

given as 2,700 survivors of the city's garrison, who were killed in sight of Saladin's army in July 1191. The contrast with Saladin's clemency to his prisoners after the victory at the Horns of Hattin (see 228:4) is striking.

1 I am to salute you, and tell you that the Muslims and Franks are bleeding to death, the country is utterly ruined and goods and lives have been sacrificed on both sides. The time has come to stop this. The points at issue are Jerusalem, the cross and the land. Jerusalem is for us an object of worship that we could not give up even if there were only one of left. The land from here to beyond the Jordan must be consigned to us. The cross, which for you is simply a piece of wood with no value, is for us of enormous importance. If the sultan [Saladin] will deign to return it to us, we shall be able to make peace and to rest from this endless labour.

Richard I to Saladin, 1191; Baha ad-Din (1145–1234) *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin* in Gabrieli (1969 trans.) p.226.

2 Jerusalem is ours as much as yours; indeed it is even more sacred to us than to you for it is the place where our Prophet made his journey through the night [Muhammad's ascension] and the city where our people will be gathered [on the Day of Judgement]. Do not imagine that we can surrender to you or compromise on this. The land belonged to us from the beginning, while you have only just arrived, and have taken it over only because of the weakness of the Muslims living there at the time. God will not allow to be rebuilt a single stone as long as the war lasts. As for the cross, its ownership is a high card in our hands and it cannot be surrendered except in exchange for something of priceless benefit to all Islam.

Saladin's reply to Richard I, 1191; Baha ad-Din *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin* in Gabrieli (1969 trans.) p.226. The peace negotiations took over a year of diplomacy.

3 The king was a very giant in the battle [of Jaffa, 1192] and was everywhere in the field – now here, now there, wherever the attacks of the Turks raged the hottest. He slew numbers with his sword which shone like lightning; some of them were cleft in two from their helmets to their teeth, whilst others lost their heads, arms and other limbs, which were lopped off at a single blow.

Ambroise d'Evreux (fl.c.1190) *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte* (The Crusade of Richard the Lionheart) (1897; 1941 trans.) p.153; Hallam (1989; 1997 edn) p.153. With relish the chronicler cries up the bravery of Richard I. But although Richard came within sight of Jerusalem, he did not reconquer it and had to

be satisfied with negotiating for a three-year truce with Saladin before turning for home. Richard, canon of the Holy Trinity Augustinian priory in London, based the early books of his *Itinerarium regis Ricardi* (early 13th century) on Ambroise's account.

4 Look at the state of the country, ruined and trampled under foot, at your subjects, beaten down and confused, at your armies, exhausted and sick, at your horses, neglected and ruined. There is little forage, food is short, supply bases are far away, the necessities of life are dear.

Saladin to his emirs before the truce, 1192; John Gillingham *Richard the Lionheart* (1978) Ch.10.

5 He [Saladin, who died only five months after Richard had left Acre] was a man wise in counsel, valiant in war and generous beyond measure ... for this very reason, he was distrusted by our nobles who had keener foresight ... there is no better means by which princes can win the hearts of their subjects ... than by showing lavish bounty towards them.

William of Tyre (1170; 1844 edn) Vol.2, p.405. His open-handedness was seen by William as a powerful factor in his success.

6 The only crusade to be a complete success was the first, in which no crowned head had taken part. A crusade of barons, more or less homogeneous in race, would avoid the royal and national rivalries that had so greatly damaged the second and third crusades.

Steven Runciman *A History of the Crusades* Vol.3 (1954) Bk 2, Ch.1 on the thinking of Pope Innocent III in 1199.

THE FOURTH CRUSADE, 1202–4

7 We order that an empty trunk be placed in each church, locked with three keys; the first to be put in the charge of the bishop, the second in the charge of the priest of the church and the third in the charge of some devout layman. All the faithful should be advised to put their alms in it for the remission of their sins – the amount will depend on what the Lord inspires them to give – and this ought to be publicly and repeatedly announced once a week at mass in all the churches.

Pope Innocent III, *Graves orientalis terrae*, 31 Dec. 1199. The pope preaches a new crusade, urging nobles and priests throughout France and northern Italy to take the cross. He also announced a tax on the clergy themselves to finance the crusade.

1 We will build transports to carry 4,500 horses and 9,000 squires, and other ships to accommodate 4,500 knights and 20,000 foot sergeants. We will also include in our contract a nine months' supply of rations for all these men and fodder for all the horses. This is what we will do for you, and no less, on condition you pay us five marks per horse and two marks per man ...

We will provide, for the love of God, fifty additional armed galleys, on condition that so long as our association lasts we shall have one half, and you the other half, of everything we win, either by land or sea.

Enrico Dandolo, doge of Venice in 1192–1205; Geoffrey de Villehardouin *The Conquest of Constantinople* (c.1208; 1963 trans.) Ch.2. The French chronicler Villehardouin was one of the six delegates sent to negotiate with Venice in April 1201, and he records that he had been ordered to kneel to the Venetians and not to rise until they had 'agreed to take pity on the Holy Land over the sea'.

2 Sirs ... you are associated with the best and bravest people in the world in the highest enterprise anyone has ever undertaken. Now I am an old man, weak and in need of rest, and my health is failing. All the same I realize no one can control and guide you like myself, who am your lord. If you will consent to my taking the cross ... then I shall go to live or die with you and with the pilgrims.

Enrico Dandolo, Sept. 1201; Villehardouin (c.1208; 1963 trans.) Ch.4. The doge addressed the congregation in San Marco, and the Venetians responded: 'We beg you in God's name to take the cross and go with us.'

3 Let me tell you here of an outstanding deed of valour. The doge of Venice, although an old man and completely blind, stood at the bow of his galley with the banner of St Mark unfurled before him. He ordered his men to drive the ship ashore. And so they did, and the men leaped down and planted the banner before him in the ground. As soon as the others saw the standard of St Mark and the doge's galley beached, they were ashamed and followed him ashore.

Geoffrey de Villehardouin (c.1208; 1963) Ch.9. Villehardouin describes the events that took place under the walls of Constantinople on July 1203.

4 Nor do I think that in the 40 richest cities of the world there had been so much wealth as was found in Constantinople. For the Greeks say that two thirds of the wealth of this world is in Constantinople.

Robert of Clari (d.c.1216) *The Conquest of Constantinople* (1936 trans.) 'The Taking of the City'. The French knight and chronicler was an eyewitness of the siege.

5 They smashed the holy images and hurled the sacred relics of the martyrs into places I am ashamed to mention, scattering everywhere the body and blood of the Saviour ... As for their profanation of the Great [St Sophia], they destroyed the high altar and shared out the pieces among themselves ... and they brought horses and mules into the church, the better to carry off the holy vessels, and the pulpit, and the doors, and the furniture wherever it was to be found; and when some of these beasts slipped and fell, they ran them through with their swords, fouling the church with their blood and ordure ...

A common harlot was installed in the patriarch's chair, to hurl insults at Jesus Christ; and she sang bawdy songs, and danced immodestly in the holy place ... nor was there mercy shown to virtuous matrons, innocent maids or even virgins consecrated to God.

Nicetas Choniates *Historia* (early 13th century; 1975 edn); John Julius Norwich *A Short History of Byzantium* (1997) Ch.22. The Greek chronicler's eyewitness view of the rape of the city.

THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE, 1212

6 In 1212 a rather remarkable expedition took place: children from many different areas took part. The first to reach Paris came from the region of the Vendôme, then about 30,000 of them journeyed to Marseilles to take ship for Saracen lands ... The men who betrayed the children are said to have been Hugh Ferreus and William Porcus, merchants of Marseilles. As captains of the ships they ought to have conveyed the children across the sea at no cost as they had promised before God. They had filled seven large ships with them and when they were two days out – at the island of St Peter [off Sardinia] at the rock called Recluse – a storm blew up and two ships were lost. All the children from these two ships were drowned ... Those double-crossing sea-captains sailed the five remaining ships to Bougie and Alexandria [Egypt] and there sold all the children to Saracen noblemen and merchants. Aubrey of Trois-Fontaines, early 13th century; Hallam (1989; 1997 edn) p.244. A contemporary chronicle on the tragic fate of the French children. Thousands of German children also made a fruitless journey to Rome. 'Research has suggested that the crusaders were not children so much as young

persons on the margins of society – persons of no importance. The Children's Crusade reflected the prevalent idea that simplicity and poverty might remedy all the church's ills ... the cult of the Holy Innocents begins at this time' (Jane Sayer *Innocent III* (1994) p.176).

THE FIFTH CRUSADE, 1214–21

1 If anyone of those setting out to that place are strictly held by oath to repay usuries, we order with same strictness that their creditors be compelled by a similar censure to restore them. And we command Jews to be compelled by means of the secular power to remit usuries ... and we excommunicate and anathematize those false and impious Christians who carry weapons, iron and wood for building galleys to the Saracens, against the interests of Christ himself and the Christian people.

Pope Innocent III, at the Fourth Lateran Council, 30 Nov. 1215. The pope legislates for the Fifth Crusade and, to finance it, imposes a tax of 5% on clerical salaries for three years. For the Fourth Lateran Council see 191:1.

2 But to those declining to take part, if indeed there be by chance such men ungrateful to the Lord our God, we firmly state on behalf of the apostle that they should know that they will have to reply to us on this matter in the presence of the Dreadful Judge on the Last Day of Severe Judgement.

Pope Innocent III, *Ad Liberandum* (bull), from the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215; Riley-Smith (1977; 1992 edn) Ch.3.

3 Many of our men died because of the severe winter and the dreadful cold, besides the usual river floods and the high tides caused by the swollen sea, many more by far than died at the hands of the Saracens ... We prepared petraries [type of large catapult], trebuchets, ladders and other instruments of war and we also dug mines to bring down the towers on the walls or to enter the city through underground passages. We trust that the Lord will soon deliver the city into the hands of the Christians, for few have remained in it and are suffering very much from a shortage of food.

Jacques de Vitry (early 13th century) to Pope Honorius III, describing the failing siege of Damietta in the Nile delta, Egypt, Aug. 1218–Sept. 1219. This was an attempt to launch a crusade through Egypt. The crusading bishop of Acre describes the collapse of Innocent III's dream to his successor.

4 Our disastrous situation was exacerbated by the fact that the men were mostly drunk that night with

wine which could not be taken away on account of its quantity, and had therefore been offered free of charge and guzzled heedlessly; they [the crusaders] were now left behind asleep in the camp or lay in the road and could not be roused, and were for the most part slaughtered or captured and so lost to us ... The Templars led the rearguard, in the greatest peril, keeping well together with their weapons held in readiness to protect those who were marching ahead of them. But the men in front headed off in different directions and wandered through the dark night like stray sheep.

Oliver of Paderborn (early 13th century; 1894 edn); Hallam (1989; 1997 edn) p.255. The writer was bishop of Paderborn in 1224–5. Having preached the Fifth Crusade in Germany for Innocent III with great success, he became one of its leaders and subsequently wrote its history. He was secretary to Cardinal Pelagius, who was the legate appointed by Pope Honorius III to head the crusade. After the Venetian high-jacking of the Fourth Crusade, the papacy wanted to control the Fifth Crusade through its own clerical leaders.

5 Because of the legate [the Spanish cardinal Pelagius] who governed and led the Christians, everyone says in truth, we lost that city through folly and sin ... Greatly should Rome be humiliated for the loss of Damietta.

Guillaume le Clerc *Le Besant de Dieu* (1226–7; 1869 edn); Palmer A. Throop *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (1977) p.32. The Norman cleric had strong feelings against the religious actually fighting. A five-year truce was magnanimously offered to the crusaders by Sultan al-Kamil, Saladin's nephew.

THE SIXTH CRUSADE, 1228–9

6 He [Frederick II] was an adroit man, cunning, greedy, wanton malicious, bad-tempered, but at times when he wished to reveal his good and courtly qualities, consoling, witty, delightful, hard working. Salimbene di Adam *Chronicle* (1282–90); M.G.H. *Scriptores* (from 1862) Vol.32, pp.348–9. The Italian Franciscan chronicler was extremely hostile to Frederick and included a good deal of scandal in his chronicle. A Joachite (see 204:1), he identified the emperor with Antichrist.

7 I am your friend. It was you who urged me to make this trip. The pope and all the kings of the West now know of my mission. If I return empty-handed I will lose much prestige. For pity's sake give me Jerusalem, that I may hold my head high.

Frederick II to Sultan al-Kamil, 1229; Maalouf (1983; 1984 trans.) p.228. The sultan had appealed to him to come to

the Holy Land where he wanted support against his brother and rival.

1 I must also take opinion into account. If I deliver Jerusalem to you it could lead not only to a condemnation of my actions by the caliph, but also to a religious insurrection that would threaten my throne. Sultan al-Kamil's reply to the appeal from Frederick; Maalouf (1983; 1984 trans.) p.228. Frederick, 'the wonder of the world' to his admirers but the Antichrist (see 191:4) to his enemies, king of Sicily since 1198, spoke Arabic and had far more understanding of Islam than other crusading monarchs. He used diplomacy to regain Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth and to establish a truce for ten years. The hand-over of Jerusalem on 18 Feb. 1229 was a diplomatic arrangement between two secular monarchs whose primary concern was the preservation of their own imperial position. No blood was shed. Frederick II was execrated by Pope Gregory IX and became the object of a holy war himself.

THE ASSASSINS

2 One of the points laid down by Ali [Muhammad's son-in-law] is that if a man is killed while obeying his lord's orders his soul goes into a more pleasing body than before. That is why the Assassins are not in any way averse to being killed as and when their lord [known as the Old Man of the Mountain] orders, because they believe they will be happier after death than when they were alive.

Jean de Joinville (early 14th century; 1963 trans.) Pt 2, Ch.12. Joinville is describing the Old Man of the Mountain, who was visiting his master, Louis IX, at Acre in 1250–51.

3 I shall now relate things about this elder which appear ridiculous but which are attested by the evidence of reliable witnesses, this Old Man has by his witchcraft so bemused the men of his country, that they neither worship nor believe in any god but himself. Likewise he entices them in a strange manner with such hopes and such promises of such pleasures with eternal enjoyment that they prefer to die rather than to live ... The most blessed, so he affirms, are those who shed the blood of men and in revenge for such deeds suffer death. When therefore any of them have chosen to die in this way ... He himself hands them knives which are so to speak consecrated to this affair, and then intoxicates them with such a potion that they are plunged into ecstasy and oblivion ... and promises them eternal possession of these things in reward.

Arnold of Lübeck *Chronicon Slavorum* (1192; 1907 edn) Bk 4.16, pp.178–9. The German chronicler, writing at the

time of the Third Crusade, describes the power of the Assassins. The radical Islamic group deliberately targeted both Muslims and Christians, in that respect contrasting with early 21st-century terrorists. Their daggers had already struck down a number of Muslim princes and in 1192 found their first crusader victim in Conrad of Montferrat, king of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

4 Now no man was allowed to enter the garden save those whom he [the Old Man of the Mountain] chose to be his ashishin. There was a fortress at the entrance to the garden, and there was no other way to get in. He kept at his court a number of the youths of the country, from 12–20 years of age, such as had a taste for soldiering and to these he used to tell tales about paradise, just as Muhammad had been wont to do, and they believed him just as the Saracens believe in Muhammad.

Then he would introduce them into his garden ... having first made them drink a certain potion which cast them into a deep sleep ... So when they awoke and found themselves in a place so charming, they deemed that it was paradise in very truth.

So when the Old Man would have a prince slain, he would say to such a youth: 'Go thou and slay so-and-so; and when thou returnest, my angels will bear thee into paradise. And shouldst thou die, nevertheless even so will I send my angels to carry thee back into paradise.'

Marco Polo *The Travels of Marco Polo* (1298; 1903 trans.) pp.139–143. 'In one respect the Assassins are without precedent – in the planned, systematic and long-term use of terror as a political weapon they may well be the first terrorists' (Bernard Lewis *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (1967) p.129).

THE SEVENTH CRUSADE AND BEYOND, 1248–91

5 Although I had less than a thousand livres a year from my land I had undertaken, when I went overseas, to bear, in addition to my own expenses, the cost of keeping nine knights and two knights-banneret. It so happened that by the time I arrived in Cyprus, I had in hand, after my ship had been paid for, no more than 240 *livres tournois*. On that account some of my knights told me that unless I provided myself with funds they would leave me. Jean de Joinville *The Life of St Louis* (early 14th century; 1963 trans.) Pt 2, Ch.3. The author, a noble from Champagne, accompanied his king on the crusade and wrote his biography in his old age, after Louis's death in 1270 and the fall of Acre

in 1291, which marked the end of the Christian rule in Outremer, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

1 Apart from the Christians I have already mentioned, as also men of another religion, there are among the Tatars [Mongols] a great number of people who belong to the Greek Church. Whenever the Tatars want to make war on the Saracens they send these Christians to fight them, while on the other hand using the Saracens in any war against Christians ...

The envoys returned from the king of the Tatars bringing a letter to our king [Louis IX] stating: 'Peace is a good thing; for when a country is at peace, they that go on four feet may graze in the fields undisturbed, while those who go on two can also till the soil – which brings forth all good things – in perfect tranquillity. We are telling you this by way of warning, for you cannot have peace unless you are at peace with us.'

Jean de Joinville (early 14th century; 1963 trans.) Pt 2, Ch. 13. The Mongols are confident in their powerful position (see 248:4). Louis IX had sent William of Rubruck to the Mongol court (1253–5).

2 Emir Husam ad-Din described a conversation he had had with King Louis IX. 'The king of France,' he said, 'was an unusually wise and intelligent man. During one of our conversations I asked him: "How did a man of your majesty's character, wisdom and good sense ever conceive the idea of embarking on a ship, riding the waves of the sea and journeying to a land so full of Muslims and warriors, assuming that you could conquer it and become its king?" Louis laughed, but said nothing. "In our land," I continued, "when a man voyages on the sea, exposes himself and his worldly goods to such risks, his witness is not accepted as evidence in any court of law." "Why not?" asked King Louis. "Because such behaviour implies to us that he is lacking in sense, and such a man is unfit to give evidence." Louis laughed and declared: "By God, whoever said that was right; who ever ruled thus was not in error."

Ibn Wasil (2nd half of 13th century; 1702 edn); Hallam (1989; 1997 edn) p.273. The Arab chronicler served the Mamluk sultan Baibars I (r. 1260–77). Here he describes the impression that Louis IX made during the month of captivity, April 1250, while he awaited the colossal ransom demanded of the crusaders. The price came down to 800,000 bezants and the surrender of Damietta! But Louis remained in the east a further four years, waiting until the other crusaders captured at the Battle of Mansourah were at last released in 1254.

3 The sultan's standards entered the city [Damietta] on Friday 3 May 1250 and were raised on the walls, proclaiming once again the rule of Islam. The king of France St Louis was set free and went, with the remains of his army, over to the western shore. The next day, Saturday, he went abroad and set sail for Acre. He stayed some time in Palestine and then returned home. So God purified Egypt of them, and this victory was many times greater than the first because of the large number of the enemy killed and captured; so many that the prisons of Cairo were full of Franks. The joyful news spread to all the other countries, and public manifestations of joy and happiness were seen.

Ibn Wasil (2nd half of 13th century); MS Paris Archives 1702, f.372. St Louis' departure is seen by the Arab chronicler as purifying Egypt. One church's saint was another's devil.

4 Our purpose here is to give you news of what we have just done, to inform you of the utter catastrophe that has befallen you ... While we were taking up our position in front of the city [Antioch] your troops rode out to measure themselves in combat against us. They were defeated ... we took the city by storm bringing despair to all those you had chosen to garrison and defend it. Not one of them but has certain wealth, and now there is not one of us but owns one of them and his money. You would have seen your knights prostrate beneath the horses' hooves, your houses stormed by pillagers, and ransacked by looters, your wealth weighed by the quintal [100lb], your women sold four at a time and bought for a dinar of your own money.

Sultan Baibars I to Bohemond VI, 1268; Ibn Abd Az-Zahir (1233–93), MS Paris Archives 1707, f.105. This famous and gloating victory letter was dictated to Ibn Abd Az-Zahir, secretary and biographer to the Mamluk sultans, Baibars and Qalawun; and his manuscript of material about both survived. Baibars gave information the recipient had not yet heard from his own sources. It meant the capitulation of the crusader states after 200 years.

5 All must know that I am in the company of my lord Edward, the eldest son of the king of England, in order to go with him to the Holy Land with four knights besides myself. I will remain in his service for a whole year, beginning at the time of the next crossing to the East in September. And in return for undertaking this, he has given me 600 marks in money and transport to cover everything, that is to

say the rental of the ship and water for as many persons and horses as befit knights.

Service contract between Lord Edward (later Edward I) of England and Adam of Jesmond, 20 July 1270; H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles *The Governance of Medieval England* (1963) p.465. Edward's crusade was short lived. He was wounded by a spy he employed, who turned out to be a double agent.

1 If a Frankish king sets out from the West, to attack the lands of the sultan or of his son, the regent of the kingdom and the grand masters of Acre shall be obligated to inform the sultan of their action, two months before their arrival ... If an enemy comes from among the Mongols, or elsewhere, whichever of the two parties first learns of it must alert the other. If – may God forbid! – Such an enemy marches against Syria and the troops of the sultan withdraw before him, then the leaders of Acre shall have the right to enter into talks with this enemy with the aim of saving their subjects and territories.

Truce, 1283. The truce, between Baibar's successor Sultan Qalawun of Egypt (r.1280–90) and the Kingdom of Acre, was to last for 10 years, 10 months, 10 days and 10 hours.

2 Then on Friday 18 May 1291, before daybreak, there came the loud and terrible sound of the kettledrum ... the Saracens assaulted the city of Acre on every side. The place where they got in was through this damned tower which they had taken.

They came in countless numbers, all on foot; in front came men with great tall shields, after them men throwing Greek fire and then men who shot

bolts and feathered arrows so thickly that they seemed like rain falling from the sky.

When Henry of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem and Cyprus, witnessed this disaster, he went to the master of the Hospitallers; they saw clearly that no advice or help could do any good, so they fled and went aboard the galleys.

Anon. *Chronicle of the Templar of Tyre* in Philip of Novara *Les Gestes des Chiprois* (Acts of the Cypriots) (1887 edn); Hallam (1989; 1987 edn) pp.280–81. The anonymous Templar gives his eyewitness account of the death throes of the Crusader kingdoms, with the abandonment of Acre in May 1291.

3 With these conquests, all their lands of the coast were fully returned to the Muslims, a result undreamed of. Thus were the Franj, who had once nearly conquered Damascus, Egypt and many other lands, expelled from all of Syria and the coastal zones. God grant that they never set foot there again!

Abu al-Fida *Historical Compendium; Recueil des historiens des croisades orientaux* (1872–1906) Vol. I in Maalouf (1983; 1984 trans.) Ch.14. The chronicler's triumph and relief are prompted by the sultan, al-Ashraf Khalil, taking Acre. The *coup de grâce* after almost 200 years of Frankish intervention in the Orient.

THE LAST WORD

4 Crusades – superior piracy, that is all.

Friedrich Nietzsche *Nietzsche in Outline and Aphorism* (1911) 'Definitions'.