PRIMARY SOURCES FOR THE NEA

BWS Document 3 of 4

Introduction

The Third Crusade 1188-1192

Whilst the third expedition to Palestine - summoned to reverse the losses of 1187 - failed in its central objective of recapturing Jerusalem, it did determine the future conduct of Holy Wars to restore Outremer. Thereafter, campaigns travelled by sea; recruitment became increasingly professional; finance became a matter of governments and Church authorities etc...

News of the disaster at Hattin was a great shock to the west - Pope Urban II reputedly died on learning the news. The new Pope Gregory VIII issued a bull authorising a new expedition and almost immediately the leaders took the cross - the kings of England and France, the German emperor. This time there was no Bernard of Clairvaux though to inspire the masses. The first aid came in the form of fleets - from Sicily, Pisa as well as Northern Europe.

The Summons October 1187

Letter sent to Archumbald, master of the Hospitallers in Italy, at the height of Saladin's triumphs some time before the author heard of the fall of Ascalon on 4 September 1187 pp1-2

Letter by Terricus, once grand preceptor of the Templars in Jerusalem, to Henry II of England, in 1188 announcing the loss of Jerusalem and the successful defence of Tyre by Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, which indicated that Saladin was not invincible p3-4

The Pope's bull of 1187 set a new call to arms in the context not just of the horrors of 1187 but also of the general failure of the west to succour Outremer since the fall of Edessa and the sinfulness of all Christians, not only those defeated by Saladin. Gregory VIII and his successors Clement III (1187-91) and Celestine III (1191-8) played far less prominent roles in the Third Crusade their their predecessors in 1095-9 or even 1146-8. However the Bull was of central importance as it authorised the new crusade and provided recruiting officers with a new pitch and gave preachers a source for their best lines pp5-9

Preparations and Preaching October 1187-April 1188

The loss of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 led to an explosion of shock, grief and anger in the west. The Itinerarium Peregrinorum compiled in 1191-2 by a crusader with access to recent eyewitness testimony p10-11

Conon of Bethune, a northern French Lord and crusader who played a leading role in the Fourth Crusade (1202-4) writes a poem in 1188 or 1189 'oh love! How hard will be the parting' - a good example of pro-crusade propaganda - packaging the official message in a more memorable form of vernacular song p12-13

The Emperor Frederick of Germany took the cross and fixed his departure date as 23 April 1189 - but those who followed him and his second son, Frederick of Swabia, were expected to provide for their own expenses.

Henry II of England, Phillip II of France and Philip count of Flanders met at Gisors on 21 January 1188 and took he cross. Henry II immediately instituted preaching headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the French and English kings imposed a tax - the Saladin tithe on revenues and movables on all those who had not taken the cross. Those who had assumed the cross were to receive the proceeds of the tax from their own lands and vassals - a clear incentive to join up. Although subsequently cancelled in France, it raised considerable income.

Roger, parson of Howden, wrote a disorganised crusade diary - he was a career civil servant in the service of Henry IIand accompanied Richard I on crusade - perhaps to avoid the repercussions of the exposure of an affair with a local girl in Howden. pp16-20 describes material preparations; p20-1 describes special prayers inserted into the mass.

In Gerald of Wales'a description of the tour of Wales he undertook with Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury in March/April 1188, the purpose, methods, audience and response of crusade sermons is evident. He highlights his own role in the success of the tour and how sermons functioned - a potential manual for preachers pp23-38

The Massacres of the English Jews September 1189-May 1190

The rulers of the Angevin Empire and the King of France were reluctant to leave for crusade - but on Henry II's death in July 1189, the new King Richard had a genuine desire to honour Henry's crusade vow.

Once gain (but this time in England rather than in Germany) there was concerted violence against Jewish communities. These occurred in London, King's Lynn, Stamford and especially York. An account comes from William of Newburgh, an Augustinian Canon from Yorkshire in his History of English Affairs, written 1196-8 p41-56

The Beginning of the Siege of Acre September 1189-April 1190

Guy of Lusignan was released from Saladin's custody in June 1188, still erstwhile King of Jerusalem. He 1189 he arrived in Tyre to claim his realm but Conrad of Montfort refused to admit him into the city and recognise him, Guy marched south to Acre where he established a camp and began a siege of the Muslim garrison. Victory he hoped would be a magnet for the forces from the west and military leadership would also be wrested from Conrad. Conrad was greatly irritated - letter he sent in September 1189 to Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury p57-59

An account of the early exchanges to Pope Clement III in the battle for Acre by two Italian correspondents from the siege pp59-60

The Itinerarium Peregrinorum (see above) dwelt on the rivalries within the Christian leadership, the desperation of the fighting and the constant reinforcements from the west which Saladin was impotent to prevent pp60-72

Ibn Shaddad (Saladin's close confidant from the summer of 1188) recorded Saladin's alarm and anxiety, an account tinged with hindsight as the failure to snuff out the Frankish counter-attack later cost him dear. He was soon to be troubled further by the news of the departure from Germany of Frederick Barbarossa with a huge force bound for Syria. pp73-83

The German Crusade May 1189-June 1190

Although ultimately the least effective, the German army seemed initially the largest, strongest and most frightening. From its departure in May 1189 until Frederick Barbarossa drowned in the River Saleph in June 1190 it achieved all its tactical objectives and cowed both the emperor of Byzantium and the sultan of Rum. Observers claimed that it took three days to pass any point, such was its size.

The Itinerarium Peregrinorum incorporates what is probably an eyewitness account of Frederick's expedition. pp84-92

The events before and at Phillippopolis, where he spent a trying twelve weeks, were described in exasperated detail by the emperor Frederick himself, in letters from there to his son and regent Henry VI and Duke Leopold V of Austria pp92-97

A Greek view of the mounting crisis in relations between Frederick and Isaac II Angelus, it's resolution and the subsequent fate of the German army was provided by the Byzantine civil servant and author Nicetas Choniates - governor of the cities in Thrace. He was writing 25 years after the events described with the bitter hindsight of the ultimate failure and collapse of Byzantine foreign policy in 1204 when Constantinople was captured and sacked by the western troops of the Fourth Crusade. pp97-103

The account in the Itinerarium Peregrinorum picked up the story in March 1190 and followed it to its tragic denouement. pp103-111

Saladin's web of contacts kept him well informed of German progress; the Armenian bishop of Qalat al-Rum passed on news of Frederick's death . Ibn Shaddad's narrative reflected Saladin's concern at the German threat and confirmed one of the crusaders bitterest complaints against Isaac II, that he was in alliance with the sultan, by including a flattering letter from the Greek emperor. pp111-118

Stalemate July 1190-January 1191

The survival of the Christian force before Acre depended on western reinforcements. After the disintegration of the German army, the fighting around Acre became desperate and it became clear that on the result of operations at Acre depended the outcome of the new crusade and that only the presence of the large armies assembling under the kings of France and England would provoke a final decision. In the summer of 1190 a new wave of noble contingents arrived from France and they were followed by Frederick of Swabia with the remnants of the German crusade and an advance guard of the English-Norman-Angevin forces under Archbishop Baldwin and the ex-justiciar of England Ranulf Glanvill. They had left Richard I at Marseilles in August 1190 and sailed directly to Acre. Soon depleted by illness at war, they were held together by Glanvill's nephew, Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, later Archbishop of Canterbury and justiciar of England, one of the most commanding and effective Royal servants in English history. One of the fullest descriptions of conditions in the Christian lines in 1190-1 was preserved in the Itinerarium Peregrinorum narrative pp120-133

In Ibn Shaddad's memory, Saladin watched and tried to control these events with interest, frustration and possibly mounting anxiety pp133-145

The repeated blows, by fate and self-inflicted, were calmly reported back to the monks of Canterbury cathedral by Archbishop's Baldwin's chaplain in October 1190 p145-6

Bishop Hubert Walter reveals the disastrous state of the siege by understatement p146-7

Famine and Intrigue October 1190-April 1191

In 1190-1 in the grim winter at Acre, the arrival of the French and English kings was greatly anticipated. After the death of Queen Sibylla and her children in October 1190 the hasty and legally dubious marriage of Conrad of Montferrat to the heiress Isabella, Sibylla's half-sister, threw open the succession to the throne of Jerusalem as the Continuator of William of Tyre notices pp148-150

As a panegyricist for Richard I, who later in 1191-2 consistently backed Guy of Lusignan's claim to the Jerusalem throne, the author of the Itinerarium had even less reason to view Conrad's opportunism with favour. Instead he focuses on the fate of Archbishop Baldwin who had strongly opposed Conrad's marital coup and the growing famine in the crusader army pp151-161

Ibn Shaddad's report of the view of these events from Saladin's camp suggests a curious lack of optimism despite the crusaders troubles. However he was worried about the arrival of Christian reinforcements and the writer needed to convince his audience of the problems facing the sultan in 1189-90 in order to prepare them for the loss of the city in summer 1190 pp161-165

The Anglo-French Expedition September 1189-April 1191

The disputed succession of Henry II and the balance of power within France had delayed plans for crusade and changed them. Henry II and Philip had originally planned to take the land route east but by the time of Richard's succession the sea route was favoured and negotiations with the Genoese were underway with the French. The plan demanded that Richard funded the bulk of the navy to which were added self financing vessels. The armada embarked in stages from various Channel and Atlantic ports between April and July 1190, bent on joining Richard at Marseilles in August. En route some sections assisted in fighting the Moors in Portugal while others went in hooligan rampages in Lisbon. Richard and Philip marched in early July fan reached Marseille and Genoa respectively by the beginning of August. Richard's fleet had not yet arrived and so he hired local shipping to transport him across the Mediterranean to the next planned rendezvous, Messina. The Itinerarium Ricardi Regis possibly by an Englishman Richard de Templo describes Richard's journey pp167-174

At Messina much of the time was spent on political and diplomatic issues concerning the Angevin empire and well as more practical preparations for the assembled crusading forces. The Itinerarium describes the landings of the French and English kings at Messina pp174-177

Roger of Howden left a vivid account of Richard's leisurely trip down the Italian coast as well as providing the texts of the various agreements settled between the crusade leadership and with Tancred of Sicily. In a famous scene a naked King Richard confessed the sins of the 'filthiness of his life' to the assembled bishops and archbishops pp171-183

The account also includes the text of the Treaty of Messina pp183-186

Howden continues with one of Joachim's interpretations of Revelation pp186-192

The Conquest of Cyprus April-May 1191

Richard I's fleet left Messina on 10 April 1191 with some 219 vessels and perhaps 17,000 people. 25 ships became detached during a storm and although some were lost, others arrived at Limassol in southern Cyprus. Richard reached Crete on 17 April and Rhodes on 22 April. The ruler of Cyprus Isaac Comnenus began to fortify Limassol against possible attack- Richard was aware of Cyprus' importance as a Christian base and a source of supplies for Outremer as so what began for Richard as a rescue operation turned into a full-blown conquest. It was to be the most lasting success during the Third Crusade as it remained under the rule of Latin Christians until conquered by the Ottomans in 1571. On 12 May Richard in Limassol Richard married his fiancee Berengaria of Navarre. The fullest account of the conquest of Cyprus is in Ambroise's verse chronicle p195-219

The Fall of Acre June-July 1191

With the arrival of the kings of France (20 April) and England (8 June) the final assault on Acre could begin. Acre fell on 12 July 1191. Richard quickly emerged as the dominant figure through his military skill and plentiful funds. He also began his distinctive policy of matching military aggression with direct negotiations through Saladin's brother al-Adil. Ibn Shaddad witnessed the negotiations at close hand and provided a more dispassionate description of events whose providential significance consistently clouded the interpretations of his Christian contemporaries. The account of Roger of Howden is on pp221-230; the Itinerarium on pp231-250; the Continuator of William of Tyre on pp250-254; Ibn Shaddad on pp254-270 provides the most reflective and calm narrative; Richard himself writes to his justiciar in England, William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, announcing the victories of Cyprus and Acre p270.

From Acre to Arsuf July-September 1191

The surrender of Acre to the Christian forces on 12 July 1191 marked not just the end of a process but an introduction to a new set of problems. Phillip II was eager to return to the west and what was seen as desertion condemned by many contemporaries including most of his nobles. It was a special blow to his protege Conrad of Montferrat who was forced to agree a compromise deal with Guy of Lusignan (and his backer King Richard) on 28 July - this left Guy as King for his lifetime but with the reversion of the throne to Conrad, Isabella and their heirs.

Philip formally requested permission to abandon the crusade on 29 July, leaving Acre on 31 July. For the following three weeks, Richard, now undisputed head of the crusade, tried to force Saladin to implement the surrender agreement, which included an exchange of prisoners and the return of he piece of the True Cross taken at Hattin. Saladin prevaricated but Richard called his bluff on 20 August by having his Muslim captives, perhaps as many as 3000, butchered in full view of Saladin and his troops. Five days later Richard's army left for the south and so, it seemed, Jerusalem.

Roger of Howden's close account of the diplomatic manoeuvres in the Christian camp suggests that's he had taken a close interest in events probably at the request of Richard who sent him to shadow Philip II back to Europe pp272-276

In his account of the aftermath of the siege, the Continuator of William of Tyre included the nasty little story of Richard telling a frail Philip that his young son Louis had died in France leaving his kingdom without an heir. Richard had no children and, evidently, an arrested sense of humour. pp276-280

The Itinerarium provided an account of events after the fall of Acre,massaged to project an image of Richard's skill, honesty, power, wisdom and authority, including an explicit attack on Philip and a direct apologia for the massacre of Muslim prisoners, laying the blame on Saladin's double dealing pp280-287

Ibn Shaddad's relatively brief account of the aftermath of the fall of Acre may have reflected his desire to gloss over the serious setback and humiliation for Saladin. pp287

The road from Acre to Jaffa proved exhausting for the crusaders. Once established there or in one of the other southern ports, such as Ascalon, with secure sea links with Acre and the west, Richard's force threatened to undermine Saladin's whole position in southern Palestine even without an immediate assault on Jerusalem. Saladin was drawn into provoking a set piece battle in an attempt to convert what should have been undoubted strategic advantages - home base; easy access to supplies and reinforcements; sympathetic population; local knowledge - into decisive victory. On 1 October, by then established at Jaffa, Richard recounted the March south from Acre and the ensuing engagement, as well as his own version of the massacre of the Muslim prisoners in August. pp291-294

Saladin chose Arsuf as the battlefield. The Turks were eventually forced from the field but Saladin's army was not destroyed (so it was not revenge for Hattin) although it was decisively repulsed and his object of halting the Christian march to Jaffa, the port for Jerusalem, had failed. Of all the Christian losses, the most mourned was James of Avesnes, whose arrival with 50 ships in September 1189 had helped save the Christian siege at Acre. The Christian narrative of Ambroise is on pp295-310.

Ibn Shaddad, who was closely involved behind the lines, acknowledged the Muslim setback but presented the battle as one dramatic incident among many pp310-312

The Road to Jerusalem October 1191-January 1192

With the second crisis of the Palestine war surmounted, the Christian army established itself at Jaffa and the surrounding area in the weeks after the battle of Arsuf. A complication was caused by the fact that the disaffected Conrad of Montferrat who had held aloof from what he saw as a campaign dominated by his rival Guy's overlord, began to seek a separate treaty with Saladin.

When he left Acre, Richard had planned to take Ascalon but Jerusalem became his intent yet after a loss of nerve at Bayt Nuba he focused on Ascalon, having got just 12 miles from Jerusalem. The Itinerarium picks up the story pp314-330 with the account from Ibn Shaddad on pp330-342.

And Saladin's crisis of confidence in early 1192 as the crusader forces stood poised within striking distance of Jerusalem pp342-344 also from Ibn Shaddad.

Return to Bayt Nuba January-July 1192

The disintegration of the army caused by the withdrawal to Jaffa at least left Richard with greater scope for imposing his own policies on affairs in southern Palestine, although elements of the disaffected crusader army now allied with Conrad of Montferrat in the north to challenge the king's plans. Richard finally withdraw support for Guy as King of Jerusalem, leaving Conrad to be recognised as King. Following his assassination he was substituted for Henry of Champagne and with the succession problem over Richard pressed south with the fall of Darum as a preliminary to a possible attack on Egypt. However a decision by the barons of France and the Angevin empire in late May 1192 to launch an attack on Jerusalem - with or without Richard - and the second march to Bayt Nuba - left the westerners divided, and the eventual outcome was withdrawal and the further collapse of unity. Ambroise begins with the conference of barons deciding to attack Jerusalem after the capture of Darum pp347-367. The account of Ibn Shaddad is on pp367-375.

Victory at Jaffa July-August 1192

After the withdrawal from Bayt Nuba, Richard considered partition of territory with Saladin but the sticking point remained the sultan's demand for the demolition and evacuation of Ascalon. In late July Richard returned to Acre in an attempt to attack Beirut to try to lure Saladin away from the new Christian bases in southern Palestine. However Saladin took the opportunity to launch a surprise attack on Jaffa - if he could take the port the whole Christian position in the region would be undermined if not destroyed, leaving the Turks with a huge diplomatic as well as military advantage and the stalemate would be broken.

The Turkish attack began on 28 July and on 31 July the garrison agreed to surrender but on 1 August Richard launched his famous attack, wading ashore at the head of his small army. The victory secured Richard's legendary status and also restored the strategic status quo in Palestine - stalemate had been reestablished, making negotiations inevitable. Ibn Shaddad recalled events pp377-386 and Ambroise described the climax of the action on 1 August 1192 pp386-389. The Itinerarium guilds Richard's legend pp389-401

The End of the Crusade August 1192-March 1193

After Jaffa, Richard fell seriously ill. There was also a pressing need to return to the west if he were to prevent the loss of his possessions in France to a conspiracy between his brother John and Philip II. This precipitated a compromise with Saladin that included his agreement to the demolition of his fortifications at Ascalon. In return for a three year truce, Palestine was to be partitioned - the treaty of Jaffa was sworn on 2 September. The Itinerarium recorded the terms of the treaty of Jaffa pp402-409. Ambroise describes what the pilgrims encountered in Jerusalem in September 1192 pp410-419.

The Third Crusade reestablished a much-truncated kingdom of Jerusalem penned into the coastal plain from Acre to Jaffa, a base for future reconquests that in the event proved geographically meagre. But for all the heroism, Jerusalem had not been won. William of Newburgh captured this sense of qualified success pp419-423.

Richard was arrested near Vienna by agents of Leopold of Austria who bore a grudge dating from the siege of Acre. Transferred into the custody of Henry VI of Germany he was imprisoned while his territories were annexed by Philip II. Richard's lament dates from 1193 pp424-425