

XIX

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF JERUSALEM, 1174-1189

The history of the Latin orient following king Amalric's death is overshadowed by the disaster of 1187, the loss of Jerusalem. And yet, if this tragic conclusion may be for a moment forgotten, these same years brought continued prosperity to the three Latin colonies remaining in the Levant. Despite losses and the costly failures in Egypt, the combined resources of Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem were still formidable. Even in 1187 when Saladin controlled the Moslem world from the Nile to Mesopotamia, the crusaders sent out an army the equal of his. Those who maintain that Saladin's conquest was "inevitable" too often forget this. Indeed, to attribute the crusaders' failure in 1187 solely to Saladin's power is to oversimplify a complex problem. The defeat of that year stunned Europe. The problem of the "fall of Jerusalem" has fascinated historians ever since. The modern historian cannot be content merely to relate the story. He must attempt an explanation.

Most of the works cited in the bibliographical note to chapter XVII are pertinent to the period from 1174 to 1189. William of Tyre's *Historia* remains the principal Latin source up to the year 1183. He was appointed chancellor of the kingdom in 1174 and made archbishop of Tyre in the following year. Except for an absence of two years (1178-1180), he was always in a position to obtain first-hand information. The section of his work which deals with the period after 1174 was written after 1180. The so-called *Continuation of William of Tyre* or *L'Estoire de Eracles empereur*, carries the narrative forward. This is cited below as *Eracles* (referring to the edition in *RHC, Occ.*, II) or as *Ernoul* (referring to the edition by L. de Mas Latrie, *Cronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le trésorier*, Société de l'histoire de France, XXXV, Paris, 1871). There is also a Latin continuation edited by M. Salloch, *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus* (Greifswald, 1934), which was written by an unknown but well informed author. It is apparently independent of the Old French version.

Bahā'-ad-Dīn, *An-nawādir as-sulṭāniyyab* ... (extracts ed. and tr. as "Anecdotes et beaux traits de la vie du sultan Youssof," *RHC, Or.*, III, 1-370), is important for the career of Saladin. See also H. A. R. Gibb, "The Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin," *Speculum*, XXV (1950), 58-72; S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (New York, 1898; new ed. 1926); and especially chapter XVIII above.

For the internal politics of the kingdom of Jerusalem before 1187 and for the battle of Hattin, see M. W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripolis and the Fall of Jerusalem (1140-1187)* (Princeton, 1936), and S. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, vol. II, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1952). On the period after 1187 see F. Groh, *Der Zusammenbruch des Reiches Jerusalem* (Jena, 1909). For Reginald of Kerak, see G. Schlumberger, *Renaud de Cbâtillon* (Paris, 1898).

Contemporary chroniclers generally agree that the men of Jerusalem had brought disaster on themselves through their own mistakes. It is true that the short reigns of Baldwin IV and Baldwin V witnessed quarrels over the regency, dissension, wasted effort, and, above all, ill-conceived diplomacy and blundering strategy. But the contemporary historian, lacking the perspective of later years, was too much concerned with apportioning the blame. Since the kingdom of Jerusalem was split into two factions during its last years, partisan historians handed down to posterity two sets of villains and heroes. As a consequence, although the accounts of William of Tyre and his continuators have gradually for sound reasons found favor, modern interpretations have long echoed the ancient controversies. Hence an understanding of the opposing factions is essential.

In the kingdom of Jerusalem, as in the Latin east generally, baronial participation in government was exceptionally well developed. It is also a fact of capital importance that Amalric's capable administration was followed by the troubled reigns of Baldwin IV (1174-1185) and Baldwin V (1185-1186). Since each, for reasons of health or youth, was unable consistently to assume full executive responsibility, baronial rule — or, as it sometimes happened, misrule — triumphed over royal power. The normal functioning of administration was upset because the proper balance between the two organs of government, the king and the high court, was destroyed.

History records few more tragic careers than that of Baldwin IV, the "leper king". Only thirteen at the time of his father's death, afflicted with a terrible disease which sapped his strength and caused an untimely death, he nevertheless in the short years of his life displayed heroic fortitude and remarkable intelligence. He had been tutored by William of Tyre and during most of his reign owed much to that exceptional man's wisdom and experience. Baldwin possessed an admirable understanding of the needs of the monarchy of Jerusalem. Unfortunately, his health frequently forced him to relinquish the responsibilities of government to various regents, who were called *baillis* or procurators. The very choice of a *bailli*, whether by royal appointment or baronial selection, often raised opposition and ultimately contributed largely toward dividing the kingdom into two factions. Each faction endeavored to control policy. Each attempted to promote the interests of its adherents through influencing the helpless king or securing the *bailliage*.

There is no simple explanation for the development of these two parties. To a great extent their existence is attributable to the divergence in viewpoint between the well established so-called "native barons" and the "newcomers" from the west. Broadly speaking, the native barons, already in possession of their fiefs, were devoted to a prudent defensive military policy and anxious to preserve as far as was still possible the balance of power among Moslem and Christian states. The newcomers, on the other hand, were likely to be warlike adventurers, immigrants, anxious to win renown and fortune. But these labels are not entirely satisfactory. Associated with the newcomers, for example, were the Templars and the Hospitallers whose dedication to the military life perhaps accentuated the desire for aggressive action. Finally, purely personal loyalties and animosities often dictated adherence to one faction or the other. But whatever their origin, the existence of the two factions proved disastrous. In the last days of the kingdom, as the parties became more distinct and their mutual opposition more bitter, there developed a serious cleavage in the matter of diplomatic and military policy which prevented unified action and in 1187 directly caused military disaster. In a short time, therefore, the unified kingdom of Amalric became a realm divided. In the following pages attention will be centered on the affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem, for it was there that the events which determined the fate of all three states took place. Developments in Tripoli and Antioch will, therefore, be mentioned only as they bear on the common situation.

The early years of Baldwin IV's reign passed without any serious crisis. They were significant as illustrating, first, the administrative difficulties created by the young king's precarious health and, second, the beginnings of Saladin's efforts to control Moslem Syria. The first important regency after Amalric's death was that of count Raymond III of Tripoli, who took office late in the autumn of 1174.¹ Supported by the higher clergy and the principal native barons, Humphrey of Toron, the constable, Baldwin of Ramla (sometimes found as Rama) and his brother Balian of Ibelin, and Reginald of Sidon, Raymond held office until Baldwin IV came of age, presumably in the fall of 1176. Not only did Raymond possess the proper legal title to the *bailliage* as the king's closest male relative, but he was highly esteemed by

¹ The administration was temporarily carried on by Miles of Plancy, the seneschal. He lost support and shortly after Raymond's elevation was murdered. His wife, Stephanie of Kerak and Montréal, apparently regarded Raymond as the murderer.

the native barons, now evidently in the ascendant, as one of themselves. His ancestral inheritance, it is true, was the county of Tripoli, but through marriage to Eschiva, widow of Walter of Tiberias, he secured control over Tiberias, one of the important lordships of the kingdom. Except for a relatively unimportant expedition into northern Syria, Raymond's administration was uneventful. It is worth mentioning, however, that William, the historian, was appointed chancellor and archbishop of Tyre.

At best, *bailliage* was a temporary expedient. Since the king's condition precluded the possibility of direct succession, the hope of the dynasty rested with his elder sister, Sibyl. Hence, sometime during 1175 or early in 1176 it was decided by Baldwin IV and the high court that some provision for the future of the dynasty must be made. Accordingly, William Longsword, son of William of Montferrat, was invited to the Holy Land. On his arrival in October 1176, he was married to Sibyl with the county of Jaffa and Ascalon as dowry and given what apparently amounted to the procuratorship or regency. Unfortunately, William Longsword died in June 1177, a scant few months after his marriage. Moreover, the birth of a son, the future Baldwin V, shortly afterward foreshadowed another regency problem unless Sibyl should marry again. Even this last possibility was not without its dangers as subsequent events were to prove.

The hopes so abruptly dashed by Montferrat's death were raised again later in the same year (1177) by the arrival of count Philip of Flanders, a relative of king Baldwin, who was accompanied by a considerable retinue of knights. Here at least was the prospect of real assistance against Saladin, and so he was offered the regency. To the consternation and disappointment of all he declined with a display of modesty which, to judge from his subsequent behavior, was insincere. Eventually it was decided that Reginald of Châtillon, who on his release from captivity had married Stephanie of Kerak (Karak des Moabites) and Montréal (ash-Shaubak), should act as *bailli* with Philip's assistance.² Having thus embarrassed the high court in its attempt to provide for the administration, Philip proceeded in various other ways to make himself thoroughly a nuisance. Later in 1177, the king himself was again active and apparently continued to exercise power until

² Reginald of Kerak (originally, of Châtillon) had been released from captivity in 1176. He married Stephanie, widow of Humphrey of Toron and Miles of Plancy, and as lord of Kerak and Montréal was one of the kingdom's most important barons. For Reginald's career see Schlumberger, *Renaud de Châtillon*.

1183. At least there is no record until then of the appointment of any *bailli*.

During these same years (1174–1180), the diplomatic and military situation grew steadily worse. It will be recalled that the center of interest during Amalric's reign had been Egypt where the collapse of the Fāṭimid caliphate invited outside intervention. Amalric's failure permanently to profit by that opportunity had left the field to Saladin. As the preceding chapter has indicated, Saladin's success in supplanting the caliphate of Cairo had ended, at least in that area, the old Sunnite-Shī'ite feud which had been an important element in Christian security.³ So long as Nūr-ad-Dīn had lived, however, his jealousy and suspicion of the young conqueror of Egypt had prevented the political unity of Egypt and Syria. Nūr-ad-Dīn's death (May 1174), just two months before that of Amalric, therefore removed one obstacle to Syrian-Egyptian coöperation. Saladin was quick to take advantage of the situation. His capture of Damascus on October 28, 1174, with the resulting political union of Egypt and Syria, was his first step toward encircling the crusaders' states. The old Latin policy of balancing a friendly Damascus against its rivals in Egypt and northern Syria was now largely thwarted. What was worse, Saladin then proceeded from Damascus north against Aleppo, the key to northern Syria.

This objective, however, Saladin did not then attain, partly because of Aleppan resistance, partly because of the presence of a Frankish army under Raymond of Tripoli, then *bailli*. Yet his campaign was otherwise a great success. Before he returned to Egypt in September 1176, he had taken Homs and Hamah and defeated a contingent from Mosul. Somewhat later Baalbek was invested. Further, the caliph of Baghdad now recognized him as ruler of Egypt and Syria. Thus, the crusaders' policy of balancing dissident Moslem states against each other was gradually losing its efficacy in the face of Saladin's Syrian successes.

The Near Eastern equilibrium was also seriously upset by the Byzantine defeat at Myriokephalon in September 1176. It had been the emperor Manuel Comnenus's intention to break the Turkish hold in Asia Minor. Instead, his army was routed. The basileus accepted Kilij (or Kilich) Arslan's terms and retreated with the remnants of his troops. Myriokephalon has been compared with Manzikert a century earlier; and, indeed, for the Latin east the defeat was crucial. Militarily, Byzantium never recovered.

³ For further details regarding Saladin's career see above, chapter XVIII.

Rivalry over Antioch, it is true, was now ended, but the strong Byzantine power in Asia Minor, so long a deterrent against Moslem expansion, was also removed.

In the following year (1177), at the time of Philip of Flanders' visit to the Holy Land, a splendid opportunity for separating Egypt from Syria was lost. Emperor Manuel, whose fleet was still formidable, offered to fulfil arrangements made previously with Amalric to renew the project of a joint Latin-Byzantine expedition against Egypt. Unfortunately for the Christian cause, Philip, after offering all sorts of excuses and causing interminable delays, flatly refused to participate, and the project was abandoned. Since Manuel died in 1180 and since, after the death of young Alexius II (1180-1183), the empire was ruled by the violent Andronicus Comnenus (1183-1185) and the incompetent Isaac Angelus (1185-1195), both unfriendly to the crusaders, this was in fact the last opportunity to renew the Byzantine alliance. A remarkable victory of the royal army under king Baldwin IV at Mont Gisard temporarily restored Latin morale. Saladin was badly worsted (November 25, 1177). But the crusaders were not able permanently to follow up their victory; and Saladin, who had lost a battle, had by no means exhausted his resources as the succeeding months were to show. Therefore, despite the victory of Mont Gisard, the Christians were far from secure.

The campaigns of these years have been described in the preceding chapter.⁴ But it may be well to recall here that they cost the Latins heavily. The eminent constable, Humphrey of Toron, was mortally wounded, and many distinguished knights, including Odo of St. Amand, master of the Temple, Hugh of Tiberias, Raymond of Tripoli's stepson, and Baldwin of Ramla, were captured. Saladin also captured and destroyed a newly built castle at Jacob's Ford in August 1179. Further, he had, with a reorganized Egyptian fleet, menaced the Frankish coastal possessions. Ruad, an island off Tortosa in the county of Tripoli, was seized, and in May 1180 king Baldwin proposed a truce which, because of the threat of a famine in the Damascus region, Saladin was willing to accept. Somewhat later in the summer, after sea and land raids, Saladin also concluded a truce with count Raymond of Tripoli and returned once again to Egypt where he remained until 1182. The breathing spell was welcome, but it only postponed the issue. Indeed, it is important to remember that Frankish security still depended on Moslem disunion. So long as the Aleppans and

⁴ Cf. above, chapter XVIII, pp. 567-572.

Mosulites continued to resist his northward advance, Saladin could not press his advantage or follow up fully his minor victories. How energetically and successfully he strove to eliminate these obstacles, the preceding chapter has related.⁵

During these critical years the Christians never ceased trying to secure assistance from outside. The eastern bishops, among whom was William of Tyre, who attended the Third Lateran Council of 1179 were commissioned to broadcast word of the danger facing Jerusalem. But although the council attempted to discourage trade with the Moslems, especially in war materials, no real aid was organized. Therefore, although a few new crusaders arrived from the west in 1179, no substantial betterment in the crusaders' position can be noted.

It is evident from what has already been described of the first six years of Baldwin IV's reign that the instability of the executive power had seriously handicapped policy. So long as it was uncertain whether the young king's health would permit him personally to govern or would force him to shift the burden of responsibility to another, there was bound to be a certain feeling of tension within the high court. During the years 1180-1182, when the foreign danger was temporarily removed, this tension increased markedly. In fact those years brought the first open division into two hostile factions of barons. While not all the circumstances attending these fatal quarrels can be determined, the main outlines are clear.

The occasion for the first outburst seems to have been the marriage of Sibyl to Guy of Lusignan in the spring of 1180.⁶ Guy of Lusignan, a young Poitevin noble with an indifferent record, had recently arrived in the Holy Land. With the help of some advance publicity on the part of his brother Aimery, a favorite of Agnes of Courtenay, Sibyl's mother, he had won the young lady's favor. In fact, this fickle widow, who seems already to have tenta-

⁵ Cf. above, chapter XVIII, pp. 572-580.

⁶ William of Tyre who is the principal authority for these developments left the Holy Land for Europe in September 1178, attended the Lateran Council of 1179, and made an extended visit to Constantinople. He did not return to the east until May 1180 and did not reach Jerusalem until July 1180 (Röhricht, *Königreich*, pp. 381, 390). As a consequence, his narrative at this point (XXII, 1, pp. 1062-1063), lacks details which can be tentatively supplied from the first part of the chronicle of Ernoul. The first part of this version of the *Continuation of William of Tyre* does not appear in most MSS. Unlike those versions which follow William verbatim until 1183-1184, it is a brief summary of the events of the period up to about 1180. From that point it is independent and contains information not found in William of Tyre. In particular it gives here the details concerning Aimery of Lusignan, Agnes, and Baldwin of Ramla. The author, a servant of the Ibelins, was presumably well informed. Cf. A. C. Krey, "The Making of an Historian in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XVI (1941), p. 160, note 1. For further details see Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripolis*, pp. 31ff.

tively offered her hand to Baldwin of Ramla, was completely captivated by the handsome Poitevin. Apparently Agnes and Baldwin IV were also persuaded by the Lusignans to agree to the match. Guy's suit for Sibyl's hand, carrying with it the presumption of regency, possibly even of succession to the throne, was apparently not favored by most of the barons. It was particularly abhorrent to Raymond of Tripoli who, presumably on hearing of the projected match, entered the kingdom in force along with his friend, Bohemond III of Antioch. Thereupon the king took alarm at their appearance and ordered the marriage performed at once even though it was still Lent (March 5–April 30, 1180). Raymond and Bohemond then left the kingdom, the former remaining away for two years.⁷ In this affair, as in its sequel two years later, there is ample evidence of personal intrigue on the part of the Lusignans and Agnes, which was directed toward the stakes of power as well as of love. Agnes seems to have been an especially sinister influence. Indeed, her accomplishments as an intriguer were considerable.

Agnes had been married four times. Two husbands had died; and two of her marriages had been annulled. Exercising a powerful influence over her son, Baldwin IV, especially during his periods of illness, she promoted the cause of her relatives and favorites. Among the former were Sibyl, her daughter, and Joscelin III, her brother. To compensate for the loss of his Edessan inheritance, the latter had built up a considerable fief in the neighborhood of Acre and was seneschal of the kingdom (1176–1190). As was mentioned above, Aimery of Lusignan, and now presumably his brother Guy also, were numbered among her favorites. In addition, Heraclius, a handsome though incompetent and immoral cleric, apparently owed to her his appointment as archdeacon of Jerusalem and then archbishop of Caesarea. Late in 1180, when Amalric of Nesle died and Baldwin IV had to choose between William of Tyre and Heraclius for the patriarchate, Agnes influenced her son to pick the utterly worthless Heraclius. William of Tyre's defeat undoubtedly strengthened his already existing antipathy toward this "odious and grasping woman" and all her associates.⁸

⁷ Bohemond III caused considerable trouble at this time. On the death of Manuel in 1180, he repudiated his Greek wife and married a lady of dubious reputation named Sibyl. The opposition of the patriarch and barons of the principality nearly caused a civil war which was averted only by a deputation from Jerusalem. Between 1182 and 1185 Bohemond was also involved with Reuben (Roupen) of Armenia, Isaac Comnenus, a rebellious governor of Cilicia, and the Templars. Temporary gains made by Bohemond in Cilicia were ultimately lost. For further details see Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 429–430.

⁸ William of Tyre, XXII, 9. See also Krey, *William of Tyre*, I, 22. The building of

The baneful influence of Agnes is again evident in 1182. In the spring of that year, Raymond of Tripoli set out for his barony of Tiberias after an absence of almost two years. Before he had crossed the frontier of his county he was ordered by the king not to enter the kingdom. In this instance, William of Tyre clearly explains how certain people, jealous of the count, were able to persuade the king of Raymond's intent to seize the throne. Among them were Agnes, Joscelin, and a few others. Evidently the associates of Agnes and Joscelin enjoyed in 1182 an ascendancy over Baldwin IV which they probably had established earlier. At this point, however, their designs were frustrated by a group of the "most experienced" among the barons who finally prevailed upon the king to reconsider. Thus peace was made, and although William of Tyre mentions no names, it seems clear that among the supporters of Raymond were those native barons, Baldwin of Ramla, Balian of Ibelin, Reginald of Sidon, and others, who had helped him secure the procuratorship in 1174.

Therefore, by 1182 two mutually antagonistic parties had appeared within the kingdom of Jerusalem. One, which might well be called the "court party," was composed of the relatives and favorites of Agnes and the Lusignans. Bound together by blood relationship, marriage, and the pursuit of power, they sought to establish their ascendancy over the helpless Baldwin IV. The other party consisted of the native barons who increasingly looked to Raymond of Tripoli for leadership. Each group attempted to control policy, either through the high court, presumably the normal constitutional procedure, or, as the court party seems to have done, by gaining power over the king and acting quickly. The latter method worked in 1180; and the remaining barons were faced with a *fait accompli*. It failed in 1182 as the native barons reorganized their ranks.

The year 1183 is important in the annals of Jerusalem for two reasons. First, Saladin was able by the conquest of Aleppo to complete the encirclement of the crusaders' states along the coast. Second, an additional crisis in the internal affairs of Jerusalem weakened the resistance of the kingdom. These two developments are so closely related as to warrant a somewhat detailed chronological treatment.

As the preceding chapter has described, Reginald of Kerak broke the truce in the summer of 1181 by attacking a caravan Joscelin's fief is described by J. L. La Monte, "The Rise and Decline of a Frankish Seignury in Syria in the Time of the Crusades," *Revue du Sud-Est Européen*, 1938, nos. 10-12. On Agnes, see Rey-Ducange, *Les Familles d'outre-mer*, pp. 300-301.

bound for Mecca; and Saladin left Egypt for the north in May 1182.⁹ Pushing through Syria and Mesopotamia, he was able to capture Sinjar and Amida (Diyarbakir). As he turned south again, Aleppo and Hārim fell to his arms in June 1183. With Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo in his possession, the encirclement was complete. Mosul still resisted, but Iconium (Konya) was friendly and, as we have seen, the fear of a diversion from Byzantium had been removed by Manuel's death.

This triumphal campaign had been carried forward without serious hindrance on the part of the Latins. That they understood the gravity of the situation is clear, for in February 1183 an extraordinary tax for defense was decided upon in Jerusalem. Meanwhile an exceptionally large concentration of troops assembled at Şaffūriyah, a village near Tiberias. In this vulnerable area on the border an attack by Saladin was expected. While the army remained in readiness at Şaffūriyah, king Baldwin's illness took a sharp turn for the worse. He summoned all the barons and, in the presence of his mother and the patriarch, made Guy of Lusignan *bailli*. For himself he reserved only the royal dignity, the city of Jerusalem, and an annual revenue of one thousand gold pieces. Guy was further required to promise neither to seek the crown while the king lived nor to alienate any of the king's castles or cities of the public domain.

Although the barons were then commanded to swear fealty to Guy, many made no attempt to conceal their resentment. William of Tyre, as might be expected, echoes the view that Guy was utterly unfit for the task thrust upon him. Moreover, his explicit mention of the presence of Agnes and Heraclius, together with his intimation that Guy had obligated himself to a number of knights by unwise promises, lends support to the conclusion that the court party, or at least its principal members, had regained their ascendancy over the king. At any rate, the renewal of dissension came at a most inopportune time.

Toward the end of September Saladin, who had left Aleppo and returned to Damascus, crossed the Jordan and plundered Baisan. The main body of his army then encamped at 'Ain Jālūt, leaving bands of skirmishers to reconnoiter elsewhere. The Christian army, numbering according to William of Tyre thirteen hundred knights and fifteen thousand foot, probably the largest ever assembled up to that time, moved from Şaffūriyah to al-Fūlah closer to Saladin.

⁹ Chapter XVIII, pp. 576, 581. It was in August 1182 that a combined land and sea operation against Beirut was thwarted by the appearance of Baldwin's relief army.

No attack was made, however, and after a week of unimportant maneuvers, Saladin, finding it impossible to obtain adequate provisions, withdrew. He regained Damascus on October 13. Two great armies had faced each other and had not risked a decisive engagement.

There are two possible explanations of the campaign of 1183. One, which has been developed at some length, approves the crusaders' strategy and further insists that they did precisely what they should have done four years later at Hattin. The campaign was, in this view, a success. The limited Christian forces had not been depleted; yet Saladin had been forced to withdraw. No such interpretation was accepted by the contemporary historian, William of Tyre. Although he cautiously disclaims more than hearsay information and admits that a difficult military situation existed, he strongly intimates that personal quarrels immobilized this great Christian army. A number of barons, he suggests, were unwilling to have Guy, whose *bailliage* they opposed, receive the credit for a victory. Hence a glorious opportunity was wasted.¹⁰

Probably there is truth in both explanations. The waiting strategy had succeeded in frustrating a possible attack. Moreover, it must be remembered that Saladin's control over the disparate elements of the Moslem Levant was recently won and depended on constant vigilance and continued success. Armies could not be kept in the field indefinitely. Soldiers were also farmers and merchants and had to return to their fields and shops. On the other hand, it is possible that Saladin could better afford to be patient than the crusaders. Certainly his strength remained undiminished during the subsequent critical years.

At any rate, there is no denying the poisonous nature of the dissension in Jerusalem. Shortly after the campaign of 1183, the king came to the conclusion that Guy's incapacity had been amply demonstrated. In November he removed Guy from the procuratorship, specifically denied his rights of succession to the throne and, in the presence of the clergy and the barons, had his five-year-old nephew crowned and anointed. Among those present were Bohemond of Antioch, Raymond of Tripoli, Reginald of Sidon, Baldwin of Ramla, and Balian of Ibelin. Balian held the child, the future Baldwin V, on his shoulder.

There followed in the next few weeks an unedifying quarrel between Baldwin IV and Guy, the details of which need not con-

¹⁰ William of Tyre, XXII, 27, and cf. Grousset, *Croisades*, II, 723 ff.

cern us here. The latter, understandably enough, was not prepared to submit quietly. Nor was he without friends; for the patriarch and the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers pleaded before the high court in his behalf. Neither the king nor his barons were moved, however. Finally in December 1183 or early in 1184 the king strengthened his nephew's position and concluded his action against Guy by bestowing the *bailliage* on Raymond of Tripoli. The move seems to have been popular. Certainly the count's elevation to the regency a second time marked a personal triumph for himself. Further, it seems a clear indication that the native barons, of whom he was the most prominent, had recovered their influence in the kingdom. To provide against all possible contingencies and especially to forestall the expected resistance of the court party, elaborate arrangements were made concerning the *bailliage* and the guardianship of the boy-king.

The *bailliage* was to last until the majority of Baldwin V, that is, ten years. To defray expenses Raymond was given Beirut and its revenues. All other castles were to be kept by the military orders. The guardianship of the boy-king was entrusted to Joscelin, the next nearest male relative, lest Raymond be held responsible in the event of the boy's death. If Baldwin V died before the ten years had elapsed, a committee consisting of the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and England, was to choose between Sibyl and Isabel, the two daughters of king Amalric by different marriages. Until the choice was made Raymond was to continue as procurator. All were required to give their oath to him and to the boy-king.

The barons' hesitation to admit Sibyl's rights without the action of the committee is understandable. They feared her husband, not herself, and presumably hoped to invalidate her claims (and Guy's) with the help of outside arbitration. Isabel had married Humphrey, the son of Stephanie of Kerak and Montréal, and therefore now the stepson of Reginald. No doubt the barons hoped he would prove more amenable to their wishes than Guy, although in this they were to be disappointed. In the main the provisions adequately guaranteed an orderly solution of all foreseeable contingencies as far as law was concerned. As will be seen, they failed because a conspiracy successfully defied the law.

We have seen that after 1180 the existence of two parties contesting the control of the kingdom of Jerusalem was increasingly evident. The events of 1183-1184 so aggravated the dissension between these two groups as to make their composition more clear.

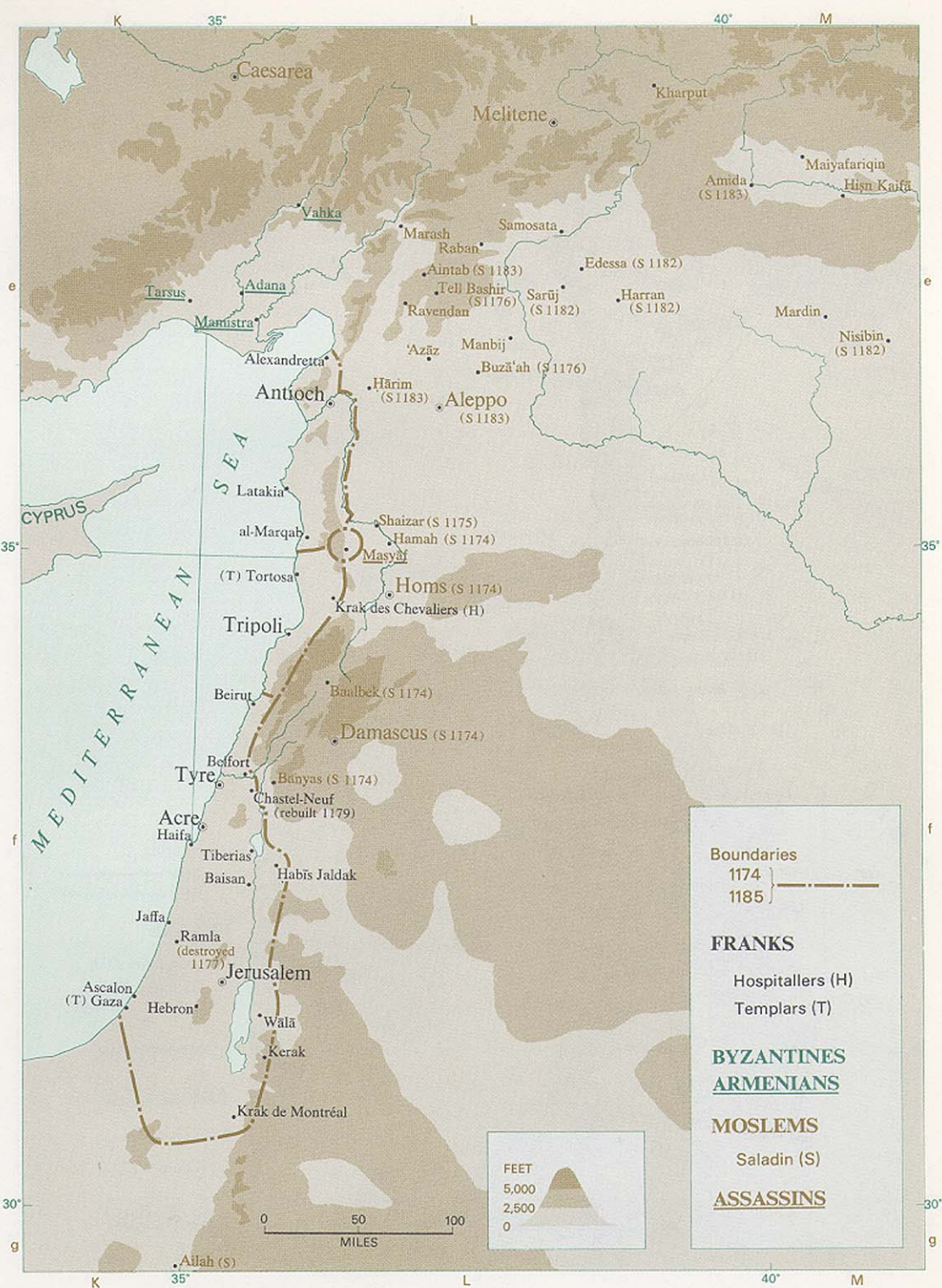
On the one hand were the native barons, including such men as Baldwin of Ramla, Balian of Ibelin, and Reginald of Sidon. Their acknowledged leader in 1175 and more prominently after 1183 was Raymond of Tripoli. A man of proved capacity, an excellent strategist, he had even won the respect of his Moslem enemies. These native barons were united in opposition to Guy and his associates for personal reasons and on grounds of public policy. To them, the blooded nobility of the land secure in their ancient fiefs, Guy was an upstart and adventurer whose rise to power aroused a natural jealousy and a fear that continued success might eventually jeopardize their own vested interests. In addition there is reason to believe that these men favored a purely defensive military policy. Certainly this was true of Raymond of Tripoli in 1187. At any rate they were opposed to rash adventures which the "newcomers" with everything to gain and nothing to lose might advocate.

It is also evident that the principal historian of these events, William of Tyre, must be counted among the adherents of Raymond of Tripoli. Like the Ibelins he was a native of the Levant and shared their suspicions of Guy and his fellows. Thus his excellent account, though faithful to the facts as he learned them, is colored by his personal attitude. Unfortunately his service as chancellor and his support of Raymond's cause came to an end with his death, perhaps early in 1185. His history closes with the events we have just described.¹¹

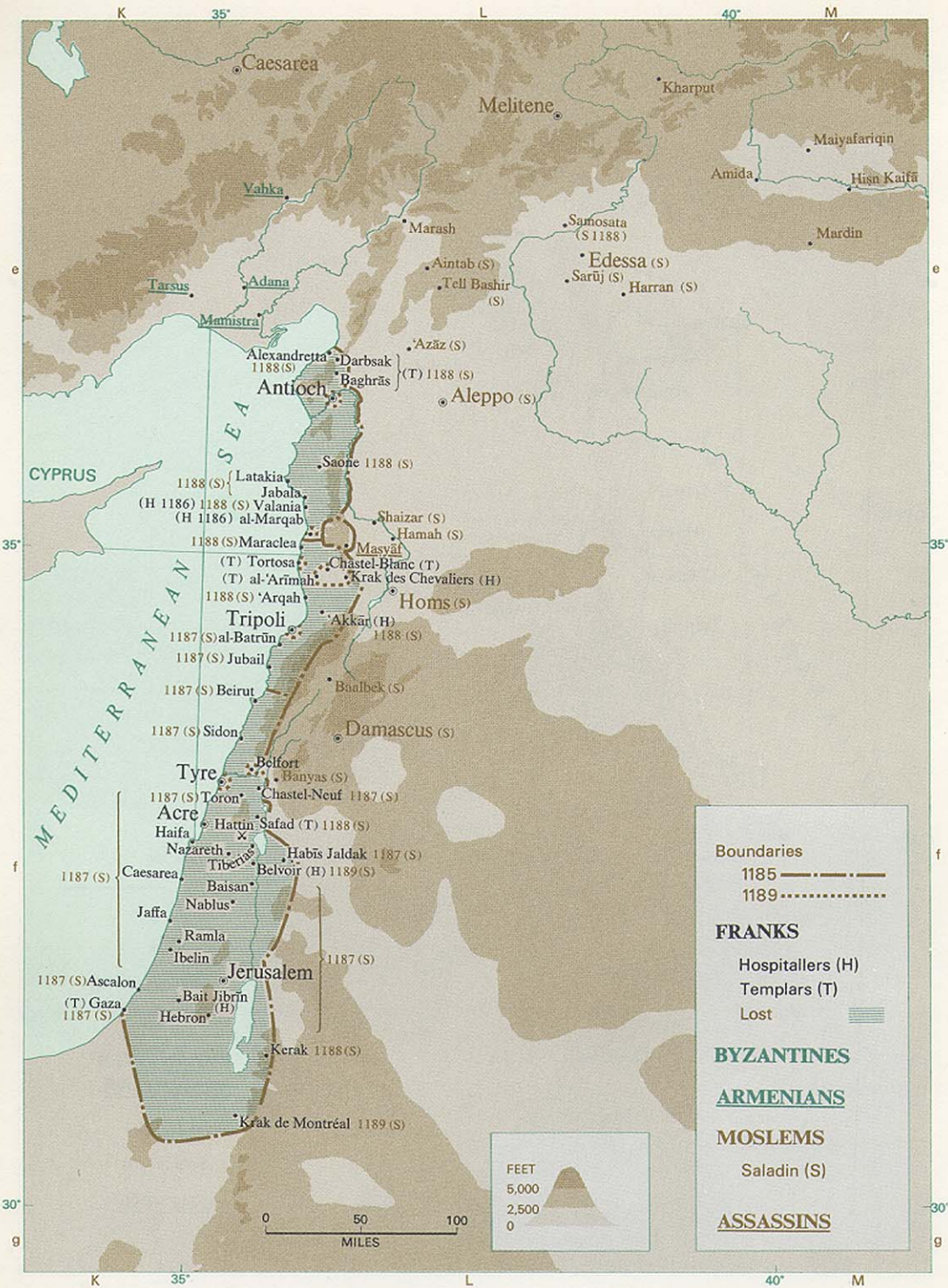
The court party which continued to support Guy of Lusignan was grouped around Sibyl, Agnes, Joscelin of Edessa, Aimery of Lusignan, and Heraclius. The masters of the two military orders, Arnold of Toroge and Roger of Les Moulins, it will be recalled, had also pleaded on Guy's behalf in 1183. Perhaps they were among those to whom Guy had made rash promises. Possibly, as was frequently the case with the Templars and Hospitallers, they opposed the conservative military policy of the native barons. Together with the patriarch they toured Europe in 1184 seeking aid for the Holy Land. Arnold died on the journey and was succeeded as master of the Templars in 1186 by Gerard of Ridefort.

Gerard was already a personal enemy of Raymond of Tripoli. Some years previously, when Gerard had first arrived in the east, he obtained from Raymond a promise of the first good marriage in his county. Somewhat later the lord of al-Batrūn died leaving only

¹¹ Cf. Krey, *William of Tyre*, I, 24ff. The details of the *bailliage* arrangements are found in the *Continuation* (Ernoul, pp. 115-19; *Eracles*, pp. 4-10). For a discussion of the conflicting testimony as to dates and other matters, see Baldwin, *Raymond III*, pp. 57-59, and La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, pp. 31-33, 51-54.



13. The Latin States during the Reign of Baldwin IV, 1174-1185 (Map by the University of Wisconsin Cartographic Laboratory)



14. The Conquest by Saladin, 1185–1189 (Map by the University of Wisconsin Cartographic Laboratory)

a daughter. Raymond allowed himself to be dissuaded from fulfilling his promise to Gerard by a handsome financial offer from Plebanus, a wealthy Pisan. As a consequence Plebanus got the fief, and Gerard remained thereafter an irreconcilable adversary of Raymond. Therefore, although up to this point Gerard had not been prominent in the affairs of the kingdom, he must be numbered among the confederates of Guy.

Another baron soon to be found among Guy's followers was Reginald of Châtillon, ruler of Kerak. An uncontrollably adventurous knight, Reginald had already had a remarkable career both in Antioch, where through his marriage to Constance he was for a time prince, and in the kingdom. His marriage to Stephanie, heiress of Kerak and Montréal, gave him control over that important southern barony and provided him with a constant temptation to attack the caravans passing between Egypt and Syria. On more than one occasion he broke the truce with the Saracens, and in 1182-1183 he audaciously, though unsuccessfully, launched a fleet on the Red Sea to pillage the coast.¹² Hardly to be classified as a newcomer, since he had been in the east for more than a quarter of a century and possessed a handsome fief, he was none the less a restless spirit who found the company of men like Guy and Gerard more congenial than that of the conservative native barons.

Guy's character, like that of all controversial figures, is difficult to estimate. That he was not without soldierly and statesmanlike qualities his later career in Cyprus seems to indicate. But, being largely responsible for the loss of the kingdom in 1187, he became the target of bitter criticism in a whole class of contemporary chronicles. Yet, even if the partisan character of much of this criticism be admitted, it seems abundantly clear that in 1186-1187 Guy was the one led, not the leader. He did not further any consistent policy. Rather he was the rallying point for a collection of ambitious, jealous, or discontented individuals. The events of those fateful years point to the conclusion that, with the exception of Sibyl, men and women followed Guy either for reasons of personal advantage or because they opposed the other party. In himself he was not important.

Far more important than the motives of individuals was the fact of schism. At the most critical moment in its history, Jerusalem was a state divided, indeed, a kingdom verging on civil war.

¹² Cf. above, chapter XVIII, p. 582.

The arrangements made for the administration of the kingdom by Raymond of Tripoli and the provisions for the future of the dynasty brought temporary internal peace. Except for one or two minor engagements the military situation remained approximately the same. The patriarch and the master of the Hospital returned from Europe with a sum of money, contributed by the king of England, which was to be placed in the care of the military orders. But they brought no substantial promise of armed assistance. A passive defensive strategy was, therefore, still the only hope particularly as Saladin, despite his tremendous successes, continued to meet resistance in Mesopotamia. In fact it was the coincidence of renewed difficulties in that region with a severe drought in Jerusalem that led to the arrangement, probably early in 1185, of a four-year truce between Saladin and the kingdom.

Meanwhile Raymond's administration proceeded smoothly even after the death of the afflicted Baldwin IV in March 1185. A severer test came with the death of the young Baldwin V in the late summer of 1186, for this event provided the opportunity evidently awaited by the court party. In spite of their oath to follow the procedure laid down in 1183-1184, the associates of Guy conspired to overthrow Raymond's regency by methods which amounted to a palace revolution. The conspiracy was launched by count Joscelin immediately following the death of Baldwin V at Acre. First, Raymond of Tripoli and the barons were somehow persuaded to avoid Jerusalem, and permit the Templars to bury the late boy-king. Therefore, while the count of Tripoli went to Tiberias, Joscelin was able to secure Acre, and then to seize Beirut, the city supposedly held by Raymond. Having thus strengthened his own position, he sent word to Sibyl to go to Jerusalem, where she was joined by the patriarch, the masters of the two military orders, and William III of Montferrat, Baldwin V's grandfather, who had just arrived in the east.¹³

When Raymond discovered how he had been betrayed, he summoned all the barons to Nablus. Actually those who assembled there with him were the native barons. Joscelin remained at Acre. Reginald of Kerak absented himself and was soon persuaded to join those in Jerusalem. Thus the division followed party lines, and the court party was strongly entrenched in the capital. It was obviously the intention of the conspirators in Jerusalem to defy the regency of Raymond and to proceed with the coronation of

¹³ William III of Montferrat was the father of William Longsword who married Sibyl in 1176 and of Conrad who arrived at Tyre in 1187.

Sibyl and Guy before the complicated machinery of arbitration by the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and England could be set in motion. Only Roger of Les Moulins, master of the Hospital, demurred. For several hours he refused to surrender his key to the treasury — he and the master of the Temple each had one — where the crowns were kept. Finally, he thrust the key from him, thus disclaiming responsibility for an action which he was powerless to prevent. Gerard and Reginald then took two crowns from the treasury. First, the patriarch crowned Sibyl. Afterwards, Sibyl herself crowned her husband, assisted according to the chronicler by Gerard, who uttered the famous words: "This crown is well worth the marriage of Botron." The coronation took place late in the summer of 1186.

Betrayed, out-manuevered, now faced with a *fait accompli*, Raymond and the barons with him at Nablus were at their wits' end. Baldwin of Ramla, who not only shared his associates' estimate of Guy, but, it will be remembered, had once himself aspired to Sibyl's hand, threatened to leave the country. Raymond suggested that they crown Isabel and Humphrey, the alternate pair mentioned in 1183-1184, and force their way into Jerusalem. The plan was accepted. Unfortunately for the kingdom, Humphrey fled that same night to Jerusalem and made his peace with Sibyl and Guy. Since no other course remained, the barons with Raymond's consent went to Jerusalem to accept what they had failed to prevent. Probably it was the wisest course, in view of the military crisis facing the kingdom. Only Raymond and Baldwin of Ramla held aloof. The former went to his barony of Tiberias to await developments.¹⁴ Baldwin finally appeared before Guy, after the king had threatened to disinherit his son. Even then he refused to kiss the king's hand. Afterwards he left the kingdom.

Since Raymond remained in Tiberias, and since, as every one knew, his services in the coming trial of strength with Saladin were indispensable, Guy turned to Gerard for advice. The master of the Temple, still harboring thoughts of revenge, urged the king to assemble troops and force the count's surrender. Raymond refused to be intimidated. Instead, he took a step which loosed a train of fateful consequences. He sent messengers to Saladin, with whom he presumably had been in communication as *bailli*, and requested assistance against Guy's threatened attack. Saladin replied by sending him a number of troops and a promise of more. Obviously he hoped to profit by civil war in Jerusalem.

¹⁴ In the opinion of Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 449, note 2, Raymond wanted the throne.

Certain things must be remembered in estimating the significance of the count's action. First, the truce was still in force. Raymond, therefore, clearly intended no formal alliance with Islam against his fellow Christians. He was acting in self-defense, and doing what many far more truculent Christian knights had done before with less justification in Spain and in the Levant. Viewed by itself, soliciting Saladin's help was neither an act of treason nor particularly unusual. Raymond's decision to resist, however justifiable under normal conditions, aggravated the crisis already facing the kingdom and led to developments which he could hardly have foreseen.¹⁵ At first the count's action seemed to produce the result desired. On the advice of Balian of Ibelin and some other barons, the king agreed to disband his troops and sent an embassy to Tiberias. But, having won this initial success, Raymond declined to submit until the city of Beirut was returned. For the moment the king opposed any further concessions, and, therefore, the mission returned without having achieved its objective. Thus matters rested until after Easter 1187.

At this point a new crisis was precipitated by the impulsive Reginald of Kerak. Probably early in 1187, although the exact date is uncertain, Reginald attacked a caravan passing between Cairo and Damascus. Not only did he carry off considerable booty, but he broke the truce between the kingdom and Saladin. This was a serious matter, as even Reginald's friends realized. Indeed, Guy tried to force the lord of Kerak to make restitution. When Reginald flatly refused on the interesting grounds that he was absolute sovereign in his lands and had no truce with Saladin, the latter swore to kill him with his own hands if he should capture him, and proclaimed the holy war (*jihād*) against Jerusalem. The final reckoning was at hand.

The expectation of renewed hostilities made a reconciliation with Raymond of Tripoli more necessary than ever. Moreover, the count was now in an equivocal position. With the truce broken, Saladin was no longer merely a friend helping him out of difficulties. Notwithstanding, he remained reluctant to come to terms with Guy until properly compensated. From this time on, his actions are less easily justified. Shortly after Easter (March 29,

¹⁵ The various charges against Raymond and the conflicting testimony of the sources are discussed in Baldwin, *Raymond III*, p. 84, note 35, and Appendix C. To the sources cited there should be added *Die Lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus*, ed. M. Salloch, which reports a number of accusations against Raymond as contemporary hostile rumors. See especially pp. 13 ff., 66-67, 70. Cf. also Groh, *Der Zusammenbruch des Reiches Jerusalem*, pp. 70-73, and above, chapter XVIII, p. 585.

1187) the king, on the advice of his barons, sent another mission to Tiberias. Gerard, Roger of Les Moulins, Joscius, archbishop of Tyre, Balian of Ibelin, Reginald of Sidon, and others set out, stopping at Nablus and the Templar castle of al-Fūlah, which they reached on April 30. Balian, however, remained an extra day at Nablus; and Reginald of Sidon took another route altogether. But before they had left the castle of al-Fūlah an extraordinary thing happened.

One of Saladin's sons, who was then in camp across the Jordan near Jacob's Ford, was ordered by his father to raid Christian territory in retaliation for Reginald's attack on the caravan. Since he would have to pass through Raymond's lordship of Tiberias, he asked the count's permission to traverse his territory. Raymond, sorely embarrassed by this strange request, but still unwilling to risk losing Saladin's help against his rivals, granted the permission on certain conditions. The Moslem leader must enter the kingdom after sunrise and leave before sunset. Meanwhile, in order to warn his fellow Christians of what he had done, he sent word to Nazareth and all the surrounding country and to the embassy at al-Fūlah. On April 30 he closed Tiberias.

Some historians have doubted the authenticity of this admittedly romantic tale.¹⁶ Yet there is good reason to accept its essential features. Certainly a raid took place with the count's permission and without any effort on his part to prevent it. Further, although he may have expected his warning to have been better heeded than was the case, he must in a large part be held responsible for what subsequently happened.

On May 1 the raid took place. The Templars and the others at al-Fūlah, probably at the instigation of Gerard and certainly contrary to the intention of Raymond, decided to resist. The result was a battle at "the spring of Cresson" near Nazareth, in which the hastily assembled Christian troops were badly defeated by a superior Saracen force. Gerard and one or two of his knights escaped, but some sixty Templars were killed, and forty men from Nazareth were captured. The kingdom could ill afford the loss in manpower and morale, and the animosity between Raymond and Gerard was further aggravated. Gerard, in fact, did not continue

¹⁶ Stevenson, *Crusaders*, p. 242, note 2, questions the story. Röhrich, *Königreich*, pp. 423-424; Grousset, *Croisades*, II, 782-783; Baldwin, *Raymond III*, pp. 88-90; and Runciman, *Crusades*, II, p. 452, accept it. It is given in the *Continuation (Eracles)*, pp. 37-38; Ernoul, pp. 144-145). The Moslem authorities do not contradict the story and in certain matters substantiate it. H. A. R. Gibb, above, chapter XVIII, p. 585, calls it a "demonstration raid", and locates the battle at Şaffūriyah.

with the mission to Tiberias. Balian of Ibelin, who escaped the disaster at Nazareth because he had spent the previous night at Nablus instead of al-Fūlah, and Reginald of Sidon, who had taken a different route, joined the archbishop of Tyre in the remainder of the journey to Tiberias.

Shocked by the news of the disaster, Raymond was now willing to become reconciled to Guy and to do what he could to save the kingdom. Accordingly he dismissed the Saracens Saladin had sent him, and accompanied the envoys to one of the Hospitallers' castles where Guy awaited them. Together they all went to Jerusalem where Raymond did homage to Guy and Sibyl. Thus, at long last, the quarrel between Guy and Raymond was ended after bringing great misfortune to the kingdom. Unfortunately, ill-feeling between the two parties still smoldered under the surface of apparent harmony. Gerard and Reginald, for example, still hated the count of Tripoli, still suspected him of treason, and in the weeks to come refused the advice and counsel he was so eminently able to give. Since these men had the ear of the king, the continuance of this animosity was serious. Truly spoken were the words of the chronicler: "... Ceste haine et cest despit firent perdre le roiaume de Jerusalem."¹⁷

The situation facing the kingdom of Jerusalem in the early summer of 1187 was the most serious in its history. While internal dissension brought the country to the verge of suicidal civil war, Saladin had taken the last steps in preparation for his great offensive. In March 1186 a treaty with Mosul which permitted 'Izzad-Dīn to retain control of the Mesopotamian region in return for an acknowledgment of Saladin's suzerainty removed the last obstacle to his power in the Moslem world. In addition, Saladin directed the emir of Aleppo to arrange a truce with Antioch in order that he might be free to give assistance. As we have seen, the jihad was proclaimed early in 1187, after Reginald's attack on the caravan. About twenty thousand troops, some lightly, others heavily armed, with the usual predominance of mounted archers customary in Moslem armies, assembled at Tall al-'Ash-tarā in the third week of June. On Saturday the twenty-sixth the army crossed the Jordan south of Lake Tiberias and encamped near the river bank.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Eracles*, p. 63.

¹⁸ On the literature of the battle of Hattin, see Baldwin, *Raymond III*, Appendix B, and Runciman, *Crusades*, II, Appendix II. A detailed description of the battle is given in Baldwin, *op. cit.*, chapter VI. J. Richard has discovered a new source in a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Reg. lat. 598) which he has published, with significant comments regarding certain

Meanwhile the troops of Jerusalem were gathering in force at Şaffürīyah, the rendezvous previously agreed upon. The *arrière-ban* was published. This was an emergency summons, beyond the regular feudal levy, to all able-bodied men. The patriarch, although he did not go himself, sent the relic of the True Cross. Knights and foot-soldiers were hired with the money sent by the king of England. A few additional troops arrived from Tripoli and Antioch. Obviously neither northern state could afford to denude itself of defenders. Both, therefore, remained technically neutral while sending such assistance as they could in a moment of common danger. The size of the Latin army is difficult to determine accurately, but it probably numbered about twenty thousand. Roughly speaking it equalled the Moslem force. It was composed of some twelve hundred heavily armed knights, three or four thousand lightly armed mounted sergeants, several thousand foot-soldiers, and a large number of native auxiliaries equipped as mounted bowmen. Capable, therefore, of meeting Saladin on equal terms, this great Christian army gathered at Şaffürīyah and awaited the sultan's next move.

It has often been assumed that Saladin's progressive unification of a large and important section of the Moslem world rendered an ultimate victory over the Christian states inevitable. It is true that his brilliant chain of successes in Egypt and Syria seemed to point inexorably to that greatest success, the recovery of the coast lands. Nevertheless, Saladin's position in 1187, far from making his victory inevitable, still left the crusaders two possible courses of action. First, they could delay, as they had done in 1183, avoiding an open battle in the hope that Saladin would not be able to maintain his army intact for long. The intense summer heat in the arid Galilæan hill country would be an added factor in their favor. The success of such a policy depended on the sultan's decision not to risk a battle under unfavorable circumstances, and the expected disintegration of his army and consequently of his political power if he failed to win a decisive victory. In many respects Saladin's control of the Moslem hinterland from the Euphrates to the Nile was more apparent than real. It is significant, for example, that when he discussed the plan of campaign with his subordinates on the eve of the invasion of Jerusalem, he rejected the suggestion that the Christians be opposed only by small raids, sieges, and devastation of the countryside and insisted

aspects of the battle, in "An Account of the Battle of Hattin Referring to the Frankish Mercenaries in Oriental Moslem States," *Speculum*, XXVII (1952), 168-177.

strongly on a major engagement. Apparently he realized that he was not popular at the caliph's court and that he was thought by many to be more eager to fight Moslems than Christians.

A second course open to the crusaders, which assumed the desirability or inevitability of a decisive engagement, was perhaps more likely to succeed and was in fact advocated by the best strategists in the Christian army. After all, they had staked everything on this campaign and had mobilized their entire resources. Since the two forces were roughly equal, victory might well lie with that army which could induce the other to attack in unfavorable terrain. Being on the defensive in a well chosen position, the crusaders were admirably situated to try this and in fact so decided. The plan was not carried out partly because of a clever ruse by Saladin, but more because of a renewed outburst of wrangling within the Christian ranks. This is the tragic significance of Hattin. It was a battle which perhaps need not have been fought and certainly should not have been lost.

The Christian army was encamped near the Fountains of Şaffürīyah, a spring with plenty of water even in summer, about a mile south of the village. Ample provisions could be obtained in the neighborhood. Between Şaffürīyah and Lake Tiberias, some fifteen miles to the east, the terrain was high and plateaulike with rock swells and small depressions and with almost no water during the summer. This barren area was bounded on the east and north by a curving range of hills whose northern and eastern slopes descended sharply, well below the level of the plateau to the lake shore. Thus, the hills which would appear steep and high to a person standing to the north and east would seem only a low ridge from the viewpoint of the rugged plateau to the west and south. Only a few passes traversed these hills. Five miles west of Tiberias, which was situated on the lake shore, was one pass through the northern ridge. Close to the point where it penetrated was a curious double hill known as the Horns of Hattin, famous ever since as the site of the battle.

Saladin, it will be recalled, had crossed the Jordan south of the lake where he too had access to water and provisions. Well aware of the nature of the terrain east of Şaffürīyah, he evidently hoped to take advantage of it by drawing the Christians out. When the crusaders wisely refused to budge, he moved some of his troops north to Kafr Sabt on the southern edge of the plateau and attempted to provoke an attack by small raids. Since the Christian army still did not move, he decided on a daring ruse, a sudden

attack on Tiberias itself. This was to prove the turning point of the campaign.

On Thursday, July 2, he moved the main body of his army to the high ground under the ridge west of Tiberias. At this point he could block the direct route to Tiberias, yet at the same time command the passes through the eastern ridge down to Tiberias and water. Then with a small detachment he entered Tiberias easily and began to attack the citadel where Raymond's wife had retired with a small garrison of troops. This maneuver meant that Saladin had risked everything on a gamble. Defeat would have meant disaster since orderly retirement through the narrow passes would have been impossible. To advance would have meant crossing the arid plateau to meet a Christian army well based. But he calculated that the news of his attack on Tiberias and the consequent danger to the lady of Tiberias would arouse the chivalrous ardor of the more impulsive crusaders, and possibly in this instance of the more conservative count of Tripoli. Then, he hoped, they would move out across the arid and difficult ground now lying directly between the two armies and fight under conditions dictated by himself.

As soon as the news of the attack on Tiberias reached the crusaders, the king summoned a council of war and turned first to the count of Tripoli for advice. In spite of the fact that Tiberias was his barony and that it was his wife who was in danger, Raymond strongly urged the king not to venture forth. Rather let him retire to the fortified cities of the coast. If anyone was to cross the plateau, let it be Saladin. Considered in retrospect the soundness of the advice is evident; and despite the ominous grumblings of Gerard and Reginald it was immediately accepted. But the suspicion of Raymond still harbored by Gerard, his old enemy, was to prove a factor more decisive than cool consideration of military tactics. Late that evening Gerard had an interview with the king alone. Calling Raymond a traitor and implying that the king would be a coward to relinquish a city without a blow, he prevailed upon the weak-willed Guy to reverse the decision. Thus, the fate of a kingdom hinged on the will of two conspirators, one acting from personal spite, the other a victim of his own ambition and the associations into which it had led him.

Therefore, when in the early hours of the morning the other knights received Guy's command to march, they were amazed and terribly disturbed. They begged him to reconsider, but this time the king was stubborn. Nor did he offer any explanation. Like

good soldiers they obeyed their commander-in-chief. Sad at heart they prepared for the worst. The army set out toward Tiberias early in the morning, on Friday, July 3, with Raymond in the van since the march was through his barony. As they proceeded slowly eastward, bands of Saracen skirmishers harassed them from all sides. The heat increased and with it their thirst. Meanwhile, Saladin, overjoyed that his plan had succeeded, withdrew from Tiberias leaving only a small force and arranged his main army on the hills west of the city.

Toward the middle of the day, when the army had reached Marescallia, about half the distance to Tiberias, progress became so difficult, especially for the Templars, who were in the rear, that the king ordered a halt and encampment. Just who was responsible for this decision and when it was made, it is not easy to determine. Contemporary accounts of the battle, some presumably written by men in different sections of the army, differ markedly. Probably Raymond, who was in the advance guard, realized that the direct way to Tiberias was blocked and urged the king to turn north from Marescallia toward the Horns of Hattin and the pass through the northern ridge. It may be that he had nearly reached that place himself and felt that the only remaining course was to escape the desperate situation on the plateau as soon as possible. Then, either because the Templars in the rear were so hard pressed or because the Saracens intercepted the van before it reached the northern pass, or possibly owing to a combination of such circumstances, the king decided to halt.

Although the chroniclers differ in allocating the blame for the decision, they all agree that it was a fatal mistake. And yet the modern historian may be permitted tentatively to suggest what the participants may in retrospect have forgotten or hesitated to add. Perhaps the crusaders were in fact exhausted. Unable to carry through a real advance, unwilling to retrace their steps across the waste, they were caught in the trap Saladin had laid. The decisive mistake was in starting at all.

The night of July 3 was a frightful ordeal. No water was available for man or beast. The enemy now surrounded them so closely "that not even a cat could have escaped". The Moslems, on the other hand, had access to water and provisions and were exultant at the promise of victory. Their cries of triumph taunted the thirst-racked crusaders during the entire night. Early the next morning (Saturday, July 4) Raymond again led the advance guard in another attempt to reach the pass by the Horns through the

northern ridge; but again the Moslems, although giving way slightly, intercepted them. Toward nine o'clock the main forces of the two armies joined in battle on the plain south of the Horns of Hattin.

Since each army employed the tactics which experience had proved successful, the battle is a classic illustration of medieval warfare in the Levant. The crusaders formed their foot and cavalry into a compact body in order that the former, armed with cross-bows and pikes, and protected by heavy leather cloaks (gambesons) sometimes covered with mail, might help shield the horses from arrows and provide a rallying-point for each successive charge of the heavily armed knights. They had learned from experience that when infantry and cavalry coöperated in some such manner they were usually successful. When, on the other hand, the Saracens could separate the two arms, they often broke the Christian heavy cavalry by killing their horses. In this battle, therefore, Saladin's troops, while constantly harassing the crusaders from all sides with quick charges of light-armed horsemen, let loose a devastating storm of arrows.

The Christian infantry, being exhausted before the battle started, failed to keep in formation after the first few charges of the knights. Crying out that they were perishing with thirst, they broke ranks and rushed up a hill, presumably one of the Horns, where they were later cut to pieces. As a consequence the heavily armed knights were thrown back in confusion and finally herded themselves together near the king and the Holy Cross. The collapse of the infantry was the turning point in the battle. Without the support of the foot, the desperate courage of the Christian knights — and it was everywhere in evidence — could postpone but not change the final outcome. Some knights, led by Raymond of Tripoli, who had become separated from the rest, escaped. Those who fought on were subjected to further agony when Saladin took advantage of a favorable breeze to set the dry prairie grass afire. Moreover, the Holy Cross, their source of spiritual inspiration, was captured. Finally, late in the day, after the last desperate charges of the crusaders had been repulsed, Saladin ordered a final advance which ended the battle.

The loss of Christian manpower was terrific as thousands were killed or captured. Actual figures given by different chroniclers are hopelessly confusing. But apparently few besides those in the rear guard with Balian of Ibelin and Reginald of Sidon, or in the van with Raymond of Tripoli, had much chance to escape. In

other words, the bulk of the main body of the army with the king was lost either by death or capture. Knights fared better than the foot, not only in escaping injury, but in receiving better treatment as captives. No code of chivalry or hope of ransom money protected the lowly-born. With the exception of Reginald of Kerak, whom Saladin executed with his own hand as he had promised, and the two hundred Templars and Hospitallers whom he ordered to be executed, the captive knights were honorably treated. Many were later released, usually in return for the cession of a castle or town. The foot-soldiers, on the other hand, and presumably also the mounted sergeants, who escaped the slaughter, were taken away and sold into slavery by individual Moslem soldiers. Sometimes thirty or forty were seen tied together by rope. Reports of a glut in the slave markets of Syria further illustrate the extent of the debacle. A significant observation made by one Moslem chronicler gives further evidence that the separation of the infantry from the cavalry had been decisive. He noticed that although scarcely a horse was left alive, few of the heavily armed knights were injured.¹⁹ These well protected warriors were made helpless by the loss of their mounts and were easily captured.

Since the failure of the infantry seems to have been due as much to their thirst and exhaustion as to the Moslem attacks, it should again be emphasized that this great and decisive battle should have been either avoided or fought under circumstances unfavorable to Saladin. A formidable Christian army, skilled in Leyantine tactics and hardened by campaigns, had permitted itself to be maneuvered into a trap largely because of personal and political animosities. The irreparable blunder of the march across the arid plateau toward Tiberias was the direct consequence of Gerard's hatred and suspicion of Raymond and his baneful influence over king Guy. It is perhaps idle to speculate on what might have been; yet it seems clear that if there had been no party dissension in Jerusalem there might well have been no Hattin. But now the disasters which followed were the unavoidable consequences of a major defeat.

The far-reaching consequences of Hattin must be considered from two points of view. First, Saladin's victory led directly to the conquest of the greater part of the three Latin states, although not all this was permanent. Second, the replacement of Christian by Moslem rule wrought profound changes in the religious, social, and economic life of the former Christian territories. It has seemed

¹⁹ Cf. abū-Shāmah (*RHC, Or.*, IV), pp. 271-273, 288-289.

advisable to treat these two subjects separately and to turn first to a brief survey of the Moslem reconquest.

The military situation facing the kingdom of Jerusalem, and now also Tripoli and Antioch, was certainly desperate. Saladin's resounding victory had all but denuded the kingdom of defenders. Everything had been staked on the Hattin campaign. It is true that a number of castles and towns still had, or managed to muster, garrisons capable of stiff resistance. But since these had no supporting army to relieve them, Saladin's troops were in the end able to starve out those forts which they could not readily or quickly storm. The only hope left for the Christians was speedy reinforcement from Europe. But it was evident that since Europe did not awake to the danger before 1187, it would be some time before help came in any quantity, if indeed it came at all. Closely linked with the problem of reinforcements was the control of the coast; for without adequate facilities for landing troops and supplies, recovery would have been more difficult. Thus the gathering of the refugees from the Christian army at Tyre, where the first reinforcements arrived, was highly significant.

Saladin's first efforts after Hattin were directed toward obtaining a maximum number of important strongholds in a minimum amount of time. Thus, he struck immediately at the essential ports and paused only long enough to take those inland castles and towns which offered little resistance. Then after capturing Jerusalem itself, he moved northward along the coast of Tripoli and Antioch.

The campaign in the kingdom of Jerusalem proceeded immediately after Hattin. Indeed, Saladin delayed only a day to secure the capitulation of Tiberias (July 5) before marching toward Acre. This vital port surrendered on July 9 after a two-day siege. Meanwhile some of his lieutenants moved southward into Galilee and Samaria and the southern parts of the kingdom. So successful were these operations that before the siege of Jerusalem, which commenced in September 1187, all the major ports south of Tripoli, with the exception of Tyre, were in Moslem hands. These included Beirut, Jaffa, Ascalon, and Sidon, together with Jubail and al-Batrūn in the county of Tripoli. In addition, virtually all the inland towns and castles south of Tiberias, except Krak de Montréal (ash-Shaubak) and Kerak (Krak des Moabites), capitulated. These two southern strongholds and other formidable castles such as Belvoir (Kaukab), Safad, and Belfort (Shaḳīf Arnūn) in the north held out. In order to hasten his conquest Saladin usually

permitted defending garrisons to go free and often released important prisoners in return for the surrender of towns. Gaza, for example, was surrendered at the request of Gerard of Ridefort, who at Guy's request had been spared in the general execution of Templars. In Galilee and Samaria Saladin's lieutenants were not always as merciful as their master, and it is probable that large numbers of Latin Christians at least were sold into slavery. Most of the refugees went to Tyre where, with those who had escaped from Hattin, they were joined in mid-July by Conrad of Montferrat and several knights from Europe. Although Saladin tried to bargain for the surrender of Tyre in return for the liberation of William of Montferrat, Conrad's father, this offer was refused.²⁰ Having at that time no fleet he gave up the siege after a week. Thus, the first preparations for Christian recovery were permitted to continue. Saladin's success in the summer of 1187 was, therefore, striking but not complete. He has been criticized for permitting so many refugees to assemble at Tyre. Notwithstanding, it seems likely that failure there was more than offset by the greater speed of his conquest of the other sections of the kingdom.

Saladin arrived before Jerusalem, a city which had sacred associations for Moslems as well as for Christians, in September 1187. Balian of Ibelin was in charge.²¹ But since most of the refugees had gone to Tyre, the holy city was extremely short of defenders and incapable of resisting the full force of Saladin's army. Nevertheless, when the attack began on the twentieth, the defenders resisted successfully for six days before it became clear that they could hold out no longer. Although Saladin may have originally hoped to spare Jerusalem a siege, it seems that he later intended to avenge the destruction wrought by the crusaders a hundred years earlier. But after Balian had threatened to destroy the city and massacre all the Moslem inhabitants, Saladin agreed to a capitulation on just and statesmanlike terms.

All those who could pay at the rate of ten gold pieces for a man, five for a woman, and one for a child might have forty days' time to depart. Horses and weapons were to be left behind. Saladin

²⁰ On the problem of the capture of William of Montferrat, see the collection of sources and discussion of Leopoldo Usseglio, *I Marchesi di Monferrato in Italia ed in Oriente*, II (1926), 100-101 ff.

²¹ Balian had asked Saladin's permission to enter Jerusalem for the purpose of removing his wife and children. Saladin had granted the request on the condition that Balian stay only one night and promise never again to take up arms against him. On the advice of Heraclius, who absolved him from the oath to an "infidel", Balian remained. Nevertheless, Saladin gave safe conduct to Balian's wife and children and nephews and to one or two other people of rank (*Eracles*, pp. 81 ff.).

next offered to release all the poor, of whom there were more than twenty thousand who could pay nothing, for the sum of one hundred thousand gold pieces. Although the remainder of the king of England's gift was then in the hands of the military orders, Balian, fearful that the Templars and Hospitallers would not pay such an amount, was forced to accept freedom for seven thousand of the poorest (two women or ten children regarded as the equivalent of one man) for thirty thousand gold pieces. As a result there were several thousand unredeemed whose probable fate was slavery. The fault was presumably the Templars' and Hospitallers', but Balian was blamed.

The Moslem occupation, which commenced on October 2 (a Friday, and therefore considered a good omen by the Moslems), was carried out with a minimum of confusion. To keep order Saladin placed two knights and ten sergeants at every street. Moslem officers were also stationed at the gates to receive the ransom money of those leaving immediately. Moreover, it seems that the accounting was not overexact, and some less generous emirs complained. A great many apparently escaped over the walls or in disguise or successfully used bribery. Further, Saladin not only proved himself unusually liberal to prominent individuals like Stephanie of Kerak, but he and his emirs personally set free three or four thousand poor. In fulfilling his promise of safe conduct for the refugees Saladin was equally conscientious, although they were not permitted to join the Christian garrison at Tyre. They were protected and fed on the journey north. Indeed, such mistreatment as they received was at the hands of their fellow Christians. Outside Nephin they were robbed and the Tripolitans permitted only the wealthy to enter the city. The others reached Antioch or Cilicia after great hardships.

Some thousands remained in Jerusalem and in the environs, either to enter the sultan's service or to pay the usual tribute. Presumably, as in the other cities which changed hands, most of those who stayed were native Syrian or Greek Christians, although ten Hospitallers were allowed to remain for one year to care for the sick who could not leave. Four Syrian priests were permitted to remain at the Holy Sepulcher.

Moslem banners were unfurled and the mosques reopened amid great celebration. Vengeful tendencies which so far had been notably absent began to appear among the jubilant victors as they pillaged Christian churches and cloisters. Since the city had been occupied late in the day, the formal religious celebration was

postponed until the following Friday (October 9). It was held in the Aqṣâ mosque, and Saladin attended. After the surrender of Jerusalem, Saladin pushed northward along the coast into Syria. Without delaying to storm the fortresses capable of withstanding a long siege which he felt could be isolated by the conquest of the coast, he proceeded to attack the major ports. Except in one or two instances he had remarkable success.

The most important exception was Tyre where Conrad of Montferrat had organized the refugees into a defense capable of withstanding a second siege. An important factor was the command of the sea, for while Saladin's troops encircled the city from the land side, his ships which had arrived from Acre blockaded the town from the sea. Finally, a sudden bold attack by a squadron of small vessels in the harbor dispersed or captured the Moslem fleet. This, combined with a skillful defense, forced Saladin to raise the siege (January 1, 1188). Most of his now weary troops he sent home. It was his first major reverse. Further, command of the sea and possession of this vital port eventually guaranteed reinforcements from Europe and made possible an extensive Christian reconquest. Failure at Tyre signified more than an unsuccessful siege.

In May 1188 Saladin had reassembled his army for the campaign in northern Syria while his lieutenants continued operations in the kingdom. Al-Batrûn and Jubail, it will be recalled, had already been taken. His plan of action contemplated immediate attack on the ports. Fortresses capable of standing a long siege would then be isolated and more easily subdued later. Adequate leadership for such an emergency was lacking in both Tripoli and Antioch. Raymond III of Tripoli had probably died by this time, and the designated successor, Bohemond, the second son of Bohemond III of Antioch, was presumably in charge, although he is nowhere mentioned by name. Throughout Saladin's campaign in Antioch, Bohemond III showed a lamentable inability to offer any substantial assistance to his beleaguered garrisons. Some of the stronger castles and towns offered resistance, a few of them successfully. A Sicilian fleet under admiral Margarit prevented a siege of the city of Tripoli, and seriously menaced Saladin's passage along the narrow coast road near al-Marqab. Notwithstanding, Saladin's northern campaign was speedily completed. By September (1188) he had surrounded Antioch. Only negotiations for a truce prevented the city's fall. On September 26, Bohemond sent his wife and brother to arrange for an armistice

in return for an exchange of prisoners. Saladin's troops were tired from long campaigning, and the month of Ramaḍān was approaching when according to Moslem tradition no fighting should occur. It was agreed that if in seven months no help came from his fellow Christians, Bohemond would surrender Antioch.

Meanwhile, in the southern part of the kingdom of Jerusalem, hunger finally forced the heroic garrison of Kerak to capitulate. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil received the message from the nearly starved garrison and gave them free egress (November 1188). Shortly afterward (April–May 1189), Krak de Montréal and a few other smaller places surrendered, and Humphrey was given his liberty. Saladin himself had left Damascus (November 7) where he had rested a month, and joined al-Malik al-ʿĀdil at Safad, where they besieged the fort. On December 6 the garrison capitulated and was permitted to go to Tyre. Belvoir gave in on January 5, 1189. Of the great castles in the kingdom only Belfort remained. Held by Reginald of Sidon, it commanded the route from Tyre to Damascus and was considered impregnable. Saladin arrived on May 5, 1189, but the siege was interrupted by the first Latin counter-attack at Acre. (The castle was not to surrender until April 22, 1190.) The fall of Belvoir completed two years of triumphant campaigning. The kingdom of Jerusalem was entirely conquered with the exception of Belfort and Tyre. In the county of Tripoli, the city of Tripoli, one tower in Tortosa, two small Templar castles, and the great Hospitaller fortress of Krak des Chevaliers held out. Only Antioch and al-Marqab remained of the principality of Antioch.

In disposing of the conquered territories Saladin was both merciful and statesmanlike. He was anxious to lay the foundations for the future and to disrupt normal economic and social life as little as possible. Above all he hoped to avoid giving occasion for another crusade. Moreover, he well understood the importance of preserving as far as possible the economic prosperity of the ports. In laying down conditions for the surrender of Acre, for example, he offered attractive terms to the merchants, evidently hoping to induce them to remain. Most of them, however, departed and the rich stocks they abandoned were left to the mercies of the conquerors. In Latakia, also, a port in the principality of Antioch, Saladin's chancellor, ʿImād-ad-Dīn, describes with sorrow the deliberate destruction by "our emirs" of a once beautiful city.²² It is permissible to suppose that Saladin shared his feelings.

²² Abū-Shāmah (*RHC, Or.*, IV), pp. 361–363, quoted in Grousset, *Croisades*, II, 827. At Acre Saladin apparently offered to allow merchants to remain on payment of the usual

In most cases, as has been pointed out, Saladin was content to allow the inhabitants of captured cities free egress with their movable property, and loyally kept his word. Often a payment of ransom was demanded. But his emirs were usually less farsighted as well as less merciful, and Saladin either would not or could not curb them. Therefore, some thousands of the former inhabitants were either killed or enslaved. We can only suggest Saladin's attitude toward such occurrences by recalling that it was not his own usual procedure.

In the agricultural districts there seems to have been less disruption of normal life. Probably most of the peasants were Moslems or native Christians living in *casalia* as tributaries to the western military aristocracy. The former certainly welcomed their new masters and, as in Nablus, hastened to loot the abandoned dwellings of the Franks. The native Christians were as a rule permitted to stay. Significant religious changes also resulted from the reconquest. Everywhere, of course, Islam was officially restored; and many churches were converted (or reconverted) into mosques. Latin Christianity lost its predominant position. On the other hand, the native Greek and Syrian Christians whose establishments antedated the crusades were apparently unmolested, although the usual Moslem tribute was exacted.

The attitude of the Greek Orthodox and other native Christian sects presents an interesting problem upon which evidence is disappointingly scanty. In the main they seem rather to have welcomed the Moslem reconquest than otherwise. This was particularly true of the Greeks, whose dislike of Rome was of long standing. Moreover, as we have seen, the attitude of the Byzantine emperors after Manuel's death had become increasingly hostile toward the crusaders and had apparently led Andronicus Comnenus toward a sort of alliance with the Moslems. Isaac Angelus sent his official congratulations to Saladin after the capture of Jerusalem, asked for a renewal of the alliance against the Latins, and requested that the holy places be returned to Orthodox priests. Certainly Greek and Syrian Christians remained in the city.

One or two isolated references indicate a similar situation elsewhere. When Nablus was taken over by one of Saladin's nephews, the native Greek and Syrian Christians were apparently allowed to stay. Similarly, in Latakia, the native Christians preferred to remain in the captured city and pay the customary Moslem tax.

Moslem tribute. This privilege seems to have been offered elsewhere only to non-Latin Christians.

Toward the Jews Saladin's attitude was less consistent. In Jerusalem he apparently encouraged Jewish immigration, perhaps hoping that they would prove valuable allies in the event of a new crusade. In the region of Darbsäk and Baghräs in Antioch, on the other hand, he converted the synagogues into mosques.

The picture we have briefly presented of the end of a colony is far from complete and is admittedly drawn from scattered sources. Nevertheless, it indicates the main outlines of the transformation from Latin to Moslem administration. Saladin's policy, although not always consistent, nor properly followed by his subordinates, was at once merciful and statesmanlike. It probably preserved some of the normal economic life of the captured area, although much must have been lost. Presumably, it left unmolested the majority of the population, that is, the Moslems, the Jews, and the native Greek and Syrian Christians. For the former ruling class, the western Christians, the Moslem reconquest was a major catastrophe. Bereavement, loss of home and property, even slavery must have been the lot of thousands of the less fortunate. The aristocracy, although they had lost their lands and castles, could always hope for recovery. A few outposts still remained. The success at Tyre was also encouraging, but, most of all, Europe now understood well enough the grim prospects of the Latin Christians who were left in Palestine and Syria. News soon reached the Holy Land that a new crusade was on its way, with the German emperor and the kings of France and England, and Latin hopes rose again in the Levant. Our next volume will begin with the spectacular history of the Third Crusade.