaken by the swordsman's stroke,
Amidst the whiz of arrows slain,
Has fallen upon Fjalar's plain.
There, by the ocean's rocky shore,
The waves are stained with the red gore
Of stout Earl Hakon Grjotgard's son,
And of brave warriors many a one." '*

Earl Hakon was unhurt by sword blows, but was killed by arrows. The lay does not state what type of armor Hakon was wearing, or even if he was wearing armor, but it's hard to believe a person could withstand sword blows without wearing armor. In Scandinavia, in 869 AD, the normal armor was chain mail. I didn't use this account to show arrows penetrating chain mail, though. Since it does not say he was armored, nor that the arrow penetrated his armor, it is not usable for that. But it is usable to show him able to withstand sword blows. You may believe he did this withstanding of sword blows wearing no armor, if you want to, but don't expect me to believe it, unless you have some very convincing proof..

27. "The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis" by Orderic Vitalis. Quoting from his description of the Battle of Bremule in 1119.

'William Crispin, however, who had been surrounded with his men as I have described, caught sight of the king. Tearing through the ranks towards the man he hated above all others, he struck a fierce blow at his head with his sword, but the collar of the noble prince's hauberk protected his head from injury. Roger the son of Richard at once struck down the rash assailant, took him prisoner as he lay prostrate'

This again shows a person struck by a sword without injury. The armor used in 1119 was normally chain mail, and we, at least in the SCA, normally think of a hauberk as being chain mail. The Battle of Bremule was fought in 1119 between Henry I of England against Louis VI (the Fat) of France. Orderic Vitalis provides the most extensive account of this battle, noting how few people were killed during the fight.

28. "The Murder of Charles the Good" by Galbert of Bruges. Quoting from his account of March 9th, 1127.

'At this time George, the most powerful knight among the traitors, was intercepted; it was he who with Borsiard had killed the count. The knight Didier, brother of Isaac the traitor, hurled him from his horse and cut off both his hands. (This Didier, although he was the brother of the traitor, was not, however, an accessory to the plot.) That most wretched George, his hands cut off, fled to a place where he hoped to hide but he was immediately denounced to a certain Walter, a knight of Gervaise, and dragged out. The knight, sitting on his horse, ordered a fierce young swordsman to kill him. The latter rushed at George, struck him with his sword and knocked him to the ground; then, dragging him by his feet into the sewer, he saw to it that he drowned for his evil deserts.'

This account does not specify that the Knight, George, was wearing armor. But it does say he was knocked to the ground by a sword blow given by someone under orders to kill him. He was knocked down by a sword blow that did not kill him, as the swordsman dragged him to a sewer and drowned him. If he wasn't wearing armor, we just have a period reference to a REAL rhino-hide that didn't even need armor to 'not die' from sword blows. If he was wearing armor, the armor (chain mail) kept him from being killed by a sword blow strong enough to knock him to the ground. This happened on March 9th, 1127.

Later in the same document we find, on March 19th:

'Among them was Borsiard, huge and wrathful, ferocious and undaunted, mighty in bodily strength, who resisted the citizens steadily face to face, wounding many, prostrating and hurling down more who were stunned by the hammer-like blow of his sword.'

Again, it does not specify that they were wearing armor at that specific time. But again, it is hard to believe that someone not wearing armor was just 'stunned' by a sword blow, while others were wounded. But notice, they were stunned, not wounded, and not crushed. This was on March 19th, 1127. So we can be pretty positive that the chain mail armor being worn in Bruges, in March of 1127, could, and did, protect men from being killed or even seriously injured by sword blows.

29. "The Chronicles of Froissart" by Jean Froissart. Quoting from his account concerning The Battle of Otterburn in 1388- "How the Earl James Douglas by His Valiantness Encouraged His Men, Who Were Reculed and in a Manner Discomfited, and in His So Doing He Was Wounded to Death".

'he was so well armed that he bare well off such strokes as he received. Thus he went ever forward like a hardy Hector, willing alone to conquer the field and to discomfit his enemies: but at last he was encountered with three spears all at once, the one strake him on the shoulder, the other on the breast and the stroke glinted down to his belly, and the third strake him in the thigh, and sore hurt with all three strokes, so that he was borne perforce to the earth and after that he could not be again relieved.'

Earl Douglas was so well armored (armed) that he managed to withstand all the blows striking him, until he got hit with three spears at once. This happened in 1388, in Scotland. It might be possible he was wearing plate armor, as the chronicle itself does not describe his armor, but in 1388, plate was just beginning to come into it's own as a replacement for chain mail.

30. "Heimskringla - The Chronicle of the Kings of Norway" by Snorri Sturlson
Quoting from KING OLAF TRYGVASON'S SAGA, PART 5, CHAPTER 119 - OLAF GIVES HIS MEN SHARP SWORDS. (1000AD) *'The king stood on the gangways of the Long Serpent, and shot the greater part of the day; sometimes with the bow, sometimes with the spear, and always throwing two spears at once. He looked down over the ship's sides, and saw that his men struck briskly with their swords, and yet wounded but seldom. Then he called aloud, "Why do ye strike so gently that ye seldom cut?" One among the people answered, "The swords are blunt and full of notches." Then the king went down into the forehold, opened the chest under the throne, and took out many sharp swords, which he handed to his men; but as he stretched down his right hand with them, some observed that blood was running down under his steel glove, but no one knew where he was wounded.'*

Remember that, according to the proposal sent to the Earl Marshal, *'Each other weapon we use is effective against armored areas because it is historically shown that they either penetrated the armor causing grievous wounds or crushed the armor and the body beneath to cause grievous wounds.'* Yet in this account, we find *'that his men struck briskly with their swords, and yet wounded but seldom'* because they were using dull swords. I would take this to mean that, at least in Norway in the year 1000 AD, unless the sword actually 'cut' through the armor being worn at that time, it did little harm. They seemed to not get any 'crushing' of the armor and the body beneath. The force and effective impact between a 'sharp' sword and a 'dull' sword, as felt through chain mail armor and a padded gambeson, is negligible. This last one is out of chronological order, because it is a 'special' case, showing the 'way' swords affected people wearing chain mail, not 'how much' they did. This happened at the island of Svold.

VI Summary

A quick look at the accounts and results

Amida - (359 AD)

Roman arrows penetrate Persian chain mail

Fjalmar - (869 AD)

Norse armor resists swords

Kalmar - (940 AD)

Swedish arrows penetrate Danish "helmets and hauberks"

Svold - (1000 AD)

Dull Norse swords have little effect on Norse armor

Nis-River - (1063 AD)

Norse arrows penetrate Danish chain mail

Hastings - (1066 AD)

Norman arrows penetrate Saxon chain mail

Nicaea - (1096 AD)

Turkish arrows penetrate Frankish chain mail

Bremule - (1119 AD)

Hauberk collar stops sword blow

Bruges - (1127 AD)

French armor resists French swords

2nd Crusade - (1148 AD)

French armor protects Louis VII from Turkish arrows, ascribed to 'the will of God', after about forty other mounted Knights die in the same battle

Abergevenni - (1188 AD)

Welsh arrows penetrate Norman chain mail

South of Acre - (July, 1191 AD)

Saracen arrows and stones stopped by unspecified armor

South of Acre - (Sept, 1191 AD)

Saracen arrows stopped by chain mail and thick felt on only one single day out of a six year struggle

Liegnitz - (1241 AD)

Mongol arrows kill Polish Knights wearing armor (unspecified)

On the Nile near Mansoorah - (1248 AD)
Jousting armor utilized to stop Saracen arrows

Mansoorah - (1248 AD)
Darts seem to have had little effect of a French Knight, no armor specified

Poitiers - (1356 AD)
English arrows kill Earls, Knights, Squires, and 'men of arms'

Otterburn - (1388 AD)
Earl Douglas not affected by sword blows, but killed by spear thrusts

Agincourt - (1415 AD)
English arrows kill Sir William de Scales from off his horse, and reduce a force of 800 men-at-arms (mounted) to 140 before the horsemen can start their charge on the archers

These nineteen accounts of these battles covering over a thousand years of history represent all the accounts I found that actually or potentially apply to the effects of weapons on chain mail in my research for this study. While this study is now finished, it is not complete. No such research project can ever be complete as long as there are texts still to study, and there are a multitude of texts out there that I have not yet studied. In the future, I will be studying some of these additional texts. Eventually, as I get enough additional information to justify it, I'll go in and add the new information. But in the meantime, this study should be sufficient to show why the basic premise presented in that proposal, that being: *'Extensive research has shown that the armor of any period was generally proof against arrows of the same period...'* is in fact false. And if that premise, as the base for the rules needing to be changed, is false, then there is no justification for the implementation of those suggested changes.

VII Bibliography

The following books and Medieval Texts were consulted in the course of preparing this study. Not all those listed are actually 'quoted', as most had nothing applicable in them. They were all read, and frequently provided good background information and a solid overview, but the "unquoted" Medieval texts played little part other than that. But I had to read them to determine if they contained any usable references. Those which were quoted are simply named in the text where the quotation is located. All other information is included here in the bibliography entry.

The following texts are quoted in this text

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