

Source #1:

Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi: Richard the Lionheart Makes Peace with Saladin, 1192

Introduction: The primary source details the peace negotiations between Richard I and Saladin following the Battle of Jaffa. Richard was sick and had just received word of unrest at home which necessitated a quick resolution to the negotiations. The final terms required Ascalon to be abandoned by the crusaders for three years and all defensive structures destroyed, they posed a threat to Saladin. Saladin in turn gave Joppa back to the Christians and allowed Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (which remained in Saladin's hands) to begin again uninterrupted. It is interesting to compare how the source depicts Saladin and Richard, it seems to imply that there was a great deal of mutual respect between the two. The source says that Saladin told Richard's messengers that if he was to lose his territory to anyone, he would prefer it to be Richard because of how pleasant he found him. The source does not praise Saladin in the same way it does Richard, but that is likely because it is from a Western source. It however, does not have any negative things to say about Saladin, which seems to suggest that the writer respected the Muslim leader.

As his illness became very grave, the King despaired of recovering his health. Because of this he was much afraid, both for the others as well as for himself. Among the many things which did not pass unnoted by his wise attention, he chose, as the least inconvenient course, to seek to make a truce rather than to desert the depopulated land altogether and to leave the business unfinished as all the others had done who left the groups in the ships.

The King was puzzled and unaware of anything better that he could do. He demanded of Saif ad-Din, Saladin's brother, that he act as go between and seek the best conditions he could get for a truce between them. Saif ad-Din was an uncommonly liberal man who had been brought, in the course of many disputes, to revere the King for his singular probity. Saif ad-Din carefully secured peace terms on these conditions: that Ascalon, which was an object of fear for Saladin's empire so long as it was standing, be destroyed and that it be rebuilt by no one during three years beginning at the following Easter. [March 28, 1193] After three years, however, whoever had the greater, more flourishing power, might have Ascalon by occupying it. Saladin allowed Joppa to be restored to the Christians. They were to occupy the city and its vicinity, including the seacoast and the mountains, freely and quietly. Saladin agreed to confirm an inviolate peace between Christians and Saracens, guaranteeing for both free passage and access to the Holy Sepulcher of the Lord without the exaction of any tribute and with the freedom of bringing objects for sale through any land whatever and of exercising a free commerce.

When these conditions of peace had been reduced to writing and read to him, King Richard agreed to observe them, for he could not hope for anything much better, especially since he was sick, relying upon scanty support, and was not more than two miles from the enemy's station. Whoever contends that Richard should have felt

Primary Sources

otherwise about this peace agreement should know that he thereby marks himself as a perverse liar.

Things were thus arranged in a moment of necessity. The King, whose goodness always imitated higher things and who, as the difficulties were greater, now emulated God himself, sent legates to Saladin. The legates informed Saladin in the hearing of many of his satraps, that Richard had in fact sought this truce for a three year period so that he could go back to visit his country and so that, when he had augmented his money and his men, he could return and wrest the whole territory of Jerusalem from Saladin's grasp if, indeed, Saladin were even to consider putting up resistance. To this Saladin replied through the appointed messengers that, with his holy law and God almighty as his witnesses, he thought King Richard so pleasant, upright, magnanimous, and excellent that, if the land were to be lost in his time, he would rather have it taken into Richard's mighty power than to have it go into the hands of any other prince whom he had ever seen.

Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series, (London: Longmans, 1864) VI, 27-28 (pp. 427-30), translated by James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History*, (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1962), 185-86

Source #2:

Henry II, King of England: The Saladin Tithe, 1188

Introduction: The tithe created by Henry II was designed to raise funds for the third crusade. Most of the crusades were privately funded, but there were efforts to raise money through forms of taxation. There appears to be no such effort on the side of Saladin to raise money for combating the crusaders, but Saladin did raise money in one way: conquest. By conquering territories Saladin was able to gather funds to keep his army going, but rarely did the profits of the conquest last beyond the next.

1. Each person will give in charity one tenth of his rents and movable goods for the taking of the land of Jerusalem; except for the arms, horses, and clothing of knights, and likewise for the horses, books, clothing, and vestments, and church furniture of the clergy, and except for precious stones belonging to the clergy or the laity.
2. Let the money be collected in every parish in the presence of the parish priest and of the rural dean, and of one Templar and one Hospitaller, and of a servant of the Lord King and a clerk of the King, and of a servant of a baron and his clerk, and the clerk of the bishop; and let the archbishops, bishops, and deans in every parish excommunicate every one who does not pay the lawful tithe, in the presence of, and to the certain knowledge of, those who, as has been said above, ought to be present. And if any one according to the knowledge of those men give less than he should, let there be elected from the parish four or six lawful men, who shall say on oath what is the quantity that he ought to have declared; then it shall be reasonable to add to his payment what he failed to give.
3. But the clergy and knights who have taken the cross, shall give none of that tithe except from their own goods and the property of their lord; and whatever their men owe shall be collected for their use by the above and returned intact to them.
4. Moreover, the bishops in every parish of their sees shall cause to be announced by their letters on Christmas Day and on the Feast of St. Stephen, and on the Feast of St. John, that each will collect the said tithe into his own hands before the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin; and, on the following day and afterwards, each will pay, in the presence of those who have been mentioned, at the place to which he has been summoned.

Source #3:

Leo VI, Emperor of Byzantium, Taktika, trans. M. Joly de Maizeroy, as the Tactica (Paris, 1771).

Introduction: One of the most famous documents of its type, the *Taktika* was written or commissioned by the 9th century Byzantine emperor Leo IV. This excerpt focuses on the tactics of Muslim (Saracens) armies. The document pulls from similar past works from previous Byzantine emperors, and offers an interesting insight into established Muslim tactics from the perspective of an enemy. Much of the document (specifically regarding tactics) is corroborated by other Muslim sources of the time, but it is important to remember that some aspects of the *Taktika* are inherently biased. This is apparent in the its trivialization when describing how Muslim forces “think little but their lives”.

“Saracen armies normally use camels for baggage, rather than oxen, donkeys or mules, because these animals frighten [attacking] cavalry. They also use cymbals and kettle-drums to scare the enemy's horses; their own horses having been accustomed to these. They normally have camels and other baggage animals in the centre of their army, and they attach flags and pennons to them. They enjoy war and are accompanied by many "priests." They are hot blooded and do not like cold weather. Their infantry is composed of "Aethiopians" who carry large bows. They are placed ahead of their cavalry while these [cavalry] prepare to attack. The cavalry also carry the infantry on their cruppers when the expedition is not close to their own frontier. They' are armed with swords, spears, axes, and also arrows [as horse-archers]. They are armoured in helmets, cuirasses, lined half-boots, gauntlets, and other things which are also normal amongst the "Romans." They like to embellish their belts, their swords, and their horses' harness with silver ornamentation. Once they fall into disorder it is difficult to rally them, because they think of little but their lives. The hope of victory increases their courage but reversals undermine their courage. They believe that the outcome is [entirely] in the hands of God, like everything else. Hence they accept setbacks without complaint and wait for better times in battle. They do not need much sleep and for this reason they are formidable when fighting at night, particularly when invading enemy territory. To guard against surprises they fortify their camps and maintain a good watch all night. Their order of battle is a long square, reinforced all around and very difficult to cut into. They maintain this form on the march and in battle. They copy many other "Roman" manners in their usages of war and in their methods of attack they are much like us. When they are arrayed and ready they do not hurry to make a charge. They receive [instead] the first shock like iron, and when battle is joined they do not break off easily. When the ardour of their enemy relaxes they push [forwards] excitedly and more vigorously. In their battles at sea they use, as do their infantry [on land], closed ranks defended by their shields. They use all the [same] habits as their foes but when they are exhausted and tired they fall into our hands. For that reason, they fight against us with great caution. Their maxims and methods in warfare evaluate all that is best in other, more experimental nations. This is what we have found from our envoys, from the reports of our generals and from our respected father [Emperor Basil I] who was involved in war before us. The rigours of winter, cold, rain, and many other torments reduce their forces.

Primary Sources

For these reasons, it is best to attack them in rainy or humid weather and in these circumstances we are most often successful. In such conditions, the cords of their bows are damp and they stretch, and are almost useless. [On the other hand, I It is primarily in the great heat of summer that they march out of Tarsus and the other cities of Cilicia to attack the "Romans." As I have already said, it is very risky to engage them in general battle unless they are in very small numbers. It is best to remain hidden in a suitable place from which to attack their line of march. When they come in winter to raid and plunder the countryside, one might find a chance to attack them unexpectedly because this is a great ruse of war. They do not form their armies by enlistment nor by conscription. Instead large numbers come from Syria and Palestine, presenting themselves voluntarily; the rich out of zeal for their country, the poor in hope of plunder. This lure attracts their young men who are at their strongest age" and whom the women take pleasure in arming."

Source #4

Introduction:

This document is one of the most well-known Muslim military manuals of the time. It provides insight on different ways in which a typical Muslim army was arranged, and the reasons behind them. It also gives detailed infantry tactics, and specifically deals with how their armies should respond to a cavalry charge. Furthermore, this source provides supporting evidence for the Byzantine *Taktika*'s description of Muslim infantry formations and overall army composition. Since these two sources have fundamentally opposing biases, areas in which they are similar are especially helpful in ensuring the accuracy of information.

"Place the infantry ahead of the cavalry to make a firm fortress [*hisn*]. In front of every foot soldier place a pavise [*januwayah*] or kite-shaped shield [*tatriqahl*] or a screen [*sitatrah*] as a protection against those who attack with sword, spear, or arrow. Behind each pair of men place an archer with a crossbow [*Uarkh*] or with heavy arrows [*nabcilah*]. Their role is to drive back the attackers. The cavalry and "defensive cavalry" [*abtal*] to the rear are separated from danger by the archers. Meanwhile the "offensive cavalry" [*shuj'an*] wait to deliver a charge. Troops are grouped together into units with a prearranged separation between them. These they open up as properly coordinated units, thus making a passageway for the [cavalry] charge. This must be done in a calm and tranquil way, while praying to God for victory in silence and with lowered eyes. When the cavalry return from their charge, and flow back towards their point of departure, the infantry return to their original places, reassembling like the elements of a building.... On the field of battle it is necessary to arrange the ranks [*masaffat*] gathered into squadrons of soldiers and with the cavalry grouped flag [*alam*] by flag and battalion [*khamis*] by battalion. [This should be done] when it is the enemy's habit to charge in a mass and to rely for impact on separate detachments of their force, as is the case with the evil Franks [Crusaders] and those neighbors who resemble them. In fact the [correct] array is the essence of the disposition of battle and this disposition stupefies and embarrasses this [sort of] enemy because, when they launch their charge against one rank and come near to it, the other units can attack it [the enemy] from both sides and so surround it. The fighting comes at them from all directions, bombarding all their senses. These things lead to success. The seriousness of the action imposed upon them [the enemy] leads to their weakness and defeat, all of which is made possible by this battle array."

Source #5:

Don Juan Manuel, Libro de los Estados 1327-1332; ed. J. M. Castro y Calvo, El arte de gobernar en las obras de Don Juan Manuel (Barcelona, 1945).

Introduction:

Introduction: This primary source provides insight into some of the tactics used by European Christians. Specifically, it highlights the utilization waves of cavalry in response to "groups" of enemies. These "groups" could be the square formations detailed in the *Taktika*, and it is invaluable to have examples of how Christians responded to established Muslim tactics. Furthermore, it highlights fundamental differences in military thinking, specifically in regard to the Christian propensity to meet the charge of an advancing enemy in comparison to patience indicative of Muslim armies.

Estado LXII

If you come close to the enemy, and he is in "groups" [*haz*], you must face him in "troops" [*trope*]. Put the horses who are equipped with horse armour in the front with the commander [*senor*] in the middle, close to his banner [*pendon*], with the head of the horse of the second in command [*alferez*] immediately to the right of the commander. In this way he will not become separated when they reach the fight, and those he commands must follow him towards the enemy's banner, and fight bravely because this is what God finds good.

Estado LXIII

If you see that the enemy looks as if they are going to attack, you must meet them in a formation known as the "point" [*punta*]. This is led by three horses [horsemen], followed by twelve, and after them twenty. They are followed up by good cavalymen so that when the "point" enters the [enemy's] "troop" [*trope*] those at the back of the formation are not surrounded.

Estado LXXIV

Whether your forces are large or small, if you see that the enemy is about to attack "troops," the leader must arrange his men in four or five "groups" [*haces*]. These must be closely packed so that the horses' heads are close to the rumps of the others [horses ahead of them]. The commander [*senor*] and the banner [*pendon*] must move from the rearmost "troop" into the middle of all the "troops." He must spread his men twice as wide so that the flanks can attack those enemy "troops" who penetrate the centre of the "groups" formation.

Primary Sources

Estado LXXV

The warfare of the Moors is not the same as that of the Christians. In war they can fight at close quarters, or skirmish amongst their orchards, or attack in raids [*cabalgadas*] or "hit and run" [*correduras*] assaults against the communications and "rear areas" of their enemies, or they fight in single combat. In fact [their warfare] is very fragmented [varied] in one way or another.

Source #6:

De Expugatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum, [The Capture of the Holy Land by Saladin], ed. Joseph Stevenson, Rolls Series, (London: Longmans, 1875), translated by James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History*, (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1962), 153-159

Introduction:

"The conquest of the Holy Land by Saladin" was written by an eyewitness shortly following the events. The exact writer is unknown, but is clear that it was likely by a Christian who had been living in the crusader states. The following account covers the lead up and the events of the Battle of Hattin in 1187. The battle was a decisive victory by the Ayyubid forces led by Saladin over the Crusader States led by King Guy, the ruler of Jerusalem at the time. The victory established a foothold in the Holy Land for Saladin and led to his conquest of Jerusalem a few months later. The account is steeped in religious language, referring to the Crusaders as "the people of God," but it also implies that the Crusaders lost because many of them did not believe in God. Several Biblical allusions are made and it says that Saladin's forces defiled the land. The Holy Land held significance for Muslims too as they shared many of the same prophets as Christians. This means that if the source was from a Muslim the religious language would be similar, but in favor of Saladin's forces and opposed to Crusaders.

In the year of the Lord's incarnation 1187, the King of Syria [Saladin] gathered together an army as numerous as the sands of the seashore in order to wage war on the land of Juda. He came up to the Jaulan, across the [Jordan] River, and there made camp.

The King of Jerusalem [Guy de Lusignan] also gathered his army from all of Judea and Samaria. They assembled and pitched camp near the springs at Saffuriyah. The Templars and Hospitallers also assembled many people from all their castles and came to the camp. The Count of Tripoli [Raymond III of Tripoli] likewise rose up with all his people, whom he collected from Tripoli and Galilee and came into the encampment. Prince Reginald of Montreal [Reginald de Chatillon] also came with his people, as did Balian of Naples [Balian d'Ibelin] with his, Reginald of Sidon [Reginald Garnier] with his, and the lord of Caesarea in Palestine [Walter Garnier] with his. Not a man fit for war remained in the cities, towns, or castles without being urged to leave by the King's order. Nor was this host sufficient. Indeed, the King of England's treasure [*note: King Henry II of England had a few years earlier donated a considerable sum of money for the defense of the Holy Land. His treasury, which had been placed at the disposal of the military order, was now broken open and used to hire mercenaries to help throw back Saladin's attack.*] was opened up and they gave a fee to everyone who could bear a lance or bow into battle. The army was quite large: 1,200 knights, innumerable Turcopoles, and 18,000 or more infantry. They gloried in their multitude of men, the trappings of their horses, in their breastplates, helmets, lances, and golden shields, but they did not believe in God, nor did they hope in the salvation of him who is the protector and savior of Israel. Rather, they were taken up with their own thoughts and became vain.

Primary Sources

They sent to Jerusalem to ask the Patriarch to bring the Holy Cross with him to the camp . . . so that they might become bearers and keepers of the Lord's cross.....

Meanwhile, the Syrians crossed the Jordan. They overran and laid waste the area around the springs of Cresson, from Tiberias to Bethany . . . up to Nazareth and around Mount Tabor. Since they found the region deserted by men, who had fled out of fear of them, they set fire to the threshing floors and put everything they found into the flames. The whole region flamed in front of them like a ball of fire. Not satisfied even with this, they ascended the holy mount to the sacred spot on which our Savior, after the appearance of Moses and Elias, showed his disciples Peter, James, and John the glory of the future resurrection in his transfiguration. The Saracens defiled this place....

After these advance parties had wrought their destruction, Saladin and his whole army crossed the river. Saladin ordered his forces to push on to Tiberias and besiege it. On Thursday, July 2, the city was surrounded by archers and the battle was joined. The Countess [Eschiva, wife of Raymond III of Tripoli] and the Galileans, since the city was not fortified, sent messengers to the Count and King with the news: "The Turks have surrounded the city. In the fighting, they have pierced the walls and are just now entering against us. Send help at once or we shall be taken and made captive."

The Syrians fought and won. When the Galileans saw they could not hold out, they yielded the ramparts and the city. They fled before the pagans into the castle, though the city was taken and burned. But since the King of Egypt [Saladin] heard that the Christian army was approaching against him, he was unable to besiege the castle. He said: "So be it! They are my prisoners."

Toward evening on Thursday, July 2, the King of Jerusalem, after he had heard the Galileans' letter, called together all the leaders of the army so that they might give council concerning the action to be taken. They all advised that at dawn they should march out, accompanied by the Lord's cross, ready to fight the enemy, with all the men armed and arrayed in battle formation. Thus arrayed they would relieve the city of Tiberias. The Count of Tripoli, when he heard this, spoke: "Tiberias is my city and my wife is there. None of you is so fiercely attached, save to Christianity, as I am to the city. None of you is so desirous as I am to succor or aid Tiberias. We and the King, however, should not move away from water, food, and other necessities to lead such a multitude of men to death from solitude, hunger, thirst, and scorching heat. You are well aware that since the heat is searing and the number of people is large, they could not survive half a day without an abundance of water. Furthermore, they could not reach the enemy without suffering a great shortage of water, accompanied by the destruction of men and of beasts. Stay, therefore, at this midway point, close to food and water, for certainly the Saracens have risen to such heights of pride that when they have taken the city, they will not turn aside to left or right, but will head straight through the vast solitude to us and challenge us to battle. Then our men, refreshed and filled with bread and water, will cheerfully set out from camp for the fray. We and our horses will be fresh; we will be aided and protected by the Lord's cross. Thus we will fight mightily against an unbelieving people who will be wearied by thirst and who will have no place to refresh themselves. Thus you see that if, in truth, the grace of Jesus Christ remains with us, the enemies of Christ's cross, before they can get to the sea or return to the river, will be

Primary Sources

taken captive or else killed by sword, by lance, or by thirst. But if, which God forbid, things were perchance to go against us, we have our ramparts here to which we could flee. . . ."But the saying of wisdom: "Woe to the land whose King is a child and whose citizens dine in the morning " [Eccles. 10:6] was fulfilled in them. For our young King followed youthful counsel, while our citizens, in hatred and jealousy, ate their neighbors' meat. They departed from the advice which would have saved them and others. Because of their foolishness and simplemindedness they lost land, people, and selves.

On Friday, July 3, therefore, they marched out by troops, leaving behind the necessities of life. The Count of Tripoli was in the first rank, as befitted his dignity. The others followed on his left or right, according to the custom of the realm. The royal battalion and the battalion of the Holy Cross followed and, because of the lay of the land, the Templars came last, for they were the army's rear guard.

They marched to Saffuriyah so that, as was said before, they could go on to Tiberias. Three miles from the city they came to a hamlet called Marescallia. At this place they were so constrained by enemy attacks and by thirst that they wished to go no further.

They were going to pass through a confined, rocky area in order to reach the Sea of Galilee, which was a mile away. For this reason the Count sent word to the King: "We must hurry and pass through this area, so that we and our men may be safe near the water. Otherwise we will be in danger of making camp at a waterless spot." The King replied: "We will pass through at once.

The Turks were meanwhile attacking the army's rear, so that the Templars and the others in the rear were barely able to struggle on. Suddenly the King (a punishment for sin) ordered the tents to be pitched. Thus were we betrayed to our death. The Count, when he looked back and saw the tents pitched, exclaimed: "Alas, Lord God, the battle is over! We have been betrayed unto death. The Kingdom is finished!"

And so, in sorrow and anguish, they camped on a dry site where, during the night, there flowed more blood than water. The sons of Esau [the Muslim army] surrounded the people of God [Crusaders] and set fire to the desert [brush] round about them. Throughout the night the hungry and thirsty men were harassed further by arrows and by the fire's heat and flames. . . . That night God indeed gave them the bread of tears to eat and the wine of compunction to drink.

At length . . . after the clouds of death had opened, light dawned on a day of sorrow and tribulation, of grief and destruction. When day had dawned, the King of Syria forsook the city of Tiberias and with his whole army came up to the camping ground to give battle to the Christians. He now prepared to attack our men.

Our men formed their battle lines and hurried to pass through this region in the hope that when they had regained a watering place and had refreshed themselves, they could attack and fight the foe more vigorously. The Count moved out to take the spot which the Turks had already begun to approach.

When our men were arrayed and grouped in battle formation the infantry were ordered to take positions facing the enemy's arrows, so that the infantry would be protected from

Primary Sources

an enemy charge by the knights' lances. Thus, with each providing protection for the other, they would both be safe.

By this time the Saracens had already arrived. The infantry, banded together in a single wedgedshaped formation, clambered at full speed to the very summit of a high mountain, leaving the army to its fate. The King, the Bishop, and others sent word, begging them to return to defend the Lord's cross, the heritage of the Crucified, the Lord's army, and themselves. They replied: "We are not coming because we are dying of thirst and we will not fight." Again the command was given, and again they persisted in their refusal.

The Templars, Hospitallers, and Turcoples, meanwhile, were engaged in a fierce rear guard action. They could not win, however, because enemies sprang up on every side, shooting arrows and wounding Christians. When they had gone on for a little bit, they shouted to the King, asking for some help. The King and the others saw that the infantry were not going to return and that they themselves could not hold out against the Turkish arrows without the sergeants. Accordingly, by the grace of the Lord's cross, they ordered the tents to be put up, in order to block the Saracen charges and so that they could hold out more easily. The battle formations were, therefore, broken up. The units gathered around the Holy Cross, where they were confused and intermixed here and there. The men who were with the Count of Tripoli in the first group saw that the King, the Hospitallers, the Templars, and everyone else were jumbled together and mingled with the Turks. They also saw that there was a multitude of the barbarians between themselves and the King, so that they could not get through to return to the Lord's cross. They cried out: "Those who can get through may go, since the battle is not going in our favor. We have now lost even the chance to flee." Meanwhile, thousands and thousands of Syrians were charging at the Christians, shooting arrows and killing them.

In the meantime, the Bishop of Acre, the bearer of the Lord's cross, was mortally wounded. He passed on the task of bearing the cross to the Bishop of Lydda. A large group of pagans charged on the infantry and pitched them from the top of the steep mountain to whose summit they had previously fled. They destroyed the rest, taking some captive and killing others. . . .

Upon seeing this the Count and his men, who had been riding onward, together with Balian of Naples, Reginald of Sidon, and the other halfcastes, turned back. The speed of their horses in this confined space trampled down the Christians and made a kind of bridge, giving the riders a level path. In this manner they got out of that narrow place by fleeing over their own men, over the Turks, and over the cross. Thus it was that they escaped with only their lives.

The Saracens gathered around the Lord's wooden cross, the King, and the rest, and destroyed the church. What more can be said? The Saracens triumphed over the Christians and did with them as they pleased. . . . What can I say? It would be more fitting to weep and wail than to say anything. Alas! Should I describe with impure lips how the precious wood of the Lord, our redeemer, was seized by the damnable hands of the damned? Woe to me that in the days of my miserable life I should be forced to see such things....

Primary Sources

The next day Prince Reginald of Montreal was killed. The Templars and Hospitallers were ransomed from the other Turks and were killed. Saladin gave orders that the Countess and the men who were in the citadel of Tiberias might leave the fort and that, having accepted the security of life, they might go in peace where they wished. Thus it was done. The city was relinquished. Saladin moved in. After the citadel had been fortified, he went to Saffuriyah. On the site where the Christian army had formerly camped, the King of Syria ordered his tents to be pitched.... He remained there for several days, gleefully celebrating the victory. He divided the heritage of the Crucified, not among the heirs, but rather among his execrable emirs and leaders, giving to each his proper portion.

Source #7

Ansbert in *Fontes Rerum Austriac.* 1 Abth., Vol V, p. 2. Latin. Reprinted in Beylagen to Wilken: *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* Vol. IV, pp 93-94, trans in Dana C. Munro, "Letters of the Crusaders", *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, Vol 1:4, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1896), 18-20

<https://deremilitari.org/primary-sources/>

Introduction: The following source is a letter from 'Ansbert' to Lord Archambault, Master of the Hospitallers in Italy. The Knights Hospitaller was a mediaeval military order established by the Church during the Crusades. The letter is filled with religious language and paints a bleak picture for the Crusader forces as Saladin pushed through the Holy Land with ease. It describes that Saladin and his forces are "thirsting for the blood of the Christians." This is an extreme position that is more indicative of the difficult situation the Crusaders States were in rather than the ruthlessness of the Muslim forces. The importance of religion in warfare is at the forefront again as the source says that the Templars "at God's permission, lost the greater portion of their men" in a battle. It also says that many Christians were slaughtered because of their "sin." It appears that many sources imply that the Crusaders lost not because they were bested by superior tactics or forces, but because they lost favor with God.

We make known to you, Lord Archambault, master of the Hospitalers in Italy, and to the brethren, all the events which have happened in the countries beyond the seas.

Learn, therefore, that the king of Jerusalem was near *Saphora* [Sephoria] with a great army of at least thirty thousand men about the festival of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and was in perfect concord with the count of Tripoli, and the latter was with the army. And behold Saladin, the pagan king, approached *Tabaria* [Tiberias] with eighty thousand horsemen and took *Tabaria*. After this was done the king of Jerusalem left *Saphora* and went with his men drawn up against Saladin. And Saladin came against him near *Marestutia* [Marescallia] on the Friday after the festival of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Battle was engaged and during the whole day they fought fiercely, but night interrupted the strife. In the intervening night the king of Jerusalem fixed his tents near Salnubia, and on the next day, Saturday, moved with his army.

About the third hour the master of the Templars, with all his brethren, began the battle. They received no aid and, by God's permission, lost the greater portion of their men. After this happened, the king, by hard fighting and with great difficulty, went with his army to Naim, about a league distant, and then the count of Tripoli came to the king and made him pitch his tents near the mountain, which is a sort of fortress, and they were not able to pitch more than three tents. After this was done, the Turks seeing that they had pitched their tents, kindled fires around the army of the king, and, in truth, the heat was so great that the horsemen were baking and were not able to eat or drink. Next,

Primary Sources

Baldwin of Fatinor, Bacbaberboc of *Tabaria* and Leisius, with three other associates, separated themselves from the army, went over to Saladin and a thing which is grievous to relate - denied their faith, surrendered themselves to him, and betrayed to him the army of the king of Jerusalem, by revealing the difficult position in which it was.

Therefore Saladin sent against us Tecbedin [TakiEddin] with twenty thousand chosen soldiers who rushed upon our army, and the battle raged very fiercely from the ninth hour to vespers. And, because of our sins, very many of ours were killed, the Christian people were conquered, the king was captured' and the holy cross and count Gabula and Milo of *Colaterido* and *Onfred* [Honfroy] the youth, and prince *Reinald* [Reginald] captured and killed. And Walter of Arsun and Hugo of *Gibelen* [Gibelin] and the lord of *Botrono* [Botron] and the lord of *Marachele* and a thousand others of the best, captured and killed, so that not more than two hundred of the horsemen and soldiers escaped. The count of Tripoli, lord Basian and R. [Reginald], the lord of Sidon, escaped.

After this Saladin collected his army again and on Sunday came to *Saphora* and took *Saphora* and Nazareth, and Mount Tabor, and on Monday came to *Acon* [Acre], which is also called *Acris*; and those in *Acon* surrendered. Likewise those of Caifas and those of *Cesarea* [Caesarea] and of *Jafa* [Joppa], and of *Naple* [Neapolis], and of *Ram* [Ramlah], and of St. George, and of *Ybelinon* [Ibelin], and of *Bellefort* [Belfort], and of Mirabel, and of *Tyron* [Tyre], and of Gwaler, and of *Gazer* [Gaza], and of *Andurum* [Daruin], all surrendered. After this, when our galley moved from *Sur* [Tyre], they sent *Sabani* to Saladin that he should go to Jerusalem and they would surrender the city. And we fled with the galley to *Lechia* [Laodicea], and we heard that Tyre had surrendered. Moreover, the following cities are still safe and are awaiting aid from the western Church; namely, Jerusalem, *Sur*, *Scalona* [Ascalon], Marchat, *Antyochia* [Antioch], Lassar, Saona, Triplis [Tripoli]. Moreover, so great is the multitude of the Saracens and Turks that from Tyre, which they are besieging, they cover the face of the earth as far as Jerusalem, like an innumerable army of ants, and unless aid is quickly brought to the remaining above-mentioned cities and to the very few Christians remaining in the East, by a similar fortune they will be plundered by the raging infidels, thirsting for the blood of the Christians.

Source #8

The Islamic leader Saladin's speech urging his people to retake Jerusalem, 1187.

<https://ecworldodynamics.wikispaces.com/Saladin%E2%80%99s+Speech+%281187%29>

Introduction:

The following is a piece of a speech that Saladin gave to his forces before he conquered Jerusalem in 1187. It is important to note that Saladin tells his people that they will retake Jerusalem because God is on their side and they are doing his bidding by driving "His enemies out of Jerusalem." Sources from the perspective of the Crusader States also claimed to be fighting for God, but they attributed their defeats to Saladin as a lack of faith in God and punishments for their sins. It is very clear that both Christians and Muslims understood warfare, especially within the Holy Land, as having significant religious importance. Both victory and defeat were understood within context of winning God's favor and to both Christians and Muslims the other side was the enemy of God.

"If God blesses us by enabling us to drive His enemies out of Jerusalem, how fortunate and happy we would be! For Jerusalem has been controlled by the enemy for ninety-one years, during which time God has received nothing from us here in the way of adoration. At the same time, the zeal {devotion} of the Muslim rulers to deliver it languished {weakened}. Time passed, and so did many indifferent generations, while the Franks succeeded in rooting themselves strongly there. Now God has reserved the merit of its recovery for one house, the house of the sons of Ayyub [Saladin's family], in order to unite all hearts in appreciation of its members."

Source #9

The Seizure of Jerusalem As Told By Ibn Al-Athir (Early Thirteenth Century)

<http://philosophyproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/The-Crusades-%E2%80%93-From-Five-Perspectives-Christian-Jewish-and-Muslim.pdf>

Introduction:

The source is an account of the Battle of Hattin by Baha al-Din Ibn Shaddad. Shaddad was a judge in Saladin's forces as well as his biographer, recording his observations throughout Saladin's life. This account is a Muslim perspective on the decisive victory by Saladin at Hattin over the Crusaders. Shaddad describes the victory as a sign that Saladin had won the Lord's favor. In Crusader accounts of the Battle of Hattin the defeat was viewed as a punishment for not being faithful to God. Both used religion to understand the outcome of the battle. The account also gives some insight into the tactics used during the battle such as how cavalry was used and how Saladin's forces used volleys of arrows on the Christians. The source ends with a Muslim perspective on the execution of Raynald of Chatillon which states that Saladin was justified in his actions because Raynald had attacked a Muslim caravan during a truce.

Account of the Battle of Hattin, a blessing for the Muslims

It took place on Saturday, 24 Rabi II 583. The sultan perceived that his gratitude for God's favor towards him, evidenced by his strong grasp on sovereignty, his God-given control over the lands and the people's willing obedience, could only be demonstrated by his endeavoring to exert himself to the utmost and to strive to fulfill the precept of Jihad. He sent to summon all his forces, which gathered on the date given at 'Ashtara. He reviewed them and made his dispositions, then set forth into the God forsaken enemy's lands at midday on Friday, 17 Rabi II. He always sought out Fridays for his battles, especially the times of Friday prayer, to gain the blessing of the preachers' prayers on the pulpits, for they were perhaps more likely to be answered.

As he marched out at that time in battle array, he heard that the enemy, when they learnt that he had concentrated his armies, gathered in full on the plain of Safftiriyya in the territory of Acre and intended to come to battle. The same clay, the sultan camped at Lake Tiberias near a village called Sannabra. He then moved and camped west of Tiberias on the top of the mountain, in battle formation and expecting that the Franks, when they heard that, would come against him. However, they did not move from their encampment. He took up this position on Wednesday, 21 Rabi II, and having seen that they were not moving, he descended upon Tiberias with a light force, leaving the main divisions in position facing the direction in which the enemy were. He attacked Tiberias and took it within one hour after a direct assault. Eager hands then turned to plundering, taking captives, burning and killing. The citadel alone held out.

Learning what had happened to Tiberias, the enemy could not bear not to give into their impulsive zeal, but set out at once and marched to defend Tiberias. The Muslim scouts told the emirs that the Franks were on the move, and they sent people to inform the sultan. He left men in Tiberias to watch the citadel and then he and his force joined the main army. The two armies encountered one another on the slopes of the mountain of Tiberias, to the west of the town, late on Thursday 22, Rabi II.

Nightfall separated the two sides and both spent the night at battle stations, bristling with weapons, until the morning of Friday, 23rd. Both armies mounted and clashed together. The vanguard was in operation, then the main divisions moved forward and battle was joined and became very intense. This was around a village called Lubiya. They were closely beset as in a noose, while still marching on as though being driven to a death that they could see before them, convinced of their doom and destruction and themselves aware that the following day they would be visiting their graves.

The conflict continued at close quarters, each horseman clashing with his opponent, until victory [for the Muslims] and for the infidels the onset of disaster was imminent, but night and its darkness intervened. That day there occurred mighty deeds and momentous doings, such as have not been related of past generations. Each party spent the night in arms, expecting his adversary at every moment, though too weak through tiredness to stand up and unable through fatigue to crawl, let alone run.

Eventually, there came the Saturday morning, on which the blessing was vouchsafed. Both sides sought their positions and each realized that whichever was broken would be driven off and eliminated. The Muslims were well aware that behind them was the Jordan and before them enemy territory and that there was nothing to save them but God Almighty.

God had already ordained and prepared the believers' victory, and he duly brought it about according to what he had predestined. The Muslim divisions charged on the wings and in the centre. They let out a shout as one man, at which God cast terror into the hearts of the unbelievers. "It was right for us to give aid to the believers."³⁵¹

The Count [Raymond] was a clever and shrewd leader of theirs. He saw that the signs of defeat were already upon his co-religionists and no notion of aiding his fellows stopped him thinking of himself, so he fled at the beginning of the engagement before it grew fierce and made his way towards Tyre, pursued by a group of Muslims. He alone was saved, but Islam became safe from his wiles.

The forces of Islam surrounded the forces of unbelief and impiety on all sides, loosed volleys of arrows at them and engaged them hand to hand. One group fled and was pursued by our Muslim heroes. Not one of them survived. Another group took refuge on a hill called the Hill of Hattin, the latter being a village near which is the tomb of Shu'ayb (on him and on the rest of the prophets be blessings and peace). The Muslims pressed hard upon them on that hill and lit fires around them. Their thirst was killing and their situation became very difficult, so that they began to give themselves up as prisoners for fear of being slain. Their commanders were taken captive but the rest were either killed or taken prisoner, and among those who lived were their leader; King Guy, Prince Reynald, the brother of the king, the prince who was lord of Shawbak, the son of Humfrey, the son of the Lady of Tiberias, the Master of the Templars, the lord of Jubayl and the Master of the Hospitallers. The rest of the commanders were killed, and the lowly soldiers were divided up, either to be slain or made captive. Everyone not killed was made prisoner. Some nobles amongst them willingly surrendered in fear for their lives. Someone I trust told me that in the Hawran he met a single person holding a tent-rope with which all by himself he was pulling along thirty odd prisoners because of the desperate defeat that had befallen them.

As for their leaders that survived, we shall recount their fate. The count who fled arrived at Tripoli and was taken ill with pleurisy, and thus God brought about his death. As for the officers of the Hospitallers and the Templars, the sultan chose to put them to death and killed them all without exception. The sultan had vowed to kill Prince Reynald if he got him in his power. This was because a caravan from Egypt had passed through his land at Shawbak during the state of truce. They halted there under safe conduct, but he treacherously killed them. The sultan heard of this and religion and his zeal encouraged him to swear that, if he seized his person, he would kill him. After God had bestowed the great victory on him, the sultan sat in the entrance lobby of his tent, for it had not been fully erected, while people were offering him prisoners and any commanders they had found. The [main] tent was then erected and he sat there in great delight, expressing his gratitude for the favor that God had shown him. Then he summoned King Guy, his brother and Prince Reynald. He handed the king a drink of iced julep, from which he drank, being dreadfully thirsty, and he then passed some of it to Prince Reynald. The sultan said to the interpreter, "Tell the King, 'You are the one giving him a drink. I have not given him any drink.'" According to the fine custom of the Arabs and their noble ways, if a prisoner took food or a drink of water from whoever had captured him, his life was safe. His intention was to follow these noble ways.

He ordered them to proceed to a place assigned for their lodging. They did so and ate something. Then the sultan summoned them again, now having with him none but a few servants. He gave the king a seat in the vestibule and, having summoned Prince Reynald, confronted him as he had said. He said to him, "Here I am, having asked for victory through Muhammad, and God has given me victory over you." He offered him Islam but he refused. The sultan then drew his scimitar and struck him, severing his arm at his shoulder. Those present finished him off and God speedily sent his soul to Hell-fire. His body was taken and thrown down at the door of the tent. The king, when he saw him brought out in this manner, was convinced that he would be next. The sultan called him in and reassured him, saying, "It has not been customary for princes to kill princes, but this man transgressed his limits, so he has suffered what he suffered." That night was spent by our people in the most complete joy and perfect delight, raising their voices in praise of God and gratitude towards him, with cries of "God is great."

Source #10

Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series, (London: Longmans, 1864) IV, 2, 4 (pp. 240-41, 243), translated by James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History*, (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1962), 183-84

Introduction: The following account describes King Richard I's decision to slaughter 2,700 Muslim prisoners instead of returning them to Saladin. The prisoners were from the Siege of Acre, a two-year siege by the Crusaders that was a major victory for the Crusaders and major setback for Saladin. The decision was likely to keep his forces moving, as prisoners would slow his movements, and to keep from being bottled up by Saladin. However, the source states that Saladin had "hardened his heart" and that he determined there would be no exchange of hostages. The language of a hardened heart draws parallels to Pharaoh in the Exodus narrative, Saladin was from Egypt and in the Holy Land so the religious language is not meant to be subtle. The source states that Richard I hoped to crush the "Turks" and paints him in a very positive light, Saladin is described as devious and dishonorable. He failed to exchange hostages and Richards decision to kill hostages was only made in response to Saladin. At the end of the source ballista's are mentioned. These were siege weapons that functioned as massive crossbows and were used heavily throughout the medieval period.

King Richard awaited the expiration of the time set by the agreement between him and the Turks, as mentioned earlier. Meanwhile, he had the siege machines and mangonels loaded into packs for transport. Even after the period set by the Saracens for the return of the Holy Cross and the freeing of the hostages [on the conditions mentioned before] had ended, he waited three weeks beyond the time limit to see if Saladin would remain faithful to what had been done or if the treaty maker would further violate his agreement. King Richard thought that since Saladin seemed to care nothing about it, perhaps God would so arrange things that something even better might come of it. Too, the Saracens might need a delay in order to fulfill their promise and to seek for the Holy Cross.

Frequently you could hear the Christians seeking for news of when the Holy Cross would come. God, however, did not wish it to be returned at that time for the liberation of those whose freedom had been promised for its return. Rather, he wished them to perish. One man said to another: "The Cross has come now!" Another man said to someone else: "It has been seen in the Saracen army." But all of them were mistaken.

Saladin had not arranged for the return of the Holy Cross. Instead, he neglected the hostages who were held as security for its return. He hoped, indeed, that by using the Holy Cross he could gain much greater concessions in negotiation. Saladin meanwhile was sending gifts and messengers to the King, gaining time by false and clever words. He fulfilled none of his promises, but by an increasing use of graceful and ambiguous words he attempted for a long time to keep the King from making up his mind....

Later, indeed, after the time limit had more than passed, King Richard determined that Saladin had hardened his heart and cared no longer about ransoming the hostages. He assembled a council of the greater men among the people and they decided that they would wait in vain no longer, but that they would behead the captives. They decided,

Primary Sources

however, to set apart some of the greater and more noble men on the chance that they might be ransomed or exchanged for some other Christian captives.

King Richard always hoped to overwhelm the Turks completely, to crush their impudent arrogance, to confound the Moslem law, and to vindicate Christianity.

On the Friday next after the feast of the Assumption of Blessed Mary, [August 16, the date when the decision to massacre the Muslims was made. It was done on August 20] he ordered that two thousand seven hundred of the vanquished Turkish hostages be led out of the city and decapitated. Without delay his assistants rushed up and quickly carried out the order. They gave heartfelt thanks, since with the approval of divine grace, they were taking vengeance in kind for the death of the Christians whom these people had slaughtered with the missiles of their bows and ballistas.