

7 The Third Crusade, 1187–92

In the autumn of 1187, when news of Saladin's victory at Hattin and his recapture of Jerusalem began to reach Europe, people were deeply shocked. The elderly and frail Pope, Urban III, was said to have died of grief when he heard what had happened. In late October 1187, his successor, Pope Gregory VIII, issued the bull *Audita Tremendi* calling for a new crusade to the Holy Land. *Audita Tremendi* described the horrors of the Battle of Hattin and detailed the atrocities committed by Muslims. It blamed the calamity on the sins of the Franks in the crusader states, but insisted that Christians living in Europe were also guilty. Across Europe, people were deeply moved by the powerful call for repentance in Gregory's bull. The massive response to *Audita Tremendi* became the Third Crusade.

Two great historical figures have dominated the story of the Third Crusade: Saladin and Richard the Lionheart. Ever since the twelfth century, the Crusade has often been represented as a personal duel between the two leaders. The picture below shows Richard and Saladin locked in single combat. This scene is a fiction. Richard and Saladin never actually encountered each other face-to-face, though, as you'll discover, their armies clashed several times during the course of the Third Crusade.

Richard's nickname 'the Lionheart' came from a fourteenth-century story which described Richard as capable of reaching down a lion's throat and tearing out its heart.

▷ An illustration from the fourteenth-century Luttrell Psalter showing Richard I in single combat with Saladin.



■ Before you study the Third Crusade in detail it will help to gain an overview of key people, places and events. The summary on the next page will get you started.

- Who were the main people involved?
- Which places were particularly important in the Third Crusade?
- What were the major turning points of the Crusade?
- Did the Crusade succeed?

The Third Crusade: The essentials

1 Preparation

October 1187: Pope Gregory VIII issued the bull *Audita Tremendi*

November 1187: Richard, Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine (later King Richard I of England), took the cross

January 1188: King Henry II of England and King Philip II of France took the cross

March 1188: Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany, took the cross

July 1189: Henry II died and was succeeded by his son, Richard

2 Journeys to the Holy Land

May 1189: Frederick and his armies left Germany and began their overland journey to the Holy Land

June 1189: Saladin released Guy, King of Jerusalem, from prison. In August, King Guy began the Siege of Acre which lasted for two years

10 June 1190: Frederick Barbarossa drowned

July 1190: Philip and Richard set out for the Holy Land from Vézelay in France

September 1190: Richard reached Sicily and decided to wait until the following spring to sail to the Holy Land

April 1191: On his way to the Holy Land Richard took the opportunity to invade Cyprus

8 June 1191: Richard arrived in the Holy Land

3 Crusader successes

12 July 1191: Richard and Philip captured the port of Acre, a major boost for the crusaders

3 August 1191: Philip abandoned the Third Crusade and returned to France

20 August 1191: Richard ordered the massacre of the Muslim prisoners at Acre

25 August 1191: Richard led the crusading army from Acre down the coast to Jaffa

7 September 1191: Richard's army defeated Saladin's forces at the Battle of Arsuf, an important victory for the crusaders

4 Attempts on Jerusalem

October 1191–January 1192: The crusaders attempted to take Jerusalem

June–July 1192: The crusaders made a second attempt to take Jerusalem, but retreated

1 August 1192: Saladin attacked Jaffa, but was defeated by the crusaders. This resulted in a stalemate

2 September 1192: The Treaty of Jaffa was signed bringing an end to the Third Crusade. There was no clear victor

9 October 1192: Richard I left the Holy Land

■ Enquiry Focus: What makes a good historical question about the Third Crusade?

This enquiry on the Third Crusade is different from the others in this book because we've decided not to include an overall enquiry question to focus your thinking. One of the challenges of studying history is to ask good questions about past events; so, at the end of this enquiry, it will be up to you to decide what makes a good historical question about the Third Crusade. In the meantime, as you find out more about the Crusade, you can do two things to help you think about possible enquiry questions:

- 1 Construct an annotated timeline of the key events of the Third Crusade. Include a summary of each event and explain what made it a turning point in the Crusade.
- 2 Make notes about four key issues that historians think shaped the Third Crusade:
 - The leadership of Richard I
 - The rivalry between Richard I and Philip II
 - Challenges facing the crusaders
 - The leadership of Saladin

Politics and preparations

The Third Crusade was led by the three most powerful monarchs in the Latin West: Richard I, Philip II and Frederick I. This potentially gave the Crusade enormous strength. The kings inspired many of their nobles to take the cross, ensuring that the Third Crusade had widespread support. The three monarchs were also able to use their royal administrations to organise and finance their campaigns. However, a crusade led by kings had a serious weakness. Western monarchs had their own kingdoms to defend while they planned and fought a crusade. This had a disruptive effect on the Third Crusade, especially because of the rivalry between the Crusade's leaders.

■ Start your annotated timeline and your notes on the key issues.

Richard I (1157–99), King of England (1189–99)

Richard was the son of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine (the former wife of Louis VII of France, see pages 6 and 84). In 1172, at the age of fifteen he became the duke of Aquitaine, a region in south-western France that formed part of his father's vast Angevin Empire. Richard was soon drawn into the disputes between the Angevin monarchy and the King of France. At twelve years old he had been betrothed to Alice, daughter of the French King, Philip II. However, no wedding took place as Henry preferred to use the prospect of a marriage to his son as a negotiating tool with the French. The lingering issue of Richard and Alice's marriage was compounded by Richard claiming land from the French kings and his constant arguments with his father, Henry II. Through the 1180s Richard was sometimes in confrontation with Philip II and, at other times, allied to Philip against his father.

In late November 1187, Richard was one of the first western princes to take the cross. This was an extraordinary decision given his need to defend the duchy of Aquitaine and to ensure his succession to the Angevin Empire when Henry II died. Maybe Richard's religious devotion and personal connection to the Holy Land lay behind his decision. He was, after all, the great grandson of Fulk of Anjou, King of Jerusalem, 1131–42. Richard may also have seen the Third Crusade as an opportunity to be remembered as a great warrior. When Henry II died in July 1189, Richard inherited his father's vast empire. He now had enormous resources with which to fight the Third Crusade. However, Richard's new status as head of the Angevin dynasty meant that his rivalry with the King of France became even more intense.

Following his accession to the English throne, Richard proved himself to be an efficient administrator who was able to generate huge resources for the Crusade. He imposed a special crusading tax on his subjects known as the 'Saladin Tithe' and sold vast amounts of land and property in order to raise money. Richard was said to have joked that he would sell London itself if he could find a buyer. This ruthless economic planning was all the more important because Richard decided to travel to the Holy Land by sea. Building and hiring ships was expensive, but the sea journey would be quicker than travelling overland. It also allowed Richard to eliminate poor and unarmed pilgrims from the Crusade because places on the ships were limited and had to be paid for. Richard's crusading army would be a disciplined fighting force. To emphasise this point the King introduced harsh penalties for misconduct during the Crusade: murderers were to be tied to the body of their victim and thrown overboard; a crusader who attacked someone with a knife would have his hands chopped off.

Philip II (1165–1223), King of France (1179–1223)

He was only 24 years old when he took the cross with King Henry II of England in January 1188, but Philip had already ruled France for eight years. Philip and Henry met at Gisors near Paris in an attempt to settle their differences. It was there that they heard an impassioned sermon from the Archbishop Joscius of Tyre in which Joscius described the disastrous situation in the crusader states. According to one chronicler, the sermon was accompanied by a miracle when the Cross of Christ appeared in the sky above the English and French kings. The two monarchs decided to set aside their enmity and lead a new crusade. Their armies would wear different coloured crosses (white for the English and red for the French) to distinguish them on the campaign. The new spirit of co-operation did not last long. By the end of March the kings were in conflict again over the disputed succession to the Angevin lands in France.

The rivalry between the French and Angevin kings continued after Richard came to the throne in 1189. Philip was six years younger than Richard, but was a far more experienced king, having ruled France for nearly a decade when Richard came to power. Richard was Philip's vassal for the Angevin lands he held in France (Normandy, Anjou and Aquitaine) but he ruled a more powerful realm than Philip and had far more money at his disposal. Richard set out on crusade with the most organised and best-resourced crusading army. Philip's army was far smaller and was not as well-equipped. This difference between the resources of the two monarchs would become an increasing source of irritation for Philip during the Third Crusade. The rivalry between Richard and Philip was intensified by their different personalities. Richard was politically astute, but was a man of action and warfare. Philip was more calculating and cautious, and was determined to ensure that going on crusade did not weaken his power within the French kingdom.

The mistrust between Philip and Richard meant that neither was willing to set out on crusade without a guarantee that the other would leave at the same time. Groups of crusaders under the command of nobles left England and France from the spring of 1189, but the rivalry between Philip and Richard meant that the departure of the main crusading armies was delayed by nearly a year.

Frederick I (1125–90), King of Germany (1152–90)

Frederick I, Emperor of Germany, was also known as Barbarossa – red beard. By the time of the Third Crusade, Frederick's beard must have been rather grey because he was then in his late sixties. Frederick had ruled the largest and wealthiest lands in Christendom for 36 years. He had brought the independent-minded barons of Germany under control and had reached an agreement with the papacy after decades of hostility and conflict. In wealth, resources and political power, Frederick far outstripped the Kings of England and France. Frederick Barbarossa had played a major role in the Second Crusade as second in command to his uncle, Conrad III. In 1188 he made the momentous decision to lead another crusade to the Holy Land.

Frederick took the cross at an assembly at Mainz in March 1188. According to one chronicler, many men were in tears as they listened to a reading of Pope Gregory's bull, *Audita Tremendi*. Frederick announced his intention of leaving in just over a year. He then began preparations for his departure, exiling his main political opponent and establishing his son as his heir in Germany. Frederick ensured that his own troops were properly funded, but insisted that individual nobles should pay for their own crusade. When Frederick set out from Germany in May 1189, he led a huge and well-equipped crusading army. Had it not been for a terrible accident, Frederick would surely have played a central role in the Third Crusade.

Developing problems – journeying to the Holy Land

On 4 July 1190 **Richard I and Philip II** set out from Vézelay. At Lyon their armies divided having arranged to rendezvous at Messina in Sicily. Before leaving Vézelay, Richard and Philip agreed to share any profits from the Crusade equally. This simple agreement would become a source of conflict as the Crusade progressed.

Richard reached Sicily in September 1190, one month after Philip. His Angevin army made an attack on Messina, ignoring the fact that Philip II was already lodged in the city. Richard spent six months in Sicily, gathering more money and resources, and organising his marriage to Berengaria, daughter of the King of Navarre. In return for 10,000 marks, Philip reluctantly absolved Richard of the longstanding obligation to marry his sister Alice, but this created further tension between the two leaders.



Richard left Sicily on 30 March 1191. Three days later, a gale scattered his fleet. The ship containing his sister Joan and his fiancé Berengaria was blown as far as the south coast of Cyprus. Isaac II, the Greek ruler of Cyprus, tried to capture the princesses. Richard seized the opportunity to invade Cyprus. He later sold the island to the Templars, but did not share the profits with Philip.



Frederick decided on an overland march to the Holy Land. He set out from Regensburg in May 1189 leading his forces through Hungary and then Byzantium.

The Byzantines agreed to help the crusaders with guides, markets and security, but feared that Frederick's army might attempt to conquer Byzantium. They failed to prevent attacks on the crusaders as they marched through Byzantium.

At the end of April, the German crusaders left Byzantium and entered the territory of the Seljuk Turks. As they lumbered through the Anatolian Hills they faced hunger, thirst and repeated ambushes. In mid-May 1190, Frederick's army reached the Seljuk capital of Iconium. In spite of their weakened state, the German crusaders took the city and continued southwards into Christian Armenia.

On 10 June 1190 Frederick drowned while trying to cross a river into Cilician Armenia. Frederick had died even before Richard and Philip had set out from Vézelay. This was a terrible blow to the Third Crusade. Many German knights returned home, but the remnants of Frederick's army continued to Acre.

■ Add to your annotated timeline and your notes on the key issues. What made Frederick I's death such a terrible blow to the Third Crusade?

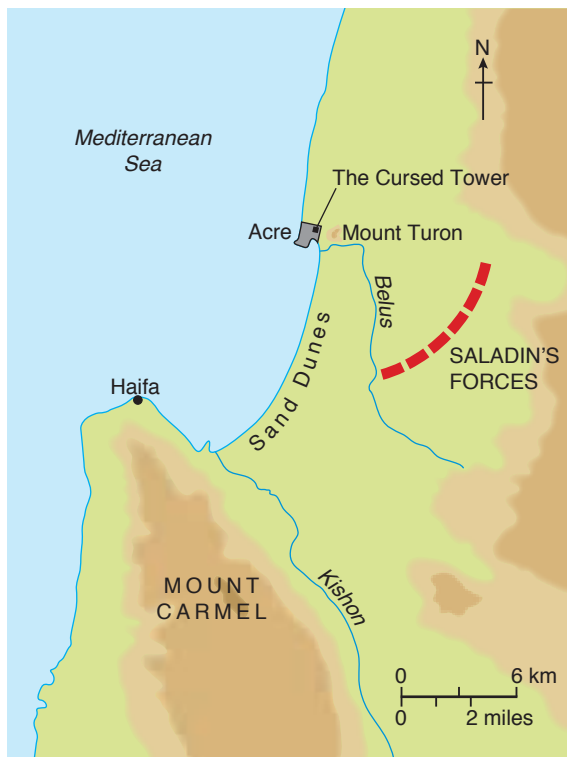
Victory at Acre, July 1191

Saladin's struggle

In the years following Saladin's great victories at Hattin and Jerusalem in 1187, his political and military strength began to decline. Divisions within the Muslim world resurfaced and Saladin struggled to take control of the remaining crusader strongholds. In the winter of 1187–88 Saladin attacked the crusader port of Tyre, but the town was successfully defended by Conrad of Montferrat, an Italian nobleman recently arrived in the Holy Land. Then, the following summer, Saladin released from prison Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem. This was a costly decision. By August 1189, Guy gathered several thousand men and besieged Muslim-held Acre –one of the most important ports on the Mediterranean coast.

Guy positioned his troops on a low hill called Mount Toron, nearly a mile to the east of Acre. A swift attack from Saladin's more numerous troops could have finished the Franks, but he was too cautious and set up a holding position about six miles to the south-east of Acre. For the next year and a half, the Siege of Acre ground to a stalemate with the Franks camped in trenches between Saladin's army and the Muslim garrison inside Acre. The Christian forces were swelled by Conrad of Montferrat's men and then by the first waves of crusaders from Europe, but the Franks could not break the strong walls that surrounded Acre. The winters of 1189 and 1190 were particularly harsh, and both sides were weakened by disease and hunger. The city somehow managed to resist the Christian onslaught. However, by the summer of 1191, Sultan Saladin must have been dreading the arrival of the Kings of England and France.

▽ The Siege of Acre.



Crusader victory

On 8 June 1191, Richard I landed on the coast near Acre with great ceremony. He set up his camp to the north of the city, Philip having taken up a position to the east some five weeks earlier. Within days of Richard's arrival, both kings were struck down with a disease which the chroniclers called 'Arnaldia'. Richard's teeth and nails loosened, and his hair began to fall out. Despite his illness, the Lionheart opened negotiations with Saladin. The English King even sent envoys to Saladin's camp requesting ice and fruit. This willingness to use diplomacy as well as military strength would be a crucial aspect of Richard's strategy during the Third Crusade. Saladin, too, was willing to negotiate, but thought it improper for kings to meet before an agreement had been reached.

In the end, bitter warfare rather than diplomacy determined the fate of Acre. In late June and early July the siege reached a climax with a hard-fought struggle between the siege engines, catapults, **sappers** and scaling ladders

of the crusaders and the **Greek fire**, stone-throwing machines and counter-sappers of the Muslims. Philip's men directed their catapult on the Cursed Tower at Acre's north-eastern corner. Richard's troops constructed two well-designed catapults and bombarded the city with massive stones that they had brought from Messina. By 2 July, the incessant bombardment from the crusaders' siege machines began to pay off. The Cursed Tower was weakened and the wall next to it was beginning to crumble. The defenders of Acre knew that they were defeated. On 12 July 1191 they surrendered Acre in return for the lives of the Muslims in the city.

Dreadful decisions

As the defeated Muslims marched out of Acre, Richard's and Philip's banners were raised above the walls and towers of the devastated city. The two monarchs divided the property of Acre equally, but tension soon resurfaced because each king supported a different claimant to the throne of Jerusalem. Philip was allied to Conrad of Montferrat while Richard supported Guy of Lusignan. At the end of July it was agreed that Guy should hold the throne for his lifetime, but that on his death the crown should pass to his rival. By that time Philip had already made the decision to abandon the Third Crusade and return to France. Philip's continued ill health, his irritation at Richard's arrogance and the need to assert his rights over Flanders following the Count of Flanders' death at Acre, must all have influenced his decision. Before he left the Holy Land Philip swore that he would not attack Richard's territory in France. The English King did not trust Philip to keep his promise and the threat of Philip's interference in Angevin territory became an increasing distraction for the Lionheart during the remainder of the Third Crusade.

Of more immediate concern to Richard was Saladin's reluctance to honour the surrender terms following the fall of Acre. Saladin failed to hand over the True Cross that he had held since Hattin and he was in no hurry to release Frankish prisoners or to pay ransom money. The Lionheart knew that he could not afford a delay if the Third Crusade was to succeed. On 19 August Richard made the decision to kill all the Muslim prisoners taken at Acre, apart from the most important who could be ransomed. The next day Richard's men marched 2700 Muslim prisoners out of the city, bound in ropes. In an area of open ground beyond the crusaders' tents they set upon the Muslims with their swords and murdered them in cold blood. Richard's message to Saladin was clear: this was the ruthless brutality that he was prepared to bring to the Holy War.

▽ Richard the Lionheart watching the execution of Muslim prisoners at Acre. Detail from a French miniature, 1490.



■ Remember to add more notes to your timeline and key issues. Make sure you are clear about the nature of the rivalry between Richard and Philip and its impact on the Third Crusade.

The March to Jaffa, August 1191

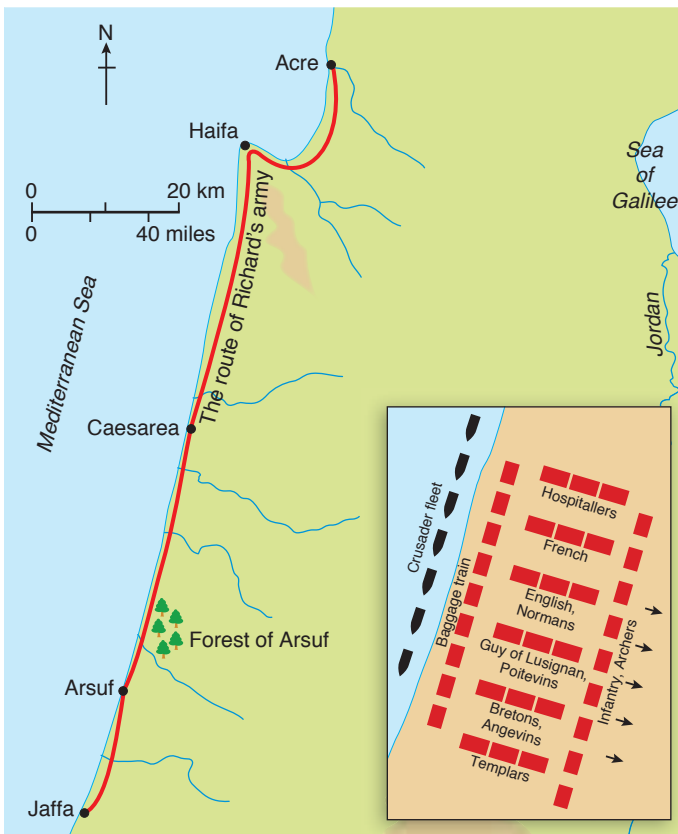
What next? This was the question in the front of Richard's mind following his victory at Acre. The Third Crusade had been launched to recover Jerusalem, but, in August of 1191, it was not certain that a direct assault on the Holy City was the English King's immediate goal. Richard decided to lead his men south on an 80-mile march to the port of Jaffa, Jerusalem's port. It may have been his intention to use Jaffa as a springboard for an attack on the Holy City. Alternatively, Richard may have been planning to launch an attack from Jaffa on the southern coastal city of Ascalon. This would have cut off Saladin's crucial military and trade link to and from Egypt. It is also possible that Richard had not yet decided on a firm plan and that he intended to make up his mind when he reached Jaffa.

The Lionheart's immediate concern was to prize his men out of Acre. Many of the crusaders were enjoying the city's wine and women and were reluctant to set out on another military campaign. By 22 August, Richard had gathered around 15,000 of his troops, ordering that only elderly washerwomen were to accompany his men on their march south. At first there were some problems with organisation and discipline, but, after the first few days, Richard organised his army in a strict formation. As you can see on the diagram, the elite knights of the Templars and Hospitallers

were positioned at the front and rear. The King and his mounted knights were in the middle. There could be no possibility of an attack from the right because Richard's men stuck close to the shoreline. On their left the King and his knights were protected by ranks of well-armed infantry. Richard further demonstrated his military leadership by ordering the crusaders' ships to sail down the coast with the army. Richard's navy would keep the crusaders supplied with food and weapons during their march along the coast.

The crusaders endured terrible conditions on their way to Jaffa. The summer heat was stifling and Saladin's forces placed them under near-constant attack. Six years after the events, the chronicler Ambroise wrote a vivid eyewitness account of the march. He described how Saladin's skilled horsemen made lightning strikes on the crusaders, showering the men and their horses with arrows and cross-bow bolts: 'never did the rain or

▽ The March to Jaffa. The inset shows the formation of Richard's army on the march.



snow, or hail falling in the heart of winter fall so densely as did the bolts which flew and killed our horses'. The need to wear full armour meant that many men developed sunstroke and had to be evacuated to the ships. Richard's military leadership was crucial to the survival of the crusaders. He allowed the soldiers rest days and prevented fights over the meat of dead horses. He was particularly insistent that that no crusader should break rank and give chase to a Muslim horseman as he knew that the crusading army would be more vulnerable to attack if it broke formation.

The Battle of Arsuf, 7 September 1191

By 7 September, the crusaders were just 25 miles from Jaffa. Saladin was determined to stop them. If Richard's forces captured Jaffa so soon after the fall of Acre the consequences would be horrendous. The Muslims' hold over southern Palestine would be threatened and Saladin's reputation as the defender of Islam would be seriously damaged. Saladin therefore planned a massive assault on Richard's forces.

Saladin ordered his whole force of 30,000 men to attack the crusaders when they emerged from the wooded hills onto the plain north of Jaffa. Around nine o'clock, when the first of the crusaders marched onto the plain they were shocked to see Saladin's army waiting for them. Wave after wave of Muslim mounted warriors attacked the marching crusading army. Through this terrible onslaught, King Richard's priority was to keep his army moving forward in formation. He knew that a break in the line could prove fatal. Imagine the King's horror when he looked back and saw that two knights had suddenly broken ranks and were chasing Saladin's horsemen. Hundreds of crusaders were now following the two knights. Without hesitation, Richard turned his whole army on the Muslims. In the chaotic battle that followed Richard's men fought off two fierce Muslim counter attacks and made renewed charges, eventually forcing Saladin's army to retreat.

Richard the Lionheart's overall leadership at the Battle of Arsuf has recently come under closer scrutiny from the historian Thomas Asbridge. Asbridge argues that modern historians have too readily followed Ambroise's account of the event. This presents Richard as the great hero who actively sought the confrontation with Saladin at Arsuf. Using a wider range of sources, including a letter written by Richard shortly after the battle, Asbridge argues that Richard I reacted to events and that the King himself saw the Battle of Arsuf as simply a response to one of the many attacks that the crusaders had faced on their march to Jaffa. If the significance of Richard's role at Arsuf has been exaggerated, there is no doubt that the success of the crusaders in reaching Jaffa marked a significant turning point in the Third Crusade. Saladin had not been totally defeated, but after Arsuf the morale of the Muslims was seriously sapped.

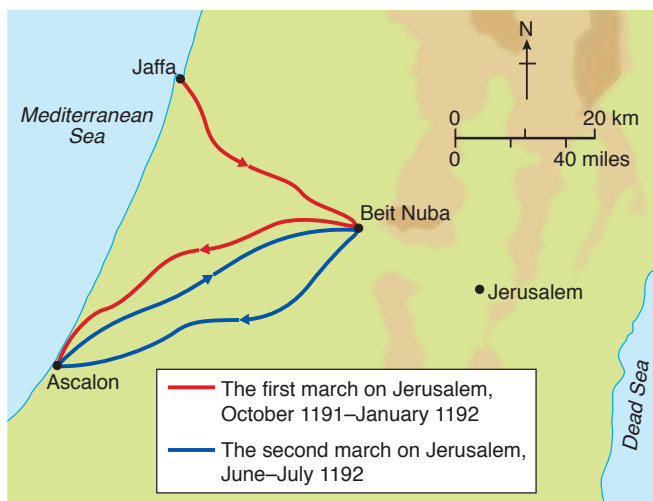
■ Add points to your timeline and make further notes on the key issues. If you haven't done so already, start your notes on the leadership of Saladin.

How important was Richard's leadership during this phase of the Third Crusade?

To Jerusalem

The first attempt to take Jerusalem, October 1191–January 1192

The crusaders had only been in Jaffa a few days when worrying news reached them from southern Palestine. In order to prevent the crusaders taking Ascalon, Saladin had made the agonising decision to sacrifice the city. His men had begun to pull down Ascalon's walls. Richard argued for an immediate attack on the port in order to threaten Saladin's communications with Egypt. However, a large number of nobles resisted – they were determined to make a direct assault on Jerusalem. Richard could not persuade them to save Ascalon. The Third Crusade stalled. The crusaders remained in Jaffa and strengthened its fortifications. Some were no doubt distracted by the boatloads of prostitutes who arrived from Acre. Saladin took the opportunity to destroy the networks of crusader castles and fortifications between Jaffa and Jerusalem.



△ The marches on Jerusalem, 1191–92.

On 29 October 1191, the crusaders set out from Jaffa and began the painstaking work of rebuilding the crusader forts along the route to Jerusalem. They were repeatedly attacked by Saladin's troops. However, alongside these military skirmishes, the two sides were also engaged in diplomacy. A willingness to talk and to find areas of agreement, at the same time as engaging in brutal combat, was an important characteristic of the Third Crusade. Richard negotiated with the Sultan's brother, al-Adil and even offered his sister Joan to be one of al-Adil's wives as part of a deal to divide Palestine between the crusaders and the Muslims. Not surprisingly, Joan reacted rather badly to Richard's plan!

As winter set in, heavy rain and cold slowed down the crusaders. It took them nearly two months to reach Beit Nuba, twelve miles from Jerusalem. It was there that Richard, together with knights of the crusader states and the Military Orders, began to doubt the wisdom of laying siege to Jerusalem. They were worried that supply lines to the coast would be cut off by the Muslims and that, even if Jerusalem was taken, the crusaders would not have sufficient manpower to hold on to the Holy City. It was perhaps at this point that the impact of the death of Frederick Barbarossa and the departure of Philip II was felt most keenly. On 13 January, 1192, King Richard gave the order to withdraw. This was a devastating decision that shattered the morale of the Third Crusaders. Richard moved his increasingly depressed and divided army to Ascalon where he kept them busy rebuilding the walls of the city that Saladin had so recently torn down.

The second attempt to take to Jerusalem, June–July 1192

In the spring of 1192, Richard faced increasing pressures from both within and beyond the Holy Land. Divisions in the political leadership of the crusader states hardened when Conrad of Montferrat openly challenged the authority of Guy of Lusignan. The nobility began to turn against King Guy thinking that he would be unable to maintain the Kingdom of Jerusalem when the Crusade ended. In mid-April, Richard abandoned Guy and switched his support to Conrad. Then, in Tyre on 28 April, Conrad was stabbed to death by two assassins. Rumours began to spread that Richard had contracted the murder. The Lionheart's problems deepened when messengers arrived from Europe bringing news that his younger brother, Prince John, had exiled Richard's viceroy, William Longchamp, and had attempted a coup. On 29 May the King began to fear for his Angevin lands when he learned that Philip was plotting with John. Richard fell into a depression, unable to decide what to do next. On 31 May he was overtaken by events when the leading nobles of the Third Crusade decided to march on Jerusalem once more.

A coup is an attempt to seize power.

When Saladin's spies brought him news of the renewed assault he immediately began to reassemble his armies. The Sultan was not in a strong position. Since his great victories at Hattin and Jerusalem in 1187, Saladin's commitment to jihad had deepened, but his capacity to fight the crusaders had weakened. The Sultan's financial resources were severely overstretched and he was struggling to pay for the on-going war. Saladin also faced potential divisions within the army and there were even signs of disloyalty within his own family. He had been fighting for six years and, for much of that time, had been debilitated by recurrent illness. In June 1192, Saladin's priority was to retreat to Jerusalem and to survive the Third Crusade.

This time the crusaders advanced on Jerusalem with much greater speed. By 10 June they had reached Beit Nuba. There they paused to await reinforcements and discuss strategy. Tipped off by local spies, the crusaders made a successful attack on a Muslim caravan taking supplies to Jerusalem. Morale was also boosted by the discovery of yet another piece of the True Cross. Many crusaders must have been aware of 15 July 1099 as the date when Jerusalem had fallen in the First Crusade. Inside the Holy City, Saladin began to despair. He ordered all the wells around Jerusalem to be poisoned and prepared to leave the city for his own safety. A Muslim chronicler later recorded that at Friday prayers on 3 July, Saladin's tears fell to his prayer rug in the Aqsa Mosque. But then, as evening fell, the Sultan received some astonishing news: the crusaders seemed to be in retreat!

There had been a heated debate in the crusader camp about whether a siege of Jerusalem could succeed. Richard argued that the vulnerability of the supply line back to Jaffa, the lack of water and Jerusalem's formidable defences made a successful attack unlikely. He was supported by the majority of the Crusade's leaders. Only the remaining French contingent wanted to continue. On 4 July the Third Crusade collapsed.

■ Make sure you keep adding notes to your timelines and issues documents. You should have plenty of ideas now about Saladin's leadership.

Truce

At the end of July 1192, Saladin decided to take advantage of the crusaders' retreat from Jerusalem by launching a lightning attack on Jaffa. In just four days the Muslim sappers and stone-throwers destroyed sections of Jaffa's walls. The small Christian garrison was forced to take refuge in the citadel of Jaffa. When King Richard heard of Jaffa's plight he rushed south from Acre at the head of a sea-borne counter attack. As they approached Jaffa the crusaders' boats stopped, unsure whether Saladin's forces had taken the citadel. One of the defenders managed to escape and swam to the Christian fleet, explaining that if they acted quickly there was still time to save the town. Richard knew that his men were heavily outnumbered, but he ordered them to attack and was one of the first to wade ashore at the head of his small army. The surprise of his attack gave the crusaders an improbable and dramatic victory. Richard's forces may have been unable to take Jerusalem, but his victory at Jaffa demonstrated his skill and valour as a military leader. It also showed that Saladin was incapable of driving the crusaders out of southern Palestine. Negotiation was now the only option.

Following his victory at Jaffa, Richard's energy was sapped and he fell dangerously ill. He was increasingly worried that his territories in France were in danger from the conspiracy between his brother John and Philip II. The time had come to sign a truce with Saladin. The Treaty of Jaffa was agreed on 2 September. In return for a three-year truce, Palestine was to be partitioned:

- 1 Saladin was to retain control of Jerusalem.
- 2 Ascalon's fortifications were once again to be destroyed.
- 3 The crusaders were allowed to keep the conquests of Acre and Jaffa, and the coastal strip between the two towns.
- 4 Christian pilgrims were allowed access to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

In the month after the Treaty of Jaffa was signed, three groups of crusaders made their way to Jerusalem to visit the Holy Sepulchre. Richard was not among them. Maybe he was too ill or perhaps he could not bear to visit the Holy City while it was still held by the Muslims. His refusal to visit Jerusalem meant that he never met Saladin, apart from in the legends and pictures (such as the one we began with) which were created in the years following the Third Crusade.

■ Concluding your enquiry

So, what makes a good historical question about the Third Crusade? Think carefully about each of the following enquiry questions in relation to your annotated timeline and your notes on the key issues. In your opinion:

- Are any of these enquiry questions not worth asking?
- Which of the enquiry questions focus on the same issue, but from a different perspective?
- Which enquiry questions require most knowledge of the Third Crusade?
- Which of these enquiry questions would you be able to answer most confidently?
- Which is the best enquiry question about the Third Crusade?

- 1 Why did the Third Crusade end in stalemate?
- 2 Was the rivalry between Richard I and Philip II the main reason for the limited success of the Third Crusade?
- 3 Was Richard I a bad crusader?
- 4 Was the Battle of Arsuf the most important turning point in the Third Crusade?
- 5 Why did Richard I fail to recapture Jerusalem?
- 6 How far did western European politics determine the outcome of the Third Crusade?
- 7 Why was Saladin unable to defeat the Franks during the Third Crusade?
- 8 What were the achievements of Richard I on the Third Crusade?
- 9 How successful was the Third Crusade?
- 10 Does Richard I deserve to be remembered as a great crusader?

What happened to Saladin?

In the autumn of 1192 Saladin disbanded his armies. After touring his territories in Palestine, he returned to Syria and spent a rainy winter in Damascus. Early in 1193, Saladin's exhausted body began to give up on him. He developed a fever and sickness. His condition deteriorated and he began to slip in and out of consciousness. On 3 March 1193, Saladin died. He was 55. His body was interred in a mausoleum at the Grand Umayyad Mosque in Damascus where it remains to this day.

... and Richard I?

Richard sailed from Acre on 9 October and travelled through Europe in disguise in order to evade his enemies. In Vienna he was recognised and was imprisoned by Duke Leopold of Austria in the dungeons of a castle overlooking the River Danube. Richard was released in February 1194 on payment of a huge ransom. In April 1194, Richard was re-crowned in Winchester cathedral. He spent much of the next five years trying to recover the lands in Normandy taken by King Philip. While besieging a castle in southern France, Richard was struck in the shoulder by a crossbow bolt. The wound turned gangrenous and, on 6 April 1199, Richard died. He was 41. His body was buried at Fontevraud and his heart was interred at Rouen.

Remembering Richard I and Saladin

Richard I and Saladin are long dead, but the two men are firmly fixed in popular memory. In the middle of the nineteenth century Richard was represented in sculpture as a national hero. This was a period of growing nationalism and imperialism in Europe. It was also a time of romanticism when people looked back at the Middle Ages for inspiration. It's perhaps not

surprising that Richard I was immortalised in stone as a great English hero. In the twentieth century the growth of Arab nationalism meant that Saladin, too, was remembered in stone. This insight into the statues of Richard and Saladin in London and Damascus reveals some interesting parallels in the ways in which the two leaders were portrayed.

In 1851, the Italian artist Carlo Marochetti was commissioned to make a plaster cast of Richard I for the Great Exhibition in London. The larger than life-size sculpture was the first thing that visitors saw as they approached the western entrance to the exhibition. Following the exhibition, the statue was moved to a position in front of the Houses of Parliament. Funds were raised for a bronze replica of the statue with Queen Victoria contributing £200. The statue was completed in 1860; it has stood in this prime position ever since, despite the fact that some people think it is no longer an appropriate symbol for such a sensitive location.

Marochetti portrayed Richard as a majestic warrior. The King makes a powerful figure, sitting proudly on his horse and brandishing his sword. When the statue was unveiled in 1860, some people noted Marochetti's artistic license in depicting Richard wearing close-fitting chain mail to show off his muscles, but the statue was generally admired. Marochetti later added bronze scenes on the side of the granite plinth. These showed Richard in battle and on his deathbed. In the deathbed scene he is forgiving the French archer who shot him.



△ Carlo Marochetti's statue of Richard in front of the Houses of Parliament in London.



△ Abdallah al-Sayed's statue of Saladin in front of the citadel in Damascus.

This larger than life-size sculpture of Saladin was commissioned by President Hafiz al-Asad of Syria in 1992. Asad, who ruled Syria between 1971 and 2000, saw himself as a defender of Islam against western imperial powers and wanted others to see him as a twentieth-century Saladin. In Muslim countries it is rare to find sculptures depicting scenes from history so this makes the statue all the more remarkable. The statue was placed in front of the medieval citadel, one of the most important buildings in Damascus. Less than a hundred metres away, a massive portrait of Asad hung above the gate of the citadel.

In his sculpture, Abdallah al-Sayed depicted Saladin as a proud, mounted warrior urging his horse forward in combat with the crusaders. Saladin is flanked on one side by a soldier with his sword at the ready, and on the other by a Sufi holy man. To the rear of the horse al-Sayed has included the scene following the Battle of Hattin. King Guy of Jerusalem holds a bag of money containing his ransom. Reynald de Châtillon, whose life will not be spared, slumps against a rock and looks to the ground.