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AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF HATTIN REFERRING TO THE FRANKISH MERCENARIES IN ORIENTAL MOSLEM STATES

By JEAN RICHARD

THE BATTLE OF HATTIN ACCORDING TO MS REG. LAT. 598

THE battle of Hattin, which brought about the fall of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (1187), has called forth contradictory statements. Many of these are without historical value, and Mr Marshall Baldwin had to undertake a very careful criticism of them to be able to retrace the exact development of the operations.¹

The discovery of an account of Hattin, in a manuscript (Reg. lat. 598) of the Vatican library, has led us to reconsider some points of this criticism. Among other writings is a story of the world (above all of Italy) from the Creation to the conquest of Sicily by Charles d'Anjou (1266).² Two passages stand out because of their fullness: the chapters *Persecutio Salaardini* and *Jerusalem a Turcis obsessa capitur* (fol. 85^r-86^v) reproduced in an appendix to this paper (see pp. 112-114).

The account of these events closely resembles that which Robert d'Auxerre inserted in his chronicle:³ the two texts certainly derive from a common source. Robert's account, copied around 1210, is more complete and less faulty than that of Ms 598, copied fifty years later. Did the Italian chronicler of 1266 copy this account from the text inserted in Robert's chronicle, or did he use independently the same source? The text of Ms 598 is cut short by the sentence 'Eodem anno Philippo regi Francie nascitur filius nomine Ludovicus' which occurs also in Robert's story.⁴ But the rest of our chronicle appears to be independent of Robert's; the excessive lengthening of the passage devoted to the events of 1187 among generally brief notations is more easily understood if the author used an isolated text than if he had come across it in a complete chronicle.

If it is an independent text, we can thus isolate the source common to the two chronicles. But the relation transcribed in Ms 598 has undoubtedly been mutilated (Robert has kept, for instance, a passage referring to the siege of Ascalon, lacking in this manuscript). In any case, the text of Ms 598 corresponds closely to that which, in Robert's chronicle, appears to derive from an original source.

Robert recalls the troubles following the death in 1186 of Baldwin V and the first clashes with the Moslems (all these events are lacking in Ms 598 and are perhaps additions by Robert). Then the two texts⁵ relate Galilee's invasion by

¹ Marshall W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripolis and the fall of Jerusalem* (Princeton, 1936), pp. 96 ff.

² Reg. lat. 598, fol. 77 r to 96 r. We have to thank Miss Edith Brayer, who undertook the collation of this manuscript.

³ *M.G.H.*, SS, xxvi, 247-252.

⁴ Less developed in Robert, p. 250.

⁵ This account omits any reference to the part played by the Master of the Temple who caused the decision to be taken to march on Tiberias, to which Count Raymond III was opposed.

Saladin, the siege of Tiberias, the reunion of the Frankish army, and the fight between the Franks and Saladin at 'fontes quosdam'⁶ (3 July 1187); this account describes the Franks as obliged to camp where no water was available on the eve of this day. Agreeing with another source, it states that the army did not camp at Hattin during the night,⁷ contrary to the reports of Ernoul and the *Estoire d'Eracles*. On 4 July King Guy de Lusignan called a council. A knight named John, who 'having long served in Turkish armies' was well acquainted with their tactics, was called upon to give his opinion. He advised the king to direct his army's charge against the center of the opposing army, where stood Saladin: if they succeeded in routing this section, the battle was won. But Count Raymond of Tripolis counselled that they should make first of all for the hill of Hattin, where the Frankish army could entrench itself in an impregnable position, whence it might deliver assaults with greater strength.

But the Franks were overwhelmed by the heat and by the hostile darts which rained down, dazzled by the blazing sun.⁸ Moreover, they were attacked before they were able to set up their tents.⁹ Hemmed in on their hillock, they charged the Moslems again. Raymond succeeded in piercing the enemy ranks; our text considers that as a flight, a sure proof of his treason — the improbability of which Mr Baldwin has demonstrated. The rest of the army, after long struggle and terrible losses, was obliged to surrender.¹⁰

Count Raymond and his men fled to Safed castle, according to this account. It is indeed probable that the exhausted knights, unable to strain their horses further, did not gallop straightway to Tyre. Safed was less than ten miles from Hattin, and could provide a halting-place.¹¹ As for the Moslems, they also evacuated the corpse-strewn battlefield and retired to the bridge of Tiberias, where Saladin regrouped his army, divided up the spoils, and beheaded captive Templars, Hospitallers and Prince Renaud de Châtillon.¹²

⁶ Doubtless Robert's version ('ad fontes quosdam IV miliaris citra Tyberiadem') is better than the version preserved in Ms 598 ('ad IV fontes miliaris citra Tyberiadem').

⁷ They may have camped at Lubieh (*Epistola* . . . *Archumbaldo*, in *M.G.H.*, SS, xvii, 508). We refer back to the map drawn up by Mr Baldwin and to his excellent account of the battle.

⁸ Then the desertions took place which would have informed Saladin of the desperate plight of the Christian army and persuaded him to attack (*Epistola* . . . *Archumbaldo*).

⁹ There is some confusion in the Ms 598 and in Robert's text: the Franks, according to them, were surprised by the Moslem, and at the same time encamped, when the fight began. Such a surprise would have taken place rather at the moment when they began to encamp on the hill. According to the *Epistola*, the Franks, setting off from Lubieh, met strong resistance a league ahead, and thus Count Raymond had advised taking up position on the hill 'qui est quasi castellum.' But they would scarcely have had time to set up three tents. — Mr Baldwin has followed at this state (pp. 116-124) the account of the *Estoire d'Eracles*, combining it with the information of the *Epistola*; but it appears improbable that the army encamped in the battlefield, and much more likely that it made for the hill, in order to set up camp and gain breathing-space.

¹⁰ Our account maintains that King Guy bore the Holy Cross when he was captured. It seems inaccurate.

¹¹ The other accounts referring to the escape of Raymond to Safed (Guillaume de Nangis; Marino Sanudo) proceed from Robert d'Auxerre.

¹² This bridge of Tiberias is mentioned, in connection with the entrance of Saladin into Galilee, by Arnold of Lubeck.

Having reported the fall of Acre and the generosity of Saladin, who offered to allow the Frank citizens to live in the city under his rule, the text of Ms 598 differs from Robert's. Robert recounts the arrival at Tyre of Conrad de Montferrat; then he relates how Count Raymond, prevented by Conrad from delivering Tyre to the Moslems, died when he was ready to hand over Tripolis to Saladin.¹³ Ms 598 tells only of Raymond's death and his alleged conversion to the Moslem faith.

The account of the siege of Ascalon, reported by Robert, is certainly a part of the original narrative (Ms 598 alludes to it by four words). Also lacking in Ms 598 is the information that Turcomans, in the same year 1187, raided the country of Antioch, looted Laodicea, repulsed the *princeps Raimundus* (Raymond, son of Prince Bohemond), and laid waste the country before being overtaken and relieved of their spoils.¹⁴

After Raymond's death, Ms 598 relates only the journey of the Archbishop of Tyre to Western Europe, and the birth of the future French king, Louis VIII. Then it recounts the siege of Jerusalem by Saladin. More abbreviated in the Vatican chronicle than in Robert's, this account appears to be very accurate. The attack began against the western sector of the wall, but the resistance compelled Saladin to transfer his attack to the north. The citizens, threatened by the collapse of their walls, decided to surrender: a ransom was agreed upon. On Saturday, 2 October 1187, the enemies entered the city. Our text recounts many sacrileges in the churches; it tells also how Syrian Christians bought back the Holy Sepulchre and relates the respect shown by the Moslems to the *Templum Domini* (Dome of the Rock). Only native Christians were allowed to remain in the city. Ms 598 ends its narrative at this point; Robert begins an account of the Third Crusade which he combines with other contemporary events.

The text preserved in Ms 598 and also, with additions from different sources, in the chronicle of Robert d'Auxerre, gives, then, an account of Hattin which agrees in many points with that given by the *Epistola . . . Archumbaldo*, which is, according to Mr Baldwin, one of the best accounts of this battle. Our text, however, is quite independent of the *Epistola* and several details it recounts — very probable details — do not appear in another source. We know, from Oriental historians reproducing the testimony of Saladin's son, present at the battle, that the Franks directed two attacks against the spot where the sultan was standing: his life was imperiled.¹⁵ According to this account, the maneuver had been suggested before the fight began. Count Raymond imposed the decision to secure

¹³ This narrative is quite erroneous: there is confusion between the part played by Tyre by Renaud de Sidon (according to *Eracles*, he received Saladin's banner in order to hoist it on the walls and Conrad had this banner hurled into the moat) and the role attributed here to Raymond. Perhaps Robert adds this story from another source to the narrative we are studying (the interest shown in Conrad leads us to believe that the other source was made up after the Third Crusade).

¹⁴ It appears to be at last partially inaccurate: Laodicea was not taken by the Moslems until 1188. Possibly, however, Turcomans took advantage of the Frankish weakness (Robert, p. 251). Mr Cahen does not mention these events in *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades* (Paris, 1940), p. 429.

¹⁵ R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades . . .* (Paris, 1934), II, 795-796.

an entrenchment first (it was the strategy of the Frankish barons, who acted similarly in previous campaigns); nothing, however, suggests that he rejected the whole plan proposed by the 'knight John,' a plan that nearly assured the victory to the Franks.

The account of the siege seems to be that of an eyewitness: he includes some remarks, such as mention of hermits who built their huts on the city wall, that appear to be based on first-hand knowledge.¹⁶ This text, considered apart from the probable additions of Robert, refers only to events which took place between July and October 1187. Is it not an account written shortly after the fall of Jerusalem, perhaps by a clerk who (like the author of the account formerly assigned to Ralph of Coggeshall) had witnessed the siege and had received precise information (with some confusions) about Hattin? Many letters were circulated after 1187 to inform Christians about this disaster and to incite them to take up the Cross. Perhaps this account is such a document.

FRANKISH MERCENARIES IN MOSLEM STATES

This account of Hattin leads us to consider the neglected problem of the Frankish mercenaries in the East. From the tenth century onwards were always such professional soldiers in Western armies.¹⁷ During the eleventh century soldiers of fortune could be found selling their services to Byzantine emperors: Norman chiefs like Crespin, Roussel de Bailleul or Hervé Francopoulos played important roles in Byzantine campaigns (their revolts even imperiled the Greek empire).¹⁸ After the First Crusade, Franks continued to serve under Byzantine standards; in 1121, they are even found in the army of King David of Georgia.¹⁹ Their numbers increase in the time of Manuel Comnenos, and Conrad de Montferrat served Isaac II Angelos until 1187.²⁰

The foundation of a Latin empire at Constantinople, opposed to the Greek empire of Nicea, did not deter Latins from serving in the Greek armies. Emperor Henry, unable to pay his soldiers, saw them enlist in the troops of Theodoros Lascaris; and the excommunication of these mercenaries by Pope Innocent III

¹⁶ In the more complete story preserved in Robert's account (p. 252), further details appear to be based on first-hand knowledge: the fall of the cross dominating the Dome of the Rock (cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 820); Saladin lets the very poor depart without payment of ransom; he allows the sick in the hospitals to remain and he feeds them at his own expense; the citizens depart towards Alexandria, Antioch, or Sicily. . . .

¹⁷ J. Boussard, 'Henri II Plantagenet et l'armée de métier,' *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, cvii (1945-46), 189-224. Bibliography: A. Maricq, 'Un "comte de Brabant" et des "Brabançons" dans deux textes byzantins,' *Académie Royale de Belgique — Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, 1948, pp. 468-469.

¹⁸ G. Schlumberger, 'Deux chefs normands du XI^e siècle . . .,' *Revue Historique*, 1881, p. 297. See also, for instance, Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiser des österrömischen Reichs* (1134), and L. Bréhier, *Les Institutions de l'empire byzantin*, in *Le Monde byzantin*, II (Paris, 1949), 369-370, 387-393.

¹⁹ According to Walter the Chancellor (cf. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 293, n. 23) and Matthew of Edessa (trans. Dulaurier, pp. 304-305), who point to the presence of 100 Franks alongside 5,000 Alans and 15,000 Qiptchaq Turks with the Georgians.

²⁰ Ch. Diehl, R. Guiland, L. Oeconomus, and R. Grousset, *L'Europe orientale de 1081 à 1453* (Paris, 1945), pp. 51, 80, 86, 115.

did not prevent them from serving with the Greeks.²¹ Other Frankish soldiers enabled their chief, Michael Paleologos, to ascend the throne, massacring his rival George Muzalon in 1258. And the famous adventure of the Catalan Company, which fought the Turks in Asia Minor, is well known.

Frankish mercenaries served also under Moslem banners. The chivalric romances present errant knights travelling across the world, fighting furiously on all occasions, without very much concern for the cause for which they happened to be fighting. The Cid Campeador and many Spanish knights received indifferently the pay of a Christian or a Moslem king, when feudal ties were broken. For some years before 1147, there was in Morocco a *militia christiana*, a company of Christian knights (most of them Spanish, no doubt) who had their own clergy and even a bishop.²² Under Sultan al-Ma'mun, this militia was greatly increased, to 12,000 (?) Christians, to whom the Sultan granted a church (1228). Pope Innocent IV went so far as to encourage the recruiting of this army, hoping thus to influence the Moslem sovereign; but Ma'mun's successor, Murtada, refused to grant the Pope the guarantees demanded, and so the Pope threatened to release the Christian army from its undertakings (1251). Saint Ramon de Pennaforte and Pope Nicolas IV speak again of these mercenaries in the Maghreb.²³

The sultans of Iconium, too, were quite tolerant towards Christians and, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, they sought alliance with the Latins, sometimes against the Greeks of Nicea,²⁴ sometimes against the Ayyubid kingdoms of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia.²⁵ Sultan Kaikawus I (died 1219) was in the habit of recruiting a Christian bodyguard among the prisoners whom he liberated in the wars against other Moslem princes.²⁶ Then, the Latin mercenaries became one of the best forces in the Turkish army. We are well informed about

²¹ Franks were in the pay of Lascaris when they were annihilated by the Turks, and 160 were serving with the Basileus when he fought Henry himself. Cf. Jean Longnon, 'La campagne de Henri de Hainaut en Asie Mineure en 1211,' *Académie Royale de Belgique — Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, 1947, pp. 442-452; *Innocentii III epistolae*, in *Pat. Lat.*, ccxvi, cols. 222 and 354.

²² Christian Courtois, 'Grégoire VII et l'Afrique du Nord,' *Revue Historique*, cxcv (1945), 206. He also points out that, around 1076, Christian soldiers were sent to the king of Tunis.

²³ E. Tisserant and G. Wiet, 'Une lettre de l'almohade Murtada au pape Innocent IV,' *Hesperis*, vi (1926), 28-53. — G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca biobibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano* (Quaracchi, 1906-1927), II, 371 ('*milites christianos commorantes ibidem, quorum est non modica multitudo*'). — L. de Mas-Latrie, 'Bulle inédite de l'an 1290 relative à la ville de Tlemsen en Algérie,' *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, VIII (1846-1847), 517: the Pope sent Bishop Rodrigo of Marrakech to the 'baronibus, proceribus, militibus et ceteris stipendiariis Marrochitani, Tunitii et Tremiscii regum servitio constitutis.'

²⁴ Emperor Baldwin II's letter (1243) in Du Bouchet, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Courtenay* (Paris, 1661), pr., p. 19.

²⁵ *Raynaldi annales ecclesiastici*, ann. 1235, xxxvii-xl: Sultan Kaiqobad I sent a Christian, John Gabras, as an ambassador to the Pope and the Emperor to form an alliance with them, and he was to promise restitution of the kingdom of Jerusalem (May 1234). The negotiations were probably not carried through on account of Kaiqobad's decisive victory at Kharput.

²⁶ Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, ed. Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894), 234 (*Bibliothek des litterarischen Verein in Stuttgart*, no. 202).

them in the *Historia Tartarorum* by Simon de Saint-Quentin.²⁷ This Dominican was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Mongols (1246). On the journey he mixed with Latin soldiers in the service of Armenian princes (such as the 'Marquess' of Lampron) and of the Sultan, and he gained from them much direct information.²⁸ He is thus able to relate that the rebellion of Baba Ishaq (1240–1241) could only be suppressed with the aid of 300 Latins, who surprised the rebels near Caesarea in Cappadocia and defeated them, they themselves losing one man, whereas the Turks had not dared to give the battle. These mercenaries took part in the defence of Armenian borders against the Mongols, and they boasted that they had done very well against these formidable adversaries — maintaining, for instance, that a small Frankish garrison would have been enough to prevent the Mongols from taking Caesarea.²⁹

Such stories reveal to us the mentality of the mercenaries: they were braggarts, not satisfied with their pay.³⁰ They were also mutinous: when one, an Italian from Piacenza, killed a Turk during a riot at Erzinjan and was condemned to be hanged, his 700 comrades threatened to attack the 60,000 (?) Turks round them, so the murderer had to be pardoned.³¹

Yet these Franks were a real strength to their employer. Thanks to their support, Sultan Kaikushraw II was firmly established on his throne (1237), and the emirs tried to gain their favor.³² Kaikushraw relied to a great extent on his mercenaries; of whom there were about a thousand in Turkey between 1237 and 1242. When the Mongols became threatening, he enrolled 2,000 more Christian mercenaries under the leadership of two *condottieri*, John of Limniati, a Cypriot, and Boniface de Molinis, a Venetian.³³ These could not prevent the Mongols from routing the Turks at Közadagh (1243).

According to Simon de Saint-Quentin, however, the Mongols were so impressed that they forbade the princes whom they conquered to employ Frankish mercenaries.³⁴ But how far should we trust the information gathered by the credulous

²⁷ We have prepared an edition of Simon's *Historia Tartarorum*, to appear in the collection of *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades*.

²⁸ 'Miles vocabulo Provincialis qui multa de illis narravit fratribus Praedicatoribus': Vincentii Bellovacensis *Speculum historiale* (Argentinae: Joh. Mentelin, 1473–1476), xxxi, 147, and xxxii, 28.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, xxxi, 140. — Simon tells how Guglielmo of Brindisi and Raymond le Gascon were captured by the Mongols at Erzinjan; the Mongols wished them to fight each other, but the two Franks agreed to rush at the onlookers and killed fifteen of them before being overwhelmed (1242).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, xxxi, 147: after the annihilation of Baba Ishaq's revolt, the mercenaries claimed that the Emirs had embezzled 300,000 pieces of gold which the Sultan had promised them.

³¹ *Ibid.*, xxxi, 146. Another riot was threatening when the Turks wished to use the Franks to fortify a castle: it was 'dishonorable.'

³² *Ibid.*, xxxi, 145; xxxii, 28. Emir Sharaf al-Din Mahmud (died 1244) learned French and German and was very popular with the Frankish soldiers.

³³ Hayton, 'La flor des estoires d'Orient,' *Recueil des hist. des Croisades, Doc. Arm.*, II, 153–159. As a merchant, Boniface de Molinis possessed much of the Turkish alum mines, about 1255 (Rubruck, ed. Van den Wyngaert in *Sinica Franciscana*, I, 328). See Cl. Cahen, 'Le commerce anatolien au début du XIIIe siècle,' *Mélanges Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), 91–101. Cf. Joinville, no. 143.

³⁴ Vinc. Bellov., xxx, 88.

Dominican from adventurers with a permanent tendency to boast? In any case, the Mongols also appreciated soon the worth of these professional soldiers — the knight in full armor, unmatched in a cavalry charge, or, even more, the trained infantryman (as infantrymen the mercenaries of the twelfth century gained their reputation). Adventurers called 'sword-bearers,' such as Tommaso Ugi of Siena, or 'bodyguards,' like Buscarel de Gisolf, served with the Mongol princes in Persia. And in 1307 a company of crossbowmen 'from the country of the Franks' besieged with Mongol troops the Afghan fortress of Herat.³⁵ At the battle of Crécy the crossbowmen of the French king were Genoese mercenaries; in the East also, the crossbow was the special weapon of Frankish infantrymen and perhaps established their reputation.

Frankish sailors, too, were much appreciated. A Genoese sailor, Vivaldo Lavaggio, took service with Argun-khan to combat piracy in the Black Sea (1290).³⁶ In 1290 also, Argun sent for 200 Genoese, who sailed down the Tigris and reached Baghdad.³⁷ In the meantime 700 other Franks, who had travelled by land, wintered at Baghdad while their companions built two galleys. One of these mercenaries defiled a mosque, and thus provoked a riot which endangered the lives of all the Franks.³⁸ Argun planned to send the galleys into the Persian Gulf to interrupt commercial traffic between India and Egypt. But the Genoese, after leaving Bassora, divided into Guelfs and Ghibellines, and their quarrels put a stop to the expedition.³⁹

During the whole of the thirteenth century, then, Latin mercenaries were very much in fashion in the Greek empire, in Turkey, and even with the Mongols. Did not the Moslem states bordering on Frankish Syria, the Crusaders' land, also use these mercenaries? In 1228 the king of Damascus died, leaving an infant son. As he did not trust the emirs of his court (according to a Frankish account), he entrusted the tutelage of the child to a Spanish knight who had quit the Templars to receive the pay of the Moslem king, but without renouncing the Christian faith.⁴⁰ The fact itself may be inaccurate, but the anecdote proves that, for Latins in the early thirteenth century, the presence of Franks, who were not renegades, serving with their Moslem neighbors was quite credible. It was even said that during the siege of Acre (1188–1190) Saladin tried to attract into his bodyguard a Sicilian knight, the 'Green Knight,' whose prowess had charmed him.⁴¹

³⁵ G. Golubovich, *op. cit.*, III, 98; C. Mouradega d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* (The Hague, 1834), IV, 72, 516. Cf. P. Pelliot, 'Isol le Pisan,' *Journal Asiatique*, CLXXXVII (1915), 495–497.

³⁶ G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce des génois dans la Mer Noire au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), 257.

³⁷ Kurds, thinking the Franks were coming to Mosul to relieve the Christians besieged in Arbeles, raised the siege of this town (Abul Faraj bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. and trans. Kirsch [Leipzig, 1739], I, 620).

³⁸ *Johannes Vitoduranni chronicon*, ed. F. Baethgen, in *M.G.H.*, SS, nov. ser., III, 58.

³⁹ Abul Faraj, *op. cit.*; Guillelmus Adae, 'De modo Saracenos extirpandi,' *RHC, Doc. Arm.*, II, 551. A missionary, Jourdain Cathala of Severac, wrote in 1323: 'If His Holiness the Pope equipped two galleys on this sea, what an advantage it would be! And, for the Sultan of Alexandria, what destruction, what losses it would mean' (R. Loenertz, *Archivum fratrum Praedicatorum*, II [1932], 53).

⁴⁰ *Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de MasLatrie (Paris, 1871), p. 458.

⁴¹ *RHC, Historiens Occidentaux*, II, 120.

Were Frankish mercenaries already in Oriental Moslem states, as they were in Morocco, during the twelfth century? It is quite probable for Seljuk Turkey: after the defeat of some elements of the Second Crusade at Adalia (1148), more than 3,000 Franks took service with the Turks, who did not force them to renounce their faith. Eudes de Deuil does not say that this service was military but we can well believe it.⁴² Such an adventurer as the knight John present at Hattin is a very likely personage. Count Raymond, according to our text, said that one could not trust a man who had betrayed the Franks by serving with the Turks, and the Turks by returning to the Franks; he did not say that John was punishable for serving with the Moslem: at most this service was a little dishonorable. The *Livre au Roi* (end of twelfth century) seems to allow the vassals of the king of Jerusalem to leave for Moslem countries, even to serve in Moslem armies, only entrusting their fiefs to the king.⁴³ Even in the Crusader states, only abjuration was considered as treason.

ARCHIVES DÉPARTEMENTALES, DIJON, FRANCE

APPENDIX

Persecutio Saalardini

ANNO DOMINI MCLXXXVII igitur (agitur) lamentabilis perturbatio in partibus transmarinis. Saaladinus innumerabili multitudine gentium congregata Galileam ingreditur, Tyberiam obsidet. Obsidionis fama circumvolat; Guido rex, Templarii et Hospitalarii, nonnulli episcopi ac totius regni proceres et populus in unum conveniunt hostibusque concurrent. Hostes obsidionem deserunt et ad IIII Fontes miliaris¹ citra Tyberiadem castra ponunt. VII^o igitur junii ydus nostri² progrediuntur in bellum aciesque concurrunt. Diu pugnatum est; prelium nox dirimit. Eadem die nostri gessere fortius ubique; aquam preoccupatam ab hostibus perdiderunt; diurno conflictu estuque atque siti confecti laborabant eo quod non haberent aquam. Mane hostes se preparant nec dumque nostri se armaverant; cum eos vident irrumpere et congredi jam paratos, ad arma concurrunt. Principes et primi exercitus ad regem convolant et quid facto opus sit in comune deliberant. Rex quandam de numero equitum nomine Johannem qui cum Turcis sepius militaverat et eorum omnia noverat precipit asersiri et inquiri ab eo quid instanti negotio sit agendum. Johannes consulit ut, totis viribus, irrumpatur in cuneum illum concertissimum ubi Saaladini vexillum altius eminebat, quia, si posset pars illa devinci, facile profecto optinerent et ceteri. Placet universis consilium; comes Tripolitanus inprovisus advenit: is, malicia verbisque potens, allegat contraria et quod Johannes suaderat dissuadet, dicens ei non esse credendum, quia quandoque nostros abjuverat cum juraverit fidelitatem Turcis ruperit juramentum. Preoccupanda suggerit esse montana ut inde securius pugnent et hostes validiunt (validius) impetrant (impetunt). Consilio utili dissipato acquiscitur proditori. In hostes mox irruunt sed, pro dolor!, tam estu quam splen-

⁴² 'Sunt illis (Turcis) recedentibus sociati . . . Dantes panem, fidem tollebant, quamvis certum sit quia contenti servicio neminem negare cogeant' (Eudes de Deuil, ed. H. Waquet, p. 79; ed. and trans. V. G. Berry, p. 140).

⁴³ Fief may be confiscated 's'il avient que un chevalier estraie son fié et s'en vait en terre de Sarasins sans recoumander son fié à son seignor,' but is restored 'se celuy revient avant l'an et jor . . . sans que ja soit renoié.' — We have collected numerous documents on the Latin renegades in the Middle Ages and we hope soon to be able to devote a short study to them.

¹ Robert, p. 249: 'ad fontes quosdam IV miliaris.'

² This fight occurred on the third of July (*IV^o nonas Julii*); Robert's account and Ms 598 place it in June by mistake.

dore solis opposito visum reverberante gravati, pilorum hostium imbribus obruuntur.

Tripolitanus comes proditiois a se tractate evidens dat signum: nam protinus cum suis arma proicit, fugit e prelio et ad castrum quod dicitur Saphetum se cedit. Fit nosrorum strages mirabilis. Acconensis presul dum crucem Domini fertur letabiliter vulneratus tradit eam alteri et ille regi. Bello undique vehementius perurgente, rex capitur, cur (crux) Domini asportatur. Raro unquam nostris temporibus ullo in prelio tantum sanguinis est effusum: totius tunc terre concidere vires. Templari quippe et Hospitalarii proceresque et viri fortiores vel trucidati vel capti sunt; sicut meritis suis exigentibus nostri sunt traditi in manus gentium et in gentibus subjugati.

Nimis nam varios luxus effluxerat et clerus et populus totaque terra illa facinibus et flagelliciis sordecebat. Sed et qui religionis habitum pretendebant vel preferebant regularis moderate turpiter fines excesserant: rarus in monasterio, rarus in seculo quem non vel avaricie vel luxurie morbus inficeret.

Porro Saaladinus celebri habito de nostris tropheo ad pontem Tyberiadis redit ibique manubias precepit dividi et meliora Damascus deferri; quotquot ex Templariis vel Hospitalariis reperti sunt presentie victoris oblato, jubente eo, omnes pariter decollantur. Guido vero rex in monumentum victorie reservatur, solo ministro suo ad suam petitionem sibi concessio.³ Princeps quoque Rainaudus ante Saaladinum adductus est. Erat autem vir concilii et honestatis amator, Turcorum impugnator acerrimus et nostrorum fidelissimus propugnator, florens quidem in seculo seculique sui contemptor. Id tamen in eo culpabatur a pluribus quod cum inter Christianos et Turcos statuerebatur inducie, ipse nunquam eas voluit custodire. Unde hunc pre ceteris hoderat Saaladinus a quo nimirum frequentes gravesque acceperat lesiones: quanta itaque ab eo sustinuisse replicans cum eo aliquantulum disceptat, deinde suo mucrone decollat. Hiis itaque gestis Acon urbem, qui et Tholomaias dicitur, adit et obsidet; obsessam biduum in deditionem recepit. Acconensi urbe recepta, cum ad alias urbes et opida capienda contendunt et pauca, quidem immo fere nulla, per vim capiunt, plura in deditionem recipiunt. Tota quippe regio tremebat attrita, utpote privata fortibus et suis tutoribus destituta.⁴ Id sane Saaladini libertatem (liberalitatem) commendat quod nullum gravari sustinuit qui ei vult se subsedere et degere sub tributo; manere volentibus non fuit hostilis impressio, recessere volentibus data est tuta conductio.

Hiis diebus quadam nocte super comitem Tripolitanum proditorem extenta est manus Domini eumque in ultionem percussit, quam (quem) sui mortui (mortuum) mane in suo stratu reperiunt. Res dissimulari non potuit quod nuper circumcisionis receperat stigma unde palam fuit quod se Saaladino confederans sectam Sarracenorum conceperat observandam: siquidem Sarraceni et Turci ex paterna se traditione circumcidunt.

Joscius Tyrensis archiepiscopus transferat ut orientalem cladem defectumque Christianitatis nuntiet principibus Occidentis.

Eodem anno Philippo Francorum regi nascitur filius nomine Ludovicus.⁵

Interea Iherosolimita et qui de vicinis locis undique hostium metu illuc confluerant, omne se supplicandi genere humiliabant; agebantur quoque ab omnibus celeberrime letanie, confessiones, jejunia. Quodque mirandum est, ipsa parvula etas hiis spiritualibus exercitiis insistebat. Siquidem in paculo (periculo?) erat ira Dei vehemens et flagellum mundans, cum sic ostenderet Dominus populo suo dura et partem terre quam tulerat de manu Amorrei rursus traderet Amorreo.

Jerusalem a Turcis obsessa capitur

Ascalone recepta et murata, Saaladinus Jerusalem properat ut eam obsideat, arbitrans fore cessuros de facili qui videbant et alios jam fecisse sibi que adesse paucissimos qui

³ Robert, p. 250: 'solo Templariorum magistro ad suam ei petitionem concessio.'

⁴ The chronicle of Robert d'Auxerre inserts here the mention of Conrad de Montferrat's arrival to Tyre.

⁵ Here Robert cites the siege of Ascalon and Turcomans' raid into the country of Antioch (p. 251: 'Turci Aschalonem petunt . . .').

defenderent et numeros (innumeros) qui defendere non valerent. Venientes itaque Turci urbem ex parte occidentali expugnant novemque diebus continuis continuos et acerrimos dant assultus; sed, civibus mirabilis (mirabiliter)⁶ obsistentibus, cum nec sic proficerent, ab aquilone statuunt assilire. Illic ergo machinis ac tormentis ad saxa jaculanda compositis, instantissime ceperunt urgere et a tormentis lapides indesinentur excutere et concutere muros; et quod adeo eos excusserunt considerantes⁷ obsessi obsessuros non posse resisti, quid agere debeant in commune pertractant. Placuit demum ut instanti periculo cederent seseque darent dederunt Saaladino.⁸ Res ad Saaladinum perlata est. Placet ei quod expetunt, tamen conditione prefixa ut certe redemptionis accipiat precium de capitibus singulorum, silicet ab hiis qui X annos et supra excesserant X bizannos, a mulieribus vero et ab hiis qui infra decennium tenebantur V bizannos.

Secundo ergo octobris die, qui erat ab obsidione XIII, feria VI^a, dedita Turcis urbs patuit; statimque Saaladini imperio basilicorum campane malleis sunt contrite;⁹ in ipsis vero stabulavere jumenta et sordes quaslibet perpetraverunt. Ceterum ecclesiam Sepulcri multo auro redimerunt Suriani, ne pateret gentibus ne sordibus subjaceret. Templo Domini miram venerationem exhibuere Turci quod etiam juxta ritus suos consueverunt antiquitus venerari.

Patriarcha Eraclius clerusque universus et de monasteriis diversorum ordinum professores turbaque cujuslibet etatis et sexus munera (innumera) de Jerusalem recesserunt. Hiis qui supra muros in cellis reclusi abstinentie et orationi vaccabant jussum est ut abirent. Universis pene Latinis (Latinis) urbem relinquuntibus, Suriani et sectarum homines diversarum, utpote Georgiani, Jacobite, Greci, Armenii remanserunt ibidem sub Turcorum dominio constituti. Audita deditione, multa quoque loca qui vix ab homine capi possent si defensorem haberent in ditionem (deditionem) sunt recepta. Capta est autem Jerusalem post annos LXXXVIII ex quo a Turcis est erupta et Romanis restituta.

⁶ Robert, p. 251: 'viriliter.'

⁷ *Ibid.*: 'concutere muros, adeo ut excussorum violentia lapidum perfracta ruerat pars murorum. Considerantes obsessi . . .'

⁸ *Ibid.*: 'sese dederent.'

⁹ From here, Robert's text is more complete.