

THE LEPER KING
AND HIS HEIRS

Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem

BERNARD HAMILTON



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CHAPTER I

*The sources for Baldwin IV's reign*¹

LATIN AND OLD FRENCH SOURCES

Narrative accounts

Two independent accounts of Baldwin IV's reign were written in the Latin East, William of Tyre's *Chronicle* and the *Chronicle* attributed to Ernoul. William was born in Jerusalem in c.1130, but as a young man went to western Europe where he was trained in the schools of France and Lombardy. After he returned to the Latin East in 1165 King Amalric commissioned him to write a history of the Crusader Kingdom.² This is divided into twenty-three books and covers the period from the origins of the First Crusade to the year 1184. Book XXIII is incomplete, consisting only of a separate preface and a single chapter.³ Although the precise date of William's death is disputed, it occurred before 21 October 1186. William is justly considered one of the finest historians of the central Middle Ages and was uniquely well placed to be knowledgeable about public affairs in Baldwin IV's reign. King Amalric had appointed him tutor to Prince Baldwin in 1170, and then in 1175, during Baldwin IV's minority and while Raymond of Tripoli was regent, William was appointed archbishop of Tyre (a position second only to that of patriarch of Jerusalem in the Catholic hierarchy), and chancellor of

¹ I have not given references to those works mentioned in this chapter that can be readily identified in the bibliography.

² R. Hiestand, 'Zum Leben und zur Laufbahn Wilhelms von Tyrus', *Deutsches Archiv* 34 (1978), pp. 345–80; P.W. Edbury and J.G. Rowe, *William of Tyre. Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988); H.-E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, 2 vols., MGH Schriften, 40 (Hanover, 1996), I, pp. 167–253.

³ Robert Huygens argued that William did complete Book XXIII, but that the remainder of the text has been lost, 'La tradition manuscrite de Guillaume de Tyr', *Studi Medievali* 5 (1964), pp. 281–373 at p. 314.

the kingdom, which meant that he had charge of the royal archive and writing office. But scholars have been reluctant to accept that because William was an important political figure he was unlikely to have been impartial in his reporting of events, for although his work as chancellor gave him an excellent opportunity to be well informed about matters of state, he was also constrained, as any political figure is, by the need to be discreet. He is too good an historian to falsify evidence, but he is guilty on occasion of suppressing the truth. Sometimes he appears to have done this for reasons of political necessity. His account of Philip of Flanders's negotiations with the crown in 1177, for example, is so guarded that it is difficult to make out what really happened, although it is clear from hints that William gives that he knew much more than he wrote.⁴ But at other points in his narrative he uses silence as a weapon with which to attack those of whom he disapproved, by consigning their deeds to oblivion. This is particularly evident in his treatment of Reynald of Châtillon, who is seldom mentioned by William, but who occupies a central place in Muslim accounts of Saladin's wars with the Franks of Jerusalem. William also sometimes gives accurate information in a misleading way. This is a political skill, and his account of the leper king's reign has to be used as a political source; it is written by the chancellor of the kingdom, not by an impartial and detached observer. Robert Huygens has produced an exemplary edition of William's *Chronicle* which is a pleasure to read.

The other account of Baldwin IV's reign written in the Latin Kingdom is the work edited by Louis de Mas-Latrie as *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*. In four manuscripts of this text the author is named as Ernoul. The relevant passage records how on 1 May 1187 Balian of Ibelin came to the castle of La Fève and found it deserted: 'Dont fist descendre i sien varlet qui avoit a non Ernous. Ce fu cil qui cest conte fist metre en escript.'⁵ Nothing more is known for certain about him, although Mas-Latrie thought it possible that he was Arnaix de Gibelet, an Ibelin supporter in Cyprus in the early 1230s, an identification which Ruth Morgan found persuasive, but which is of necessity speculative.⁶ In its present form the work contains an account of the history of the Kingdom of

⁴ WT, XXI, 13–18, pp. 979–87 and 24, pp. 994–6.

⁵ Ernoul, p. 149; M.R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973), p. 41.

⁶ Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. 44–6.

Jerusalem from 1099 until 1228, which becomes more detailed during the reign of Baldwin IV. Some manuscripts contain additional material covering the years 1228–32, and Ruth Morgan argued convincingly that Bernard the Treasurer, who is named in the colophons of two of them, was the compiler of that recension.⁷

If Ernoul was a page in 1187 he cannot have been more than about fifteen years old, and although this means that he was an eyewitness of events immediately preceding and following Hattin, he must have relied on verbal reports when writing about Baldwin IV's reign as he had only been a child at the time. It is not easy to determine how much he wrote himself of the chronicle which bears his name. It begins with the words:

Oïés et entendés comment la tiere de Jherusalem et la Sainte Crois fut conquise de Sarrasins sour Chrestiiens. Mais ançois que je vous die, vous noumerai les rois et les segneurs ki furent puis le tans Godefroi, qui le conquist sour Sarrasins, il et li Chrestiiens ki avec lui estoient.⁸

In view of this statement of intent it is reasonable to suppose that Ernoul's account extended to the end of the Third Crusade in 1192. He may himself have added material about the later history of the kingdom, or that may have been the work of later editors of his text. All the surviving manuscripts of this chronicle date from the second half of the thirteenth century or later, and it seems highly probable that in all of them some changes have been made to the original work.

It is a very different kind of text from William of Tyre's *Chronicle*. Much of the historical material is cast in an anecdotal form and is interspersed with long digressions about the topography of the Crusader States, which is often enlivened by stories drawn from the Old and New Testaments and occasionally from Josephus, together with some comments on the fauna of the region, largely derived from St Isidore.⁹ Despite its loose structure, it is an important historical source. The material about Baldwin IV's reign is based on evidence supplied by eyewitnesses who had a different perspective from William of Tyre. The section of the work that covers the period

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 46–58; see section II, parts A and C of J. Folda, 'Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: a handlist', *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), pp. 90–5 at p. 93.

⁸ Ernoul, pp. 4–5; Ruth Morgan argued convincingly that the preface published by Mas-Latrie on pp. 1–4 of his edition and attributed by him to Bernard the Treasurer was not part of the *Chronicle* at all, *Chronicle*, pp. 57–8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 117–37.

1184–7 has a unique importance as the only sustained narrative account of the history of the Latin Kingdom in those critical years after William of Tyre's *Chronicle* ended. Nevertheless, Ernoul's *Chronicle* is a work of polemic, and the author's express purpose, as the opening words of his text show, is to place the blame for the loss of the kingdom on the people who were in power in 1187, almost all of whom were dead when his account was written. His chief informants were presumably his patron, Balian of Ibelin, and Balian's wife, King Amalric's widow, Maria Comnena. From the beginning of Amalric's reign, where an account is given of his divorce from Agnes of Courtenay, to the end of the Third Crusade in 1192, the work is, as Ruth Morgan pointed out, 'the story from the Ibelin point of view, answering by implication all those who saw the Ibelins as the villains and not the heroes [of the events leading up to Saladin's conquest]'.¹⁰ This source certainly needs to be used with great caution, yet it has not always been handled in that way. I suspect that part of the reason for this is that the *Chronicle* has great charm both because of the language in which it is written and because of the vivid stories and imaginary conversations with which it is filled, which make it seem more like a twelfth-century romance than a conventional history. Historians have sometimes used it in preference to other, better sources, even sometimes in preference to William of Tyre, and have reached some strange conclusions as a result of this.

There is an Old French translation of William of Tyre known as *L'estoire de Eracles empeureur et la conqueste de la terre d'Outremer*, a title taken from the opening words of William's *Chronicle*. This text is usually referred to simply as the *Eracles*. In the *Recueil* edition of William of Tyre the *Eracles* is printed as a kind of running footnote to the Latin text, but the best existing edition of it is that made by Paulin Paris in 1879–80. In 1987, under the auspices of the Institute of Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, a group of scholars, of whom I was one, investigated the relationship between William of Tyre and the *Eracles*, which contains many variant readings and additions to William's text. Robert Huygens made the important observation that the *Eracles* does not seem to be based on any of the known manuscripts of William of Tyre. It appears from internal information to have been written by a western

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 136; cf. pp. 112–14.

clerk, almost certainly of noble birth, who had visited the Holy Land, and wrote at some time between 1205 and c.1234. John Pryor, who wrote the official report of the 1987 seminar, concluded: 'The text of the *Eracles* is useful to historians. It does contain important information independent of that provided by William of Tyre . . . It is not simply a translation of William of Tyre and is worthy of study in its own right.'¹¹ This accurately reflects my own view.

Although some manuscripts of the *Eracles* contain only the translation of William of Tyre's *Chronicle*, there are no fewer than sixty which include continuations of it. All the continuations extend to 1232, and in twenty-six manuscripts further continuations have been added extending into the second half of the thirteenth century, but these are not relevant to the present study.¹² The continuations which cover the period 1184–1232 begin with Book XXIII of William of Tyre's *Chronicle*, omitting the special preface but translating chapter 1. They then continue with an adaptation of the text of the *Chronicle* of Ernoul for the years 1184–1232, but omitting the earlier part of his work. The surviving manuscripts fall into three main families. By far the largest number, represented by manuscripts *c* and *g* in the *Recueil* edition, are, despite some variations, broadly in agreement with the text of the Ernoul manuscripts; but important differences are found in the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Continuation*, while the text of MS Lyon 828 stands apart from the rest.¹³ Ruth Morgan argued that the *Chronicle* of Ernoul had only been preserved in an abridged form, the work of later compilers, and considered that Lyons 828 most closely represented Ernoul's original text for the period 1184–97, albeit in an abbreviated form.¹⁴

¹¹ J.H. Pryor, 'The *Eracles* and William of Tyre: an interim report', in HH, pp. 270–93 at p. 293.

¹² Sections III, IV, V of Folda 'Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer*', pp. 93–5. Related to the *Chronicle* of Ernoul and to the Old French *Continuations* of William of Tyre is the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin*, of which Margaret Jubb has recently produced a critical edition. This is an historical account of the Crusader States from 1099 to 1230, which contains long fictional interpolations, notably of the romances known as *La fille du comte de Ponthieu* and *L'Ordre de chevalerie*. It is still unclear whether Samuel de Broë, seigneur de Ciry et de la Guette's *Histoire de la conquête du royaume de Jérusalem sur les chrestiens par Saladin* (Paris, 1679) is based on a lost manuscript of the *Estoires d'Outremer*, or whether it is a seventeenth-century reworking of the *Estoires*, of no interest to the historian of the Latin Kingdom. I have not found material in either of these works relevant to the present study.

¹³ Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. 9–11; P.W. Edbury, 'The Lyons *Eracles* and the Old French *Continuations* of William of Tyre', in *Montjoie*, pp. 139–53 at pp. 139–40.

¹⁴ Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. 98–116; see also her introduction to her edition of the Lyons text: M.R. Morgan (ed.), *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, DRHC 14 (Paris, 1982), pp. 7–16.

This view was challenged in 1982 by John Gillingham, who argued that Ernoul's contribution to the chronicle that bears his name ended in 1187 and that later materials were 'reworkings of an anecdotal text compiled in the 1220s'.¹⁵ More recently Peter Edbury has suggested that the 'original version from which all the texts [of the continuations of the *Eracles*] covering the years 1184–97 are ultimately derived was basically similar to the *Chronique d'Ernoul*. With the appearance of the French translation of William of Tyre, the *Chronique* was trimmed and adapted and pasted on to the end.' In his view, therefore, it follows that while due consideration must be given to the variant readings in the Lyons text of the *Eracles*, that version is not automatically to be preferred to others.¹⁶ This argument, which I find persuasive, means that significant variants in all the branches of the continuation have to be given serious attention. Fortunately, for the period between late 1184 and the eve of the battle of Hattin in 1187 with which the present study is concerned, there is broad general agreement between all three families of the manuscripts of this text.

There is a good deal of information in contemporary western chronicles about the Crusader States. Even in Germany, which did not have very strong ties of affinity or trade with the Latin East, some writers became interested in the affairs of the Crusader Kingdom, notably Arnold of Lübeck, whose interest was aroused by the Jerusalem pilgrimage of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, in 1172.¹⁷ Many of these western writers included reports about events in the Latin East in their histories, based on information they received from returning pilgrims, from ambassadors from the Crusader Kingdom visiting the West, and from letters sent to the West, particularly by the military orders, some of which they transcribed.

The Anglo-Norman historians were particularly well informed about events in the Holy Land because of the close links that united the Angevin dynasty and the kings of Jerusalem.¹⁸ A very important, though brief, source is the *Libellus de Expugnacione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum*, an account written by a knight from the Angevin Empire

¹⁵ J. Gillingham, 'Roger of Howden on Crusade', in D.O. Morgan (ed.), *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds* (London, 1982), pp. 60–75 at pp. 72–3, n. 33.

¹⁶ Edbury, 'The Lyons *Eracles*', pp. 152–3.

¹⁷ E. Joranson, 'The Palestine pilgrimage of Henry the Lion', in J.L. Cate and E.N. Anderson (eds.), *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honour of J.W. Thompson* (Chicago, 1938), pp. 146–225; K. Jordan, tr. P.S. Falla, *Henry the Lion. A Biography* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 150–4.

¹⁸ See Genealogy No. III.

who was present in the Holy Land during Saladin's invasion and was wounded in the defence of Jerusalem in October 1187. This work opens with the death of Baldwin V and gives an account of the election of Guy of Lusignan and the events leading up to Hattin.

A good deal of information about the Crusader States is contained in the writings of Roger of Howden. There is now a general consensus that he wrote the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* as events occurred, and redrafted parts of it in his *Chronica* after his return from the Third Crusade on which he had accompanied Richard I.¹⁹ Other Anglo-Norman writers are primarily concerned with the part taken by Richard I in that crusade. The *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* is a composite work. H.-E. Mayer edited the first recension (which consists of part of Book I in the final version) and argued that it had been written between 1 August 1191 and 2 September 1192 by an English Templar chaplain in Tyre. Helen Nicholson, who has recently made an English translation of the whole text, accepts Mayer's date, but has argued persuasively that there is not enough evidence to prove that the first author was a Templar, though he was almost certainly an English crusader. She has demonstrated that he compiled this work partly from oral traditions, partly from a written source about the German crusade and partly from his own observation.²⁰ In c.1217–22 a longer version of this text was produced by Richard de Templo, prior of the Augustinian house of the Holy Trinity, London 1222–1248/50. He used the earlier text, but added to it a Latin translation of the *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, composed by the Norman minstrel Ambroise who had accompanied Richard I on crusade. Richard de Templo also incorporated material drawn from Ralph de Diceto and Roger of Howden, and Helen Nicholson has argued that he had been on the Third Crusade himself and that that is why he sometimes amends and edits his sources.²¹

Related to this group of Angevin sources is a Latin *Continuation* of William of Tyre's *Chronicle*, preserved in a single manuscript in the British Library, Reg. 14, C.X. It covers the period from the accession

¹⁹ Gillingham, 'Roger of Howden'; D.M. Stenton, 'Roger of Howden and Benedict', *EHR* 68 (1953), pp. 574–82.

²⁰ H.J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade. A Translation of the 'Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi'* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 7–10; H. Möhring, 'Eine Chronik aus der Zeit des dritten Kreuzzugs: das sogenannte *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* 1', *Innsbrucker Historische Studien* 5 (1982), pp. 149–67.

²¹ Nicholson points out that there is no evidence that Richard de Templo was a former Templar, *Chronicle*, pp. 110–15.

of Baldwin V in 1185 to Richard I's retreat from Beit Nuba in January 1192, the point at which the crusade in effect abandoned any attempt to recapture Jerusalem. Marianne Salloch, who edited it, argued that it was composed in c.1220, and this view has gained general acceptance, whereas her contention that the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* drew on an earlier draft of the *Continuation* made in c.1204 has not.²² As Helen Nicholson says: 'It does not seem very likely that a writer could have taken the tidy account of the "Continuation" and deconstructed it to form the dramatic early chapters of the *Itinerarium*.'²³ The author of the Latin *Continuation* has clearly drawn on the *Itinerarium*, and also on Roger of Howden and William of Newburgh, but his work contains information that is independent of them, particularly in his account of the events leading up to Hattin.

This group of historical writings is particularly important for a study of the Latin East because these accounts are written from a Lusignan point of view. The Lusignans were a Poitevin family and vassals of Richard I of England, who favoured the claims of Guy of Lusignan against those of Conrad of Montferrat for the crown of Jerusalem while he was on crusade. The information which these sources give about the events leading up to Saladin's invasion (the part which is important to the present study) was almost certainly derived, directly or indirectly, from Guy and Aimery of Lusignan and their Poitevin supporters in the Crusader Kingdom who talked of these matters to the crusaders who accompanied Richard I.

Records

Although no royal or princely archive from any of the four Crusader States has survived, a considerable body of charter evidence from the Latin East is known. This was calendared by Reinhold Röhricht at the turn of the century and additional documents have since come to light.²⁴ Hans Mayer has recently published a monumental work on the Royal Chancery of the Latin Kingdom, and in an appendix has edited some hitherto unpublished records.²⁵ The most important single group of non-royal documents drawn up in the Crusader

²² M. Salloch (ed.), *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus* (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 5–46.

²³ Nicholson, *Chronicle*, p. 4.

²⁴ R. Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII–MCCCXI)*, 2 vols. (Innsbruck, 1893–1904).

²⁵ Mayer, *Die Kanzlei*, II, pp. 887–925.

States in this period relates to the Order of St John, which has the best-preserved twelfth-century archive from the Latin East. This is now in the Library of Valetta, and most of the twelfth-century material relating to the Order was published by Delaville Le Roulx.²⁶ The cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre, now in the Vatican Library, contains almost 200 documents, the greater part of which date from the twelfth century, and has been edited twice, first by Eugène de Rozière in 1849 and more recently by Geneviève Bresc-Bautier. A quite large group of charters relating to the monastery of Our Lady of Josaphat at Jerusalem, the archive of the Teutonic Order, and a substantial fragment of the cartulary of St Lazarus, the Jerusalem mother-house of the Order of that name, have also survived.²⁷ Twelfth-century documents from the other religious houses of the Latin East are limited in number and will be noted as they arise. The majority of documents come from the Kingdom of Jerusalem; those relating to Tripoli and Antioch are comparatively sparse. The greatest loss, of course, is the archive of the Knights Templar from which only a few stray charters relating to the Latin East are known.

An important body of documentary evidence comes from those Italian communes which had colonies in the Latin East and handled the trade of the Crusader States. The most important collections for the twelfth century are those of Venice, Genoa and Pisa.²⁸

Papal registers do not survive for the years with which this book is concerned, although a collection of Alexander III's privileges was preserved by the church of Rheims;²⁹ but a large number of papal letters and diplomas relating to the Holy Land do exist and Rudolph Hiestand has edited those issued for the churches there, and also the

²⁶ Many of the twelfth-century documents that do not relate to the Order of St John were published by S. Paoli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine gerosolimitano, oggi di Malta*, 2 vols. (Lucca, 1733–7).

²⁷ H.-F. Delaborde (ed.), *Chartes de la Terre sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, BEFAR 19 (Paris, 1880); Ch. Köhler (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; E. Strehlke (ed.), *Tabulae Ordinis Teutonici* (Berlin, 1869); A. de Marsy (ed.), 'Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'Ordre de Saint-Lazare en Terre Sainte', AOL IIB, pp. 121–57.

²⁸ G.L.F. Tafel and G.M. Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, Fontes rerum Austriacarum, section III, vols. 12–14 (Vienna, 1856–7); C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo (ed.), *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, 3 vols. Fonti per la storia d'Italia (Rome, 1936–42); G. Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno 1531*, Documenti degli archivi toscani, 3 (Florence, 1879).

²⁹ Alexander III, Pope, *Epistolae et Privilegia*, P.L. 200.

papal privileges for the Knights Templar and the Knights of St John.³⁰

Legal treatises

A collection of legal treatises dating from the mid- to late-thirteenth century contains, if carefully used, a good deal of material about the twelfth-century Kingdom of Jerusalem, since it records legal precedents and sometimes even royal ordinances from that period, of which there is no other evidence. These treatises were published in the *Recueil* series in 1841–3, and Jonathan Riley-Smith, and more recently Peter Edbury, have done much to elucidate the context in which they were written, which explains the selective way in which the authors recorded the twelfth-century traditions that had been transmitted to them orally.³¹ The treatise known as *Le Livre au roi* is particularly important for this study. It was drawn up for King Aimery of Lusignan before 1205 and claims to give an account of the laws of the Kingdom of Jerusalem before the battle of Hattin. Miriam Greilsammer has recently produced a new edition. The greatest of all the thirteenth-century treatises is John of Ibelin's *Livre des Assises*. Chapters 260–72 in the *Recueil* edition are based on materials relating to the Kingdom of Jerusalem before the battle of Hattin and give information about the organisation of the Latin Church in the kingdom, the distribution of lordships, with details of the knight-service each owed to the crown, the distribution of feudal and burgess courts throughout the kingdom, the services of sergeants owed to the crown by the Latin Church and the cities of the kingdom, together with a list of the knight-service owed by crown vassals in the royal demesne, which is of particular interest because the vassals are named. Peter Edbury has produced a new edition of this material, using Paris: BN: MS Fr 19025, written at Acre in c.1280, as his base text. He recognises that parts of this material have been revised in the thirteenth century, but on internal evidence has argued convincingly that the original source was drawn up in the

³⁰ R. Hiestand (ed.), *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius: I, Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter; II, Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter. Neue Folge; III, Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, vols. 77, 135 and 136 (Göttingen, 1972, 1984 and 1985).

³¹ Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*; P.W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge, 1997).

years 1183–6.³² The laws of the principality of Antioch are known in an early thirteenth-century Armenian translation, which was edited with a French translation by Léonce Alishan in 1876.³³

Miscellaneous sources

In the late thirteenth century a set of pedigrees of noble families who traced their descent from the old nobility of the Latin Kingdom was composed in Cyprus. This is known as *Les Lignages d'Outremer* and exists in a shorter and a longer version, both of which were edited by Beugnot in the *Recueil* series. This genealogical information is of very uneven quality for the twelfth century, but sometimes helps to supply deficiencies in contemporary records.

Thousands of western pilgrims visited Jerusalem in the reign of Baldwin IV, but only a few of them wrote accounts of their travels and the information that they gave is idiosyncratic. The majority of the Latin texts were edited by Tobler and Molinier, and English translations have been made of some of them, and also of some additional sources, by John Wilkinson.³⁴

The corpus of Frankish inscriptions from the Crusader Kingdom has been published by de Sandoli.³⁵

ARABIC SOURCES

Islamic

It is a widely held opinion that Islamic historians in the Middle Ages were not aware of the crusading ideology of the Franks in the Latin East.³⁶ Francesco Gabrieli wrote:

³² Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, pp. 105–26.

³³ L.M. Alishan (ed. and tr.), *Les Assises d'Antioche reproduites en français* (Venice, 1876).

³⁴ T. Tobler and A. Molinier (eds.), *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 2 vols., Publications de la Société de l'Orient Latin, sér. géographique 1 and 2 (Geneva, 1879–80); Latin texts with an Italian translation by S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII–XIII)*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1978–84); J. Wilkinson, with Joyce Hill and W.F. Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 167 (London, 1988); three twelfth-century texts have been newly edited: R.B.C. Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, Johannes Wirziburgensis, Theodoricus*, CCCM 139 (Turnholt, 1994).

³⁵ S. de Sandoli (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae* (Jerusalem, 1974).

³⁶ Though weight must be given to the view of P.M. Holt: 'There was, however, a growing recognition [among Muslims in the twelfth century] that the Crusaders, above all in their occupation of the holy city of Jerusalem, were different from other invaders of Dar al-Islam,

The cause of this mistake on the part of Islam in the evaluation of an historical phenomenon of which it was first the victim, then the bitter adversary and finally the victor, can be found in our opinion in the indifference, caused by a sense of superiority and contempt, which the Muslims always showed, except on a few occasions, for the western world, its history and culture, throughout the Middle Ages.³⁷

This seems borne out by the attitude of contemporary Muslim writers towards the Crusader States. They took very little interest in the Franks' internal affairs, although occasionally their comments are of crucial importance. In the present study Islamic evidence is chiefly valuable for the information which it gives about the growth of Saladin's power and his policies towards the Franks.

There are two lives of Saladin written by contemporaries. Baha al-Din Ibn Shaddad (1145–1234) entered the sultan's service as a *qadi* in 1188, but was thereafter in close contact with him and his court until Saladin died in 1193. His *Life* was published, with a French translation, in the *Recueil* series, and an English translation was made from the French translation for the Palestine Pilgrims Texts Society in 1897.³⁸ Imad ad-Din al-Isfahani (1125–1201) entered Saladin's service in 1174 and became his secretary. He wrote a history of Saladin's conquest of the Crusader States, covering the period 1187–93, which has been translated into French by Henri Massé.³⁹

Abu Shama (1203–67) is the author of *The Book of Two Gardens*, an account of the dynasties of Nur ad-Din and Saladin. In his treatment of Saladin he made careful use of contemporary sources, including a lost history of Saladin written by Yahya Ibn Abi Tayy (d.1232), a Shi'ite scholar of Aleppo.⁴⁰

All these works are concerned with idealising Saladin, but the most important sources of information about his reign are the letters written by his administrator al-Fadil, for these, unlike the histories, were not written with hindsight, but reflect conditions at the time

even from the Byzantines, with whom they were at first confused': *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), pp. ix, xii, n. 9.

³⁷ F. Gabrieli, 'The Arabic historiography of the Crusades', in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962), pp. 98–107 at p. 98.

³⁸ The translation was made by C.W. Wilson, and revised from the Arabic text by C.R. Conder, Beha ed-Din, *The Life of Saladin* (London, 1897).

³⁹ Imad ad-Din al-Isfahani, *La conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, tr. H. Massé, DRHC 10 (Paris, 1972).

⁴⁰ M. Hilmy M. Ahmad, 'Some notes on Arabic historiography during the Zengid and Ayyubid periods (521/1127–648/1250)', in Lewis and Holt, *Historians*, pp. 90–4; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), pp. 55–7.

they were composed. Although many of them are cited by other historians, such as Abu Shama, they usually only give extracts. Sir Hamilton Gibb drew attention in 1958 to the need for al-Fadil's correspondence to be collected and edited,⁴¹ but it was not until the appearance of Malcolm Lyons's and David Jackson's *Saladin. The Politics of the Holy War* in 1982 that this advice was taken seriously. They had worked through the archives of Europe and the Near East, and had found not merely a large body of the unpublished writings of al-Fadil, but also new manuscripts of the well-known chronicles of Saladin's reign containing important variants. Their work has made possible a serious reappraisal of Saladin and his relations with the Franks, and frequent reference will be made to their discoveries in this study.

Saladin was shown in perspective, not placed at the centre of Islamic affairs, in the *Kamil at-Tawarikh*, or *The Perfect History*, of Ibn al-Athir (1160–1233), one of the greatest medieval historians, whose work covers the history of the Islamic world to 1231. Although he lived in Mosul, and was to that extent remote from events in Syria and Egypt, his *History* is important because he was a critic of Saladin. Extracts relating to the crusades are published in the *Recueil* edition with a French translation.⁴²

Kamal ad-Din (1192–1262) was a citizen of Aleppo and wrote a history of that town which extends to 1243 and contains much valuable information about Syria in the time of Saladin. Taqi ad-Din al-Maqrizi (1364–1442) was an antiquarian, who used the work of earlier writers in compiling his history of Egypt, and is valuable because some of the works he used are known to us only in his citations.⁴³

The other Islamic source which has proved very useful in writing this study is *The Travels* of Ibn Jubayr (1145–1217), the secretary of the Muslim governor of Granada, who made the *hajj* in 1183–5 and returned by way of the Latin Kingdom.⁴⁴

⁴¹ 'A desideratum is a corpus of extant documents of al-Qadi al-Fadil': H.A.R. Gibb, 'The rise of Saladin, 1169–1189', in Setton, *Crusades*, I, pp. 563–89 at p. 563, n.

⁴² Ahmad, 'Some notes on Arabic historiography', pp. 88–90; Cahen, *La Syrie*, pp. 58–60.

⁴³ Cahen, *La Syrie*, pp. 62–3; Sami Dahan, 'The origin and development of the local histories of Syria', in Lewis and Holt, *Historians*, pp. 111–13; Gabrieli claims that al-Maqrizi's *Kitab as-suluk*, 'which is almost entirely compiled from other writers. . . is indispensable in our present state of knowledge [for the study of Ayyubid history]', *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, tr. E.J. Costello (London, 1969), p. xxxiv.

⁴⁴ *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst (London, 1952).

Christian

The History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church is a Coptic work, written in Arabic, and the account of the reign of Mark III (1167–89) contains some useful information about Saladin's relations with the Franks on the eve of Hattin. An English translation of this text has been made by Antoine Khater and O.H.E. Khs-Burmester.

Three Maronite historians who wrote in Arabic long after the Crusader States had fallen, nevertheless provide some good material for a study of the Lebanon in the twelfth century, as Kamal Salibi has shown. Jibra'il Ibn al-Qila'i (d.1516), Maronite Bishop of Cyprus, was not a historian, but his theological writings and letters contain a good deal of material relating to the crusading era based on sources that are no longer extant. Istifan al-Duwayli, Maronite patriarch 1670–1704, was a historian, and has been described by Salibi as 'perhaps the richest source for the religious and political history of the Maronites in the later Middle Ages'. Finally, Tannus Ash-Shidyaq (c.1794–1861), despite his late date, is a particularly good source for the genealogies of the great families and the territorial divisions of the Lebanon in the Middle Ages.⁴⁵

SYRIAC SOURCES

A particularly important source for the history of North Syria in the second half of the twelfth century is the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (1166–99), who was friendly to the Franks. Michael wrote in Syriac, and his text has been edited with a French translation by Jean Chabot. Gregory Abul'Faraj, more commonly known as Bar Hebraeus (1226–86), who was Maphrian of the Jacobite Church from 1264, wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* of his Church, as well as a world history, *The Chronography*. The latter depends very heavily on Michael the Syrian for twelfth-century information, although it can sometimes be used to elucidate Michael's text. Ernest Wallis-Budge edited the Syriac text of *The Chronography* with an English translation, and the *Ecclesiastical History* was edited with a Latin translation by Joannes Abbeloos and Thomas Lamy in 1872–7. More independent of Michael the Syrian is the anonymous Syriac history known as *The Chronicle of 1234*, which

⁴⁵ K.S. Salibi, *Maronite Historians of Mediaeval Lebanon* (Beirut, 1959).

Chabot edited in 1926 and Albert Abouna translated into English in 1974.

ARMENIAN SOURCES

Works written in Greater Armenia, which contain a little information about the Latin States before 1187, such as Guiragos of Kantzag's *History of Armenia* and Vartan the Great's *Universal History*, both dating from the thirteenth century, are published in the *Recueil* edition of Armenian sources with French translations, but arguably the most important source is the chronicle attributed to Smbat the Constable (1208–76), the brother of King Hethum I of Cilicia. An abbreviated version of this text was found in the library of Ejmiacin, and extracts of this were used in the *Recueil* edition, but a full text exists in MS 1308 of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice. Fr Leonce Alishan, who cited parts of this text in his own works, did not attribute it to Smbat, but referred to it as *The Royal Annals*, which led scholars to suppose that this was an independent text. Fr Akelian published an edition of the Venice manuscript in 1956, and Gérard Dédéyan has since produced an annotated French translation of that part of it which is independent of earlier historians, beginning with Manuel Comnenus's entry into Antioch in 1159 and ending in 1272.⁴⁶

BYZANTINE SOURCES

On the whole, Byzantine historians have little to say about events in the Latin Kingdom, because these were of peripheral interest to them, except when emperors campaigned there, or when western crusades travelled through Byzantine territory. John Cinnamus (c.1144–c.1203), secretary to the Emperor Manuel, was in the best position to be well informed about diplomatic relations between the empire and the Crusader States, but his *Epitome*, written in 1180–3, only covers the period 1118–76, and is therefore only helpful for the opening part of this study. There is no more recent edition than that made by Meineke in 1836.⁴⁷ Eustathius of Thessalonica (d.1195), in his account of the sack of that city in 1185, gives important

⁴⁶ G. Dédéyan (tr.), *La Chronique attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, DRHC 13 (Paris, 1980), pp. 9–36.

⁴⁷ English translation, C.M. Brand, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* (New York, 1976).

information about deteriorating Latin–Byzantine relations after the death of Manuel in 1180. The text was edited by Stilpo Kyriakidis in 1961 and has recently been reprinted with a parallel English translation by J.R. Melville Jones. Nicetas Choniates (c.1150–1213) wrote a history which covers the period from 1118–1206, but which is very hostile to the West because it was completed after the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade: there is a good modern edition of this work by Jan-Louis van Dieten and an English translation by Harry Magoulias.

The Life of Leontios Patriarch of Jerusalem is relevant to this study, because Leontios visited the Holy Land during Baldwin IV's reign. The *Life* was written by his disciple, Theodosius Goudelis, soon after 1203, and a new edition with parallel English translation was published by Dimitris Tsougarakis in 1993. John Phocas, a Byzantine pilgrim who visited the Holy Places in 1185, is a unique source for the position of the Orthodox community living under Latin rule in the last years of the First Kingdom. The only manuscript of his work was published by Leo Allatius (d.1669), and recently a new English translation has been made by John Wilkinson.⁴⁸

Official exchanges between Byzantine emperors and patriarchs and the Crusader States have been calendared by Franz Dölger and Venance Grumel.⁴⁹

HEBREW SOURCES

The *Itinerary* of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela in Navarre, who visited the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem during the third quarter of the twelfth century, contains useful information about political conditions in the Near East and is easily accessible because Adler published the Hebrew text with an English translation.⁵⁰ A wealth of material, inaccessible to most crusading historians for linguistic reasons, was opened up by Joshua Prawer in *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*.

⁴⁸ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, pp. 315–36.

⁴⁹ F. Dölger (ed.), *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des östlichen Reiches*, 5 vols. (Munich and Berlin, 1924–65), II, 1025–1204; V. Grumel (ed.), *Les Regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, I. *Les actes des Patriarches*, III, 1043–1206 (Paris, 1947).

⁵⁰ Adler's translation was republished, without the Hebrew text but with a new introduction and notes by M.A. Signer, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (Malibu, 1987).

NON-LITERARY SOURCES

The Frankish settlement of the Crusader States in the twelfth century has left an impressive range of material remains. Ronnie Ellenblum has published an important study of Frankish rural settlement in the Crusader Kingdom, while an excellent survey of the secular buildings in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem has been recently produced by Denys Pringle, who is also writing a magisterial work on the churches of the kingdom, of which the first two volumes have been published.⁵¹ The northern states are less well served: there is no detailed survey of the ecclesiastical buildings there, although the castles of Antioch-Tripoli have been described by Paul Deschamps in the third volume of his corpus, while Robert Edwards has produced a definitive work on the fortifications of Cilician Armenia in the crusading period.⁵²

Jaroslav Folda has written a masterly study of *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, which includes work produced in Tripoli and Antioch. There are excellent studies of the coinage of the Latin Kingdom by John Porteous, Michael Bates and D.M. Metcalf, and an important monograph on the use of seals in the Crusader Kingdom by H.-E. Mayer.⁵³ The evidence about weapons is very fully covered in David Nicolle's monumental work, *The Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1050–1350*.

⁵¹ R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998); D. Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. An Archaeological Gazetteer* (Cambridge, 1997); *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1993 and 1998).

⁵² P. Deschamps, *Les châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte*, III, *La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche* (Paris, 1973); R.W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 23 (Washington D.C., 1987).

⁵³ J. Porteous, 'Crusader coinage with Greek or Latin inscriptions', in Setton, *Crusades*, VI, pp. 354–420; M.L. Bates and D.M. Metcalf, 'Crusader coinage with Arabic inscriptions', in Setton, *Crusades*, VI, pp. 420–82; D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford* (London, 1983); H.-E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrstaaten*, *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen*, n.s. 83 (Munich, 1978).