

# The Crusader States after the Second Crusade

The Crusader States felt much less secure after the failure of the Second Crusade, and with good reason. This chapter examines the pressures on the States from 1149 to 1187 by focusing on the following themes:

- ◆ The rise of Nur ad-Din and developments in Islam
- ◆ The Crusader States after the Second Crusade
- ◆ The campaigns in Egypt
- ◆ The rise of Saladin
- ◆ The victory of Saladin at Hattin and his conquest of Jerusalem

The key debate on page 143 of this chapter asks the question: How should Saladin be viewed?

## KEY DATES

|      |  |      |                                    |
|------|--|------|------------------------------------|
| 1153 | Capture of Ascalon by the crusaders      | 1179 | Capture of Jacob's Ford by Saladin |
| 1163 | Start of King Amalric's attacks on Egypt | 1187 | Battle of Hattin                   |
| 1174 | Saladin in control of Damascus           |      | Fall of Jerusalem to Saladin       |
| 1176 | Defeat of Manuel I at Myrioccephalum     |      |                                    |

## 1 The rise of Nur ad-Din and developments in Islam

*What was the significance of the rise of Nur ad-Din?*

Nur ad-Din was one of the key figures of the Crusades (see page 83). The damage Nur had inflicted on Edessa (see pages 96–8) meant that the crusaders saw no point in trying to recover it. In 1147 and 1148 he had taken some of the most fertile territory of Antioch. But he made no further move during the Second Crusade, apart from coming to relieve Damascus in 1148. However, in 1149 he attacked Inab, a fortress belonging to Antioch, and defeated Raymond and the small band of knights who went to its relief (see page 115). The death of Raymond made Nur a famous warrior for Islam and played a key role in his consolidation of power. Nur followed up this victory with an attack on Antioch itself and raided the surrounding countryside, even reaching the coast, where the Muslims had not previously penetrated. He went so far as to bathe in the Mediterranean Sea to show off his achievements to his troops. Once he had shown the people of Antioch the strength of his power, he retreated. He also had a stroke of luck in that Joscelin II of Edessa was captured in 1150 by a local

lord while out hunting near his remaining stronghold of Tel Bashir. The lord knew that Nur ad-Din would pay a good price for the prisoner. Joscelin II was handed over and would later die in prison in Aleppo.

Nur ad-Din was also able to take control of Damascus in 1154. Until Nur ad-Din took over, there had been cooperation between the Franks and the Muslims in Damascus, but Nur ad-Din's views on *jihad* meant this interaction was offensive in his eyes. He persuaded a majority of the Damascenes to agree with him and was allowed to take over the city. This meant that the two key cities of Damascus and Aleppo were governed by the same man and shows how the disunity of the Muslims, which had been so helpful to the early crusaders, was coming to an end. Nur ad-Din married the daughter of the previous ruler of Damascus to bolster his control there.

### *Jihad* in practice

Nur ad-Din saw himself as a warrior for Islam. After recovering from a serious illness, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, the holy city of Islam, in 1157–8, and in 1163 he suffered a rare defeat at the hands of the Franks in the Battle of al-Buqaia. These two experiences led him to a more austere way of life. He became more closely linked to men of religion and pursued the higher form of *jihad*, namely the purification of the soul, as well as the more worldly demand for the renewal of holy war.

For Nur ad-Din, politics and religion were closely entwined, as, indeed, was the case in much of Christendom. As a result, he was focused not only on the Franks as enemies, but equally on the Shi'ite Muslims, to whom he was also hostile. He set up mosques and schools to promote Sunni beliefs and used poets and writers to press the message home. He was famed as a lawgiver and held weekly courts where he dispensed justice. He also provided bathhouses, hospitals and orphanages for his people. Above all, he stressed the importance of Jerusalem as a place of pilgrimage and the need to bring the sacred city back to the rule of the faithful followers of the prophet. Source A gives one view of him.

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#### SOURCE QUESTION

How similar were the characteristics admired by Muslims and Christians as described in Source A?

#### SOURCE A

A description of Nur ad-Din written by Ibn al-Athir, quoted in Francesco Gabrieli, editor, and E.J. Costello, translator, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, University of California Press, 1969, pp. 70–1.

*Nur ad-Din was a tall, swarthy man with a beard but no moustache, a fine forehead and a pleasant appearance enhanced by beautiful melting eyes. His kingdom stretched far and wide and was even acknowledged in Medina and Mecca ... Among his virtues were austerity, piety and a knowledge of theology. His food and clothing and all his personal expenditure came out of income from properties bought with his legal share of booty ... He had a good knowledge of Muslim law, but he was not a fanatic ... He would not permit the imposition of any illegal tax anywhere in his domains, but abolished them all ... On the battlefield he had no equal ... Among his public works he built walls for all the cities and fortresses of Syria. He built the Great Mosque of Nur ad-Din at Mosul ... He honoured scholars*

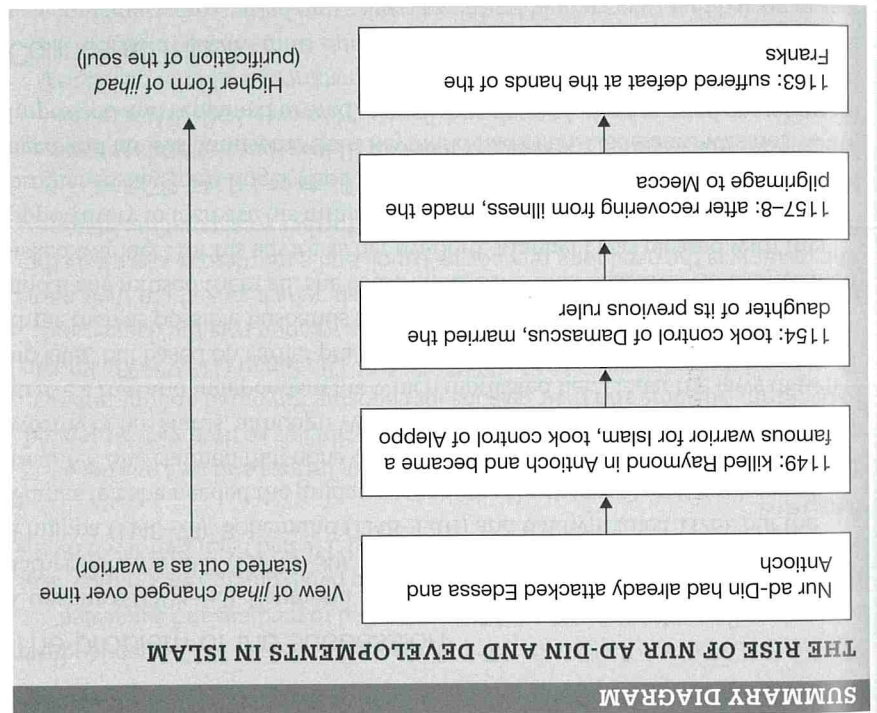
Edessa was no longer a viable state; the city had been largely destroyed and was under Muslim control. The capture of Joscelyn II left his wife struggling to carry on and defend Tel Bashir. In the end it proved too much of a challenge and she was forced to sell her estates to the Byzantine emperor, Manuel I, in return for an income for herself and her children.

## Edessa

The problems which have already been noted with regard to the Crusader States remained difficult to solve after the Second Crusade.

How strong were the Crusader States politically and militarily?

# 2 The Crusader States after the Second Crusade



and men of religion and had the deepest respect for them. He would rise to his feet in their presence and invite them to sit next to him. He was always courteous to them and never contested what they said ... His expression was grave and melancholy because of his great humility. Many were his virtues, innumerable his merits; this book is not large enough to encompass them all.

## Antioch

The kings of Jerusalem held a traditional protectorate over the principalities in Syria, so, on the death of Raymond in 1149, Baldwin III travelled north to rule these areas and, perhaps, to escape from the control that his mother, Melisende, still exerted over him. The situation in Antioch was further complicated by the overlordship claimed by Manuel I and even more so by the problem of the succession.

### The problem of the succession

Constance (1128–63), Raymond's widow, had inherited Antioch from her father Bohemund II (1107/8–30). She had four young children, Maria (1145–82), Philippa (1148–78), Bohemund (1148–1201) and Baldwin (died 1176), but the Franks felt she needed the guidance of another husband. Constance begged to differ. She claimed that none of those offered to her as possible mates was worthy of her status, although William of Tyre maintained that it was her desire to live a free and independent life which motivated her. Under the laws drawn up later, but based on earlier practice, an heiress was to be given a choice of three men as possible husbands and, if none of them was suitable, three more, and if she refused them all, she could choose her own husband. Constance then asked Manuel I for his advice as her overlord. Manuel I was pleased with this opportunity to increase his influence in Antioch but he blundered. He sent his brother-in-law John Roger (died after 1166) to woo her. John Roger was middle aged and far less handsome than Raymond had been. Constance was not impressed and remained unwed.

### Council at Tripoli

In 1150 Baldwin III called a council to discuss what to do about the obstinate Constance. It was attended by Baldwin III and by Melisende, although by then they were on very bad terms. Also at the council was Hodierna (c.1110–c.1164), Melisende's sister, who was married to Raymond of Tripoli, but unhappy in the relationship. The aunts tried to persuade Constance to do as she was told but failed. They may not have tried all that hard, since neither had found marriage especially rewarding. It could also be the case that no candidate had the backing of both Baldwin III and Melisende, so Constance did not want to risk offending one of them and so reducing the amount of support she could expect from Jerusalem. Constance had some support from Aimery (died c.1196), the Patriarch of Antioch. He probably felt that his own power would be diminished by the arrival of a new lord in Antioch.

### Constance's choice

In 1153 Constance made her own choice. This was Reynald of Châtillon (c.1125–87), a dashing adventurer with no money and no following. Baldwin III gave his approval but Reynald proved to have little political ability. Aimery's fears turned

out to be justified. The patriarch and Reynald fell out and Reynald had Aimery arrested. He was tied up in the sun for an entire day with his face smeared with honey, thus providing a feast for a hive of bees which were released nearby. Although Baldwin III insisted that Aimery be restored to his position, the patriarch decided he would prefer to live in Jerusalem, where he felt he would be safer. However, such struggles further undermined the unity of the State.

## Tripoli

The marital affairs of Raymond of Tripoli reached a crisis in 1152 when Hodierna refused to stay with her husband. Melisende tried to mediate and suggested that Hodierna come to Jerusalem for a time. The two women were on their way when they got the news that Raymond was dead. He had been murdered by the Assassins.

The Assassins were based in the mountains near Tortosa and saw murder as an acceptable political weapon. They were strict Shites so their victims tended to be Sunni Muslims and their reasons for choosing Raymond are unknown. They owed their allegiance to Sheikh Rashid ad-Din Sinan (1132/5–93), known as the 'Old Man of the Mountains'. Their chosen weapon was the dagger and their courage was enhanced by the use of hashish, which gave them their name. The result was the need for a regency in Tripoli and a murderous assault by the Franks on the native population, both of which further weakened the State.

Hodierna returned to Tripoli with her children, Raymond (1140–87) and Melisende, and assumed the regency. Baldwin III was thus the titular regent for underage heirs in both Antioch and Tripoli. Moreover, both States in the meantime had female rulers. While these circumstances could not be helped, they did not make it any easier to defend the States from Muslim attacks as it was expected that rulers would lead their armies into battle, something that at the time was considered unheard of for women.

## Jerusalem

The tension between Melisende and her son, Baldwin III, increased. Melisende had been building up her power. In 1151 she made her younger son, Amalric (1136–74), the Count of Jaffa, which gave her control of the central section of the coast and helped her plan to isolate Baldwin in Acre. But she made an error in allowing her chief adviser to marry the wealthy widow of one of the barons. The baron had three sons who saw their inheritance melting away and so transferred their allegiance to Baldwin III. This increased support emboldened the young prince and in 1152 he requested that the patriarch crown him a second time as sole ruler of Jerusalem. When the patriarch refused, Baldwin III appeared alone in public wearing the crown, thus asserting his right to be sole ruler. A brief civil war ensued, further evidence of the divisions and weakness within the State. Melisende was forcibly removed from Jerusalem and died in 1161. Her only return to Jerusalem was in 1153 to act as regent when Baldwin III was absent.

## How powerful were the kings of Jerusalem?

Historians have argued both that the kings were and were not powerful. The study of charters has revealed that the monarchy tried its best to dominate the nobles. In the early years of the kingdom, the Crown made substantial grants of land to the nobles, but, as time went on, much of this land reverted to the king. Many nobles died, others were bankrupted by the heavy defence costs. The king could thus reward his own supporters with the land that came into his hands. The two largest holdings were Galilee and Jaffa, and the revolt of Hugh of Jaffa in 1134 showed the danger of letting a noble control so much land. The kings therefore tried a variety of ways to maintain their power:

- Large holdings could have smaller parcels of land hived off and given to other lords. Galilee became an example of this.
- Important holdings, such as Jaffa, were retained by the king.
- Land holdings could be widely dispersed so that no large single unit was built up by the lord.
- Royal castles could remain in the king's hands in the midst of a granted area.
- Ownership of land by the Church or the Military Orders was encouraged.
- The under-vassals of great lords paid homage directly to the king and so were prevented from joining their lords in revolt.
- The coinage emphasised the role of the king as protector of the holy places and helped to give the impression of his power.

## Other events: the capture of Ascalon

Baldwin III's absence in 1153 (see page 125) was due to his attack on Ascalon. This was the only port still in Muslim hands on the central part of the coast. Baldwin III had made long-term plans for the capture of Ascalon by continuing the policy of encircling the city which had been begun by his father, Fulk. He had built a castle on the site of the ancient city of Gaza, which blocked the route connecting Ascalon to the land ruled by the Fatimids in Egypt. In January 1153 he began the siege of Ascalon. The city resisted strongly but Baldwin persisted and it surrendered in August. The garrison were given three days in which they could leave. The plunder from Ascalon was immense and Baldwin was able to reward his men lavishly. His brother, Amalric, was made Lord of Jaffa and Ascalon, which marked an improvement in relations between the brothers as Amalric had been loyal to Melisende in the civil war. The mosque in Ascalon became the Cathedral of St Paul and a bishop was elected. But this drew protests from the Bishop of Bethlehem, who insisted that Ascalon came within his diocese, thus illustrating the tensions which arose so easily in the Crusader States.

### The consequences of the capture of Ascalon

The capture of Ascalon was an undoubted triumph for Baldwin III, but could also be seen as a mixed blessing with some unintended consequences. The port had presented no real threat to Jerusalem, but its capture drew the eyes of the king south and away from the north where the Muslims were more menacing. The realm of the Fatimids was rich and minimally fortified, a temptation to which Baldwin III succumbed. In time this was to prove disastrous as the threat to Egypt brought Nur ad-Din and later Saladin southwards (see page 133), and ended with the encirclement and fall of Jerusalem, albeit some 30 or more years later. Another result was that Baldwin III had run up large debts in mounting his attacks and this meant he was unable to send aid to the north when Nur ad-Din struck.

However, in the short term, the security of Jerusalem was improved as the Egyptians no longer had a port on the eastern Mediterranean coast. This limited the range of their naval activities as ships needed supplies of fresh water close at hand. Thus, Frankish ports were safer, and trading vessels and pilgrims could travel more securely, bringing useful income with them.

### Military stalemate in the north

Despite the success of Nur ad-Din in taking over Damascus, the crusaders continued to fight back, but with variable results. They suffered a serious defeat at Jacob's Ford in 1157 (see map on page 135) and a severe earthquake inflicted further damage. They were heartened, however, by the arrival of Count Thierry of Flanders (1099–1168), an experienced crusader who had fought in the east in 1139 and on the Second Crusade. He was related to Baldwin III as his wife was Baldwin's half-sister and he came from a wealthy noble family. As he was a pious man, devoted to the defence of the Holy Land, he was an ideal addition to the Frankish forces. He assisted Baldwin in the siege of Shazar, a strategic crossing point on the River Orontes, taking advantage of Nur ad-Din's illness, which limited the resistance of the Muslims.

Two of the factors which often affected developments in the Crusader States then became apparent; namely the rivalry between Antioch and Jerusalem and attitudes to those seen as newcomers. Baldwin was proposing to give Shazar to Thierry as a fief, but Reynald of Antioch objected, claiming it was his to give. Thierry refused to perform homage to Reynald, claiming he swore only homage to kings and not to mere princes. Reynald went away in disgust and the siege collapsed. This seemed to be a petty quarrel, but Reynald may have thought Baldwin's actions were a threat to Antioch's control of northern Syria. Reynald, as an outsider, was not wholly popular in Antioch. In any case, Nur ad-Din recovered from his illness, and the opportunity for further crusader gains was lost.

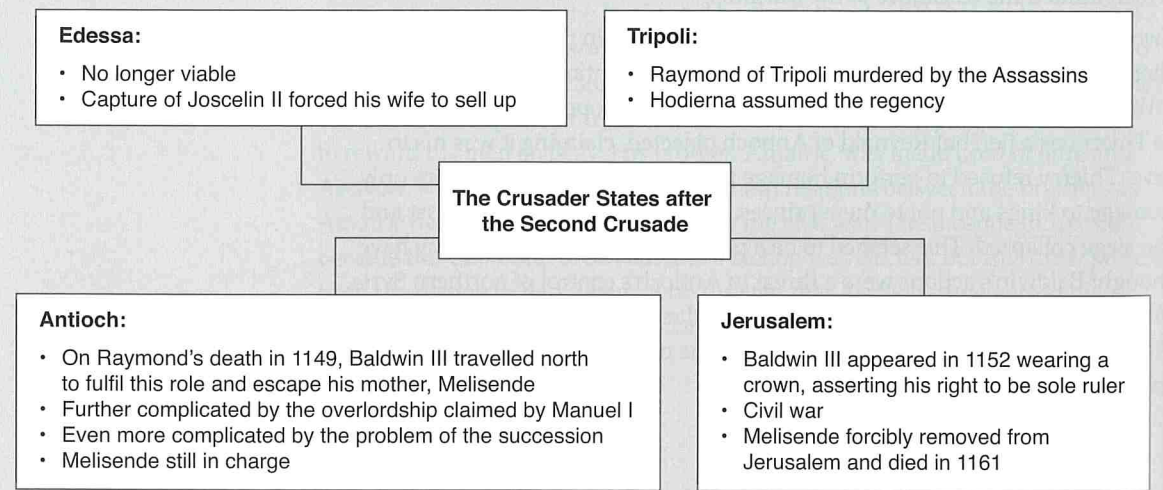
## Relationships with Byzantium

At this point, Manuel I was the overlord of Antioch and Raymond had travelled in 1145 to pay homage to him. Reynald took the relationship much less seriously at first and even went so far in 1156 as to raid Cyprus, part of the Byzantine Empire. The governor was killed and troops from Antioch marauded around the island. This action shocked Baldwin III of Jerusalem, who was hoping to build better links with Constantinople against their common enemies, particularly after the deterioration in relations after the Second Crusade. The restoration of a good relationship was important given the lack of military resources and supplies available to the Crusader States, particularly as aid from the west had also declined. Moreover, Baldwin III had recently become betrothed to Manuel's niece. Manuel I was infuriated and embarked on a punitive expedition to northern Syria. When Manuel reached Antioch, the unfortunate Reynald had to beg pardon and was humiliated by having to prostrate himself in the dust at Manuel's feet. Baldwin III arrived later and undertook his usual mediating role. The emperor relented and agreed to marry one of Reynald's step-daughters. The emperor and Baldwin III seem to have become genuine friends. When Baldwin III broke his arm, Manuel I acted as surgeon and set the injured bones.

There was a serious side to this tripartite alliance. In 1159 the three rulers advanced on Aleppo. Nur ad-Din did not want to risk an all-out battle and so came to terms, agreeing to release many prisoners whom he held, some since the Second Crusade. From Manuel I's point of view this was a successful undertaking. The conquest of Aleppo could have made Antioch strong enough to seek to become more independent from Byzantium. As it was, Nur ad-Din's ambitions were checked and Manuel was able to insist that an Orthodox patriarch be appointed in Antioch, one of his long-term aims.

### SUMMARY DIAGRAM

#### THE CRUSADER STATES AFTER THE SECOND CRUSADE





### 3 The campaigns in Egypt

■ Why did Egypt become a target for the crusaders and with what results?

Baldwin III died suddenly in 1163. He was only 33 and had proved an able ruler once free of his mother's control. He was childless and was succeeded by his younger brother, Amalric I. The succession did not go entirely smoothly and there was dispute among the nobility about who should rule, only settled by the prevailing power of the patriarch. The patriarch insisted that Amalric I give up his wife, Agnes, the daughter of Joscelin II of Edessa, to whom he was related. Amalric I agreed, once the legitimacy of his children was guaranteed. It may have been that there were fears among the nobles that Agnes would insist on provision for her brother, now landless, and his followers being made out of the lands of Jerusalem. The focus of the new king, aged 27, was to be Egypt. Egypt was attractive for a number of reasons:

- The Fatimid dynasty was in decline. It had lost Jerusalem in 1099 and Ascalon in 1153.

- Egypt was very wealthy and these riches would pay for troops.
- The land was fertile and therefore would provide supplies.

- The port of Alexandria on the north coast was the main port in the eastern Mediterranean.

#### Egypt at the time of the Crusades

Egypt was ruled by the Shrite Fatimids and the dynasty was in decline. The rulers had degenerated and real power lay with the **viziers**, who were often engaged in vicious power struggles among themselves. The bureaucracy, in the hands of the Copts (Christians), was very advanced and efficient. The kings of Jerusalem had regularly targeted Egypt. Baldwin I died on his way back from an expedition there and Baldwin II had attacked in 1125. The capture of Ascalon, the frontier castle (see pages 126–7), was partly aimed at enabling crusader expansion into Egypt. In the 1160s Baldwin III was strong enough to demand tribute and he had tried to weaken the commerce of Egypt by banning the import of shipbuilding materials, an action made possible by his taking of Ascalon. The problem with the weakness of Egypt was that if the crusaders did not take it, then Nur ad-Din, a devoted Sunni, would step in and then the Crusader States would be threatened on the east and from the south by the same enemy.

#### Amalric I's campaigns in Egypt

Amalric I attacked Egypt throughout the 1160s. He had much need of the wealth which a conquest might bring him, from the agriculture of the Nile valley to the alum mines (alum was an essential in the dyeing of cloth). The

#### KEY TERM

**Viziers** Chief ministers of a Muslim ruler.

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**KEY FIGURE**

**Alexander III  
(c.1100–81)**

He was pope from 1159 to his death in 1181. He had been born in Siena and probably studied at Bologna. In 1153 he became papal chancellor and led the cardinals opposed to the German emperor, Frederick Barbarossa I. His election as pope was disputed, but over time he gained support from monarchs such as Henry II, but was still forced to spend most of his time as pope outside Rome. Disputes continued with the anti-popes until the death of Frederick Barbarossa in 1176, but even after this he faced challenges.

trade in Sudanese slaves and the exchange of goods with India on one side and Byzantium and the west on the other added to the attractions of the country. The rivalry between two aspiring viziers, Dirgham and Shawar (died 1169), led each of them to look for allies.

Nur ad-Din was much alarmed by the prospect of Christian control of Egypt and he retaliated with attacks on northern Syria, where he took the city of Harim, and then in 1164 captured Banyas in the kingdom of Jerusalem. The Muslims followed this up with a victory at Artah, in which both Bohemund III of Antioch and Raymond of Tripoli were captured. Raymond remained in prison for ten years although Bohemund was ransomed. By now the whole of the principality of Antioch east of the Orontes had been taken by the Muslims and would never be recovered by the crusaders. Another extensive earthquake in 1164 led to a temporary truce.

**Amalric I's efforts to gain assistance**

The king needed men and money and tried a number of ways to obtain both:

- He appealed to the pope, and **Alexander III** (c.1100/05–81) issued papal bulls calling for a new crusade. Some French nobles responded, such as William IV of Nevers (died 1168), but he died in Acre from illness.
- He raised money in Jerusalem with a ten per cent tax on movable property.
- He even made an alliance with Shawar, the ruler of Egypt who was threatened by Nur ad-Din's general, Shirkuh (died 1169). The sultan was to pay the Christians to stay in Egypt until Shirkuh was defeated.
- In 1167 he married a niece of Manuel I at Tyre and hoped for Byzantine aid in his conquests.

Amalric had some temporary success. He even briefly held Alexandria before he withdrew in 1167. But he had problems. He was very dependent on the support of the Hospitallers and his capture of the city of Bilbais was to further their aims of advancing into Egypt. Shawar, who had emerged the victor in the struggles in Egypt, was a double-crosser who made alliances both with the Franks and with Shirkuh. In 1168 the Franks were too weak to continue their campaigns but by the end of 1169 Shawar had been assassinated and Shirkuh was dead. However, the new general was Shirkuh's nephew, Saladin (1137/8–93), and a greater challenge to the crusaders.

**Conflicts at home**

In Jerusalem, Amalric I faced more challenges. He was never personally popular, having a dour personality, and was regularly booed by his subjects as he went about his affairs in Jerusalem. His readiness to let his friend, Miles of Plancy (died 1174), who was the head of the administration, exert real power added to noble resentment. Amalric I eventually married Maria Comnena (c.1154–1208/17), the great-niece of Manuel. They had a daughter, Isabella. This

increased tensions at court with the rival claims of the children of each of his marriages, each of whom had a following among the powerful and ambitious men in Jerusalem. Agnes, the discarded wife, was a further disruptive factor as she married Hugh of Ibelin (1130/3–69/71), Lord of Ramlah, in 1163. Then, after Hugh died on a pilgrimage to Compostela in 1170, she married Reynald Grenier (1130s–1202), Lord of Sidon. Thus, she had links with leading noble families and remained the mother of the likely heir to Amalric I. These complications over the succession were a continuing problem in the kingdom of Jerusalem and further weakened the State.

As Reynald of Châtillon of Antioch was in the hands of the Muslims from 1161, and Joscelin II of Edessa and Raymond III of Tripoli were captured in 1164, Amalric I was the sole free ruler of the Crusader States for much of the 1160s. Thus, he had few powerful allies on whom he could call for help.

### Appeal of Frederick, Bishop of Tyre

As the situation in the east worsened, the crusaders sent envoys of increasingly higher status to the west to beg for help, a clear indication of the weakness and concerns of the States. Frederick, Bishop of Tyre (died 1174), stressed the threat to pilgrims, to the holy places and the sufferings of the Christians in the east. Alexander III issued a new papal bull and urged people to respond with service rather than money, but neither of the main targets, Louis VII of France or Henry II of England (1133–89), reacted favourably. The main reason was the tension between them. Henry II ruled much of France and Louis hoped to remedy this situation and to benefit from crises in the Angevin lands. Henry was also embroiled in a quarrel with his Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas Becket (c.1119/20–70). Bishop Frederick saw that reconciling the two parties might advance the Crusade and so tried to mediate between them. But his efforts were made fruitless by the murder of Becket in December 1170.

### Appeal of Amalric I to Constantinople

In 1170 the High Court met in Jerusalem and Amalric I made clear his desire to go in person to Constantinople to ask Manuel I directly for assistance. His chronicler, William of Tyre, who wrote at the request of Amalric I, described almost certainly because Amalric I was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Manuel I in some way.

This was one of the most surprising appeals since the Assassins were Muslims, albeit Sh'rites and so persecuted by Nur ad-Din, and it shows how desperate Amalric I was.

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WWW

## Appeal to Henry II

After the murder of Becket, Henry II had to promise to send knights to the east to serve with the Templars and to go on the Crusade himself within three years before he could be absolved. But Henry was prevented from travelling by a serious rebellion on the part of his heir, the young Henry (1155–83), and could not possibly leave his realms.

In 1174 both Nur ad-Din and Amalric I died, the latter from a sudden attack of dysentery, aged only 38.

**ONLINE EXTRAS**  
Pearson Edexcel **WWW**

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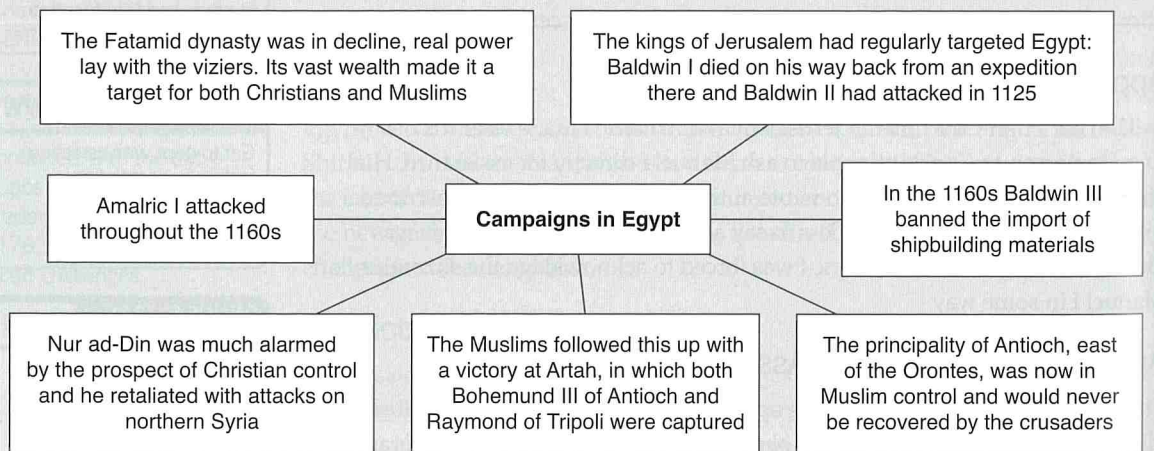
## Henry II 1133–89

Henry was the son of Geoffrey of Anjou and Empress Matilda. He inherited Anjou, Maine and Normandy from his father and his claim to England from his mother. His marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine brought him that duchy and Poitou. He ruled more of France than the French king, Louis VII, Eleanor's first husband. He became King of England in 1154 on the death of Stephen and restored law and order there ruthlessly, despite his youth. He was notorious for his red hair, his bad temper and his womanising, but he

was a skilful warrior and an excellent administrator. His quarrel with Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Becket's exile, return and murder, scandalised and divided Europe. Henry was forced to perform penance at Canterbury and to promise to join a crusade. His infidelity antagonised Eleanor and she joined with their sons against him. But Henry defeated the rebellion and imprisoned his wife. His plans for the division of his lands among his sons incensed his son Richard, and Philip II encouraged the rift, which was to his advantage. Henry was defeated and had to give in to all Richard's demands. He died almost alone at his castle at Chinon.

### SUMMARY DIAGRAM

#### THE CAMPAIGNS IN EGYPT



## 4 The rise of Saladin

■ Why was Saladin able to challenge the crusaders?

It is easy to depict the rise of Saladin as inevitable, given the problems which faced the crusader kingdoms in the late twelfth century, although it did take him thirteen years to establish his control over the Muslim lands.

### Who was Saladin?

Saladin rose to power by defying Nur ad-Din and then using his concept of *jihad* to enhance his position. As the son of a mercenary, Saladin was viewed as an upstart, but *jihad* provided his cause with legitimacy. Saladin's father was Shirkuh, who had taken control in Egypt in the years 1169–74 and in 1174 took Damascus. In 1175 the Caliph of Baghdad invested Saladin with the government of Egypt, Yemen and Syria. The following year he married Nur ad-Din's widow, which enhanced his image as his successor. Saladin's aim was to consolidate the forces of Islam, divided between Mosul, Aleppo and Damascus, and bring the different elements together so that they could force the Franks out. His particular skill lay not so much in military tactics but in the recognition that diplomacy and negotiation could be as effective as force. However, as a Sunni he faced enemies and was the target of assassination attempts. Some of his enemies were concerned by his expansion from Egypt into Syria, while others believed he was simply using *jihad* to further his own ambitions. It was believed that he made treaties with the crusaders to enable him to deal with co-religionist rivals.

### Saladin's challenges to the crusaders

Saladin had to deal with resistance from Aleppo, where Nur ad-Din's family dominated, and from Shi'ites like the Assassins. His position had been

## Saladin 1137/8–93

Saladin was born into a Kurdish family. His father moved to Aleppo to serve the Turkish leader, Zengi (or Zangi or Zingl), who was the governor of Syria. He went, with his uncle, Shirkuh, to fight in Egypt as part of the army of Nur ad-Din, Zengi's son. Here Shirkuh died and the vizier Shawar was assassinated, so Saladin emerged as sultan. His family connections coupled with his own abilities account for his rapid rise to power. In 1171 he ended the Fatimid caliphate and returned Egypt to Sunni rule. When Nur ad-Din died, Saladin acted as regent for his young son and gradually brought Syria and Palestine under his

control. He was inspired by the concept of *jihad*, but was also a firm disciplinarian as a commander. One of his greatest victories was at Hattin in 1187 (see pages 137–41), which enabled him to overrun the kingdom of Jerusalem and take the city. He seemed totally triumphant, but he could not take Tyre and the extent of his victories led to the Third Crusade and much bitter warfare. His troops were raised by feudal levies and so could be reluctant to fight at times. Moreover, Richard I was a worthy opponent. Eventually, the crusaders retired, still in possession of a foothold on the coast, and Saladin retreated to Damascus, where he died. His family continued to rule Egypt until the Mamluks took it in 1250.

strengthened by being recognised by the Sunni caliph of Baghdad as the ruler of Egypt, Yemen and Syria. He also dealt firmly with the Assassins, who tried twice to kill him, by destroying their fortifications and ravaging their lands. He then took control of Damascus in 1174.

As with the divisions among Muslims, so there were divisions among Christians. To understand these divisions, some background to Baldwin IV is needed.

## Baldwin IV

Baldwin IV (see below) was a child of thirteen when his father, Baldwin III died, so a regent had to be appointed, which meant the weakness of a minority, while Baldwin IV himself unfortunately was a leper. The extent of his illness was not realised in 1174, or he might have been passed over as ruler. Raymond III of Tripoli, Baldwin IV's closest male relation, was chosen as regent. Raymond had spent ten years as a prisoner of the Muslims and thus was something of an outsider in Jerusalem. Raymond III was the patron of William of Tyre, the chronicler, who gives a very favourable portrayal of Raymond. Baldwin IV came of age in 1176 and Raymond III returned to Tripoli. The young king renewed the alliance with Byzantium and planned yet another attack on Egypt.

As Baldwin IV's illness took hold he became blind and the bacteria destroyed his nose. Eventually, he lost the use of his arms and legs and had to be carried in a litter. It was thus vital to find a husband for Sibylla (c.1160–90), his sister. The choice fell on William, son of the Count of Montferrat (died 1177), who came from a crusading family and was related to the French kings. He married Sibylla in 1176, but died a year later. Sibylla was pregnant and so unable to be regent when Baldwin IV became ill again. The unlikely new regent was Reynald of Châtillon, now released by the Muslims, as Manuel I had paid much of his ransom. He planned to invade Egypt in collaboration with the Byzantines and Philip I of Flanders (1143–91), who was a cousin of Baldwin IV. Philip I had come east in 1177, hoping to find a bride among the princesses who would have

## Baldwin IV 1161–85

Baldwin was educated by William of Tyre, who noticed when Baldwin was only nine that the boy had no feeling in one of his arms. Doctors were consulted but were reluctant to diagnose leprosy as knights and nobles afflicted with the disease were expected to join the Knights of St Lazarus. He succeeded his father in 1174 when he was thirteen and Raymond of Tripoli acted as regent. Despite his illness and increasing disfigurement, he was a good horseman and an intrepid fighter. He held Saladin back in five attacks and won an unexpected victory when he made a sortie

from Ascalon, where he was under siege, and defeated Saladin at Mont Gisard. He continued the alliance with Byzantium against the Turks. In 1179 he was unhorsed resisting another invasion, which probably was the result of his increasing poor health, and by 1182 he could not ride and led his troops from a litter. But even in 1183, when the High Court of Jerusalem refused to follow Guy de Lusignan as their commander, he went to relieve the siege of Kerak and Saladin withdrew at his approach. In that year he crowned his nephew as Baldwin V with Raymond of Tripoli and Joscelin III of Courtenay as regents. His character appears in the 2005 Ridley Scott film *Kingdom of Heaven*.

a claim to the throne if Baldwin IV died childless. But the expedition fell apart even before it had begun, in disputes over who would rule Egypt when it was taken. The Greeks went home in disgust and Philip I went off to fight in Syria. The unstable conditions on both Christian and Muslim sides were reflected in a two-year truce agreed in 1180. William of Tyre lamented that, for the first time, the terms of the truce were concluded on equal terms, and this showed the declining impact of the crusaders. A further destabilising factor came with the death of Manuel I in 1180. He left an eleven-year-old son, for whom his mother, Maria, was to be regent. Maria was the daughter of Constance of Antioch and so, for the time being, the Byzantine Empire remained friendly towards the crusaders.

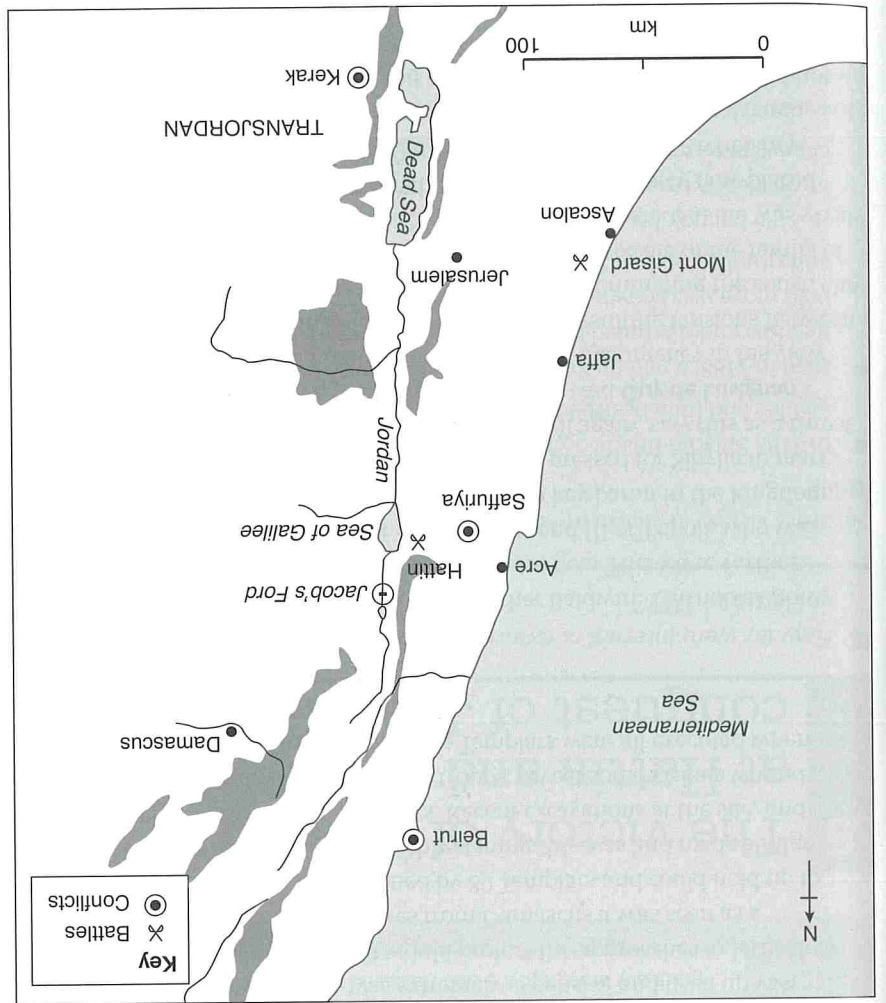


Figure 6.1 Sites of battles and conflicts in the Middle East between the crusaders and Muslims in the years between 1174 and 1187.

## Saladin and Baldwin IV at Mont Gisard

In 1178 Saladin suffered a rare defeat at the hands of Baldwin IV and Reynald at Mont Gisard, near Ibelin, when he was caught unawares. His army had heavy casualties and many were taken prisoner. The Christians also had heavy losses, but Baldwin IV had shown that he was not entirely useless. The victory raised morale but may also have convinced observers in the west that the situation in the east was not as dismal as the crusaders tried to suggest. Saladin was convinced, as a result, that the forces of Syria and Egypt were not enough to defeat the Christians. To do that, he needed the support of Mosul and Aleppo.

### KEY FIGURE

#### Guy de Lusignan (c.1150–94)

Guy was from a noble Poitevin family, who had been involved in earlier crusades. He went to the Near East following a summons from his brothers, who saw him as a possible consort for the widowed sister and heiress of Baldwin IV, Sibylla. They married, and in 1186 took over the kingship from the dead Baldwin V. The following year Guy led the crusader forces at Hattin, where they were defeated. He was released by Saladin in 1188 and soon began the siege of Acre. In 1190, with Sibylla's death, any claims he had to the throne came to an end. However, he was later recompensed with Cyprus, where he died.

ONLINE EXTRAS  
Pearson Edexcel [WWW](http://www)

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### Jordan 1179

The crusaders, buoyed up by their success, began to build a castle, at Jacob's Ford, on the River Jordan. This was extremely expensive and used up vast resources, but the hope was that it would protect the approaches to Jerusalem. However, as it was only 80 kilometres from Damascus it was seen as a provocative act. It was to be garrisoned by 80 Templars and could hold up to 1000 fighting men. Saladin saw how threatening this was and made a huge effort to take it, capturing it in five days. Recent excavations at the site, and the discovery of the remains of some of the troops, reveal some vicious wounds and testify to the brutality of the warfare. The Templars were all executed when the castle was captured.

### Back in Jerusalem

Sibylla's child by William had been a boy, another Baldwin. The nobles now felt that she should marry again to provide a spare heir. This led to further divisions in Jerusalem over the best choice. Raymond III of Tripoli, who was Lord of Galilee as a result of his marriage and so a key baron in the kingdom, and Bohemund of Antioch came to Jerusalem and pressed for Sibylla to marry one of Raymond's men. Baldwin IV, although unwell again, saw this as a threat to his crown and arranged very rapidly for Sibylla to wed **Guy de Lusignan** (c.1150–94), a newly arrived French knight. Such was the urgency in his view that they were married during Holy Week 1180. The resulting tensions between Raymond III and Guy only added to the factions now dominating the court. Guy was from Poitou and his brother, Aimery, was a close associate of the family of Agnes Courtenay. He may even have been her lover (her personal life was vivid and notorious, at least according to William of Tyre). Their party now placed their nominees in all the key posts, Heraclius (c.1128–90/1) the Archbishop of Jerusalem, and another of Agnes' alleged lovers, becoming the patriarch, and Guy receiving extensive lands. But all this intrigue and instability did not make for a kingdom which could defend itself well against a skilled general like Saladin.



## 5 The victory of Saladin at Hattin and his conquest of Jerusalem

How far were internal or external factors the key to the crusaders' defeat at Hattin in 1187?

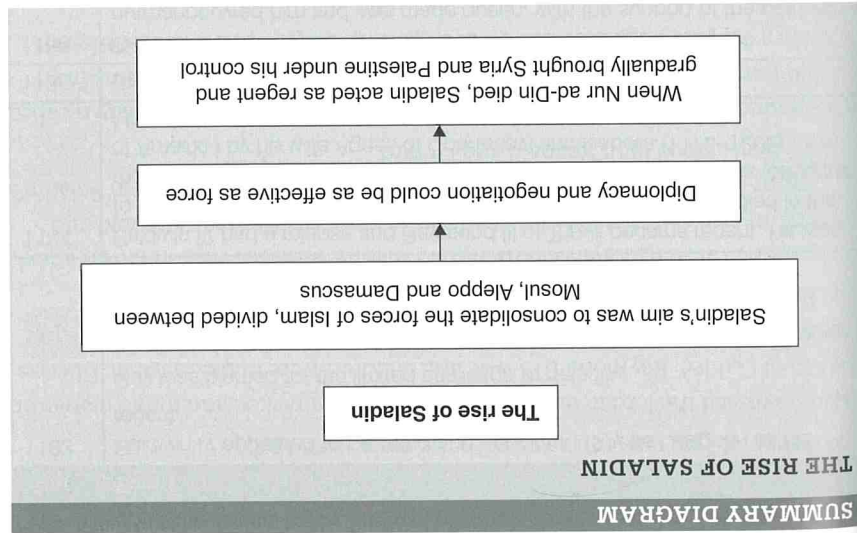
Saladin's victory at Hattin in 1187 was hardly unexpected, after the events of the 1180s:

- In 1183 Saladin finally occupied Aleppo. In the autumn he campaigned in Galilee and then besieged the castle of Kerak.
  - Also in 1183, a raid by Reynald of Châtillon had even reached as far as the Red Sea and disrupted the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Saladin's fury at this bold move was shown when he took two of the captured Franks to Mecca and ritually cut their throats in front of an approving crowd.
  - In 1186 he took Mosul and thus completed his encirclement of the crusader territories. A truce he had made with the Christians had given him the chance to pursue his goal of uniting the Muslims undisturbed.
- However, the continued factional strife in Jerusalem was also a factor in preventing any kind of realistic resistance being mounted against Saladin.

### Background to the Battle of Hattin

There was a complicated series of events that led up to the battle in 1187. These are outlined in Table 6.1 (see page 138).

SUMMARY DIAGRAM  
THE RISE OF SALADIN



**Table 6.1** Timeline leading to the Battle of Hattin

| Year | Event  |
|------|--|
| 1183 | Baldwin IV appeared to be dying and appointed Guy de Lusignan as his regent<br>Guy was blamed for the limited challenge to Saladin<br>Guy was stripped of the regency and Baldwin's nephew, also Baldwin, aged five, named instead. Raymond III of Tripoli commanded the army<br>Guy refused to go quietly and, with Sibylla, held out in Ascalon  |
| 1184 | Baldwin IV had a relapse and Raymond III of Tripoli became regent. He was to rule for ten years until young Baldwin came of age. If Baldwin died in the meantime, an international panel would assess the rights of Sibylla (daughter of Amalric I by his wife Agnes of Courtenay) and Isabella (1172–1205) (daughter of Amalric I by his second wife Maria Comnena)   |
| 1185 | Baldwin IV died. Raymond III remained as regent for Baldwin V  |
| 1186 | Baldwin V died. Raymond III hoped to be elected king but Sibylla outmanoeuvred him and was made queen, with the support of the patriarch and the Templar leader. Sibylla agreed to divorce Guy as long as she was given a free choice about whom she should marry next. She then surprised everyone by choosing Guy. Raymond III proposed that the husband of Isabella, Humphrey of Toron (c.1166–98), should be king and the Ibelins backed him, but Humphrey would not agree, leaving Raymond III isolated. As a result Raymond III left to take service under Bohemund III of Antioch (c.1148–1201) leaving Guy and Sibylla as king and queen |

## The campaign of 1187

Guy had made a truce with Saladin but this was broken in 1186, when Reynald of Châtillon attacked a caravan travelling from Egypt to Damascus. Saladin demanded compensation and Guy agreed but Reynald refused to obey. This made war inevitable. Raymond III of Tripoli remained adamant in his opposition to Guy and renewed his truce with Saladin, which included his wife's lands in Galilee. Guy sent a deputation to Raymond III, which included Gerard of Ridfort (died 1189), Grand Master of the Templars, who was a personal enemy of Raymond III and whose agreement to any settlement was vital. At the same time, a Muslim force under Saladin's son was crossing Galilee with Raymond III's permission and the two forces met, unintentionally, at Cresson, where most of the Templars were killed. Raymond III blamed himself for this tragedy and thus made his peace with Guy.

Saladin was able to call on troops from Aleppo and Mosul, and his army was the largest he had ever commanded. Guy summoned all his vassals to meet at Acre. The Templars and Hospitallers sent virtually their entire knightly forces. The Templars even released the funds sent by Henry II of England as part of his penance after the murder of Becket, which were meant to be awaiting the English king's arrival to crusade. This allowed more mercenaries to be hired. Even Bohemund III of Antioch sent troops in the end. The relic of the True Cross

was brought from the Holy Sepulchre, but not by Heraclius, who claimed to be too ill but was generally believed to be enjoying the favours of his latest mistress. The Bishop of Tyre was entrusted with the most sacred relic.

Saladin crossed the Jordan on 1 July and his troops attacked and took Tibérias on the Sea of Galilee. Raymond III's wife and children were in the castle at Tibérias and held out there, sending increasingly frantic messages to Raymond III. King Guy then came to a disastrous decision:


- In council at Acre, Raymond III argued that the summer heat made an attack very unwise and that Saladin would soon have to withdraw. Reynald and Gerard took the opposite view and accused Raymond III of being in Saladin's pay. Guy agreed with Reynald and Gerard.
- Guy decided to attack. His troops camped at a well-watered site. Guy recalled that four years earlier he had refused to advance against the Muslims from such a site and been condemned as a coward. This time would be different, he hoped.
- Guy changed his mind. Despite the plight of Raymond III's wife, Raymond III persisted in his advice not to advance, and this time Guy agreed.
- Guy changed his mind again. Gerard, the Grand Master of the Templars, came to Guy at night and persuaded Guy to reverse his decision.
- Guy attacked. On 3 July the crusaders left their well-watered camp and marched on Tibérias across the Galilean hills. Saladin waited at Hatín, a village where the road came down to the Sea of Galilee.

Catastrophe ensued. The heat meant that the crusader army was desperate for water and forced to halt on the slopes of a rocky hill called the Horns of Hatín. The well there was dry. Saladin's army set fire to the scrub on the hill and so the Christians had to face the smoke along with their thirst. Overnight Saladin surrounded Guy's forces. Guy's troops fought as best they could, charging the enemy. Raymond III of Tripoli's men rode at the Muslims, who opened their ranks to let them through and then closed up. Thus, Raymond III was cut off from the battle and could take no further part. He retreated to Tripoli.

Guy and his officers moved to the top of the hill and, when the Muslims finally reached them, the Christians were so exhausted that they were lying defenceless on the ground. They were taken to Saladin, who personally gave Guy water. But Saladin saw Reynald as an enemy and attacked Reynald before his bodyguard finished the job, cutting off Reynald's head. The other barons were treated with respect but the Templars and Hospitallers were all slaughtered, apart from Gerard the Grand Master. The lesser folk were sold in the slave market, where this sudden glut of prisoners brought prices down to a very low level. The Bishop of Tyre had died and the True Cross was lost forever.

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## Why were the crusaders defeated at Hattin?

A further cause of the defeat at Hattin was the failure of deputations to the west. In 1181 the Templars had sent envoys to Alexander III and he appealed to Philip II of France (1165–1223) (Louis VII died in 1180) and to Henry II of England. The pope blamed poor leadership for the problems in the east and considered Baldwin IV's leprosy to be the result of the sinfulness of the settlers. But Philip II, as a new king, and Henry, as an old one, did not respond positively.

In 1184 the crusaders tried again, sending Heraclius himself along with the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers. But, for a second time, neither Philip nor Henry would commit to a crusade, although they sent money. A few crusaders did arrive in response but were disillusioned to discover that a truce had been made with Saladin. Apart from the situation in western Europe throughout the 1170s and 1180s which prevented kings from going crusading, there was some feeling that the settlers in the east were too accommodating towards Islam. The easy everyday relationships and the trade and other contacts between Christians and Muslims surprised and sometimes appalled western visitors, who failed to appreciate the realities of the situation.

**ONLINE EXTRAS**  
Pearson Edexcel **WWW**

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### The situation in western Europe

Henry II, the Angevin King of England, and the King of France, Louis VII and then Philip Augustus, were bitter enemies and did not trust each other and, therefore, were unwilling to leave their lands. Henry had married Louis' first wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, which caused resentment between the two. The two kings were reconciled in 1170, but then Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered by some of Henry's knights. Henry was condemned for encouraging the murder and that ended the feeling of unity, which prevented them both from departing.

The penance imposed by the pope on Henry was to provide knights for the Holy Land. But yet again, as he was about to depart for the Holy Land in 1174, he faced a rebellion at home led by his eldest son, Henry the Younger. The rebellion was supported by Henry the Younger's brothers, Henry II's wife and Louis.

Finally, when there was a further appeal for help in 1181, Henry II was worried that as he was the closest male heir to Baldwin, he would be forced to stay for years. He was also concerned that the new King of France, Philip Augustus, was scheming with Henry's sons to recover lands in France and, therefore, was unwilling to depart.

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## Other factors in the defeat at Hattin: no help from Byzantium

Furthermore, the change in the outlook of Byzantium meant that no help could be expected from the eastern empire. Events in Constantinople were as fast moving as in Jerusalem and similarly complex. Manuel I, who died in 1180, had held his empire together by his own determination, but had failed to make provision for the future. He had believed a prophecy which claimed that he had fourteen more years to live and rule. The new emperor was Alexius II (1169–83), aged eleven. His mother was Maria (1152–82), the daughter of Constance of Antioch and so associated with the Latins. This did not make her more popular in Constantinople, where the destructive passage of crusaders had twice disrupted the city, while the Italian merchants who lived there were becoming rich on the trade they controlled. Maria was advised by Alexius Comnenus, a nephew of her husband, who was also rumoured to be her lover. The opposition found a leader in Andronicus Comnenus (c.1118–85), a cousin of Manuel I, who rallied support and in 1182 reached Constantinople, where the people had already risen and murdered all the Italians they could find. He rapidly took control. Alexius II was imprisoned and blinded. Maria was strangled and then Alexius II was murdered. Andronicus became emperor aged 62 and married Alexius II's widow, Alice of France (1171–1204 at least), who was twelve. Andronicus saw his chief enemies as being in Europe, namely in Sicily and Germany, so he wanted to secure his eastern frontiers. Thus, he made a treaty with Saladin, promising Saladin a free hand against the Franks in return for protection from the Seljuk Turks. However, in 1185 Andronicus was overthrown in turn by his cousin, Isaac Angelos (1156–1204), who proved to be an ineffectual ruler.

## Other factors in the defeat at Hattin: no help from Antioch

This sudden decline in the power of Byzantium left the crusaders without an ally who could harass Saladin from the west. It also led Bohemund III of Antioch to abandon his Greek wife and marry a lady of doubtful reputation in Antioch. This action brought the rage of the patriarch, Aimery, down on him and Heraclius had to come to Antioch to broker a peace. Those of Bohemund III's nobles who disliked his marriage most fled to the Prince of Cilicia in Asia Minor, who took the opportunity of unrest in Antioch to extend his own territories. Bohemund III felt it wise under the circumstances to make a truce with Saladin.

**ONLINE EXTRAS**  
AQA  
WWW

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**ONLINE EXTRAS**  
AQA  
WWW

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WWW

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**SOURCE QUESTION**

In what ways is the celebration in Source B by Saladin similar to crusaders' reactions to successes?

**KEY TERM**

**Minbar** A pulpit from which sermons are preached in the mosque.

## The fall of Jerusalem

The aftermath of Hattin brought more disaster to the crusaders. There were few men left to resist Saladin, so he was able to capture forts and castles, numbering 52 according to one account. Saladin kept his word when terms of surrender were agreed, which encouraged defenders to give in. He took Acre and Ascalon and, after a fortnight's siege, Jerusalem. The inhabitants were mostly allowed to pay a ransom and leave. The al-Aqsa Mosque was reinstated, but some Christian services continued to be held in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and pilgrims were still allowed to visit. All that remained under the rule of the crusaders were the cities of Tripoli, Antioch and Tyre, and the castles belonging to the Templars and Hospitallers in Tripoli. Saladin's reaction is reflected in Source B.

**SOURCE B**

From a letter from Saladin about the fall of Jerusalem, quoted in S.J. Allen and Emilie Ant, editors, *The Crusades: A Reader*, University of Toronto Press, 2010, p. 162.

*The land of Jerusalem has become pure ... God is become one God and he was three. The houses of the infidel are cast down. The Muslims have taken possession of the fortified castles. Our enemies will not return to them for they are branded with the seal of weakness and degradation. God has placed beauty where deformity was ... The servant [Saladin] will change the weeds of error for the good seed of the true faith. He will cast down the crosses of the churches and will cause the summons to prayer to be heard. He will change altars into pulpits and of churches he will make mosques ... God has driven them out of this territory and has cast them down. He has favoured the partisans of the truth and has shown his anger against the infidels ... The word of God has been exalted. The tombs of the prophets which the infidels had stained have been purified.*

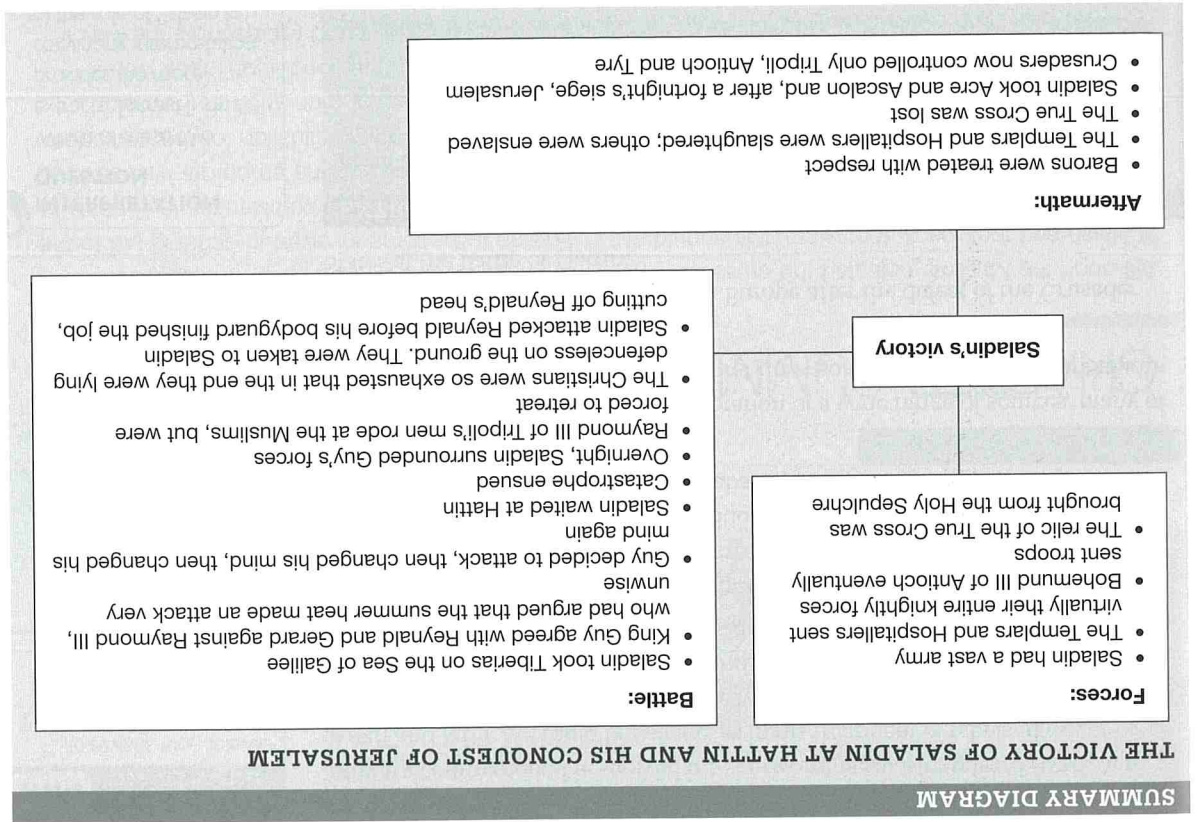
Raymond III of Tripoli died in late 1187 and left his country to Raymond, the son of Bohemund III of Antioch. Bohemund III, however, transferred it to his second son, another Bohemund, fearing that Tripoli and Antioch would be too much for one man to defend. Guy was joined by Sibylla in prison and Saladin released them both some time in 1188. Saladin's exploits were lauded in the works of his secretary, Imad ad-Din al-Isfahani, and his friend, Baha' ad-Din Ibn Shaddad. He stressed his role as the heir to Nur ad-Din's *jihad* by placing Nur ad-Din's **minbar** in the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem as Nur ad-Din had wanted.

In Europe, the news of the fall of Jerusalem was received with horror and disbelief. Pope Urban III (c.1105–87) was said to have died from the shock. Inevitably, a new crusade was proposed.

The debate about Saladin is well outlined in Jonathan Phillips' book (2019), where he explains that views of Saladin largely varied according to who was writing about him. This is not a straightforward crusader/Arab division. Shiite authors were often critical of Saladin because he ended the Fatimid caliphate, while many western authors praised his chivalrous qualities. In his *Divine Comedy* (1320), Dante gives Saladin a place among the virtuous non-Christians in the First Circle of Hell. Romantised pictures of Saladin emerge in Walter Scott's *The Talisman* (1825) and in Stanley Lane-Poole's *Saladin and the Fall of Jerusalem* (1898). One reason for western versions being more favourable is that Richard I, one of the foremost warriors of his day, was unable to defeat Saladin and so the sultan was endowed with special powers to account for this failure. The image of Saladin as a man who drew the peoples of the Near East together and fought to recover Jerusalem has resonated with modern leaders of Arab nationalism from Nasser to Saddam Hussein and been influential in the interpretation of the conflict in that area as a renewal of the Crusades.

■ How should Saladin be viewed?

## 6 Key debate



Modern interpretations by historians recognise that Saladin was not a perfect military commander. He showed his shortcomings at Montgisard, Tyre, Acre, Arsuf and Jaffa. He could be savage, as in his treatment of rebels in Egypt or towards Reynald of Châtillon and the Military Orders after Hattin. Against this are his impressive victory at Hattin and his capture of Jerusalem, which makes him such a hero for the Arabs, alongside his many acts of generosity.

A more hostile view comes from Andrew Ehrenkreutz, an American scholar writing in 1977, who deplored Saladin's rule in Egypt as merely exploiting the situation for his own selfish ambitions. He further denigrated the sultan as an opportunist who was ready to abandon religious principles for political expediency.

Recent research has focused on exploration of a wide range of sources, many of them translated from Arabic for the first time, so that interpretations of Saladin continue to evolve.

Extract 1 outlines views of Saladin in Europe after the defeat of the Crusader States at the Battle of Hattin.

**? INTERPRETATION QUESTION**

Which of these two extracts, Extract 1 or 2, provides the more convincing interpretation of the role of Saladin in the years 1182–93?

**ONLINE EXTRAS AQA**

**WWW**

Develop your analysis of historical interpretations by completing Worksheet 28 at [www.hoddereducation.co.uk/accesstohistory/extras](http://www.hoddereducation.co.uk/accesstohistory/extras)

**EXTRACT 1**

From Jonathan Phillips, *The Life and Legend of the Sultan Saladin*, Bodley Head, 2019, p. 317.

*An angry and vicious Latin poem presented the sultan as a man of lowly origins, also responsible for the murders of the Fatimid caliph plus Nur al-Din and his son as well as the rape of Nur al-Din's wife ... The opening chapters of one of the earliest accounts of the Third Crusade, the Itinerarium peregrinorum, accused the sultan of living off the earnings of prostitutes in Damascus and killing the caliph: he was characterised as a fortuitous, opportunistic chancer. Saladin was often described as a stick, a scourge sent by God to beat the Christians for their sins or, as one writer put it, if Nur al-Din was a stick, then Saladin was a hammer. To compound these spiritual matters, the sultan's victories in the Holy Land prompted the kings of England and France to launch the 'Saladin Tithe', a punishing 10% levy on revenues and movables; to have one's name attached to a major tax rarely constitutes an attractive legacy.*

Extract 2 has a more favourable view of Saladin.

**EXTRACT 2**

From Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, Volume III*, Penguin Books, 2016, first published 1954, p. 65.

*Of all the great figures of the Crusading era Saladin is the most attractive. He had his faults. In his rise to power he showed a cunning and ruthlessness that fitted ill with his later reputation. In the interests of policy he never shrank from bloodshed. He slew Reynald of Châtillon, whom he hated, with his own hand. But when he was severe it was for the sake of his people and his faith. He was a devout Muslim. However kindly he felt towards his Christian friends, he knew that their souls were*

**ONLINE EXTRAS AQA**

**WWW**

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## CHAPTER SUMMARY

Although the Muslims defeated the crusaders at Hattin and took back Jerusalem, this should not be seen as inevitable. The crusaders did not lack ability or courage but they suffered from a series of problems which, when taken together, were too much for them. These included a run of succession problems among the ruling families which led to disunity and rivalries among the feudal nobility, who often put their own interests before those of the States. Other factors contributed, such as coming up against two skilful Muslim leaders in Nur ad-Din and Saladin, who were both inspired by the idea

of *jihad*. Moreover, the refusal of monarchs in Europe to become involved in sending aid to the east and the chaotic circumstances in Byzantium, where the authority of the emperors was severely challenged, made the situation for the crusaders worse. The antics of men such as Reynald of Châtillon and Raymond III of Tripoli were extremely unhelpful and represented the way in which some of the settlers put their own interests before the common good. Guy de Lusignan tried his best to hold on to Jerusalem but could not overcome all the circumstances which piled up against him.

doomed to perdition. Yet he respected their ways and thought of them as fellow-men. Unlike the Crusader potentates, he never broke his word when it was pledged to anyone, whatever his religion. For all his ferocity, he was always courteous and generous, merciful as a conqueror and a judge, as a master considerate and tolerant. Though some of his emirs might resent him as a Kurdish parvenu and though preachers in the West might call him Antichrist, there were very few of his subjects that did not feel for him respect and devotion, and few of his enemies could withhold admiration from him.

Chapter 6 The Crusader States after the Second Crusade

ONLINE EXTRAS  
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Develop your analysis of interpretations by completing Worksheet 27 at [www.hoddereducation.co.uk/accessstohistory/extras](http://www.hoddereducation.co.uk/accessstohistory/extras)

## Refresher questions

Use these questions to remind yourself of the key material covered in this chapter.

- 1 What was the impact of *jihad* on the crusading movement?
- 2 What were the main achievements of Nur ad-Din?
- 3 How damaging was the rift between Melisende and Baldwin III?
- 4 What were the results of the capture of Ascalon?
- 5 Why did Amalric attack Egypt?
- 6 What were Saladin's strengths as a leader?
- 7 Why was aid from Europe not given?
- 8 What advantages did Saladin have at Hattin?