

even consenting to and cooperating in them. The cry of complaint at length reached the ears of the lady Blanche and the nobles and prelates. On hearing it that queen modestly replied, "As the Lord knows, I believed that they in their simplicity and sanctity would gain the Holy Land; but since they are deceivers, let them be excommunicated, seized, and destroyed."

All these villains were therefore excommunicated, and denounced as such; but before the sentence was made public, they went with treacherous designs to Bourges, the gates of which city were thrown open to them by the consent of the citizens, who would not listen to the prohibition of their archbishop; and the greater part of them entered the city, the remainder staying in the vineyards outside the city, for they were so numerous that no city could conveniently receive them all, and their hosts were divided throughout several cities, and even Paris suffered perceptible injury from them. The chief of these deluded men having announced his intention of preaching a sermon in public, and having promised to work some astounding miracles, an immense multitude of people flocked together from all quarters to hear things hitherto unheard of, and to see things which they had never before seen. When this deceiver gave utterance to some raving speeches, and the miracles he had promised were found to be mere trickery, one of the people, a butcher, bearing an axe, struck him on the head, and sent him brainless to hell. His body was thrown on a crossway and left to rot unburied; and as the reports spread abroad that these shepherds and their abettors, and all who listened to them, were excommunicated, they dispersed, and were dispatched like mad dogs. At Bordeaux, also, when some of their assemblages approached that city, the gates were locked by order of Simon [de Montfort], earl of Leicester, and they were not allowed to enter, and on their demanding admission, the earl, in reply, asked them, "By whose authority do you act thus?" To which they answered, "We do not plead the authority of pope or bishop, but that of the omnipotent God, and the blessed Mary, his mother, which is greater than theirs." When the earl heard this reply, considering such a speech as frivolous, he sent back the following message: "Depart, all of you, as speedily as possible, or I will assemble all my troops, as well as the . . . inhabitants of this city, and will attack you and cut you to pieces."

These deluded wretches were astounded at hearing these words, and becoming like sand without lime, dispersed in all directions; and as each of them sought his own safety by flight, they were exposed to peril in many shapes. . . . [Their leaders were captured and executed.]

Then, indeed, many of their followers found that they had been led astray, and discovering their wretched state, accepted the penance enjoined on them, and laid aside the crosses they had received from the hands of these deceivers, and reassuming the sign of the cross from the hands of good men, duly

proceeded on their pilgrimage; and setting out for the Holy Land, entered the service of the French king after his release from the power of the Saracens. . . . for they said that they had learned from their master that they would liberate the king of the French, wherefore they had all vied with one another in assuming the sign of the cross. . . .

Men of influence and discernment, and prelates of deep reasoning, said that never since the times of Mohammed had such a fearful pestilence crept into the church of Christ, especially as, owing to the misfortune which had happened to the French king, the faith began to totter in the kingdom of France.

Questions: What is the attitude of the writer toward the Shepherds' Crusade? What accounts for this point of view? Compare this popular movement to the Peasants' (doc. 13) and Children's (doc. 62) Crusades. Who decided the final fate of the Shepherds' Crusade?

86. IBN AL-ATHIR ON THE MONGOL INVASION

The course of thirteenth-century crusades took a very different and unforeseen turn with the arrival in the Middle East of the Mongols. The Mongols (or "Tartars"—many medieval writers used the two terms interchangeably) were an Asiatic tribal people who through brutal conquest had created an empire that spanned from China to the edges of the Islamic world. Under their leader Genghis Khan (d. 1227), the Mongols swept into northern Persia in 1218. The Persian campaign, which raged on until 1224, brought the horrors of Mongol warfare to the Muslim inhabitants, and, for a time, diverted their attention from the crusader states. The Muslim historian Ibn al-Athir (1160–1233) describes below the ferocity of these early Mongol attacks.

Source: trans. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), vol. II, pp. 427–31; revised.

For some years I continued averse from mentioning this event, deeming it so horrible that I shrank from recording it, and ever withdrawing one foot as I advanced the other. To whom, indeed, can it be easy to write the announcement of the deathblow of Islam and the Muslims, or who is he on whom the remembrance thereof can weigh lightly? O would that my mother had not borne me or that I had died and become a forgotten thing ere this befell! Yet [nevertheless] a number of my friends urged me to set it down in writing, and I hesitated long; but at last came to the conclusion that to omit this matter [from my history] could serve no useful purpose.

I say, therefore, that this thing involves the description of the greatest catastrophe and the most dire calamity . . . which befell all men generally, and the Muslims in particular; so that, should one say that the world, since God almighty created Adam until now, hath not been afflicted with the like thereof, he would but speak the truth. For indeed history doth not contain aught which approaches or comes nigh unto it. For [one] of the most grievous calamities recorded was what Nebuchadnezzar inflicted on the children of Israel by his slaughter of them and his destruction of Jerusalem; and what was Jerusalem in comparison to the countries which these accursed miscreants destroyed, each city of which was double the size of Jerusalem? Or what were the children of Israel compared to those whom these slew? For verily those whom they massacred in a single city exceeded all the children of Israel. Nay, it is unlikely that mankind will see the like of this calamity, until the world comes to an end and perishes. . . . For . . . these [Tartars] spared none, slaying women and men and children, ripping open pregnant women and killing unborn babes. Verily to God do we belong, and unto him do we return, and there is no strength and no power save in God, the high, the almighty, in [the] face of this catastrophe, whereof the sparks flew far and wide, and the hurt was universal; and which passed over the lands like clouds driven by the wind. For these were a people who emerged from the confines of China, and attacked the cities of Turkestan, like Kashghar and Balasaghun, and thence advanced on the cities of Transoxiana, such as Samarkand, Bukhara and the like, taking possession of them, and treating their inhabitants in such wise as we shall mention; and of them one division then passed on into Khurasan, until they had made an end of taking possession, and destroying, and slaying, and plundering, and thence passing on to Ray, Hamadan and the highlands, and the cities contained therein, even to the limits of Iraq, whence they marched on the towns of Adharbayjan and Arraniyya, destroying them and slaying most of their inhabitants, of whom none escaped save a small remnant; and all this in less than a year; this is a thing whereof the like has not been heard. And when they had finished with Adharbayjan and Arraniyya, they passed on to Darband-i-Shirwan, and occupied its cities, none of which escaped save the fortress wherein was their king; wherefore they passed by it to the countries of the Lan and the Lakiz and the various nationalities which dwell in that region, and plundered, slew, and destroyed them to the full. And thence they made their way to the lands of Qipchag, who are the most numerous of the Turks, and slew all such as withstood them, while the survivors fled to the fords and mountaintops, and abandoned their country, which these Tartars overran. All this they did in the briefest space of time, remaining only for so long as their march required and no more.

Another division, distinct from that mentioned above, marched on Ghazna and its dependencies, and those parts of India, Sistan and Kirman which border thereon, and wrought therein deeds like unto the other, nay, yet more grievous. Now this is a thing the like of which ear hath not heard; for Alexander [the Great], concerning whom historians agree that he conquered the world, did not do so with such swiftness, but only in the space of about ten years; neither did he slay, but was satisfied that men should be subject to him. But these Tartars conquered most of the habitable globe, and the best, the most flourishing and most populous part thereof, and that whereof the inhabitants were the most advanced in character and conduct, in about a year; nor did any country escape their devastations which did not fearfully expect them and dread their arrival.

Moreover they need no commissariat, nor the conveyance of supplies, for they have with them sheep, cows, horses, and the like quadrupeds, the flesh of which they eat, [needing] naught else. As for their beasts which they ride, these dig into the earth with their hoofs and eat the roots of plants, knowing naught of barley. And so, when they alight anywhere, they have need of nothing from without. As for their religion, they worship the sun when it rises, and regard nothing as unlawful, for they eat all beasts, even dogs, pigs, and the like; nor do they recognize the marriage tie, for several men are in marital relations with one woman, and if a child is born, it knows not who is its father.

Therefore Islam and the Muslims have been afflicted during this period with calamities wherewith no people hath been visited. These Tartars (may God confound them!) came from the East, and wrought deeds which horrify all who hear of them. . . . And [one] of these [calamities] was the invasion of Syria by the Franks (may God curse them!) out of the West, and their attack on Egypt, and occupation of the port of Damietta therein, so that Egypt and Syria were [about] to be conquered by them, but for the grace of God and the help which he vouchsafed us against them. . . . [Another] of these calamities, moreover, was that the sword was drawn between those [Muslims] who escaped from these two foes, and strife was rampant [amongst them]. . . . We ask God to vouchsafe victory to Islam and the Muslims, for there is none other to aid, help, or defend the true faith. But if God intends evil to any people, naught can avert it, nor have they any ruler save him. As for these Tartars, their achievements were only rendered possible by the absence of any effective obstacle; and the cause of this absence was that Mohammed Khwarazmshah had overrun the [Muslim] lands, slaying and destroying their kings, so that he remained alone ruling over all these countries; wherefore, when he was defeated by the Tartars, none was left in

the lands to check those or protect these, that so God might accomplish a thing which was to be done.

It is now time for us to describe how they first burst forth into the [Muslim] lands. . . . Stories have been related to me, which the hearer can scarcely credit, as to the terror of [the Mongols] which God almighty cast into men's hearts; so that it is said that a single one of them would enter a village or a quarter wherein were many people, and would continue to slay them one after another, none daring to stretch forth his hand against this horseman. And I have heard that one of them took a man captive, but had not with him any weapon wherewith to kill him; and he said to his prisoner, "Lay your head on the ground and do not move," and he did so, and the Tartar went and fetched his sword and slew him therewith. Another man related to me as follows: "I was going," said he, "with seventeen others along a road, and there met us a Tartar horseman, and bade us bind one another's arms. My companions began to do as he bade them, but I said to them, 'He is but one man; wherefore, then, should we not kill him and flee?' They replied, 'We are afraid.' I said, 'This man intends to kill you immediately; let us therefore rather kill him, that perhaps God may deliver us.' But I swear by God that not one of them dared to do this, so I took a knife and slew him, and we fled and escaped." And such occurrences were many.

Questions: According to Ibn al-Athir, how did the Mongols go about establishing their empire? What do we learn from him of the Mongols' lifestyle and military tactics? How does he see the Mongols in the context of Middle Eastern history?

87. IBN 'ABD AL-ZAHIR'S BIOGRAPHY OF BAYBARS

While Europe struggled with the failure of Louis IX's crusade, Muslim leaders in the Holy Land were preoccupied with the Mongol threat. This was the prime concern of the sultan known as Baybars (1260–77), one of the greatest heroes of medieval Islam. Born in southern Russia, he was brought to the Middle East as a slave and eventually entered the caste of mamluks, warrior slaves who could rise to any height in the Egyptian government. In the first episode below, which takes place in 1260, another mamluk named al-Malik al-Muzaffar is sultan in Egypt, and Baybars is a high-ranking official of his household. Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, the author of the biography from which these excerpts are taken, was Baybars's confidential secretary.

Source: trans. S. F. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 92–94, 96, 117–18, 167–69, 171.

The March against the Mongols (May God defeat them)

When the Syrian army arrived in Egypt, God inspired the heart of [the Mamluk sultan] al-Malik al-Muzaffar to take the field. He began to meet and talk to [Baybars] about it, and the latter gave him advice as to how he should look after the interests of Islam. He then set out with the armies [in 1260]. . . .

[Baybars] entered 'Akka [that is, Acre] in disguise to reconnoiter. I had entered it beforehand . . . and heard some of the Franks say: "O Muslim, we wish we had such a person," meaning [Baybars]. When the army was two days' journey out from 'Akka, [Baybars,] with a group of emirs, rode on through the rest of the day and night. [He] then ascended the hill overlooking Ain Jalut. He and those with him stayed on horseback throughout the night, while the Mongols encamped near them. Al-Malik al-Muzaffar and the army marched on ignorant of the nearness of the enemy, till the messengers of [Baybars] arrived and warned them, informing them of the proximity of the enemy; and they also drew their attention to the weakness of the enemy and disparaged the latter, encouraging them to take advantage of the opportunity; and this was one of the causes of the victory. . . .

When the armies reached [Baybars,] he stood before the enemy and bore the first shock of their onslaught. The enemy saw his bravery, the like of which was never heard of before. The Muslims saw that he stood firm among them, and so they ventured against the enemy and drove onward . . . and so God had ordained the victory, which was due to [Baybars]. When the enemy, having been put to flight, climbed up the mountain, [Baybars] followed on foot and stood facing the enemy all day long till nightfall. People everywhere heard about his stand on the mountain, and they climbed up to him from every direction, while he was fighting like one who staked his very life. The foot-soldiers began to climb up and collect the heads of those whom he killed and who were killed in front of him, and they carried the heads of such persons as Kitbugha Nowin and others to al-Malik al-Muzaffar. Before the day passed, a great number of heads had been gathered before al-Malik al-Muzaffar. When [Baybars] came down he did not heed the fatigue which he had suffered, but rode on and pressed after the enemy, his men following him. He did not cease to ride night and day, without rest, killing or taking captive those who were unwounded, while the enemy was put to flight before him. He did not draw rein until he reached Harim. When he reached Afamiyah the enemy rallied again; and he again inflicted a smashing defeat on them at Afamiyah on Friday, and their wealth, women, children, and horses were plundered. . . .

Al-Malik al-Muzaffar (mercy on him) went [on] with all his army, and they found that our master [Baybars] (may God grant him victory) had put the affairs of the territories in order for them and resettled the rest of the subjects

there, and encouraged his men to advance. Al-Malik al-Muzaffar reached Damascus without fatigue or hardship. . . .

The Journey of [Baybars] to Egypt and the Death of al-Malik al-Muzaffar

When al-Malik al-Muzaffar set out accompanied by [Baybars], he became haughty and his attitude changed. [Baybars] noticed this. He wanted to do something in the holy war which would be praised by God and the people, but al-Malik al-Muzaffar prevented him lest [Baybars] should take all the glory for himself, excluding him. On Saturday, the 17th Dhu'l Qa'da [that is, Oct. 26] of the year [1260], [Baybars] went out with al-Malik al-Muzaffar to hunt, while he was near Qusair. [Baybars] had promised that only a few men should come with him, and he rode by [al-Malik al-Muzaffar's] side, talked with him and seized his hand and sword; then, holding him at arm's length, he struck him with his sword, and thus occurred his death as ordained by God. [Baybars] did this himself and attained his object alone, and this was amidst great armies and strong guards; no one was able to speak and none ventured to extend his hand against him. . . . [After this Baybars was acknowledged as sultan in Egypt.]

Reconstruction of the Forts

When the Mongols (may God defeat them) occupied Syria, they began to destroy the forts and walls. They demolished the walls of the fort of Damascus, and the forts of Salt, Ajlun, Sarkhad, Busra, Ba'albek, Subaybah, Shaizar, and Shumaim. When the sultan [Baybars] took charge of affairs and God established him as the support of the faith, he took an interest in the reconstruction of these forts and the completion of the destroyed buildings, because these were the strongholds of Islam. All these were repaired during his time; their fosses [that is, ditches] were cleared out, the flanks of their walls were broadened, equipment was transported to them, and he sent mamluks and soldiers to them. . . .

The Reasons Why It Was Necessary to Turn against the Franks and to Seize Their Territories

We have told at the beginning of this biography of the peace talks with the Franks. When they saw the kindness of the sultan [Baybars], they began to depart from their work and demand Zar'in; but the sultan replied, "In the reign of al-Malik al-Nasir, you received in exchange for this place ten villages in the district of Maji-'Uyun, and you exchanged that with the ruler of Tihnin." Letters continued to arrive from [the Franks] saying, "Thieves have robbed us, sometimes

from the direction of Arrun and sometimes from Banyas," and the sultan gave orders that their wrongs should be redressed. At the same time letters were received from [the sultan's] deputies, who complained of the Franks and said that they were indulging in activities tantamount to a breach of the truce. When the sultan had already reached the middle of their territories, a messenger arrived from them to congratulate him on his safe arrival, through whom the Franks said, "We did not know of the arrival of the sultan." His reply was, "Whoever intends to lead in any matter should keep on the alert, and who is the person that could be unaware of the setting out of these armies, and did not know what was known even to the animals of the desert and the fish in the waters, regarding the huge numbers of soldiers, so that in your houses there remains perhaps not one place in which cannot be swept up the dust raised by the horses of this army; and perhaps the noise of their tread has already deafened the ears of the Franks who live overseas, and the Mongols who dwell in Mughan? If all these troops have reached the door of your houses, without your knowing it, then what do you know?" At this juncture the messengers departed.

. . . When this was going on the sultan ordered his soldiers not to dismount in the fields of the Franks, and not to let loose any horse or spoil any green leaf, or to seize any of their beasts and peasants. He treated them very kindly, waiting for their conversion from error. Before the approach of the sultan, their letters had expressed their intention of breaking the treaty and regret at having concluded it, but at the approach of the sultan, letters arrived from them stating that they would maintain the peace and keep to the clauses of the treaties.

. . . [Baybars] summoned the ambassadors of the Franks of the various groups and asked them: "What are your intentions?" They replied: "We shall maintain the truce which has been concluded between us." The sultan replied: "Why then did you not think in this way before our arrival at this place, before we had spent riches which, if they had flowed, would form seas? And yet we have not harmed your harvests, nor any other thing, but you prevented our army from receiving food and provisions. . . ." [He recited a long list of the Franks' misdeeds, concluding:] "Now the kingdom of Syria and other places belong to me, and I do not need your help, nor your succor. Therefore you are to restore the Islamic countries you have taken in this way and set all Muslim prisoners at liberty, for I shall not accept any other conditions." When the infidels heard these words, they were discomfited and said, "We shall not break the truce, and we implore the mercy of the sultan to keep the friendly relation stipulated in the treaty and to maintain it; and we shall desist from occasioning complaints by your governors, and set the prisoners free." The sultan answered: "You should have done these things before we left Egypt in this winter and rainy season, and before our armies had arrived here." At this they departed.

The sultan gave orders that they should not spend the night in the camp. He gave orders that the church of Nazareth should be demolished, this being the most important place of worship for them; it is said that the religion of the Christians had its origin there. He sent there the emir 'Izz al-din Amir-Jandar who razed it to the ground. None of the Franks dared to come out of the gates of Akka and they did not utter a single word. Then he dispatched the emir Badr al-din Aidunuri with a body of troops, and they went towards 'Akka and carried out raids as far as its gates. The said emir went again, fell upon the flocks and confiscated a great number of these, and brought them to the Muslims' camp.

Questions: What impression of Baybars's abilities and character does this text give? Why was he such a successful leader? What was the state of relations between the Franks and the Muslims at this time? What does the final episode suggest for the future of those relations?

88. LUDOLPH VON SUCHTEM ON THE FALL OF ACRE AND ITS AFTERMATH

The work that Baybars began, with his incremental reduction of the remaining Frankish territories, was brought to completion in 1291, when Acre, the last important mainland city in Frankish hands, fell to Muslim forces in May. Mopping-up operations continued during the summer, as the last Templar castles were taken one by one. The fall of Acre marked the end of an era. Although the idea and even the practice of crusading lived on after this, there was no more Christian-Muslim fighting in Palestine and Syria. The island of Cyprus became the headquarters of the Frankish claimants to the throne of Jerusalem. Rhodes, captured soon afterwards by the Hospitallers, became the center of operations for that military order. Ludolph von Suchtem, a German priest, visited the islands during a trip to the Holy Land in 1336-41 and wrote, about ten years later, the work from which the following account is excerpted.

Source: trans. A. Stewart, *Ludolph von Suchtem's Description of the Holy Land* (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1895), pp. 34-38, 41-44, 54-60; revised.

After having told of the glories and beauties of Acre, I will now briefly tell you of its fall and ruin, and the cause of its loss, even as I heard the tale told by right truthful men, who well remembered it. While, then, the grand doings of which I have spoken were going on in Acre, at the instigation of the devil there arose a violent and hateful quarrel in Lombardy between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines [that is, between two factions in Italian politics], which

brought all evil upon the Christians. Those Lombards who dwelt at Acre took sides in this same quarrel, especially the Pisans and Genoese, both of whom had an exceedingly strong party in Acre. These men made treaties and truces with the Saracens, to the end that they might the better fight against one another within the city. When Pope Urban [IV] heard of this, he grieved for Christendom and for the Holy Land, and sent 12,000 mercenary troops across the sea to help the Holy Land and Christendom. When these men came across the sea to Acre they did no good, but abode by day and by night in caverns and places of ill repute, took and plundered merchants and pilgrims in the public streets, broke the treaty [with the Muslims], and did much evil.

Melot Sapheraph, sultan of Babylon, an exceedingly wise man, most potent in arms and bold in action, when he heard of this, and knew of the hateful quarrels of the people of Acre, called together his counselors and held a parliament in Babylon, wherein he complained that the truces had frequently been broken and violated, to the prejudice of himself and his people. After a debate had been held upon this matter, he gathered together a mighty host, and reached the city of Acre without any resistance, because of their quarrels with one another, cutting down and wasting all the vineyards and fruit trees and all the gardens and orchards, which are most lovely thereabout. When the master of the Templars, a very wise and brave knight, saw this, he feared that the fall of the city was at hand, because of the quarrels of the citizens. He took counsel with his brethren about how peace could be restored, and then went out to meet the sultan, who was his own very especial friend, to ask him whether they could by any means repair the broken truce. He obtained these terms from the sultan, to wit, that because of his love for the sultan and the honor in which the sultan held him, the broken truce might be restored by every man in Acre paying one Venetian penny. So the master of the Templars was glad, and, departing from the sultan, called together all the people and preached a sermon to them in the Church of St. Cross, setting forth how, by his prayers, he had prevailed upon the sultan to grant that the broken treaty might be restored by a payment of one Venetian penny by each man, that therewith everything might be settled and quieted. He advised them by all means to do so, declaring that the quarrels of the citizens might bring a worse evil upon the city than this—as indeed they did. But when the people heard this, they cried out with one voice that he was the betrayer of the city, and was guilty of death. The master, when he heard this, left the church, hardly escaped alive from the hands of the people, and took back their answer to the sultan.

When the sultan heard this, knowing that, owing to the quarrels of the people, none of them would make any resistance, he pitched his tents, set up sixty [siege] machines, dug many mines beneath the city walls, and for forty days and nights, without any respite, assailed the city with fire, stones, and