

The Crusades, 1096–1291

BEFORE THE CRUSADES

1 By March 1047 I was in Jerusalem. The people of Syria call Jerusalem the Holy City. Anyone of that province who cannot perform the pilgrimage to Mecca visits Jerusalem, and carries out the statutory rites and offers the customary feast-day sacrifice there. Some years more than 20,000 people come. They bring children to be circumcised, too. Christians and Jews come in large numbers from Constantinople and other regions to worship at the church and synagogue here.

Nasir-i-Khosrau *Journey through Syria and Palestine* (1893 trans.); Elizabeth Hallam (ed.) *Chronicles of the Crusades* (1989; 1997 edn) p.29. As far as this Persian Muslim was concerned, Jerusalem was a highly important point in his pilgrimage, since it was from there that Muhammad ascended into heaven. But he is clear that it is also sacred to other religions.

2 In this way the hoped-for pilgrimage was launched. Abbot Richard [of Saint-Vannes, Verdun, France], that man of God, led seven hundred pilgrims and adequately catered for their sustenance from his own resources. They came to the land of the Saracens, and when Abbot Richard entered their cities he preached Jesus Christ to all. He trusted in his Lord God because there was no guile in his personality. Hugh of Flavigny *Chronicon* (1026); *Monumenta Germaniae historica* (M.G.H.) *Scriptores* Vol.7 in Hallam (1989; 1997 edn) p.27. Before the era of the crusades, Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem were protected and supported by the caliphs.

THE FIRST CRUSADE AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1096–9

3 Ambassadors from the emperor of Constantinople came to the synod [at Piacenza, Italy, Feb. 1095] and humbly implored the lord pope and all faithful Christians to send him help to defend the Holy Church against the pagans. For these pagans were then ravaging those parts, and had conquered almost all the territory up to the walls of Constantinople. Bernold of Constance *Chronicon* (1099); (M.G.H.) *Scriptores* (from 1826) Vol.5, p.461.

4 There was a great stirring of hearts throughout all the Frankish lands, so that if any man, with all his heart and all his mind, really wanted to follow

God and faithfully to bear the cross after him, he could make no delay in taking the road to the Holy Sepulchre as quickly as possible. For even the pope set out across the Alps as soon as he could, with his archbishops, bishops, abbots and priests, and he began to deliver eloquent sermons and to preach.

Anon. *Gesta Francorum* (The Feats of the Franks) (1100/01; 1962 trans.) Bk 1, Ch.1. This contemporary account was written by an anonymous follower of Bohemond I of Antioch.

5 A grave report has come from the lands of around Jerusalem and from the city of Constantinople we have heard it very often already – that a people from the kingdom of the Persians, a foreign race, a race absolutely alien to God, a generation, that is, that set not their heart aright: and whose spirit was not faithful to God, has invaded the land of those Christians, has reduced the people with sword, rapine and flame and carried off some as captives to its own land, has cut down others by pitiable murder and has either completely razed the houses of God to the ground or enslaved them to the practice of its own rites.

Pope Urban II, sermon at the Council of Clermont, France, 27 Nov. 1095; Robert of Rheims *Historia Hierosolymitana* (The History of Jerusalem) (before 1107) Vol.1, pp.727–9. The author of this popular account of the First Crusade was present at the council, and his version (one of the five from contemporary chroniclers) cries up the role of the French. He wrote before 1107, but looking back at a crusade that had been successfully accomplished.

6 Let those who were brigands become soldiers of Christ; let those who have been fighting against their own brothers and relations now rightfully fight barbarians; let those who recently were hired for a few pieces of silver, win their eternal reward! Let those who have wearied themselves to the destruction of body and soul now work for the honour of both!

Pope Urban II, at Clermont, 1095; Fulcher of Chartres *Chronicle of the First Crusade* (1100–27; 1941 trans.) Bk 1, Ch.3. The pope dons the hat of the recruiting sergeant.

7 In this land you [the French] can scarcely feed the inhabitants. That is why you use up its goods and excite endless wars among yourselves.

Pope Urban II, at Clermont, 1095; Robert of Rheims (before 1107) Vol.1, pp.727 ff. Land-hunger drove both peasants and lords to join the crusade and seek new lands to settle.

1 Bishops should also be careful not to allow their parishioners to go without the advice and foreknowledge of the clergy. You must also see to it that young married men do not rashly set out on such a long journey without the agreement of their wives. Pope Urban II, at Clermont, 1095; H. Hagenmeyer *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe* (Letters of the Crusades) (1901) p.137.

2 Frequently he burned with anxiety because the warfare he engaged in as a knight seemed to be contrary to the Lord's commands. The Lord, in fact, ordered him to offer the cheek that had been struck together with his other cheek to the striker, but secular knighthood did not spare the blood of relatives. The Lord urged him to give his tunic and his cloak as well to the man who would take them away; the needs of war impelled him to take from a man, already despoiled of both, whatever remained to him.

Radulph of Caen *Gesta Tancredi Principis in Expeditione Hierosolymitana* (c.1113); Terry Jones and Alan Ereira *Crusades* (1994) p.18. Tancred's 'official' biographer, who arrived in the Holy Land himself in 1108, describes the spiritual dilemma of the youthful Norman knight (or indeed of any Christian knight) in 1096. But the pope's call to take arms against the infidel removed such doubts.

3 He [the author's father, the Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus] heard a rumour that countless Frankish armies were approaching. He dreaded their arrival, knowing as he did their uncontrollable methods of attack, with their inevitable consequences; their greed for money, for example, which always led them, it seemed, to break their own agreements without scruple for any chance reason.

Anna Comnena *The Alexiad* (c.1148; 1928 trans.) Bk 10, p.308. The biography of her father was written some 40 years after the First Crusade.

4 Full of enthusiasm and ardour they thronged every highway, and with these warriors came a host of civilians, outnumbering the sand of the seashore or the stars of heaven, carrying palms and bearing crosses on their shoulders.

Anna Comnena (c.1148; 1928 trans.) Bk 10, p.309. A request from Anna's father, the Byzantine emperor, for help against the Turks had borne unexpected fruit in this first influx of an unofficial raggle-taggle army led by Peter the Hermit. The so-called People's Crusade ended disastrously in Anatolia (Asian Turkey).

5 In five weeks time we shall be at Jerusalem, unless we are held up at Antioch.

Stephen of Blois, writing optimistically to his wife from Dorylaeum in Anatolia, June 1097; Hallam (1989; 1997 edn) p.72. Stephen was married to William the Conqueror's daughter, Adela of Louvain, to whom he wrote regularly. The army was still 700 miles short of Jerusalem. The crusaders were not to take Antioch until a year later and Jerusalem two years later.

6 The city of Antioch fell on the third day of June [1098], but it had been under attack from around 22 October of the preceding year. Our troops refrained from attacking the citadel while they examined and took inventory of the spoils; and further oblivious to God, the bestower of so many favours, they gourmandized sumptuously and splendidly as they gave heed to dancing girls.

Raymond d'Aguilers *History of the Franks who Took Jerusalem* (1098/9; 1968 trans.) Ch.6. This chronicler was chaplain to Raymond of Toulouse.

7 After taking Antioch the Franks camped there for twelve days without food. The wealthy ate their horses and the poor ate carrion and leaves from the trees. Their leaders, faced with this situation, wrote to Kerbuqa [the Turkish emir of Mosul] to ask for safe conduct through his territory, but he refused, saying: 'You will have to fight your way out.'

Ibn al-Athir (1160-1233) *The Perfect History* (1851-76 edn) Vol.10, p.188; Amin Maalouf *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes* (1983; 1984 trans.) p.34. This monumental Islamic history gives the view from the other side. Ibn al-Athir was an eyewitness to Saladin's role in the crusades.

8 On the top of Solomon's Temple, to which they had climbed in fleeing, many were shot to death with arrows and cast down headlong from the roof. Within this Temple about 10,000 were beheaded. If you had been there, your feet would have been stained up to the ankles with the blood of the slain. What more shall I tell? Not one of them was allowed to live. They did not spare the women and children.

Fulcher of Chartres (1100-27; 1941 trans.) Bk 1, Ch.27. The capture of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099. Albert of Aachen, writing after c.1100, says that 300 were beheaded. L. and J. Riley-Smith comment: 'The most important narratives were those written by learned churchmen in the West ... who never left their churches and monasteries but had the intellect and command of language to place crusading convincingly in a theological and scriptural context' (*The Crusades: Idea and Reality* (1981) p.16).

9 More than forty silver candelabra, each of them weighing 3,600 drams, and a great silver lamp weighing forty-four Syrian pounds, as well as a

hundred and fifty smaller silver vessels, more than twenty gold ones, and a great booty.

Ibn al-Athir (1160-1233) (1851-76 edn) *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (1969 trans.) p.19. The historian describes the pillage of Jerusalem, on 15 July 1099 by the Franks and his followers. The Font of the Dome, is a holy place for Jews.

10 Consider ... how in our time the East has become a Roman province; he who was a Roman citizen has become a Galilean or a Syrian; he who was from Rheims or Chartres has become a Tyrian or Antiochene ... We have the places of our birth ... He who was a native.

Fulcher of Chartres (1100-27; 1941 trans.) p.19. Fulcher, who had settled in Jerusalem, and was successively bishop of Toul and Jerusalem, describes how the 'conquerors' of Jerusalem, c.1125.

2 Before he [Imad ed-din Zengi] could establish the absence of strong rulers to insure the presence of the Franks close to the country a wilderness, but he [Imad ed-din Zengi] had found a champion.

THE SECOND CRUSADE AND ITS AFTERMATH

3 We enjoin it for the remission of our sins that more powerful and the noble lords should gird themselves to oppose the infidels who are now rejoicing in their victory. They have gained over us ... by soiling our father's blood.

Pope Eugenius III, *Quantum praedecessit* addressed to Louis VII of France in 1145. P. Rassow *Der Text der Bulla* (Text of the Bull on the Crusade of 1145) Christmas Eve 1144 Zengi had been killed and massacred the Frankish inhabitants of the city.

4 Are you a shrewd business man quick to see he profits off the crusades? I can offer you a splendid ba

hundred and fifty smaller silver candelabra and more than twenty gold ones, and a great deal more booty.

Ibn al-Athir (1160–1233) (1851–76 edn); Francesco Gabrieli *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (1969 trans.) p.11. The Syrian historian describes the pillage of the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, on 15 July 1099 by the young Norman knight Tancred and his followers. The Foundation Stone, a bare rock in the Dome, is a holy place for Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

1 Consider ... how in our time God turned the West into the East; for we who were Westerners are now Orientals; he who was a Roman or a Frank has in this land become a Galilean or a Palestinian, he who was from Rheims or Chartres has been made into a Tyrian or Antiochene ... We have already forgotten the places of our birth ... He who was born an alien has become a native.

Fulcher of Chartres (1100–27; 1969 trans.) Bk 2, Ch.3. Fulcher, who had settled in Jerusalem after the First Crusade, and was successively bishop of Tyre and patriarch of Jerusalem, describes how the 'colonists' feel a generation later, c.1125.

2 Before he [Imad ed-din Zengi] came to power the absence of strong rulers to impose justice, and the presence of the Franks close at hand, had made the country a wilderness, but he made it flower again.

Ibn al-Athir (1160–1233) (1851–76 edn) Vol.2, pp.72–4; Gabrieli (1969 trans.) p.54. The historian from Aleppo, along with other chroniclers, records Zengi's leadership, the discipline of his soldiers and the protection of civilians. Islam had found a champion.

THE SECOND CRUSADE, 1147–9, AND ITS AFTERMATH TO 1187

3 We enjoin it for the remission of sins, that ... the more powerful and the nobles, should vigorously gird themselves to oppose the multitude of the infidels who are now rejoicing in the victory they have gained over us ... by so much spilling of your father's blood.

Pope Eugenius III, *Quantum praedecessores* (bull), 1 Dec. 1145, addressed to Louis VII of France, proclaiming the Second Crusade; P. Rasso *Der Text der Kreuzzugsbulle Eugens III* (Text of the Bull on the Crusades) (1924) pp.302 ff. On Christmas Eve 1144 Zengi had broken into the city of Edessa and massacred the Frankish inhabitants.

4 Are you a shrewd business man, said St Bernard, a man quick to see he profits of this world? If you are, I can offer you a splendid bargain. Do not miss this

opportunity. Take the sign of the cross. At once you will have indulgence for all sins which you confess with a contrite heart. It does not cost you much to buy and if you bear it with humility you will find that it is worth the kingdom of heaven.

St Bernard of Clairvaux exhorts the English to join the Second Crusade, 1145; H.E. Mayer *The Crusades* (1972 trans.) p.37. The saint is being shrewd in his appeal, for the church promised to protect the crusader's family and property if he took the cross, and he would also avoid his creditors and the law by responding to the call to arms. Bernard's influence was felt throughout western Europe.

5 I opened my mouth, I spoke; and at once the crusaders have multiplied to infinity. Villages and towns are now deserted. You will scarcely find one man to every seven women. Everywhere you see widows whose husbands are still alive.

St Bernard to Pope Eugenius III, 1146; J.P. Migne (ed.) *Patrologia Latina* (1844–64) Vol.182. Bernard is describing the effect of his sermons on the Germans. The king himself, Conrad III (r.1138–52), was supposed to have burst into tears on hearing the appeal and to have taken the cross on the spot.

6 It was common talk, and probably quite true, that these perilous wanderings [of the Western armies in Asia Minor on the Second Crusade] were devised with the knowledge and at the command of the Greek emperor, who has always envied the successful advance of the Christians. For it is well known that the Greeks have always looked with distrust on all increase of power by the Western nations (as they still do), especially by that of the Teutonic nation, as rivals of the empire. They take it ill that the king of the Teutons [Conrad III] calls himself the emperor of the Romans.

William of Tyre *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum* (A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea) (1170; 1844 edn) Bk 16, Ch.21.

7 Reports kept coming in – from Constantinople; from the territory of the Franj [Franks or Westerners more generally], and from nearby lands too that the kings of the Franj were on their way from their countries to attack the land of Islam. They had emptied their own provinces, leaving them devoid of defenders, and had brought with them riches, treasures and immeasurable matériel. They numbered, it was said, as many as a million foot-soldiers and cavalry, perhaps even more.

Ibn al-Qalanisi *Appendix to the History of Damascus* (1149); Maalouf (1983; 1984 trans.) p.146. Although he is, of course, dramatically inflating the tens of thousands of Frankish and

German crusaders already on their way, the earliest Arab historian wrote with objectivity and first-hand experience of both the First and Second Crusades.

1 When they met eye to eye, the infidels made their famous charge upon the Muslims, but the Muslims split up into detachments which attacked them from various directions and swarmed over them ... When the haze was dispersed, God, to whom be praise and thanks, had bestowed upon the Muslims the victory over the polytheists [Christians] and they lay upon the ground prostrate and dust-befouled, bereft of the fruits of their warfare ... The accursed prince, their leader [Raymond of Antioch] was found stretched out amongst his guard and his knights; he was recognized and his head cut off and carried to Nur ed-Din, who awarded the bearer of it with a handsome gift.

Ibn al-Qalanisi *Appendix to the History of Damascus* (1149; 1932 trans.). The siege of Damascus took place in 1148. Nur ed-Din was Zengi's second son and successor.

2 The Lord, apparently provoked by our sins, has seemed to some extent to have judged the world before time, rightly of course, but forgetful of his mercy. He has not spared his people, not even his own name. Surely they are saying among the nations, Where is their God? No wonder. The sons of the church and those who are counted as Christians have been overthrown in the desert, slain by the sword or consumed by hunger.

St Bernard *De consideratione* (1148-9) explains that the failure of the Second Crusade must be accepted as God's judgement; L. and J. Riley-Smith (1981) Pt 2, Doc.7.

3 I have read the lives of the kings of old and after the right-guided caliphs ... I have not found one more upright nor a sterner advocate of justice ... among his virtues were austerity, piety and a knowledge of theology.

Ibn al-Athir (1160-1233) (1851-76 edn) Vol.11, pp.264-7; Gabrieli (1969 trans.) p.70. The historian is praising Nur ed-Din. William of Tyre, writing from the opposite viewpoint, corroborates his opinion: 'A wise and prudent man, and, according to the superstitious traditions of his people, one who feared God' ((1170; 1844 edn) Vol.2, p.146).

4 The opposing lines were drawn up at a place called Hattin, in the hills behind Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee. At the precise instant that the fighting began, Raymond III, Count of Tripoli, left the spot, feigning flight. The story is that he did this by pre-

arrangement, so that our troops would scatter, apparently stricken by terror at the desertion of the one who should have been their support, while the spirits of the enemy were raised. So the Lord 'gave his people over also unto the sword' [Psalm 78:62], embroiled in conflict, consigning his inheritance to slaughter and pillage, as the sins of mankind demanded. What more is there to say?

Anon. *Itinerarium regis Ricardi* (1864 edn); Hallam (1989; 1997 edn) p.7. The anonymous chronicler bewails the decisive defeat of the Crusaders by Saladin on 4 July 1187.

5 The prisoners were sent to Damascus, where the barons were lodged in comfort and the poorer folk were sold in the slave-market. So many were there that the price of a single prisoner fell to three dinars, and you could buy a whole healthy family, a man, his wife, his three sons and his two daughters, for eighty dinars the lot. One Muslim even thought it a good bargain to exchange a prisoner for a pair of sandals. Steven Runciman *A History of the Crusades* Vol.2 (1952) Bk 5, Ch.2. Saladin's rout of the crusaders in 1187 at the Horns of Hattin, near the Sea of Galilee, led to his recapture of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade.

6 The anger of heaven too did not fail to punish these arrogant and impure men; on several occasions, so it is said, an unseasonable deluge of rain removed more of our army than was consumed by enemy swords. So by far the greater part of two huge armies was overthrown by different misfortunes and disasters; with the remainder those two great princes [Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France] and barely escaped destruction, reached Jerusalem. They then returned ingloriously, having achieved nothing of note.

William of Newburgh *The History of English Affairs* (1190s; 1988 trans.) Bk 1, Ch.20. How the débâcle of the Second Crusade seemed to an English contemporary chronicler from an Augustinian priory in the north of England.

THE MILITARY ORDERS

7 A new order of knights lately sprung up is heard of on earth, and in that region which formerly the Light of the World [Christ] visibly came from on high in fleshly form. A new order of knights, I say, and an order inexperienced in worldly matters - an order which untiringly engageth in a twofold conflict, warring both against flesh and blood and against

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spiritual wickedness in high places ... For how often thou who engagest in warfare in a spirit of worldliness, dost thou fear lest thou either kill an adversary in the body, but thyself in the soul, or lest thou perchance be slain by him both in body and in soul? ... But the knights of Christ fight safely the battles of their lord, in no wise bearing either sin from slaying enemies, or the danger of their own destruction. St Bernard *De laude novae militiae* (In Praise of the New Knighthood) (1119; 1963 edn) Vol.3. The much respected abbot of Clairvaux supports the newly founded Order of the Temple (the Templars). He contrasts the condition of the ordinary soldier with that of the new order. The Templars followed a rule with 73 clauses, of which about 30 were based on those of St Benedict (see 195:3), so they were both monks and soldiers of Christ.

1 In the same year, certain noble men of knightly rank, devoted to God, religious and God-fearing, professed to wish to live in chastity, obedience and without property in perpetuity, binding themselves in the hands of the lord patriarch to the service of Christ in the manner of regular canons ... since they did not have a church, nor a settled place to live, the king conceded a temporary dwelling to them in his palace, which he had below the Temple of the Lord [in Jerusalem] ... Moreover, the lord king [Baldwin II] with his nobles, as well as the lord patriarch with his prelates, gave to them certain benefices from their own demesnes, some in perpetuity, some on a temporary basis, from which they could be fed and clothed. The first element of their profession, enjoined on them for the remission of their sins by the lord patriarch and other bishops, was 'that they should protect the roads and routes to the utmost of their ability against the ambushes of thieves and attackers, especially in regard to the safety of pilgrims'. William of Tyre (1170; 1844 edn) Bk 12, Ch.7. Founded in 1118, the order received its rule in 1128. Its initial aim was to protect pilgrims travelling the roads of the Holy Land. William, archbishop of Tyre, is describing their modest beginnings, but he was in fact no champion of the Templars.

2 The brothers of the military orders are ordained to defend Christ's church with the material sword, especially against those who are outside it. Jacques de Vitry *Historia Hierosolimitana* (early 13th century); J. Riley-Smith *What were the Crusades?* (1977; 1992 edn) Ch.4. The bishop of Acre and French chronicler (see 198:3) defends the Templars about 80 years after St Bernard's championship of them. The bishop was rare in aiming to proselytize the Muslims in his diocese.

3 They [the Mamluks] caused the Franks terrible losses and played the major part in the victory. They fought furiously: it was they who flung themselves into the pursuit of the enemy: they were Islam's Templars.

Ibn Wasil *The Dissipator of Anxieties Concerning the History of the Ayyubids* (2nd half of 13th century) f.3691; Gabrieli (1969 trans.) p.299. The Mamluk dynasty took power in Egypt in 1250. 'Mamluk' means someone who is owned – that is, a slave. These slave soldiers were an important part of Islamic armies. They formed the bodyguard of Sultan as-Salih (r.1240–49) and on his death took power. They ruled Egypt until 1517. The contemporary Arabic chronicler can find no higher praise for the Egyptian fighters at Damietta (in the Nile Delta, Egypt) in the Fifth Crusade.

4 It is not easy for anyone to gain an idea of the power and wealth of the Templars – for they and the Hospitallers have taken possession of almost all the cities and villages with which Judaea was once enriched ... and have built castles everywhere and filled them with garrisons, besides the very many, and indeed numberless, estates which they are known to possess in other lands.

Theoderich's Description of the Holy Places (c.1172; 1891 edn) pp.30–32. A pilgrim visiting Jerusalem comments on the growth of the Templars' property 50 years after their inception. The two orders were constant rivals. The Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem founded c.1070, with Muslim permission, a hospital for sick pilgrims in Jerusalem and were made a formal order in 1099, when the city fell to the First Crusade.

5 [The military orders] have such a great quantity of rents and crops and possessions on this side of the Mediterranean Sea, which for a long time now have made insufficient contribution to the Holy Land. Since on occasions of great necessity these orders have many times been divided among themselves, and on this account in confusion, and therefore with very great scandal exposed to mockery, it is expedient and necessary, if the cause of the Holy Land is to go forward, to unite them in administration, habit, status and goods, as will seem expedient to a holy council. Those members living in the holy land should subsist from their property there and in Cyprus.

Pierre Dubois *Concerning the Recovery of the Holy Land* (c.1306; 1891 edn) p.13; Malcolm Barber *The Trial of the Templars* (1978) p.16. Dubois, a Norman lawyer and propagandist for the policies of the French monarchy, advocates a merger between the two great military orders. But by the end of his treatise he seems to have decided that: 'It will be expedient to destroy the order of Templars completely, and for the needs of justice to annihilate it totally.'

THE THIRD CRUSADE, 1189-92

1 Taking advantage of the dissension which the malice of men at the suggestion of the devil had recently roused in the land of the Lord, Saladin came upon those regions with a host of armed men ... There advanced against him the king, the bishops, the Templars, the Hospitallers and the barons with the knights and the people of the land and the relic of the Lord's cross, which used to afford a sure safeguard and desired defence against the invasion of the pagans ... They were attacked and, when our side had been overpowered, the Lord's cross was taken ... The bishops, moreover and the Templars and Hospitallers were beheaded in Saladin's sight. Newly elected Pope Gregory VIII to the Germans, describing the Horns of Hattin (see 228:4) and proclaiming a Third Crusade, 3 Nov. 1187; Anon. *Historia de Expeditione Friderici imperatoris* (1928 edn).

2 He [Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, saviour of Tyre and moving spirit of the Third Crusade] had a picture of Jerusalem painted showing the Church of the Resurrection, the object of pilgrimage and deepest veneration to them; according to them the Messiah's tomb is there, in which he was buried after his crucifixion ... Above the tomb the marquis had a horse painted, and mounted on it a Muslim knight who was trampling the tomb, over which his horse was urinating. This picture was sent abroad to the markets and meeting places; priests carried it about, clothed in their habits, their heads covered, groaning: 'O the shame!' In this way they raised a huge army, God alone knows how many, among them the king of Germany with his troops.

Baha ad-Din (1145-1234) *Sultanly Anecdotes and Josephly Virtues; Recueil des historiens des croisades orientaux* (1841-96) Vol.3. The biographer and eyewitness of the crusade was a member of Saladin's household, and his is the most complete portrait of the Muslim leader there is. The title refers to Saladin's personal name, Yusuf (Joseph). Baha ad-Din remained in the service of Saladin from before the Battle of Hattin until the sultan's death.

3 I saw Saladin, aloof, alone.
Higher I raised my brows and further scanned,
And saw the master of the men who know
Seated amid the philosophic band.

Dante Alighieri *The Divine Comedy* 'Purgatory' (c.1308-21) Canto 4, lines 129 ff. Dante places Saladin in the first circle of hell, next to Aristotle and among those whose crime was that they did not really have the opportunity to embrace Christianity.

4 From there they [the German army] advanced towards Antioch, but found a river in their path, beside which they camped. The king [Frederick I, Barbarossa] went down to the river to wash himself, and was drowned at a place where the water was not even up to his waist. Thus God liberated us from the evil of such a man.

Ibn al-Athir I (160-1233) (1851-76 edn) Vol.12, p.32. The death of Barbarossa in June 1190 at the age of 67 spelled disaster to the Germans' crusade and was a great relief from the Muslim standpoint. The chronicler added: 'Thus did God spare us the maleficence of the Germans.' Disease struck the army at Antioch, and Frederick's son, soon to die before Acre, was not able to command such unity as his legendary father.

5 Each person will give this year in alms for the aid of the land of Jerusalem a tenth of his income and movable goods, except for his arms, horses and clothes in the case of a knight; likewise except for his horses, books, clothes, vestments and any sort of furniture in the case of a cleric; and except for precious stones belonging to both clergy and laity ... but clerics and knights who have taken the cross will give nothing of that tenth, except what they give for their personal property and for their demesne lands; and whatever their men have owed must be collected for the crusaders' enterprise.

Saladin Tithe, 1188; W. Stubbs *Select Charters* (1913 edn). A tax was levied in England towards financing Richard I's participation in the Third Crusade.

6 The king of England was courageous, energetic, and daring in combat. Although of lower rank than the king of France [Philip II], he was richer and more renowned as a warrior. On his way east he had seized Cyprus, and when he appeared before Acre, accompanied by 25 galleys loaded with men and equipment for war, the Franj let out cries of joy and lit great fires to celebrate his arrival. As for the Muslims, their hearts were filled with fear and apprehension.

Baha ad-Din (1145-1234) *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*; Maalouf (1983; 1984 trans.) Ch.11.

7 When the English king [Richard I] saw that Saladin delayed in carrying out the terms of the treaty [for the surrender of Acre] ... they brought up the Muslim prisoners ... more than three thousand men in chains. They fell on them as one man and slaughtered them in cold blood, with sword and lance.

Baha ad-Din (1145-1234) *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*; Gabrieli (1969 trans.) p.239. Elsewhere the figure is