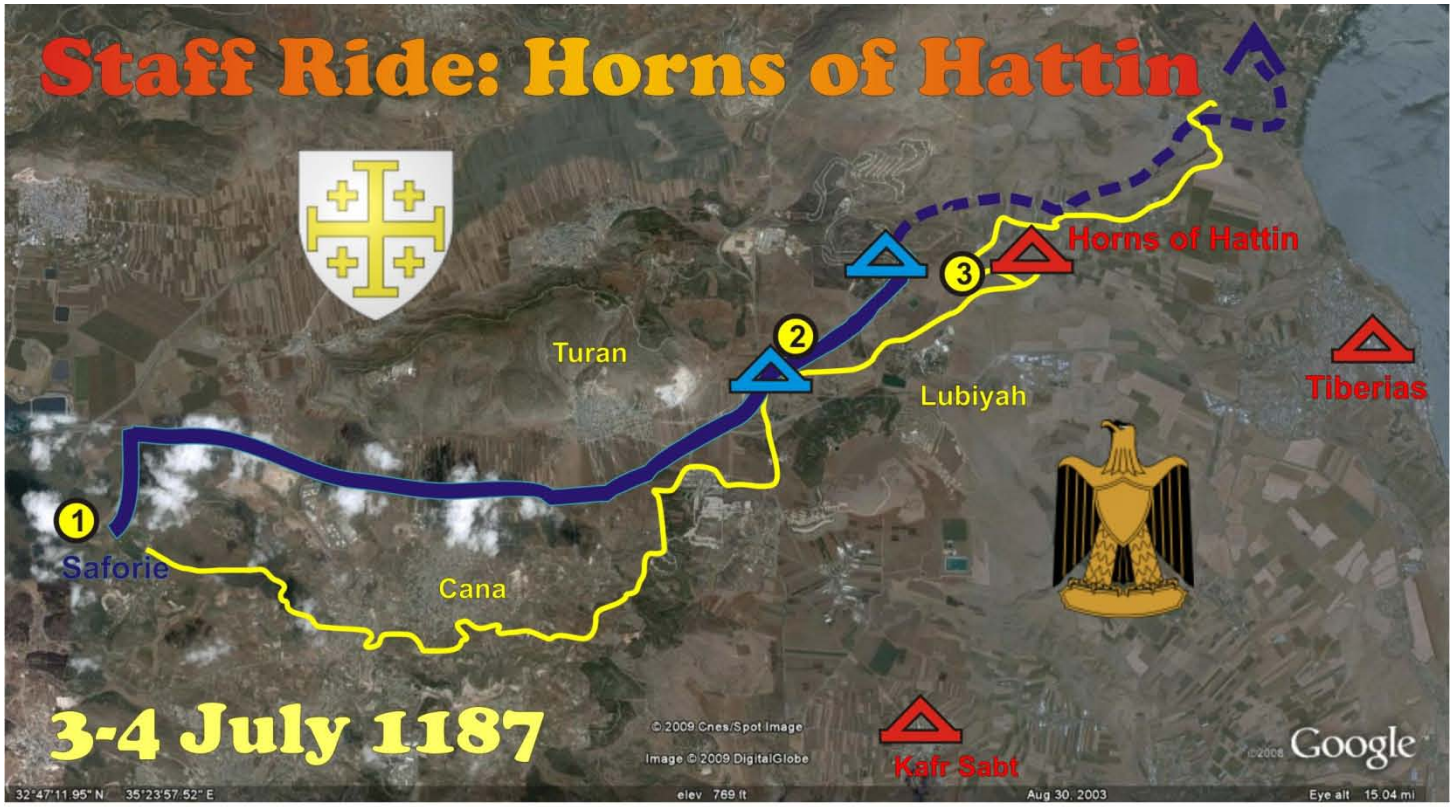

Pre-Staff Ride/Battlefield Tour

- ✓ Introduction
- ✓ Geographical Setting
- ✓ Units Involved
- ✓ Key Leaders in Battle
- ✓ Historical and Grand Strategy Context
- ✓ Thoughts Before Battle
- ✓ Operational Context
- ✓ Technical Context

1 Stand 1: Saforie

- ✓ Teaching Points
  - Introspection
  - Empathetic Appreciation
  - Decision making
- ✓ Discussion /Decision

2 Stand 2: Golani Junction

- ✓ Teaching Points
  - Evolution of Tactics
  - Mobility versus Shock
  - Decision Points and Criteria
  - Logistics

2 Stand 2: Golani Junction (cont.)

- ✓ Water
- ✓ Traitors
- ✓ Discussion /Decision
- ✓ First Camp
  - ✓ Whose Decision?
  - ✓ Psychological Operations
  - ✓ Allah Al Akbar
  - ✓ Fire/Smoke and Water

3 Stand 3: Horns of Hattin

- ✓ Teaching Points
  - Options and Multiple Reserves
  - Initiative
  - Unit Cohesion and Discipline
  - Assumptions
- ✓ Separations--Charge!
- ✓ Infantry Break and King's Tent
- ✓ Saladin's Tent
- ✓ Raymond III's Charge--Why?
- ✓ Final Charges and Defeat
- ✓ Meeting of Kings and Results

	Hike Route		Frankish Camp
Saforie	Frankish Controlled Location		Muslim Camp
Tiberias	Muslim Controlled Location		Route of the Army of Jerusalem
Lubiyah	Key Location		Route of Raymond III

The Battle of the Horns of Hattin
(3-4 July 1187)
Staff Ride and Battlefield Tour

by
Brian L. Steed

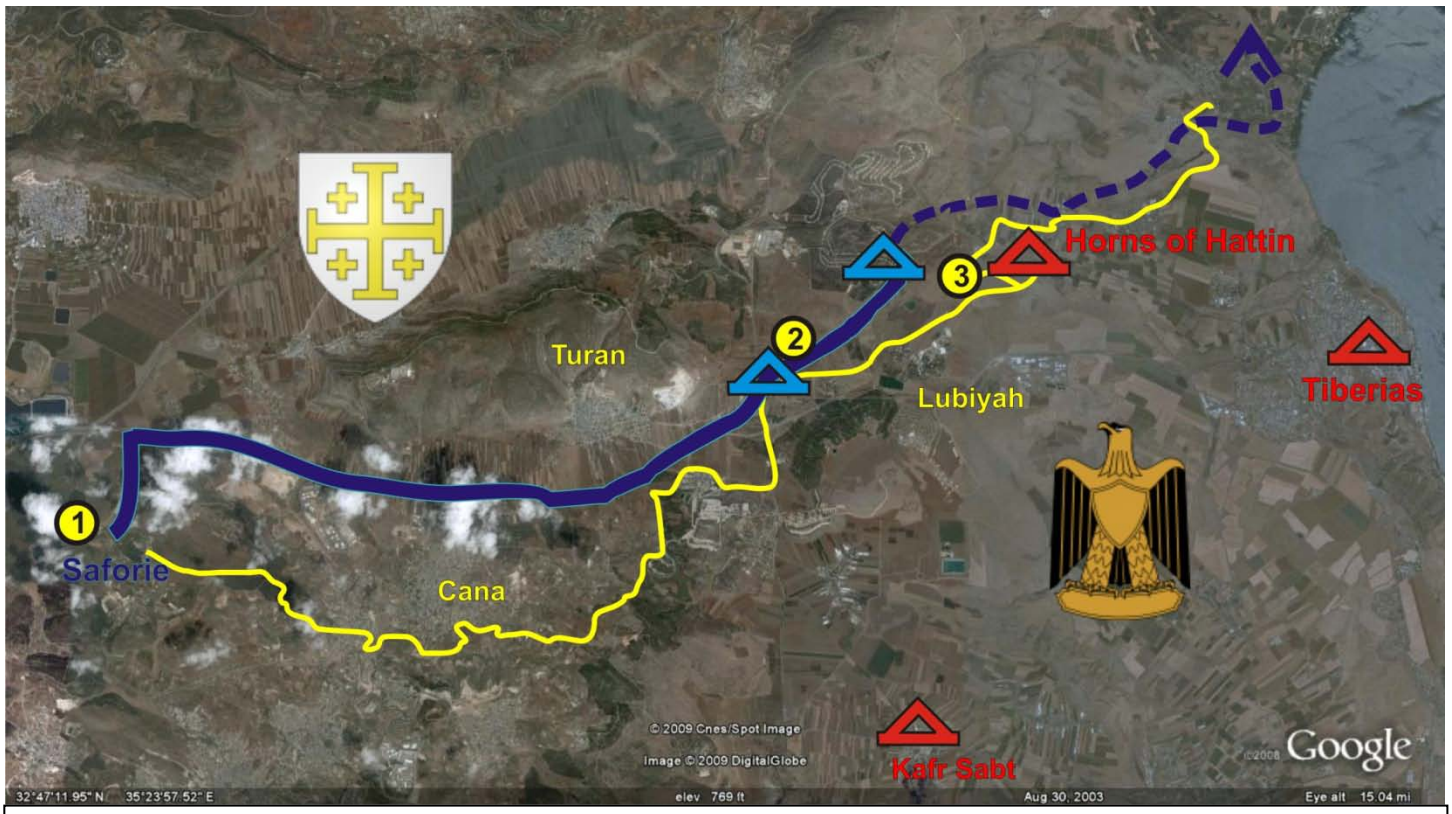

Figure 1: Map of Routes (Ancient and Walking), Camps, and Stands (Numbers)

The main and principal point in war is to secure plenty of provisions and to destroy the enemy by famine.

—Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus or Vegetius, military theoretician (circa 450 AD)[1]

The Horn of Hattin was believed to be the very Mount of Beatitudes where the Saviour taught the people the blessedness of peace. The Mount now bore witness to "not peace, but a sword."

—Stanley Lane-Poole, historian (1898)[2]

[1] France, *Victory in the East*, 42.
[2] Lane-Poole, *Saladin: The All-Powerful Sultan and the Uniter of Islam*, 216; this is an unabridged reprint of the edition first published in Great Britain in 1898.

The material in this was originally published in *Piercing the Fog of War: Recognizing Change on the Battlefield: Lessons from Military History, 216 BC through Today, Zenith Press, 2009.*

Map, aerial photo, and satellite images used in the work are taken from Google Earth and Google Maps.

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Introduction

The battle fought on and around the twin hilltops named the Horns of Hattin was one that featured numerous lessons about how to prepare for aberrations. The single most important feature is that of introspection. Guy of Lusignan, the king of Jerusalem, failed to understand himself, the challenges he faced in this campaign, the challenges in the way that he viewed the world around him, and the men who advised and counseled him.

In the modern world of technology and tools it sometimes gets lost how important a person and a personality really can be in shaping history and key events. The events leading up to the battle of the Horns of Hattin should force each reader to reflect on the importance of personalities. No decision or action in this battle can be viewed effectively without an understanding of the personality issues that revolved around the key players. As a result of some very significant complexities, the information presented here represents a simplified version of the relationships involved.

Several notes are important prior to continuing. First, the Latin Christian forces led by King Guy of Jerusalem will be referred to in a general sense as Franks. Most of the key players were from Frankish ancestry, spoke French, and were in some way vassals of the king of France. To call them crusaders misrepresents them and their motives. Crusaders were men who took the cross and made a religious vow to fight the *infidel* and typically to free Jerusalem. These tended to be men of a transient nature who came from Europe, fought, and then returned (if still alive) to Europe. The Frankish lords and knights who composed the army of King Guy of Jerusalem were, for the most part, not transients. Many of them had been born in the Levant or had lived there for decades with no intent of returning to Europe. The Levant was their home, and they expected to remain and leave lordships for their progeny.

Second, the spelling of names will follow a pattern of easiest to pronounce. Numerous authors have spelled the names of European and Muslim leaders a variety of ways, and in some cases there is little consensus. Saladin will be used rather than the Arabic version of Salah Al-Din (Purifier of the Faith), since it is more easily recognized by most Western-educated readers. The names of locations will tend to use the Frankish titles rather than the modern or ancient ones. This provides some challenges because spellings and use are rarely consistent.

Third, the sources are wonderful and entertaining but not very good at building a consensus. The European, mostly Frankish, sources tended to prefer one side of the intra-

Frankish conflict over the other, and in general, they were supported in some conclusions by their Muslim counterparts. All of this depends on the perspective of the authors. It is important to know that most chroniclers in the medieval period worked at the largesse or patronage of a noble—this was true of both Muslims and Europeans. Therefore, what was written needs to always be filtered through the lens of intent, bias of both writer and patron, personal injuries or loyalties, and potential personal benefit from the perspective related. This is not to say that these original sources are unreliable but that like all history, they represent a perspective that is not perfectly objective. It is also important to note that the accuracy of tactical events on the battlefield does not exist in any of the original sources. The details of the battle are limited to small windows, and therefore there needs to be some effort made in piecing each of the windows together to form a complete panoramic view. Secondary-source writers have been left to piece together the events as described with their understanding of the tactics of the era and the terrain to form a complete picture of what really happened.

SALADIN IS OFTEN CREDITED AS BEING one of the greatest commanders of the crusading era. In many ways his greatness is a result of the events of this battle and those battles that immediately followed it. One of the objects of this book is to help people recognize aberrations from the perspective of the participants and not simply from the perspective of the objective armchair general. To do this, it is important to look at each person and event as they were seen, in their weaknesses and strengths, at the time and not through the long lens of historical judgment.

Figure 2: Statue of Saladin (Damascus, Syria)

Geographical Setting

Location

The geography of this battle is its defining characteristic—what shaped the leadership decisions. The location of this battle plays as much a role in this battle as do the personalities. In

fact, the battle of personalities, though it tended to center around the issue of whether or not to have a direct large-scale engagement, included an argument about where the battle should take place.

The terrain in the western Galilee region of what is today the State of Israel is a high plateau with few large natural water sources. The area in question is bounded on the south by the Jezreel valley, famous in ancient and medieval history for serving as the location of several battles of Megiddo in antiquity, the site of the Battle of Ein Jalut (Springs of Goliath) where the Mamluk Sultan Baibars defeated a Mongol army in 1260 AD, and the future Battle of Armageddon described in the New Testament Book of the Revelation of St. John the Divine in the Christian Bible.

Terrain and Vegetation

The region is bounded on the north by a string of higher hills that lead into the modern country of Lebanon. To the east are the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan River system, and to the west are the highlands along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. In general this is a plateau with a series of rolling hills and shallow valleys that provide multiple movement opportunities, both along an east–west axis and a north–south axis. Even though there are multiple mobility choices available, these are limited within the defined space between the medieval fortress of Saforie and the city/citadel of Tiberias, which is the region primarily addressed in this case study.

The medieval main road proceeded from Acre to Tiberias. It passed by Saforie and continued to the east along a valley that closely approached the foot of Mount Tur'an. A few miles after exiting the valley and arriving at a plain, the road dived and one branch ran to the southeast toward the settlement of Kafr Sabt while the other ran to the northeast and the village of Lubiyah. A few more miles on this northeastern road yet another division with a north–northeast path existed that led to the village of Meskenah and then to Arbel. The most direct route was the more or less middle road through Lubiyah and on to Tiberias.[3]

The location of water sources is always important to armies operating in the Levant, and this battle emphasized this point more than most. The most significant fresh water source in the region was, of course, the Sea of Galilee, or Tiberias. There were also large and sufficient

[3] There is a great description of the road network in Prawer's *Crusader Institutions*, 488–491. The descriptions are technical and sometimes complicated, but there does not seem to be a better explanation.

springs at Saforie, Kafr Sabt, Tur'an, and Hattin. The location of springs and the quality and/or quantity of water present played a major role in the variety of accounts written about the battle. It was also a reality of conducting large-scale military operations that water sources had to be controlled in order to control the battlefield.

The uncultivated hills were covered with a scrub brush. The valleys were barren of significant vegetation, and there were few trees, with none near the battle site. This meant there was little shade from the sun and no concealment from opposing archers.

Weather

The physical events of this battle were in early July. This is a hot and dry period in this part of the world. There is no rain, and all of the intermittent streams are dry. The temperature tends to exceed ninety degrees Fahrenheit. The soldiers who fought in this battle were mostly from the Levant. They were completely acclimatized. There was a contingent of Italian soldiers who had recently landed at Acre and were supporting the effort, but these were the only ones for whom the weather could have been anything less or more than normal.

Units Involved

Frankish Forces

Sources disagree on the size and composition of the Frankish force as they rode out from Saforie. Despite this disagreement, the numbers can be compromised into a reasonable approximation of what was available for the fighting. First, it is important to provide a general description of types of forces and their uses in the warfare of the age.

The Franks had adapted their war-fighting organization and abilities to their new region over the eighty years of occupation. The primary arm of any army functioning in the Levant was cavalry. The composition and use of cavalry were what distinguished the Franks and other western Europeans from their eastern and typically Muslim opponents.

The heavily armored and mounted knight was the center of the Frankish cavalry. This was a man who tended to be armored from head to foot, mounted on a large horse, and carrying a shield and long spear or lance. The horse was specially bred for carrying the heavy weight of the knight and his equipment and specially trained to charge as directed. The spear was developing

into a heavy shock weapon and was very much like the lance of the late Middle Ages. This weapon was designed to be carried in a couched grip and used to translate the force of the charging horse into an armor- and human-shattering attack on an opponent. The Frankish knights were the most feared element on the battlefield. They also represented a small percentage of the total force of a Frankish army, in this case about 10 percent, and were extremely expensive to raise, outfit, and train.

The challenge of having such a feared yet small cavalry forced the Franks in the east to come up with an intermediate force—not infantry, but not a knight. The solution was twofold. First were the mounted sergeants. These were not unique to the Levant, but they were an important part of the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Since these men were not nobles, they did not possess the financial wherewithal to afford a complete armor package. They provided less of the awesome shock effect but still added mobility to the army. The second solution was the inclusion of Eastern peoples into the army—the Turkopoles. As the name suggests, they were Turkoman, or people of Turkish ethnicity. In most cases they were Christians. The Turkopoles fought much as the Muslim Turkoman—they were lightly armored and fought from horseback using a composite bow and emphasizing the horse as a mobile firing platform rather than as a vehicle of shock action like the mounted sergeants and the knights.

The importance of mobility in Levantine warfare meant that horses were a premium. The challenge faced by knights was that they could rarely use any available mount—they needed powerful horses that could carry them and their equipment into battle and deliver the shock necessary to split the opponent and cause them to break and flee. The Muslim warriors soon understood this, and the horses of the knights became a primary target of their arrows. This represented a change for both sides. Horses were not viewed as so critical a resource in warfare among the Turkoman tribes because nearly everyone had the same types of horses that were plentiful on the steppes and plains where they lived and fought. For the Frankish knights, the idea of taking an opponent's horses was usually considered wonderful compensation for battle, therefore, there was little effort made to kill the horse. Most of the nobility that were captured in this battle were horseless. This is a direct result of this Levantine clash-of-civilizations style of medieval conflict.

To address the protection of horses, the Frankish forces used infantry and dismounted bowmen to form protective squares around their knights during movement and walls in front of

their knights in static positions. The infantry also wore armor, though this varied greatly based on the lord to whom the infantryman owed his feudal obligation or on other organizations to which he belonged. Most wore mail shirts and metal helmets and carried round shields rather than the kite shields of the knights and mounted sergeants. Crossbows were the missile weapon of Frankish choice, as was the spear for static defense.

The reliance on infantry protection of the mounted knight meant that a Frankish army on the move was forced to maintain the pace of their necessary but slower dismounted elements. If this formation were moving in an area where the enemy was known to be, this further slowed the column because they had to maintain a moving box formation with infantry surrounding the knights. Such emphasis on the formation required greater levels of control and discipline and would further slow the advance.

The Frankish forces in the Levant also had organizations unique from the rest of the European medieval world—the military orders. These were the groups commonly known as the Templars and the Hospitallers. Unlike regular infantry or cavalry, they were not obligated through feudal arrangements, but rather they were warrior monks who swore allegiance to the order in the form of their grand master and the Catholic Pope. In most aspects they were similar to their counterparts in armor and fighting style. The nature of their organization meant that they were raised through volunteer admittance to the order and something like a medieval equivalent of a meritocracy in terms of advancement. It was never a true meritocracy, since a peasant would not become a grand master, but an insignificant noble could rise to one of the key leadership positions if not become grand master himself, as would be the case of the Templar grand master at Hattin.

The Frankish force is believed to have consisted of about 1,200 knights, 2,000–4,000 Turkopoles and mounted sergeants, and somewhere in the neighborhood of 10,000 dismounted infantry. These numbers are designed to give reasonable approximations of the variety of reports in the original sources and the still-varied interpretations represented in the secondary analysis. It is clear that the Frankish force was large and probably the largest such force assembled in the Galilee. Regardless of the size of the force, they were probably outnumbered.

The numbers must be considered in terms of capability and the style of battle. There cannot be a one for one correlation of forces. The point of this is that the Frankish forces were slowed by their preponderance of infantry and not truly geared for a battle of movement.

Muslim Forces

Like King Guy, Saladin raised what was probably the largest army of its kind to fight in the Galilee in the crusading era to this point. Saladin ruled an empire of many kingdoms and competing tribes. Though most of his forces were either ethnically Turks or Arabs, they were from a wide variety of tribes and regions within his empire and in no way represented a homogenous army.

The Muslim armies of the medieval period were a light cavalry–based force. Their tactics were derived from generations of conflict on the steppes of Central Asia, where there is room for movement and fighting in a fixed position is weakness while mobility is strength. The central force in any Turkic army was the mounted bowman who rode a sturdy and agile horse. The concept was to approach and then attack the opponent through a hail of arrow fire and then to withdraw before the opponent could reciprocate. Strength was in mobility and not in holding to a position. This meant that if an opponent charged with determination, the Turkoman force would withdraw to allow the enemy to expend their energy, and once the energy was expended, they would attack and destroy them.

In addition to the mounted and very mobile tactics described above, the army of Saladin also included infantry and engineers. The siege engines of the Muslim forces were extremely advanced. This was a direct result of the need to capture so many fortified positions both in the wars with the Franks and with other Muslim rulers. The strength of Saladin's engineer corps was demonstrated when he breached the walls of Tiberias within a single day of siege and assaults.

Both the infantry and the cavalry were armored. The cavalry had some elements nearly as heavily armored as the Franks, and from there it rapidly declined across the spectrum. The infantry tended to be less armored than their Frankish opponents, but they also played a smaller role in a mobile battle than did the Frankish infantry. The infantry forces of Saladin also included thousands of volunteers from Damascus and other major cities who were motivated by religious sacrifice rather than through professional military service; these were the least-armored and the poorest-armed soldiers in either army.

The size of Saladin's army is widely quoted anywhere from less than twenty-five thousand up to eighty thousand. Muslim sources tend to emphasize that it was a force equal to or smaller than the Frankish army, and European sources tend to identify it as a force many times that of the Frankish king's. There is little accurate census data on the size of the force, especially

when the numbers of recent religiously motivated and poorly trained volunteers are included. All of the competing sources and subsequent commentary make it nearly impossible to state the size of the army with accuracy.

This said, it is clear that Saladin commanded a vast host and that his army had many thousands of recent additions who saw this as a religious obligation and opportunity to gain an eternal reward. Saladin's total force must have been larger than Guy's and possibly twice the size. Despite this estimate, most of the battle was fought by Saladin's veterans, and the numbers of the forces were irrelevant when the very different styles were compared. As stated above, a direct correlation of forces makes for a poor analysis in this historic case.

Key Leaders in Battle

Frankish Forces

Much of what will be said in this section may seem petty and small-minded. An objective witness of the events with a modern outlook on governmental service will find it easy to criticize the people for their lack of willingness to compromise and work for the betterment of the kingdom as a whole rather than fight and argue based on personal affronts and insults. The medieval European world was one where personal honor was critical to a person's sense of self and to the perception of the individual. Slights, insults, and affronts were serious, and it was common to harbor grudges for a lifetime. The narrative that follows this section is full of such stories, and it is this tangled web of personal relationships that set the stage for the failure of the Frankish kingdom in the Levant.

The Kingdom of Jerusalem from the death of King Amalric I in 1174 AD through the Battle of the Horns of Hattin in 1187 AD was a kingdom politically divided between two competing factions. The factions revolved around two powerful personalities—Raymond III, Count of Tripoli and Lord of the Galilee, and Agnes of Courtenay, mother of King Baldwin IV. These two people drew others around them through reputation, favors, intrigues, or general ideological agreement. Both of the Frankish primary sources and most of the contemporary Muslim sources portray Raymond III as the good guy in these conflicts and cast the competing faction as schemers and incompetent courtesans or as ruthless barbarians. Hopefully this version will take a more moderate and objective course.

The faction generally associated with Raymond III attracted those of the native barony and nobles who tended to prefer a policy of long-term stability with the Muslims. Agnes of Courtenay brought those who favored more aggressive action against the Muslim opponents and many of those who were recent arrivals to the Levant. The following descriptions are brief summaries of individuals who have direct relation to the remainder of this work and are not intended to be a comprehensive list of all the notable personalities of the kingdom at the time of the battle. The summaries are divided into the two factions described.

Native Nobility (Polains—Frankish Term for the Levantine-born Franks)

Raymond III—Count of Tripoli and Lord of the Galilee. He was a count in his own right, and he became Lord of the Galilee through marriage to the Lady Eschiva of Bures (widow of Walter of Saint-Omer of Tiberias). He had been captured by Muslim forces and held prisoner from 1164 until about 1173 or 1174. During his imprisonment he learned the Arabic language and was reported to have read the Koran. He emerged from captivity a man who seemed to believe that the Muslims were a people with whom he could work, and he effectively built alliances and established truces with Muslim rulers on behalf of his two domains, which brought him and his areas of responsibility security and stability. He was also rumored to have developed a relationship with the Shiite band called the Assassins.

Some of his specific dealings with Saladin will be addressed in the narrative portion, but he was severely criticized for his relationship with the "infidel." His apparently positive view of Muslims is probably one reason for his positive reflection in the Muslim primary sources. He ruled the Kingdom of Jerusalem as regent from 1174 until Baldwin IV attained his majority at the age of sixteen in the year 1177. He also ruled as regent from the end of 1183 during the final illnesses of Baldwin IV and the first year of the reign of the child-king Baldwin V until his death.

The Frankish and Muslim chroniclers all give a positive assessment of his personality and leadership. This said, he was successfully outmaneuvered for the crown of the kingdom by Guy of Lusignan, and he was unable to develop a consensus among the ruling council of the kingdom. He was a source of the discontent and polarization within the kingdom.

Balian of Ibelin—He was a well-respected noble and loyal to Raymond III. He served as a peacemaker between the two camps, especially in bringing Raymond III to unite with the rest of the kingdoms' nobles against Saladin in 1187. He would later lead the defense of Jerusalem against Saladin. Muslim sources viewed him as a true noble and an honorable man.

Courtenay and Lusignan Faction

Agnes of Courtenay—first wife of Amalric I and Countess of Jaffa and Ascalon through that marriage, since she was never awarded the title "Queen of Jerusalem." She bore Amalric two children, Sibyl and Baldwin IV (the Leper King). She is infamous in the chronicles of the period as a court intriguer. She wielded influence over her son and was able to get several of her circle appointed to positions of power and influence as a result. Her moral behavior was also a matter of significant criticism.

Aimery of Lusignan—Constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Aimery was a newcomer from the French region of Poitou. He was of a minor noble family. He was rumored to have been a lover of Agnes of Courtenay, and through this relationship he attained one of the highest positions in the court. His brother was Guy of Lusignan.

Guy of Lusignan—King of Jerusalem. Most of the contemporary chroniclers and many of the later historians generally treat him as a fop and a buffoon who had the good fortune to marry well and secure himself a throne.

Figure 3: Picture of Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem. (Taken from http://monsalvat.globalfolio.net/eng/dominator/guy_lusignan/index.php)

Several relatively recent historians have looked more at Guy through the lens of what he did following his defeat at Hattin, in attacking the city of Acre, and as King of Cyprus, as well as his ability to successfully govern there and to fashion a very successful medieval administration and relatively united nobility. This gives a lot of support to Guy as a capable person who simply suffered the misfortune of having unsupportive subordinates at the time of Hattin. Much of this will be discussed later in the narrative.

Guy arrived from France, and through his brother he was introduced to Sibyl, the sister of Baldwin IV. She was recently widowed and available. Guy married her in the spring of 1180. He

was given regent-like powers in 1183 during a serious illness of Baldwin IV, but this was removed after the king received reports of his failures as a leader of the army. Guy removed himself and his wife and stepson to his domain in Ascalon, where he denied the king and the king's representatives entrance.

There were significant issues over his role as the potential future king from the beginning. His marriage was immediately opposed by Raymond III and those allied with him. Following the removal of the regent-like powers in 1183 there were attempts to have his marriage to Sibyl annulled. Despite the fact that his stepson was crowned king, he had no role as regent; instead Raymond III was declared regent. Upon the death of Baldwin V, Guy and his faction were able to outmaneuver Raymond III. The marriage was annulled, and Sibyl was crowned queen of Jerusalem with the right to choose her new husband who would become king. She chose Guy. Most of the nobles accepted this, with the exception of a few, including Raymond III.

It is unclear how to judge Guy as king of Jerusalem. He was unable to unite his nobility, though he did seem to make a serious attempt to do so. He gave the impression he was simply seeking a throne for himself and that he was not concerned about the greater good of the kingdom. He may have had the potential for greatness that was overshadowed by the pettiness of his subordinates, but he tended to act in a way that always sought personal gain and glory at the risk of the kingdom.

Joscelin III—titular Count of Edessa and Seneschal of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The county of Edessa had ceased to exist more than forty years before the battle at Hattin, but there was still a count in name. Joscelin was also the brother of Agnes of Courtenay. He held the personal fief of Acre. Following the battle, he surrendered Acre without even attempting a defense. He negotiated the surrender, thus allowing himself and the other occupants to flee in safety with all of their possessions.

Heraclius—Patriarch of Jerusalem. He was supposedly appointed through his personal association with Agnes of Courtenay. The other candidate was the very well-respected William of Tyre. William was one of the great historians and chroniclers of his age and one of the best in the entire High Middle Ages. This slight by the Courtenays was certainly one reason why William was so critical of them. Heraclius was a man of questionable morals and education. He was responsible for bringing the "true cross" from

Jerusalem to accompany the army into the field. Gerard of Ridefort—Master of the Templars. He was a Flemish knight who had traveled to the Levant on pilgrimage. It was common for nobles to conduct armed pilgrimages to the Levant, do battle with the infidel, visit the holy sites, and then return to Europe or stay if there was a suitable enticement. Gerard sought such an enticement from Raymond III in Tripoli. According to contemporary accounts, Raymond III promised Gerard the first suitable heiress in the county and the fief that accompanied her. When just such a match became available, Raymond III reneged on his promise and wed the woman to a Pisan noble who supposedly offered to pay Raymond III her weight in gold. Gerard was angered by this treachery, though he remained in the Levant and joined the Templars. He rose through the order, and in 1186 he was named grand master of the order of the Temple of Sion (Templars). Gerard clearly despised Raymond III; he never forgave him for his failure to honor their agreement. He was also hotheaded in battle, and he sought engagements with Muslims at nearly all possible opportunities.

Reynald of Châtillon—Lord of Oultrejourdain. Without question, Reynald is one of the most colorful characters in the crusading period. As such, he has gained significant criticism. Since recent scholarship tends to be more anti-European and rely more on the Muslim sources, the reputation of Reynald suffers significantly. Saladin, who was known for his evenhanded and just approach, personally vowed to kill Reynald at least twice. From this it can be safely assumed that the Muslim chroniclers do not deal with him in an objective way. He was considered something close to an incarnation of Satan.

Some space will be dedicated here to his actions as well as in the narrative, since they are instrumental to the pretexts and causes for the battle at Hattin. Like Raymond III, Reynald was taken prisoner by the Muslim lord of Aleppo. Reynald was taken captive in 1160 or 1161 and was not released until 1175. Unlike Raymond III, Reynald did not emerge from captivity with a positive disposition toward Muslims or the Turkoman elite who had held him captive. It is relatively safe to say that Reynald emerged from captivity with quite the opposite view. Why Raymond III and Reynald came out of captivity with such opposing views of the Muslims is unclear, since there is no direct source to tell us. It is possible that they entered captivity with different approaches to the Muslims and that captivity only tipped them even more toward that end to which they were predisposed.

Prior to being taken captive, Reynald was the prince of Antioch through marriage, and it was in his role as prince of Antioch that he started his aggressive actions against Muslims in Aleppo and Christians in the Byzantine Empire. His earliest actions are not critical here, but they are useful in understanding his personality. During his captivity, his wife died. She was his tie to the rulership of Antioch. Upon his release, he was no longer welcomed at Antioch, and he journeyed south to the Kingdom of Jerusalem and found an available widow in Stephanie of Kerak and Montreal. She was the widow of Humphrey of Toron and Miles of Plancy. Miles was killed in Acre under dubious circumstances, possibly the work of the Assassins and linked by rumor to Raymond III. Stephanie attributed the murder to the Count of Tripoli, and Reynald as her husband was firmly set against Raymond III.

Reynald used his new domain—all of the area east of the Jordan River—to conduct direct attacks on Muslim caravans. The domains of Saladin were separated between Egypt and Syria. They had no Mediterranean ports in Syria, meaning that all commerce and reinforcement between the two regions had to travel inland close to the domain of Reynald. By geography alone, the domain of Oultrejordain was critical to Saladin, and the caravan routes of the Sultan of Cairo and Damascus would have been lucrative targets for any lord.

The biggest charge against Reynald is that he was a truce breaker and that he violated taboos of the coexistence of the two religions—primarily he threatened a direct attack on the cities of Mecca and Medina. These events play a direct role in the events leading to the battle and will be further addressed in the narrative.

Muslim Forces

The central figure in the Muslim forces is Saladin. There were other subordinate leaders of quality and note, but space in this chapter will not allow them to be addressed here. Saladin did not lead a unified army. As noted previously, his regular forces were in concert with the forces of other Turkoman rulers, some who had only recently placed themselves under the suzerainty of Saladin. In addition to the regular and levied Turkoman forces, there were other forces that had been raised based on the premise of waging holy war against the infidel. These

forces were typically loyal to Saladin so long as they had food and victory. Once again, it is important to place Saladin in June of 1187 and not in June of 1188.

Even with the internal divisions and petty squabbling that certainly occurred within the large and disunited army, the infighting among the Franks made Saladin's army look blissfully united and without differences. The smaller Turkoman nobles who might have thought of making difficulties for the Sultan were silenced by the victory at Hattin and the repeated easy victories thereafter.

Yousef Salah Al Din Ibn Ayyub (Saladin)—Sultan of Egypt and Syria. Saladin was a Kurd from Tikrit. His father, Ayyub, had played a critical role in saving Zengi, the Atabeg of Mosul, from certain death during one of many Turkoman civil conflicts. Zengi would go on to have great success in welding together a large portion of Syria and Mosul under the Abbasid Caliph and conquering the crusader county of Edessa. Just as he succeeded in his triumph, he was killed. Out of the chaos rose his son, Nur Al Din, who became even more renowned by linking Mosul and all of Syria together in a powerful sultanate. Nur Al Din sent an army to Egypt under a Kurdish commander named Shirkuh, who was the uncle of Saladin.

Saladin accompanied his uncle as directed by Nur Al Din, though the chroniclers say he was reluctant. Saladin is given great credit in Muslim and Frankish Christian sources for being pious, a man of his word, and generous. He kept truces and forgave ransoms and treachery when the treachery was in the name of a higher purpose. He was a devoutly religious man who sincerely lived his religion and wanted to return Jerusalem to the control of the Muslims.

Saladin became the leader of Nur Al Din's army in Egypt when Shirkuh died and the army selected him to lead them. He captured Egypt and then ruled it under the suzerainty of Nur Al Din. At least this is what he claimed. Nur Al Din felt that Saladin had betrayed him and was a renegade, though there was no proof of disloyalty. Saladin did flee the battlefield every time Nur Al Din approached with an army to conduct a joint attack on the Franks. Saladin was constantly in fear of attacks from the Kingdom of Jerusalem under the rulership of Amalric I and from Damascus and Nur Al Din. Saladin was given the double blessing of the death of both his rivals for Egypt in the same year—1174.

Saladin then went about trying to consolidate control of the former holdings of Nur Al Din. He waged several battles against the Franks, but most of his campaigns were against fellow Muslims and Turkoman rulers. A Kurd was considered lower than a Turk in the ethnic ladder of the period, and the idea of Saladin, a Kurd who deceived Nur Al Din and had Egypt fall into his lap, as ruler was always something of an issue among the Abbasid Caliphate. This was one of the motivators for many of Saladin's actions against the Franks, and the repeated failures to deal with the Franks as effectively as he was dealing with the Turks and other Muslims left a cloud over all of his achievements.

Historical and Grand Strategy Context

Saladin's conquest of Egypt and the death of the Fatimid Caliph brought Saladin into the position of sole ruler of the most economically successful Muslim-controlled region in the Near East and North Africa. As previously noted, Saladin did recognize that he ruled under the suzerainty of Nur Al Din—the call to prayer was done in the names of the Abbasid Caliph and Nur Al Din as one example of his subordinate relationship; however, he also operated as an independent actor in all but name only. This made Nur Al Din Saladin's most feared opponent. In this initial period the other nemesis of significance was Amalric I, who seemed enamored with the idea of capturing Egypt for the Frankish kingdom. He launched multiple attacks on the area in coordination with various outside groups—armed pilgrims, Byzantine

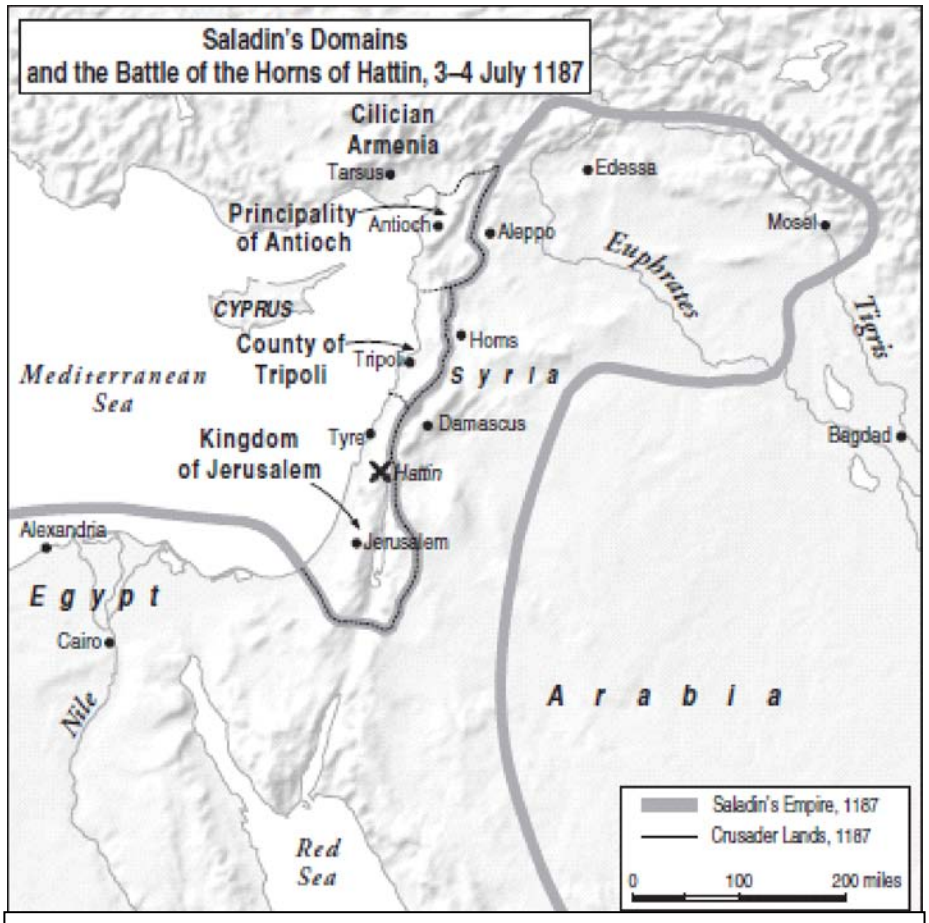


Figure 4: Saladin's Domains and the Battle of the Horns of Hattin, 3-4 July 1187

navy, and Italian city-state navies—over the years. In 1174 both of these men died, and Saladin was left as the most dominant personality in the Levant.

Saladin spent a lot of time and effort to regain control of the entire area formerly ruled by Nur Al Din. This was a campaign that took nearly nine years from the summer of 1174, when Amalric I died, until 11 June 1183, when Saladin captured Aleppo and completely surrounded the Frankish-ruled areas under a single Muslim leader. Saladin's battles against other Muslims continued for nearly three years until he gained suzerainty of the Al Jazeera[4], which was ruled from Mosul through treaty.

This meant that Saladin controlled three very important regions within the modern Near East—Egypt, Syria, and the Al Jazeera. These regions were separated by significant physical barriers—the Syrian Desert, the Sinai, and the northern part of the Nejd Desert. The lack of ports on the Mediterranean in Syria meant that all of the contact between the three regions was by land. All of these physical elements combined to create a span of control dilemma. Saladin ruled a vast region in an era of limited communications, and he was forced to govern through trusted associates, most of whom were close relatives of the Sultan, and to regularly travel from region to region.

Figure 5: Montreal Castle (Showbek, Jordan)

The travel routes became strategically important in a way that they had not previously been. Of primary importance was the route from Syria to Egypt, which passed within view of the large Frankish castles of Kerak and Montreal, both of which had been ruled by Reynald of Châtillon since at least 1177. Whether through his innate sense of barbarism, brutality, and greed that some attribute to him or through an understanding of the critical weakness of Saladin—the

[4] The Al Jazeera is a name given to the grasslands between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in what is today northern Iraq.

ground caravan route—Reynald regularly affected the movement along this route through raids and attacks. It is possible that Reynald acted with a little of both motivations: that he was both a brutal and barbaric ruler who grasped the larger geopolitical weakness of his opponent and that he had the instrument to attack such a weakness.

As Saladin gained control over larger and larger areas and apparently began unifying the Muslim world in preparation for waging war against the Frankish invaders, the Frankish kingdom became less and less united. The death of Amalric I and the succession to the throne of his leprous son, Baldwin IV, meant that succession was the primary concern of the kingdom. The daughters of Amalric I, Sibyl (his daughter through Agnes of Courtenay) and Isabel (his daughter through his second wife), were both married to either native nobles or nobles recently arrived from Europe. Sibyl had a son who was to be crowned Baldwin V, but he died while still in his minority. Guy of Lusignan, the second husband of Sibyl, did not inspire the loyalty of Raymond III and those who supported him. The contentious nature of the succession was at the heart of the divisions within the kingdom. As Baldwin IV became sicker and

Figure 6: Timeline

Date	Event
1174	Almaric I and Nur Al Din die.
1177	Battle of Mount Gisard—Baldwin IV defeats Saladin.
1179	Baldwin IV is defeated at Jacob's Ford and Marj Ayun.
1180	Guy and Sibyl are married.
	Two-year truce between Saladin and Kingdom of Jerusalem.
1181	Reynald of Châtillon breaks the truce by attacking a caravan to Mecca.
1182	Reynald of Châtillon attacks Red Sea shipping and pilgrims.
11 June 1183	Saladin captures Aleppo.
1183	Campaign of Saladin—Guy leads army at Ain Jalut.
1184	Saladin attacks Kerak—campaign through Samaria.
1185	Four-year truce between Saladin and Kingdom of Jerusalem.
	Baldwin IV dies.
3 March 1186	Saladin gains control of Al Jazeera.
1186	Baldwin V dies—Guy crowned King of Jerusalem.
1187	Reynald of Châtillon breaks the truce by attacking a caravan.
April 1187	Saladin lays siege to Kerak.
1 May 1187	Battle of Springs of Cresson.
26 June 1187	Saladin begins to cross his army into the Galilee.
2 July 1187	Saladin takes Tiberias—Lady Eschiva is besieged in the citadel.
	Meeting of nobles.
	Meeting with King Guy and Gerard of Ridefort.
3 July 1187	Army of Jerusalem departs Saforie.
	Movement past Turan and toward Hattin.
	Army of Jerusalem makes camp for the night.
4 July 1187	Army of Jerusalem continues march toward Tiberias by way of Hattin.
	Guy orders defensive position at Hattin.
	Raymond III charges attackers and leaves battlefield.
	King Guy is c ptured.

sicker, his ability to demand the loyalty of his vassals decreased. He was still capable of leading the kingdom's army in battle, and he inflicted a heavy defeat on Saladin at Mount Gisard in 1177. Just two years later the king was nearly captured by Muslim forces during a skirmish at Jacob's Ford north of the Sea of Galilee. Another battle was lost to the Muslims at Marj Ayun, also in 1179. Guy married Sibyl in 1180, and this solidified Raymond III's opposition to the faction supporting Guy as the future heir.

Throughout the interactions with Saladin, truces were a regular occurrence. Each side proposed truces when they faced particularly challenging internal issues or opponents from other areas. In 1180, Baldwin IV requested a two-year truce, and Saladin agreed. Reynald of Châtillon broke the truce by attacking a caravan to Mecca in 1181.

Raymond III returned to the Galilee from Tripoli in 1182, and he was initially refused admittance into the Kingdom of Jerusalem by Baldwin IV, who was convinced that Raymond III was after the throne. This situation was smoothed over through the efforts of several of the other native barons, and Raymond III was allowed to return to Tiberias on the Galilee.

In 1182 Reynald of Châtillon launched a daring adventure by capturing the port at modern-day Aqaba and sending ships into the Red Sea to raid the lucrative trade routes and to pillage the annual Hajj pilgrimage. This was initially successful, but the ships were eventually hunted down by a more superior Muslim fleet and destroyed. The men from the ships landed near Mecca and threatened to attack the city, which was and still is considered the most holy city by the Muslims. There is some disagreement in reference to whether attacking Mecca or Medina was the intent, but the published reports that Mecca was the target played well in inciting Muslim anger against the Franks. It was this naval adventure, the attack on pilgrims, and the threat to a holy city that caused Saladin to threaten to kill Reynald personally.

Figure 7: Kerak Castle (Kerak, Jordan)

The success of Saladin in capturing Aleppo in 1183 allowed him to turn his attention to the Franks in a significant fashion. He led an army in 1183 into the Galilee with the intent of defeating the army of the kingdom. Baldwin IV was ill, and Guy, who had the authority of the king, was leading the army. In this case both armies were large, not as large as at Hattin, but they were the largest up to 1183. The Franks did not seek battle and refused to give battle when it was offered. They occupied a defensive position near the Springs of Goliath or Ain Jalut (near the same location where Baibars would later defeat the Mongols in 1260). Saladin could not maintain his large army, and they eventually had to withdraw. He moved on to lay siege to Kerak, but that was ended when the army of Jerusalem approached.

The campaign in 1183 was viewed by the nobles of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as both a success and a failure. Those who were opposed to Guy pointed to this as a demonstration of his lack of ability to lead—he had an enormous army, but he could not engage and defeat the Muslims in battle. Others viewed this as a demonstration of the Muslim army's inability to maintain cohesion for long. In hindsight, this was probably the right course for Hattin. The cries in opposition to Guy were much louder in 1183, and it became clear that Guy could not get the loyalty of his potential vassals. The group would not conduct unified operations and, therefore, could not attack successfully. It was the failure of 1183 that was remembered by most of the nobles, and this was certainly a part of the thinking that shaped decisions four years later.

In 1184, Saladin attacked Kerak again, and when forced to withdraw, he led a lightning raid into the Samarian hills on the city of Nablus and surrounding villages. Saladin's failure to defeat his tactical opponent Reynald of Châtillon after his purportedly outrageous attacks on Muslim pilgrims, combined with his failure to defeat the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in battle, had shaped the regional view of Saladin. He was winning little battles but losing the major ones with the Christians.

In 1185, Saladin and Baldwin IV entered into a four-year truce. This was mutually beneficial. Baldwin IV was losing more and more control of his nobles, and the divisions were growing deeper. He was seeking alliances overseas, either through a marriage with a significant European noble or through giving homage to the Byzantine emperor in return for military assistance. The Kingdom of Jerusalem needed time to develop these relationships without fighting with Saladin. Baldwin IV sent an embassy of senior nobles to Europe and Constantinople to achieve such an end. It was on this trip that the master of the Templars died. It

was also during this trip that the group secured a financial endowment from King Henry II of England for the military orders.

Saladin also needed time. He was seeking control of the Al Jazeera and needed to be able to focus his military and economic resources to the east and not the west.

Baldwin IV died within months of beginning the truce, and Raymond III became regent of the child-king Baldwin V. Saladin gained control of Mosul on 3 March 1186 when the ruler there acknowledged Saladin as suzerain. Baldwin V died later in the same year, and then came the controversial coronation of Guy, which violated the will left by Baldwin IV. The will called for an elaborate European commission to form and decide on the king if Baldwin V should die before reaching his majority. Raymond III refused to acknowledge Guy as his overlord, and he conducted a private peace with Saladin on behalf of the Galilee. In addition, he was already conducting negotiations with Saladin on behalf of the county of Tripoli, which did not fall under the direct vassalage of the King of Jerusalem.

Figure 8: Mamluk Era Mosque in Tiberias (Tiberias, Israel)

Raymond III now had Turkoman warriors in Tiberias to assist him in defending the lordship against any attacks from Guy. The kingdom was very close to civil war.

The truce was broken by Reynald of Châtillon in early 1187 when he attacked a caravan passing close to his castle at Kerak. Saladin sent a complaint to Guy, and Guy in turn demanded that Reynald return the prisoners and merchandise. Reynald declared himself sovereign in his domains and refused to submit to the will of the king. This was the last straw, and Saladin called for a holy war against the Franks of the coast and a return of the city of Jerusalem to Muslim rule. He gathered thousands from all over his now vast domains.

Thoughts Before Battle

Guy needed to maintain the Kingdom of Jerusalem and his newly won position. He faced the challenge that all usurpers face of gaining respect. Though there are arguments that he was not a usurper, it seems clear that many contemporaries viewed him as such, and even some of his supporters questioned his legitimacy to rule, as noted by Reynald's refusal to obey a royal

command. Guy needed to gain true command of his kingdom, and the best way to do so was through military success.

Saladin also needed victory, but it needed to be victory against the Christians. He received significant criticism for spending more time and effort fighting Muslims than Franks. He had to force a major battle and win it.

It is certain that Saladin knew what he wanted to do and why he wanted to do it. This was a battle he needed to force, and he was clear as to the reasoning and the urgency. It is less clear whether Guy understood why he wanted a battle. The sources are anti-Guy, and, therefore, they attribute to him a weak will and do not take into account the failure in 1183 or his need as a usurper for legitimacy. Thus, it is probable that Guy did not see himself clearly, and the decisions he was to make were flawed because he failed to know his own mind.

Operational Context

The campaign began with a direct siege of Kerak in April 1187. Saladin brought nine mangorels (catapults) to finally break through the walls of the fortress. This siege was broken as the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was seen moving toward Kerak.

Saladin then moved the direction of attack to the north as he sent his army to the Galilee. He coordinated with Raymond III for the rights to cross into the territory and launch a raid against the communities of the kingdom but outside the domains of Raymond III. Raymond III agreed to the request with conditions on time of crossing and limits as to their activities within his domain. The raid coincided with the movement of Balian of Ibelin and Gerard of Ridefort to try and heal the breach between Guy and Raymond III. Gerard had gone ahead of Balian by several hours, and when he heard of the Muslim raid, he gathered a group of Templars and rode into an attack. Almost the entire force was slaughtered at a place called the Springs of Cresson, being completely outnumbered. This cost the kingdom at least sixty knights at a time when every knight was critical.

Raymond III was convinced by Balian of Ibelin of his nearly traitorous association with Saladin and encouraged him to breach his alliance with the Muslim sultan. Raymond III sent the Muslim guards away, and he went to Jerusalem to offer his homage to Guy. The kingdom was finally united, at least on the surface.

The battle at the Springs of Cresson took place on 1 May 1187, only a few days after the end of the siege of Kerak. Saladin reunited his forces at the southern end of the Sea of Galilee and began crossing into the Galilee region on 26 June 1187. By this time Guy had called for a gathering of nobles. There is some discrepancy in the location because at least one source states the force gathered at Acre while others point to Saforie. The most important debate happened at Saforie, so it is the meeting placed discussed here.

The gathering of knights, nobles, and vassals included calling for the use of the money from Henry II to be spent on hiring warriors for the army. The military orders did so, further expanding the size of the army beyond what the King of Jerusalem alone could call on for vassal service.

Technical Context

Large open-field battles were rare in the medieval world. In general, such a battle required agreement by both sides to meet and fight. This was only possible if both sides thought themselves capable of such a victory. Such battles also occurred if there was an air of significant desperation on one side or the other.

The medieval period was an era in military history where defense was significantly more powerful than offense. The power of position was at its apex. The Europeans had developed fortresses and fortifications to a significant degree. They would invest an area and fortify a strategic place and then force their opponent to conduct attacks on the position. The positioning of forces in 1183 in which the Franks took control of the water source of Ain Jalut and then maintained that position, daring Saladin to attack them, meant that both armies were away from fortifications, but neither was willing to attack.

If the army could not control a fortress in the Levant, they had to control a water source. Water was the preeminent resource for all arid or semi-arid conflict. This is also the source of the advice that will be given in terms of positioning.

The Muslim military had sufficient and significant siege weapons. These were not of the most powerful kind, like trebuchets, but they were able to destroy weak or moderately constructed fortifications. Well-constructed fortresses like Kerak withstood numerous sieges and bombardments without the collapse of the walls.

Staff Ride and Battlefield Tour Stands

Stand 1: Saforie

Situation: The order of events is somewhat muddled in terms of where it all began—Acre or Saforie—however, for the sake of this chapter and for clarity, the key events began on 2 July 1187. Saladin crossed the Jordan River south of the Sea of Galilee on 26 June 1187, and he began the siege of Tiberias on 2 July. There are accounts of Saladin leading a foray prior to 2 July toward Saforie to get the Franks to give him battle, but this was probably a reconnaissance in force, since it is highly unlikely that Saladin wanted to give battle to the Franks while they had a plentiful water supply within their camp. It would have placed him at a severe disadvantage, as it had in the campaign in 1183. The main camp of the Muslim force was at Kafr Sabt, which was east–southeast of Saforie, and positioned in such a way as to allow Saladin to intercept any movement across the plateau.

Figure 9: Crusader-Era Citadel at Saforie (Tzipori, Israel)

Teaching Points:

- Introspection. Here is the failure of Guy to see himself personally or those he led.
- Empathetic Appreciation. It was in the deliberations in Saforie that the discussion on Saldin, his motives, his army, and his objectives occurred.
- Decision Making. How does a leader make a critical decision when faced with competing advice from trusted or respected counselors?

Vignettes: The knights and lords who discussed the events on 2 July were split. According to several accounts—Christian and Muslim—Raymond III spoke first and emphatically that the army needed to remain at Saforie and force Saladin to come to them to give battle. He predicted that the Muslim army could not hold together long and that they would eventually break up and be forced to return home on the weight of the logistical burden of such a large

force. He further asserted that even though Tiberias was his city and his wife was currently besieged in the citadel of that city, this did not change his opinion or his belief in the military necessity of his advice. At that meeting there was debate between the lords; both Reynald of Châtillon and Gerard of Ridefort disagreed with the advice and called for battle. However, most of the lords tended to agree with Raymond III's advice and recognized the problems of leaving Saforie and traveling to Tiberias with no significant water supply between the two locations. The meeting adjourned late at night with King Guy having acceded to the advice of staying at Saforie.

Following the meeting, Gerard of Ridefort had a private conversation with the king. In this conversation he said something like the following:

> Sir, do you believe that traitor who has given you this advice? It is to shame you that he has given it. For it will be greatly to your shame and your disgrace if you, who have so recently been made king, and have as great an army as ever any king had in this land . . . if you allow a city only six leagues away to be lost. This is the first task which has fallen to you since you were crowned.[5]

Figure 10: Aerial Photo of Saforie (Tzipori Archaeological Park)

To appreciate this advice, the vehemence with which it was given, and the manner in which it was received, the reader must reflect on the personal nature of all of the relationships, the issues of personal honor involved, and the long-held grudges common among the nobility of the era. It is possible that Gerard of Ridefort gave this advice because he hated Raymond III for denying him a marriage and a fief, for being the cause of the defeat suffered by the Templars only two months earlier at Cresson Springs, and for his associations with the Muslims. It is also possible that he truly viewed Raymond III as a traitor in the pocket of Saladin, and his advice to concede anything to Saladin must therefore have been suspect. It is uncertain which view is most true or whether it was a

[5] Kedar, Mayer, Smail, *Outremer*, 173. (Quoted from *Raymond III of Tripolis and the Fall of Jerusalem [1140–1187]* by Marshall W. Baldwin, Princeton, 1936, 113)

combination of both. It is clear now and was clear then that tactically the advice to attack was foolish and risked a great deal.

Guy accepted the advice and ordered the army to march early in the morning. The reasons for Guy's acceptance of such poor advice despite the objections of most of his nobility must also be viewed in light of his personal history. He was roundly criticized for his failure to attack Saladin in 1183 despite having a large army. Now he had an even larger army and would never have another chance to demonstrate his martial prowess and ability to command. He had the greatest military instrument of any Frankish king in the Levant. He also had to overcome the stigma of being a usurper who was only in the position because of his wife. Finally, he had spent the money from Henry II. If he did not use those knights and soldiers paid for from this money, it was highly unlikely he could ever field a force so large again. Those who claim that Guy only followed the advice because he was weak-willed and would follow whatever was said last, miss the complexity of personal history and the reasonable nature of the advice when filtered through the ears and mind of a usurper.

The army moved in the morning in three groups—the first was led by Raymond III; the second included the king and the patriarch of Jerusalem with the "true cross"; and the third included Balian of Ibelin and the military orders. Raymond III led because this was customary for the lord of a region to lead the army into that region and to be the last one out of that region if the army departed. There is a legend of the horses refusing to drink before setting out, thus giving a bad omen for the campaign. The army followed the most direct route between Saforie and Tiberias, yet away from Kafr Sabt and the Muslim camp. The route took them toward Turan.

Figure 11: Ruins of the Santa Anna Church (Tzipori, Israel)

Geographical Notes and Points of Interest:

- The "True Cross" spent the night in the church of Santa Anna. The ruins of this church lay on the northwest side of the hill where the citadel stands. The church ruins are adjacent to and maintained by a convent and orphanage. This can be reached by

traveling through Tzipori to the end of the road.

Location (Route To): Tzipori Archaeological Park outside village of Tzipori. Follow Route 2 north from Tel Aviv to junction with Route 70. Drive on Route 70 to the northeast and then take Route 722 just north of Yokne'am. Turn right (east) on Route 75 and after two kilometers turn right (north) on Route 77 for about 11 kilometers. Turn right (east-southeast) on Route 79. Look for signs for Tzipori Archaeological Park and Tzipori village on left (north). Turn left and then take the first right. Follow narrow two-lane road to the national park entrance. Once at the main visitor's center, follow the walking path to the west and up the hill to the Crusader-era citadel.

Figure 12: Driving Direction Map from Tel Aviv to Tzipori.

Another option is to take Route 6 to its northern terminus which is just south of Yokne'am and then continue with the directions as given.

Stand 2: Golani Junction

Situation: There is an account of several knights turning traitor, going to Saladin, converting to Islam, and giving information to the sultan. These knights were supposedly from among Raymond III's vassals. Most of the accounts have this happening during the battle as the army was beginning to break down, with the vassals giving information about how close the army was to collapse. Another theory is that they abandoned the march and gave Saladin

information about the route. This would have been more useful for the sultan.[6]

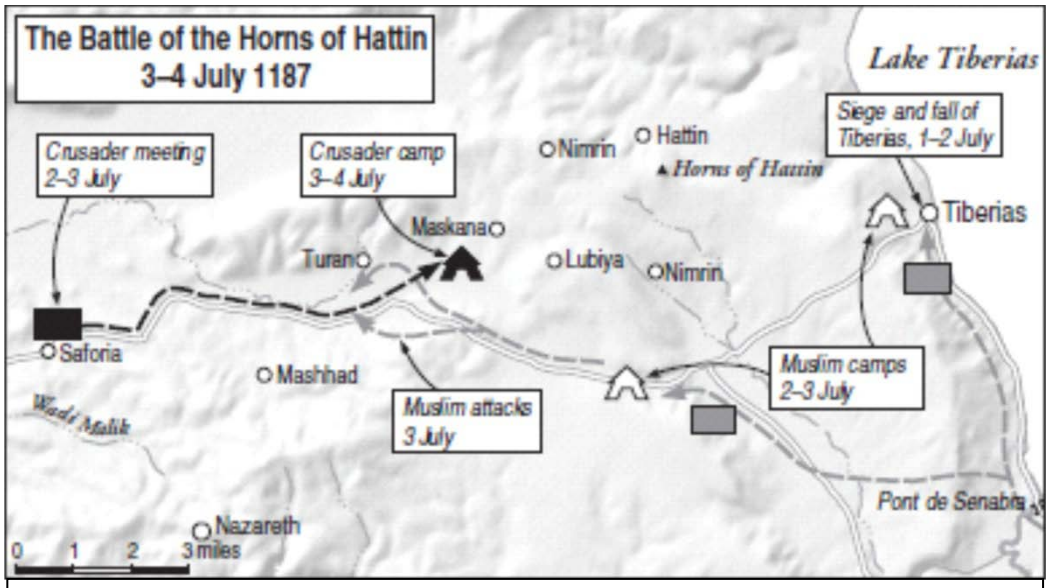


Figure 13: The Battle of the Horns of Hattin—3-4 July 1187

The army was engaged by mounted archers from relatively early on in the march. The archers seemed to focus their attacks on the rear of the column. The army did not stop at Turan to get any additional water. The reason for this is unclear, but it is probable that the most significant attacks did not come until after the second column had passed Turan. There is a lot of confusion over what, if anything, happened at Turan, but the main point is the army passed it without water and continued to the east. It appears that the army was turning more northeast to reach the water source at Hattin.

Teaching Points:

- Evolution of Tactics. The technical aspects identified in the technical context of this work are best reiterated at this stand. The movement techniques used by both forces are essential to understanding the battle and the vignettes to be discussed.

Figure 14: Valley and Surrounding Hills of the March of the Army of Jerusalem

[6] Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, Volume II*, 486.

- Mobility versus Shock. The horses of each side in this battle were different and they were used differently. The differences also had direct effect on how this battle progressed.
- Decision Points and Criteria. What should cause a commander to change plans. How much can be forecast and prepared for?
- Logistics. Much of the results of this battle were a result of logistics and primarily water. Did the Army of Jerusalem take enough water? Was there sufficient effort to secure water sources? This is a point worth discussing both here and at Stand 3.

Vignettes: The attacks became more intense as the army moved, and at one point Guy asked Raymond III what to do. Supposedly, Raymond III recommended a camp. This was after being told that the Templars could not continue because they had received the brunt of the attacks and were struggling significantly. Regardless of the source of the suggestion, the army camped for the night, having only covered about half of the distance to Tiberias. The Muslim force surrounded the Franks with their camp; the two camps were close enough for the Frankish soldiers to be kept awake by shouts of "God is Great" and other Muslim religious sayings.

Figure 15: Possible Camp Location of the Army of Jerusalem (Southwest of Golani Junction, Israel)

Geographical Notes and Points of Interest:

- The Springs of Cresson (one possible location) are located on the south side of Route 77 just to the west of Route 754.
- The village of Cana is the accepted site for where Jesus Christ turned water into wine at a wedding celebration. This village is the urban seen just to the east of the Springs of Cresson.
- The village of Turan is to the north of Route 77 just before Golani Junction.
- Golani Junction also contains the museum/memorial for the Golani Brigade. This

brigade is one of the most celebrated and respected infantry brigade in the Israel Defense Force.

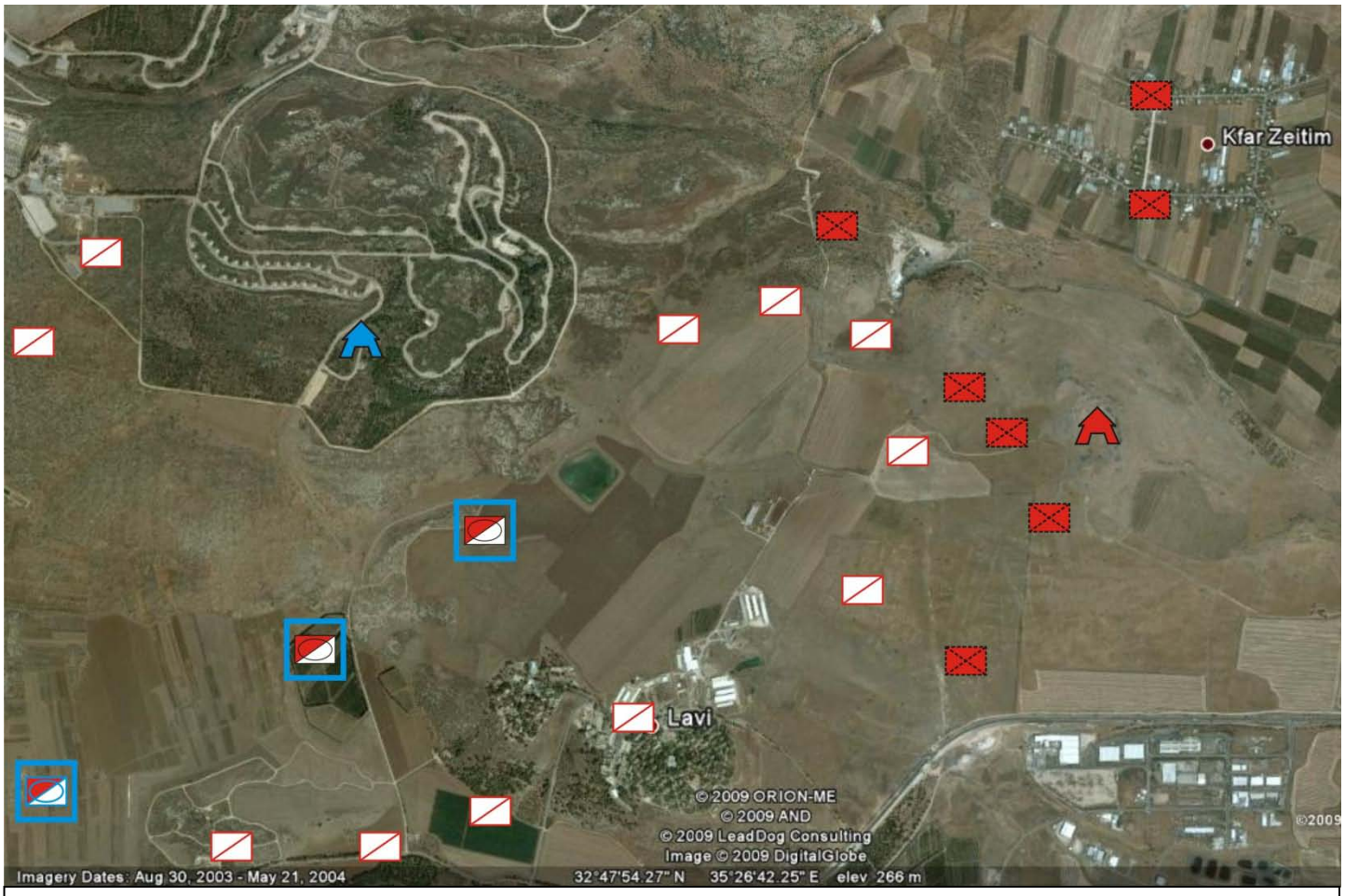


Figure 16: Battle of Horns of Hattin Sketch—Approach to Main Battlefield

Location (Route To): If one has a four-wheel drive then it is possible to drive north directly from the entrance of the archaeological park by means of dirt/gravel paths. A four-wheel drive is necessary to follow this route. The four-wheel drive route more closely resembles the route followed by the army of Jerusalem.

Without a four-wheel drive, return to Route 79 and turn right (west-northwest). Turn right on Route 77 (northeast) and follow it for seventeen kilometers to Golani Junction. Turn left and then right into the McDonald's parking lot.

Figure 17: Driving Directions Map from Tzipori to Golani Junction

Stand 3: Horns of Hattin

Situation: The army of Jerusalem moved in the morning to continue their march to Tiberias. The rank-and-file infantry were extremely thirsty. The Muslim forces brought numerous camels carrying water in order to preposition water in prepared storage areas for the army, and they also used the water to taunt the thirsty Franks by pouring some out on the ground so that they could see it. The infantry was suffering from the attacks and struggled to maintain their protective formation as they moved. Fires were set by the Muslims to blow smoke onto the Franks as they moved; the smoke and heat added to their misery.

Teaching Points:

- Options and Multiple Reserves. What options did King Guy have? How did he expand or contract his options through the various decisions made over the course of the battle/march?
- Initiative. How does a leader gain or maintain the initiative? Is it always possible to regain the initiative, even after losing it so badly?
- Unit Cohesion and Discipline. Warriors completely collapsed and so did the unit as well. How could discipline have been maintained?
- Assumptions. The Frankish leaders assumed they would be in Tiberias the same day they

began the march. How did that assumption affect the final fight? What are the consequences of assumptions poorly made?

Figure 18: Horns of Hattin Seen from the West Looking East (The Direction of Approach of the Army of Jerusalem)

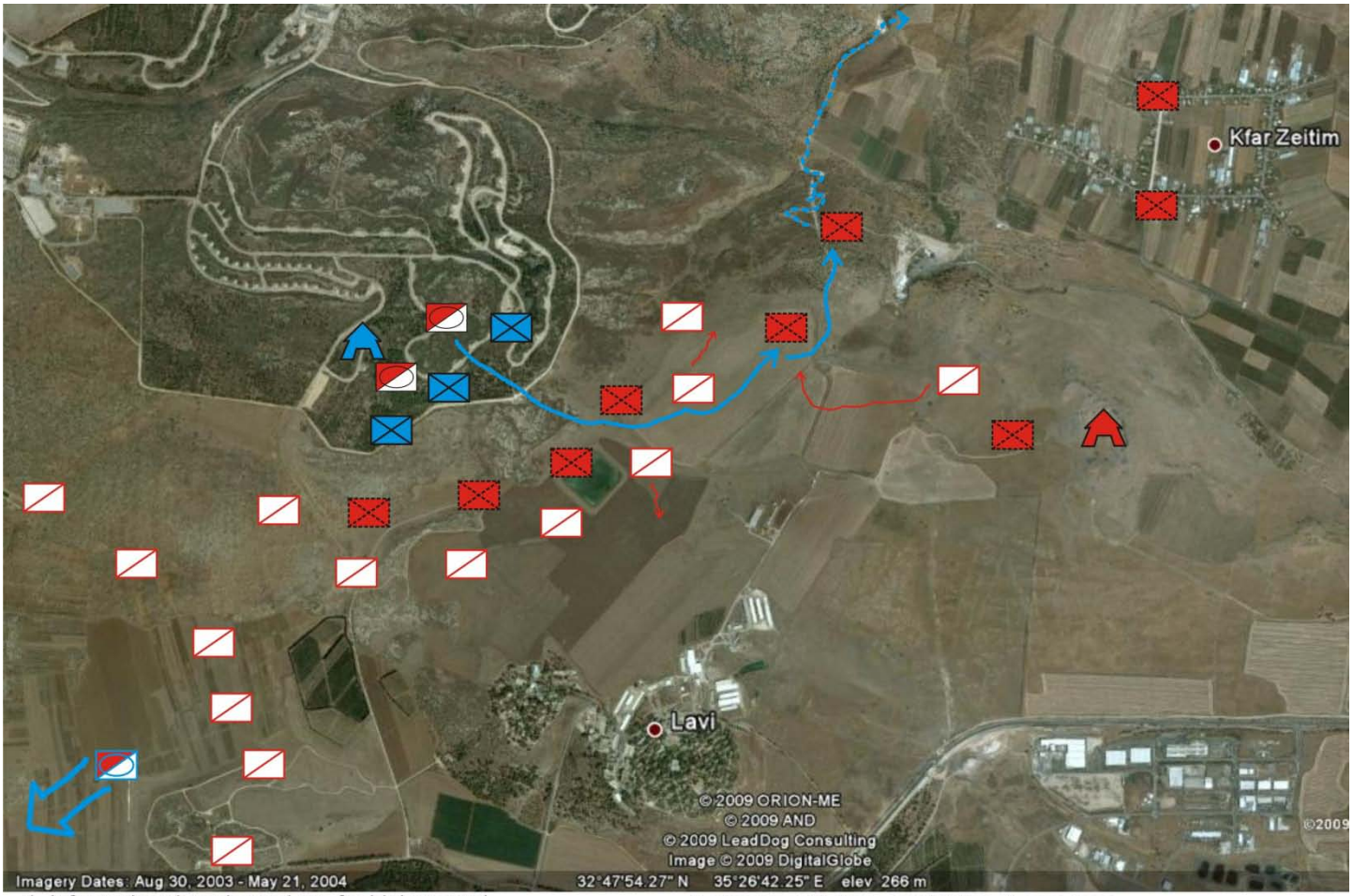
Vignettes: The king moved toward the Horns of Hattin to place his tent and standard and seek a suitable defensive position. This was either his own decision or based on a recommendation from Raymond III. The discipline of the infantry deteriorated throughout the morning's march, and as it did so, the horses of the mounted fighters suffered greater and greater attrition, forcing many mounted sergeants to fight dismounted or leaving heavily armored knights at the mercy of their opponents. As the infantry approached the Horns of Hattin they broke ranks and scrambled to the top of the hill, where many simply sat, refusing to

Figure 19: Probable Route of Raymond III's Charge

fight. After the battle, they were gathered up by the Muslims, and the survivors were sold into slavery.

Raymond III was either ordered to charge or took it upon himself to charge with the knights left to him. As they made a determined charge, the Muslim foe gave way, and they were allowed to charge down a route leading them from the plateau to the Sea of Galilee. The steep path did not allow for a return charge, and the Turkoman units closed off the lane they created. Raymond III rode off the battlefield and returned to Tripoli.

The remainder of the army that rallied to the Horns of Hattin was able to successfully repel several waves of attacks, but the process of dehydration and the attrition of horses meant that it was only a matter of time. Finally, the tent of the king was knocked to the ground, sending a symbol to all that the army of Jerusalem had fallen.



1. Infantry break ranks and run for high ground.
2. Guy occupies heights with his pavilion and true cross.
3. Raymond III ordered to charge.
   a. Charges enemy to sweep off high ground.
   b. Enemy withdraw and let the charge pass.
   c. Cavalry flow in behind to cut off retreat.
   d. Can only continue down and out of battle area.
4. Saladin attacks repeatedly to crush Guy and his forces.

Figure 20: Battle of the Horns of Hattin Sketch—Final Engagements and Proposed Sequence

Geographical Notes and Points of Interest:

- Nebi Shu'eib's (Prophet Jethro) Tomb is just to the north of the Horns of Hattin in a steep-walled ravine. Jethro was the father-in-law of Moses. This is a shrine important to the Druze.

Location (Route To): If possible, walk from Golani Junction to the east-northeast to the Horns of Hattin. The importance of the terrain and the challenges of the micro-terrain will become evident. This will require crossing several fences and fields or walking through kibbutz Lavi.

If time or physical condition does not allow for the walk then drive from Golani Junction. It is necessary to exit the parking lot onto Route 77 heading west and then make a u-turn at the junction with Route 65 and continue along Route 77 to the east toward Tiberias. Just beyond kibbutz Lavi there is an exit on the right (south). Take the exit and follow the road under the highway and come out on the north side of Route 77. As the road approaches Route 77 westbound drive over the median and take the dirt road on the northeast side of the road. Follow the dirt road to the hill and, if possible, around the south side of the hill. The dirt road will take one to the top of the saddle between the hilltops.

Figure 21: Driving Direction Map from Golani Junction to Horns of Hattin (walking-Dashed, Driving-Solid)

Battlefield Leadership

In hindsight it is easy to say that the army of Jerusalem was doomed from the moment it set out from Saforie. This is not entirely true, though it was mostly the case. The army could have assumed a defensive position at Turan and achieved a similar success to that seen in 1183, though as previously noted, this was a success in the eyes of only a few.

Guy did not have the loyalty or respect of any of his key vassals, so there was no trust between these key decision makers. After the battle the various accounts were clouded based on with whose side the recorder agreed. Whether it was Raymond III who recommended the stopping place for the camp and the stopping place for defense or not is moot, since the king was responsible for ordering the final decision.

Each of the decisions after leaving Saforie were of lesser importance than the decision to leave—whether or not to drink at Turan, whether or not to camp for the night, where to defend, whether or not Raymond III should charge. None of the last three decisions would have materially changed the outcome of the battle.

King Guy made two decisions before the battle that doomed his force to its eventual defeat. First was his decision to force a decisive battle rather than simply relieve the castle and follow standard patterns of military action. Second, Guy then decided to march cross-country and without sending advance units to secure water sources. These two decisions created the environment in which his force was encamped on high ground without water and surrounded by a superior force.

The reasons for the poor choices are given in the “lessons learned” section of this work. Guy either could not effectively lead because of all of the inter-faction rivalries and hatreds that existed, or he would not lead because he was weak-willed. The latter seems less likely, since events after Hattin show him as being aggressive and decisive. At Hattin he was also aggressive and decisive, though with disastrous results.

Saladin’s decision to use the heat as his primary weapon allowed him to create panic without risking his soldiers. He exacerbated the suffering through the lighting of fires to intensify the heat and add smoke. This made worse a deteriorating situation by adding the confusion of natural disaster. Saladin also allowed determined charges of knights to break through and depart the battlefield, reducing his opponents’ effective combat strength.

Significance

The Horns of Hattin stands as one of the truly decisive battles throughout history. The following are some of the results of this battle's loss:

Figure 22: The Dome of the Rock and Western Wall (Jerusalem, Israel)

- The loss at the Horns of Hattin directly resulted in the loss of most of the armed knights in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and left the kingdom open to easy capitulation once Saladin began his offensive. The city of Jerusalem, the spiritual and emotional prize, was taken after a siege of less than two weeks, with Saladin marching into the city on Friday, 2 October 1187, to make his prayers at the Al Aqsa mosque on the temple mount of ancient Jerusalem.
- The reports on the battle and fall of Jerusalem shocked European rulers and led the Pope to call for another crusade to regain the holy city. This became known as the Third Crusade and was led by the three great kings of Europe—England, France, and the Holy Roman Empire—and other lesser nobles. The minor successes of the crusade ensured both the continued existence of crusader states in the Levant and the incompetent and fractured ruling of those states for the rest of their existence.
- The victory for Saladin effectively ensured his safety and survival as ruler of the Muslims in the Levant and allowed his heirs to continue with an Ayyubid Dynasty.
- With the failure of the greatest of the crusader states, the local populace moved closer and closer to Islam through conversion and intermarriage. Crusader atrocities and behavior toward locals discouraged locals from moving toward Europe in culture.

Saladin earned his reputation as a generous and gracious victor by ransoming most of the nobles. Only Reynald of Châtillon and members of the military orders were executed. In the case of Reynald, it was a matter of honor for Saladin to fulfill his publicly stated vow to kill him with his own hands. The military orders were viewed as religious fanatics who would never be suitable slaves, and few had ransom value of any significance. Saladin allowed civilians to flee unharmed and typically allowed them to take their possessions as well. This was especially true of Jerusalem and Acre. But, in general, the Frankish people living in the Levant could not have asked for a better conqueror.

Lessons Learned: Principles of Conflict

The lessons from the battle at the Horns of Hattin are focused on the identification portion of the principles of conflict.

Identification: Guy did not identify the cultural challenges within his opponent's political world. He did not see that Saladin needed a victory more than he did at the larger political level. Guy allowed his personal position and the challenges of loyal nobility to cloud his understanding of Saladin and his position of weakness. There was also a lack of understanding of the tactical considerations and the strengths and weaknesses of each army The conduct of an openfield battle favored the Muslim tactics over the tactics of the Franks.

Isolation: The decision to move cross-country completely isolated the Frankish force from any outside assistance. It especially isolated them from the necessary water sources and forced the army to fight the summer heat as well as the Muslims.

Suppression: The lack of water sources and the weakening of the infantry over time allowed Saladin to surround and wait out the Franks. Without infantry protection the horses were prey to the Muslim arrows, and losses were enormous. The high loss of horses meant a correspondingly low opportunity to conduct maneuver. The few mounted charges of note were allowed to break out and away, and the critical combat power was lost.

Maneuver: Saladin used natural means to gain the position of advantage. It is ironic that the high ground, typically viewed as key terrain in ancient and modern engagements, was occupied by those who were held impotent before the basic human need for water.

Destruction: The loss of discipline of knights and soldiers was clear evidence of the emotional destruction inflicted by Saladin. Enormous numbers of prisoners meant massed surrender rather than determined fighting.

Conclusion

Leadership is essential to battlefield victory. Cannae showed what an incredible leader can do when vastly outnumbered. Here, the poor leadership and the lack of judgment of one side prevented a competent and well-matched force from making any real attempt at success. Saladin did not have to win this battle. The deck was not stacked in his favor. Rather, the battle was given to him through his opponent's failed leadership. The following quote summarizes this thought well:

> A formidable Christian army, skilled in Levantine tactics and hardened by campaigns, had permitted itself to be maneuvered into a trap largely because of personal and political animosities. The irreparable blunder of the march across the arid plateau toward Tiberias was the direct consequence of Gerard's hatred and suspicion of Raymond and his baneful influence over King Guy. It is perhaps idle to speculate on what might have been; yet it seems clear that if there had been no party dissension in Jerusalem there might well have been no Hattin. But now the disasters which followed were the unavoidable consequences of a major defeat.[7]

Saladin used this success to forge a capable and relatively unified state. His actions following the battle made him legendary to his opponents and his supporters. He became the ideal of justice and chivalric behavior.

How Does It Fit Inside the Box?

- In many ways, this battle was the most normal, in that it fit the current template to a greater degree. This was a standard relief of a besieged castle, nothing more. Saladin besieged the castle at Tiberias, and subsequently an army from the Kingdom of Jerusalem was gathered and sent to relieve the besieged fortress.
- No unusual weapons, techniques, or capabilities were used. Nearly everything seen on this battlefield had been seen by the various combatants in previous engagements and battles.
- Both sides were motivated by religious and cultural idealism—true religion versus unbelievers and cultural snobbery that viewed the outsiders as uncouth savages.

[7] Setton, *A History of the Crusades, Volume I,* 614.

Why Is It an Aberration?

Means: Even though there were no new tactics or techniques, there were numerous uses of the older techniques made more relevant by the command decisions. In this case, the wells near the actual battle site either were controlled by Saladin's forces or were dry. This meant that all sources of water were controlled by a single side of the battle in July. This lack of a critical resource led to rash decisions during the actual fighting, further exacerbating previously incompetent battlefield leadership.

Understanding: King Guy failed to identify the cultural and political situation of his opponent. He did not see the dynamics within the Muslim world that made Saladin's position precarious. Therefore, he did not perceive his own position of strength, nor did he recognize that it was better to be conservative in protecting an advantage. Instead, Guy perceived himself as weak and in need of executing a decisive blow that would send a message to his domestic and external opponents that he was a worthy king. This created the conditions that led to the failed decisions on basic operational strategy.

Leader: The incompetence brought to the field by Guy was vastly overwhelmed by the competent generalship of Saladin. Rarely in history do mismatches of this extreme in command ability occur. Typically something, a coup or significant competent advice, comes to even the field prior to the battle. This did not occur here. Guy refused to listen to the advice of battle proven subordinates and followed brash and foolhardy advice to force a decisive battle in unsecured territory and with no guarantee of control of water. The advice he followed played on personal insecurities and vanity. Saladin made maximum use of the opportunity presented, and though events after the battle show his almost embarrassed response to the success, he did not lessen the efforts he put into the battle itself.

Target: Once Saladin was able to encircle his opponent, he focused on the use of water as a weapon to weaken the will of his opponent, which forced them to make poor decisions out of necessity. The large number of prisoners speaks to the fact that much of the force ended up surrendering rather than fighting to the death.

Strategies

Introspection: No battle presented in this book presents a starker example of the importance of introspection as a strategy for avoiding or succeeding in aberrational environments. Guy did not see himself or his supporters in a real light. He did not perceive the conflicts within Gerard of Ridefort and, therefore, could not effectively filter his advice. Guy did not understand himself sufficiently to know why he was seeking battle; instead, he seemed to give in to the advice that pampered his vanity.

Empathetic Appreciation: Guy did not see Saladin in his weakness. This was a Muslim leader who had only had significant success against other Muslims—Egypt, Aleppo, Mosul—and had not managed considerable defeats against Christians. He was a usurper and a Kurd. Saladin was not in a position of strength in 1187. He had come off several successive failures in besieging Kerak, the fortress of his avowed enemy.

Empathetic Expectation: The failure to see Saladin properly resulted in the decision to attack him. Saladin was going to force a battle, yet he could not wait forever. It was almost certain that he would have eventually attacked Saforie as options slowly ran out. This would have meant that Guy could have used his infantry to their maximum benefit.

Study of History: There were many nobles, Raymond III most of all, who understood the Muslims and their history. They knew that large Muslim armies did not stay together for long periods, especially not after defeats or setbacks like they had experienced at Kerak.

Study of Culture: As stated above, Raymond III knew Muslims and Islamic culture. Reynald probably understood some of it, as well. Despite this, the army of the kingdom missed capitalizing on this knowledge. Guy did not understand the culture of his opponent, nor did Gerard of Ridefort. They simply saw an infidel who required destruction. Saladin clearly saw the fractures within his opponent. It is unclear how much his knowledge of the Franks led to his decision to attack into the Galilee, but the result was that he split the kingdom along its fault line of Raymond III versus Guy. By making the attack in Raymond III's domain, his advice was certain to be sought, thus eliminating the possibility of him being relegated to a mere supporting

role—this forced conflict between Raymond III and those nobles in opposition to him as an attack in no other region would have.

Multiple Reserves: The nature of Frankish tactics in the Levant allowed for reserves, yet it was not suited for an undisciplined battle of movement. The reliance on infantry protection for the cavalry meant that any designated reserve could not move faster than a walking man. Saladin had a much greater level of mobility, since his cavalry was based on agility and not shock tactics. When Guy did order a charge, he could not commit a reserve to exploit the momentary opening of the lines. Each charge was a separate and uncoordinated event.

Initiative: Saladin maintained the initiative throughout the campaign. Only at Kerak did he lose the initiative, and then he quickly readjusted to attack in the north. His attack at Tiberias forced the hand of the King of Jerusalem, making him react to Saladin.

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