

## Jerusalem between Sultan Salah Al-Din and King Richard I: Search for Peace

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### Abstract

*Jerusalem is no ordinary place; its significance reaches far beyond its physical stones. During its turbulent history, the followers of the different religions made strenuous efforts to conquer the city by any means and at any cost. This important status of the city clearly manifested during the long peace negotiations between the most known sole leaders during the Third Crusade (1189-1192 CE): Sultan Salah al-Din and Richard I (The Lion-Heart) the King of England. In this paper, an attempt is made to verify the accounts of the communication between Salah al-Din and the Crusaders and analytically discusses the peace negotiations between Salah al-Din and Richard. The paper covers, also, the outcomes of these negotiations. The paper concludes with how at the end of the Third Crusade, that lasted nearly five years, Richard and Salah al-Din, the two of the greatest warriors and statesmen of the medieval age, parted on good terms. They held each other in great respect, and both were unusual in attracting the admiration of their enemies. Finally, this paper will prove that the outcome of the Third Crusade had negated the idea of the Crusading, as the terms of the peace agreement stipulated that Jerusalem should remain in the hands of Muslims alone.*

**Keywords:** *Jerusalem, Negotiations, Ramla peace treaty, Acre, Third Crusade, Arsuf*

### 1. Introduction

The liberation of Jerusalem in 1187CE<sup>1</sup> by Sultan Salah al-Din was a detrimental blow in Western Europe, which resulted in the death of Pope Urban III as soon he received the news in 20<sup>th</sup> October 1187CE. Europe did not wait long to form and prepare a new Crusade (the third Crusade) to regain Jerusalem, especially after the appointment of the new Pope - Gregory VIII on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1187CE.<sup>2</sup> The Third Crusade (1189–92 CE) was led by three of medieval Europe's most famous monarchs: Emperor Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, King Philip II of France and King Richard I of England<sup>3</sup>. The Crusaders started strongly, but soon weakened. Frederick Barbarossa accidentally drowned in the river Salef (1<sup>st</sup> June 1190CE) while he was marching towards Jerusalem,<sup>4</sup> which halted his army's momentum. As a result, most of the troops trudged back to their German homes<sup>5</sup>. Salah al-Din attributed the emperor's death to the will of Allah, for he had feared the strength of Frederick's army. Philip was taken ill during the siege of Acre and may not have fully recovered. He was probably also weary of fighting and had disagreed with Richard and the other leaders, and decided to go back home.<sup>6</sup> Although Richard enjoyed military successes and won back a considerable portion of the region, he failed to take Jerusalem. The third Crusade ended in peace with the al-Ramla peace treaty, in effect a Muslim victory, but with both Muslim and Christian sides exhausted. The following discussion will focus on the relationship between the English King and the Muslim Sultan.

<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Phillips, *The Crusaders 1095-1197* (Oxon & New York: Routledge, 2013), 136–37.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusaders: A History* (London & New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2014), 163; Geoffrey Hindley, *The Crusades: Islam and Christianity in the Struggle for World Supremacy* (London: Constable & Robinson, 2004), 121.

<sup>3</sup> Carol Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 24.

<sup>4</sup> 'Imad al-Din al-Asfahani, *Kitab al-Fath al-Qussi fi al-Fath al-Qudsi* (n.p.n. d.), 192; Abu Shama 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Isma'il, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbar al-Dawlatayn al-Nuriyya wal al-Salahiyya* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risalah, 1997), Vol. 4, 129–30; Kamal al-Din Abi al-Qasim Ibn al-'Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1996), 421; Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali, *al-Uns al-Jalil bi Tarikh al-Quds wa al-Khalil* (Hebron: Maktabat Dandis, 1999), Vol. 1, 510–11,

<sup>5</sup> W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 264–265.

<sup>6</sup> Niall Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders: Christianity's Wars in the Middle East, 1095-1382, from the Islamic Sources* (London- New York: Routledge, 2014), 47.

Richard and Salah al-Din led all the negotiations between Crusaders and Muslims, apart from a long letter sent by Frederick Barbarossa when he was still in Germany, threatening Salah al-Din and demanding that he hand over Jerusalem and the Holy Land, or else Frederick would go to war against him. Salah al-Din replied to him, but this appears to have been the only communication between the two leaders.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. Channels of Communications

After the Crusaders moved their forces to Acre they besieged the city for almost two years, during which thousands died on both sides<sup>8</sup>. At this point, channels of communication between the Muslim and Crusader leaders were established. According to Ibn Shaddad (the secretary of Salah al-Din), although the fighting was extremely fierce and violent, the Muslims remained steadfast. This surprised the Crusaders, and Richard sent a messenger first to al-Malik al-‘Adil asking for a meeting with the sultan. Salah al-Din himself replied: “Kings do not meet unless an agreement has been reached. It is not good for them to fight after meeting and eating together. If he wants this, an agreement must be settled before it can happen. We must have an interpreter whom we can trust to act between us, and who can make each of us understand what the other says. Let the envoy be our mutual interpreter. If we come to an agreement, the meeting can happen later, God willing”.<sup>9</sup>

Richard agreed about the interpreter and sent another messenger asking for a time to meet on the plain, with their troops surrounding them. Salah al-Din agreed, but the meeting did not take place because of Richard’s sudden illness, and he sent a messenger to Salah al-Din explaining the reason for his absence.<sup>10</sup> It was also reported that the Crusader princes in a body expressed strong disapproval, in the belief that King Richard was endangering Christianity.<sup>11</sup>

After a while, when it became clear to the Muslim defenders of Acre that there was no hope of Salah al-Din’s army reaching the city to relieve them, they agreed surrender terms with the Crusaders.<sup>12</sup> To ensure that these were fulfilled, the Crusaders took hostage 3000 prisoners. Ibn Shaddad describes the surrender terms: “They would give up the city and all the engines, equipment and ships it contained and hand over 200,000 *dinars*, 1500 prisoners of common, unremarkable background and 100 prisoners to be specified by the Franks, whom they would select, and additionally the Holy Cross that was taken by the Muslims. These would be granted, provided that the Muslims could leave in safety, taking with them their personal wealth and goods and their children and womenfolk. They guaranteed to the marquis (for he had been reconciled and had returned) 10,000 *dinars* because he was the intermediary, and 4000 *dinars* to his men. On that basis an agreement was concluded between them and the Crusaders”.<sup>13</sup>

Under this agreement, Salah al-Din was supposed to hand over the money, Christian prisoners were to be exchanged for Muslim hostages and the Holy Cross<sup>14</sup> (captured after the battle of Hittin in 1187CE) was to be restored to the Crusaders. However, progress was slow because Salah al-Din suspected that if the Crusaders received the money, the Cross and the prisoners while still holding Muslim hostages, they would act treacherously and the Muslims would sustain a loss too great to repair.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>7</sup> William Stubbs, *Itinerarum Peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. into Arabic as *al-Harb al-Salibiyya al-Thalitha* (Salah al-Din and Richard), by Habashi, Hasan (Egypt: al-Hay’a al-Misriyya al-‘Ama lil Kitab, 2000), Vol. 1, 57–63.

<sup>8</sup> Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), 167–174.

<sup>9</sup> Baha’ al-Din Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa’al-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya* (Cairo: Dar al-Manar, 2000), 122–24. See also D. S. Richards, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin or al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa’l-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya*. English trans. of Ibn Shaddad, *Al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa’l-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2001), 152–53. ‘Imad al-Din al-Asfahani, *Kitab al-Fath al-Qussi*, op. cit., 253.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit., 125–26. See also Richards, *The Rare and Excellent* op. cit., 155; ‘Imad al-Din al-Asfahani, *Kitab al-Fath al-Qussi*, op. cit., 253.

<sup>11</sup> John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), 23.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit., 128–29. See also Richards, *The Rare and Excellent*, op. cit., 158–60; ‘Imad al-Din al-Asfahani, *Kitab al-Fath al-Qussi*, op. cit., 259.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit., 131. See also Richards, *The Rare and Excellent*, op. cit., 161; ‘Imad al-Din al-Asfahani, *Kitab al-Fath al-Qussi*, op. cit., 259.

<sup>14</sup> Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, op. cit., 166.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit. p. 134; Richards, *The Rare and Excellent*, op. cit., 164; ‘Imad al-Din al-Asfahani, *Kitab al-Fath al-Qussi*, op. cit., 268–69.

Richard lost patience and massacred some 2700 Muslims within the sight of Salah al-Din's army.<sup>16</sup> Ibn al-'Adim asserts that he killed 2200 and spared the rest.<sup>17</sup> Hallam comments that later chronicles contrast this incident with Salah al-Din's more chivalrous treatment of Frankish prisoners.<sup>18</sup> Lane-Poole says that there was 'no imaginable excuse or palliation for the cruel and cowardly massacre that followed'.<sup>19</sup> He quotes an account of it:

"Orders were then given to cut off the heads of the hostages with the exception of a few of the nobler prisoners, who perhaps might yet be relieved or exchanged for captive Christians. King Richard, always eager to destroy the Muslims, to confound the law of Muhammad utterly, and vindicate that of Christ, on the Friday after the Assumption bade 2700 Muslim hostages led out of the city and beheaded. Nor was there any delay. The king's followers leapt forward eager to fulfil the commands, and thankful to the Divine Grace that permitted them to take such vengeance for those Christians whom these very [captives] had slain with bolts and arrows".<sup>20</sup>

### **3. Unsuccessful attempt to Achieve Peace**

After the Crusaders had captured Acre in 1191 CE<sup>21</sup> they marched south along the coast, with Salah al-Din not far behind. King Richard asked al-'Adil, who came up to the advance guard, for a meeting and this was granted. However, it did not go well. Richard started talking about peace, and according to Ibn Shaddad, al-'Adil said: "You desire peace but you do not mention your demands that I might mediate your differences with the sultan". The King of England replied, 'the basic condition is that you should restore all the lands to us and return to your countries'. Al-'Adil gave a harsh answer and a quarrel followed which led to the enemy's departure after the two of them had separated".<sup>22</sup>

King Richard's reply made it clear that he saw the Muslims as invaders who had no rights, not only in Jerusalem but in the whole region. He believed that the Christian Crusaders were the real owners of those lands and that Muslims should leave the area. As a result, negotiations were unsuccessful, and were followed by a battle fought near Arsuf on 7<sup>th</sup> September 1191 CE, in which Richard was victorious. The Crusaders then headed to the port of Yafa (Jaffa) and conquered it as well.

### **4. A New Attempt for Peace and Reconciliation**

Yet it seems that Richard realized that his last meeting with al-'Adil had not been a proper basis for peace negotiations. On 18<sup>th</sup> October 1191 CE he met al-'Adil at Yazur, and they talked for a long time. Richard made a proposition and asked al-'Adil to send it to Salah al-Din. It is regarded as the most important letter between Salah al-Din and Richard, and deals directly with Jerusalem: "You will greet him and say, the Muslims and the Franks are done for. The land is ruined, ruined utterly at the hands of both sides. Property and lives on both sides are destroyed. The matter has received its due. All we have to talk about is Jerusalem, the Holy Cross and these lands. Now Jerusalem is the centre of our worship, which we shall never renounce, even if there was only one of us left. As for these lands, let there be restored to us what is this side of Jordan River. The Holy Cross is a piece of wood that has no value for you, but it is important for us. Let the sultan bestow it upon us. Then we can make peace and have rest from this constant hardship".<sup>23</sup>

Salah al-Din consulted the leading men in his council about this message. His famous reply was as follows: "Jerusalem is ours as much as it is yours. Indeed, for us it is greater than it is for you, for it is where our Prophet came on his Night Journey and the gathering place of the angels. Let not the king imagine that we shall give it up, for we are unable to breathe a word of that amongst the Muslims. As for the land, it is also ours originally.

<sup>16</sup> 'Imad al-Din al-Asfahani, *Kitab al-Fath al-Qussi*, op. cit., 269. See also Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Al-Dhahabi, *Duwal al-Islam* (Beirut: Dar Sader, 1999), Vol. 2, 95–96; Abu al-Fida' Isma'il Ibn 'Ali, *Tarikh Abi al-Fida' al-Musamma al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar*. (Beirut: Manshurat Muhammad 'Ali Baydun, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997), Vol. 2, 165; al-Hanbali, *al-Uns al-Jalil*, op. cit., Vol. 1, 524.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn al-'Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, op. cit., 425.

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth Hallam, *Chronicles of the Crusades: Eye Witness Accounts of the Wars between Christianity and Islam* (London: Guild Publishing, 1989.), 153.

<sup>19</sup> Stanley Lane-Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London: Greenhill Books, 2002), 212.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>21</sup> Hillenbrand, *The Crusaders*, op. cit., 24.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit., 141–42, See also Richards, *The Rare and Excellent*, op. cit., 174.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit., 151–52. See also Richards, *The Rare and Excellent*, op. cit., 185–86; and Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, op. cit., Vol. 4, 285–86.

Your conquest of it was an unexpected accident due to the weakness of the Muslims there at that time. While the war continues God will not enable you to build up one stone there. From the lands in our hands we, thanks be to God, feed on the produce and draw our benefit. The destruction of the Holy Cross would in our eyes be a great offering to God, but the only reason we are not permitted to go that far is that some more useful benefit might accrue to Islam".<sup>24</sup>

It is evident from the above exchange how important Jerusalem was to both sides and how each had their reasons for claiming it. As events confirmed, both would make the utmost effort to keep control of the city. Richard was exhausted by war and sought to persuade Salah al-Din to agree to peace. His demands became less; he now discusses only Jerusalem, whereas previously he had referred to the whole region. However, he continues to insist that Jerusalem belongs first and foremost to Christians and is not to be shared with Muslims. Salah al-Din, on the other hand, denies that the Muslims are invaders. More importantly, he asserts the Muslim right to Jerusalem while acknowledging the Christian claim to the city – his vision is inclusive.

### **5. Marriage Proposal as a way to Achieve Peace**

Richard tried hard to reach peace with Salah al-Din. On 21<sup>st</sup> October 1191CE he proposed the following terms: al-'Adil (Salah al-Din's brother) would marry his sister Joan (the widowed Queen of Sicily); the couple would live in Jerusalem; and Salah al-Din would give al-'Adil all the coastal lands he held and make him king of the littoral region. In addition to the lands and fiefdoms (*Iqta'at*) already in Salah al-Din's hands, al-'Adil and Joan should together rule the land (that is, they would replace Salah al-Din); the Holy Cross was to be returned to the Crusaders; prisoners from both sides were to be freed; and the Templars and Hospitallers were to be given villages. If these terms were agreed, Richard would return to England.<sup>25</sup>

When Salah al-Din received these proposals, he expressed approval, but at the same time treated them as a joke on Richard's part. He believed that the English king would not in the end agree to any of these conditions and that they were meant to mock and deceive the Muslim leader. In part, Salah al-Din's expectations were correct. After receiving Salah al-Din's approval to the marriage condition, Richard had to apologize, saying that his sister had utterly rejected the idea and sworn in the name of the Lord that she would never marry a Muslim. Richard then suggested that the marriage condition could be fulfilled if al-'Adil became a Christian.<sup>26</sup>

### **6. King Richard and the Attempt to Seize Jerusalem by Force**

Since his approaches to Salah al-Din had been unsuccessful, Richard took the dramatic step of marching towards Jerusalem in the hope of recovering the city and achieving the Crusade's objective. On the 6<sup>th</sup> June 1192 CE, Crusader forces under the king's leadership arrived at the village of Bayt Nuba, west of Jerusalem, which he chose as the base for an assault on the holy city. Richard examined the situation carefully in terms of the forces available on both sides and the outcome of such a military campaign. He realized the difficulty of the situation, and it soon became clear to him that a military assault was not viable. He could spend years besieging the walled city and then, when he conquered it, could find it virtually impossible to hold. He had enough troops and strength to maintain a siege, but could not keep up supplies of food and water for a protracted war. Richard told his generals that he would never desert them, but that he would proceed to the city as a comrade and not as a commander. He asked if anyone would volunteer to lead them. They all agreed that if Richard was not willing to be their leader, neither were any of them.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, the king once again made overtures for peace.

### **7. Reasons behind the Insistence of King Richard for Peace**

From reading the different sources, it seems that Richard's reasons were three-fold. First, his health appeared to deteriorate shortly after the capture of Acre, and the intense heat of the local climate would not have helped. During the summer of 1192 CE, at Bayt Nuba, Richard's health deteriorated further.

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Shaddad, al-Nawadir, op. cit., 152. See also Richards, *The Rare and Excellent*, op. cit., 186; and Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, op. cit., Vol. 4, 286.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Shaddad, al-Nawadir, op. cit., 153–54. See also Richards, *The Rare and Excellent* op. cit., 187–88; 'Imad al-Din al-Asfahani, *Kitab al-Fath al-Qussi*, op. cit., 284–85; and Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, op. cit., Vol. 4, 283–84.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Shaddad, al-Nawadir, op. cit., 153–54; Richards, *The Rare and Excellent*, op. cit., 187–88; 'Imad al-Din al-Asfahani, *Kitab al-Fath al-Qussi*, op. cit., 284–85; Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, op. cit., Vol. 4, 284.

<sup>27</sup> Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *Itinerary of Richard I and others to the Holy Land*, trans. as 'Conjoin labour of a Classical Scholar and a Gentlemen well read in Medieval History' (London: Henry G. Bohm, 1948), 301.

Second, he assessed the strength and power of the Muslim army as greater than he had expected. Because he had gathered a large army from several European countries, he had assumed that he would easily defeat Salah al-Din's forces. Third, the unstable political situation in England required his return, because his brother John was planning to overthrow him and seize the throne.

The failure of Richard and his army to recover Jerusalem led to a disagreement among the Crusaders about whether to march on the holy city or return to their own lands.<sup>28</sup> The French troops were in favor of marching on, saying, 'the only reason we came was Jerusalem and we shall not return without it'.<sup>29</sup> However, Richard asked how they were going to get clean water to drink, as the wells around the city had been poisoned on Salah al-Din's orders.<sup>30</sup> A meeting was held, and the decision was made to depart. In the early morning of 4<sup>th</sup> July 1192 CE, Richard and his army set out in the direction of al-Ramla, retreating the way they had come.<sup>31</sup>

### **8. Final Negotiations for peace**

On 9<sup>th</sup> July Richard sent another messenger to Salah al-Din. Ibn Shaddad reports it as follows: "The king of England desires your love and friendship. He does not wish to be a Pharaoh ruling the earth and he does not think that of you. 'It is not right' he says, 'for you to ruin all the Muslims, nor for me to ruin all the Franks. Here is my nephew, Count Henry, whom I have made ruler of these lands. I hand him and his troops over to your authority. If you were to summon them for execution they would hear and obey. Many monks and men of religion have asked you for churches and you have not grudged them what they asked. Now I ask you for a church. Those matters which annoyed you in the negotiations with al-'Adil I have declared that I give them up. I have renounced them. Were you to give me a very small village, I would accept it'.<sup>32</sup>

Ibn Shaddad continues: "When the Sultan had heard this message, he gathered his advisers and counsellors and asked them what the reply to this message should be. There was no one who did not advise conciliation and a conclusion of peace because of the fatigue, exhaustion and burden of debts from which the Muslims suffered. It was agreed to make this response: 'if you make this sort of overture to us, goodwill cannot be met with other than goodwill. Your nephew will be to me like one of my sons. You shall hear how I shall treat him. I shall bestow on him the greatest of churches, the Holy Sepulchre, and the rest of the land's upland castles that are in our hands shall remain ours. What is between the two regions shall be considered condominium. 'Asqalan and what is beyond shall be left in ruins, neither yours nor ours. If you want its villages, let them be yours'.<sup>33</sup>

Richard's message shows how desperate he was to finish his mission by almost any means, and wished to reach an arrangement in a conciliatory spirit. It also shows how far his concessions had gone, in that he was willing to accept just a small village, in contrast to earlier negotiations when he had asked Salah al-Din's army to return to their countries and leave Jerusalem to him. This time the king acknowledged Salah al-Din's overall sovereignty, in recommending his own nephew to the sultan's good graces. Salah al-Din's reply was one of peace. He promised, first, that he would treat the king's nephew as a son; second, he would hand him the most important church in Jerusalem; and finally, he would divide the country between Muslims and Christians. The next day, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1192 CE, another messenger was sent by Richard to Salah al-Din, conveying his thanks and making a new request: "What I request from you is that we should have twenty persons in the citadel of Jerusalem and that the local Christians and Franks who live in the city should not be harassed. As for the rest of the land, we have the coastal plain and the lowlands and you have the hill country".<sup>34</sup>

This time Richard's messenger, on his own initiative, revealed that winning Jerusalem was no longer the king's intention. He had given up all talk of the city apart from permission to make pilgrimage there. His aim was to reach a peaceful agreement and return home. Salah al-Din's reply was: "you will not have anything at all to do with Jerusalem, apart from making a pilgrimage visit." The messenger replied, 'but the pilgrims would have nothing to pay.'

<sup>28</sup> Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, op. cit., Vol. 4, 310.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit., 174; Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, op. cit., Vol. 4, 310.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit., 168–75; Richards, *The Rare and Excellent*, op. cit., 209–12; Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, op. cit., Vol. 4, 306.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit., 175; Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, op. cit., Vol. 4, 311.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit., 176; Richards, *The Rare and Excellent*, op. cit., 213–14.

<sup>33</sup> Richards, *The Rare and Excellent*, op. cit., 214.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit., 177.

Ibn Shaddad says it was understood from these words that the king accepted the reduced terms.<sup>35</sup> These negotiations took place while the conflict continued in various places. During the fighting in Yafa, Richard asked to meet Salah al-Din's chamberlain (*al-hajib*), Abu Bakr. At this meeting, according to Ibn Shaddad, he said: "This Sultan of yours is a great man. Islam has no greater or mightier prince on earth than him ... By God, he is great ... Greet the sultan for me and say for God's sake grant me what I ask for to make peace. This is a matter that must have an end. My lands over the sea have been ruined. For this to go on is no good for us nor for you".<sup>36</sup>

While negotiations were still going on the king's health deteriorated, and he had a burning fever. He craved fruit and ice and had a yearning for pears and plums. In a goodwill gesture, Salah al-Din supplied these fruits with refreshing snow from the mountain.<sup>37</sup> It seems there were two reasons for this. First, Richard's sickness seems to have softened the heart of Salah al-Din towards him;<sup>38</sup> and second, the sultan could gain intelligence by the coming and going of messengers.<sup>39</sup> Richard asked Abu Bakr to thank Salah al-Din for the fruit and ice. He also asked al-'Adil's advice on how he could influence Salah al-Din to make peace and to give him the city of 'Asqalan. In return, Richard would agree to leave, but would leave behind a small band of soldiers, so that Salah al-Din would be able to take the land from them. All he sought, on his departure, was to consolidate his reputation among the Crusaders.

Salah al-Din responded that if they agreed to give up 'Asqalan, then a peace treaty would be concluded, as his army was weary of constant fighting and campaigning and their resources were exhausted.<sup>40</sup> Salah al-Din wanted to rest his troops for a while so that they could recover strength. Furthermore, he wanted to make the land productive again, and capable of supplying Jerusalem with more weapons to fortify his defences.<sup>41</sup> The al-Ramla peace treaty between the two leaders was finally negotiated and signed on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1192 CE.<sup>42</sup> It stipulated a duration of three years and eight months,<sup>43</sup> or three years and five months according to Ibn al-'Adim<sup>44</sup> (d. 1262 CE), while Abu al-Fida' (d. 1332 CE) and al-Maqrizi (d. 1442 CE) says it was three years and three months.<sup>45</sup>

The conditions included the destruction of 'Asqalan and a three-year prohibition on its rebuilding (after the three years whoever was the stronger would get 'Asqalan). Salah al-Din would give the Crusaders Yafa, its environs, the seacoast and the mountains, and they would retain a narrow strip of coast between Tyre and Yafa. Salah al-Din was to keep Jerusalem, provided that he allowed free passage into it without tribute and the freedom to sell goods to any land exercising free commerce. Both parties signed the treaty.<sup>46</sup> Immediately afterwards, Salah al-Din ordered his herald to make a loud proclamation in the encampments and in the markets: "Listen all! Peace has been arranged. Any person from their lands who wishes to enter ours may do so and any person from our lands who wishes to enter theirs may also do so. The sultan [also] announced that the pilgrim route from Syria was now open".<sup>47</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.,177.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.,184–85.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit.,188.

<sup>38</sup> Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, op. cit., 221.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit.,188; Richards, *The Rare and Excellent*, op. cit., 227–28.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit.,189.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 192; Michael A. Kohler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross Cultural Diplomacy in the Period of the Crusades*. Trans. By Peter M. Holt. Revised, Edited & introduced by Konrad Hirschler (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013), 264.

<sup>42</sup> Abu al-Hasan 'Ali Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*. (Beirut: Manshurat Muhammad 'Ali Baydun, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998), Vol. 10, 218; Ibn Shaddad, *Al-Nawadir*, op. cit., 191.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, op. cit., Vol.10, 218.

<sup>44</sup> Ibn al-'Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, op. cit., 426.

<sup>45</sup> Abu al-Fida', *al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar*. op. cit., Vol. 2, 169; Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad Ibn 'Ali Al-Maqrizi, *Kitab al-Mawa'iz bi Dhikr al-Khitat wa al-Athar* (Beirut: Manshurat Muhammad 'Ali Baydun, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998), Vol. 3, 409.

<sup>46</sup> Ahmad Ibn 'Ali Al-Qalqashandi, *Subh al-A'sha fi Sina'at al-Insa*. (Beirut: Manshurat Muhammad 'Ali Baydun. Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, n. d.), Vol. 4, 183-84; Abu al-Fida' Isma'il Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidayawa al-Nihaya* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1978), Vol. 12, 350; Kohler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East*, op. Cit., 264.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, op. cit., 192; Richards, *The Rare and Excellent*, op. cit.,231; al-Hanbali, *al-Uns al-Jalil*, op. cit., Vol. 1, 536.

## 9. Salah al-Din and his Commitment to the Peace Treaty

Salah al-Din adhered to the terms of the peace treaty, including freedom of religion, so that Christians were allowed to visit Jerusalem and to carry out pilgrimages. Salah al-Din even gave them assistance in the form of escorts, who protected them until they were taken back to Yafa.<sup>48</sup> This was mainly to ensure the completion of their pilgrimage and that they returned satisfied to their own lands. He also offered them food and treated them with kindness. Richard, however, was angered at seeing the large number of Crusader pilgrims visiting Jerusalem. He sent a letter to Salah al-Din asking him not to allow Christians to visit the city unless they had written permission from the king.<sup>49</sup> Salah al-Din refused, saying that if people had travelled long distances it would be unacceptable to prevent them from visiting the holy sites.<sup>50</sup>

Salah al-Din was undoubtedly aware that if he stopped these pilgrims they would go back home and tell others. As a result, people would be outraged and might start a new crusade. The sultan's decision also effectively prevented Richard from having any control of Jerusalem, even if only a spiritual influence over Christian holy places. Salah al-Din turned the situation to his own advantage, informing visitors of Richard's dissatisfaction, but telling them they could still perform their pilgrimages.

An encounter between Salah al-Din and Hubert Walter, the bishop of Salisbury, during the bishop's visit to Jerusalem demonstrates the sultan's attitude. The bishop had brought pilgrim caravans to the holy places. Salah al-Din welcomed them warmly and a meeting took place between the two men, where several issues were discussed including the character of King Richard. Salah al-Din asked the bishop what he would like as a present. The bishop requested a day to think carefully about it. The next day he told the sultan that he would like two Latin (Roman Catholic) priests and two Latin deacons to be permitted to celebrate divine service with the Syrian Orthodox priests at the Holy Sepulchre church. They were to be supported out of the pilgrim offerings. He asked the same for Bethlehem and Nazareth. Salah al-Din granted this request.<sup>51</sup>

## 10. Conclusion

We have to admit that the Third Crusade was a unique model. It was the first Crusade campaign that ended with a peace agreement; nevertheless, it was not the last. This campaign gathered for the first time two great leaders who had many similarities as warriors and statesmen such as, courage and passion for peace. These qualities helped them take decisions to negotiate and then to reach a peace agreement. The reason for this was, due to that fact that King Richard was very eager to return to England because his throne was under threat, whereas, Salah al-Din knew that his army had fought for too long, which resulted in the soldiers being away from their families for too long, and due to the length of the war, there was a lot of debt being incurred on the soldiers. Finally, there is no doubt that the outcomes of the Third Crusade had negated the idea of the Crusading and the reason behind the arrival of King Richard to the East, as the terms of the al-Ramla peace treaty clearly stipulated that Jerusalem must remain and be ruled by Muslims only.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibn Shaddad, al-Nawadir, op. cit., 193; Richards, The Rare and Excellent, op. cit., 232.

<sup>49</sup> Ibn Shaddad, al-Nawadir, op. cit., 193; 'Imad al-Din al-Asfahani, Kitab al-Fath al-Qussi, op. cit., 317; Abu Shama, Kitab al-Rawdatayn, op. cit., Vol. 4, 330; al-Hanbali, al-Uns al-Jalil, op. cit., Vol. 1, 537.

<sup>50</sup> Abu Shama, Kitab al-Rawdatayn, op. cit., Vol. 4, 330–31.

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