

Crusade Texts in Translation

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Chronicle of the Third Crusade

A Translation of the
*Itinerarium Peregrinorum
et Gesta Regis Ricardi*

HELEN J. NICHOLSON

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Published by
Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
Gower House
Croft Road
Aldershot
Hants GU11 3HR
England

Ashgate Publishing Company
Old Post Road
Brookfield
Vermont 05036
USA

ISBN 1 85928 154 0

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Nicholson, Helen

Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*

I. Crusades—Third, 1189–1192. I. Title.
940.1'8

US Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ricardus, Canonicus Sanctae Trinitatis Londoniensis.

[*Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*. English]

Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi* / Helen J. Nicholson.

p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index.

Translated from the version of the chronicle published by William Stubbs in 1864 as v. 1 of *Chronicles and memorials of the reign of Richard I*.

I. Crusades—Third, 1189–1192. I. Nicholson, Helen J. II. Stubbs, William, 1825–1901. III. Title.

D151.R52713 1997

956.014--dc21

97-19537

CIP

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Printed and bound in Great Britain by Galliard (Printers) Ltd

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past, most were written from hearsay and few are eyewitness accounts. Dares of Phrygia's² account of the destruction of Troy is given more credence than others because he was present and saw for himself what others reported from hearsay. On the same basis this history of Jerusalem which we recount should not be unworthy of belief. We proclaim to you what we have seen [1 John ch. 1 v. 3]. Our pen recorded noteworthy events while the memory of them was still fresh.

Perhaps the discerning audience may demand a more cultured literary style; but they should realise that we wrote this while we were in the military camp, where the battle's roar does not allow leisure for peaceful thought. Truth is sufficient to please; and although undecorated with polished pomposity, it may still lure the audience into its mystery.

2. Dares of Phrygia, priest of Hephaestus at Troy (Homer's *Iliad* 5. 9) was reputed to be the author of a lost pre-Homeric account of the Trojan war. A supposed Latin prose translation survives, *Daretiis Phrygi de Excidio Trojae Historia*: 'Dares of Phrygia's History of the Destruction of Troy'. It was probably written in the fifth century AD.

Book 1

Chapter 1: The Lord exterminates the people of Syria because of the people's sins.

In the year of the Incarnation of the Word 1187, Urban III occupied the Apostolic See, Frederick [Barbarossa] was ruling in Germany, Isaac [Angelus] at Constantinople, Philip [II] was reigning in France, Henry [II] in England, and William [II] in Sicily. Then the Lord's hand was aroused against His people - if we can properly call them 'His', as their immoral behaviour, disgraceful lifestyle, and foul vices had made them strangers to Him. For shameful practices had broken out in the East, so that everywhere everyone threw off the veil of decency and openly turned aside to filthy things. It would take a long time to describe their murders, robberies and adulteries, and it is not part of our scheme, which is to describe events and not to write a moral tract. Suffice it to say that when the Ancient Enemy spread the spirit of corruption far and wide, he particularly seized on Syria. So the region from which other areas had received religion now became an example of all immorality.

The Lord saw that the land of His Nativity, the place of His Passion, had fallen into the filthy abyss. Therefore He spurned His Inheritance, permitting the rod of His fury, Saladin [al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb], to rage and exterminate the obstinate people. Since they had no sense of honour to restrain them from illicit deeds, He preferred the Holy Land to serve the profane rites of Gentiles for a time than for His people to flourish any longer.

Various disasters foretold the approaching destruction: famine, earthquakes and frequent eclipses of both the moon and the sun. Even that strong wind which the astronomers had predicted from a planetary conjunction became another indication of these events. It certainly was a strong wind, for it shook the four corners of the earth and foretold that the whole globe would be shaken in uproar and battles.¹

1. For this forecast of a strong wind which would cause death and destruction see also Rigord, pp. 72-7; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 1 p. 324; *Chronica*, 2 p. 290.

His commendable courage won him his enemies' approval. Many were sorry for him and affectionately urged him to surrender, but he ignored their urgings, for he was not afraid to die for Christ. At long last, crushed rather than conquered by spears, stones and lances, he sank to the ground and joyfully passed to heaven with the martyr's crown, triumphant.

It was indeed a gentle death with no place for sorrow, when one man's sword had constructed such a great crown for himself from the crowd laid all around him. Death is sweet when the victor lies encircled by the impious people he has slain with his victorious right hand. And because it so happened that the warrior had been riding a white horse and had white armour and weapons, the Gentiles, who knew that St George had this appearance in battle, boasted that they had killed the Knight of Shining Armour, the protector of the Christians.

The place where he had fought was covered with the stubble which the reapers had left standing when they had cut the grain shortly before. Such a great number of Turks had rushed in to attack, and this one man had fought for so long against so many battalions, that the field in which they stood was completely reduced to dust and there was not a trace of the crop to be seen.

It is said that there were some who sprinkled the body of the dead man with dust and placed the dust on their heads, believing that they would draw courage from the contact. In fact, rumour has it that one person was moved with more fervour than the rest. He cut off the man's genitals, and kept them safely for begetting children so that even when dead the man's members - if such a thing were possible - would produce an heir with courage as great as his.

Saladin was greatly exhilarated by his troops' victory and his mind was kindled with the desire of seizing the kingdom of Jerusalem. And so he turned his mind to greater things.

Chapter 3: Saladin's descent and origins.

To inform eager Posterity more fully about this great persecutor of the Christian faith, we shall set down something about his origins, as far as brevity permits.

He was from the nation of *Mirmuraenus*.⁶ His parents were not descen-

6. Meyer, H. (1962). *Biographies Byzantines*, p. 260.

ded from the nobility, but neither were they common people of obscure birth. His father's given name was Job [Ayyūb], and his was Joseph [Yūsuf]. Giving Hebrew names of circumcision when their sons are circumcised is a rite which thrives among many of the Gentiles and follows Muslim tradition.

The princes take their names from the title of the law of Muḥammad, so that their names may remind them to be studious defenders of that law. Now, in the Gentile language the law is called the *Hadin*. From this he was called *Salahadin*, which translates as 'reformer of the law', or 'peacemaker'.⁷ And just as our princes are called emperors or kings, so among them those who are preeminent are named *Soldans*, as if to mean 'sole dominion'.

His origins. Saladin received the first auspices of his future power under Nuradin [al-Malik al-Sāliḥ Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī], sultan of Damascus [Dimashq]. Saladin collected illgotten gains for himself from a levy on the girls of Damascus: they were not allowed to practise as prostitutes unless they had obtained, at a price, a licence from him for carrying on the profession of lust. However, whatever he gained by pimping like this he paid back generously by funding plays. So through lavish giving to all their desires he won the mercenary favour of the common people.

He was given the hope of winning a kingdom by a Syrian soothsayer, who told him his future and that he would be sovereign over Damascus and Babylon [Cairo]. So he treasured ambitions in his heart, and although his influence was limited to a few possessions he began to hope for more than a kingdom. As time passed, he reached the age when his physical strength required that he take up the office of knighthood. He went as a candidate for knighthood to Enfrid of Turon [Humphrey II of Toron, or Tibnīn],⁸ an illustrious prince of Palestine, and received the belt of knighthood from him in accordance with the rite of the Franks.

corruption of *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, i.e. 'Leader of the Believers', which was a stock part of the caliph's title. Our writer apparently took the phrase from the titles at the end of Saladin's letter to Frederick I, below, Bk. 1 ch. 18. In fact Saladin was a Kurd. For his origins see Bahā' al-Dīn, p. 4.

7. MSS A and G omit 'or peacemaker'. In fact the name means 'Goodness of the Faith': Holt, P. M. (1986), *The Age of the Crusades*, p. xii.
8. Another tradition says Hugh of Tiberias, who appears in ch. 10, below. Humphrey II of Toron appears to be the original person involved in this legend: see [?], (1955), *Le Cycle de la Croisade*, p. 131.

Chapter 4: Saladin seizes the kingdoms of Egypt, Damascus, India, and other lands.

At that time [1169] a certain Gentile, Shawar by name [Abu Shujā' ibn Mujir Shāwar], had obtained the whole of Egypt [as vizier], under the authority of the Molan [the Caliph: Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-'Adid] which means 'Lord' in the language of that country. Amalric the victorious king of Jerusalem had forced him to pay an annual tribute. Now, the Molan used to make a public appearance three times a year to receive the Egyptians' adoration. Among his subjects he was believed to have such great power that the Nile was said to flood at his command. What is more, he respectfully fulfilled the statutes of the Gentiles' religion, having as many concubines as there are days in the year. So he lived a decadent life among his girls, having entrusted the affairs of the kingdom to Shawar.

At that time Saladin was fighting for the Egyptians with his uncle Saracun [Asad al-Dīn ibn Shādhī Shīrkūh]. He treacherously killed these unsuspecting men, and so won the lordship of all Egypt. Later, in fact not long afterwards, Nuradin came to the end of his life. Saladin married his widow, put Nuradin's heirs to flight, and seized the government of the kingdom of Damascus [1174].

It was the caprice of Fortune that wished for these rapid changes. She raises up a rich man from a pauper, the lofty from the humble, a ruler from a slave. If we measured the value of things by rational judgement and not by general opinion, we would reckon the power that comes from worldly success as worthless, since too often it is the most evil and unworthy people who obtain it! That pimp, who had a kingdom of brothels, an army in taverns, who studied dice and rice,⁹ is suddenly raised up on high. He sits among princes, no, he is greater than princes! 'Holding the throne of glory' [1 Samuel ch. 2 v. 8] he rules the Egyptians, he subdues Damascus, he seizes the land of Roasia [al-Ruhā, or Edessa; now Urfa] and Gesira [al-Jazīra] and he penetrates and governs the most remote parts of India.

Saladin makes one monarchy out of all these kingdoms. Storming and seizing, now by a trick, now by arms, Saladin brings all these kingdoms under his control. Then he makes a single monarchy out of all these

9. The original *aleis et alliis* means literally 'dice and garlic', but in English this

sceptres. He alone claims the governments of so many kings! Still the tyrant's greed is not content with this. The more he has, the more he wants, and he strives with all his strength to seize the Lord's Inheritance.

Then the opportunity arises for him to obtain his desire. Now he hopes to gain what he had never even dared to wish for.

Chapter 5: The quarrel which arose between the Christian leaders.

The populace were dangerously divided because of the struggle between Count Raymond [III] of Tripoli [Tarābulus] and Guy, eighth king of the Latins, over the kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁰ This opportunity violently kindled the sultan's greed, promising swift and certain success in his plans. Yet the sultan did have some pretext for declaring war. Reginald [de Châtillon], prince of Antioch [Antakya],¹¹ had broken a truce which our people and the Gentiles had sworn to observe.

How the prince of Antioch broke the truce by killing pagans who were travelling outside his frontier. On one occasion a very numerous and opulent company of Gentiles was crossing from Damascus to Egypt. They were not afraid to travel past the frontier with the Christians' lands because of the truce. Suddenly the aforesaid prince rushed down on them and carried them dishonourably away as captives with all their baggage.¹² So the sultan, burning with ambition and furious at the insult done

10. According to Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 1 p. 359 (translated in *Conquest of Jerusalem*, pp. 154-5) and *Chronica*, 2 p. 316, Raymond of Tripoli became a traitor because he had wanted to marry the queen, Sybil, when she was forced to divorce Guy in order to inherit the crown. However, Sybil had remarried Guy. In fact the count was already married to Eschiva, lady of Tiberias. For different account of these tensions see *Conquest of Jerusalem*, pp. 12, 14, 17, 38-9, where they are blamed on a private quarrel between Gerard de Ridefort, master of the Temple, and the count of Tripoli.
11. Reynald de Châtillon was still being given the title of prince of Antioch in 1187, even though his stepson Bohemund had succeeded him as prince of Antioch in 1163, while Reynald was in a Muslim prison. In 1187 he was also lord of Transjordan through his marriage before November 1177 to Lady Stephanie de Milly, and lord of Hebron. For his career see Hamilton, B. (1978), 'The Elephant of Christ'.
12. See Bahā' al-Dīn, pp. 42, 114. For this incident see Hamilton, B. (1978), 'Elephant of Christ', pp. 106-7.

to him, roused the forces of his whole empire and invaded the kingdom of Jerusalem with violence and power.

His army contained such a number of people, such dissimilar races with such diverse religious observances that if we were to describe them as fully as the law of history demands the length of the description would defeat our intention of brevity.¹³ However, although it was an innumerable multitude its size can be estimated to some extent if we name only the commanders.

The size of the army Saladin brought when he came to defeat the Christian army. There came Nuradin, emir of Amiza,¹⁴ with all his company.

Jarafarahadin emir of Robis [Shīrkūh ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, emir of al-Raḥba] came; the emir of Raechis [Raḡqa]; and the emir of Faraquin [Mayyāfāriqīn: Ḥusām al-Dīn Sonqor al-Khilāṭī].

The emir of Mossetar [lord of Masyāf in N. Syria];¹⁵ the emir of Nesebin [Niṣībīn],¹⁶ bringing with him Duke Mezaedin [probably 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, lord of Mosul].

Also the emir of Byla [al-Bīra]¹⁷ came, and the emir of Torvesello [Tell Bashir, or Turbessel: Badr al-Dīn Dildirim al-Yārūqī ibn Bahā' al-Daula]; the emir of Damascus, and the caliph of Baghdad; Emir Alirius; Emir Myrchalius; Emir Mestoch [Saif al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Mashṭūb].¹⁸

Duke Sanscous of Doda came [probably Shams al-Dīn Sonqor].

Bellegemin [Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Abū'l-Haijā' al-Samīn]¹⁹ came; Emir Megesimus [probably Mujaḥid al-Dīn Yurun-Qush]; Emir Gwahadin Sanscous [see emir of Faraquin, above]; Duke Acalatin [probably Saif al-Dīn Bektimur, lord of Khilāt]; the emir of Rohequis [Edessa]; Emir Alexandrin.

13. MSS groups G and A omit the list of names which follows, and continue: 'Parthians, Bedouins, and Arabs...', as at the very end of the list here. The compiler of IP2 seems to have put this list together from an independent source of information and names of Muslim leaders who appear in the rest of the book. The copyist of MS A, although he used IP2, did not use it here. Some names are repeated, appearing under their title and their name. Mayer (1962), pp. 255-6 and index, tried to identify them all and I give his identifications.

14. Mayer (1962) points out that this appears to indicate Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qara-Arslān, lord of Āmid, but he had died in 1185.

15. Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān, the Old Man of the Mountain: Mayer (1962), p. 255.

16. 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, from Sindjar.

17. Probably Shihab al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Shihab al-Dīn Ilyas, lord of al-Bīra.

18. See Bk. 3 ch. 15, below.

Duke Haelicalin [same as Duke Mezaedin above?] came, bringing with him his brother Sanguin ['Imād al-Dīn ibn Maudūd ibn Zangī II of Sinjar].

The emir of Damietta also came; the emir of Maelis [Mārdīn]; Safahadin Berbensis; Sensedin of the Mountains [probably Shams al-Dīn ibn Munqid]; the emir of Babylonia [Egypt: al-Malik al-Afdal Nūr al-Dīn Abū'l-Hasan 'Alī ibn Salāh al-Dīn, commander of Saladin's Egyptian forces]; the sultan of Coimo [Iconium, now Konya: Qilij-Arslān II]; Baffadin Archadius;²⁰ Duke Ayas of Stoi [Ayāz al-Jawīl];²¹ the emir of Carracois [Emir Bahā' al-Dīn al-Asadī Qara-Qūsh];²² Sanscous of Halabi [probably Sonqor al-Ḥalabī]; Duke Dorderin Hedredin [lord of Tell Bashir, see above]; Duke Serbeth of Harengo [Surkhak of Ḥārim]; the emir of Souz; emir Bedredin [the lord of Tell Bashir again]; the emir of the Kurds; the emir of Boyssleth [Buṣrā? Baisān?]; the emir of Gibel [Jabala];²³ Emir Sassachius [Emir Mestoch?]; the emir of Crach [Kerak];²⁴ Emir Waradin, and Elias and Jebedin; Duke Altilaban²⁵ with 300 Turks and bringing with him ten emirs, each ready for war with a retinue well instructed in arms.

Besides these aforementioned, Saladin also had 500,000 Saracens, Parthians, Bedouins, and Arabs, Medes, Kurds and Egyptians. They were as divided in place of origin, rites and name as they were united in their determination to destroy the Holy Land.

*The deceit of the count of Tripoli.*²⁶ It is said that the count of Tripoli deceitfully put himself in command of leading the army against the enemy. He actually intended to betray his people, as he had agreed with Saladin.

20. This must be Saladin's brother al-'Ādil: see Bk. 6 ch. 22, p. 364 below.

21. See Bk. 4 ch. 14, p. 243 below.

22. See Bk. 3 ch. 15, below.

23. Mayer adds that Jabala was not captured by the Saracens until 1189.

24. Mayer states that this should be al-'Ādil, brother of Saladin and lord of Kerak; but Kerak did not fall to the Saracens until late 1188.

25. Mayer states that although this indicates Shihab al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ḥārimī, Saladin's uncle, he had in fact died in 1177-78.

26. The details on the treachery of the count of Tripoli here and in chapter 5 are not in MSS G and A but were inserted by the compiler of IP2, apparently not in MSS G and A but were inserted by the compiler of IP2, apparently from Ambroise. Cf. Ambroise, lines 2447-9, 2512-21. The English sources agree on the count's treachery, as does Guy of Bazoches, 'Cronosgraphia', fol. 63v. The Palestinian Frankish sources depict him as a Christian patriot. *Chronicle of Jerusalem* on 36-8, 46-7.

The vision which appeared to King Guy's chamberlain. As our people were advancing to meet the sultan the day of calamity was approaching. A dreadful vision appeared to the king's chamberlain: he saw an eagle flying over the Christian army, carrying seven darts and a crossbow in its talons and crying out in a terrible voice: 'Woe to you, Jerusalem!'

To interpret the mystery of his vision, we believe it is sufficient to refer to the Scripture: 'The Lord has bent his bow, and made it ready; he has also prepared for him the instruments of death' [Psalm 7 vv. 12-13]. For what are the seven darts, if not an allegorical representation of the seven deadly sins, from which the unfortunate army was soon to perish? We may see in those seven things the whole of the punishments which threatened the Christians.

Not much later the outcome of events showed that this dire interpretation was all too accurate.

*The Christians are crushed, and Christ's cross captured with King Guy and Acre, and the Land of the Promise conquered [Battle of Hattin, 4 July 1187].*²⁷ The conflict had not yet begun, but just as the battle lines were advancing on each other at a place not far from Tiberias²⁸ called Mareschallia [Meskenah], right at the moment of engagement the afore-said count of Tripoli fell back and feigned flight. It was rumoured that he did this in order to break up our formation and that he had agreed to abandon his own people, to strike fear into those whom he should have assisted while arousing the enemy's courage.²⁹

So the Lord's people were left bewildered in the moment of crisis. Then the Lord 'gave His people to the sword' [Psalm 78 v. 62] and - as the sins of humanity demanded - He gave up His inheritance to slaughter and pillage.

What more can we say?

27. The most thorough account of this battle is *Libellus*, pp. 218-28; trans. by Brundage, J. (1962), *The Crusades*, pp. 153-63. See also Ambroise, lines 2522-75; *Historia Peregrinorum*, pp. 119-20; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, pp. 10-15, 36-7, *Chronica*, 2 pp. 319-20, 340-2; Ralph of Coggeshall, p. 21; Bahā' al-Dīn, pp. 110-6; 'Imād al-Dīn, pp. 24-7; *Conquest of Jerusalem*, pp. 35-41, 45-8; E-B, pp. 158-60. For translations of contemporary letters written soon after the event see *Conquest of Jerusalem*, pp. 158-63 and Barber, M. (1993), *The New Knighthood*, pp. 115-6.

28. King Guy was leading the Christian forces to relieve Tiberias, which was under siege by Saladin and being defended by Lady Eschiva.

29. He died soon afterwards: Bahā' al-Dīn, p. 112; and see the account translated

It is not part of our plan to enumerate the mournful details of the battle, and our immense sorrow does not permit us to say more. But to cut a long story short: our people were at the mercy of the enemy. So many were slaughtered there, so many thrown into chains that they were completely destroyed. Even the life-giving wood of the Cross of Salvation, on which our Lord and Redeemer hung, down whose trunk flowed the pious blood of Christ, whose image angels adore, humans venerate, demons dread, through whose help our people had always won the victory in war - alas! was now captured by the enemy. And the bearers of the Cross fell with it, the bishop of Acre and the precentor³⁰ of the Lord's Sepulchre: the first was killed and the other was captured. As the Cross fell to the ground, King Guy felt compassion for it and, indeed, placed his own hope in it. He rushed forward and embraced it, intending - if it pleased God - to recover it, but if not, to fall with it.³¹

It was on account of our wicked deeds that the Cross received this second affront - the first had been when Cosdroes [Chosroes], king of the Persians, captured it.³² The Cross which had absolved us from the ancient yoke of captivity to sin was led a captive for us, and dishonoured by the hands of godless Gentiles. If you have understanding, see God's great anger! Yes, how wicked His servants must be, when He reckons Gentiles to be a less unworthy guard for the Cross than Christians!

Ancient times produced no events as sorrowful as this, because neither the capture of the Ark of the Lord nor the captivity of the kings of the Jews can compare with the disaster in our own time, when the king and the glorious Cross were led away captive together. There was a marvellous and mournful multitude of captives. The victor decided their fate. Part was kept unharmed, and part was sent to heaven with happy and hasty gain, slain by the sword.



30. *Libellus*, p. 219, and Ambroise state that the bishop of Lydda and the bishop of Acre were carrying the cross.

31. This sentence only appears in MS C and is from Ambroise, line 2575.

32. Chosroes II (590-628) captured Jerusalem and thus the cross in 614. Jerusalem had previously been ruled by the emperor of the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, from Constantinople.

Saladin cuts off the prince of Antioch's head, and commands that the Templars and the outstanding warriors be killed.³³ Among others, Reginald, prince of Antioch, was presented to the sultan. The tyrant, either because of his fury or deferring to the excellence of such a great man, cut off the distinguished and aged head with his own hand. He also ordered that all the Templars be beheaded, except the Master of the Knighthood. He decided to have them utterly exterminated because he knew that they surpassed all others in battle.

O zeal of faith! O fervour of soul! A considerable number took the Templars' tonsure and flocked together to the executioner. Under the pious fraud of their new profession they joyfully offered their neck to the smiter's sword. Among these knights of Christ a certain Templar named Nicholas had been so successful in persuading the rest to undergo death willingly that the others struggled to go in front of him and he only just succeeding in obtaining the glory of martyrdom first - which was an honour he very much strove for. Nor was the miraculous power of divine mercy missing. A ray of celestial light shone down clearly on the bodies of the holy martyrs during the three following nights, while they were still lying unburied.³⁴

At last the battle's strife was stilled. Saladin had watched captives taken on this side, the slaughtered fall everywhere on that. He raised his eyes to heaven and gave thanks to God for the victory he had won - he used to do this whenever things went well for him.

Among other things, it is said that he often used to say that he got this victory not through his power but through our sin. The turn of events not infrequently gave confirmation of this. In other engagements our people's army, no matter how small it was, had always conquered with divine assistance; but now because we were not with the Lord nor the Lord with us, our people completely succumbed even before the conflict, although there are thought to have been more than 20,000 knights.

33. For the executions see *Libellus*, p. 228; Ralph of Coggeshall, p. 21; William of Newburgh, p. 259; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2 p. 22, *Chronica*, 2 p. 320; Bahā' al-Dīn, pp. 43, 113-5; 'Imād al-Dīn, pp. 27-8, 30-1; E-B, p. 174. Most sources also mention that the captured Hospitallers were executed with the Templars.

34. This episode only appears in the *Itinerarium* and in *LFWT*, p. 70, which appears to have copied it from IP1. The story seems to have originated with the Templars, as the story of Jakelin de Mailly's death in ch. 2, above, probably did. It may have been written down and sent to the West in a Templar newsletter which does not otherwise survive; or it may have circulated orally.

What is more, because royal edict had summoned the forces of the whole kingdom to that disastrous battle, only those who could not bear arms because of disability of age or sex were left to guard the castles and towns.

This miserably fated battle was fought on the day of the Translation of St Martin [4 July]. In a single moment, it carried away and extinguished all the glory of the kingdom.

The sultan was sure that the fortresses of the country could be easily occupied, as their defenders had been slaughtered. The victor led the king as a captive around the castles of Syria, to be a laughing-stock and to display him to the towns he wanted to capture, to encourage the people to surrender. He came to Acre ['Akko] first and captured it at once without making an assault [9 July 1187].³⁵ He agreed to give the citizens their liberty, allowing them to take themselves and their possessions wherever they wished.

Chapter 6: The capture of Christians who unsuspectingly sailed into Acre.

Meanwhile, sailors were proceeding on their usual courses to Acre. Some carried merchandise and others pilgrims, people from all over the Christian world. Alas! Because they did not know what had happened, they sailed into the enemy port and were taken prisoner. What a pitiable disaster! When they first saw the coast from afar, they greeted it, but chains were waiting for them when they disembarked; they were glad to have avoided shipwreck, but they fell on to swords; exhausted from the journey, they expected to find peace, and they found pursuit. Many were kept as prisoners, a considerable number were subjected to mockery and abuse, a few were allowed to return. By allowing them to depart poor and naked, the enemy intended to make an example of them to terrify those who were to come.

35. Tiberias had already surrendered, 4 July. Lady Eschiva of Tiberias and her sons were allowed to go to Tyre: see p. 41, below. For the date of the fall of