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052164187X - The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem

Bernard Hamilton

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The reign of King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem (1174–85) has traditionally been seen as a period of decline when, because of the king's illness, power came to be held by unsuitable men who made the wrong policy decisions. Notably, they ignored the advice of Raymond of Tripoli and attacked Saladin, who was prepared to keep peace with the Franks while uniting the Islamic Near East under his rule.

This book challenges that view, arguing that peace with Saladin was not a viable option for the Franks; that the young king, despite suffering from lepromatous leprosy (the most deadly form of the disease), was an excellent battle leader who strove with some success to frustrate Saladin's imperial ambitions; that Baldwin had to remain king in order to hold factions in check; but that the society over which he presided was, contrary to what is often said, vigorous and self-confident.

BERNARD HAMILTON is Emeritus Professor of Crusading History, University of Nottingham.

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Baldwin IV topples a Muslim opponent at the battle of Mont Gisard.

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052164187X - The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem

Bernard Hamilton

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

For Jan and Sarah and Alice

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	page x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiii
<i>Maps</i>	xvi
<i>Genealogies</i>	xviii
<i>Glossary</i>	xxiv
Prologue	1
1 The sources for Baldwin IV's reign	6
2 Baldwin's childhood	23
3 The kingdom	44
4 The international status of the kingdom	63
5 The king's minority	84
6 Western aid. William of Montferrat and Philip of Flanders	109
7 The victor of Mont Gisard	132
8 Prince Reynald's initiative	159
9 The dying king	186
10 The heirs of the leper king	211
Epilogue	235
Appendix An evaluation of the leprosy of King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem in the context of the medieval world, by Piers Mitchell	245
<i>Bibliography</i>	259
<i>Index</i>	280

Illustrations

<i>Frontispiece</i>	Baldwin IV topples a Muslim opponent at the battle of Mont Gisard. Epinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 45, f. 198r. <i>Estoire d'Eracles</i> (Bk XXI, 27)	
1	Baldwin is crowned by Amalric of Nesle. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.137 f. 252r. <i>Estoire d'Eracles</i> (Bk XXI, 2)	42
2	The <i>Cenaculum</i> on Mount Sion, shrine of the Last Supper, built in the reign of Baldwin IV	48
3	Baldwin IV gives Guy of Lusignan the hand of Sibyl in marriage. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 142, f. 264v. <i>Estoire d'Eracles</i> (Bk XXII, 1)	151
4	The citadel of Bosra. Photo by permission of Hugh Kennedy	178
5	Reynald of Châtillon's castle at Kerak. Photo by permission of Hugh Kennedy	193
6	Baldwin IV on his deathbed passes the crown to Baldwin V in the presence of the High Court. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 9084, f. 331r. <i>Estoire d'Eracles</i> (Bk XXIII, 6)	208
7	The Patriarch Heraclius crowns Sibyl, watched secretly by Cistercian monks sent by the barons at Nablus. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 9082, f. 274v. <i>Estoire d'Eracles</i> (Bk XXIV, 1)	219
8	An illustration to the Lamentations of Jeremiah, interpreted as a prophecy of Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem. Copenhagen, Konegelige Bibliotek, Thott MS 7, f. 188r. Old French Bible (Psalms to Apocalypse)	233
9	A Nazareth capital, showing two apostles, erected during the reign of Baldwin IV	236
10	Schoolboys pinching Prince Baldwin's affected arm and the examination by William of Tyre. London, British Library, MS Henry Yates Thompson 12, f. 152v. <i>Chronicle</i> of William of Tyre	251

Cambridge University Press

052164187X - The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem

Bernard Hamilton

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgements

This book has grown out of a lecture that I was invited to give to the University of Edinburgh in 1982 as part of the Antiquary Visiting Scholars Programme of the Denys Hay Seminar, so my thanks are in the first instance due to the sponsors and to Dr Gary Dickson who arranged the programme. I have subsequently benefited from discussing different aspects of this subject at the Crusades Seminars convened by Professor Jonathan Riley-Smith and Dr Jonathan Phillips at the Institute of Historical Research in London; at seminars of the University of Oxford Crusades Special Subject organised by Dr Paul Hyams and Dr Miri Rubin; at a public lecture in the University of Leicester, arranged by Professor Norman Housley; and at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds in 1995 with the encouragement of Dr A.V. Murray. The opportunity to read papers connected with this book at two international conferences of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (SSCLE) has been particularly valuable.

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052164187X - The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem

Bernard Hamilton

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

despite the best endeavours of my friends and colleagues, are, of course, entirely my responsibility.

In writing this book I have made use chiefly of the following libraries, to the staff of which I should like to extend my thanks: the Library of the University of Nottingham; the British Library; the Libraries of the School of Oriental and African Studies, of the Warburg Institute and of the Institute of Historical Research in the University of London. My special thanks are due to the librarian and staff of the London Library without whose resources it would have been difficult to complete this work.

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King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem has, for many years, been part of my family life. My children spent their adolescence to the sounds of early drafts of this work being torn up. To them, and to my wife, who has shared her marriage for the past seventeen years with the court of crusader Jerusalem, this book is affectionately dedicated.

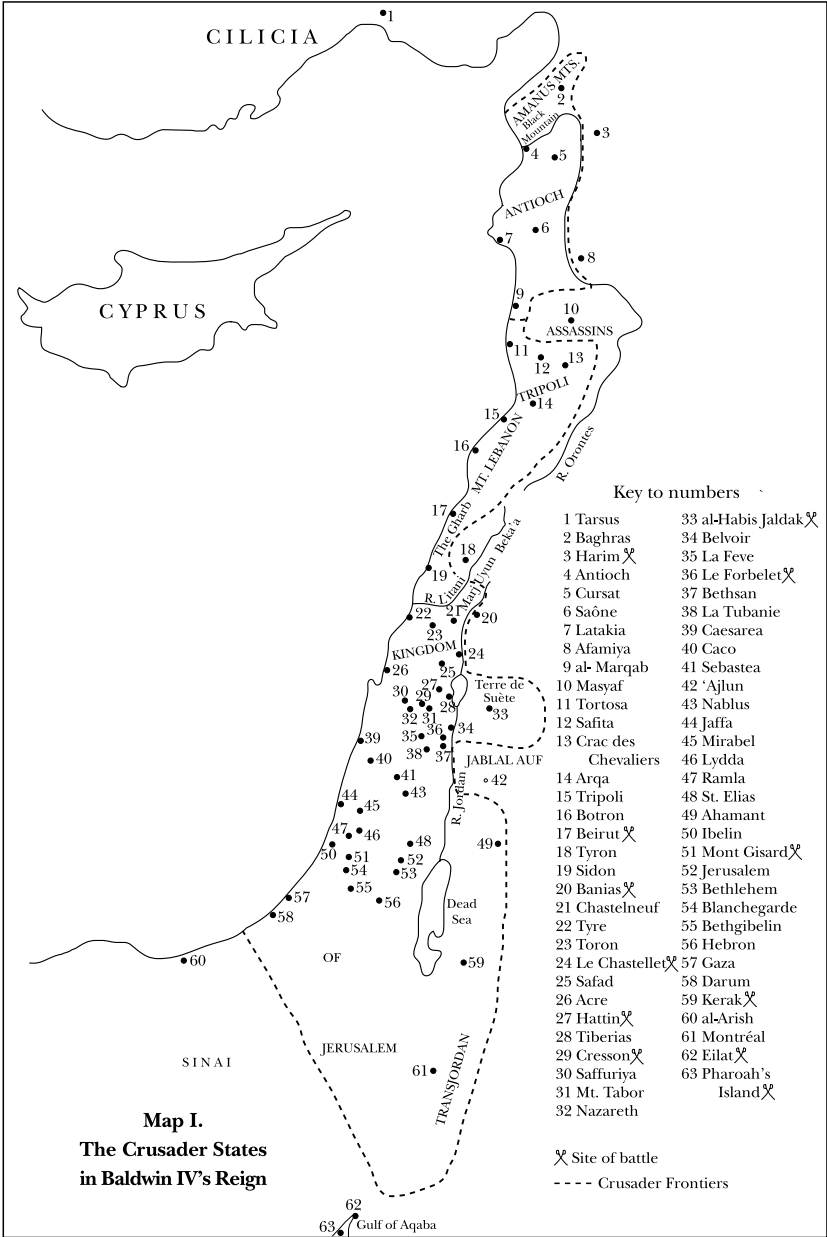
Abbreviations

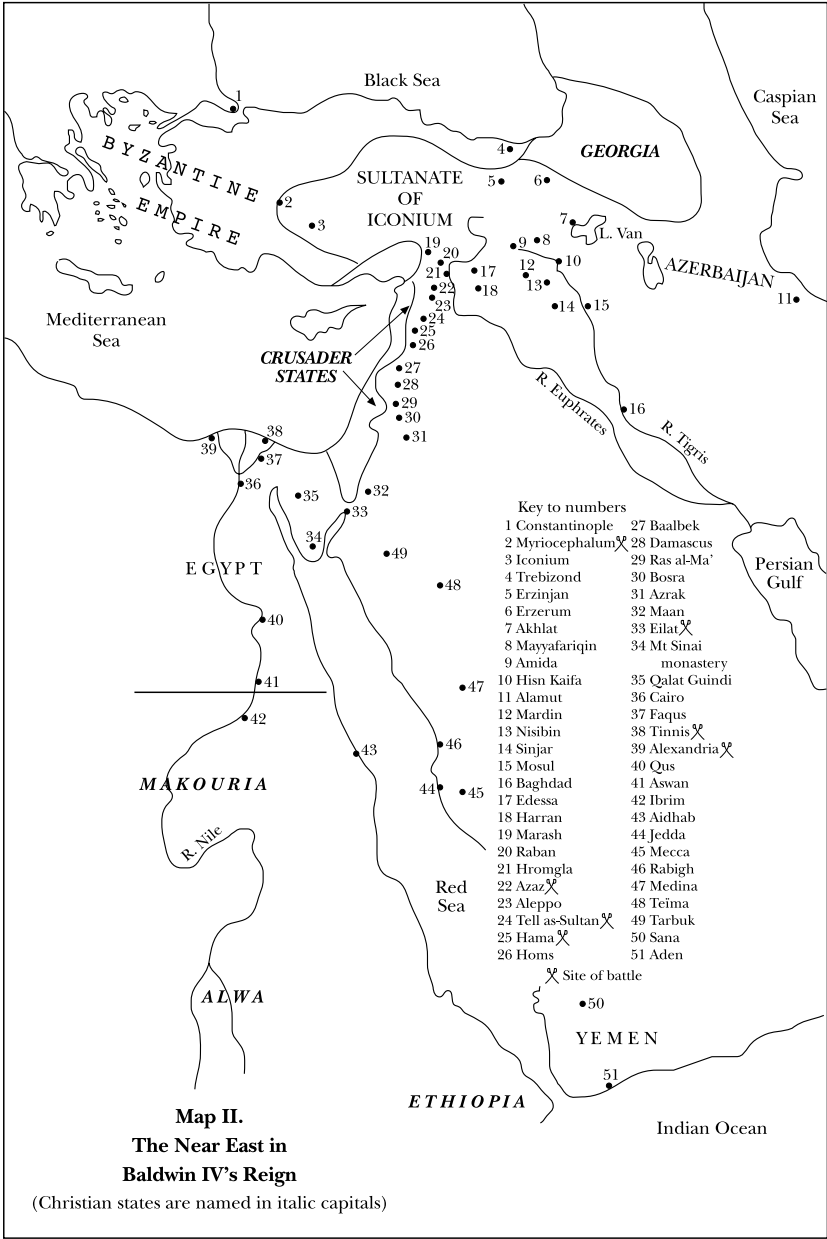
AOL	<i>Archives de l'Orient Latin.</i>
AS	Abu Shama, <i>The Book of the Two Gardens.</i>
Baha al-Din	Baha al-Din, <i>Anecdotes et beaux traits de la vie de Sultan Youssouf</i> , RHC Or, III, pp. 3–370.
BEC	Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes.
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.
BHCTH	<i>Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques.</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.</i>
Bresc-Bautier	G. Bresc-Bautier (ed.), <i>Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem</i> (Paris, 1984).
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis.
CGOH	J. Delaville Le Roulx (ed.), <i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)</i> , 4 vols. (Paris, 1894–1906).
CS	P.W. Edbury (ed.), <i>Crusade and Settlement</i> (Cardiff, 1985).
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae.
Delaborde	H.-F. Delaborde (ed.), <i>Chartes de la Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre Dame de Josaphat.</i> BEFAR, 19 (Paris, 1880)
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers.</i>
DRHC	Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
EHR	<i>English Historical Review.</i>
Eracles	<i>L'Estoire d'Eracles empereur et la conquête de la terre d'Outremer.</i>

xiv	<i>List of abbreviations</i>
Ernoul	<i>La Chronique d'Ernoul</i> ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871).
HH	B.Z. Kedar (ed.), <i>The Horns of Hattin</i> (Jerusalem, 1992).
IA	Ibn al-Athir, <i>Kamil al-Tawarikh</i> (extract with French tr., RHC Or I, pp. 189–744).
Ibn Jubayr	Ibn Jubayr, <i>The Travels of Ibn Jubayr</i> , tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst (London, 1952).
Imperiale di Sant'Angelo	C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo (ed.), <i>Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova</i> , 3 vols., Fonti per la storia d'Italia (Rome, 1936–42).
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i> .
Kamal ad-Din	Kamal ad-Din, <i>History of Aleppo</i> (French tr. by E. Blochet, ROL 3–6 (1895–8)).
Kohler	Ch. Kohler (ed.), 'Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre Dame de la vallée de Josaphat en Terre Sainte (1108–1291). Analyses et extraits', ROL 7 (1900), pp. 108–222.
<i>Lignages</i>	<i>Les Lignages d'Outremer</i> , RHC Lois II, pp. 441–74.
<i>Livre au roi</i>	<i>Le Livre au roi</i> , ed. M. Greilsammer, DRHC 17 (Paris, 1995).
Mansi	G.D. Mansi (ed.), <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum . . . nova et amplissima collectio</i> , 31 vols. (Florence and Venice, 1759–98).
al-Maqrizi	al-Maqrizi, <i>A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt</i> , tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst (Boston, 1980).
de Marsy	A. de Marsy (ed.), 'Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'Ordre de Saint-Lazare en Terre Sainte, AOL IIB, pp. 121–57.
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> .
MGH SS	<i>MGH Scriptores</i> .
<i>Montjoie</i>	B.Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (eds.), <i>Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Meyer</i> (Aldershot, 1997).
MS	Michael the Syrian, <i>Chronicle</i> (ed. with a French tr., RHC Arm I, pp. 311–409).
Müller	G. Müller (ed.), <i>Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno 1531</i> , Documenti degli archivi Toscani 3 (Florence, 1879).

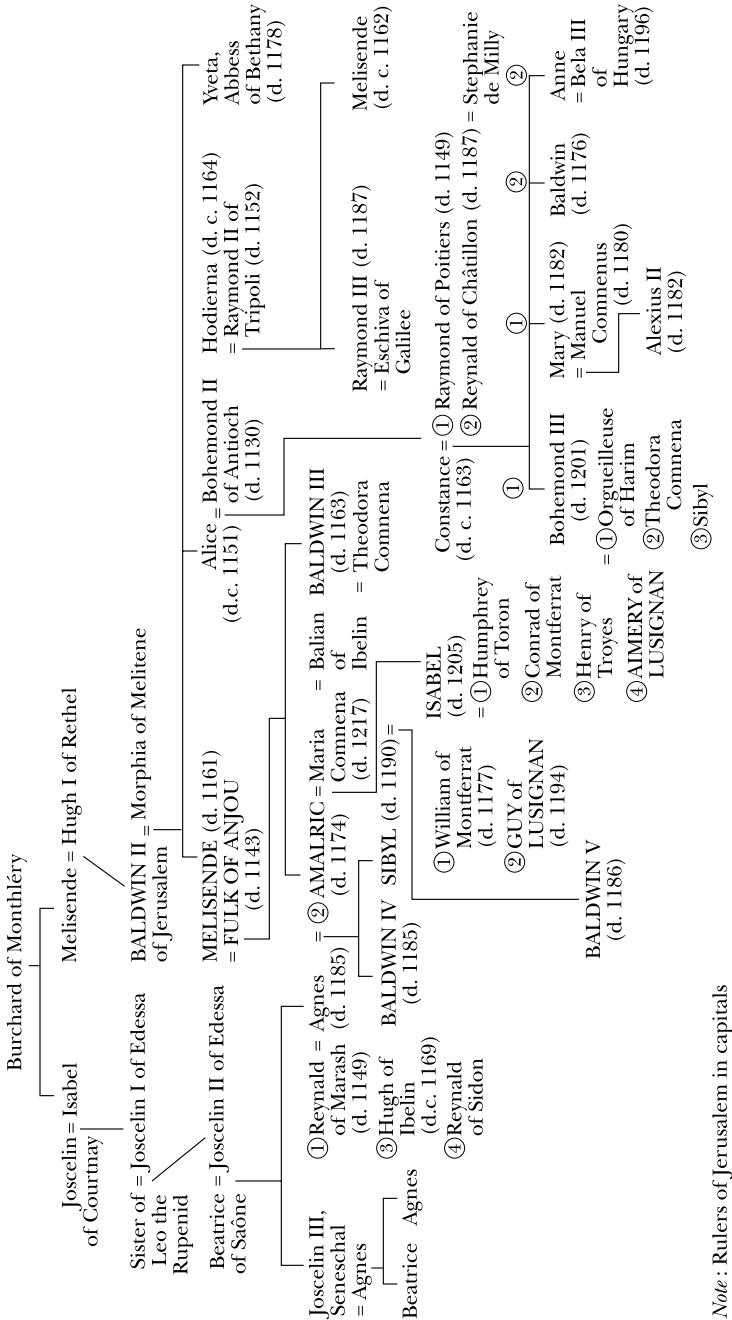
List of abbreviations xv

<i>Outremer</i>	B.Z. Kedar, H.-E. Mayer and R.C. Smail (eds.), <i>Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer</i> (Jerusalem, 1982).
P.L.	J.P. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologia Cursus Completus. Series Latina</i> , 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64).
QF	<i>Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken</i> .
RHC	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades</i>
RHC Arm	<i>RHC Documents Arméniens</i> .
RHC Grecs	<i>RHC Historiens Grecs</i> .
RHC Occ	<i>RHC Historiens Occidentaux</i> .
RHC Or	<i>RHC Historiens Orientaux</i> .
RHDFE	<i>Revue historique de droit français et étranger</i> .
ROL	<i>Revue de l'Orient Latin</i> .
RRH	R. Röhrich, <i>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII–MCCCXI)</i> , 2 vols. (Innsbruck, 1893–1904).
RS	Rolls Series.
Salloch	M. Salloch (ed.), <i>Die lateinische Forsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus</i> (Leipzig, 1934)
SCH	<i>Studies in Church History</i> .
Setton, <i>Crusades</i>	K.M. Setton (gen. ed.), <i>History of the Crusades</i> , 6 vols. (Philadelphia and Madison, 1958–91).
Strehlke	E. Strehlke (ed.), <i>Tabulae Ordinis Teutonici</i> (Berlin, 1869).
Tafel-Thomas	G.L.F. Tafel and G.M. Thomas (eds.), <i>Urkunden . . . der Republik Venedig</i> , <i>Fontes rerum Austriacarum</i> , section III, 12–14 (Vienna, 1856–7).
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> .
WT	William of Tyre, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. R.B.C. Huygens. Identification des dates par H.-E. Mayer et G. Rösch, CCCM 63, 63A (Turnholt, 1986).
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> .

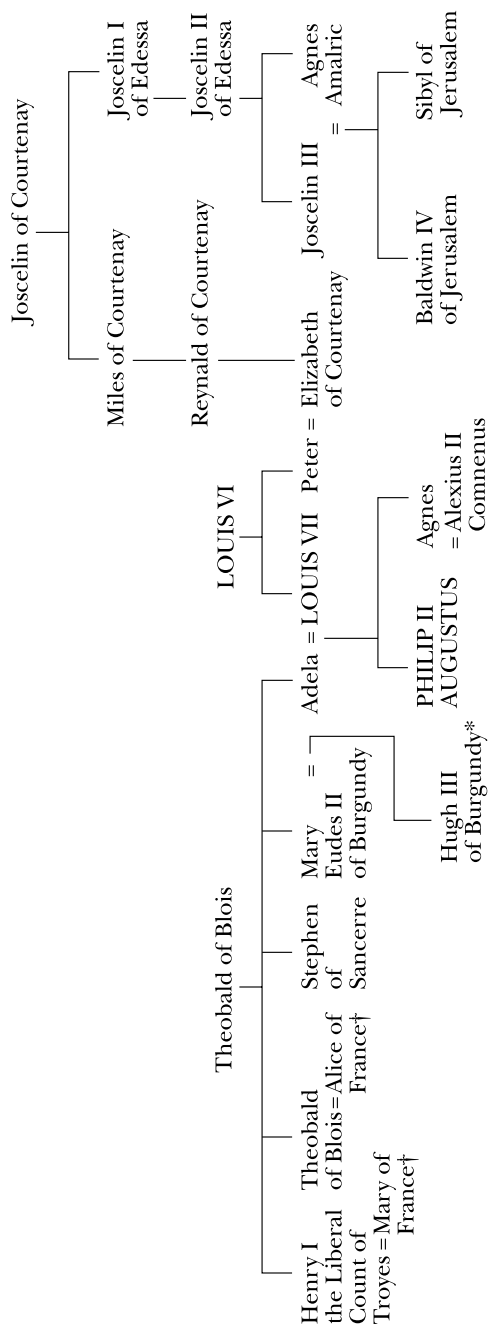




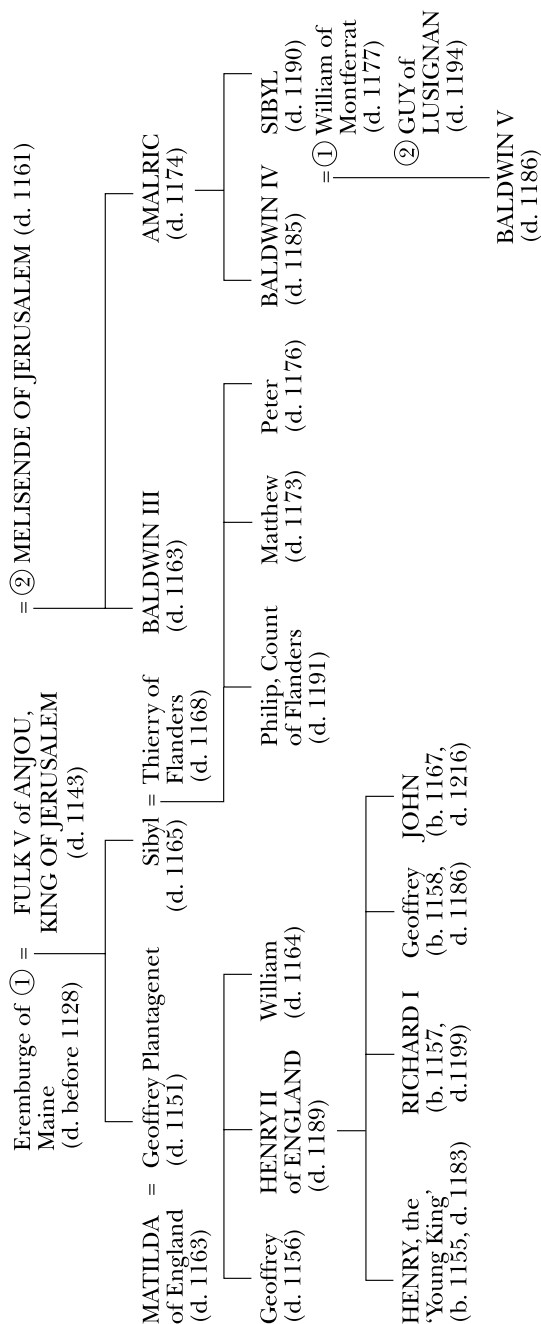
Genealogy I. Baldwin IV's Kindred



Note : Rulers of Jerusalem in capitals

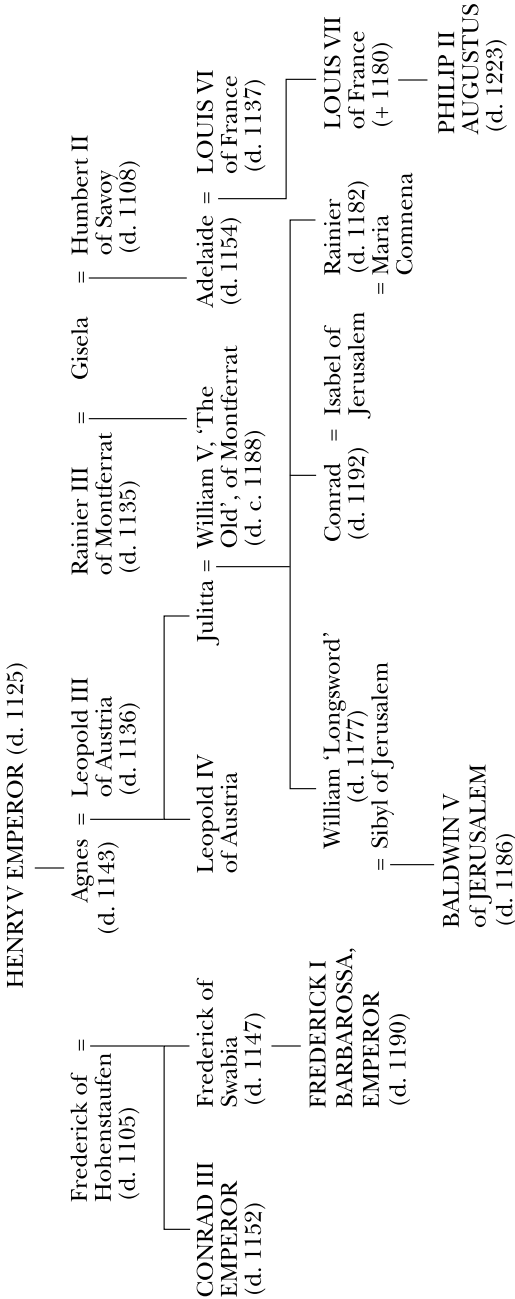


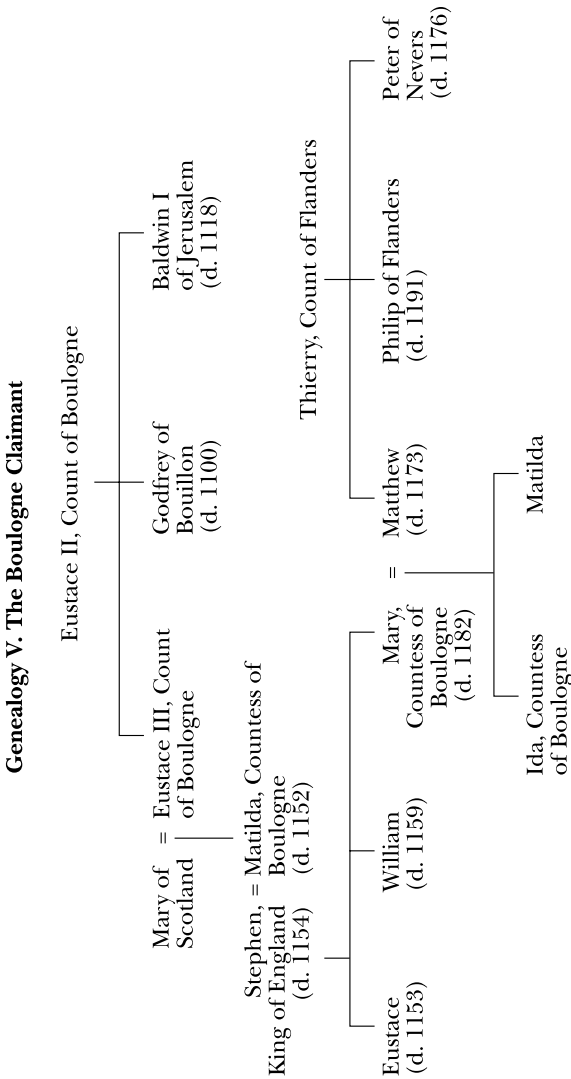
Note: Kings of France in capitals



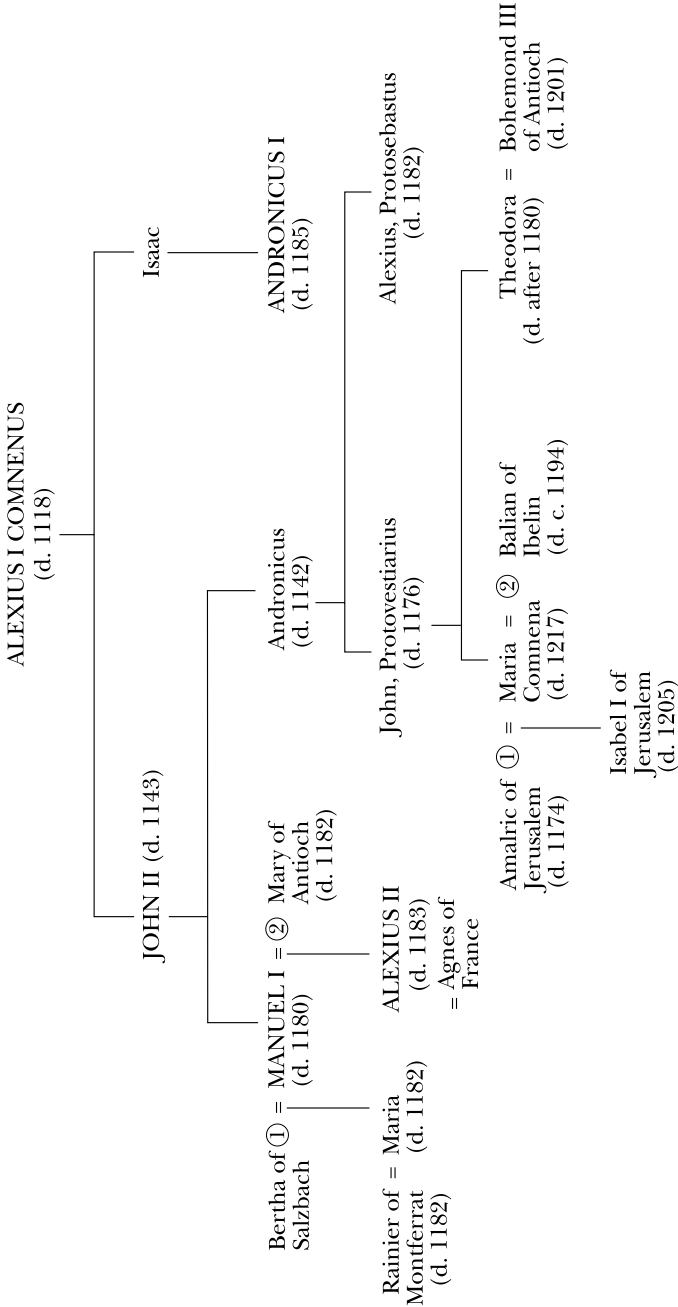
Note: Rulers of England and of Jerusalem in capitals

Genealogy IV. The House of Montferrat





Genealogy VI. Manuel Comnenus and the Royal Family of Jerusalem



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Bernard Hamilton

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Glossary

Aman A safe-conduct issued by a Muslim ruler.

Atabeg In the Seljuk Empire the governor of a province for a prince who was a minor. The title was also assumed by the rulers of some states following the break-up of the Seljuk Empire in the twelfth century.

Cathena The word means chain and refers to the chain placed across the entrance to the harbours in the Crusader States in the twelfth century to exclude enemy shipping. By association it came to mean the port authority acting on behalf of the crown.

Diwan In Muslim societies a department of the central government.

Fidais Members of the Order of Assassins (the Nizarite Ismailis), noted for their religious dedication, who were trained to carry out assassinations at the command of their superiors.

Haj The pilgrimage to Mecca, incumbent once in a lifetime on all Muslims with the means to perform it.

Iqta A grant by Muslim rulers of revenue from and sometimes also jurisdiction over estates, in return for service (often in return for military service).

Jihad The holy war against unbelievers enjoined on Muslims.

Mamluks The professional warriors who formed part of the

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052164187X - The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem

Bernard Hamilton

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Glossary

xxv

Islamic armies in the twelfth century, and who were recruited from white slaves, normally of Turkish or Caucasian origin.

Maphrian In the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Church the bishop who ranks second in dignity after the Patriarch.

Qadi An Islamic judge.

Rais In the Crusader Kingdom the non-Frankish headman of a village community.

Suq The covered market of a Near Eastern city; a bazaar.

Ulema The collective term for men learned in religious disciplines, including law, in an Islamic state.

Wadi A river-bed that is dry except in the rainy season.