

**The Sons of Melisende: Baldwin III,  
Amalric, and Kingship in the Kingdom  
of Jerusalem, 1143-1174 CE**

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## Abstract

This dissertation examines the development of kingship and royal ideology in the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the reigns of Baldwin III (r. 1143-63) and Amalric (r. 1163-74). During their collective thirty years on the throne, they moved the ideas of kingship in Jerusalem away from the memory of the First Crusade and toward a Byzantine conception of rulership, including the empire's policy of Christian ecumenism. By doing so, they incorporated Byzantine ideas and symbols into their own ideas of kingship and endeavored to make the Frankish presence in the east an indelible part of the landscape of the Levant.

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## Introduction

When discussing who among the rulers of Jerusalem was the most important, there are some names one could expect to hear. Perhaps someone would mention Godfrey of Bouillon, the pious and uncrowned first ruler of Jerusalem who was chosen by his comrades to rule. Another would argue Baldwin I, the first uncontested king who made the Kingdom of Jerusalem into a regional power of the east Mediterranean. Or a third would say Baldwin IV, the young king who held his realm together despite suffering from leprosy – and whose reign was documented and defended by Bernard Hamilton.<sup>1</sup> If one were to ask William of Tyre, writer of the *Historia Ierosolimitana* and courtier for two kings in Jerusalem, he would likely put forward two lesser-known figures: the brother-kings, Baldwin III and Amalric. In his description of the reaction to Baldwin III's death, William says: "No history recounts, and no living person remembers, in ours or any other kingdom that such profound sorrow and grief existed for the death of any prince."<sup>2</sup> For Amalric's death, the chronicler recounts that "he was a wise and distinguished man and, indeed, he had the right qualities for the government of the kingdom." The Muslim chronicler Ibn al-Athir even claimed – repeated slightly later by Abu Shama – that "there has not been a king of the Franks since they came to Syria who [better] represented bravery, cunning, and intelligence"<sup>3</sup> than Amalric.

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<sup>1</sup> Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). He was also made famous in the popular consciousness by Edward Norton's portrayal in Ridley Scott's 2005 historical epic, *Kingdom of Heaven*.

<sup>2</sup> William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon (Guillaume de Tyr Chronique)*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 63A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), p. 860. This and William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon (Guillaume de Tyr Chronique)*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986) to be referred to in the footnotes as WT. Translations are mine unless otherwise noted. "Tantum autem mestitiam et tot intimi doloris argumenta in nostro vel in alio regno pro defectu alicuius principis extitisse nulla tradit Historia, nulla presentium hominum tenet memoria."

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for The Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh, Part 2: The Years 541-589/1146-1193: The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin*, translated by D. S. Richards (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 172; Abu Shama Shihab al-Din al-Makdisi, *Le Livre des Deux Jardins. Histoire des Deux Regnes, celui de Nur ed-Din et celui de Salah ed-Din* in *Recueil des historiens des croisades : Historiens orientaux*, Vol. 4, translated by and



Modern historians, by contrast, have not held either Baldwin III or Amalric in high esteem. Beyond his relationship with his mother, Baldwin has received little commentary on his impact on the kingdom. Steven Runciman's summary of Baldwin's reign perhaps best captures this sentiment: "Had he lived longer, he might have been a great king; for he had energy and a far-sighted vision and a personal charm that was irresistible."<sup>4</sup> In other words, Baldwin may have had the right qualities to be a great king but he did little to capitalize on them. This is hardly the portrait of a man whose death, according to William, caused a wave of unprecedented sorrow. Amalric has fared worse in the estimation of modern historians. Hans Eberhard Mayer said that Amalric "had lacked any special gift of foresight"<sup>5</sup> as a king and that "his superficially brilliant reign carried within it the seeds of internal decay."<sup>6</sup> Indeed, Mayer's conclusion concerning Amalric's reign can be found in the works of historians like Malcolm Barber, Bernard Hamilton, and Joshua Prawer.<sup>7</sup>

The problem with the historical consensus of Baldwin III and Amalric's reigns, however, is that they are viewed with the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in mind. In other words, Baldwin III and Amalric are evaluated by their inability to prevent the circumstances that led to Saladin's victory at the Battle of Hattin. It is a compelling frame of interpretation. Neither Baldwin III nor Amalric had stable succession plans: Baldwin died childless and Amalric's heir, Baldwin IV, was a thirteen-year old with leprosy when he inherited the throne. Moreover,

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ed. A.-C. Barbier de Meynard and ed. Académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1898), p. 112. Translated from Arabic:

لم يكن ملك الفرنج مذ خرجوا الى الشلم مثله شجاعة و مكرأ و دهاء

French translation from A.-C. Barbier de Meynard: "...parmi les rois auxquels les Francs avaient obéi depuis leur entrée en Syrie, n'avait pas eu son pareil pour la bravoure, la ruse et l'astuce..."

<sup>4</sup> Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades Volume 2: The Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. 361

<sup>5</sup> Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, translated by John Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 123

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 124

<sup>7</sup> Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader States* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 231-61; Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 23-83; Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 35-45

Saladin came to power in Egypt during the latter years of Amalric's reign despite Frankish efforts to assert itself in Egypt. As such, Baldwin IV's reign was marked by factionalism over the regency and succession, a weakening royal government, and the threat from Saladin's control over Egypt and Syria.

However, this historical view, one that risks becoming teleology, fails to take into consideration what Baldwin III's or Amalric's goals were based on what they believed they could achieve. They were not trying to prevent one possible future of collapse, however likely it may have been, but working to build the strength of the kingdom and secure its future. To paraphrase Janet Nelson's assessment of Charles the Bald: neither Baldwin nor Amalric expected to die when they did. Both continued to act and plan for a future in which they continued to grow their authority and expand boundaries of their kingdom. The decline and collapse of the Frankish kingdom becomes inevitable only in retrospect.<sup>8</sup> In short, Baldwin III and Amalric's reigns can be accurately understood only when this teleology is removed.

When the focus is on what the brother kings worked to achieve rather than what they failed to prevent, then a new narrative emerges: during the collective thirty-year reign of Baldwin III and Amalric, they transitioned their style of rule from one based on the "king-as-crusader" model to one that usurped Byzantine practices. More than a superficial imitation of the Byzantine emperors, Baldwin III and Amalric sought to cast themselves in an imperial image as the protectors of all Christians in the region and the overlord of their neighboring Christian states. By finding legitimacy in Byzantine-style rule rather than the memory of the First Crusade, Baldwin III and Amalric worked to transform the kingdom into a Byzanto-Frankish hybrid whose conception of royal authority was more familiar to the Middle East than the primarily Frankish-style kingdom of their predecessors.

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<sup>8</sup> Janet L. Nelson, *Charles The Bald* (London: Longman, 1992), p. 254

## Historiography

This dissertation engages with three strands of historiography: the relationship between the ruling Franks and the indigenous population of the Levant, the character of royal government and authority in medieval Europe, and the historical vision of William of Tyre. To understand the practice of kingship in Jerusalem, one must engage all three of these topics equally. In general, all three strands have been a part of the same debate concerning the character of the Latin East. Were the crusader states European colonies informed by European practices in which the isolated European ruling elite extracted the indigenous population's wealth? Or were they *convivencia*-style kingdoms in which people of all race and creed lived side-by-side? This debate, however, has obscured the character of royal government and practice in Jerusalem by trying to fit the kingdom into pre-existing, and sometimes anachronistic, systems.<sup>9</sup>

### *Colonialism or Acclimatization?*

The person who set the tone for modern scholarship on the crusades is Steven Runciman. While Runciman has served as a historiographical punching bag in recent years, the achievements of his work should not be dismissed out of hand. He established what became the definitive narrative of the crusades for twentieth-century scholars, positing that the First Crusade was responsible for radicalizing Islam: "The massacre at Jerusalem profoundly impressed all the world... amongst the Moslems...there was henceforward a clear determination that the Franks must be driven out. It was this bloodthirsty proof of Christian fanaticism that recreated the

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<sup>9</sup> For more about the historical reception and historiography of the crusades from the eleventh-century up to the early twenty-first century, see Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate of the Crusades* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011)

fanaticism of Islam.”<sup>10</sup> The same can be said about Runciman’s influence on the scholarship concerning the organization of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the role of the king himself. What Runciman saw in the Kingdom of Jerusalem was a struggle between the nobility and the royalty. According to Runciman, the king was merely the *primus inter pares* in Jerusalem’s High Court, restricting his ability to enact laws and policies without seigneurial consent. The reigns of Baldwin III and Amalric, according to this model, were last-ditch efforts of weak monarchs to regain control of their kingdom, such as Amalric’s assize that enabled “rear-vassals” to become part of the High Court.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Runciman viewed the reigns of Baldwin III and Amalric not on their own terms but as component parts of the failure of the Second Crusade and the rise of Nur al-Din and later Saladin. Rather than seeing what these two kings accomplished and intended to accomplish through their actions and policies, their reigns were views as a last desperate gasp of the monarchy before succumbing to the dual crises of the factionalism of Baldwin IV’s court and the meteoric rise of Saladin.

Runciman approached the crusades and crusader states from a Byzantine perspective. For him, the Frankish states represented a disorder that made victims out of Muslims and eastern Christians alike. In Runciman’s interpretation, the crusades weakened the political hegemony of Constantinople and the Muslim states, exacerbated the schism between the eastern and western churches, and caused the decline of the non-Greek Orthodox population of Syria and the Levant.<sup>12</sup> The goals of the Franks were equal parts spiritual and territorial.<sup>13</sup> The Latin presence in the east, therefore, was as much a fulfillment of pilgrims’ vows as it was a violent acquisition of lordships at the expense of the indigenous population. In other words, Runciman described the

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<sup>10</sup> Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades Volume 1: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 287.

<sup>11</sup> Runciman, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 300-1

<sup>12</sup> Runciman, *The First Crusade*, pp. xi-xii, pp. 286-8, pp. 294-5

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 89-92, pp. 144-5

crusades as colonial ventures, despite never using the term. Given the kingdom's origins, for Runciman, the failures of Baldwin III and Amalric were all but inevitable.

Joshua Prawer's *Crusader Institutions* expands upon Runciman's analysis concerning the political and social institutions of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Prawer did not view the coming of the First Crusade as a chaotic force as Runciman had. However, like Runciman, he grounds the founding of the kingdom in the legal institutions of France. The feudal background of the crusaders, one where middling to low-level nobles and knights serve a territorial prince, informed the royal government of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. While these social bonds were strong during the "first generation" of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, they had weakened by the time of Baldwin III and Amalric. In Prawer's view, the links that had originally bound crusaders together in France no longer existed. Instead of a small, dominant elite comprising of descendants of the heroes of the First Crusade, just as much authority rested in an ever-increasing lower aristocracy, disconnected from the foundations of the kingdom, by the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>14</sup>

Prawer is best known, however, for his analysis of the colonial practices of the crusaders and Franks of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. According to Prawer, a majority of the Frankish settlers remained in the coastal cities and only ventured into the hinterland for military and economic purposes, constructing forts and administering villages that sprang up around the forts.<sup>15</sup> He often described the magnates of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as "conquistadors," operating outside the royal prerogative and securing lands for themselves. They took over the local cities and ruled the countryside from a distance. When discussing why the king of Jerusalem held authority in the holy city, Prawer says:

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<sup>14</sup> Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 3-45.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 85-142.

We would rather explain the king's right of intervention as the consequence of his colonizing activities... We assume that the king, who colonized the city and furthered its development, kept for himself as late as 1164 the right to intervene wherever the city's progress and his own interests may have been concerned.<sup>16</sup>

Describing the activities of monarchy and aristocracy of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as “colonial” threatens to obscure rather than enlighten. Because the term “colonial” is weighted down by the practices of later European empires, the term defines the practices rather than the other way around. In other words, the Kingdom of Jerusalem was a colonial state because of the Franks' colonial practices. By not defining “colonial,” the analysis becomes a circular logic loop.

In his *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Roni Ellenblum offers an alternative to Prawer's school of thought. According to Ellenblum, Frankish society neither copied European society nor was it assimilated into the “urban society” that characterized the medieval Levant:

There is no doubt that the Frankish society created in the Levant was not an exact copy of any contemporary European society and that it was influenced by the special conditions of life existing there. It can be assumed that the pattern of Frankish settlement was also influenced by social changes and different styles of living. However, the assumption that the Franks abandoned almost completely their rural way of life in favor of an “almost exclusively urban society”... is difficult to accept without better founded evidence than that produced until now.<sup>17</sup>

Franks not only lived in rural villages alongside Syrian Christians but were themselves not a unified culture. Rather, they came from across Europe to live in the Levant. Additionally, the forts constructed by the Franks were not always for defensive purposes. For example, by the time forts were built around Fatimid-controlled Ascalon, the Fatimids had ceased to use the town as a base of operations for raids into Latin territory. In other words, the Franks were able to build their forts from a position of strength.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 100.

<sup>17</sup> Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 13-4.

By overturning both of these assumptions, Ellenblum demonstrates the importance of first understanding the Kingdom of Jerusalem from the evidence we find rather than drawing conclusions from the assumptions we have about the Franks or the Levant, assumptions often based on modern constructs.<sup>18</sup> Ellenblum's analysis is crucial because he demonstrates that the Frankish settlers were to incorporate themselves into the pre-existing Christian societies of the Levant. This willingness to adapt to the landscape can also be seen in the theoretical political practices of the kingdom. Indeed, as this dissertation argues, Baldwin III and Amalric learned to adopt Byzantine policies of Christian ecumenism and their visual language of authority so that their rule was both acceptable to their Frankish counterparts and more comprehensible to their non-Frankish subjects and neighbors.

### *The Exercise of Royal Authority*

Crucial to drawing a comparison between the society of Frankish Jerusalem and its European counterpart is the task of defining the European society from which the Franks originated and with which they maintained close connections. Earlier historians writing about the crusader states, such as Runciman, were evaluating the Kingdom of Jerusalem according to how closely it adhered to models of feudalism. What that model is, however, requires definition.

What exactly is feudalism?

A more recent assessment of feudalism is Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel's *The Feudal Transformation*. In it, they attempt to systematize the emergence of feudalism in the tenth and eleventh centuries. According to Poly and Bournazel, the institutions the Carolingians established persisted well after their empire collapsed in the eighth and ninth centuries. Carolingian governors already acted semi-autonomously within the Frankish imperial structure,

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, pp. 14-9.

allowing for an easy transition into independence after the Carolingian collapse. Castellans and minor lords emerged in the vacuum of centralized authority to carve out dominions for themselves at the expense of the peasantry and the Church before the former Carolingian magnates were able to reassert themselves. A semblance of political order was reestablished once great lords consolidated power in their territorial principalities by eliciting oaths of loyalty in exchange for grants of land from the castellans. In turn, the Capetians reasserted royal authority by copying the practices of the territorial princes: using personal oaths and allegiances in exchange for land grants to bind the territorial principalities to the royal center, creating a “feudal hierarchy.” In other words, the tenth and eleventh centuries were eras where the state formed and reformed itself through feudalism.<sup>19</sup> Thus feudalism, in Poly and Bournazel’s view, was the necessary step toward a more centralized royal government that formed in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Though Poly and Bournazel’s analysis is enticing, it assumes the existence of specific governmental systems that were considered “feudal” without defining what they were. Indeed, by the publication of their book, Elizabeth A. R. Brown had already challenged the concept in her still influential article “The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe.” There she notes that feudalism is a modern idea applied retroactively to the Middle Ages. Historians have never defined the word with precision or used it consistently, but they maintained it out of a sense of convenience. The arguments for its supposed utility, she states, are weak.<sup>20</sup> Poly and Bournazel encountered the same problem as their predecessors: the term itself is convenient, thus all medieval governmental systems can be described as “feudal.”

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<sup>19</sup> Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation, 900-1200*, trans. Caroline Higgitt (New York: Holmes & Meier Pub, 1991), esp. pp. 9-118, 186-216

<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe” *The American Historical Review* 79, no. 4 (1974): 1088.



Building on Brown's article, Susan Reynolds rejects "feudalism" as an anachronistic construct that hinders the study of medieval history in her book *Fiefs and Vassals*. The basic vocabulary of feudalism was created by Lombard lawyers as they copied and compiled laws of previous eras, such as Roman law and *Libri Feudorum*. French monarchs of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries capitalized on this legal movement in an effort to consolidate their authority, adopting the terms for their own purposes. However, according to Reynolds, academic law was not the same as customary law in the Middle Ages. The assumptions made by scholars about "feudalism," namely that it was a political system constructed by personal bonds and oaths in exchange for fiefs, suggests that early Germanic and other "primitive" societies did not have distinctions between community and individual interests when there is no evidence to support this.<sup>21</sup>

Reynolds further argues that the relationship between the monarchy and the nobility was not the personal bond between lord and vassal but between king and subject. Nobles and freemen owed military service and taxes to the king because those were the customary obligations subjects were expected to make. Different laws concerning service and property ownership developed in different regions: "in so far as anything like feudo-vassalic institutions existed, they were the product not of weak and unbureaucratic government in the early middle ages but of the increasingly bureaucratic government and expert law that began to develop from about the twelfth century."<sup>22</sup> In other words, there was no "state through feudalism" or a series of violent coercive lordships. Rather, there was a state that became increasingly complex and codified as the centuries went on. Because of the complexity and regional variance, Reynolds emphasizes the need to consider the evidence concerning property ownership and governance fully and

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<sup>21</sup> Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 1-74.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, pp. 478-9.

thoroughly rather than trying to see where and how “feudalism” existed. If correct, Reynolds’s argument would suggest we ought to avoid the concept of feudalism especially in connection with the crusader states. As Reynolds cautions in her article “Fiefs and Vassals in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem,” the crusader states were founded before the implementation of the system in Europe.<sup>23</sup> If Baldwin III and Amalric practiced feudalism at all, they would have been importing a novel idea from their ancestors’ homeland.

Thomas Bisson, on the other hand, has tried to restore something closer to the traditional model of feudal anarchy. Bisson was not particularly interested in the crusader states, but his alternative model is potentially useful. According to Bisson, in *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, following the collapse of the Carolingian Empire, the remaining counts and magnates became reliant on roving bands of mounted warriors to maintain control over their territories. Rule depended on terrorizing the unarmed, to wit, peasantry and clergy of the Church. These mounted bands, in turn, seized lands for themselves and built castles to secure their own patrimonies. They did not do so out of a sense of public good or through the functions of government, but with power obtained through the violence they wreaked on the populace by the edge of their swords.<sup>24</sup> In other words, impulsive acts of lordship – seizing titles and lands, terrorizing peasants and churchmen, and building castles – reigned supreme in the twelfth century. It was not until the thirteenth century that anything resembling an organized government came into being. Bisson’s model emphasizes the supremacy of anarchy and coercive lordship that would have occurred during the reigns of Baldwin III and Amalric.

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<sup>23</sup> Susan Reynolds, “Fiefs and Vassals in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem: a View from the West,” *Crusades* 1 (2003): 29-48

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), p. 574.

Crusade scholars have thus adhered closer to Bisson's model than Reynolds's. In a response article to Reynolds's *Fiefs and Vassals*, Peter Edbury defends the existence of a traditional "feudal system" in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. He argues that some form of a "feudal system" existed in the crusader state because "feudal language" was used in the kingdom's charters – the lack of usage of such terms by William of Tyre notwithstanding.<sup>25</sup> Seven years later, Jonathan Rubin argued that William of Tyre does describe moments in which land tenure is granted in exchange for military service even though he did not use the specific feudal vocabulary.<sup>26</sup> Alan Murray often discusses how the conflicts that happened between the king and the aristocracy are evidence of opposed interests and that a strong king meant a weak aristocracy and vice-versa.<sup>27</sup> Because some of the terms and practices associated with feudalism appear in the sources, all three historians have preserved the concept in order to explain the social organization and the extent of royal authority in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, viewing the admittedly nebulous term as one implying military service in exchange for land holding.

Hans Eberhard Mayer has been the most influential figure in reinforcement of the ideas and language of feudalism in studies of the Latin East. In his articles "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem" and "The Beginnings of King Amalric of Jerusalem," Mayer emphasizes the emergence of a class consciousness among the feudal nobility in Jerusalem. To take three of his examples, Hugh II of Jaffa's revolt against Fulk in 1134, Baldwin III's rebellion

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<sup>25</sup> Peter Edbury, "Fiefs and Vassals in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: From the Twelfth Century to the Thirteenth." *Crusades* 1 (2003): 49–62.

<sup>26</sup> Jonathan Rubin, "The Debate on Twelfth-Century Frankish Feudalism: Additional Evidence from William of Tyre's Chronicon." *Crusades* 8 (2009): 53–62.

<sup>27</sup> Alan V. Murray, "Baldwin II and His Nobles: Baronial Factionalism and Dissent in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1118–1134," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 38 (1994): 60–85; Alan V. Murray, "Dynastic Continuity or Dynastic Change? The Accession of Baldwin II and the Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Medieval Prosopography* 13, no. 1 (1992): 1–27; Alan V. Murray, "The Grand Designs of Gilbert of Assailly: The Order of the Hospital in the Projected Conquest of Egypt by King Amalric of Jerusalem (1168–1169)," *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 20, (2015): 7–24. While the first two articles were written before or at the same time as *Fiefs and Vassals*, Murray still maintains the idea that king and aristocracy had opposed interests in his later third article.

against Melisende in 1152, and Amalric's divorce from Agnes of Courtenay in 1163 all represent the crown's inability to resist the power and impulses of the baronial class in Jerusalem. In the first case, Hugh of Jaffa's revolt forced Fulk to acknowledge Melisende, daughter of Baldwin II and the source of Fulk's legitimacy, as his co-ruler. As a native to the Latin East, the east Franks preferred Melisende over Fulk, who came to Jerusalem from Anjou and did not have a crusading legacy. In the second case, the barons of Jerusalem had abandoned Melisende in favor of her son because she had outstayed her welcome as regent and they preferred the rule of a king over a queen. In the third, Amalric was forced to acquiesce to baronial demands and divorce Agnes, whom he allegedly stole from his vassal Hugh of Ibelin, because the barons could potentially depose him and install his cousin, Raymond III of Tripoli, as king.<sup>28</sup> A strong defiant castellan class is one of the essential characteristics of early feudalism. According to Meyer, this sensibility would seem to have survived in the Latin East into the twelfth century.

Related to the language of feudalism is Mayer's preference for charter evidence for the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem rather than the narrative chronicle of William of Tyre. Mayer believes that William, a court historian who owed his career to royal patronage, would have protected the reputation of the royal house by obfuscating events that risked undermining their prestige – such as a civil war between Melisende and Baldwin III. In this specific case, Mayer believes that William was a partisan of Melisende's because he was laudatory of her abilities and emphasized her right to rule as queen.<sup>29</sup> Charters, on the other hand, were legal documents produced in a specific time and place and thus more likely to represent the realities of the era in which they were produced. Mayer uses William for chronology and some context but predominately relied on charters to reconstruct political circumstances and events.

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<sup>28</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende": 95-182; Hans Eberhard Mayer, "The Beginnings of King Amalric of Jerusalem" in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992), pp. 121-35

<sup>29</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende": 98-9

Alan V. Murray, building on what Mayer has argued, sees baronial opposition happening earlier still. According to Murray, the idea that Baldwin II's reign was one of uncontested royal strength is a simplification. Rather, the factionalism that plagued Jerusalem after Baldwin II's death was formed under and encouraged by the king.<sup>30</sup> Baldwin II's own accession to the throne in 1118 was on unstable legal ground: Godfrey and Baldwin I's older brother, Eustace of Boulogne, was still alive and was the heir presumptive to the throne. According to Murray, Baldwin II, a distant relative of the Boulogne family, became king because of the support of the so-called pragmatists, such as Joscelin of Courtenay. They argued that naming Baldwin king now was preferable to undergoing an *interregnum*, and thus a leaderless kingdom in a hostile land, while they waited for Eustace to arrive. Thus Baldwin was indebted to the established barons in the kingdom. However, Baldwin appointed his kinsmen from Europe, who were mostly newcomers, to positions of authority and granted them important lordships to balance the power held by the established barons.<sup>31</sup> This factionalism between newly arrived kin of the king and the established veterans of the First Crusade, according to Murray, defined the crises and conflicts within the kingdom during Baldwin II and Fulk's reigns.

Government, whether medieval or modern, is a collaborative venture, both in its ideal form and in its daily practical realities. For a king to rule, he required the assent of and collaboration with his nobles and bishops in order to protect and expand the borders as well as dispense justice throughout the kingdom. For a noble to both survive and thrive within the royal political apparatus, he needed to maintain good faith and establish close connections with the king in order to ensure his position and influence royal policy. In short, the king and the elites of the kingdom formed a political community. As Reynolds has indicated, the ideal for the

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<sup>30</sup> Murray, "Baldwin II and His Nobles": 61

<sup>31</sup> Ibid: 64-76

Kingdom of Jerusalem – and, indeed, most kingdoms of the era – was one where the king and his subjects formed a community that worked together for the profit and benefit of the kingdom.

While the realities of the twelfth century often fell short of this ideal, the fractiousness and factionalism that formed during eras of mounting crises do not imply an inherent structural conflict between the king and his lords. The nobility desired a strong king and one they could work with for the benefit of the kingdom as a whole.<sup>32</sup> Not just in Jerusalem, Reynolds has shown the continued existence of and concern for public institutions and justice in the face of royal collapse as well as the importance of royal political communities.<sup>33</sup>

If we apply these observations about kingship more broadly to the work of Mayer, Prawer, Ellenblum, and others, it is possible to reach a markedly new interpretation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. This dissertation will do so with a particular focus on what seems at first glance the era of greatest crisis, the reigns of Baldwin III and Amalric. No monograph has focused on these two figures. Those works that do discuss the two royal brothers are more interested in the alleged decline in royal authority during their reigns rather than how the two kings practiced kingship. This dissertation seeks to fill that gap and contribute to our understanding of the changing character of kingship during their reigns. By using models developed in other areas of medieval history, it becomes clear that Baldwin and Amalric sought

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<sup>32</sup> Reynolds, “Fiefs and Vassals in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem: A View from the West”: 29-48

<sup>33</sup> See Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) and Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984). As Reynolds states, “Medieval values laid great stress on authority and especially on the authority of kings. Kingdoms were seen as communities and so were lesser lordships within them. Within each community responsibility lay on those who were often referred to as its better and wiser members... What held noble society together therefore, so far as it was held together, was the same values that held the rest of society together... (Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, p. 476).” For more about the development of royal government during and after the collapse of the Carolingians, see Stuart Airlie, *Making and Unmaking the Carolingians: 751-888* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2021); Dominique Barthélemy, *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian*, transl. Graham Robert Edwards (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Horst Löflein, *Royal Power in the Late Carolingian Age : Charles III the Simple and His Predecessors*, (Modern Academic Publishing, 2019); Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Nelson, *Charles The Bald*; Charles West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation between Marne and Moselle, c.800-c.1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

out alternative ideas of royal authority and were able to do so only because they had secured their positions with their barons against potential political rivals.

### *Historical Writing and William of Tyre*

William of Tyre's *Historia Ierosolimitana* is the best narrative source we have for the reigns of Baldwin III and Amalric, indeed for the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem up to 1185. An active member of the royal courts of Amalric and Baldwin IV, William was well-positioned to experience the daily workings of government, witness and investigate the kind of kingship practiced by the brother kings, and contemplate the place of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the political and cosmological order. However, surprisingly few publications have been written about him or his work.<sup>34</sup> Scholarship concerning William of Tyre culminated in a biography of the chronicler by Peter Edbury and John Rowe. Despite covering the breadth of William of Tyre's nearly one-thousand page chronicle, Edbury and Rowe's overview is at times sparse and concerned with William's broad concerns rather than focusing on the particular elements of his *Historia*. In their analysis, Edbury and Rowe argue that William is not entirely useful for understanding the Kingdom of Jerusalem at the height of its influence. Rather, William was writing at a time when Jerusalem was on its back foot, willing to sacrifice sovereignty for military aid from the West. In response, William set out to write an *apologia* for the royal family, to "vindicate the monarchy and to present it as an inspiration for the future."<sup>35</sup> William's own partisanship, according to Edbury and Rowe, is muted in the text as "he was contented to take on

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<sup>34</sup> A.C. Krey, "William of Tyre: The Making of an Historian in the Middle Ages." *Speculum*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Apr. 1943): 149-66; R.H.C. Davis, "William of Tyre," in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. Derek Baker. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), pp. 64-76; D.W.T.C. Vessey, "William of Tyre and the Art of Historiography," *Mediaeval Studies* Vol. 35 (1973): 433-55.

<sup>35</sup> Peter Edbury and John Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 64-5.

the role of the competent chronicler. In this he was concerned to present a string of events and facts held together by threads of causation and chronology.”<sup>36</sup> Through his competent recounting of events, he sought to edify his audience about the character of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, a subject that he knew intimately.

Due to the monumental size and breadth of William’s work, key and revelatory details are lost in the broad outlook of Edbury and Rowe’s analysis. For example, they indicate that Einhard and, by extension, Suetonius are among the literary and historical influences for William of Tyre, seen most prominently in his descriptions of appearance and character of the kings of Jerusalem. Meanwhile, while biblical quotes and allusions are present, they are sparse compared to the length of the work as a whole.<sup>37</sup> Why would William choose to follow the model of classical and Carolingian imperial biography when describing the kings of Jerusalem over the biblical models of kings found in David and Solomon, evidence for whom could be found throughout the cities and countryside of the kingdom? Furthermore, William’s muted religiosity is attributed to his willingness to find simple and mundane explanations for events and his belief that the monarchy was not subservient to the *sacerdotium*.<sup>38</sup> However, there is little discussion about the times when William deployed overt religious discussion, such as his conversation with Amalric about proof of the general resurrection and life after death,<sup>39</sup> or when he was unable to provide a mundane explanation for events, such as the mysterious white knight who led Baldwin III’s army to safety after the king’s failed campaign to take Bostrum in 1147.<sup>40</sup> In other words, while a broad view can give us the general thrust of William of Tyre’s purpose for his work, only

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p. 168.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, pp. 39-40, 71-5

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, pp. 42, 85-9

<sup>39</sup> WT, pp. 867-8

<sup>40</sup> WT, pp. 733-4



a detailed analysis can provide insight into William's ideas about the ideals of kings and kingship in Jerusalem.

Carolingian scholars provide a useful model for understanding the ideological and methodological choices of William of Tyre. In their respective assessments of Einhard, both David Ganz and Jason Glenn note that Einhard, purported friend of Charlemagne and author of the *Vita Karoli Magni*, had set out to write a new kind of biography inspired by the classical model provided by Suetonius' *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars* – one in which Charlemagne is presented as explicitly Roman in bearing and implicitly Christian in character. According to Ganz, Einhard avoided describing Charlemagne in an overt religious manner because his greatness extended beyond religion and his faith. Therefore, Suetonius provided the framework and vocabulary for Einhard to portray Charlemagne's imperial greatness.<sup>41</sup> As Glenn notes, Einhard's description of Charlemagne's habits and proclivities mirror very closely those of Augustus, albeit with varying details. He chose Augustus to not only borrow the vocabulary and characteristics associated with emperors but to infuse Charlemagne's royal Frankish identity with the authority and legitimacy of classical imperial Rome: "It is such a Frankish emperor that Einhard, inspired perhaps by the imperial coronation of 800, sought to create. In the process, by drawing on the Suetonian exemplar of the first emperor of the Romans, he offered... a new way to think about and to present the deeds of a ruler."<sup>42</sup> A momentous event such as Charlemagne's imperial coronation required new frameworks in order to understand just how powerful the paradigm shift was. Like Einhard, William of Tyre sought to tell the story of a kingdom born out of an event just as momentous as the imperial coronation of 800. How William deployed his

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<sup>41</sup> David Ganz, "Einhard's Charlemagne: The Characterization of Greatness" in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 44-9

<sup>42</sup> Jason Glenn, "Between Two Empires: Einhard and His Charles the Great" in *The Middle Ages in Texts and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2011), p. 113

influences and rhetoric is just as important as what he chronicled and can be just as revealing as the factual details he displayed or hid.

More studies concerning William of Tyre's *Historia* have emerged in recent years. Alan Murray investigates how William used biblical quotes in his work, concluding that not all of his allusions and references were conscious references to biblical truths but were unconscious pieces of his literary style.<sup>43</sup> Benjamin Kedar provides evidence that William may have been in the midst of rewriting his chronicle before his death, arguing that some changes were made in response to the chronicler's experience at the Third Lateran Council.<sup>44</sup> Andrew Buck has written several articles about William. In the first, he looks at how William used gender as a tool of praise and criticism when discussing his female subjects, such as Melisende or Alice of Antioch. In the second, he argues that William's narrative of the First Crusade adheres to the literary motif of *translatio imperii* as a means to provide legal validity for the existence of the crusader states.<sup>45</sup> Ivo Wolsing identifies that William used Livy as a literary framework for the *Historia*. In particular, he argues that William used the Livian argument that Roman exposure to eastern wealth caused the decline of the Republic in order to explain the decline of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>46</sup> Julian Yolles places William's work in the context of literary patronage and output in the Latin East.<sup>47</sup> These new studies of William suggest that the somewhat skeptical reading of

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<sup>43</sup> Alan V. Murray, "Biblical Quotations and Formulaic Language in the Chronicle of William of Tyre" in *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders Presented to Peter Edbury*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Helen Nicholson (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), pp. 25-34

<sup>44</sup> Benjamin Kedar, "Some New Light on the Composition Process of William of Tyre's *Historia*" in *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders Presented to Peter Edbury*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Helen Nicholson (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), pp. 3-12

<sup>45</sup> Andrew Buck, "William of Tyre, Femininity, and the Problem of the Antiochene Princesses," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70, no. 4 (2019): 731-49; Andrew Buck, "William of Tyre, *Translatio Imperii* and the Genesis of the First Crusade: Or, the Challenges of Writing History," *History: The Journal of the Historical Association* 107, no. 377 (2022): 624-50

<sup>46</sup> Ivo Wolsing, "William of Tyre, Orientalism and the (De)Construction of Latin Identity in Twelfth-century Jerusalem," *Medieval Encounters* 28, no. 6 (2022): 485-516

<sup>47</sup> Julian Yolles, *Making the East Latin: The Latin Literature of the Levant in the Era of the Crusades* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2022), pp. 177-217

Edbury and Rowe is ripe for revision. As this dissertation will demonstrate, William's text is as valuable and revealing, or at least no more misleading, than the charter evidence that Mayer and other writers have tended to elevate when writing about Jerusalem.

## **The Current Study**

This dissertation is divided into four chapters. The first chapter, titled "*Dei gratia Ierosolimorum regina: Expressions of Melisende's Royal Authority as Queen Regnant and Joint Ruler, 1131-1152 CE*," focuses on Baldwin III and Amalric's mother, Melisende. One must start with Melisende because her life determined the outcome of her sons' careers: the basis of her political support relied on her status as the heir to the memory of the First Crusade. Her father, Baldwin II, was among the last of the generation of leaders who came to the Levant during the First Crusade. His death marked the end of that era. However, as his designated heir, Melisende kept the support of other descendants of the First Crusade in the face of opposition from her husband Fulk, an Angevin outsider who had no crusading experience or legacy. Her status as a queen regnant, a ruler who had authority by her own right, meant that her position was not intended to be temporary and allowed her to influence Baldwin III's early conception of his kingship.

The second chapter, titled "*Ad Christianitatis Profectum: The Ideology of 'King-as-Crusader' during the Reign of Baldwin III and Melisende, 1143-1152 CE*," discusses the period when Melisende and Baldwin III ruled as co-monarchs. At the center of this discussion is the development of the "king-as-crusader" ideology that emerged in Jerusalem between the fall of Edessa in 1144 and the arrival of the Second Crusade in 1148. As a response to the growing threat from the Zengid dynasty, Baldwin, supported by Melisende, presented himself as a

crusader who would continue the conquest started by his predecessors. This program appears in the historical works patronized by the royal family, charters issued by Baldwin and Melisende, and William of Tyre's account of Baldwin's failed campaign for Bostrum. The Second Crusade and the arrival of actual crusading kings exposed the limits of Melisende and Baldwin's "king-as-crusader" ideology. Unlike Mayer, who argues that Melisende and Baldwin III quarreled throughout the 1140s, this dissertation contends that the rupture between Melisende and Baldwin III could only happen after the Second Crusade. Its failure led Baldwin to seek the basis of his royal ideology elsewhere and break with Melisende.

The third chapter, titled "*Quos de omni servili conditione liberavimus: Baldwin III, Amalric, and the Byzantification of Royal Authority in Jerusalem, 1152-1174 CE*," focuses on the attempts by Baldwin and Amalric to Byzantify kingship in Jerusalem by adopting the Byzantine Empire's policy of Christian ecumenism and acting as the protector of all Christians in Syria and the Levant. Baldwin began the process by marrying a Byzantine princess, thus entering the world of Byzantine politics, and acting as a mediator for the other Christian states in the region. Following his brother's blueprint, Amalric took Baldwin's policies further by positioning himself as the overlord of Christians and Christian states and even acting as the equal to the Fatimid caliph and the Byzantine emperor. This trend is especially apparent in Amalric's adoption of Byzantine visual language of authority in his coins, seals, and monumental artistic and architectural projects.

The fourth chapter, titled "*Effugientes enim Caribdem, Scillam incurrunt: William of Tyre and the Lasting Influence of the *Historia Ierosolimitana**," meditates on the work of William of Tyre, our primary source for Baldwin and Amalric's reigns. In particular, it focuses on William's intent for the *Historia Ierosolimitana* and the reasons for his criticisms of Amalric,

without whose patronage William would not have climbed the ecclesiastical and political ladders of Jerusalem. William believed Amalric's avarice had corrupted the kingdom and wanted to use the *Historia* to demonstrate both the corruptive power of wealth, to which the Byzantines and Fatimids had already succumbed, and the proper conduct of the king when surrounded by it. This is why William downplayed Amalric's Byzantification policies: despite the king's struggles with avarice, he did not want the kingdom to appear irredeemably lost. As noted above, historians have tended to distrust William's narrative history in favor of charter evidence. Charters, of course, have their own narrative biases born out of their function as legal documents. In dealing with William, as in dealing with charters, one need only define his biases as a way to recognize and evaluate the crucial historical data he provides.

The Kingdom of Jerusalem underwent a rapid transformation during the reigns of Baldwin III and Amalric. The brother kings no longer wanted to base their authority on their status as descendants of the conquerors of the Holy Land. Rather, they wanted to have their rule inextricably tied to the biblical. Just as those landscapes belonged to all Christendom, so their authority grew out of their obligation as protectors of this universal inheritance. In other words, they wanted to be sons and lords of the east, not merely descendants of its conquerors. Baldwin III may have started his reign as an aspiring crusader king, but Amalric, building on his brother's foundations, ended his as a Byzantine-style ruler.

## Chapter 1

### *Dei gratia Ierosolimorum regina: Expressions of Melisende's Royal Authority as Queen Regnant and Joint Ruler, 1131-1152 CE*

When Baldwin III was crowned king of Jerusalem in 1143, he was not the sole and undisputed master of his realm. Indeed, his anointing and coronation ceremony all but confirmed this reality. According to William of Tyre, before all the prelates and princes of Jerusalem, Baldwin “was solemnly anointed, consecrated, and, with his mother, crowned through the hand of Lord William, of blessed memory patriarch of Jerusalem.”<sup>48</sup> His mother, Queen Melisende, herself had been anointed as monarch a decade prior when she and her husband, Fulk of Anjou (r. 1131-1143), succeeded her father, Baldwin II (r. 1118-1131), to the throne.<sup>49</sup> Prior to his death, Baldwin II granted Melisende, Fulk, and the younger Baldwin “the care and full power of the kingdom.”<sup>50</sup> In other words, there was no intent for Baldwin III to wield royal power alone. His was to be a joint rule with his mother, “a woman most prudent” and one who had “an almost complete experience of all secular affairs.”<sup>51</sup> Ideally, they could attend to the administration, defense, and expansion of the kingdom without leaving any one aspect of the royal office unattended in favor for another.

Nevertheless, it is easy to assume that Melisende's position did not extend much beyond that of a consort, a regent, or a queen mother. In these roles, she derived her authority from her proximity to the men in her life rather than holding it for herself. According to many twelfth-century chroniclers, she never held royal authority as a regent or regnant.<sup>52</sup> Essentially, what had

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<sup>48</sup> WT, 16.3, p. 717. “...per manus domini Willelmi, bone memorie Ierosolimorum patriarche, sollempniter inunctus, consecratus et cum matre coronatus est.”

<sup>49</sup> WT, 14.2, p. 633-4

<sup>50</sup> WT, 13.28, p. 625. “...regni curam et plenam eis tradidit potestatem...”

<sup>51</sup> WT, 16.3, p. 717. “Erat autem mater mulier prudentissima, plenam pene in omnibus secularibus negociis habens experientiam...”

<sup>52</sup> In this context, a regent is a proxy who holds royal authority in the place of the monarch for various reasons. These include: monarch is below the age of majority, they are incapacitated by injury or illness, or they are away on

been given to Fulk was passed to Baldwin III upon the death of his father. Melisende, meanwhile, remained unseen and forgotten.<sup>53</sup> To modern historians, her position is ambiguous but they acknowledge that Melisende held power in some capacity.<sup>54</sup> Despite these claims, however, Melisende not only held royal power for herself but her position as queen regnant co-ruling with kings defined how Baldwin III and (to a lesser extent) Amalric expressed and used their own royal power. Melisende's shadow was long and, for Baldwin III, inescapable. How did Melisende escape the machinations of her husband, Fulk, to rule the kingdom himself and secure her position as his royal equal? How did her supporters believe her royal attributes manifested and how did they justify a woman ruling when there were viable male alternatives? How did Melisende express her authority – as regent or regnant – during the early years of her joint rule with Baldwin III?

This chapter will be divided into three parts. The first part will investigate the ambiguity surrounding Baldwin II's succession plans. According to the terms of Baldwin II's deathbed decree, Melisende was granted full power as monarch in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, subordinate to neither her husband nor her son. However, in the years following Baldwin II's death, Fulk attempted and failed to exclude Melisende from her inheritance. Twelfth-century chroniclers

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a military campaign or embassy to a foreign land. A famous example includes the regency of George IV from 1811 to 1820. During this period, George III was overcome by a debilitating mental illness and was unable to fulfill his royal duties. The Regency Act of 1811 declared that his son, the future King George IV, would be named prince regent and was charged with fulfilling the royal duties in his father's name. A regnant is a ruler who holds royal authority through their own right. This term is often used to distinguish between queens regnant, such as Queen Elizabeth II, and queens consort, such as Queen Camilla. Elizabeth inherited her position from her father, George VI, upon his death while Camilla holds hers through her marriage to the current reigning monarch of the United Kingdom, Charles III.

<sup>53</sup> This will be discussed in full later in the chapter. These examples include: Orderic Vitalis, the anonymous author of *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum*, and Robert of Torigni.

<sup>54</sup> Bernard Hamilton, "Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem, 1100-90," *Medieval Women: Dedicated and Presented to Professor M.T. Hill on the Occasion of her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1978), pp. 143-74; Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 93-182; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. ; Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 149-99; Jonathan Philips, *Holy Warriors: A Modern History of the Crusades* (New York: Random House, 2009), pp. 51-75

assumed that Fulk was Baldwin II's sole heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, often failing to name Melisende and excluding her from discussions of inheritance following both Baldwin II's and Fulk's deaths. This assumption by medieval chroniclers has led some modern historians, especially Mayer, to believe that Melisende's exercise of royal authority was anomalous. Fulk (and later Baldwin) should have been able to act as king without her. However, I contend that Fulk would not have been able to weather the leadership crises that faced the Latin East without Melisende. For the leaders of Latin East, Melisende was essential for the legitimacy of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The second part will compare the historical memory of Melisende and her contemporary (as well as relative by marriage), Empress Matilda of England. Both queens were the eldest legitimate daughters and chosen heirs of their respective fathers, Baldwin II and Henry I of England. Both were supplanted (with varying degrees of success) by men who believed they had a greater right to the throne. For Melisende, it was her husband. For Matilda, it was her cousin, Stephen of Blois. Both also had considerable support for their claims, from certain sections of the nobility as well as the pens of notable chroniclers, such as William of Tyre and William of Malmesbury. Moreover, opposition to their rule could not and did not come from their gender but hinged on the deployment of legal or customary arguments, however flimsy they may have been. Through a comparison of the accounts of Melisende and Matilda, it becomes clear that women were not excluded from positions of power solely on the basis of their gender.<sup>55</sup> Rather, they needed to be delegitimized the same way their male counterparts were: through legal argumentation based on customary law and genealogical legitimacy.

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<sup>55</sup> Natasha Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 75-84; Georges Duby, "Women and Power" in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 69-88; Anne Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: proceedings of a conference held at King's College London, April 1995* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997).



Part three will explore Melisende's precise position within the royal government following the accession of Baldwin III. Did she hold royal authority for herself or was she supposed to be her son's regent until he came of age? In addition to William of Tyre and his Latin west contemporaries, contemporary eastern Christian and Muslim chronicles from Syria, such as Michael the Syrian and Ibn al-Qalanisi, will be used in addition to the charter evidence from the Kingdom of Jerusalem for the period from 1143 until 1152. While they vary as to how they represented Melisende's royal power, sources from the east, when taken as a whole, confirm that not only did Melisende hold royal authority but also held it as a fully invested monarch of the kingdom, not as her son's regent. As such, she was empowered to act on her own and issue charters without her son's presence or confirmation. Her actions between 1143 and 1152 were not incongruent with her contemporary monarchs who crowned their children in their lifetime, such as Louis VI and his sons Philip and Louis VII, or who empowered their children to act on their behalf, such as Matilda and her son Henry II prior to the end of the Anarchy. Though scholars like Mayer argue that Melisende unjustly usurped her son's position by remaining in power longer than she should have, Melisende was as much her son's equal as the queen regnant of Jerusalem.<sup>56</sup>

### **Fulk v. Melisende**

Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, died August 21, 1131, having ruled for thirteen years. The final years of his reign were marked by anxiety over the succession to the throne. While he was far more successful producing children than either Godfrey or Baldwin I, he and his wife had only daughters: Melisende, the eldest and heir apparent of Jerusalem; Alice, princess of Antioch and wife of Bohemond II; Hodierna, countess of Tripoli and wife of Raymond II; and Ioveta,

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<sup>56</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem":113-81

future founder and abbess of the convent of St. Lazarus of Bethany. This absence of a male heir led Baldwin, like Henry I in England, to seek a suitable husband for his daughter Melisende.

Like Henry I, he turned to the county of Anjou and selected Count Fulk V in 1128, promising the title of “king” in addition to Melisende’s hand. He also made it a practice to include Melisende in the administration of the kingdom. As noted by Mayer, Baldwin viewed his daughter as his heir given that he sought and included her consent on several royal charters between 1128, when Fulk was promised Melisende and the kingdom, and 1131.<sup>57</sup> However, in order to placate the count or assure him that he would be king rather than a consort, Baldwin also included Fulk in charters during the latter years of his reign.

The precise character of Baldwin II’s plans – if Fulk was to rule alone as king or in collaboration with Melisende as king and queen regnant – is muddled. According to William of Tyre, in his offer to Fulk, Baldwin II promised that “the first-born daughter of the king [Melisende] would be handed over to him [Fulk] in marriage, with the expectation of the royal office after the death of the king.”<sup>58</sup> Mayer observed that these terms indicated Baldwin II intended to make Fulk king of Jerusalem, with all its related duties and privileges, rather than a consort for Melisende. Indeed, Mayer believed that the original deal between Baldwin II and Fulk made the Angevin count the *sole* heir of the kingdom, relegating Melisende to an inferior position in relation to her husband. A charter issued in the months before Fulk and Melisende’s wedding on Pentecost 1129 by Baldwin II referred to Melisende as *filia regis et regni*

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<sup>57</sup> WT, 13.24, pp. 618-9; Mayer, “History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem”: 98-9; UKJ 124, pp. 287-8; Natasha Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 76-7. For more detail about the succession, see Hans Eberhard Mayer, “The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985): 139-47

<sup>58</sup> WT, 13.24, p. 618. “...ei primogenita regis filia cum spe regni post regis obitum traderetur.”

*Ierosolimitani haeres*<sup>59</sup> while later charters from 1130 and 1131 dropped the *regni Ierosolimitani haeres* from her name.<sup>60</sup> For Mayer, this meant that the chancery had updated its language to reflect Fulk's new position as sole heir – despite the charters never referring to Fulk as *haeres*.<sup>61</sup> It is no surprise that Fulk desired such assurances from Baldwin given the history of succession disputes in Anjou, including Fulk's own inheritance of the county, and given Baldwin II's contested election to the throne of Jerusalem.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, by agreeing to marry Melisende, Fulk would have been giving up the security and stability of his home for the more dangerous, albeit more prestigious, office of king of Jerusalem.

When Baldwin II was on his deathbed in August 1131, he chose to alter the terms of the deal, presuming Mayer's reading of the evidence is correct. Sick and dying in the palace of the

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<sup>59</sup> UKJ 109, *Die Urkunden der Lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem (Diplomata Regum Latinorum)*, vol. 1, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2010), p. 269. Charters from any volume from this collection will be referred to as UKJ plus their number (i.e. UKJ 109, as seen above)

<sup>60</sup> UKJ 124, p. 288. While this charter is undated, Mayer states that Fulk's inclusion and Melisende's reduced status indicates it was issued between Pentecost 1129 and Baldwin's death on August 21, 1131. For more on the timeline of charters, see Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 98-100

<sup>61</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, pp. 99-100. It is important to note that Bernard Hamilton contests Mayer's analysis, stating that the terms established in 1129 do not explicitly exclude Melisende from inheriting the full power of the kingdom. Moreover, according to Hamilton, the fact both Melisende and Fulk were included together in UKJ 124 meant that Baldwin II associated both of them with him and therefore the inheritance. Cf. Bernard Hamilton, "Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem, 1100-90," *Medieval Women: Dedicated and Presented to Professor M.T. Hill on the Occasion of her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1978), pp. 143-74. Mayer makes an amendment to Fulk's intentions for the 1129 agreement in Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem": 139-47. Mayer says that Fulk would only agree to marry Melisende if Baldwin II guaranteed that Melisende would be his legitimate heir, his concerns stemming from the succession problems in England and Henry I's attempts to have his daughter, Empress Matilda, recognized as his heir brought about by the White Ship disaster of 1120. However, as will be explained further in this study, Fulk – as well as many contemporary and near-contemporary chroniclers – *expected* that he would be the only one to wield real royal authority in the Kingdom of Jerusalem while Melisende would remain an unnamed ornament/tool for Fulk's legitimacy. This, I believe, lends credence to Mayer's original analysis in "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem" and better explains Fulk's actions following the death of Baldwin II.

<sup>62</sup> Andrew Lewis, "Anticipatory Association of the Heir in Early Capetian France," *The American Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (1978), pp. 916-7; Bernard S. Bachrach, "Henry II and the Angevin Tradition of Family Hostility," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 16, no. 2 (1984): 111-30; Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making 843-1180* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 184-90; Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II": 142; Murray, *Baldwin of Bourcq: Count of Edessa and King of Jerusalem (1100-1131)*; Alan V. Murray, "Dynastic Continuity or Dynastic Change? The Accession of Baldwin II and the Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Medieval Prosopography* 13, no. 1 (1992): 1-27; Murray, *Baldwin II and His Nobles*: 60-85; Nicholas L. Paul, "Origo Consulm: rumours of murder, a crisis of lordship, and the legendary origins of the Counts of Anjou," *French History* 29, no. 2 (2015): 139-60

patriarch of Jerusalem, chosen because the king desired to be “closer to the place of the resurrection of the Lord” so that “He [the Lord] may make him [Baldwin] a participant in His resurrection,”<sup>63</sup> Baldwin II summoned Melisende, Fulk, and their son Baldwin – barely a year old at the time – to his bedside. It was here that Baldwin II, “in the presence of the lord patriarch and the prelates of the Church and some from the princes who were by chance present, committed to them [Melisende, Fulk, and Baldwin] the care and full power of the kingdom,”<sup>64</sup> making all three heirs to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Why did Baldwin II change his agreement with Fulk so late in the game? Mayer posits that Baldwin II did not want Fulk to alienate Melisende and exclude her and Baldwin from their inheritance, setting them aside in favor of a new wife or his children from his previous marriage. Such fear was not unwarranted as Fulk’s father “changed his wives more frequently than his coat-of-mail”<sup>65</sup> and Philip I of France, more infamously, repudiated his wife Bertha of Holland in favor of Fulk’s mother, Bertrade of Montfort, in 1092. Baldwin II was likely living in France at this time and witness to these shenanigans.<sup>66</sup> Under the terms of Baldwin’s final testament, Fulk could not exclude Melisende or Baldwin from their inheritance and remain the legitimate ruler of the kingdom. Baldwin II’s deathbed amendment was accepted by the leading men of the kingdom as Fulk and Melisende were both consecrated and crowned in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on September 14, 1131.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> WT, 13.28, p. 625. “...in domum domini patriarche, quia loco dominice resurrectionis erat vicinior, se transferri precepit, spem habens in Eo qui mortem ibi devicerat, quod sue resurrectionis faceret eum participem.”

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 13.28, p. 625. “...coram positus domino patriarcha et ecclesiarum prelati et de principibus nonnullis, qui forte aderant, regni curam et plenam eis tradidit potestatem...”

<sup>65</sup> Mayer, “History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem,”:100-2

<sup>66</sup> Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. John Moorhead and Richard Cusimano (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992), pp. 27, 40, 60; Orderic Vitalis, *Orderici Vitalis Angligenae, Coenobii Uticensis Monachi, Historiae ecclesiasticae libri tredecim*, volume 3, ed. August Le Provost (Paris: J. Renouard et Socios, 1838), 8.20, pp. 386-91; WT, 14.1, pp. 631-3; Matthew Gabriele, “Not so strange bedfellows: new thoughts on King Philip I of Francia's marriage to Bertrada of Montfort,” *Journal of Medieval History* 46, no. 5 (2020): 499-512;

<sup>67</sup> WT, 14.2, pp. 633-4

Nevertheless, this apparently new arrangement did not stop Fulk from attempting to exercise unilateral authority within the kingdom. The royal charters and William's account of Fulk's actions prior to 1134 do not include Melisende as co-issuer or co-ruler, suggesting that Fulk claimed sole authority with no intent of allowing his wife any access to it.<sup>68</sup> Fulk acting alone was not contrary to expectations of the time. Indeed, many twelfth-century accounts about Fulk's marriage to Melisende expected that Fulk ruled without Melisende's input and that Baldwin III came into his inheritance as the sole ruler of Jerusalem after Fulk died in 1143. Orderic Vitalis, an English monk who wrote while Fulk was still alive, mentioned the marriage of Fulk and Melisende and their succession several times in his massive chronicle. Despite living most of his life at the Abbey of Saint-Evroul in Normandy, Orderic was well-informed of the events of the Latin East. Sitting at the crossroads of the Norman world, the abbey had a wide network of secular patrons from Normandy, Southern Italy, and Antioch and thus Orderic had access to eyewitness testimonies of people who had traveled to the crusader states.<sup>69</sup> In his section about Baldwin I's takeover of the county of Edessa, he describes the succession order of both Edessa and Jerusalem, stating that "[t]hen Fulk, count of Anjou, proceeded to Jerusalem on pilgrimage, and accepted Melisende, the daughter of Baldwin II, in marriage with the

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<sup>68</sup> WT, 14.3-18, pp. 634-56; UKJ 128, pp. 296-8; UKJ 129, pp. 298-300; UKJ 130, pp. 300-2; Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 102-10; Hamilton, "Queens of Jerusalem," pp. 149-51. Because Fulk was acting as regent for Constance of Antioch in UKJ 129 and UKJ 130, one could make the argument that he did not need Melisende's consent or advice to act as such. However, much like all of his power in the Levant, he gained his position as regent of Antioch, one that Baldwin II carried out until his death, through his marriage to Melisende. It stands to reason, then, that Melisende was invested with the full power of the regency as part of her inheritance of the royal office.

<sup>69</sup> Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 58-85; Marjorie Chibnall, "Introduction" in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, Volume VI: Books XI, XII, and XIII*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. xvii-xxi; Daniel Roach, "Saint-Evroul and Southern Italy in Orderic's *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works, and Interpretations*, ed. Charles C. Rozier, Daniel Roach, Giles E. M. Gasper, and Elisabeth M. C. van Houts (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2016), pp. 78-99; Charles C. Rozier, "Repairing the loss of the past: the use of written, oral and physical evidence in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis (c.1113-42)," *Historical Research : the Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 92, no. 257 (2019): 461-78

kingdom.”<sup>70</sup> Later, when he described Bohemond II’s tenure as prince of Antioch, Orderic said that Baldwin II took possession of the principality after Bohemond II’s untimely death “until he left [it] to his successor Fulk of Anjou, whom he had made heir.”<sup>71</sup> Later still, when discussing the marriage of Empress Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet, Fulk’s son and heir of Anjou, he stated that after Matilda and Geoffrey’s marriage had been legitimately celebrated:

Count Fulk once more proceeded to Jerusalem, and received the daughter of King Baldwin II in marriage, and without difficulty took possession of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Principality of Antioch, which the most renowned warriors [of the First Crusade] obtained with difficulty. Likewise his aged father-in-law offered the royal diadem to him, but he, junior in rank, refused to take possession of it with him [Baldwin II] living.<sup>72</sup>

Despite mentioning Melisende by name, Orderic presented her as a political prop for Fulk’s legitimacy. In each example, he described Fulk as receiving the kingdom with Melisende’s hand in marriage, as Baldwin II’s heir to the kingdom, or as both. Indeed, the anecdote about Baldwin II offering the royal diadem to Fulk demonstrates that Orderic Vitalis did not doubt who held the reins of power after Baldwin II’s death. Fulk exercised royal authority; Melisende was the means of its legitimacy.

Orderic Vitalis, at the very least, had the decency to grant Melisende the benefit of her own name. Other twelfth-century chroniclers were not so kind. For example, the anonymous author of the *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum*, a chronicle about the counts of Anjou and thus concerned with their prestige, kept Melisende nameless despite his apparent concern

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<sup>70</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. 3, 9.11, pp. 570-1. “Deinde Fulco, Andegavensis comes, in Jerusalem peregre perrexit, et Milesendam, secundi Balduini filiam, in conjugem cum regno accepit.”

<sup>71</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. 4, 11.29, p. 268. “... donec Fulconi Andegavino, successori suo, quem heredem fecerat, dimisit.”

<sup>72</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. 4, 12.47, pp. 498-9. “Horum nuptiis legitime celebratis, Fulco comes iterum Jerusalem perrexit, et filiam Balduini regis II in conjugem accepit, regnumque Jerusalem, et principatum Antiochia, quae famoissimi bellatores vix obtinuerant, facile possedit. Diadema quoque maturus socer illi obtulit, sed illo vivente junior ferre recusavit.”

with demonstrating Baldwin II's (and, therefore, Fulk's) legitimacy as king of Jerusalem.<sup>73</sup>

According to him, Fulk, "having been united in matrimony with the daughter of the king, became the king of Jerusalem."<sup>74</sup> The chronicler stated, as if to remove Melisende from the succession altogether, that once Fulk died, "the Jerusalemites appointed for themselves his son Baldwin [as] king [of Jerusalem]."<sup>75</sup> In his interpolation of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, Robert of Torigni also describes Fulk as Baldwin II's successor, leaving Melisende unnamed.<sup>76</sup> Writing decades later, the English chronicler Roger of Howden, much like the anonymous writer of *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum*, wrote that Fulk succeeded Baldwin II and, after Fulk died, Baldwin III succeeded him. While Roger recorded that she was crowned with Fulk, Melisende's primary role was that of the mother who bore Fulk's sons, both kings after him, and was not included with Baldwin III as monarch following Fulk's death.<sup>77</sup> In short, most chroniclers who wrote about the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the twelfth century believed that Fulk succeeded Baldwin II as his primary heir and that he was the one who exercised royal authority, not Melisende.

Unlike the Western chroniclers, William of Tyre knew about Baldwin II granting Fulk, Melisende, and Baldwin III as a group the "care and full power of the kingdom." It is likely that his closeness to Amalric and access to the kingdom's chancery during his tenure as chancellor

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<sup>73</sup> Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem": 142

<sup>74</sup> *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. Louis Halphen and Rene Poupardin (Paris: August Picard, 1913), p. 69. "...filie regis matrimonio copulatus, rex Jerusalem effectus est."

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, p. 71. "...cuius filium Balduinum Jerosolomite regem sibi contituunt."

<sup>76</sup> William of Jumieges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. Jean Marx (Rouen: A. Lestringant, 1913), pp. 300, 317-8

<sup>77</sup> Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houdene, Vol. I*, ed. William Stubbs (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), pp. 186, 274-5. While Roger of Howden recorded that Melisende was crowned with Fulk, it does not mean that he believed Melisende held any royal authority. Queen consorts, whether already married prior to or after their husbands succeeded the throne, were anointed and crowned with their husbands. For examples in the Latin East, see Baldwin III's marriage to Theodora Komnena, WT, 18.22, pp. 842-4; and Amalric's marriage to Maria Komnena, WT, 20.1, p. 913. For an example from Roger of Howden, see Richard the Lionheart's marriage to Berengaria of Navarre, Roger of Howden, *Chronica, Vol. III*, p. 110. For examples in Capetian sources, see the coronations of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine in Suger, *Deeds*, pp. 150, 157.

revealed to him otherwise inaccessible information about the government of Jerusalem. Either Amalric, perhaps learning of Baldwin II's deathbed arrangement directly from Melisende, related it to William during one of their conversations or the archbishop had found reference to the new arrangement within the royal archives of Jerusalem. It would not be the first time western chroniclers had incomplete information about the Kingdom of Jerusalem. For example, multiple accounts of the First Crusade produced in the west, including Orderic Vitalis, said that Godfrey was elected as king of Jerusalem despite the fact that, according to writers working in the Latin East, the duke was never crowned and his successors never referred to him as "king" in their charters.<sup>78</sup>

Fulk acting as the sole royal authority in Jerusalem amounted to a silent coup. Though he operated within his bounds as he too was invested with the full power of the kingdom, he acted against the will of the Baldwin II as well as the leading men of the kingdom by excluding Melisende. Moreover, he threatened the fabric of the kingdom's administrative apparatus by replacing the veterans of the First Crusade and their descendants, experienced in not only the customs of the kingdom but also the practices and people of the Levant, with newcomers from Anjou.<sup>79</sup> After nearly two decades as the count of Anjou, one of the most important and

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<sup>78</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. 3, 9.16, pp. 611-4; William of Malmesbury, *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum: Volume 1: The History of the English Kings*, trans. R. A. B. Mynors and ed. R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1998), iv.372-373, pp. 654-61; Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos et Cinq Autres Textes*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnholt: Brepols, 1996), 7.11-13, pp. 284-8. Whenever Godfrey was referenced in charters issued by his successors, he was always called "duke." Moreover, Baldwin I was referred to as the "first king of Jerusalem" as early as the charters for Baldwin II, who referred to himself as the "second king of Jerusalem," and his successors counted down from him. See Baldwin II: UKJ 84, pp. 222-4; UKJ 85, pp. 225-30; UKJ 86, pp. 230-3; UKJ 90, pp. 237-8. Fulk: UKJ 129, pp. 298-300; UKJ 130, pp. 300-2; UKJ 131, pp. 302-4; UKJ 132, pp. 304-8; UKJ 138, pp. 315-21. Baldwin III: UKJ 210, pp. 390-3; UKJ 212, pp. 394-5; UKJ 214, pp. 396-9; UKJ 238, pp. 438-42; UKJ 258, pp. 470-4. The latter two have the distinction of listing out every ruler of Jerusalem with their title and corresponding regnal number. Amalric: UKJ 308, *Die Urkunden der Lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem (Diplomata Regum Latinorum)*, vol. 2, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2010), pp. 533-5; UKJ 310, pp. 536-41; UKJ 311, pp. 541-4; UKJ 312, pp. 545-6; UKJ 313, pp. 547-8. This list is meant to be illustrative, not exhaustive.

<sup>79</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. 4, 12.47, p. 499; Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Anjou," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133, no. 1 (1989): 1-25



wealthiest territories in France, Fulk undoubtedly relied upon the experience he gained governing his county in order to rule Jerusalem. He most likely chose to place men he trusted in the relevant positions of power rather than rely on Baldwin II's appointees. The replacement of east Franks with newcomers and the sidelining of Melisende, Baldwin's chosen heir recognized by the majority of the Latin East, sparked a rebellion against Fulk, among both the nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the leaders of the other three crusader states.

Beyond Fulk's takeover of Jerusalem after Baldwin II's death, the Latin East faced a crisis of leadership in the 1130s. Bohemond II, son of Bohemond I and prince of Antioch (r. 1119-30), was killed in battle by the Danishmend Turks in Anatolia. As a young and able-bodied ruler, the people of Antioch saw Bohemond II as a savior for the principality and, indeed, his reign saw a renewal of Antiochene expansion.<sup>80</sup> His premature death threw the principality into turmoil. According to William of Tyre, because Bohemond II was succeeded by his daughter Constance, a two-year old girl, the people of Antioch feared "that they would once more become plunder for their enemies without the authority of a prince."<sup>81</sup> Because Constance was underage, the regency was taken up by her mother Alice of Antioch, Bohemond II's widow and Baldwin II's second daughter – an arrangement that was scarcely better than the rule of a child for the nobility of Antioch. To say that the Antiochene regent was a controversial figure is an understatement. William of Tyre, our primary source for the life of Alice, was highly critical of her actions, claiming that she had been moved by an evil spirit to disinherit her daughter and take the principality for herself. When she learned that the barons of Antioch had summoned her

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<sup>80</sup> WT, 13.27, pp. 623-5; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130*, pp. 89-90; Thomas Asbridge, "Alice of Antioch: A Case Study of Female Power in the Twelfth Century" in *The Experience of Crusading: Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 30-7; Buck, *Antioch and Its Frontiers*, pp. 22-7; Buck, "The Problem of the Antiochene Princesses": 740-2

<sup>81</sup> WT, 13.27, p. 623. "...ut sine principis officio iterum hostibus preda fierent..."

father to become regent once again, she attempted to bar his entry. However, she was outmaneuvered by the “God-fearing men” who “despised the impudence of the raving woman”<sup>82</sup> and ultimately she submitted to her father. Edessa faced a similar (albeit less traumatic) leadership crisis with the death of Count Joscelin I in 1131, marking the end of the rule of the First Crusade veterans in the Latin East. He was succeeded by his son, Joscelin II, a man who was despised by not only William of Tyre but also Michael the Syrian, a historian and the patriarch of the Jacobite Church (r. 1166-99).<sup>83</sup>

Fulk inherited the regency of Antioch from Baldwin II in addition to the kingdom of Jerusalem. Alice of Antioch, however, had other designs, with implications for how the crusader states as a whole would be governed. Soon after her father’s death, she formed an alliance with Count Pons of Tripoli, Joscelin II, and Lord William of Saone with the intent of opposing Fulk’s overlordship of the Latin East. Indeed, Pons denied Fulk entry into his county, forcing the king to sail around Tripoli to the Antiochene port city of St. Symeon in order to put down Alice’s nascent rebellion. Pons followed Fulk and fortified several castles he held in the southern regions of the principality.<sup>84</sup> However, after he disembarked, Fulk quickly defeated Pons and he was able to take Antioch with little opposition. By the summer of 1132, the king was able to undertake the regency of the principality in full.<sup>85</sup> William is silent concerning the status of Alice, Joscelin, and William of Saone in the immediate aftermath of Fulk’s victory. Joscelin and William survived effectively unscathed. They were not present with Pons in his battle with Fulk and they returned to their lordships following the abortive rebellion. Alice appears to have

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<sup>82</sup> WT, 13.27, p. 624. “Nam in eadem civitate viri deum timentes, insanientis femine contempnentes proterviam...”

<sup>83</sup> WT, 14.3, pp. 634-5; Michael the Syrian, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex)*, ed. and trans. Amir Harrak (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2019), p. 240, 266-8, 280-4

<sup>84</sup> Pons had married Philip I of France’s daughter, Cecilia, who was also the widow of Tancred, the first regent of Antioch (r. 1100-3 and 1104-12). Upon Tancred’s death, Cecilia received the fortresses of Arcicanum and Rugia as her dowry. See WT, 14.5, p. 636

<sup>85</sup> WT, 14.4-5, pp. 635-7; Asbridge, “Alice of Antioch,” pp. 37-9

maintained an independent lordship centered around Latakia and continued issuing charters in her own name up to 1136.<sup>86</sup> However, with the marriage of Constance to Raymond of Poitiers in 1136, her influence in Antiochene politics came to an end.

Soon after quelling the rebellion of the northern crusader states, Fulk faced a second uprising within the Kingdom of Jerusalem. According to William of Tyre, Fulk heard rumors that Melisende was having an affair with Hugh II, the count of Jaffa and a distant relative of Baldwin II. Since this discovery, the king reserved a special hatred for the count and endeavored to disinherit him.<sup>87</sup> Mayer doubts the veracity of the rumors of the affair between Hugh and Melisende as he believes Fulk's response to the rumors was disproportionate to the crime. He argues that the rumors were likely spread by Fulk himself to give him pretext to act against Hugh and to repudiate Melisende. Indeed, Mayer does not think William of Tyre believed in the possibility of an affair because the chronicler said that the reasons for the hatred between king and count were unknown and that the news of the affair existed in rumors.<sup>88</sup> Hamilton agrees with Mayer, stating that if such an affair took place, then public and ecclesiastical opinion would have been supportive of Fulk rather than Melisende.<sup>89</sup> Both conclude that the dispute was political and originated with Fulk's removal of Melisende from power. Hugh of Jaffa, as one of the most prominent barons in the kingdom and a relative of the royal family, was the most likely candidate to lead the queen's party. However, it is more than likely that it could be both: Melisende and Hugh could have had an affair *and* Hugh wanted to restore Melisende's rightful position as queen. William never discusses rumors lightly and only mentions them if he believed

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<sup>86</sup> Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Varia Antiochena: Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1993), pp. 110-2, pp. 113-4; Asbridge, "Alice of Antioch," pp. 39-42

<sup>87</sup> WT, 14.16, pp. 652-3

<sup>88</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem" : 102-10

<sup>89</sup> Hamilton, "Queens of Jerusalem," pp. 149-51

they contained an element of truth. If William did not believe such an affair took place, then he would have never mentioned the rumor or stated that no evidence existed to support it. Indeed, in his discussion of the origins of Godfrey of Bouillon, he dismisses the legend of the Swan Knight for his origin as “such an assertion seems to fall short from the truth, although the narrative of many would assert it to be true.”<sup>90</sup> William would not discuss rumors that had the potential to sully her name and memory if he was as partisan to Melisende’s cause as Mayer insists he was.

In late 1134, Fulk arranged for Walter of Caesarea to accuse Hugh of “high treason” and conspiring against the king with “certain accomplices of the same political faction”<sup>91</sup> before the assembly of the royal court. Though he declared himself innocent and willing to submit to the judgment of the court, he failed to show on the day appointed for single combat between him and Walter, causing the court to find him guilty of his alleged crimes. In response to the allegations and sentencing, Hugh threw his lot in with the Fatimid-controlled city of Ascalon, leading Fulk to besiege Jaffa. Hugh’s allies and vassals, disapproving of his alliance with the Fatimids, abandoned the count in favor of Fulk, an action that forced Hugh to accept the mediation arranged by Patriarch William of Jerusalem. The count was to remain in exile for three years and his debts were to be paid with the revenue from his holdings in the kingdom.<sup>92</sup>

Hugh remained in Jerusalem waiting for passage into exile. One day, while the count was engaged in a dice game with a local merchant, a knight from Brittany rushed the unsuspecting Hugh and stabbed him repeatedly with his sword. The count survived his attack, but it was soon revealed that Fulk had a role in arranging the count’s assassination.<sup>93</sup> Despite the king’s efforts to

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<sup>90</sup> WT, 9.6, p. 427. “...licet id verum fuisse plurimorum astruat narratio... eo quod a vero videatur deficere talis assertio...”

<sup>91</sup> WT, 14.16, p. 652. “...quod *maiestatis crimine* reus erat et quod contra domini regis salutem cum *quibusdam factionis eiusdem complicitibus*...”

<sup>92</sup> WT, 14.16-17, pp. 652-4; Mayer, “History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem”: 102-10

<sup>93</sup> WT, 14.18, pp. 654-5

prove his own innocence, Melisende, upon hearing of Fulk's actions against Hugh, endeavored to punish anyone who was involved in her husband's plots against the count. Fulk's allies felt it was unsafe to appear anywhere in public. According to William, after Fulk calmed Melisende, "from that day thence the king had become devoted to his wife, so that he may mitigate her indignation, which he had previously provoked, with the result that he did not attempt at all to proceed even in insignificant cases without her knowledge."<sup>94</sup> The simmering and sometimes violent dispute about authority thus seems to have resolved itself, apparently because Fulk had overplayed his hand against Hugh. Indeed, in the years following Hugh's rebellion, Fulk and Melisende issued charters jointly and heard cases brought to court together, indicating that the king no longer excluded his wife from the affairs of the kingdom.<sup>95</sup>

Although the rebellions of Alice of Antioch and Hugh II of Jaffa are separated by two years and hundreds of miles, there is evidence that suggests they had similar causes: Fulk's removal of Melisende and his alienation of the veterans and descendants of the First Crusade. The leaders of both rebellions were descendants of or related to the principal leaders of the First Crusade. As already mentioned, Alice was the daughter of Baldwin II and Joscelin II was the son

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<sup>94</sup> WT, 14.18, p. 656. "Rex autem ab ea die ita factus est uxorius, ut eius, quam prius exacerbaverat, mitigaret indignationem, quod nec in causis levibus absque eius conscientia attemptaret aliquatenus procedere."

<sup>95</sup> UKJ 132, pp. 304-8; UKJ 135, pp. 310-4; UKJ 138, pp. 315-21; UKJ 139, pp. 321-3; UKJ 141, pp. 325-6; UKJ 143, pp. 328-31; UKJ 146, pp. 333-4. Andrew Palmer, "The History of the Syrian Orthodox in Jerusalem, Part Two: Queen Melisende and the Jacobite Estates," *Oriens Christianus* 76 (1992): 76-85. Palmer discusses two Syriac accounts of a suit brought forward to Fulk and Melisende in the late 1130s. After the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, one of the crusaders, Geoffrey of the Tower of David, forcibly confiscated lands belonging to the Jacobite community of the city. Geoffrey was soon captured in battle by the Fatimids and languished in an Egyptian prison for over thirty years, seemingly forgotten by the kings of Jerusalem. His release was negotiated by the Armenian bishop of Jerusalem, who was promised a village by Geoffrey's wife if he brought her husband home. While Geoffrey was imprisoned, the Jacobites had successfully petitioned Baldwin I to return the lands taken from them by the crusader veteran, arguing that Geoffrey had confiscated them unlawfully. Upon his return to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Geoffrey took his case to Fulk to have the Jacobite lands returned to him. The Jacobite bishop of Jerusalem spoke with Melisende about Geoffrey's suit and the queen was sympathetic to the Jacobite plight. Melisende relayed the bishop's account to Fulk and his courtiers and "instructed the king's chieftains and negotiators that whoever should help the bishop would earn her deepest gratitude (p. 79)." Fulk ultimately ruled in favor of the Jacobite community and had Geoffrey swear that he would no longer attempt to reclaim their lands as his own.

of Joscelin I, who arrived in the Latin East during the Crusade of 1101 and was Baldwin II's cousin. Pons of Tripoli was the grandson of Raymond of St. Gilles, the count of Toulouse and one of the most prominent leaders of the First Crusade. Hugh II of Jaffa was the son of Hugh I of Jaffa, who traveled to Antioch with Bohemond I in 1106 and was another one of Baldwin II's cousins. The origins of William of Saone's father, Robert Fitz-Fulk "the Leper," are more difficult to discern but he was present in the Latin East as early as 1108 in Tancred's court.<sup>96</sup> Both Pons and Alice had already rebelled against Baldwin II, the former in 1122 and the latter in 1130,<sup>97</sup> and they, along with Joscelin and Hugh, undoubtedly balked at the idea of being ruled by Fulk, an outsider who lacked their crusading lineage or the crusading experience of their ancestors. Fulk's removal of veterans in favor of his Angevin subordinates served as further proof of their fears.<sup>98</sup>

The majority of the leaders also had familial or political connections to Melisende: Alice was her sister; Joscelin II and Hugh II were her cousins; and Pons's son, Raymond II, was betrothed to one of Melisende and Alice's younger sisters, Hodierna. Fulk's attempt to prevent Melisende from exercising royal authority was both a personal offence against her kin and a political slight against Pons. Because Fulk demonstrated a willingness to ignore Baldwin II's deathbed command and deny Melisende's legal authority as queen, there was little to assure the other Frankish lords that the king would not tear apart the political establishment of the Latin East to suit his needs. Without Melisende to protect east Frankish interests and the First

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<sup>96</sup> Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, pp. 159-61, 176-7

<sup>97</sup> Alice's rebellion against Baldwin II has already been documented. For Pons, see WT, 12.17, p. 566. The count refused to give Baldwin II *hominium* or *servicium*, both of which he owed the Kingdom of Jerusalem as the count of Tripoli. Peace was brokered between the two before the conflict came to blows.

<sup>98</sup> Orderic Vitalis discusses the political strife in the Latin East: in response to Fulk's placement of Angevins in positions of power, the chronicler says that the barons, "having been made haughty by the spirit of wickedness, strived to arouse their warlike zeal against themselves [literally "against their own bowels," *in sua viscera*], which they together ought to have used against the heathans [*Studium bellandi, quod unanimes debuissent in Ethnicos exercere, spiritu nequitiae inflati, diutius in sua viscera moliti sunt agitare*]." See Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. 4, 12.47, p. 499.

Crusade's legacy, then the remaining leaders of the crusader states had little recourse than to oppose Fulk.

Although the revolts against Fulk were not directly connected, Hugh of Jaffa likely conspired with Alice of Antioch before openly opposing Fulk. Alice, in exile, continued to govern her own lordship out of Latakia between 1132 and 1136 and issued charters in her own name. Of these, only two from 1134 are extant: one from January and the other from July. One of the witnesses of the July charter, with which Alice granted land to the abbey of St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is *Hugo Iopensis*: Hugh of Jaffa. Mayer uses Hugh's presence in Latakia, as well as other charters issued by the count, to date his revolt against Fulk to 1134. If his revolt had been earlier and he went to Alice's court for his exile, then he would have encountered difficulties with Fulk as the king was in Antioch issuing charters of his own as regent as late as September 1134.<sup>99</sup> Asbridge concludes that Alice's court most likely served as the focal point of east Frankish resistance to Fulk's rule.<sup>100</sup> Thus it is probable that Hugh would have sought her assistance for his own rebellion. If a Jaffan-Antiochene alliance was formed by mid-1134, little came of it as Fulk forced Hugh to act before all the pieces could be put into place.

Regardless of the material failure of these two rebellions, they did succeed in their goal of reducing Fulk's authority. Melisende's royal position was restored and Fulk's desire to hold sole authority extinguished. The king had learned the extent of the queen's wrath if he were ever to cross her again. More importantly, Melisende's return to public life reestablished political

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<sup>99</sup> Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, pp. 113-4; Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 104-5. Mayer notes that Hugh issued his own charter in 1133 as the *dominus Ioppensis* and "surrounded by an impressive entourage of vassals, a seneschal, a marshal, a chancellor, and is still attended by his constable, Barisan, who we know sided with the king along with others of the Count's vassals during the revolt (p. 105)." This indicates that Hugh was still in control of Jaffa in 1133.

<sup>100</sup> Asbridge, "Alice of Antioch," pp. 43-4

stability in the Latin East. The royal couple did not face any more rebellions from their vassals or the other lords of the crusader states. Moreover, Fulk was able to collaborate with the count of Tripoli, the count of Edessa, and the prince of Antioch. In 1137, Fulk came to help Raymond II of Tripoli, Pons's son, when Zengi besieged the fortress of Montferrand. After Raymond was captured and Fulk retreated into the fortress, a relief force with contingents from Jerusalem, Edessa, and Antioch hurried to aid the king and relieve the siege.<sup>101</sup> In 1140, both Raymond II of Tripoli and Raymond of Poitiers, the prince of Antioch, helped Fulk and the Damascenes besiege and capture Banyas.<sup>102</sup> It is clear that Fulk needed Melisende to maintain his royal authority as well as peace and stability in the Latin East. If he had continued to deny Melisende's right to rule, it is possible he would have faced a much larger rebellion that would have removed him as king.

### **Melisende and Matilda: Denied Not on the Basis of Sex**

Melisende's difficulties as a rightful heir and queen regnant removed from her position by a man who held similar claims and ambitions bears a striking resemblance to that of her stepdaughter-in-law, Empress Matilda of England. After the drowning death of his son William Adelin, Henry I of England, like Baldwin II, did not have a legitimate male child to succeed him on the throne (though he did have numerous illegitimate children, including the popular Robert of Gloucester) and was therefore required to name Matilda, his eldest legitimate daughter, as his heir. Also like Baldwin II, he also sought a marriage opportunity for his daughter in the county of Anjou, in this case Count Geoffrey Plantagenet, who succeeded to that title when his father, Fulk, left for the Holy Land to marry Melisende. However, despite Henry I's arrangements, the

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<sup>101</sup> WT, 14.25-29, pp. 663-70

<sup>102</sup> WT, 15.8-11, pp. 685-91



transition of power following his death in 1135 was far from smooth. Henry I's nephew, Stephen of Blois, arrived in England before Matilda was able to react and, in defiance of his oath he made to his uncle in 1127 to uphold Matilda's inheritance, had himself crowned King of England in Westminster. For the better part of two decades, England was embroiled in a civil war between those who recognized Matilda as Henry I's legitimate heir and those who supported Stephen of Blois's claim, not to mention the numerous barons who changed sides when it seemed politically expedient. A comparison between the cases of Melisende and Matilda will help clarify why Melisende faced as many challenges as she did and why, at the end of the day, she was able to prevail.

As is the case for so much of the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, William of Tyre is our best source for the life of Melisende and the contemporary perceptions of her leadership. As with all other rulers of the kingdom, William devoted lengthy passages of his chronicle toward describing her physical attributes and her character. The chronicler did not mince words when it came to his praise for her:

[Queen Melisende] was a woman most prudent, having an almost complete experience of all secular affairs, certainly overcoming the condition of the feminine sex, just as she would put her hand to emulate heroic deeds and strive to emulate the magnificence of the greatest princes... Thus she ruled the kingdom with such diligence... [and] she held the administration with such control that she was said to be equal in merit with her ancestors...<sup>103</sup>

Put in the simplest terms, Melisende was a monarch who was as good as any man who held the position and who strived to be like those who came before her. Indeed, William believed that the kingdom was the most prosperous and the most tranquil when Baldwin III allowed himself to listen to her counsel and follow her advice. According to the chronicler, only when those "who

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<sup>103</sup> WT, 16.3, p. 717. "Erat autem mater mulier prudentissima, plenam pene in omnibus secularibus negociis habens experientiam, sexus feminei plane vincens conditionem, ita ut manum mitteret emulari ad fortia et optimorum principum magnificentiam niteretur emulari... Regnum enim... tanta rexit industria, tanto procuravit moderamine, ut progenitores suos in ea parte equare merito diceretur..."

had a more frivolous mind,”<sup>104</sup> frustrated that the queen thwarted their designs, caught the ear of the king did her rule begin to unravel. For William, Melisende was unique in her ability not only to hold but also to exercise royal authority, as he was not so kind to other women in similar positions of power in his narrative. Indeed, Melisende’s sister, Alice of Antioch, was much maligned by William for her attempts to retain control of the Principality of Antioch following the death of her husband, Bohemond II.<sup>105</sup>

Mayer, Edbury, and Rowe agree that William’s positive representation of Melisende indicated that he favored her rule over that of her elder son.<sup>106</sup> However, William based his seemingly partisan judgment not on questions of individual character but on what he believed was legally correct and morally sound. Throughout his narrative, William emphasized Melisende’s hereditary right to rule Jerusalem. Upon the death of Fulk, William stated that “the power of the kingdom remained [*resedit*] with the queen, beloved by God, Lady Melisende, to whom it belonged by hereditary right.”<sup>107</sup> For William, if royal power was not hers to begin with, then it would be impossible for it to remain in her possession. When describing the cause for the rift between Melisende and Baldwin III, William emphasized again that Melisende “received the care and administration of the kingdom owed to her by hereditary right.”<sup>108</sup> Finally, eulogizing her death, William said that she ruled for thirty years, from the time of Fulk through Baldwin III’s reign up until her own death in 1161. He therefore does not acknowledge the political

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<sup>104</sup> WT, 16.3, p. 717. “quibus mens erat levior...”

<sup>105</sup> Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, pp. 67-8, 84, 181-6, 212, 220-1; Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 81-3; Asbridge, “Alice of Antioch,” pp. 29-47; Buck, “The Problem of the Antiochene Princesses”: 731-49

<sup>106</sup> Mayer, “History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem”: 98; Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 81-3

<sup>107</sup> WT, 15.27, p. 711. “...reseditque regni potestas penes dominam Milissendem deo amabilem reginam, cui iure hereditario competebat.”

<sup>108</sup> WT, 17.13, p. 777. “regni tanquam iure hereditario sibi debiti curam et administrationem sortita est...”

reality that her effective power ended in 1152.<sup>109</sup> By the grace of her birth into the line of kings and her legal designation by Baldwin II as his heir, William believed Melisende's legal status as queen regnant could not be denied by Fulk, Baldwin III, or anyone else – whatever the charter evidence valued by Mayer might say. Her additional qualities – her prudence, her experience, and her desire to emulate her predecessors – further confirmed her moral worthiness for the position. For William and Melisende's supporters, she was the model for all that could be considered royal.

Unlike with Melisende, several chroniclers wrote accounts of Matilda's reign. As a result, the opinions of the empress varied greatly. William of Malmesbury dedicated his historical works, the *Gesta regum Anglorum* and the *Historia Novella*, to Matilda herself as well as her half-brother and chief supporter, Robert of Gloucester, and largely celebrated her achievements.<sup>110</sup> Robert of Torigni, who spoke well of Matilda, was a monk and later prior of the abbey of Bec, a monastery that received many generous donations from the empress – a fact that undoubtedly influenced Robert's perception of the would-be queen.<sup>111</sup> Henry of Huntingdon's and Orderic Vitalis's sentiments about Matilda ranged from lukewarm to dismissive while the *Gesta Stephani* is outright hostile.<sup>112</sup> The anonymous chronicler's defense of Stephen, however, inadvertently demonstrates the strength of Matilda's cause. More evenhanded than their

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<sup>109</sup> WT, 18.27, p. 850. For these three examples, Edbury and Rowe say that William's emphasis of Melisende's hereditary right is part of his effort to use the queen to connect Baldwin III and Amalric to the participants of the First Crusade rather than them being the cadet branch of the house of Anjou. For them, her exercise of royal authority was contradicted by the fact Fulk and Baldwin III exercised royal authority during this time and were the main focus of their respective chapters in his work. Cf. Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 80-3

<sup>110</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, Vol. 1, Ep.ii-iii, pp. 6-13; William of Malmesbury, *William of Malmesbury: Historia Novella: The Contemporary History*, ed. Edmund King and tr. K. R. Potter (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 2-3; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 166-85

<sup>111</sup> Elizabeth M. C. van Houts, "The *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*: A History without an End," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 3 (1980): 106-18

<sup>112</sup> Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, pp. 186-218; Carolyn Anderson, "Narrating Matilda, 'Lady of the English,' in the *Historia Novella*, the *Gesta Stephani*, and Wace's *Roman de Rou*: The Desire for Land and Order," *Clio* 29, no. 1 (1999): 47-67; Alheydis Plassman, "William of Malmesbury, the *Gesta Stephani*, and the Idea of Successful and Good Rule in the Twelfth Century," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 45(2023): 1-18

predecessors, William of Newburgh and Roger of Howden spent little time discussing Matilda, as she was never crowned queen and never securely ruled England and Normandy. Though not known for his historical works, John of Salisbury wrote his *Historia Pontificalis* about his time in the papal court from 1148 to 1153 as the clerk of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury. Despite not discussing Matilda directly, he does include an account of Stephen's faction appealing Eugenius III to allow the king to crown his son alongside him. Doing so, he reveals the weakness of the arguments used against Matilda's claims.<sup>113</sup> Because they focus on the events of the Anarchy and discuss the legal characteristics of succession, we shall use William of Malmesbury, the *Gesta Stephani*, and John of Salisbury to demonstrate the legal backing of Matilda's claims and Stephen's attempts to discredit them. Like Melisende, Matilda derived much of her support from the fact the kingdom of England came to her by right through her father's designation and originally had been supported by the oaths sworn by the Anglo-Norman barons.

William of Malmesbury, a supporter of Matilda, never wrote about her qualities as he did with her predecessors. However, that is not to say she is absent from his work. After all, she was the one whom William would have called the protagonist of the *Historia Novella*. As a skilled historian, William was careful to establish Matilda's royal lineage and thus the legal basis for her claims to the throne of England.<sup>114</sup> In his recounting Henry I's summons to name Matilda his heir, he summarized Henry's address to the assembled magnates and prelates of England:

his daughter remained, in whom alone lay the legitimate succession, since her grandfather, uncle and father had been kings, while on her mother's side the royal lineage went back many centuries... from Ecgberht, king of Wessex, who first

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<sup>113</sup> Marjorie Chibnall, "Introduction" in *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, tr. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. xi-l

<sup>114</sup> Joan Gluckauf Haahr, "The Concept of Kingship in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* and *Historia Novella*," *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976): 351-71; Bjorn Weiler, "William of Malmesbury on Kingship," *History* 90, no. 297 (2005): 3-22

drove out or subdued the other kings of the island, in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 800, through fourteen kings, up to the year of His Incarnation 1043, when King Edward who lies at Westminster was raised to the throne... Then Edward, the last and most illustrious of that race, married his great-niece Margaret, descended from his brother Edmund Ironside, to Malcolm, king of Scots. Matilda, the mother of this empress, was their daughter.<sup>115</sup>

On the face of it, William of Malmesbury used this passage to establish Matilda's ironclad legitimacy: not only were Norman relatives on her father's side kings but her maternal line contained the blood of the Anglo-Saxon kings, a lineage centuries old.<sup>116</sup> William of Malmesbury's choice of Anglo-Saxon kings to associate with Matilda's lineage illustrates his own perspective concerning the empress and Stephen. In particular, his reference to Edmund Ironside is revelatory. William wrote that Edmund, son of Aethelred the Unready and king from April 23 to November 30, 1016, was allegedly murdered by one of his ealdormen, Eadric, who secretly favored the Dane, Cnut. The Danish prince, who succeeded Edmund as king of England, put to death Eadric and Edmund's two chamberlains who deceived and murdered his predecessor, viewing such an action as high treason against God's anointed.<sup>117</sup> It is no coincidence that William mentioned Edmund Ironside as one of Matilda's ancestors: he wanted to emphasize that the oaths made to kings were eternally binding and that the one made to Matilda was no exception. As was the case with Melisende, Matilda's right to the throne was irrefutable.

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<sup>115</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, pp. 6-9. Translation is from K. R. Potter: "Nunc suppresse filiam, cui soli legitima debeatur successio, ab avo, avunculo, et patre regibus; a materno genere, multis retro seculis. Siquidem ab Egbirhto rege Westsaxonum, qui primus ceteros insulae reges vel expulit vel subegit, anno Dominicae incarnationis octingentesimo sub quattuordecim regibus, usque ad eiusdem incarnationis annum millesimum quadragesimum tertium, quo rex Eduardus qui apud Westmonasterium iacet in regnum sullimatus est... Porro Eduardus illius progeniei ultimus, idemque et preclarissimus, proneptem suam Margaretam ex fratre Edmundo Ireneside Malcolmi regis Scottorum nuptiis copulavit. Quorum filia Mathildis huius imperatricis mater extitit." While Henry I is the one speaking, William of Malmesbury uses indirect speech.

<sup>116</sup> Sverre Bagge, "Ethics, Politics, and Providence in William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella*," *Viator* 41, no. 2 (2010): 117

<sup>117</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: Volume 1*, ii.180, pp. 317-20. For more on William of Malmesbury's thoughts on regicide and betrayal, see Haahr, "The Concept of Kingship in William of Malmesbury": pp. 355-7

Stephen needed legal justification to oppose Matilda, but the law was against him. For William of Malmesbury, Stephen's decision to pursue the throne was a sign of his flawed character.<sup>118</sup> According to the chronicler, Stephen "was a man of energy but lacking in judgement, active in war, of extraordinary spirit in undertaking difficult tasks, lenient to his enemies and easily appeased... though you admired his kindness in promising, still you felt his words lacked truth and his promises [would go] unfulfilled."<sup>119</sup> In response to Stephen's oath to protect the Church's lands and rights that he swore to the English prelates, William judged that the king "changed almost everything for the worse, just as if he had sworn for no other purpose than showing the whole kingdom he could not keep an oath."<sup>120</sup> His promises meant little and his actions disrupted all secular and ecclesiastical affairs in the kingdom. An energetic and martial monarch, yes, but his efforts were spent holding onto a crown he obtained through illegal means. William of Malmesbury also considered Robert of Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother, an energetic soldier. However, unlike Stephen, Robert took the proper precautions to ensure that his support for Matilda was legal and that he would not be considered a traitor in the eyes of the Church for breaking his oath to Stephen.<sup>121</sup> Because of Matilda's legitimacy (and perhaps adding to it), William of Malmesbury believed that Matilda's restoration would end the oppressive actions of those ruling under Stephen and set right the wrongs Stephen committed against the Church. The lords of the Latin East who rebelled against Fulk undoubtedly believed the

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<sup>118</sup> Weiler, "William of Malmesbury on Kingship": 12

<sup>119</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, pp. 28-31. Translation from K. R. Potter: "Vir quidem impiger sed imprudens, armis strenuus, immodici animi ad quelibet ardua inchoanda, lenis et exorabilis hostibus, affabilis omnibus: cuius cum dulcedinem in promissis suspiceret, veritatem tamen dictorum et promissorum efficaciam desideraret." For more on William of Malmesbury's assessment of Stephen's characters and why he fell short of the royal ideal (as well as why Robert of Gloucester served as William's counterpoint to Stephen, Henry I's heir in all but name), see Bjorn Weiler, "Royal Justice and Royal Virtue in William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella* and Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*" in *Virtue and Ethics in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Istvan Bejczy and Richard Newhauser (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 317-40

<sup>120</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, pp. 36-7. Translation from K. R. Potter: "...quia pene omnia ita perperam mutavit, quasi ad hoc tamen iurasset ut prevaricatorem sacramenti se regno toti ostenderet."

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, pp. 40-3, 60-63

Angevin's unilateral action as king was as disruptive as Stephen's rule in England. As a result, like William of Malmesbury with Matilda, the east Frankish lords wanted Melisende to reestablish the proper order that Fulk was throwing into disarray.

Even the *Gesta Stephani* could not mount an effective defense of Stephen's legitimacy based on his royal merits or his royal lineage. Indeed, the strength of the argument in support of his reign relied on the questionable legality of the oaths made to Henry I and Matilda and Stephen's proximity to the English seats of power when calamities erupted following Henry I's death. The Londoners, citing their right to appoint a successor upon the death of a king, chose Stephen as "they had no one at hand who could take the king's place and put an end to the great dangers threatening the kingdom... all regarded him as suited to the position on account both of his high birth and of his good character."<sup>122</sup> While the chronicler did not deny Stephen's worthy attributes and lineage, the Londoners' choice of Stephen had as much, if not more, to do with his presence in England and their right to designate a king if there were none at hand. Indeed, Archbishop William of Canterbury resisted the efforts of Stephen's supporters to have their candidate anointed as king, citing both the need for the general assent of the nobility and the oath sworn by the English magnates to recognize only Matilda or her heir as the next ruler of England. In response, Stephen's supporters said:

It is true... and not to be denied, that King Henry... with that loud commanding utterance that nobody could resist he rather compelled than directed the leading men of the whole kingdom to swear to accept her as his heir... in his death agony, with very many standing by and listening to his truthful confession of his errors, he very plainly showed repentance for the forcible imposition of the oath on his barons. Wherefore, because it is acknowledged that any forcible exaction of an oath from anyone has made it impossible for the breaking of that oath to

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<sup>122</sup> *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and tr. K. R. Potter (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 6-7. Translation from K. R. Potter: "Nec alium sese in manu habere, qui regis vices adimplens tantis regni periculis finem imponeret... qui ad hoc idoneus, tam generis dignitate quam animi probitate, omnibus apparebat."

constitute a perjury, it is sound and eminently advisable to accept gladly as king the man whom London... has received without objection...<sup>123</sup>

While this was a suitable enough argument for the archbishop according to the chronicler of the *Gesta Stephani*, the arguments laid out by Stephen's faction lacked the legal soundness that William of Malmesbury so carefully established: it hinged on the fact that Henry I acknowledged on his deathbed that the oaths made to him and Matilda were forced and not genuine, failing to mention any named witnesses among the *plurimi* attending to the dying king. Rather than making Stephen's kingship a matter of correct legal precedent or unassailable royal virtue, the *Gesta Stephani* opted for an explanation of convenience supported by the medieval equivalent of hearsay. In contrast, William of Tyre stated plainly where and before whom Baldwin II made his deathbed appointment of his heirs: inside the patriarch's palace by the Holy Sepulchre and with the patriarch of Jerusalem and the prelates of the kingdom attending the king's side. By doing so, he left little doubt of the legality of the Melisende's position.<sup>124</sup> Without the specifics that William of Tyre provides, the *Gesta Stephani* inadvertently strengthens Matilda's right to inherit the English throne and the soundness of her cause.

Stephen's lack of legal justification for his usurpation is further confirmed by John of Salisbury's *Historia Pontificalis*. According to John, Stephen sent representatives – namely Bishop Roger of Chester; Lupellus, Archbishop William of Canterbury's clerk; and Archdeacon Arnulf of Séz – to Rome 1139 to seek Innocent II's approval for his coronation. Arnulf made a similar argument to the pope that Stephen's supporters made to William of Canterbury in the

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid, pp. 10-13. Translation from K. R. Potter: "Verum... nec abnegandum, regem Henricum... [a]d ipsam quoque heredandam imperioso illo, cui nullus obsistebat, oris tonitruo summos totius regni iurare compulit potius quam praecepit... supremo eum agitante mortis articulo, cum et plurimi astarent, et veram suorum erratum confessionem audirent, de iureiurando violenter baronibus suis iniuncto apertissime paenituit. Unde, quia constat omne iusiurandum a quolibet cum violentia extortum ipsam periurii efficaciam penitus amisisse, sanum est praecipueque acceptandum eum ad regnandum laete suscipere, quem et summum totius regni caput sine repulso Londonia suscepit, et ad hoc, iusto germanae propinquitatis iure, idoneus accessit."

<sup>124</sup> WT, 13.28, p. 625



*Gesta Stephani*. According to the archdeacon, Matilda could not succeed Henry for two reasons. First, she was the result of an incestuous union between her father and an unnamed nun and thus illegitimate. Second, the oath Stephen took was coerced and conditional:

he [Stephen] would uphold the empress's right to succeed her father to the best of his ability unless her father changed his mind and named another heir... king [sic] Henry had changed his mind, and on his death-bed had designated his sister's son, Stephen, as his heir. And he [Arnulf] declared that this had been proved publicly before the English church to William, archbishop of Canterbury and legate of the holy see, by the oath of earl Hugh and two knights; and that on hearing that proof the archbishop had recognised Stephen's claim to the crown with the unanimous consent and approval of the bishops and nobles. What had been done with such ceremony could not, he concluded, be undone.<sup>125</sup>

Ulger, the bishop of Angers and one of Matilda's supporters, repudiated Arnulf's claims, saying that a daughter of a nun could never have been anointed empress by Paschal II and that neither Arnulf nor Hugh could have known what Henry said on his deathbed because they were not there. Ulger concluded: "The proof that you claim was accepted cannot injure the empress; for since she was neither present nor duly cited she could not be lawfully condemned, least of all by men who were not her judges but her subjects, bound to her by oaths and fealty and involved in the same offence."<sup>126</sup> It is important to note that the arguments for and against Matilda's claim hinged on the legitimacy of her lineage and, more importantly, the legality of the oaths made to Henry and Matilda. Arnulf could not disqualify her on the basis of gender because it risked making nonsense of Stephen's claims (who derived his legitimacy from his mother, Henry's

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<sup>125</sup> John of Salisbury, *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, tr. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 84. Translation from Marjorie Chibnall: "...scilicet, imperatrici successionem patris se pro uiribus seruaturum nis patrem uolentatem mutare contingeret et heredem alium instituere... Postremo subiecit quod rex Henricus mutauerat uoluntatem et in extremis agens filium sororis sue Stephanum designauit heredem. Et hec iuramento comitis Hugonis et duorum militum probata esse dicebat, in facie ecclesie Anglicane, Guillelmo Canuariensi archiepiscopo, sedi apostolice legato, qui recepta probatione Stephanum unanimi consilio et uoluntate episcoporum et procerum sublimauit in regem: unde quod tanta sollempnitate factum est, intulit retractari non posse."

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, p. 85. Translation from Marjorie Chibnall: "Probatio quam receptam fingis, obesse non potest imperatrici, quia absens et que citata non fuerat nullo iure potuit condemnari, presertim ab hiis qui non erant iudices eius sed subditi et ei iuramento et fidelitate tenebantur astricti et in simili crimine uersabantur."

sister) and Matilda's status as designated heir was legally sound. Melisende was in a similar position as her status as heir was confirmed by Baldwin II, Patriarch William, and the other prelates present at the king's deathbed. Fulk needed reason to repudiate her and take the kingdom for himself, which is why he attempted to capitalize on the rumors (or the existence) of the illicit relationship between Melisende and Hugh. Innocent ultimately confirmed Stephen's coronation, but John claims this was the result of the gifts and friendly letters from Stephen rather than the legal argument of Arnulf. Regardless, figures like Ulger and John saw Matilda as the rightful queen to whom her subjects were legally bound, meaning that actions taken against her were treason.<sup>127</sup>

The rights of Melisende and Matilda to rule were unassailable. Fulk and Stephen were not able to usurp their royal authority simply because they were women. They and their supporters had to find cause to repudiate Melisende's and Matilda's claims to their respective thrones and, even with cause, the legal soundness of Baldwin's and Henry's designations and the strength of their subjects' loyalty to their oaths caused many to rally to the support of Melisende and Matilda. Though it was rare for women to rule in their own right in western European world, there was nothing within the legal institutions of Jerusalem or England that prevented them from taking the throne when their claims were legally and justly established. However, despite Matilda's legal claims, Stephen did still displace Matilda from the throne: the slightest whiff of legitimacy from a man was preferable over the rule of a woman for many of the leading magnates of England. Such prejudices, however, did not appear to have the same hold in the

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<sup>127</sup> For more about how John of Salisbury's support of Matilda's claim was based on his belief that she upheld "manly virtues" and fought the "base nature" of women, see Cary J. Nederman and N. E. Lawson, "The Frivolities of Courtiers Follow the Footprints of Women: Historical Women and the Crisis of Virility in John of Salisbury" in *Ambiguous Realities: Medieval and Renaissance Women*, ed. Carole Levin and Jeanne Watson (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), pp. 82-96. For John of Salisbury's evolving definition of "tyranny" and the role Stephen played in it, see Cary J. Nederman, "The Changing Face of Tyranny: The Reign of King Stephen in John of Salisbury's Political Thought," *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1989): 1-20.

frontiers of the crusader states and Fulk, despite his military victories over the revolts of Alice and Hugh, was still compelled to acknowledge Melisende as his co-ruler by both her supporters and the legal institutions of Jerusalem.

### **Queen Regnant or Queen Regent?**

Later events would seem to confirm that women rulers, even monarchs, in the East had a greater freedom of action than in the West. When the Empress Matilda's son Henry succeeded Stephen, Matilda was all but forgotten. When Fulk died, Melisende remained queen regnant well into the reign of her son Baldwin III, whom Baldwin II named on his deathbed as his heir alongside his parents. From 1143 until 1149/50, Melisende and Baldwin III ruled together as joint rulers, equal in sovereignty but different in function. Melisende's voice held greater weight in matters of administration and court, given her more than a decade's worth of experience, while Baldwin III, perhaps inevitably as a knight, took charge during campaigns and all matters concerning the defense of the kingdom. In other words, royal collaboration between co-monarchs continued to characterize the government of Jerusalem.

Determining the exact character of Melisende's role during the 1140s is not easy. Was she the regent for Baldwin III, destined to step aside once her son reached his majority, or was she a queen regnant, not only Baldwin III's caretaker and instructor but also his royal peer? There is a lack of consensus among both modern historians and Melisende's contemporaries and near contemporaries. Mayer argues that Melisende endeavored to diminish her son's position within the kingdom in order to increase her own, presenting her as a queen mother indifferent or hostile to her son. He portrays Melisende as a ruler whose time in power had a hard deadline – the moment Baldwin III came into his majority. By holding onto power, Mayer believes

Melisende viewed her own son as a political rival who required neutralization by any means necessary if her own power was to survive. Unwilling to rely on the account of William of Tyre alone because of his supposed bias toward the queen, Mayer relies on the historical evidence of the charters issued by Baldwin and Melisende to determine his conclusions.<sup>128</sup> By contrast, Hamilton outright states that Melisende should be considered the queen regnant rather than queen regent based on the testimony of William of Tyre.<sup>129</sup> Edbury and Rowe, while acknowledging the ambiguity of Melisende's station, chose not to explore the legitimacy of her royal claims, asking instead why William of Tyre was favorable to Melisende's secular authority while condemning that of her sister Alice of Antioch.<sup>130</sup>

As discussed above concerning Baldwin II's succession, most twelfth-century historians and chroniclers in the west expected Fulk to be Baldwin II's heir and believed that he held royal authority alone. Meanwhile, they saw Melisende as a political tool necessary for Fulk's legitimacy and to produce his heirs. This perception remained even in the histories that discuss

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<sup>128</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 113-81. Mayer's analysis was most condemnatory of Melisende. When describing the agreement to partition the Kingdom of Jerusalem to avoid a civil war between Baldwin III and Melisende, Mayer said: "Had she been wise, she would have taken this opportunity to withdraw honorably and with dignity. But, as in the past, her thirst for power was greater than her wisdom (Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 166)." For Mayer, Melisende should have stepped aside and let her son rule as "[i]n spite of all the praise William of Tyre heaps on Melisende's abilities, Baldwin was decidedly better suited to rule now that he was grown up (Ibid, p. 164)." As to why Baldwin III was better suited to rule than his mother, Mayer does not say. However, much of his assessment implies that Baldwin's gender and the overall perceptions of women in power – power hungry, duplicitous, and lacking in motherly virtue – played an outsized role in his analysis, regardless of Mayer's awareness. Natasha Hodgson put it most eloquently when she said that Mayer's assessment was "more in tune with William [of Tyre]'s perception of Alice of Antioch, and does seem rather excessive in its condemnation (Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, p. 186)." For an effective critique of Mayer and a brief reassessment of Melisende using gender theory, see Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, pp. 185-8. For the acceptance of Melisende's role as regent by modern historians, cf. C. K. Slack, "Royal Familiares in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100-1187," *Viator* 22 (1991): 31; Deborah Gerish, "Ancestors and Predecessors: Royal Continuity and Identity in the First Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 20 (1997): 131-3; Andrew Jotischky, "Politics and the Crown in the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1187," *History Compass* 13, no. 11 (2015): 592

<sup>129</sup> Hamilton, "Queens of Jerusalem," pp. 151-2; Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 98

<sup>130</sup> Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 80-3. Indeed, as stated before, Edbury and Rowe doubted whether Melisende exercised any real royal authority if her husband and son were the focal points for their respective chapters in William's chronicle. For more on Alice of Antioch and her treatment in the historical record, see Asbridge, "Alice of Antioch, pp. 29-47 and Buck, "The Problem of the Antiochene Princesses": 731-49.

Baldwin III's accession and reign. Robert of Torigni, Roger of Howden, and the anonymous author of the *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum* all removed Melisende from the line of succession, the latter two adding that Baldwin III became the sole king of Jerusalem after Fulk died.<sup>131</sup> Among those writing in Latin, William of Tyre was the only one who kept Melisende as queen alongside Baldwin III.

The Christian and Muslim historians of the east, however, had far more varied views concerning Melisende's position. Writing about his home city of Damascus, Ibn al-Qalanisi (d. 1160), an important noble and administrator in the city as well as the writer of *Dhail Ta'rikh Dimashq* (better known as *The Damascus Chronicle*), discusses the death and succession of Fulk in his entry corresponding with 1143:

And in this year [AH 538/1143 CE] news came from the region of the Franks concerning the death of their king, the count of Anjou [and] the king of Jerusalem, by a disease that happened to him [and] because of which was the destruction of his life. His place in the kingship was undertaken by his young son and his mother and the Franks were satisfied with this [arrangement]...<sup>132</sup>

Here, according to Ibn al-Qalanisi, the royal government of Jerusalem was inherited by both Baldwin III and Melisende. Given his position within the chancery of Damascus, Ibn al-Qalanisi would have had access to the diplomatic exchanges between his city and Jerusalem and thus would know how the Franks presented Melisende's position to their Muslim neighbors.<sup>133</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi granted the royal duo a degree of legitimacy to their joint accession by having the Franks assent to their rule once they took Fulk's position, a practice that he detailed numerous

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<sup>131</sup> Robert of Torigni, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, pp. 240-1; *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, pp. 70-1; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, pp. 186, 274-5

<sup>132</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi, *History of Damascus*, 363-555 A.H., ed. H. F. Amedroz (Beirut: Catholic Press of Beirut, 1908), p. 266.

و فيها ورد الخبر من ناحية الافرنج بهلاك ملكهم الكند أنجور ملك بيت القدس بعلة عرضت له كان فيها اتلاف نفسه و قيم ولده الصغير و امه مقامه في الملك و رضي الافرنج بذلك و إستقامت الكال عليه.

See also H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades: Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi* (Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 2002), p. 265. Note: when referring to Amedroz's Arabic edition, I will use *History of Damascus*. For Gibb's translation, I will use *The Damascus Chronicle*.

<sup>133</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 7-14

times when he discussed the succession of the emirate of Damascus following the death of their rulers.<sup>134</sup> If Ibn al-Qalanisi had not recognized Melisende's power as legitimate, he could have left her out of the succession altogether, just like his western counterparts, and focused on Baldwin III instead.

The two versions of Michael the Syrian's universal chronicle, the Syriac original and the Armenian abridgment, offer similar perspectives concerning Melisende's position. Michael the Syrian, also known as Michael "Rabo" or "the Great," was the Syriac Orthodox, or Jacobite, patriarch of Antioch from 1166 until his death in 1199. His chronicle, written first in Syriac by the patriarch and then in Armenian by an anonymous thirteenth-century translator, covers history from the time of Adam and Eve up to 1195, with a particular focus on the ecclesiastical history of greater Syria.<sup>135</sup> Both the Syriac and Armenian versions of the text stated that after Fulk died, Baldwin III succeeded him. However, because of his age, his mother administered the kingdom

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<sup>134</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 63-4, 183-6, 211-2, 228-34, 253-4, 258-9. For more on succession practices and political legitimacy in the medieval Islamic world, particularly Seljuk and post-Seljuk Syria and Iran, see A. C. S. Peacock, *Mediaeval Islamic Historiography and Political Legitimacy: Bal'ami's Tarikhnamah* (London: Routledge, 2004); A. C. S. Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015); Patricia Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004)

<sup>135</sup> There are two English translations of the Syriac version of Michael the Syrian: a translation of the entire chronicle, from Creation to 1193, by Matti Moosa and a translation focusing on books XV through XXI (roughly 1050 through 1195 CE) by Amir Harrak. Because of his focus on the books that include the Crusades and crusader states, we have used Harrak's translation for the Syriac version of Michael the Syrian. For more about Michael the Syrian, see Amir Harrak, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex): Books XV-XXI, From the Year 1050 to 1095* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2019), pp. xi-xxxi; Matti Moosa, *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (the Great): a universal history from the creation* (Teaneck, NJ: Beth Antioch Press, 2014), pp. 18-28; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades: Conflict Between Christendom and Islam* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008); Matti Moosa, "The Crusades: An Eastern Perspective with Emphasis on Syriac Sources," *The Muslim World* 93 (2003): 249-89; Dorothea Weltecke, "The World Chronicle by Patriarch Michael the Great (1126-1199): Some Reflections," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 11, no. 2 (2003): 6-29; Idem, "Originality and Function of Formal Structures in the Chronicle of Michael the Great," *Journal of Syriac Studies* 3, no. 2 (2000): 173-202; Jan Van Ginkel, "Michael the Syrian and his Sources: Reflections on the Methodology of Michael the Great as a Historiographer and its Implications for Modern Historians," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 6 (2006): 53-60; Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Robert Bedrosian, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great, Patriarch of the Syrians* (Self-Published: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 2013), pp. 9-13. Because both the Syriac and Armenian versions are ostensibly written by Michael the Syrian, I will use *Chronicle* when referring to the Syriac version and *The Armenian Chronicle* when referring to the Armenian translation.

in his stead.<sup>136</sup> While the details of Baldwin III's 1152 rebellion are missing from the original Syriac text,<sup>137</sup> the following anecdote appears in the Armenian:

In 1464 of the Syrian Era [A. D. 1153, *sic*], Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, having achieved his majority, wanted to remove his mother as regent of the kingdom. There were some in the army with the mother, and they went to the Tower of David, fortified themselves, and fought for her... The mother spoke tender reproaches to the king through the gates, and the king wept. He took pity and vowed that he would leave Jerusalem under his mother's care.<sup>138</sup>

Although the chronicle describes Melisende as regent and although mother and son came to blows, Baldwin III, moved to tears by her words, ultimately left her alone to rule Jerusalem. Like Ibn al-Qalanisi and unlike their counterparts in the west, neither Michael the Syrian nor his Armenian translator denies that Melisende held royal authority in some capacity.

Despite these varied opinions and assessments, our best sources for determining Melisende's position within the Kingdom of Jerusalem after 1143 is William of Tyre's chronicle. As noted, William of Tyre was a strong defender of Melisende's royal right. He observed repeatedly in his narrative that Melisende held royal power in her own right during Fulk's reign and after his death.<sup>139</sup> Furthermore, William never indicated that Melisende's position was less than Baldwin III's or that her role was limited to being regent for her son. The closest he comes

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<sup>136</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 214; Idem, *The Armenian Chronicle*, p. 185. While the Syriac version correctly identifies Fulk as Baldwin III's father, the Armenian version says that Baldwin III's father was also named Baldwin (presumably Baldwin II, given that his death is not specified before this moment and Fulk is never mentioned). However, we know that this refers to Fulk given that John II Komnenos's death is recorded right before this "Baldwin's" own. Writing several decades after Michael the Syrian's death and relying heavily on the Jacobite patriarch's work, the Jacobite historian Bar Hebraeus repeats the account of his predecessor. See Bar Hebraeus, *The chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus: being the first part of his political history of the world*, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2003), pp. 267-8.

<sup>137</sup> The Syriac version of the chronicle exists in a single manuscript copied in the late sixteenth century, which had not been copied again until its "discovery" by Jean-Baptiste Chabot in the Syrian Orthodox Church of St. Peter and Paul in Edessa in 1889. The Syriac version has many *lacunae* throughout the text and, in some cases, entire chapters are missing. In comparison, approximately sixty copies of the Armenian abridgement have survived, including two independent translations from the thirteenth century. See Harrak, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great*, pp. xiii-xiv; Bedrosian, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great*, pp. 9-11; Weltecke, "The World Chronicle by Patriarch Michael the Great": 6-10

<sup>138</sup> Michael the Syrian, *The Armenian Chronicle*, p. 188. Translation by Robert Bedrosian.

<sup>139</sup> WT, 13.28, pp. 625; WT, 14.2, pp. 633-4; WT, 15.27, p. 711; WT, 16.3, p. 717; WT, 17.13, p. 777; WT, 18.27, p. 850

to suggesting that she was in a lesser position is in chapter 3 of book 16. When extolling Melisende's virtues and governing ability, William said: "Regnum enim, filio adhuc infra puberes annos constituto, tanta rexit industria, tanto *procuravit* moderamine, ut progenitores suos in ea parte equare merito diceretur..."<sup>140</sup> The verb *procurare* and its noun form, *procurator*, mean "to take care of/manage" and to act as an "administrator" or "deputy."<sup>141</sup> William uses *procurator* numerous times in his chronicle, in particular during the kingship of Baldwin IV, to describe regents and regencies. For example, Raymond III of Tripoli requested to be the king's *procurator* while the king was underage, Count Philip of Flanders turned down Baldwin IV's offer to act as his *procurator*, and Baldwin IV both appointed Guy of Lusignan to and removed him from the position of *procurator*.<sup>142</sup> William of Tyre had also used the term to mean "governor" or "administrator." For example, it was the *procurator* of Bostrum who approached Baldwin III and Melisende with an agreement to surrender his city and the stronghold of Salkhad if Jerusalem granted him military aid against Damascus.<sup>143</sup> During Amalric's first campaign into Egypt early in his reign, Nur al-Din invaded the Principality of Antioch and took many high-level prisoners, including a certain "Calamanus," the Byzantine *procurator* of Cilicia.<sup>144</sup> William earlier questioned Amalric's judgment in his choice of *procuratores* when discussing his

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<sup>140</sup> WT, 16.2, p. 717. "Thus, with her son still being under the age of adulthood, she ruled the kingdom with such diligence [and] *she held the administration* [*procuravit*] with such control that she was said to be equal in merit with her ancestors..."

<sup>141</sup> E. A. Andrews, William Freund, Charlton T. Lewis, Charles Short, and Charlton T. Lewis, *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*, rev., enl., and in great part rewritten by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), s.v. *procuro*, *procurator*; *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham, D. R. Howlett, & R. K. Ashdowne (London: British Academy, 2013), s.v. *procurare*, *procurator*. In contrast, A. C. Krey and Emily Babcock, the translators of the 1943 edition of William's chronicle, used both words to mean "to serve/act as regent" and "regent." See William of Tyre, *A History of the Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, tr. Emily Atwater Babcock & A.C. Krey (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), book 21 chapter 3, book 21 chapter 5, book 22 chapter 25, Kindle

<sup>142</sup> WT, 21.3, pp. 963-4; WT, 21.13 (14), p. 979; WT, 22.26 (25), pp. 1048-50; WT, 22.31 (30), pp. 1059-60

<sup>143</sup> WT, 16.8, pp. 723-6

<sup>144</sup> WT, 19.9, pp. 874-5



character and manner of administering the kingdom.<sup>145</sup> William thus used *procurator* whenever he referred to anyone who ruled in service of anyone else and never exclusively for the position of regent. Additionally, in the case of Melisende, he paired *procuravit* with the much stronger *rexit* to emphasize the degree of control Melisende had over the kingdom. Melisende was such a capable ruler of the kingdom that William of Tyre viewed her as worthy of the same regard and praise as her predecessors, all rulers of the kingdom in their own right.

William's interpretation of Melisende's authority is should be sufficient: he was, after all, a royal courtier with unparalleled access to the inner workings of the kingdom. Even if he preferred Melisende over Baldwin III, as Mayer claims, he was writing more than a decade after their deaths. He had no stake in their dispute as he was abroad when it happened and the result of the conflict was moot by the time of the reigns of Amalric and Baldwin IV. We have little reason to doubt William's assessment concerning the queen's status. Charters, which Mayer claims is as good if not better than William's testimony, are not an unbiased, legalistic window into the past. As Geoffrey Koziol demonstrated in his comprehensive study of the Carolingian charters of West Francia, they are performative documents designed to serve different functions – including the shaping of memory – depending on the need of the monarch.<sup>146</sup>

However, even with the performative character of charters in mind, William's testimony is supported by the charter evidence we have from the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Between Baldwin III's accession to the throne in 1143 and his rebellion against Melisende in early 1152, there are twelve extant charters issued by the royal chancery. Of those, six were issued jointly (with Amalric joining two of them), three by Baldwin III alone, and three by Melisende alone. However, of the six charters that were issued jointly, two of them were issued in Melisende's

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<sup>145</sup> WT, 19.2, pp. 865-6

<sup>146</sup> Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012), pp. 1-16

name with Baldwin III's assent rather than him joining as a co-issuer. In comparison, the charters that were issued with Baldwin III as the lead include Melisende as an equal issuer rather than just giving her assent. Mayer argues that Melisende was purposefully downgrading Baldwin's status relative to her own by first including Amalric as a co-issuing party and then issuing charters with just Baldwin's assent.<sup>147</sup> However, by understanding the specific language used in each of these groupings of charters, it becomes apparent that the equal status of the royal positions of Baldwin and Melisende was established early during their joint rule.

Issued in the middle of 1144 and confirming an exchange of land between the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre and Fulk and Melisende, Baldwin III's first charter, UKJ 210, also has the distinction of being issued by the young king alone. Mayer notes that UKJ 210 was a *pro forma* charter meant to solidify Baldwin III's position as king rather than holding any real legal weight. Moreover, because it confirmed a previous exchange made by Fulk and Melisende, the charter did not require her consent or input because it remained binding for as long as the queen lived.<sup>148</sup> Indeed, while Melisende was not included as an issuing party, her influence is nonetheless apparent. The purpose of the charter is established in its opening lines: "That which had been done for the good of peace or even established with pious intention... by royal magnificence, ought to be observed with all solicitude [and] it shall never be destroyed... nor corrupted afterwards by the wicked disorder of corrupt people..."<sup>149</sup> Baldwin III's role in confirming the charter was to reaffirm the peace and pious practices previously established. However, this royal establishment of peace and pious granting of property to the Church did not belong to Baldwin

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<sup>147</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 123-7

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, p. 115

<sup>149</sup> UKJ 210, p. 392. "Que pro bono pacis facta vel pia fuerunt intentione statuta, a cunctis, maxime autem a regia magnificentia, cum omni sunt sollicitudine observanda, ne aut mutatione temporum a sequentis posteritatis memoria deleantur aut perversorum hominum sinistra perturbatione aliquibus dissensionem scrupulis postmodum pervertantur."

III but to his father Fulk, “of pious memory the illustrious third king of the Latins of Jerusalem,” and his mother Melisende, Fulk’s wife and the still living queen of Jerusalem.<sup>150</sup> Baldwin III’s first foray into the administration of the kingdom had the secondary effect of solidifying Melisende’s own position in relation to her son: the royal acts made by her and Fulk still held weight and it was Baldwin III’s job as junior monarch to help uphold what she had already done.

Melisende’s continued royal status is upheld in the joint charters issued between 1144 and 1147. Of the four charters (UKJ 212, 214, 215, 216), only one (UKJ 214) uses the first-person singular conjugation in the concessionary formula rather than the first-person plural despite Melisende’s presence in the document as an issuing party.<sup>151</sup> However, because its purpose was to confirm an 1141 agreement negotiated between the Hospitallers and a certain Robert of Saint-Gilles (Robertus Sancti Egidii) in the presence of Fulk and Melisende, perhaps Baldwin III rubber-stamped a previous royal act that still held the authority his mother put behind it, just as he did for UKJ 210. Moreover, because Melisende was named as one of the issuing parties (regardless of the grammar used in the document), it held the dual weight of her past and present confirmations.<sup>152</sup> The other three charters (UKJ 212, 215, 216) do use the first person plural in the concessionary formula in addition to including Melisende as an issuing party. Moreover, UKJ 215 and 216 use the additional phrase of “it is our will to let it be known to all persons future and present...”<sup>153</sup> prior to Baldwin III and Melisende’s names and the standard concessionary formula as if to indicate that the royal will acted as one entity while it

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<sup>150</sup> UKJ 210, p. 392. “*quam pater meus Fulco pie memorie illustris rex Iherusalem Latinorum tercius et mater mea Milissendis regina* pro sua predecessorumque suorum salute cum canonicis Sepulcri Domini de temporalibus beneficiis ad ecclesiam sancti Lazari, que in Bethania sita est, pertinentibus fecere...”

<sup>151</sup> UKJ 214, p. 398. “*Igitur ego quidem Baldwinus dei gratia Ierosolimorum et sancte civitatis Latinorum quartus rex et mater mea Milisendis regina pactum seu convenientiam... ita cartis notare censui et concessi, sicut in sequentibus determinabitur.*”

<sup>152</sup> UKJ 214, pp. 396-9

<sup>153</sup> UKJ 215, p. 401; UKJ 216, p. 403. “...*omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris notum fieri volumus...*”

resided in two persons.<sup>154</sup> At the time of the issuance of UKJ 215 and UKJ 216 in 1146, this expression of royal unity was of the utmost importance. The county of Edessa was all but eradicated and Nur al-Din was on the rise, threatening Christian and Muslim powers alike. If Melisende was not crucial to the Jerusalemite monarchy's ability to weather the rising storm, then her explicit inclusion in the charters would not have been necessary.

Melisende also acted as the lead issuer of five charters (UKJ 175, 177, 178, 179, 180) in this period between 1143 and 1152. Two of these charters, UKJ 175 and 177, the queen made with the assent of one or both of her sons. The last three charters, issued between 1150 and 1152 (a period of growing strife between mother and elder son), Melisende made without the input or involvement of Baldwin III. Mayer interprets these charters as Melisende downgrading Baldwin III's legal status within his own kingdom as he either consented to a charter or was not included altogether.<sup>155</sup> According to Mayer, "most likely the affront was intentional, for even if Baldwin was away it would have been proper to issue charters jointly, the way they had been issued before."<sup>156</sup> However, there is nothing to indicate that Baldwin and Melisende were not both present for each charter that was issued jointly. As queen regnant, it would have been within her right to issue charters in her own name without needing her son as a co-issuer or even his assent, as demonstrated by Baldwin's first charter. Indeed, Melisende needed to issue charters and other royal acts without Baldwin in order to continue governing the kingdom when he was away on campaign or attending to matters in the other crusader states – which he did several times between

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<sup>154</sup> The importance of UKJ 216 as a tool to bolster morale in the Kingdom of Jerusalem will be discussed in the following chapter.

<sup>155</sup> UKJ 175, pp. 351-4; UKJ 177, pp. 355-7; UKJ 178, pp. 358-60; UKJ 179, pp. 360-2; UKJ 180, pp. 362-3; Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 129-37

<sup>156</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 130

1149 and 1152.<sup>157</sup> It was her right and duty as queen to ensure that the royal government and chancery continued to operate.

It should be noted that all of the aforementioned charters always referred to Melisende as *regina* and, for those that she issued with his assent or alone, included some variation of *dei gratia Ierosolimorum regina*. Not once is her position referred to as regent or acting on the behalf of someone else. Compare this with other monarchs of Jerusalem. In 1134 and 1135, Fulk issued UKJ 129 and UKJ 130 in his capacity as the regent of Antioch on behalf of Constance, Bohemond II's daughter and princess of Antioch. In UKJ 129, Fulk is called *rector ac baiulus Antiocheni principatus filieque Boamundi iunioris*, "the governor and steward of the principality of Antioch and the daughter of Bohemond the Younger [i.e. Bohemond II]."<sup>158</sup> In UKJ 130, he is called *baiulus et tutor Antiocheni principatus*, "the steward and protector of the principality of Antioch."<sup>159</sup> If Melisende's role in Jerusalem following the death of Fulk was supposed to be that of a regent for Baldwin III, her royal acts would have contained some sort of indication that her authority was derived from him or that she acted on his behalf as a *tutor*, *baiulus*, or *procurator*. Rather, royal authority belonged to her as much as it did to her son. They were two persons of a royal whole, equal in authority (at least, theoretically) and equipped to use it as they saw fit – especially when the necessary duties of the kingdom divided their time and attention.

Because Melisende ruled alongside Baldwin as queen regnant, she continued to have influence over the development of royal policy and the practice of kingship through the 1140s. If she were just a regent, then her continued role in the government of Jerusalem would have been seen as a problem by chroniclers like William of Tyre, Michael the Syrian, or Ibn al-Qalanisi. Moreover, the existence of a decade-long conflict between the two would not have been

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<sup>157</sup> WT, 17.10-12, pp. 773-7; WT, 17.16, pp. 781-2

<sup>158</sup> UKJ 129, pp. 298-300

<sup>159</sup> UKJ 130, pp. 300-2

obscured in the subtext of chronicles or hidden within the circumstantial evidence of royal charters: it would have been splashed across any work, Christian or Muslim, who sought to delegitimize the Kingdom of Jerusalem or explain its decline in the face of Edessa or the Second Crusade. Rather, Melisende was an acknowledged monarch of Jerusalem who, as we will see, influenced the course of royal ideology during her tenure as queen regnant.

## **Conclusion**

Melisende's journey to queendom was far from foregone as she had to contend with the machinations of her husband, Fulk. However, she emerged from that conflict with an unassailable right to rule the Kingdom of Jerusalem as queen regnant. It is clear from William of Tyre, and supported by the charter evidence, that Melisende was meant to regnant alongside Baldwin III during his rule, not just a regent destined to step aside as soon as he attained his majority. She was an equal member of the royal duo who influenced royal policy and helped determine the royal ideology that characterized the 1140s. Indeed, as a child of one of the victors of the First Crusade whose claims were supported by other veterans and descendants, she was familiar with the strength of the First Crusade's memory and the importance for the monarch to fulfill the promises of conquest that drove that expedition to their ultimate goal.

## Chapter 2

### *Ad Christianitatis Profectum: The Ideology of “King-as-Crusader” during the Reign of Baldwin III and Melisende, 1143-1152 CE*

When Fulk died in 1143, the Kingdom of Jerusalem still had a reigning, consecrated and anointed, ruler: Melisende. By the rights afforded to her by Baldwin II's deathbed will in 1131 confirmed by her anointing and coronation later the same year, Melisende was the queen regnant of Jerusalem invested with the full authority of her office. While Baldwin II specified that his grandson was to share royal authority with his parents, Baldwin III was not anointed and crowned during Fulk's time as king and there was no pressure from the nobility to rectify that situation. Indeed, Melisende was within her rights to postpone Baldwin III's coronation and consecration as he had not yet reached his majority by 1143, being only thirteen years old. However, on December 25, 1143, forty-three years to the day after Baldwin I's inauguration as the first king of Jerusalem, Baldwin III “was solemnly anointed, consecrated, and, with his mother, crowned through the hand of lord William, of blessed memory, patriarch of Jerusalem, with the princes as well as all the prelates of the Church having assembled in the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre according to custom...”<sup>160</sup> Through their joint coronation, Melisende demonstrated before the kingdom's assembled elite and God himself that the queen would rule Jerusalem alongside Baldwin III, now fully invested with the royal rights and authority granted to him by Baldwin II, as royal peers. In other words, she desired to rule with her son in collaboration, not to dominate him as both his mother and queen.

This chapter will be divided into four parts. The first will investigate the character of Baldwin and Melisende's collaboration. At that point, in the manner of the Capetian kings of

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<sup>160</sup> WT, 16.3, p. 717. “...convenientibus de more principibus simul et universis ecclesiarum prelatibus in ecclesia Domini Sepulchri, per manus domini Willelmi, bone memorie Ierosolimorum patriarche, sollempniter inunctus, consecratus et cum matre coronatus est.”

France and many of the lords in the French kingdom in the preceding centuries, Baldwin was crowned alongside his mother in anticipation of his eventual accession to the throne as sole king of Jerusalem after Melisende's death or her willing abdication. However, contrary to Mayer's arguments, Melisende did not prevent her son from exercising royal authority. Instead, she laid the groundwork to ensure Baldwin's success, from having him issue his first charter alone to allowing him lead a siege against a minor fortress, so he did not appear weak or incapable.

The second part of the chapter will explore the development of the royal ideology of "king-as-crusader" between 1144 and 1148. After the fall of Edessa to Zengi in 1144, Baldwin and Melisende worked together to develop an adequate response to his and Nur al-Din's growing strength. They turned to the rhetoric of the nascent crusade movement to portray Baldwin as heir to the crusading legacy of Godfrey of Bouillon. The king and queen patronized the writing of historical works that portrayed the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as a continuation of the purpose of the First Crusade and emphasized in their charters that the advancement of Christendom was an essential part of their royal dignity. William of Tyre's account of the Bostrum campaign in 1147 attests to the potent memory of this ideological program.

The third part will discuss the difficulties Baldwin and Melisende's ideological program experienced with the arrival of the Second Crusade. The limits of the "king-as-crusader" ideal were exposed through the inability of the king and queen to effectively coordinate their ideological and material interests with those of the newly arrived Franks from the west. Some among the western Franks desired to keep the conquests of the Second Crusade, especially Damascus, for themselves. The Franks of the Latin East, in turn, balked at the idea of giving up crucial territory to newly arrived foreigners and likely undermined the siege as a result. The failure of the siege of Damascus had the unintended consequence of weakening Baldwin and



Melisende's claims to legitimacy rooted in the memory of the First Crusade as well as Baldwin's royal identity as heir to Godfrey's crusading legacy.

The fourth part will explore the conflict between Baldwin and Melisende that occurred from 1149 to 1152. Baldwin's sojourns in Antioch after the death of its prince, Raymond of Poitiers, and the capture of the count of Edessa, Joscelin II, were his first times away from the royal court for extended periods of time. Either his first-hand experience with the devastation of the northern crusader states or his meeting with Byzantine envoys led Baldwin to reject the royal ideology he developed with Melisende, causing a rift to develop between mother and son. The two maintained separate royal courts for over two years until Baldwin felt strong enough to openly defy Melisende, removing her from the political and ideological center of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

### **Royal Collaboration**

The earliest years of Melisende and Baldwin's joint rule were marked by the presentation of a united royal front and collaboration to address the kingdom's problems. As was briefly discussed, Melisende and Baldwin were crowned together in the Holy Sepulchre following the latter's consecration and anointing. Melisende was not required to undergo consecration and anointing at this time because she had already done so during her and Fulk's inauguration to the royal office on September 14, 1131.<sup>161</sup> The ceremony of royal consecration and anointing happened only once in a monarch's lifetime as the process elevated the royal recipient above the laity and allowed divine grace to imbue them with the royal and religious authority of Christ

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<sup>161</sup> WT, 14.2, pp. 633-4

himself.<sup>162</sup> Kings were anointed in the Old Testament as early as Saul. In Europe, the practice dates back to Visigothic Spain and survived to the twelfth century through the Carolingians and Capetians.<sup>163</sup> After Baldwin I, the first crowned king of Jerusalem, introduced the practice in the Latin East, it became a key component for royal inauguration in Jerusalem.<sup>164</sup> Thus, as far as anyone in the kingdom was concerned, Melisende had already been fully invested into the royal office and was not required to undergo the process again.

Mayer argues that Melisende staging her second coronation with Baldwin's inauguration was a political move on Melisende's part designed to demonstrate to Baldwin and the kingdom who held true royal authority. However, this choice was congruent with common royal practices of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Coronations without anointings could be and were performed numerous times by kings in Europe, for both formal ceremonies with the king's heir or queen as well as specific liturgical feast days. For example, while William the Conqueror was

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<sup>162</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 42-86; Jaume Aurell and Marta Serrano-Coll, "The Self-Coronation of Peter the Ceremonious (1336): Historical, Liturgical, and Iconographical Representations" in *Speculum* 89, no. 1 (2014): 63-4; More, check out footnote 5 in Aurell and Serrano-Coll; Johanna Dale, *Inauguration and Liturgical Kingship in the Long Twelfth Century: Male and Female Accession Rituals in England, France and the Empire* (York: York Medieval Press, 2019)

<sup>163</sup> Stuart Airlie, *Making and Unmaking the Carolingians* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2021), pp. 27-51; Elizabeth M. Hallam and Charles West, *Capetian France, 987-1328* (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 82-3; Lewis, "Anticipatory Association": 921-2; Jaume Aurell, "The Self-Coronation of Iberian Kings: A Crooked Line" in *Imago temporis* 8 (2014): 153-61; Janet Nelson, "National synods, kingship as office, and royal anointing: an early medieval syndrome" in *Studies in church history* 7 (1971): 41-59. The importance of consecration and anointing is best illustrated by the Anarchy. Even though Matilda was Henry I's named heir to whom all the lords of the Anglo-Norman realms swore oaths, Matilda was never able to call herself "queen," settling for the title "Lady of the English" in addition to her imperial title, because she never was consecrated and anointed. Moreover, because Stephen had undergone the ceremonies, his kingship could not be denied and no one, not even the pope, could delegitimize Stephen lest they call the transformative character of royal unction into question. For more, see Carolyn Anderson, "Narrating Matilda, 'Lady of the English,' in the *Historia Novella*, the *Gesta Stephani*, and Wace's *Roman de Rou*: The Desire for Land and Order," *Clio* 29, no. 1 (1999): 47-67; Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1993); David Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135-54* (Harlow: Longman, 2000); R.H.C. Davis, "What Happened in Stephen's Reign, 1135-54," *History* 49, no. 165 (1964): 1-12; Idem, *King Stephen, 1135-1154* (London: Longman, 1990); Nederman, "The Changing Face of Tyranny": 1-20; Nesta Pain, *Empress Matilda: Uncrowned Queen of England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1978)

<sup>164</sup> Edgington, *Baldwin I of Jerusalem*, pp. 80-2; Murray, *Baldwin of Bourcq*, pp. 94-6; Simon John, "Royal inauguration and liturgical culture in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1187," *Journal of medieval history* 43, no. 4 (2017): 485-504

inaugurated as king on December 25, 1066, he was crowned alongside his wife, Matilda of Flanders, when she was inaugurated as queen in 1068. Moreover, he would wear his crown when he held court on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost.<sup>165</sup> Many Capetian kings, the leading practitioners of royal anticipatory association of heirs, were crowned multiple times in their lives and participated in the inauguration of their heirs. Hugh Capet, the progenitor of the dynasty, crowned his son Robert the Pious in 988, one year after his own coronation. Robert followed suit with his eldest son, Hugh Magnus, in 1017 and again after Hugh's death with his second son, Henry I, in 1027.<sup>166</sup> Following his inauguration as joint-king with Henry I in 1059, Philip I was crowned again in 1071, 1098, and 1100 in order to bolster his authority during periods of crisis or excommunication.<sup>167</sup> After his anointing and coronation as junior monarch in 1131, Louis VII was crowned three more times: his first marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1136, after the death of his father Louis VI in 1137, and his third marriage to Adela of Blois in 1160.<sup>168</sup> Furthermore, while junior kings like Robert the Pious or Henry I received direction from their fathers, they were not excluded from royal affairs and held royal authority of their own. Indeed, Hugh Capet stated that he desired to crown Robert in order to maintain stability while Hugh campaigned in Iberia – a king abroad and a king at home – and to guarantee a smooth transition of power if the senior king never returned.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: a study in liturgical acclamations and mediaeval ruler worship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), pp. 94-101; Elodie Leschot, "The Abbey of Saint-Denis and the Coronation of the King of France" in *Arts* 9, no. 4 (2020): 1-2

<sup>166</sup> Richer of Reims, *Richeri Historiarum Libri Quatuor: Tomus Secundus*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertztrans and trans. Joseph Guadet (Paris: J. Renouard et cie, 1845), pp. 158-63; Lewis, "Anticipatory Association": 908-9

<sup>167</sup> Michel Amyot, "Philip I of France (1060–1108) and the Development of Royal Authority," Ph.D. thesis, (Dublin: Trinity College, 2007), pp. 39-47

<sup>168</sup> Ord. Vit., pp. 130, 182; Leschot, "The Abbey of Saint-Denis": pp. 1-5; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *"Franks, Burgundians, and Aquitanians" and the royal coronation ceremony in France* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1992), pp. 34-53

<sup>169</sup> Richer of Reims, *Richeri Historiarum*, pp. 160-1: "Petebat itaque alterum regem creari, ut si bellico tumultu duorum alter decideret, de principe non diffideret exercitus. Fieri quoque asserebat posse, rege interempto; et patria desolata, primatum discordiam, pravorum contra bonos tirannidem, et inde totius gentis captivitatem." Lewis, "Anticipatory Association": 908

Just like the Capetians, Melisende, as senior monarch, did not exclude Baldwin from participating in royal government or exercising his royal prerogatives, the granting of land and issuing of charters being some of the more important royal functions. Baldwin's first charter (UKJ 210), which reconfirmed multiple grants of lands and rights to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre made by Fulk and Melisende in 1138,<sup>170</sup> served two purposes. First, the language of the charter maintained that royal acts made by Fulk and Melisende were still valid despite Baldwin's accession of the throne, confirming that Melisende was still the queen regnant with Baldwin as her junior king. Her presence as an issuing party was not required and perhaps would have been a hindrance to the message she wished to send. Second, Baldwin's position as the sole issuing party established that the young king was a fully inducted member of the royal body and not a pawn of his mother. Mayer argues that such a charter was simply a *pro forma* act to solidify Baldwin's position as king, one he would have made regardless if he ruled alone or with his mother.<sup>171</sup> Melisende could have joined as an issuing party if the two monarchs chose a royal act that Fulk issued alone and a similar effect could have been achieved. However, the choice to confirm a grant by Fulk *and* Melisende must have been a calculated move to present Melisende and Baldwin as united in royal will but independent in action.

The co-monarchs were equally careful when choosing appropriate battlefields for Baldwin, as king of a frontier kingdom surrounded by hostile or potentially hostile polities, to exercise the most important of his royal duties: leading armies into battle. According to Mayer, when Edessa was besieged by Zengi late 1144, its inhabitants sent word to the Kingdom of Jerusalem requesting that they send help. Melisende took command of the situation, sending Manasses of Hierges, the constable of Jerusalem, with Philip of Nablus and Elinard of Tiberias.

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<sup>170</sup> UKJ 210, pp. 390-3

<sup>171</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," p. 115

To Mayer, Melisende deliberately excluded Baldwin from asserting himself as a military leader – something that Melisende, as a woman, could not do. Indeed, Baldwin had already led the expedition against the fortress of the Valley of Moses earlier the same year. If his age had been a limiting factor from him going into battle, “he should not have been able, or allowed, to conduct the Wadi Musa [Valley of Moses] campaign...”<sup>172</sup> However, in terms of severity and risk to Baldwin, comparing the situation at the Valley of Moses with Edessa is akin to comparing a campfire with a forest fire. The fortress at the Valley of Moses was located across the Jordan River in what became the lordship of the OutreJordan, about 25 miles south of the fortress of Montreal and less than a mile north of Petra. In other words, the fortress was in the middle of the Kingdom of Jerusalem’s territory within the range of support of several Latin fortresses and settlements. Furthermore, according to William of Tyre, the fortress of the Valley of Moses fell when the local inhabitants invited a group of Turks to seize it from the Latins. While the Jerusalemite army assaulted the fortress without success, they were able to turn the local inhabitants against the Turks by destroying the olive groves that surrounded the fortress. Isolated from outside support while inside the Kingdom of Jerusalem and without the support of the locals, the Turks were forced to turn over the fortress to the Latins.<sup>173</sup> The risk to Baldwin was negligible: the fortress was within the kingdom’s territory, the royal army was not far from supplies or support, and the Turkish warband did not have a leader of note connected to any of the regional powers (otherwise William would have mentioned his name and affiliation). The low stakes of the situation made it the perfect situation for the young Baldwin to lead his first campaign.

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid, pp. 117-8

<sup>173</sup> WT, 16.6, pp. 721-2

The easy success Baldwin found in the Valley of Moses could not have been guaranteed at Edessa. His participation would have the potential to turn a setback into a full-blown crisis for the Kingdom of Jerusalem, for several reasons. Northern Syria and eastern Anatolia were the prisons and graveyards of overambitious or careless Latin lords. Between the establishment of the crusader kingdoms and Baldwin III's accession to the throne, five major leaders of the Latin East were either imprisoned or killed in northern Syria and eastern Anatolia. Bohemond of Taranto, first prince of Antioch and one of the leaders of the First Crusade, was captured by the Danishmend Turks, a rival dynasty to the Seljuks of Rum based in eastern Anatolia, after the Battle of Melitene in 1100 and imprisoned for three years.<sup>174</sup> Roger of Salerno, regent of Antioch for Bohemond II from 1112 until 1119, was killed by the Artuqid ruler of Mardin during the Battle of the Field of Blood.<sup>175</sup> Bohemond II also met his untimely end in 1130 fighting the Danishmends in Cilicia.<sup>176</sup> Baldwin II was captured twice while on campaign in northern Syria, once in 1104 when he was count of Edessa and again in 1123 as king of Jerusalem.<sup>177</sup> Baldwin II's successor in Edessa, Joscelin I, was captured in 1122 and died in 1131 from injuries he sustained during a border dispute between Edessa and Aleppo.<sup>178</sup> Born in 1105, Melisende lived during most of these setbacks and knew how destabilizing the capture or death of a prince or king could be. Furthermore, she experienced some of the consequences first-hand as Baldwin II

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<sup>174</sup> Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*, trans. by Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 156-7; Fulcher of Chartres, *Chronicle in The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials, Second Edition*, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 100-1; WT, 9.21, pp. 447-8; Thomas Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 50-6, 129-36.

<sup>175</sup> Walter the Chancellor, *Walter the Chancellor's The Antiochene Wars*, trans. by Thomas Asbridge and Susan B. Edgington (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999), pp. 125-9; WT, 12.9-10, pp. 556-9; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, pp. 74-81

<sup>176</sup> WT, 13.27, pp. 623-5; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, pp. 89-91; Andrew Buck, *The Principality of Antioch and Its Frontiers in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 21-5

<sup>177</sup> WT, 10.29 (30), pp. 489-91; WT, 12.17, pp. 566-8; Murray, *Baldwin of Bourcq*, pp. 62-9, pp. 147-57

<sup>178</sup> WT, 10.29 (30), pp. 489-91; WT, 14.3, pp. 634-5

became regent of Antioch following the deaths of Roger of Salerno and Bohemond II, a responsibility that Fulk took over once he became king of Jerusalem.<sup>179</sup> Most of these men were experienced commanders with proven success against the Muslim rulers of the region and all of them were much older at their time of death and captivity than Baldwin III was by 1144. In short, Melisende understood that campaigning in northern Syria and Anatolia was a risky venture regardless the experience or audacity of the commander.

Imad al-Din Zengi, the atabeg of Mosul and Aleppo who conquered Edessa, was the biggest threat to the Latin East up until 1144. One of the strongest rulers in Syria, Zengi had nearly a decade's worth of experience fighting – and defeating – the crusader states and their erstwhile Muslim and Byzantine allies. In 1137, the atabeg defeated the combined forces of Raymond II of Tripoli and Fulk during the siege of Montferrand, capturing the count and forcing the king to surrender the fortress before a united Frankish relief force could arrive.<sup>180</sup> In 1138 as part of Emperor John II Komnenos's efforts to project Byzantine power in Syria, a Byzantine army led by the emperor himself and supported by Antioch and Edessa besieged first Aleppo and, when their efforts were stymied by the Aleppan defenders, then Shayzar. Despite the still prodigious military might of the Byzantine Empire, Zengi thwarted their efforts through raids and sowing mistrust among the Greco-Frankish leadership, soon causing them to withdraw.<sup>181</sup> In

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<sup>179</sup> WT, 12.12, pp. 560-2; WT, 13.27, pp. 623-5; WT, 14.4, pp. 635-6; UKJ 129, pp. 298-300; UKJ 130, pp. 300-2

<sup>180</sup> WT, 14.26-29, pp. 665-70; Ibn al-Qalanisi, pp. 242-3; Paul Cobb, *The Race for Paradise: An Islamic History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 132-3; Taef El-Azhari, *Zengi and the Muslim response to the Crusades: the politics of jihad* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 74-6; Michael Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties Between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the Period of the Crusades*, trans. Peter M. Holt and ed. Konrad Hirschler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 137-8. As part of the conclusion of the peace, Zengi bestowed Fulk with a robe of honor, an action that, according to Köhler, indicated both recognition of someone's rule and the subservience of the recipient to the one who gifted the robe. Ibn al-Qalanisi interpreted the action as such and the gift, if Fulk was aware of its significance, would have added further insult to his injury.

<sup>181</sup> WT, 15.1-2, pp. 674-6; Ibn al-Qalanisi, pp. 248-52; Cobb, *The Race for Paradise*, pp. 132-4; Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, pp. 138-43; El-Azhari, *Zengi and the Muslim Response*, pp. 78-85; Marshall W. Baldwin, "Zengi and the Fall of Edessa" in *A History of the Crusades, Volume 1: The First Hundred Years*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958), pp. 458-9

other words, Zengi was a shrewd commander who proved himself capable of outlasting and outwitting the pre-eminent rulers and military commanders of the region.

Mayer's interpretation of Melisende's actions towards Baldwin concerning Edessa was a simple seizure of power and led him to a similar conclusion concerning their relationship during the entirety of the 1140s: Melisende restricted her son's ability to act for the sake of preserving her own power and Baldwin schemed to outmaneuver his mother and obtain his birthright. Indeed, Mayer believes that Melisende should have abdicated in favor of Baldwin from the beginning: "Had she been wise, she would have taken this opportunity [Baldwin's threat of civil war in 1152] to withdraw honorably and with dignity. But, as in the past, her thirst for power was greater than her wisdom."<sup>182</sup> The record of their co-rule, however, speaks to the contrary. Between 1144 and 1150, Melisende and Baldwin showed a remarkable degree of cooperation managing the affairs of the kingdom, demonstrating an ability to rule together and operate independently. Their public acts were designed in such a way to emphasize the unity of the royal will even though it resided in two persons. By doing so, Melisende and Baldwin created a sense of stability for their rule despite the military setbacks and the burgeoning crises across the Latin East during the majority of their co-rule. Moreover, despite his young age, Baldwin was involved in every level of his royal responsibilities: he was the primary party to most of the charters issued during this time, participated with his mother in the proceedings and councils of the high court, received and negotiated with foreign rulers and dignitaries, and, most importantly, led armies into battle. The years between 1144 and 1150 were spent preparing Baldwin for his eventual solo rule, his far more experienced mother by his side for "as long as her son wanted to be guided by her counsel."<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," p. 166

<sup>183</sup> WT, 26.3, p. 717



We have discussed the importance of the charters issued between Baldwin's accession in 1143 and the advent of his solo rule in 1152 for the determination of Melisende's position in the royal government. While the charters issued jointly upheld Melisende's royal status as *regina* and maintained the continuity of her royal authority from her joint rule with Fulk, Baldwin's name was always listed first in the concessionary formulas rather than Melisende's despite her status as senior monarch.<sup>184</sup> This was not a common practice in western Europe among the rulers who practiced anticipatory association of their heirs. Capetian kings like Robert the Pious, Henry I, and Louis VI did include their sons as named kings in their royal acts. However, the senior king was always the primary issuer while their sons were secondary: the heir was named second but included as an issuer, they were included as a witness at the bottom, or the charter was issued with the heir's advice or assent.<sup>185</sup> Even in cases of female rulers whose heirs acted with their parent's royal authority, the associated heir did not list their name first. Indeed, when issuing charters on his mother's behalf, Henry II of England always deferred to Matilda's senior position (and more prestigious title of "empress") and listed his own name after his mother's.<sup>186</sup> In other words, the senior monarch held a privileged position in royal acts over associated heirs, even if they had been consecrated and crowned as kings themselves'. While deviating from contemporary practice, Melisende was in no way indicating that her authority was lesser than

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<sup>184</sup> UKJ 212, p. 395: "Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris, quod ego **Baldwinus** dei gratia sancte civitatis Ierusalem rex Latinorum quartus et **Milisendis** regina mater nostra concedimus et confirmamus..."  
 UKJ 214, p. 398: "Igitur ego quidem **Baldwinus** dei gratia Ierosolimorum et sancte civitatis Latinorum quartus rex et mater mea **Milisendis** regina pactum seu convenientiam... ita cartis notare censui et concessi..."  
 UKJ 215, p. 401: "[O]mnibus tam presentibus quam futuris notum fieri volumus, quod ego **Balduinus** per dei gratiam in sancta Ierusalem Latinorum rex quartus et **Milisendis** mater mea eadem gratia eorundem regina... concedimus tali quidem pactione..."

UKJ 216, p. 403: "[O]mnibus tam presentibus quam futuris notum fieri volumus, quod ego **Balduinus** dei gratia in sancta Ierusalem Latinorum rex quartus et ego **Milesendis** eius mater, eadem gratia eorundem regina, et ego **Amalricus** regis frater et regine filius... donamus et concedimus..."

<sup>185</sup> Achille Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros; annales de sa vie et de son règne (1081-1137)* (Paris: A. Picard, 1890), pp. 221-3, 228, 230, 236-7, 240; William Mendel Newman, *Catalogue des actes de Robert II roi de France* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1937), pp. 81-3, 89-90, 95, 105-6; Frédéric Sœhnée, *Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier, roi de France (1031-1060)* (Paris: H. Champion, 1907), pp. 98-9, 103-5, 125-6

<sup>186</sup> Chibnall, "The Charters of Empress Matilda," pp. 276-98

Baldwin's. Rather, similar to Baldwin confirming his first charter without her name attached, Melisende elevated her son to her position as a fully-initiated monarch of Jerusalem, a position that had been rightfully Baldwin's since the death of his grandfather. This step was an important one for Melisende to take in order to ensure Baldwin's acceptance as king after he went uncrowned for over a decade despite his grandfather's will.

As was discussed previously, according to William of Tyre, Baldwin II granted Fulk, Melisende, and the younger Baldwin "the care and full power of the kingdom" while he was on his deathbed in the patriarch's palace, witnessed by Patriarch William as well as other prelates and nobles of the kingdom.<sup>187</sup> However, despite the will of his grandfather, Baldwin III was not inaugurated as king until 1143, twelve years after Baldwin II's death. Why was Baldwin not crowned and consecrated until after the deaths of both his grandfather and father? The first argument is that, at just one year of age, Baldwin would have been far too young, especially when both his parents were still living and fully-initiated as monarchs. However, this would not have barred him from being crowned and consecrated later during Fulk's reign. While the *Livre au Roi*, a collection of laws of the Kingdom of Jerusalem produced around 1200, stated that a king who had yet to reach his majority should be crowned by age twelve,<sup>188</sup> I must echo Prawer's concerns when applying thirteenth-century legal compilations to twelfth-century matters: "the use of [thirteenth-century] legal treatises as the principal sources for the constitutional history of the Latin Kingdom [of Jerusalem] creates the illusion of a fossilized constitution."<sup>189</sup> Rather, the

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<sup>187</sup> WT, 13.28, p. 625. "...regni curam et plenam eis tradidit potestatem..."

<sup>188</sup> Myriam Greilshammer, *Le Livre au Roi* (Paris: L'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres), pp. 147-50; Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 113-4

<sup>189</sup> Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 9. By the time the *Livre au Roi* was written down in 1200, the Kingdom of Jerusalem had several cases in which a monarch who had yet to reach their majority came into the throne: Baldwin III (age one or twelve, depending when you start counting), Baldwin IV (age twelve or thirteen), and Baldwin V (age five as joint king, eight as solo king). This necessitated the codification of consistent inheritance laws in order to maintain the stability of the royal line and the transfer of power from one monarch to another. Compare this to 1131 or 1143. While the Kingdom of Jerusalem had experienced near-crises concerning succession after Godfrey

customs practiced by their predecessors and contemporaries in both the Latin East and Europe are better indicators of legal practices in the early Kingdom of Jerusalem than later law codes.

Baldwin's central position within his own government before he attained his majority was unusual in the Latin East. Pons, the count of Tripoli from 1112 to 1137, inherited the county when he was fourteen following the death of his father, Bertrand. However, until he reached his majority in 1114, the county was governed by a ruling council comprising the county's leading officers, ecclesiastics, and nobles, as confirmed by the account of Ibn al-Qalanisi.<sup>190</sup> Moreover, this is corroborated by both Anna Komnene's description of a Byzantine envoy to Tripoli in 1112 where they were met with a young Pons and Bishop Albert of Tripoli, presumed member of this regency council, and William of Tyre's placing of Pons in Antioch at the deathbed of Tancred in 1112, where the young count serving in the courts of Tancred and then Roger of Salerno prior to reaching his majority.<sup>191</sup> In Antioch, while Bohemond II inherited in name the principality after the death of his father, Bohemond I, in 1111, he was only four years old and overseas in Taranto, his holding in southern Italy. His rule in Antioch was handled by a series of regents until he finally arrived in the east in 1126: Tancred, 1111-1112; Roger of Salerno, 1113-1119; and King Baldwin II, 1119-1126. Indeed, the Antiochene elite agreed to hand over authority over their principality to Baldwin II until the day Bohemond II arrived from overseas, "to whom [the Principality of Antioch] belonged of right."<sup>192</sup> In both cases, Pons and Bohemond did not participate in the governments of the regents: Pons was sent away to Antioch for his

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and Baldwin I, it had never experienced a problem where the monarch was under their age of majority. We should thus avoid the assumption that the law practiced in the late twelfth/early thirteenth-century was the same as that which was practiced in the early twelfth-century. As we shall see, better indicators of legal practice in the early Kingdom of Jerusalem are the customs practiced by their European predecessors and contemporaries.

<sup>190</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle*, p. 127

<sup>191</sup> Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (London: Penguin Books, 2003), pp. 403-6; WT, pp. 522-3; Kevin James Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli and Lebanon*, pp. 75-80

<sup>192</sup> Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene wars*, p. 144; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, pp. 134-46; Buck, *Antioch and Its Frontiers*, pp. 68-9

education under Tancred and Roger while Bohemond remained in Southern Italy under the regency of his mother, Constance of France.<sup>193</sup> Furthermore, the conditions for their sole control over their respective territories were clear: attain their age of majority and, in the case of Bohemond, come to Antioch. Until those conditions were met, their regents handled the affairs of their territories.

However, there was precedent among the Capetians for Baldwin III's full inauguration before he reached his majority. Robert the Pious crowned his eldest son, Hugh Magnus, in 1017 when he was ten years old; prior to his campaigns in Normandy, Henry I of France had his son, Philip I, crowned in 1058 when the latter was seven years old; and Louis VI crowned his first son, Philip, in 1127 when he was twelve and, after Philip's death, his second son and successor, Louis VII, in 1131 when he was eleven.<sup>194</sup> Unlike with Baldwin, however, the Capetian kings were not directed by the wills of their predecessors to crown their children but did so of their own volition. Moreover, there was nothing specifying the proper age that junior monarchs should be inaugurated but custom seemed to dictate that children could be crowned before they reached twelve or their majority. So, while Baldwin may have been too young to undergo his inauguration as an infant, there was nothing preventing him from being crowned and anointed at any other point between 1131 and 1143. Melisende, perhaps anxious to prove to the barons that Baldwin was a king legally capable of governing under his own authority, did not wait to inaugurate Baldwin as king and involve him at every level of governance.

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<sup>193</sup> Ord. Vit., *Ecclesiastical History*, 11.29, pp. 266-7; Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 36-9; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, pp. 141-2

<sup>194</sup> Lewis, "Anticipatory Association": 908-9; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, pp. 89-90, 95, 148

## The Royal Ideology of “King-as-Crusader”

Melisende and Baldwin’s collaboration intensified after 1146 as Baldwin’s role as king grew and the need to cast the king’s position in the mold of their crusading ancestors became ever more pressing due to the events of the Second Crusade. Between 1146 and 1149, royal acts, military campaigns, and artistic patronage became increasingly religious in character and echoed the successes of the First Crusade, especially those of the kingdom’s first two rulers, Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I. Both Melisende and Baldwin contributed to this conception of kingship: the king as a holy warrior tasked with the expansion of God’s dominion. Their program culminated with the rededication of the newly renovated Church of the Holy Sepulchre on July 15, 1149 – the fiftieth anniversary of the conquest of Jerusalem at the end of the First Crusade.

By the end of 1146, Edessa had been lost for good. There had been some fleeting cause for hope. Zengi, the atabeg of Mosul who first conquered the city two years prior, died in September 1146. Upon learning of his death, Count Joscelin II of Edessa rushed to retake his capital and managed to capture all but the citadel. His success did not last long as he was soon surrounded by armies from Aleppo, led by Zengi’s son and heir Nur al-Din. Joscelin, seeing the futility of his situation, abandoned Edessa to Nur al-Din in November of the same year and left the remaining Christian population to face death, slavery, or exile.<sup>195</sup>

During the spring of 1147, the court of Jerusalem received an unusual visitor bearing an enticing offer. Altuntash was the governor of the *metropolis* of Bostrum and the fortified city of Selchat (modern-day Busra al-Sham and Salkhad, located in southern Syria close to the Syrian-Jordanian border). According to William, he had earned “from certain causes the indignation of Mujir al-Din Abaq [Meieredin], the [Burid] king of Damascus, and of his atabeg [*procurator*] Mu’in al-Din [Mehenedin], who was called by another name Unur [Ainardus]” and, seeking to

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<sup>195</sup> WT, 16.14, pp. 734-8

earn the favor of Baldwin and Melisende, traveled to Jerusalem to offer them control of the two cities “if the lord king desired to grant him a compensation [that was] worthy and sufficient according to the judgment of a good man.”<sup>196</sup> Baldwin and Melisende convened the leading men of the kingdom to hear Altuntash’s proposal and advise the royal duo about the best course of action. They determined that Altuntash should be compensated and that the kingdom should direct its armies toward the cities of Bostrum and Selchat. According to William, the lords of Jerusalem “judged that the growth of the kingdom [would be] the greatest and most agreeable to God if, through this effort, the aforementioned city would be able to increase the Christian faith and, with perpetual right, our jurisdiction.”<sup>197</sup> With the decision made, the royal court formalized the terms of the treaty with Altuntash, sent out heralds to gather the fighting men of the kingdom, collected the relic of the True Cross to take with them on the expedition, and joined all of the lords of the kingdom with the army at Tiberias. There, Baldwin sent word to Unur to formally warn the atabeg of the upcoming expedition according to the terms of the peace treaty in 1139 between Jerusalem and Damascus, established by Fulk and reaffirmed by Baldwin and Melisende after his death. Unur’s appeals to the king to cease his expedition fell on deaf ears and the Christian army set forth to Bostrum.<sup>198</sup>

Out of all the military campaigns that William of Tyre described using what he derived from the material that he “faithfully observed by seeing” or learned from “those who, present, took part in the deeds done,” Baldwin III’s expedition to Bostrum stands out as the one with the most overtly religious tone and with the greatest resemblance to the First Crusade. There are

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<sup>196</sup> WT, 16.8, pp. 723-4. “...ex causis quibusdam Meieredin regis Damascenorum indignationem sustinens et procuratoris eius Mehedin, qui alio nomine Ainardus dicebatur... si dominus rex honestam et pro boni viri arbitrato sufficientiam ei vellet assignare compensationem...”

<sup>197</sup> WT, 16.8, p. 724. “...maximum enim et deo acceptum regni iudicant incrementum, si christiane fidei et nostre iurisdictioni per huius operam iure perpetuo possit accrescere civitas supranominata.”

<sup>198</sup> WT, 16.8, p. 724-5; Ibn al-Qalanisi, pp. 276-7. For the original terms of the treaty between Fulk and Unur, see WT, 15.7, p.684 and Ibn al-Qalanisi, pp. 259-61. See also Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, pp. 145-8, 153-5; Cobb, *The Race for Paradise*, pp. 133-4, 136-7

several key points that William emphasized that turned what others, such as Ibn al-Qalanisi, viewed as a standard military campaign into an expedition imbued with heavenly significance. First, this was the first military campaign since 1137 that the Franks took the relic of the True Cross with them and the first offensive expedition since 1124 in which the cross was used.<sup>199</sup> Second, William consistently stressed the cohesion and military discipline of the Frankish army despite the extreme adversity they faced, echoing the herculean feats of their First Crusade predecessors. Third, it is the only campaign in which William described explicit miracles that he did not copy from previous chroniclers. Edbury and Rowe note that in the latter part of William's work "there is a certain shift in emphasis away from the heroic and theological to the matter-of-fact and empirical."<sup>200</sup> William's momentary return of emphasis to the "heroic and theological" for the Bostrum campaign of 1147 necessitates a closer look.

Relics of the True Cross were the most venerated objects in the whole of Christendom. Purportedly a fragment of the relic discovered by St. Helena – the mother of Emperor Constantine – remained in Jerusalem after the fall of the city to the new Arab caliphate in the seventh century and was hidden in the early eleventh century when the "mad" Egyptian Fatimid caliph al-Hakim ordered the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009. After the crusaders "rediscovered" the relic in the Holy Sepulchre in the aftermath of the First Crusade, it became the centerpiece of the religious and military life of the kingdom. During the reigns of Godfrey, Baldwin I, and Baldwin II, the True Cross was carried on campaign fifteen times, four of which were for some sort of offensive expedition.<sup>201</sup> In contrast, between the conquest of Tyre in 1124 and Baldwin III's campaign to Bostrum in 1147, the True Cross was used on campaign once in 1137, when Patriarch William of Jerusalem led an army to relieve Fulk during Zengi's

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<sup>199</sup> Alan W. Murray, "Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ," p. 223

<sup>200</sup> Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p. 154

<sup>201</sup> Murray, "Mighty against the Enemies of Christ," pp. 222-3, 232-5

siege of Montferrand.<sup>202</sup> While Alan Murray attributes this lack of military use of the True Cross during this era to the relative stability of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, it is possible that Fulk, as a relative newcomer to the Latin East, felt qualms about using such a venerated object as a battle standard. Indeed, it was the Patriarch William, not Fulk, who decided to bring the True Cross to the king's aid.<sup>203</sup> However, Baldwin III, perhaps influenced by his mother as well as the members of the general council who supported the Bostrum campaign, decided that the upcoming battle was important enough to merit the presence of the True Cross.

More so than with other campaigns he described, William emphasized the military cohesion and discipline exhibited by the Franks despite many hardships. Indeed, in William's account, the Frankish army resembled their predecessors of the First Crusade. When the Christian army was being harassed by the Turks during their initial march to Bostrum, William noted that the Frankish cavalry, unburdened by the baggage train of the infantry, could have ridden ahead of the rest of the army. However, recognizing that splitting their forces would give the Turks more opportunities to attack, the cavalry chose to keep pace with the rest of the army, "and so the cohorts shared in their suffering together and the whole army was a disposition of mind just as if [they were] one man."<sup>204</sup> William's description of the Frank's shared suffering resembles the necessary penitential suffering the participants of the First Crusade underwent,

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<sup>202</sup> WT, 14.26-29, pp. 665-70

<sup>203</sup> Cf. two passages of WT, 14.26, p. 666, ln. 16-21: "Thus they [Fulk, Constable William of Buris, Renier the Brus, Guy of Brisebar, Baldwin of Ramla, Humphrey of Toron, and others] together decided that they would solicit the prince of Antioch and Joscelin [II] the Younger, count of Edessa, for their aid [and] also summon the lord patriarch with all of the people of the kingdom..." and 14.26, ln 48-51: "...likewise Lord William, patriarch of Jerusalem, with all of the troops in the kingdom whom he was able to summon having been gathered [and] with him having taken up the venerable wood of the Lord's Cross, quickly hastened to that place [where the king was besieged]..." Note that Fulk did not explicitly request that Patriarch William bring the True Cross with him but the patriarch felt that such an action was necessary, given the dire straits Fulk was in. Furthermore, this was the one Jerusalemite military action that Fulk did not and was not able to personally lead, meaning that all other expeditions he conducted he either did not know that the relic could be taken as a quasi-military standard or he actively chose not to bring it with him.

<sup>204</sup> WT, 16.9, p. 727. "Compatiebantur itaque sibi invicem cohortes et quasi vir unus affectus erat populus universus."



such as the famine during the latter part of the siege of Antioch in 1098 or the drought and penitential fast in the days before the final assault on Jerusalem in 1099.<sup>205</sup>

Indeed, for William, such suffering was the necessary condition that allowed for the Franks, for both the First Crusade and the Bostrum campaign, to act as *vir unus*, one man. For example, before the crusaders stormed Antioch and in response to a Muslim ambush on their escort for the newly arrived relief fleet, Godfrey of Bouillon summoned as many soldiers as he could to retaliate against the Antiochene defenders. As soon as the heralds were sent out, “the legions, without delay, assembled in general just as if [they were] one man [*vir unus*].”<sup>206</sup> Later, when the crusaders were themselves besieged in Antioch by Kerbogha, their leaders, bolstered by the recent discovery of the Holy Lance, decided to meet their besiegers in open battle. On the appointed day, June 28, “before they left the city, the whole [army] unanimously drew up the battle lines just as if [they were] one man [*vir unus*] and... assigned the order and manner of advance.”<sup>207</sup> By emphasizing that Baldwin III’s army acted *quasi vir unus* during their march, William connected their united purpose and singular-mindedness with that of their First Crusade predecessors, an implicit comparison between the Franks of the First Crusade and his contemporaries William rarely made in the latter half of his work.<sup>208</sup>

Even Baldwin III seemed to emulate his crusading ancestors in William’s account. Upon reaching Bostrum and learning that Altuntash’s wife had turned over the city to the forces of Unur and Nur al-Din,<sup>209</sup> the Franks decided that they should retreat to the kingdom without

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<sup>205</sup> WT, 6.5-16, pp. 311-29; WT, 8.4-7, pp. 388-95; WT, 8.11, pp. 400-1

<sup>206</sup> WT, 5.5, p. 276. “Nec mora quasi vir unus convenerunt universe legiones.”

<sup>207</sup> WT, 6.17, p. 330. “...omnes unanimiter quasi vir unus antequam urbem egrediantur acies instruunt et... ordinem et modum assignant procedendi.

<sup>208</sup> William uses *quasi vir unus* in his descriptions of battle one more time after the Bostrum campaign: the battle of Montgisard in 1177, during which Baldwin IV – aged only sixteen years old – defeated a larger invasion force led by Saladin. See WT, 21.21(22), pp. 990-1

<sup>209</sup> Upon learning that the Franks were going to invade, Unur sent requests to Nur al-Din, his son-in-law, for aid, despite his misgivings concerning the ambitions of both Nur al-Din and his father, Zengi. See WT, 16.8, pp. 725-6

delay. However, some of the lords that joined the expedition approached Baldwin in secret and urged that he take the True Cross and return to the kingdom alone on the horse of a certain John Goman, a knight whose horse was reputed to be the fastest and possessing the most endurance among the army. However, in response:

The king spurned their words with a royal magnificence, although he was found [to be] below his adult years [yet] signifying the kind [of character] which would be in those of an older age, saying that he would altogether scorn his own safety if, by chance, the people so devoted to God were to perish in such a lamentable disaster.<sup>210</sup>

Even the king, whose survival the lords of the kingdom viewed with the same importance as the survival of the True Cross, did not believe that he should save himself if his army, so devoted to God, were to perish. During the siege of Antioch, Godfrey of Bouillon spurned similar talk of abandonment from the crusader leadership. As Kerbogha's siege of the city dragged on, the famine among the Franks worsened. According to William, some of Frankish *principes* held a secret meeting to plan their escape from the city, abandoning the crusader army. When they learned of this meeting, Godfrey and Adhemar of Puy, the papal legate and chief prelate of the First Crusade, confronted their companions and told them "that [they] – those who removed themselves from so great a fellowship of the faithful of Christ, contrary to the moral integrity of character and tarnishing the distinction of their high birth – would earn for themselves and their descendants the perennial stain of infamy in perpetuity."<sup>211</sup> Baldwin demonstrated the

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and Ibn al-Qalanisi, pp. 275-9. For more concerning the precarious balance of power in the Levant and Syria and the "no place" doctrine practiced by the regional Christian and Muslim powers, see Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, pp. 210 WT, 16.10, p. 729. "Quod verbum rex, licet infra annos puberes constitutus significans qualis in maiore etate esset futurus, regia spreuit magnificentia, dicens propriam se omnino contempnere salutem, si tam deo devotus populus casu tam flebili deperiret."

<sup>211</sup> WT, 6.13, p. 324. "...quam perhennem infamie notam sibi et posteritati sue in perpetuum meruerint... qui contra honestatem morum, generositatis sue titulos, tanto fidelium Christi se collegio subtraxerunt." This happened after Stephen of Blois had abandoned the siege and convinced Alexios I Komnenos to turn back. William believed Stephen redeemed himself by participating in and dying during the Crusade of 1101, but he still had little regard for the count as he described him as someone for whom "it was not difficult to persuade him of whatever cowardice he was able to do [*Nec erat difficile ei persuadere quicquid timiditatem agere poterat*]..." See WT, 6.10, p. 319

steadfastness of character that Godfrey himself, whom William came to view as the first king of Jerusalem despite his lack of title,<sup>212</sup> possessed and thus was expected of a crusader king.

Turkish attacks did not cease during the march home. Frankish casualties piled up, literally. The army's leaders ordered the able-bodied soldiers to place the dead onto the pack animals and the wounded and infirm onto the horses, swords drawn and riding as upright as possible, to fool the Turks into thinking the Jerusalemite army was at full strength. According to William of Tyre, the trick worked, as the Turks "were astonished that no-one at all was found dead or losing strength from such a great release of arrows [or] from frequent clashes [or] from such a great affliction of thirst, dust, [and] excessive heat [and] they concluded that [our] people were [made of] iron..."<sup>213</sup> To pull off that level of deception required a degree of discipline and cooperation on the part of the Franks typically unseen, especially when they were on the brink of defeat.

Compare these events to numerous other battles in William's chronicle. The army of Antioch was defeated at the Field of Blood in 1119 because Roger's commanders failed to follow-up the initial assault and allowed the army of Il-Ghazi, the Artukid emir of Mardin, to regroup. Moreover, a chance whirlwind disrupted the Antiochenes to such a degree that the

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<sup>212</sup> Godfrey of Bouillon's exact title following the conquest of Jerusalem had been debated since the earliest chronicles of the First Crusade. The most common story, one that was espoused by the Provençal chronicler Raymond of Aguilers, was that he took the title of *advocatus Sepulchri Sancti*, or "advocate of the Holy Sepulchre." William of Tyre included that story in his version of the First Crusade, cementing it in the popular consciousness. However, outside of Raymond of Aguilers's chronicle and a letter to the pope following the battle of Ascalon in 1099 (also believed to have been penned by Raymond of Aguilers), Godfrey did not take that title in the other accounts of the First Crusade. However, it is unlikely he took the title "king" and most likely retained his title of "duke." Familiar as he was with the legend of the Last World Emperor combined with the general misgivings of wearing a crown in the city of Jesus's death and resurrection, he would have been reluctant to go so far to call himself king. Even his brother Baldwin, despite not sharing all his brother's sensibilities, knew he should avoid holding the coronation in Jerusalem, opting to be anointed and crowned in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem instead. For more, see Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), pp. 298-301

<sup>213</sup> WT, 16.11, p. 730. "Mirabantur itaque... quod de tanta immissione sagittarum, de crebris conflictibus, de tanta sitis, pulveris, estus immoderati molestia nullus umquam mortuus aut deficiens inveniretur, populum iudicant ferreum..."

Artukids, who were also affected by the whirlwind, managed to gain the upper hand and slay Roger as he tried to restore order.<sup>214</sup> In 1144, Zengi exploited the dispute between Joscelin of Courtenay and Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch, when he launched his siege of Edessa, knowing that, without any chance of aid from Raymond, Joscelin and Edessa were isolated and vulnerable to attack.<sup>215</sup> It was the eastern Frank's inferior martial ability and disunity that William believed allowed for the Muslims, previously splintered into city-states and petty kingdoms, to unite under one ruler: first Zengi, then Nur al-Din, and finally Saladin.<sup>216</sup> Despite its failure, Baldwin's Bostrum campaign served as a counterpoint to this narrative of Frankish martial decline, showing that Frankish unity and discipline in the face of adversity and under a strong ruler could result in emerging relatively unscathed.

There also were miracles – uncharacteristically for William's writing.<sup>217</sup> The Bostrum campaign was the sole exception of William appealing to divine aid, not once but twice. Once the Turks realized that their arrows were having no effect on the Frankish army, they changed their tactics. Seeing that the fields were filled with dry thickets and thistles, the Turks set fire to them, choking the Franks with plumes of smoke and threatening them with flames billowing in their direction. In desperation, the soldiers in the army turned to the person bearing the relic of the True Cross, Archbishop Robert of Nazareth, and begged for his help. Having "compassion in his spirit," the archbishop "raised up the salvific wood against the flames... and at once a divine

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<sup>214</sup> WT, 12.9-10, pp. 556-9

<sup>215</sup> WT, 16.4-5, pp. 718-21

<sup>216</sup> WT, 21.7, pp. 969-71

<sup>217</sup> For more on miracles in a crusading context, see Elizabeth Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015) and Beth Spacey, *The Miraculous and the Writing of Crusade Narrative* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020)

miracle appeared, with aid having been invoked from the highest, and in a moment... the flames, together with a foul fog of fumes, directed themselves into the enemy...”<sup>218</sup>

Unur, the Franks learned, knew the direction they were heading and promised to meet the Franks, in peace and with provisions. Not trusting Unur to keep his word, they took a less familiar road than planned. Their journey went far more smoothly than anticipated:

Behold! Suddenly leading the cohorts a certain unknown knight – a rider of a white horse, bearing a banner of the color red, dressed in a breastplate, with short gauntlets up to his elbow – went in front of the army. This [knight], just like an angel of the Lord of hosts, following the shortest of the roads led them to previously unknown sources of water and showed them suitable and advantageous places to pitch camp.<sup>219</sup>

A journey that should have taken five days was accomplished in three and the Christian army successfully reached the borders of their kingdom, battered and fatigued but not broken. William implied that he spoke with veterans of this campaign, adding that “[t]hose who preserve a more complete memory of these deeds unanimously maintain, as we have said, that no one knew this leader of the journey, for when it was time for the army to make camp, he disappeared... but in the morning, he took lead of the army.”<sup>220</sup> William wanted his audience to know that this was how those who participated in the Bostrum campaign remembered the events: a strong and able king willing to suffer with his people, a strong and united Christian army that survived the worst of adversity, and sure signs that the Kingdom of Jerusalem still had God’s favor despite the

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<sup>218</sup> WT, 16.11, pp. 730-1. “Ad has itaque gementis populi voces vir deo amabilis, contritus corde et animo valde compatiens, slautare lignum erigit contra incendia... et invocato de supernis auxilio statim affuit virtus divina et in momento... incendia simul cum tetra fumi caligne in hostes... se dirigunt...”

<sup>219</sup> WT, 16.12, p. 733. “ecce subito cohortes precedens miles quidam ignotus, albi sessor equi, rubei coloris vexillum baiulans, lorica indutus, curtis usque ad cubitos manicis, antecedeat exercitum. Hic tanquam angelus domini exercituum viarum sequens compendia et ad aquas ducens prius incognitas, congruis et commodis stationibus castrametari docebat.”

<sup>220</sup> WT, 16.13, pp. 733-4. “Asserunt autem unanimiter quibus illius facti plenior adhuc famulator memoria, quod hunc, unde diximus, ducem itineris nemo noverit, nam cum ventum erat ut castrametaretur exercitus subito disparebat... mane vero iterum exercitum anteibat.”

hardships they had suffered. The campaign was a material failure but it would seem the royal image, and that of Jerusalem itself, was never stronger.

Taken alone, the Bostrum campaign of 1147 is a curiosity: a moment of extreme religiosity and devotion during an era in the Latin East characterized by failure. However, when viewed in light of other royal activities from 1145 to 1148, such as the language of purpose used in charters issued in this time and the existence of a chronicle entitled *Balduini III Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena*, it becomes clear that it was part of a broader royal program to associate the royal family with the events of the First Crusade as crusading monarchs whose rule was justified by the conquests they made in God's name. The memory of Bostrum captured by William's chronicle attests to the potency of this royal program.

The *Balduini III Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena* (referred to as the *Balduini III Historia* from now on) is a chronicle produced in the Latin East that documents the events of the First Crusade. Finished sometime between 1145 and 1147, the anonymous author claimed that Baldwin III commissioned the work and that he had finished it during the third year of the king's reign.<sup>221</sup> It represents the earliest and most explicit act of royal literary patronage in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, meaning that it cannot be separated from Baldwin III or Melisende's attempts at forming a royal identity.<sup>222</sup> The chronicle consists of a verse prologue and eighty chapters documenting the First Crusade up to the conquest of Tyre in 1124, during the reign of Baldwin

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<sup>221</sup> Deborah Gerish, "Remembering Kings in Jerusalem: The *Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena* and Royal Identity around the Time of the Second Crusade" in *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, ed. Jason T. Roche and Janus Møller Jensen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 51-4; Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, pp. 79-80. Gerish and Yolles differ somewhat on the dating of the *Balduini III Historia*. Gerish indicates that we can only know the range in which it was written because we do not know how the anonymous author counted the years, especially partial ones, of Baldwin III's reign: he could have used regnal (starting with the date of his coronation and unction) or ecclesiastic years (starting with Easter) and it is possible he could have rounded up partial years into whole ones. Yolles feels more certain about placing the completion date at 1146, interpreting "Three years after his father, Baldwin III [has been] placed at the head of the kingdom," a line found in the verse prologue, as proof that the anonymous began his reckoning with the death of Fulk in November 1143.

<sup>222</sup> Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, p. 79

II. The prologue is the only original part as the anonymous author relied heavily on the accounts of Robert the Monk for chapters one through sixty and Fulcher of Chartres for sixty-one through eighty. The originality of the texts comes from how the author arranged the material. Deborah Gerish described the author best, saying: “The anonymous author worked much like a quiltmaker while crafting the body of his narrative. He cut out pieces from Robert’s and Fulcher’s histories, and then stitched together the pieces to form a new design.”<sup>223</sup> More often than not, the anonymous author streamlined the Robert’s and Fulcher’s narratives to suit his purposes, which appear to be threefold. First, as the author implied in the prologue, he promoted the importance of the royal institution by presenting it as the culminating purpose of the First Crusade. Second, he diminished (or outright hid) the conflicts between the leaders of the First Crusade and emphasized moments of their unity. Third, he showed that the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, especially the reigns of Godfrey and Baldwin I (and, to a lesser extent, Baldwin II), were a golden age for the crusader states.<sup>224</sup>

Most important is how the author of *Balduini III Historia* justified the legitimacy of Jerusalem’s line of kings and portrayed the kingdom’s reason for being. As the only original part of the chronicle, the prologue serves as the best part for discerning the author’s motives for writing – and, perhaps, Baldwin and Melisende’s for commissioning the work. Much of the prologue is spent celebrating the city of Jerusalem itself and eulogizing Baldwin III’s predecessors, especially Godfrey and Baldwin I, the author’s explicit heroes of the First Crusade. As such, the author says:

And with the aid of the Lord it [Jerusalem]/becomes the famed seat of the kingdom/[the Lord who] restrains the rebellious kings/and peoples with this kingdom... Duke Godfrey/held this kingdom for just one year/ [but] Baldwin ruled that city for eighteen/years. These two brothers, worthy of the royal/crown,

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<sup>223</sup> Gerish, “Remembering Kings in Jerusalem,” p. 57

<sup>224</sup> Ibid, pp. 65-70; Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, pp. 81-3

celebrated for their knightly valor/brave, fearsome in war, waged many battles/with but few men of their own, laying low with/bloodshed the troops hostile to them/and through God they were brave against the/enemies from Babylon. They expanded the/realm which they then held... A relative of theirs has taken hold of their/empire – another Baldwin, renowned for his good morals.<sup>225</sup>

These verses emphasized that Godfrey, Baldwin I, and Baldwin II were worthy of the throne and deserving to rule not only through the strength of their characters but also through the strength of their swords. For the anonymous author, the crusaders – united in purpose and leadership – were able to create the Kingdom of Jerusalem and its first rulers were able to continue the conquest of the Holy Land through God’s favor and power. This theme that the author established in the prologue continues throughout the text. For example, following the siege and capture of Antioch, the author skipped the year-long interim that followed, with all its internal squabbling and petty conflicts, and moved the crusade to the walls of Jerusalem.<sup>226</sup> The anonymous author left out the controversies surrounding the elections of Baldwin I and Baldwin II to the kingship of Jerusalem and instead emphasized the support that the Latin East had for their rulers and the victories their kings achieved immediately after their elections.<sup>227</sup>

The author of the *Balduini III Historia* managed to find ways to turn stories of defeat into tales of conquests achieved through Christian unity. For example, following the death of Roger of Salerno at the Field of Blood, the author focused on how Baldwin II, with the relic of the True Cross, gathered the forces of Jerusalem and Tripoli and joined the armies of Edessa and Antioch to drive away the Turks. The text ends with how the nobles of the Kingdom of Jerusalem enlisted

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<sup>225</sup> *Balduini III Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena* in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, Vol 5 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1895), pp. 139-40. Translation from Julian Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, pp. 244-5: “Auxilio Domini; sedesque fit incluta regni,/Hoc regno Reges reprimens populosque rebelles.../Hoc regnum solo Godefridus dux habet anno,/Annos octodecim Balduinus eam regit urbem,/Hi duo Germani digni diademate regni,/Militia clari, fortes, bello metuendi,/Pauca gente sua gesserunt praelia multa,/Illis infestas sternentes caede catervas,/Perque Deum fortes fuerant Babylonis in hostes,/Dilataverunt regnum, quod tunc habuerunt... Imperium quorum cognatus sumsit eorum,/Alter Balwinus, morum probitate...”

<sup>226</sup> *Balduini III Historia* in *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, pp. 174-5

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 177-8, 183-4; Gerish, “Remembering Kings in Jerusalem,” p. 65-7



the help of the Venetians to capture Tyre despite Baldwin II's capture. The kingdom was able to unite behind the royal purpose of conquest and achieve it even without a king.<sup>228</sup>

The themes of the *Balduini III Historia* align closely with the rhetoric used by the royal family in one of the three charters issued between 1146 and 1148, namely UKJ 216. The grant, issued either July 4, 1146 or 1147, exchanged three casalia in the royal domain with two casalia held by the Hospitallers, previously granted to them by a certain Gunfredus of the Tower of David and his wife, Yda.<sup>229</sup> There are two significant details of the grant, more important than the lands exchanged. First, Baldwin, Melisende, and Amalric were all included as issuing parties. Mayer argues that this choice was a deliberate affront on the part of Melisende to Baldwin. By including Amalric, he says, she was diminishing Baldwin's position and authority by raising Amalric's position to that of an issuing party and thus equivalent to a monarch's. This practice of including every member of the royal family as issuing parties in a charter, however, was not unprecedented in either the Latin East or western Europe. For example, sometime between 1119 and 1127, Baldwin II, his wife Morphia, and their daughters Melisende, Alice, Hodierna, and (if after 1120) Ioveta all granted 100 cantaria of raisins and a vineyard near Nablus to the Royal Hospital of Nablus.<sup>230</sup> In 1131 in France, Louis VI included his wife Adelaide as well as his sons, Louis VII (at this point crowned co-king), Robert, and Henry in a grant of a church and its lands to the Hospitallers.<sup>231</sup> Neither Baldwin II nor Louis VI used these grants to indicate to Melisende and Louis VII that their positions as heir were at all in jeopardy, especially when such

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<sup>228</sup> Ibid, pp. 183-5

<sup>229</sup> UKJ 216, pp. 402-4. According to Mayer, the stated year on the document, 1147, does not match the year associated with the ninth indiction, 1146. While previously he (and others) worked under the assumption that the year was 1147, he now admits that the year must have been a clerical error and the indiction is correct. See Mayer, *UKJ*, p. 402.

<sup>230</sup> UKJ 100, p. 255

<sup>231</sup> Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros: Annales*, p. 222

associations of other children were few and far between.<sup>232</sup> If anything, by associating the whole of the royal family with these charters, Baldwin II and Louis VI – and, by extension, Melisende and Baldwin III – highlighted the importance of the grant as well as strengthened the purpose behind it in the eyes of their witnesses and God himself.

The second significant detail of UKJ 216 is the stated purpose for the grant included in the preamble and the concessionary formula. In the charter, it says:

Whereas it is suitable for the royal dignity to defend with steadfast virtue and support with paternal protection that which is drawn together for the honor of God and the advancement of Christendom, it is our will to let it be known to all persons present and future that I, Baldwin, with the grace of God fourth king of the Latins in holy Jerusalem, and I, Melisende, his mother [and] with the same grace queen of the same kingdom, and I, Amalric, brother of the king and son of the queen, give and concede to the Hospital of the holy city of Jerusalem, for the honor of God and the most holy Virgin Mary and all the saints and the advancement and enlarging and deliverance of the Kingdom of Jerusalem...<sup>233</sup>

The royal family – Baldwin, Melisende, and Amalric together – stated in no uncertain terms that the “advancement of Christendom (*ad christianitatis profectum*)” was the general purpose of their “royal dignity (*regie... dignitati*)” and that “the advancement and enlarging and deliverance of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (*ad provectum et ad ampliacionem et liberationem regni Ierosolimitani*)” was the specific purpose of this royal charter. Moreover, by granting land to the Hospitallers and increasing their means of supporting their military actions, they indicated to all

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<sup>232</sup> Compared to Baldwin II and Louis VI, Melisende included Amalric the most as an issuing or consenting party in her charters. In addition to UKJ 216, Amalric’s consent was included with Baldwin’s when Melisende issued UKJ 177 in 1150. However, during the height of the rift between Baldwin and Melisende, the queen never included Amalric as an issuing or consenting party to her charters, though he did serve as witness for UKJ 178 in 1150, named *Domnus Amalricus regine filius* in the witness list, and UKJ 179 in 1151, this time as *Amalricus comes Ioppe*. Even during a time in which it would have been in Melisende’s best interest to promote Amalric and demote Baldwin, if indeed her goal was to hold power for herself and completely supplant Baldwin, Melisende chose to keep Amalric as a witness and, therefore, the same level as the other barons rather than make him into a pseudo-king to weaken Baldwin’s position. See UKJ 177, pp. 355-7; UKJ 178, pp. 358-60.

<sup>233</sup> UKJ 216, p. 403. “*Quoniam que ad honorem dei et ad christianitatis profectum contracta sunt, inrefragabili virtute tueri ac paterna protectione fulcire regie congruit dignitati, omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris notum fieri volumus, quod ego Balduinus dei gratia in sancta Ierusalem Latinorum rex quartus et ego Milesendis eius mater, eadem gratia eorundem regina, et ego Amalricus regis frater et regine filius ad honorem dei et sanctissime virginis Marie et omnium sanctorum et ad provectum et ad ampliacionem et liberationem regni Ierosolimitani... donamus et concedimus Hospitali sancte civitatis Ierusalem...*”

present that they were taking steps to ensure their royal purposes were met. The specific targets of such “*provectum*” and “*ampliationem et liberationem*” depend upon the year in which this charter was issued. If it dates from the summer of 1147, as Mayer suggests, then the royal family saw the charter as a response to the failed Bostrum campaign to regain divine favor for future conquests. If, however, it were issued the summer of 1146, then the royal family intended to use this charter to bolster conquests they had planned for the immediate future.<sup>234</sup> It is possible that Baldwin and Melisende were planning an expedition to reconquer Edessa. Before such a campaign could begin, however, Joscelin attempted and failed to retake the city that same year. More likely, however, Baldwin and Melisende always intended to attack their more immediate neighbors, such as Damascus, in an effort to increase the size of the lands under their direct control and secure their frontier against Zengi and Nur al-Din.

Regardless, the language of UKJ 216 – namely the close association of royal dignity and the advancement and enlarging of Christianity and the kingdom – matches with the verse prologue found in the *Balduini III Historia* and the rhetoric used by the general council and supporters of the Bostrum campaign in 1147 as recorded by William of Tyre. Because both UKJ 216 and the *Balduini III Historia* are royally issued or commissioned sources created at about the same time, they demonstrate that the royal family had a vested interest to cast their own image in the memory of the First Crusade and, therefore, justify their legitimacy as rulers and their divinely-ordained purpose of conquering the “rebellious kings and people” from the Levant up to the gates of Babylon. While William of Tyre was writing thirty to forty years later, the impact of

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<sup>234</sup> For the ambiguous dating of UKJ 216, see footnote 70. Furthermore, if UKJ 216 was issued in 1146 as Mayer now claims, it weakens his previous argument (that he still maintains) that Melisende intended to use the charter to diminish Baldwin. Previously, Mayer argued that UKJ 216 was issued after the failed Bostrum campaign and that Melisende was rubbing salt in Baldwin’s proverbial wound: not only was Baldwin too weak to lead a successful campaign, diminishing his status as a military commander, but now his position in court was threatened by his scarcely eleven-year-old brother. An 1146 issuing of the charter means that no such insult could have been made as Bostrum had yet to happen.

Baldwin and Melisende's program can still be felt in the memory of the Bostrum campaign. The calls from the general council to increase the reach of Christianity and their kingdom, the recollection of Baldwin's royal magnificence beyond his years when he chose to stay and suffer with his army, the impact of the divine protective power of the True Cross and the guiding hand of the unknown yet angelic knight, all point toward a collective memory of this era as the apex of royal association with a crusading identity that existed since the First Crusade and was cultivated throughout the collective reign of Melisende, Fulk, and Baldwin III.

### **The Second Crusade and the Limits of the “King-as-Crusader” Ideology**

The Second Crusade became the proving ground for the concept of king-as-crusader in Jerusalem, demonstrating the extent to which the image could be used as well as its limitations when actual crusading kings, in this case Louis VII and Conrad III, were involved.<sup>235</sup> At first Baldwin, Melisende, and the lords of Jerusalem were able to collaborate with Conrad and Louis. But any hope of a sustained alliance broke down at the prospect of someone ruling Damascus who was not a native of the Latin East. The idea of allowing someone who was not an heir to the

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<sup>235</sup> Due to the scope of this study, I will focus on the events of the Second Crusade that occurred within the Kingdom of Jerusalem upon the arrival of Conrad III of the Holy Roman Empire and, later, Louis VII of France rather than include the narratives of their journeys through the Byzantine Empire and Seljuk-controlled Anatolia. For more on the whole of the Second Crusade, see WT, 16.18-17.8, pp. 739-70; Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem: The journey of Louis VII to the East*, ed. and trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948); Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris. The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, ed. and trans. Charles Christopher Mierow and Richard Emery (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), pp. 71-106; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 280-7; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, pp. 248-50; Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, part 2, pp. 21-2; John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, pp. 58-72; Niketas Choniates, *O city of Byzantium: annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), pp. 35-42; Bar Hebraeus, *The chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus: being the first part of his political history of the world*, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2003), pp. 273-5. For scholarship on the Second Crusade, see Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch, *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Jason T. Roche and Janus Møller Jensen, *The Second Crusade: holy war on the periphery of Latin Christendom* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015); Jason T. Roche, *The Crusade of King Conrad III of Germany: Warfare and Diplomacy in Byzantium, Anatolia and Outremer, 1146-1149* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021); Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 93-101.

First Crusade (whose claim did not grow directly out of that act of conquest) became so unthinkable that the Franks of the Latin East preferred to allow the Muslim Burids to continue to rule Damascus rather than hand it over to a western Frank.

Eugenius III proclaimed the Second Crusade in response to the fall of Edessa in 1144, but it did not begin until 1147, due to the massive logistical organization that an expedition of this scale required.<sup>236</sup> After experiencing Byzantine shrewdness, Turkish harassment, and perilous seas, Conrad and the remnants of his army arrived in Jerusalem in early April 1148. Louis – who initially lingered in Antioch with his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, as the principality was ruled by her uncle, Raymond of Poitiers – did not arrive until May of the same year.

The Second Crusade ultimately targeted Damascus. The impetus to do so, however, did not come from Louis or Conrad. Runciman claims that the barons of the Latin East coveted the city's fertile hinterlands and Baldwin "must have longed for revenge" for the failure of Bostrum. For Runciman, the blame lay with the eastern Franks for leading their western counterparts into an ill-advised venture.<sup>237</sup> Mayer believes Baldwin and Patriarch Fulcher chose to target Damascus as a political move to undermine Melisende's authority. They and the Templars arranged a secret meeting with Conrad to plan the expedition in advance and prevent Melisende from having any influence during the council of Acre.<sup>238</sup> Martin Hoch argues that the Kingdom of Jerusalem launched campaigns on both Bostrum in 1147 and Damascus in 1148 in reaction to Unur's treaty with Nur al-Din in 1147. Fulk's initial treaty with Damascus in 1140 and Baldwin and Melisende's withdrawal from it in 1147 were consistent in that both decisions were made

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<sup>236</sup> WT, 16.19, pp. 741-3; Odo of Deuil, pp. 6-19; Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, pp. 74-9. For more about Bernard of Clairvaux's recruitment campaign and Conrad III and Louis VII's logistical planning for the Second Crusade, see Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 61-136. For more on Conrad III's planning, see Roche, *The Crusade of King Conrad III of Germany*, pp. 57-110

<sup>237</sup> Runciman, *The History of the Crusades, Volume II*, p. 281

<sup>238</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," pp. 127-8

with the kingdom's security interests in mind.<sup>239</sup> Kohler believes that the final decision to attack Damascus ultimately came from Louis VII and the bishop of Langres.<sup>240</sup> Apart from the charter evidence above, there is very little about Baldwin and Melisende's activities during this build-up to the crusade. After the Bostrum campaign and Nur al-Din's final conquest of Edessa in 1147, William of Tyre wrote not about the king and queen of Jerusalem but about the campaign from Europe. Indeed, Baldwin and Melisende did not reappear in his narrative until the crusade's arrival in the Holy Land in April/May 1148.<sup>241</sup> The Syriac chroniclers Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus (b. 1226-d. 1286) focused on the fate of Edessa, given its religious importance to the Jacobite Church, in the period leading up to the arrival of the Second Crusade. Muslim historians like Ibn al-Qalanisi and Ibn al-Athir were not concerned with the internal events of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Moreover, between 1146 and 1149, there is a noticeable lack of extant charters. While this does not mean Baldwin and Melisende were not issuing charters and making grants to lords or religious institutions other than the canons of the Holy Sepulchre and the Knights Hospitaller, we are unable to track their movements or ascertain their intentions for the arrival of the Second Crusade. To determine why Damascus was chosen as the target of the Second Crusade requires a careful reading of Otto of Freising and William of Tyre's accounts in light of the precedent established by the Bostrum campaign of 1147.

Otto of Freising, half-brother of Conrad III and Cistercian abbot-turned-bishop,<sup>242</sup> was both a participant of the Second Crusade and one of the chief sources for the expedition. His

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<sup>239</sup> Martin Hoch, "The Choice of Damascus as the Objective of the Second Crusade: A Re-Evaluation," in *Autor de la Premiere Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), pp. 359-69. It is important to note that Hoch does not dispute Mayer's claim that the choice was made by Baldwin without his mother's knowledge or input.

<sup>240</sup> Kohler, *Alliances and Treaties*, pp. 155-7

<sup>241</sup> WT, 16.18-17.1, pp. 739-61

<sup>242</sup> Otto of Freising is among the great European chroniclers of the twelfth century, whose ranks include William of Malmesbury, Orderic Vitalis, Suger, William of Tyre, and many others. More than a chronicler, Otto spent much

second chronicle, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, covers the career of Frederick Barbarossa from 1146 until 1160. The *Gesta Friderici* is an important source for the crusader states in that Otto provides an important contemporary western viewpoint, supplementing or differing in important ways from William of Tyre – who, in fact, was a student in Europe at the time of the Second Crusade.

The differences in the two accounts become apparent in their narratives of Conrad III's arrival in Jerusalem in the spring of 1148. According to William of Tyre, he was met by Baldwin III and Patriarch Fulcher with the clergy and people of Jerusalem waiting for him outside the city and conducted inside with the pomp and circumstance befitting his imperial station. William then proceeds directly to Louis's own arrival, soon followed by the Council of Acre where it was decided that Damascus would be the target of the crusade.<sup>243</sup> However, according to Otto of Freising, before Louis arrived in Jerusalem, Conrad immediately began pursuing his own agenda "[f]or he had come to an agreement with the king of that land and the patriarch and the knights of the Temple to lead the army approximately the next July for the purpose of the conquest of Damascus in Syria."<sup>244</sup> Otto's account seems to suggest that Baldwin, Fulcher, and

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time writing about the theory and structure of history as he did with historical events themselves. For more on Otto of Freising and his historical works, see: Sverre Bagge, "Ideas and Narrative in Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici*," *Journal of Medieval History* 22, no. 4 (1996): 345-77; Felix Fellner, "The 'Two Cities' of Otto of Freising and Its Influence on the Catholic Philosophy of History," *The Catholic Historical Review* 20, no. 2 (Jul., 1934): 154-74; Mathia Herweg, "Geschichte erzählen Die 'Kaiserchronik' im Kontext (nebst Fragen an eine historische Narratologie historischen Erzählens)," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 146, no. 4 (2017): 413-43; David Luscombe, "Otto of Freising and Historical Knowledge," *Quaestio* 15 (2015): 31-45; Elisabeth Megier, "Tamquam lux post tenebras, oder: Ottos von Freising Weg von der Chronik zu den *Gesta Friderici*," *Mediaevistik* 3 (1990): 131-267; Charles Christopher Mierow, "Bishop Otto of Freising: Historian and Man," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 80 (1949): 393-402; Karl F. Morrison, "Otto of Freising's Quest for the Hermeneutic Circle," *Speculum* 55, no. 2 (Apr., 1980): 207-236; Ray C. Petry, "Three Medieval Chroniclers: Monastic Historiography and Biblical Eschatology in Hugh of St. Victor, Otto of Freising, and Ordericus Vitalis," *Church History* 34, no. 3 (Sep., 1965): 282-93; Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, pp. 123-64; Romedio Schmitz-Esser, "The Bishop and the Emperor: Tracing Narrative Intent in Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici*," *The Medieval Chronicle* 9 (2014): 297-324.

<sup>243</sup> WT, 16.28-17.1, pp. 755-61

<sup>244</sup> Otto of Freising, *Otonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, ed. Georg Waitz and Bernhard von Simson (Hannoverae et Lipsiae: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1912), p. 89. "Convenerat enim cum rege illius terrae et patriarcha militibusque Templi circa proximum lulium in Syriam ad expugnationem Damasci exercitum ducere."

representatives from the Templars met with Conrad in secret to determine the course of the Second Crusade before Louis VII arrived and well before the decision was “officially” made during the Council of Acre June 24, 1148. From the perspective of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, this meeting raises two questions: did Melisende know about it, and whose idea was it to attack Damascus?

The answer to the first question is unclear. William of Tyre shows no sign of having known about the meeting, let alone whether Melisende attended. Mayer believes that Melisende did not know about the meeting for several reasons. First, Otto of Freising did not mention her presence in the meeting and, as Conrad’s half-brother and member of his inner circle, he was likely told about it by Conrad or might have even attended himself. Second, while Patriarch Fulcher was normally Melisende’s supporter and would have wanted to have her attend, he was at odds with the queen over her appointment of the royal chancellor, Ralph, to the archbishopric of Tyre. Third, Baldwin desired to use the campaign to Damascus as a way to promote his abilities as a military commander and therefore gain the upper hand over his mother.<sup>245</sup> As interesting as Mayer’s arguments are, they remain conjectural. Indeed, there is no evidence to suggest that Melisende *did not* know about this meeting and, in fact, the circumstances surrounding their joint rule combined with the rhetoric present in royal sources from 1145 until 1147 suggests she would have at least known about it if not have attended it.

For a meeting with as prominent a western ruler as Conrad III, Baldwin was a better choice than Melisende to serve as the royal representative. As previously discussed, western chroniclers, including monks like Orderic Vitalis and royal clerks like Roger of Howden, expected and believed that Fulk would rule in Melisende’s stead and that Baldwin was the sole heir to the kingdom upon his father’s death. Fulk’s own actions upon taking the throne suggest

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<sup>245</sup> Mayer, “History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem,” pp. 127-8



that he himself believed the same.<sup>246</sup> Baldwin would have wanted to cater to these western sensibilities. Given her experiences with Fulk, Melisende would have likely seen Conrad as more amenable negotiating with her son alone. Knowing that Fulcher, a capable patriarch mindful of the interests of the kingdom, would be present to assist the king would have put her mind at ease.<sup>247</sup> Thus Baldwin, rather than operating alone and against the interests of his mother, most likely acted in his capacity as king with Melisende's knowledge and approval.

Given the tacit royal support "for... the advancement and enlarging and deliverance of the Kingdom of Jerusalem"<sup>248</sup> in 1146 and their approval of the Bostrum campaign in 1147, the choice of Damascus likely originated from Baldwin and Melisende (with the advice and support of Fulcher and the Templars) rather than Conrad. As Hoch has noted, there were ample reasons to believe that the truce between Jerusalem and Damascus was about to break. Unur was wary of Nur al-Din's ambitions, but he also knew that a good relationship with the Aleppan ruler was in

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<sup>246</sup> See previous chapter.

<sup>247</sup> While Fulcher did disagree with the appointment of Ralph to the archbishopric of Tyre, Melisende was not alone in her support of the chancellor's appointment. According to William of Tyre, both Melisende and Baldwin supported Ralph's appointment along with the entire royal court. Moreover, the royal duo placed Ralph into the archbishopric "by means of royal violence/force (*de regia violentia presumentes*).” See WT, 16.17, pp. 738-9. If Fulcher were so incensed by the forceful royal appointment of Ralph to the archbishopric of Tyre to the point where he sought to undermine royal authority, then such anger would have been extended to Baldwin as well as Melisende. Indeed, Ralph, in his capacity as *electus Tyri*, can be found in Baldwin's court in Acre up until June 22, 1150, during which time he served as witness to Baldwin's charter (which he issued alone) confirming an exchange between the Leprosary of St. Lazarus and Syrian ra'is (chief/headman of a village/small settlement). See UKJ 221, pp. 407-9. This confirms that Ralph preferred to be in Baldwin's court over Melisende's during the emerging strife between the two monarchs. If Ralph's appointment to the archbishopric of Tyre was supported only by Melisende, it is doubtful he would have chosen to support Baldwin over his sole royal supporter. Furthermore, the fate of Daimbert of Pisa at the hands of Baldwin I for the crime of exerting patriarchal influence over the monarchy would have still been within recent institutional memory of the Holy Sepulchre by the time of Fulcher's patriarchate. See Jay Rubenstein, "Holy Fire and Sacral Kingship in Post-Conquest Jerusalem," in *Journal of Medieval History* 43, no. 4 (2017): 470-84; Edgington, *Baldwin I*, pp. 86-8. Moreover, Fulcher would have remembered the extent of Melisende's own wrath against Fulk and his supporters when she heard rumors that he attempted to assassinate Hugh of Jaffa. See WT, 14.15-18, pp. 651-6. If Melisende was capable of such violence against her own husband and his supporters, her erstwhile favor of Fulcher and consistent support to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre would not be enough to protect the patriarch if he were to oppose Melisende so blatantly as to conduct a secret meeting with Conrad and her son without her knowledge or consent. When all one sees is a power struggle between mother and son over who has sole authority in the kingdom, then every action they took reads as an usurpation of power from the other and never as a collaboration. The evidence simply does not support that Melisende kept power away from Baldwin or that Baldwin sought to undermine Melisende. To suggest otherwise would be irresponsible.

<sup>248</sup> UKJ 216, p. 403

his and Damascus's best interest. As a result, Unur married his daughter to Nur al-Din and established an alliance with Aleppo on April 18, 1147, several months before the Bostrum campaign.<sup>249</sup> With their alliance under such strain, the city was a natural target for the Latin kingdom's expansionist policies, providing an opportunity to burnish Baldwin's king-as-crusader image.

According to William of Tyre, the leaders of the crusader states – Jerusalem, Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa – all did what they could to entice Conrad and Louis to support their causes against their respective *hostes inmanissimos et urbes hostium invisas plurimum*.<sup>250</sup> However, Baldwin and Melisende's cause prevailed because their lands were imbued with "the reverence of the venerable places, the love and devotion of which thoroughly attracted all [to them]."<sup>251</sup> The royal duo thus leveraged the holiness of their kingdom and the need to expand their domains for the sake of its protection to induce the leaders and people of the Second Crusade that their cause was worthy of support because they were acting as heirs to the legacy of the First Crusade.

The Council of Acre took place June 24, 1148 and included all of the major secular and ecclesiastical leaders of the German and French armies as well as those from the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Unlike the secret meeting with Conrad, Melisende was definitely in attendance at the council of Acre alongside Baldwin.<sup>252</sup> Given that an expedition to Damascus had already been endorsed by Baldwin, probably Melisende, Conrad, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Knights Templar, it is no wonder that the council chose Damascus despite the "diverse counsel from

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<sup>249</sup> WT, 16.8, p. 725; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle*, p. 275. Ibn al-Qalanisi said that the marriage was concluded on 15 Dhu al-Qa'da 541 AH, which corresponds to April 18, 1147 on the Julian calendar.

<sup>250</sup> WT, 16.29, p. 757

<sup>251</sup> WT, 16.29, p. 757. "...tum ob reverentia locorum venerabilium, quorum amor et devotio omnes trahebat amplius..."

<sup>252</sup> WT, 17.1, pp. 760-1. Here, William provides a thorough, though not exhaustive, list of the attendees.

different parties.”<sup>253</sup> With Baldwin and the Jerusalemite army in the vanguard and Conrad serving as the rearguard, the combined Latin army took up the relic of the True Cross and set out for Damascus the following month. However, despite all the plans and negotiations and the combined might of eastern and western kingdoms, the expedition was a dismal failure.

All the Christian accounts agree that Unur and the Damascenes bribed someone in the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to sabotage the siege by exploiting the east Frankish fears that someone from the west would rule Damascus. William of Tyre said that they were bribed to convince the Christian coalition that the southern side of the city, surrounded by desert wastes, was a preferable position for a siege than the north, which contained sources of water and orchards filled with ripe fruit. Upon reaching the south and its barrenness, the crusaders realized the deception, lost heart, and departed.<sup>254</sup> In his typical fashion, William interviewed people who had participated in the siege to uncover why this happened. While he discovered there was no consensus over the cause, the most prominent rumor he put forward was that Thierry, the count of Flanders, had demanded that he be given Damascus upon its capture. The barons of Jerusalem balked at the idea that a foreigner could claim such an important lordship.<sup>255</sup> Echoing the same fear of western lords displacing the lords of the Latin East, Michael the Syrian (and later

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<sup>253</sup> WT, 17.2, p. 761. “...diversarum partium diversa consilia...” In his *Historia Pontificalis*, John of Salisbury, who was living in the papal court during and after the Second Crusade, went into detail about the proceedings of the Council of Acre. According to him, one of the papal legates, the bishop of Langres, was the primary supporter of sending the expedition to Damascus and ultimately won over Louis VII. Moreover, Conrad, with a significant number of German and French crusaders, desired to go home rather than stay in the Levant. See John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, pp. 55-6. Köhler combines Otto’s account of the secret meeting with John’s, saying that Baldwin and company did convince Conrad to attack Damascus but that he was later convinced to leave by Count Thierry of Flanders. Only the impassioned insistence of the bishop of Langres convinced Louis, and therefore the whole council, to attack Damascus. Moreover, he claims that the Kingdom of Jerusalem did not expect the Second Crusade to come to them rather than remain in the north. See Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, pp. 155-6. However, this seems to contradict William’s account in which Baldwin and Melisende convinced Louis to assist them over Antioch, Tripoli, or Edessa and sent Fulcher to meet with the French king and conduct him to Jerusalem.

<sup>254</sup> WT, 17.4-6, pp. 764-8

<sup>255</sup> WT, 17.6, p. 768. William himself opposed this line of thinking, describing the conspirators as having “descended to a sinful, shameful act (*piaculare descenderunt flagitium*)” and that their sins incurred God’s wrath on the whole expedition.

repeated by Bar Hebraeus) said that the Damascenes bribed Baldwin directly, saying “Do not think that when this great king [the king of Aleman, i.e. Conrad] reigns in this city [Damascus] he will let you be in Jerusalem... Take gold from us and send these beyond the sea and your kingdom will remain yours.”<sup>256</sup> Baldwin obliged but soon discovered that he, too, was deceived as the gold was copper plated with gold and thus worthless.<sup>257</sup> While he did not include anything concerning a bribe, Ibn al-Athir did claim that Unur sent messages to the Jerusalemite Franks, telling them that the western Franks would rule Damascus if they captured it first, not the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>258</sup> Regardless of the existence of a bribe or who accepted it, the prevailing consensus among many of the Christian and Muslim chroniclers was that the leaders of the Kingdom of Jerusalem feared that a newcomer from the west would take Damascus for himself and thus deprive the Latin East of what they believed to be rightfully theirs as determined by God during the First Crusade and earned through their years, if not decades, of fighting.

Köhler attributes this anxiety to the Latin East’s desire to uphold what he calls the “no place” doctrine, an unspoken arrangement among the Christian and Muslim lords of Syria to

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<sup>256</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 248

<sup>257</sup> Ibid, pp. 248-9; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 274. Bar Hebraeus included that Unur sent “gold” to the lord of Tiberias in addition to what he sent to Baldwin, though he does not include the contents of the letter to king. He also claimed that he read five different Arabic manuscripts that included the siege of Damascus in addition to Michael the Syrian and only Michael’s chronicle contained the story about the bribe. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, pp. 283-5 and Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle part 2*, pp. 21-2. Both Muslim chroniclers agreed that the Franks fled upon learning that Nur al-Din and his brother, Sayf al-Din Ghazi of Mosul, were on their way to relieve Damascus. Ibn al-Qalanisi, who was in Damascus during the siege, noted that the Franks had taken so many losses that they were digging graves during the siege to hide their dead. Moreover, like Michael and Bar Hebraeus, both seemed to believe that Conrad was the supreme leader of the Second Crusade, perhaps due to his misattributed imperial title, and therefore all conquests would be his to dispense to whomever he pleased, including himself. For about Bar Hebraeus’s sources and his different approaches to his Syriac and Arabic chronicles, see Dibo Habbabe, “Comparing the Syriac and Arabic Chronicles of Barhebraeus: The Question of Intended Audiences” in *The Harp* 33 (2018): 205-68; Marianna Mazzola, “The Textual Tradition of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle*” in *Le Muséon* 131, no. 1-2 (2018): 73-100; Herman G. B. Teule, “The Crusaders in Barhebraeus’ Syriac and Arabic Secular Chronicles: A Different Approach” in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context, Contacts, Confrontations*, ed. Adelbert Davids, Herman G. B. Teule, and Krijna Nelly Ciggaar (Leuven: Peeters, 1996), pp. 39-49.

<sup>258</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle part 2*, p. 22

allow no outsider power to gain a foothold in the region and to maintain the balance of power among themselves.<sup>259</sup> This interpretation, however, does not take into account the Latin kingdom's clear desire in the 1140s to continue the conquest started by their predecessors of the First Crusade and for Baldwin and Melisende to legitimize their rule in the east. A Frankish lordship in Damascus under the control of Thierry or some other western lord would indeed upset the balance of power in Syria and the Levant. More important to the Latin East, it would question the royal legitimacy of Baldwin and Melisende's rule and therefore the legitimacy of those whose claims were rooted in the First Crusade itself or the later support of its leaders.

However, the failure of the Second Crusade was rooted in the inability of the Latin East to unite behind a common cause or to coordinate local interest with the crusaders from the west. Christian unity was a core theme of *Balduini III Historia*, a royally commissioned and promoted text, and thus an important component to the royal image of king-as-crusader. Indeed, it was Christian unity that allowed Baldwin and the army of Jerusalem to earn God's divine favor and return home from Bostrum mostly intact. The lack of Christian unity and the supposed treachery on the part of the Latin East – which, as William of Tyre lamented, led to fewer expeditions from the west to help the east and assistance from pilgrims and crusaders who were lesser in spirit than those who came before – also brought the legitimacy of the rulers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem into question. If Baldwin and Melisende were truly from the royal crusading lineage of Godfrey, then the setbacks and failures from 1143 to 1148 should not have happened. Whatever the failures of the Second Crusade, it threatened to undermine the ideological legitimacy of crusader kingship on a fundamental level.

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<sup>259</sup> Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, pp. 157-62

## The Road to Civil War between Baldwin III and Melisende, 1149-52

One would be forgiven if they expected the fiftieth anniversary of the “liberation” of Jerusalem and the rededication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre on July 15, 1149 to be a triumphal celebration. Reconstruction on the church started in the early 1140s and continued beyond the fiftieth anniversary. The building underwent major changes. Its size was greatly increased and the various churches and chapels that occupied the space – including the tomb itself, the Calvary chapel, the chapel of St. Helena and Grotto of the Cross, and the prison chapel – were incorporated into one building.<sup>260</sup> Moreover, a new liturgy was developed to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary and rededication.<sup>261</sup> Despite the celebrations of 1149, events of that year did little to support the narrative of triumph in the Latin East.

At that time, the memory of the Second Crusade was still fresh in everyone’s mind, perhaps exacerbated by Louis VII’s continued presence in the Latin East until Easter in April 1149, leaving months before the rededication celebrations.<sup>262</sup> Furthermore, it is difficult to ascertain if the king, queen, or any notable member of the nobility were present in Jerusalem in July 1149. William of Tyre made no mention of the rededication, suggesting that it was quickly forgotten in the Latin East. He did not attend the celebration himself because he was still in

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<sup>260</sup> Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 177-245 (see esp. pp. 177-214)

<sup>261</sup> M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), pp. 130-64; Jaroslav Folda, “Commemorating the Fall of Jerusalem: Remembering the First Crusade in Text, Liturgy, and Image” in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), pp. 125-45; Simon John, “The ‘Feast of the Liberation of Jerusalem’: Remembering and Reconstructing the First Crusade in the Holy City, 1099–1187,” *Journal of Medieval History* 41, no. 4 (2015): 409-31; Amnon Linder, “‘Like purest gold resplendent’: the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Liberation of Jerusalem,” *Crusades* 8 (2009): 31-51; Sebastián Salvadó, “Rewriting the Latin Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre: Text, Ritual and Devotion for 1149,” *Journal of Medieval History* 43, no. 4 (2017): 403-20

<sup>262</sup> WT, 17.8, pp. 769-70; John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, pp. 58-61. It is doubtful that Louis VII was unaware of the upcoming celebrations, given the unprecedented popularity of the chronicles of the First Crusade in Europe and that he was most likely accompanied by Baldwin or Melisende (or both) during his stay. Regardless, he did not feel compelled to stay in the Latin East. Perhaps he believed that the triumphal celebration would serve as a bitter reminder of the failure of the Second Crusade.

Europe, so he would have been reliant on other sources rather than his own testimony for the events of the kingdom for this period. Complicating matters further, disaster struck again just before the rededication.

On June 29, 1149, Raymond of Poitiers, the prince of Antioch through his marriage to Constance, the daughter of Bohemond II and Alice of Antioch, was killed in battle defending the principality from Nur al-Din. According to William of Tyre, the ruler of Aleppo was emboldened to attack Antioch's fortresses "for our enemies saw and mocked the labors without fruit, the efforts without accomplishment, the crushed strength, [and] the broken glory of our greatest princes and kings, who seemed to be solid foundations of the Christian people..."<sup>263</sup> Seeing his own opportunity, the Seljuk sultan of Rum (Turkish-controlled Anatolia), Ma'sud I, attacked the remaining lands under the control of Count Joscelin II of Edessa, besieging him and his family in Turbessel (Tell Bashir).<sup>264</sup> When news of the prince's death and of the dire conditions of Antioch and the remnants of Edessa reached Jerusalem, Baldwin gathered his forces, relieved the city and, just like his grandfather and father, assumed the regency there.<sup>265</sup> William did not provide a precise timeline of Baldwin's time as regent in Antioch so it is unclear when news of Raymond's death reached Baldwin, when he set out from Jerusalem for Antioch, or when he returned. In his account of Nur al-Din's campaign against Antioch, Ibn al-Qalanisi provided a few more details than William, namely that Nur al-Din withdrew from Antiochene territory by mid-August 1149 after he heard of a Frankish army moving north to assist Antioch.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> WT, 17.9, p. 770. "Nam nostrorum principum et regum maximorum, qui christiani populi videbantur bases esse solidiores, viderunt hostes nostri et subsannaverunt labores sine fructu, sine effectu conatus, vires attritas, confractam gloriam..." See also Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, part 2, p. 31

<sup>264</sup> WT, 17.10, pp. 772-4

<sup>265</sup> WT, 17.10, pp. 773-4

<sup>266</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 293-4. This is corroborated by Abu Shama who, though writing nearly a century later, relied on sources written by Ibn al-Qalanisi's contemporaries, most importantly Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, a courtier for both Nur al-Din and Saladin. See Abu Shama, *Le Livre des Deux Jardins (Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn al-Nūriyya wa-l-Ṣalāhiyya)* in *Recueil des historiens des croisades : Historiens*

Further complicating the chronology is a charter that Melisende issued sometime between January 1 and August 31, 1149 (UKJ 175) in which the queen granted property in Acre to the Hospitallers “*assensu filii mei domni Balduini regis Ierusalem.*”<sup>267</sup> It is unclear if consent for a charter implied that the consenting party was present for its issuing or if it indicated that they were elsewhere and had granted their consent prior to their departure. For example, Amalric agreed or consented to eight charters issued by Baldwin, his mother, or both between 1144 and 1161 (UKJ 177, 236, 237, 241, 244, 254, 255, 263). However, he served as witness for only one of these charters: UKJ 255 on July 25, 1160 in Acre.<sup>268</sup> Amalric’s presence in Acre for UKJ 255 is further attested by his presence as witness for two more charters, UKJ 256 and UKJ 258, the first being issued on July 25 and the second on July 26.<sup>269</sup> Meanwhile, it is difficult to know if Amalric was present for the other charters given that his duties as count of Ascalon and Jaffa could have kept him from the royal court. Therefore, it is possible that Baldwin was not present when Melisende issued UKJ 175, which would explain why Melisende made it with his consent rather than including him as an issuing party as she had with all previous charters since 1144.<sup>270</sup>

The difficulty of ascertaining Baldwin’s exact whereabouts during the summer of 1149 combined with William of Tyre’s complete lack of regard for the fiftieth anniversary of

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*orientaux* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1898), pp. 62-3. Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus said that the people of Antioch sent word to Jerusalem and Baldwin arrived as soon as he could. See Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 274 and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 275. Ibn al-Athir made no mention of Baldwin’s time in Antioch.

<sup>267</sup> UKJ 175, pp. 353-4. Mayer chose January 1 and August 31 as his start and end dates because the charter indicated that this was made in 1149 during the fifth year of Baldwin’s reign, meaning that it was made five years after Baldwin reached his majority. While we do not know his exact birthday, we know it occurred between the beginning of January and the end of August and thus if the charter were issued during his fifth regnal year in 1149 it must have occurred within a timeframe before his birthday. See Mayer, *UKJ*, p. 353.

<sup>268</sup> UKJ 255, pp. 465-6. Amalric’s consent was needed as Baldwin was confirming a gift of land to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre made by Hugh of Ibelin. Ibelin and the land in question were *de[Amalrici] feodo* as Amalric was the count of Ascalon and Jaffa at this time.

<sup>269</sup> UKJ 256, pp. 466-9; UKJ 258, pp. 470-4

<sup>270</sup> Mayer uses this as an example of Melisende once again downgrading Baldwin’s position in court, relegating him to merely consenting to a charter rather than issuing it alongside her. However, given that consent does not necessarily imply presence, it is possible that Melisende issued UKJ 175 with Baldwin’s knowledge but during a period of time in 1149 when he could not be present, such as entertaining Louis VII during his stay, preparing to march to Antioch, or administering the principality.



Jerusalem's capture casts into doubt the king's presence in Jerusalem for the rededication of the Holy Sepulchre. If the celebration of this momentous anniversary were to serve as a confirmation and renewal of the royal family's privileged position as heirs to and continuators of the promise of the First Crusade, then Baldwin's presence in Jerusalem with Melisende would have been top priority. However, because of the ambiguity of UKJ 175's issuing and the fact of Muslim sources specifying that the king of Jerusalem had gathered his forces and began his way to Antioch by the end of July or beginning of August, it becomes likely that Baldwin deemed the protection of Antioch as more important than continuing the royal idea of king-as-crusader.<sup>271</sup> If Baldwin was indeed absent from the rededication of the Holy Sepulchre, it would have driven a wedge between him and Melisende. While the two were capable of acting independently and Melisende's presence indicated royal approval of the project, Baldwin's absence would have signaled to Melisende and others that his confidence in royal policy thus far was wavering.

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<sup>271</sup> This shift in priority is further evidenced by the July 15 liturgy that was rewritten specifically for the fiftieth anniversary (and every anniversary thereafter). Unlike the version celebrated in the years before 1149, the new liturgy subordinated the celebration of the feast of the city's liberation to a new mass that celebrated the feast of the dedication of the Holy Sepulchre. The new ordinals downplayed the eschatological and apocalyptic tone of the First Crusade and the July 15 liturgy celebrated prior to 1149, instead celebrating God's power and the holiness of "His House," i.e. the Holy Sepulchre, rather than the city of Jerusalem as a whole. Even the procession around the city – from the Holy Sepulchre to the Templum Domini to the site where the crusaders breached Jerusalem's walls – so central to the liberation mass borrowed its chants from the new dedication liturgy. As M. Cecilia Gaposchkin said in her summary, "All in all, then, 15 July came to celebrate... less the eschatological importance of the holy city of Jerusalem and the role of its capture by the Franks in 1099 within the larger scope of salvation history, as the importance of the Holy Sepulcher – the new Temple, the house of God, the center of the Christian world – in the ritual and devotional life of the Christian community." See Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 156-62 (esp. p. 161). In addition to this being a result of a general muting of eschatological themes in twelfth-century thought and devotion, as Gaposchkin argues, it is possible that Patriarch Fulcher requested a rewriting of the liturgy to downplay the triumphant and eschatological tone of the previous version of the liturgy in favor of praising God's power and holiness in a Jerusalem that reflected the kingdom of Heaven in response to the failure of the Second Crusade. Up until 1149, the language of conquest for the sake of God's dominion, defeating the forces of Babylon to free God's kingdoms, permeated royal sources from the 1140s. One would expect a similar tone to continue in the ordinals dictating the ceremonials for the celebration of the military conquest that started the whole enterprise. The shift away from the eschatological importance of the First Crusade was not unprecedented in the mid-twelfth century. For example, in his writings after the Second Crusade, Otto of Freising sought to portray the apocalypse as having started with the Investiture Controversy and Gregory VII's excommunication of Emperor Henry IV rather than the First Crusade and the capture of Jerusalem. Otto effectively removed the military triumphs of the Latin East and Jerusalem as essential components for the Last Days and replaced it with the events of theological and intellectual import that occurred in the west, influencing thinkers that came after him and their meditations and understanding of the Apocalypse. See Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, pp. 123-64.

However, the loss of Edessa and the failures of Bostrum and the Second Crusade were still fresh in the king's mind. Baldwin could have believed the emergency at Antioch were too great or the opportunity to offset his losses too tempting to ignore.

Baldwin's service as regent of Antioch, which lasted from mid-1149 until early-1150,<sup>272</sup> was the longest period he was away from the kingdom and his mother. It also marked the first time that he governed alone, excluding his brief stints commanding the army of the kingdom at the siege of the Valley of Moses and during the Bostrum campaign. It also proved to be the effective end of his and Melisende's joint government. While both continued to rule the Kingdom of Jerusalem in some capacity, they did so separately. In the charters they issued from 1150 until 1152, neither Baldwin nor Melisende served as a co-issuing party for the other and they both appeared to hold separate royal courts, with Baldwin in the coastal cities of Acre and Tyre and Melisende elsewhere (presumably Jerusalem and Nablus, but her charters do not specify).<sup>273</sup> Mayer argues that this split had been long presaged by the events of the 1140s and Melisende's attempts to hold onto power at the expense of her son.<sup>274</sup> However, there is little to

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<sup>272</sup> We know that Baldwin set out for Antioch in July 1149 and arrived sometime in August. To determine the specific timeframe when he left, we rely on the date of Joscelin II's capture by Nur al-Din as well as when Baldwin ordered the reconstruction of the fortress of Gaza. According to William of Tyre, Joscelin was summoned by the patriarch of Antioch after Baldwin returned to Jerusalem and was captured by Nur al-Din's troops while making the journey to Antioch. According to Ibn al-Qalanisi, word from Aleppo reached Nur al-Din, who was away from his capital negotiating a peace with Mujir al-Din (the Burid ruler of Damascus, now without Unur as his atabeg), on 5<sup>th</sup> Muharram, 545 AH, that his Turcoman captured Joscelin and his retinue and that he was locked away in the citadel of Aleppo. In 1150, this date corresponds to May 4 on the Julian calendar (May 11 on the Gregorian), meaning that Joscelin was captured late April or early May. The work on Gaza started after Baldwin returned to the kingdom and he and the patriarch oversaw its construction until its interior was partially complete *circa veris autem initium*, after which they returned to Jerusalem and granted the fortress to the Templars. See WT, 17.11-12, pp. 774-7 and Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 299-301. Moreover, we know Baldwin was back in the kingdom by June 22 as he issued a charter making a grant to the Leprosary of St. Lazarus on that date in Acre. See UKJ 221, pp. 407-9. For Baldwin to have enough time to reach Gaza from Antioch to order its construction that was partially finished by early spring, he must have departed Antioch late 1149 or early 1150.

<sup>273</sup> UKJ 178-UKJ 180, pp. 358-63; UKJ 221, pp. 407-9; UKJ 226, pp. 412-5. UKJ 177 is an anomaly among the charters of this era because Baldwin, along with Amalric, consented to Melisende's grant of Casale Berocht and its farmers to the Hospitallers for the purpose of relief for the poor. This likely occurred when Baldwin was still in Antioch and thus Melisende was working with Baldwin's broad consent for the royal acts she made. This consent appears to have been revoked after Baldwin returned to the kingdom. See UKJ 177, pp. 355-7

<sup>274</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 113-34

suggest that prior to 1149/50 their joint rule was anything but amicable and collaborative. Rather, a change occurred within Baldwin during his regency of Antioch from 1149 to 1150 and his final settlement of the remnants of Edessa in late 1150 that made it impossible for him to continue to uphold the ideal of kingship he had learned from his mother.

Prior to 1149, there is no evidence that Baldwin had ever been in northern Syria. He would have been too young to make the journey during Fulk's regency of Antioch in the early 1130s and Melisende opted to send the far more experienced Manasses of Hierges, Philip of Nablus, and Elinard of Tiberius to assist the County of Edessa following Zengi's conquest rather than her militarily-inexperienced teenaged son. Up until 1149, Baldwin's experiences with the troubles of northern Syria were distant and abstract. As regent, he could no longer see northern Syria in this way. According to William of Tyre, upon reaching Antioch, Baldwin worked to undo the damage done by Nur al-Din and sent Humphrey of Toron, the future constable of Jerusalem, to relieve Joscelin from the sultan of Rum. While he did not retake any territory lost to Nur al-Din, Baldwin managed to restore order to Antioch before returning to Jerusalem.<sup>275</sup>

The king returned to northern Syria in late 1150, after Joscelin was captured by Nur al-Din.<sup>276</sup> Joscelin's wife, Beatrice of Saone, led the defense of the remaining lands of the county of Edessa though she struggled against the combined forces of Nur al-Din and Mas'ud of Rum. When Baldwin arrived with the count of Tripoli as well as Humphrey of Toron and Guy of Beirut, they were met with imperial envoys from Constantinople and given the offer the Byzantines had extended to Beatrice: if she handed over the remaining lands and fortresses of

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<sup>275</sup> WT, 17.10, pp. 773-4

<sup>276</sup> He would remain captive from 1150 until his death in 1159. Both William of Tyre, who described the count as being lesser than his father, and Michael the Syrian, who despised Joscelin for sacking the Monastery of Mōr-Baršawmō, one of the holiest monasteries for the Syriac Orthodox Church, saw this as a fitting end for Joscelin. See WT, 17.10-11, pp. 774-5 and Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, pp. 280-4. See also Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 300-1; Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle, part 2*, pp. 40-1; Abu Shama, *Des Deux Jardins*, p. 67; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, pp. 276-7.

Edessa to Byzantine control, Emperor Manuel I Komnenos was prepared to pay her and her children an annual tribute. According to William of Tyre, the emperor “confidently promised, having hope in his immense wealth, that he would both keep that [land] undiminished from the incursions of the Turks and easily restore other [land], which they had lost, to his empire...”<sup>277</sup> After consulting with his lords, some of whom believed Edessa’s condition was not dire enough to warrant such a sale, Baldwin decided to agree to Manuel’s terms. His responsibility to Jerusalem and his insufficient forces meant he could not maintain an effective defense of the region.<sup>278</sup> This was Baldwin’s first experience dealing with the Byzantines directly and thus with the Byzantine policy of treating all Christians as part of their protectorate.<sup>279</sup> Indeed, to reinforce Manuel’s promises, the imperial envoys undoubtedly employed Byzantine wealth to overawe Baldwin and the Franks with the emperor’s power and ability to protect and enlarge the remains of Edessa. While Baldwin might have been unconvinced of the Byzantines’ ability to defend

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<sup>277</sup> WT, 17.16, p. 781. “Spondebat enim confidenter, in immensitate divitiarum suarum spem habens, quod et illa a Turcorum incursionibus conservaret illibata et alia, que amiserant, facile suo restitueret imperio...”

<sup>278</sup> WT, 781-2. See also Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 290 and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 277

<sup>279</sup> Anthony Kaldellis, “Did the Byzantine Empire Have ‘Ecumenical’ or ‘Universal’ Aspirations?” in *Ancient States and Infrastructural Power: Europe, Asia, and America*, ed. Clifford Ando and Seth Richardson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), pp. 272-300. Kaldellis argues that Byzantine aspirations to universal rule were a feature of their foreign policy, presenting the Byzantine emperor as elevated above all other rulers in the world. It was not, as many before him have argued, a mass delusion where the Byzantine leadership believed everything was or should be under their authority. Rather, the Byzantines understood that their effective authority ended where their imperial institutions did not reach and while the Byzantines engaged in conquest, they were prudent in their choice of targets and moved deliberately to ensure long-term stability. For more on conceptions of Byzantine authority and Byzantine foreign relations, see Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comnenoi, 1081-1261* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Deno J. Geanakoplos, “Church and State in the Byzantine Empire: A Reconsideration of the Problem of Caesaropapism,” *Church History* 34, no. 4 (1965): 381-403; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*; Catherine Holmes, Jonathan Shepard, J. van Steenbergen, & Bjorn K. U. Weiler, *Political Culture in the Latin West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, c.700-c.1500: A Framework for Comparing Three Spheres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021); Anthony Kaldellis, *Romanland: Ethnicity and Empire in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019); Samuel Pablo Muller, *Latins in Roman (Byzantine) Histories: Ambivalent Representations in the Long Twelfth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2022); Steven Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Steven Runciman, “Byzantium, Russia, and Caesaropapism,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 2 (1957): 1-10; George Ostrogorsky, “The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 35, no. 84 (1956): 1-14; James C. Skedros, “‘You Cannot Have a Church Without an Empire’: Political Orthodoxy in Byzantium,” in *Christianity, Democracy, and the Shadow of Constantine*, ed. George E. Demacopoulos & Aristotle Papanikolaou (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), pp. 219-31.

Edessa, as William of Tyre claimed,<sup>280</sup> the king would not soon forget the imperial splendor and rhetoric of universal Christian rule and protection on display.

Baldwin's experiences in Syria from 1149 to 1150 must have left him a changed man. He saw for himself the devastation Nur al-Din had wreaked upon Antioch and Edessa and the inability of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to offer either crusader state meaningful support. Moreover, the policy of conquest and expansion that he and Melisende so adamantly pursued throughout the 1140s left the kingdom in a worse position than before, as Nur al-Din gained further footholds in the region and western rulers no longer trusted the Latin East after the supposed betrayal at the walls of Damascus. If God desired the Franks to enlarge their dominion and further the cause of *Christianitas*, then why were the realms of the Latin East losing ground on all fronts? The Byzantine example of a universal Christian protectorate, one that could include but did not rely upon conquest, offered Baldwin a new way forward for his reign. It was at this point and in these circumstances that he finally did break with Melisende.

Charter evidence makes clear that Baldwin and Melisende ruled separately from 1150 until 1152. Baldwin, however, did appear to make entreaties to his mother and did not wish to exclude her entirely. William of Tyre, in typical courtier fashion, blamed the advisors, specifically Melisende's constable, Manasses of Hierges: "The foremost in both desire and deed of those who were pursuing the aforementioned Manasses in hatred was the king himself, asserting that he [Manasses] was withholding his mother's favor from him and hindering her munificence."<sup>281</sup> During their split from 1150 to 1152, Manasses chose to remain in Melisende's court. Given his position as constable and Melisende's trust in him, he would have been second only to the monarchs in authority as he was responsible for maintaining the kingdom's armed

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<sup>280</sup> WT, 17.16, pp. 781-2

<sup>281</sup> WT, 17.13, p. 778. "Eorum autem, qui predictum Manassem odio persequabantur, primus erat et affectu et opere rex ipse, asserens quod ei matris sue subtraheret gratiam et munificentiam impediret."

forces and second-in-command when on campaign. The complaint about Manasses withholding Melisende's "favor and munificence" could reference to him barring Baldwin's agents – or even Baldwin himself – from contacting the queen, choosing to do so either of his own volition or from the orders of Melisende. With his attempts blocked but his powerbase building, Baldwin had to resort to more drastic measures.<sup>282</sup>

Prior to Easter 1152 in Jerusalem, Baldwin made an announcement that encouraged his allies and dismayed of Patriarch Fulcher. According to William of Tyre:

Thus supported by the counsel of these [enemies of Manasses] and those similar [to them], the king proposed that he be solemnly crowned in Jerusalem on the feast day of Easter. When he was asked urgently by the lord patriarch and the prudent men who valued the peace of the kingdom that he should make his mother a participant of his glory, with the advice of the aforementioned he deferred that day which he had proposed, *lest he should make his mother a consort*, and unexpectedly on the following day, with his mother having not been summoned, he appeared in public crowned with a laurel.<sup>283</sup>

While monarchs could be crowned multiple times in their lives, what Baldwin asked of the patriarch was far more radical than a simple coronation. For William, as well as Patriarch Fulcher and his "prudent men," if Baldwin went through with his solo coronation as he desired, he would signal to his mother and the whole kingdom that he intended to downgrade Melisende's legal position from queen regnant to queen consort. In other words, Baldwin would allow her to bear the title of queen but deny her all of the royal authority that Baldwin II granted Melisende, Fulk, and himself on his deathbed and that had been maintained by church and nobility for over two decades up until that point. While Fulcher managed to prevent Baldwin

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<sup>282</sup> Mayer's argument hinges on the fact Melisende purposefully kept power away from Baldwin the entirety of their joint government and that Baldwin, in response, wanted to rid himself of his mother's influence. However, as has been discussed, Baldwin and Melisende collaborated up until 1150 and, if he continued to make entreaties to his mother after their split, he wanted to continue to work with Melisende.

<sup>283</sup> WT, 17.13, p. 778. "Horum igitur et similium rex fretus consilio proposuerat in die festo Pasche Ierosolimis sollempniter coronari; cuius glorie cum a domino patriarcha et a viris prudentibus, qui pacem regni diligebant, instanter rogaretur ut matrem participem faceret, distulit predictorum consilio, *ne matrem haberet consortem*, illa die qua proposuerat, et sequenti die subito, matre non vocata, in publicum processit laureatus."

from triggering a full-blown constitutional crisis by refusing to crown him, Baldwin still managed to make his point by crowning himself with a laurel and parading himself in public around Jerusalem.<sup>284</sup>

Baldwin undoubtedly knew that the patriarch would not follow through on his request. However, his intent was not merely to be crowned alone but also to obtain Melisende's attention. No longer would Baldwin follow Melisende or her designs for the future of the kingdom and the image of the king. While civil war was almost circumvented by the formal division of the kingdom – Baldwin took the lands of Acre and Tyre while Melisende kept Jerusalem and Nablus – Baldwin persisted in his newfound desire to exclude Melisende and rule alone, gathering up his forces and attracting as many nobles to his side as he could. In the end, Melisende's allies included only Manasses, constable and lord of Ramla through his marriage to its heiress Helvis of Ramla; Amalric, at that point count of Jaffa courtesy of a grant from his mother;<sup>285</sup> Philip of

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<sup>284</sup> Even by the twelfth century, the laurel crown held imperial implications. When describing the coronation of Frederick Barbarossa as emperor, William of Tyre said that after Pope Hadrian IV crowned Frederick in the Church of St. Peter, the emperor and the pope held a parade together three days later on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, during which both were crowned with laurels while wearing the insignia of their respective offices. See WT, pp. 810-1. When Amalric married Maria Komnena, the grandniece of Manuel Komnenos and a member of the Byzantine imperial family, in 1167, William described Amalric as *avito diademate laureatus*, “laureated with the diadem of his ancestors,” a choice of words that was most likely deliberate on William's part given the imperial ancestry of Amalric's betrothed. Frederick II, king of Sicily and Holy Roman emperor, issued coinage depicting himself wearing a laurel crown in imitation of classical Roman emperors. See “Gold 1/2 augustalis of Frederick II, Sicily (Brindisi or Messina), 1231 - 1250. 1918.121.3,” American Numismatic Society, accessed March 31, 2023, <http://numismatics.org/collection/1918.121.3>. Julian Yelles connects this incident with the anonymous author of *Balduini III Historia* choosing to describe the realm of Godfrey and Baldwin I as an *imperium* and link the destiny of the Kingdom of Jerusalem with that of the Romans as described by Virgil in the *Aeneid*. Yelles believes that Baldwin, even at this early stage, had an interest in presenting the Kingdom of Jerusalem as a continuation and fulfillment of the Roman Empire. As we shall see, such imperial connections are found throughout the latter half of Baldwin's and the majority of Amalric's reigns as well as William of Tyre's account of the founding of the kingdom and his descriptions of monarchs, especially Baldwin III and Amalric.

<sup>285</sup> Baldwin never acknowledged Amalric as count of Jaffa. In his first charter after reconciling with Melisende – which granted the commune of Marseille a church, oven, and rua in Jerusalem and all the port cities; freedom to enter and trade the kingdom without paying dues; and casale Ramie, which was between Ascalon and Jaffa, and all its workers and animals in exchange for 3000 besants to assist the conquest of Ascalon – issued in September of 1152, Baldwin included Amalric as a witness and referred to him as *frater regis*. This occurred again in an 1154 charter issued for the Hospitallers, confirming the grants his predecessors made. It was not until a charter on July 13, 1155 confirming all the grants he and his predecessors made to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre did Baldwin acknowledge Amalric as something other than *frater regis* – *comes Ascalonitanus*, the count of Ascalon, a title that Baldwin had conferred to Amalric. Meanwhile, in Melisende's charters before and after 1152 in which Amalric

Nablus, a close ally of Melisende's for nearly a decade by 1152;<sup>286</sup> and Rohard the Elder, former viscount of Jerusalem.<sup>287</sup> In the end, Melisende was unable to resist her son and Baldwin was unable to force his mother to capitulate. In late spring of 1152, the two came to a final and lasting peace: Melisende would give up Jerusalem, its territories, and her authority as queen regnant while retaining possession of Nablus. The queen continued to play a role in Baldwin's royal court, advising and assisting her son in the governance of the kingdom when needed. However, after several decades at the helm of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Melisende no longer controlled the ideological basis for kingship in Jerusalem.

On August 22, 1153, after an eight-month long siege, Baldwin III captured the fortress city of Ascalon, the last Fatimid stronghold on the Levantine coast. Through the conquest of the city, the king fulfilled one of the longstanding goals of the Kingdom of Jerusalem since its founding at the end of the First Crusade. William of Tyre acknowledged this connection to the crusade in the speech he attributed to the defenders during their deliberation to surrender:

Now fifty-four years has passed since this people so injurious to us, rising to us from the furthest parts of the West, violently seized with a strong hand the whole region from Tarsus of Cilicia as far as Egypt... However, that which has been suffered thus far can be determined as trifling or non-existent with regard to [the besiegers] close at hand.<sup>288</sup>

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served as witness, she listed him as *comes Ioppe* or *Iopensium comes*, the count of Jaffa. This means that either monarch only acknowledged the title that they conferred to Amalric, despite his position as count of both Jaffa and Ascalon by 1155. See UKJ 179, pp. 360-2; UKJ 194, pp. 375-7; UKJ 227, pp. 416-9; UKJ 232, pp. 424-7; UKJ 238, pp. 438-42. Cf. UKJ 393, pp. 674-5. This charter was issued by Baldwin IV, Amalric's son and successor, in 1177. In the witness list, there is a "Willelmus marchisius, Ascalonitanus et Ioppensis comes." This is William "Longsword" of Monferrat, son of Marquess William V of Monferrat (hence the "marchisius" in his name), who married Baldwin IV's sister, Sibylla. She had been given Ascalon and Jaffa after the death of their father, Amalric, and was their *de jure* countess, making William Longsword the *de uxore* count of Ascalon and Jaffa. By this point, the titles were acknowledged together, indicating that the efforts of Baldwin III and Melisende to exclude one title or the other from Amalric's name were deliberate choices.

<sup>286</sup> For more on the reason for Philip of Nablus's devotion to Melisende, see Malcolm Barber, "The Career of Philip of Nablus" in *The Experience of Crusading*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 60-78

<sup>287</sup> WT, 17.14, p. 779

<sup>288</sup> WT, 17.29, p. 802. "Quinquagesimus quartus hodie agitur annus, ex quo populus iste nobis tam molestus, ab extremis Occidentis partibus ad nos ascendens, a Tarso Cilicie usque in Egyptum universam regionem in manu forti violenter occupaverit... Que tamen hactenus passa est, respectu imminentium minima aut nulla iudicari possunt."



Indeed, the cries of exultation from the Franks to “the God of our fathers” because they “had seen miracles that day”<sup>289</sup> upon the surrender of the city mirrored similar acts of praise following the capture of Antioch and Jerusalem, indicating that the conquest of Ascalon was seen as a great victory rivaling those of the First Crusade and the early Kingdom of Jerusalem. After nearly a decade of rule and many failed attempts at conquest, Baldwin finally embodied the royal ideology of king-as-crusader.

Ascalon would also serve as the effective end of the concept of the king-as-crusader in the Latin East. The decade of Baldwin and Melisende’s joint reign had been one marked by crisis and failure. To maintain his image of king-as-crusader, Baldwin needed to conquer, a feat he struggled to accomplish until his success at Ascalon six years after the end of the Second Crusade.<sup>290</sup> His brief experience with the Byzantines in Antioch demonstrated to him that there were alternative ideas of royal authority and, indeed, the second decade of his reign saw him move away from the ideas inherited from his ancestors and adopt those used by his Byzantine counterpart, Emperor Manuel Komnenos. In other words, Baldwin was required not to be a conqueror but a protector of both Latin and east Christian interests in the crusader states and beyond.

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<sup>289</sup> WT, 17.30, p. 804. “deus patrum nostrorum... quia vidimus mirabilia hodie.”

<sup>290</sup> According to William of Tyre, after the defenders of Ascalon damaged the Franks’ siege engines, Baldwin called for an emergency council with his barons, the prelates, and the leaders of the Military Orders. He and the barons believed the casualties they experienced were too great to continue while the patriarch and the master of the Hospital urged them to continue the siege, arguing that God would not have allowed the siege to start so well if he did not intend for it to end in success, regardless of the hardships experienced in between. The patriarch ultimately convinced the king to maintain the siege. It is possible that his experiences with Bostrum and the Second Crusade made Baldwin hesitant as he saw how quickly a momentary disadvantage could escalate into defeat. See WT, 17.27-28, pp. 797-801

### Chapter 3

#### *Quos de omni servili conditione liberavimus: Baldwin III, Amalric, and the Byzantification of Royal Authority in Jerusalem, 1152-1174 CE*

Following his break with Melisende and as he secured his position as the sole ruler of Jerusalem, Baldwin looked to the Byzantine Empire as his model for rulership. Leaving behind the conquest-dependent “king-as-crusader” motif that he and his mother developed following the fall of Edessa, Baldwin sought to cultivate the image of universal Christian rulership that had been part of the foreign policy of the Byzantine emperors for centuries. After Amalric succeeded his brother to the throne in 1163, he furthered the Byzantine-minded policies his brother started. Not only did he copy his brother’s Byzantine marriage and his efforts to act as steward for the other Levantine Christian powers, Amalric implemented a public artistic and visual overhaul of the language of rulership in Jerusalem to better emulate his Byzantine ambitions. Scholars, such as Mayer or Malcolm Barber, recognize the closeness between the Kingdom of Jerusalem under Baldwin and Amalric with the Byzantine Empire under Manuel. They argue that Baldwin and Amalric only imitated and courted the Byzantines for the sake of practical ends, such as marriage alliances or gifts of gold or resources.<sup>291</sup> Mayer’s assessment of Amalric’s reign summarized their arguments best: “Quite simply, Amalric was dependent on Byzantium.”<sup>292</sup> However, the efforts that Baldwin and especially Amalric took to implement their Byzantification policies, such as placing themselves in the middle of intra-Christian affairs in the Levant or overhauling

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<sup>291</sup> Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 246-8, 257-9; Hans Eberhard Mayer, “Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der Lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Forschung über Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967): 176-8; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 115-23; Steven Runciman, “The Visit of King Amalric I to Constantinople in 1171” in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans Eberhard Mayer, R. C. Smail (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982), pp. 153-8.

<sup>292</sup> Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 123

their visual markers of authority, indicate that their goals went beyond mere flattery. Instead, they appeared to want to usurp the traditional Byzantine role of Christian protector in the east.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part investigates how Baldwin and Amalric built up their image as universal Christian rulers. If one focuses only on each reign in isolation or solely on internal Frankish politics, then this program is not clear at all. However, their Byzantification program becomes clearer when one views Baldwin and Amalric's reigns as extensions of each other. Indeed, both brothers often acted as overlords or protectors for both the other crusader states as well as their Armenian allies. Moreover, they presented themselves as equals with the Byzantine emperor and Fatimid caliph, the two preeminent imperial powers of the region. Baldwin laid the groundwork by finding a Byzantine bride, inserting himself directly into the world of Byzantine politics. He built upon this foundation by acting as a mediator between Manuel and Thoros II, lord of Armenian Cilicia, and Reynald of Chatillon. This gave Amalric a blueprint to work from, copying and building upon his brother's efforts to cement his position as the protector of Christians in the Levant.

The second part of the chapter looks at the development of the visual language of authority in the Kingdom of Jerusalem under Baldwin and Amalric. The two incorporated more Byzantine expressions of authority in their coins, seals, and royally-sponsored artistic projects than their predecessors had. Indeed, the usage of the Byzantine-style *loros* in their seals and increasing visual association between the king and the holy sites of the Church of the Nativity and the Holy Sepulchre indicated that the kings wanted to project an image of protector of the Holy Places and the Christians of the east. More than just flattery for the sake of alliances or superficial imitation, the kings of Jerusalem tried to usurp what had traditionally belonged to the Byzantine Empire.

## The Byzantification of Kingship in Jerusalem: Royal Practice

In his character profile for Amalric, William details an unusual conversation he had with the king. In it, they create an abstract ruling philosophy from a medieval ruler. William was critical in his narrative of Amalric's taxation policy, one in which the chronicler claimed left church coffers empty and the holy places impoverished.<sup>293</sup> It would appear that William had let his displeasure be known directly to the king, too, as he describes how Amalric defended his policies:

However, by speaking familiarly to me, he, putting forward an excuse for his avarice, tried to establish reasons for his conduct, saying that every prince, and especially the king, ought to always have in his possession the foresight to not be in need, on account of these two reasons: first, because the wealth of the subjects is safe when the emperor lacks nothing and, second, in order that he may have the funds at hand whenever he needs to provide for the necessities of his kingdom, if by chance the unexpected happens; in this case the provident king might act with exceeding generosity and does not sparingly with the expenses. Whatever he holds seems not for himself, but for the advantage of the kingdom.<sup>294</sup>

On the face of it, Amalric argues that it is necessary for a king to always have cash on hand so that he is always able to respond to the needs of the kingdom, sparing no expense. However, this passage holds significance beyond Amalric's defense for himself. Indeed, the king refers to himself in this passage both as *rex*, a king, and as *imperator*, an emperor. William's, or Amalric's, use of the term *imperator* is puzzling. The chronicler tended to be precise and consistent with his terminology and, in a work that was filled with many named *imperatores*,

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<sup>293</sup> WT, 19.2, p. 866. William describes the effects of Amalric's taxation policy only in the king's character profile. However, it can be inferred that Amalric raised funds from whatever source he could for his various campaigns in Egypt. For example, Amalric convened all the prelates and barons to Nablus for a council to decide how to respond to Shirkuh's invasion of Egypt in January 1167. The council decided that one-tenth of all moveable property in the kingdom would be taxed to fund Amalric's response against the Kurdish general. See WT, 19.13, p. 882. William does not say who originated the idea, but the prelates were likely unhappy to be subjected to a tithe to fund the king's Egyptian adventures.

<sup>294</sup> WT, 19.2, p. 866. "Avarice tamen sue excusationem pretendens michi etiam familiaris colloquendi causas nitebatur assignare, dicens principem quemlibet, et maxime regem, semper hanc debere penes de providentiam habere, ne egeat, propter duo, tum quia tuta est opulentia subiectorum ubi non eget *imperator*, tum quidem ut pre manibus habeat unde necessitatibus regni sui, si forte inopinate occurrant, consulat, et in eo casu regem providum oportere esse habune munificum et sumptibus omnino non parcere, ut non sibi, sed regni usibus quicquid id est videatur possidere."

William most likely did not intend for the word to mean anything other than an office superior to that of king.<sup>295</sup>

There are two possibilities. Either William is putting words in Amalric's mouth for his own purposes or else he is actually describing Amalric's own vision for his office. If it is the first possibility, then William believed or wanted to believe that Amalric fulfilled some kind of imperial mold. Indeed, William used Einhard, Charlemagne's biographer who in turn used a Suetonian model for his descriptions of the Frankish emperor. William directly quotes Einhard a handful of occasions. For example, in the opening chapters of the *Historia*, William quoted the *Vita Karoli's* description of the Frankish emperor's embassy to the Abbasid caliph, Harun al-Rashid:

He [Charlemagne] had such great harmony in friendship with Harun [Aarum], king of the Persians, who was holding almost the whole East except India, that he placed his friendship [with Harun] over the friendship of all who were king and prince in the whole world and declared that this alone ought to be cultivated with honor and eminence for him. And, accordingly, when the legates – whom he had sent with gifts to the most sacred Sepulchre of our Lord and Savior and the place of the resurrection – had come to him [Harun] and declared to him the intention of their lord, not only did he permit to have done that which was beseeched, but he even relinquished that sacred and salvific place to his [Charlemagne's] power, as was reckoned.<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>295</sup> In their 1943 translation of William of Tyre, Krey and Babcock translated this term as “ruler” as William seemed to have Amalric speak in general terms. If this were the case, then this example would be one of the few (if not only) exceptions. Most of William's uses of the term *imperator* or any of its declensions referred a specific emperor. Prior to his books on Amalric's reign, examples include: Charlemagne (WT, 1.3, pp. 107-9), Constantine IX Monomachos (WT, 1.6, pp. 112-4), Romanos IV Diogenes (WT, 1.9, pp. 119-22), Henry IV (WT, 1.13, pp. 127-9), Alexios I Komnenos (first mentioned WT, 2.5, pp. 167-8), Septimius Severus (WT, 13.1, p. 584), Henry V (WT, 13.19, pp. 610-1), John II Komnenos (first mentioned WT, 14.24, pp. 662-3), Manuel I Komnenos (first mentioned WT, 15.23, pp. 705-6), Conrad III (first mentioned WT, 16.18, pp. 739-41. While Conrad was never crowned emperor, William regarded him as one), Alfonso VII (WT, 17.8, p. 770. Referred to not by name but in reference to his daughter, Constance of Castile, who was the second wife of Louis VII. The Christian kings in Spain had a tradition of titling themselves *imperator totius Hispaniae* and having themselves crowned as such, though this practice did not receive the formal recognition from Rome the way the Frankish and later German emperors did), and Frederick I Barbarossa (WT, 18.2, pp. 810-1). This list is intended to be illustrative and not exhaustive.

<sup>296</sup> WT, 1.3, pp. 108: “Cum Aarum rege Persarum, qui excepta India totum pene tenebat Orientem, talem habuit in amicitia concordiam, ut is gratiam eius omnium qui in toto orbe terrarum erant regum ac principum amicitie preponeret solumque illum honore ac magnificentia sibi colendum iudicaret. Ac proinde cum legati eius, quos cum donariis ad sacratissimum domini ac Salvatoris nostri sepulchrum locumque resurrectionis miserat, ad eum venissent et ei domini sui voluntatem indicassent, non solum que petebantur fieri permisit, sed etiam sacrum illum et salutarem locum ut illius potestati ascriberetur concessit.” Cf. Einhard, *Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. George

William is describing the agreement between Charlemagne and Harun al-Rashid in which the caliph gave the emperor custody over the holy places such that the Christians of the East “seemed more to pass time under Emperor Charles than under the aforementioned prince [Harun].”<sup>297</sup> It serves a preface for the First Crusade and, in some ways, as a model for the rulers of Jerusalem. Moreover, William used Einhard’s characterization of Charlemagne to inspire his own for Baldwin and Amalric: most especially, all three ate and drank moderately and enjoyed listening to histories above all other works.<sup>298</sup> Thus, if William had put words in Amalric’s mouth, it would seem he was making the implicit comparison between Charlemagne and the kings of Jerusalem into an explicit one.<sup>299</sup>

On the other hand, if Amalric spoke these words, it is unlikely that he would have used the term *imperator* (or a French equivalent) offhandedly or lightly. By comparing his need for easily accessible funds to the needs of an emperor, he likely had in mind the nearest person to hold such a title: the Byzantine emperor. The holder of that office ought to spare no expense to

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Henry Pertz and Georg Weitz (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1845), p. 19: “Cum Aaron rege Persarum, qui excepta India totum poene tenebat orientem, talem habuit in amicitia concordiam, ut is gratiam eius omnium, qui in toto orbe terrarum erant, regum ac principum amicitiae praeponeret solumque illum honore ac munificentia sibi colendum iudicaret. Ac proinde, cum legati eius, quos cum donariis ad sacratissimum Domini ac salvatoris nostri sepulchrum locumque resurrectionis miserat, ad eum venissent et ei domini sui voluntatem indicassent, non solum quae petebantur fieri permisit, sed etiam sacrum illum et salutarem locum, ut illius potestati adscriberetur, concessit...”

For his descriptions of Baldwin III and Amalric, See WT, 16.2, pp. 715-7 (Baldwin III) and WT, 19.2-3, pp. 864-8 (Amalric). Cf. Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, pp. 26-31. For more about William of Tyre and his Einhardian influences, see Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, pp. 177-217.

<sup>297</sup> WT, 1.3, p. 108. “ita ut magis sub imperatore Karolo quam sub dicto principe digere viderentur.”

<sup>298</sup> See WT, 16.2, pp. 715-7 (Baldwin III) and WT, 19.2-3, pp. 864-8 (Amalric). Cf. Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, pp. 26-31. For more about William of Tyre and his Einhardian influences, see Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, pp. 177-217. For more about Einhard and his influences, see David Ganz, “Einhard’s Charlemagne: The Characterisation of Greatness” in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 38-51; Jason Glenn, “Between Two Empires: Einhard and His Charles the Great” in *The Middle Ages in Texts and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, ed. Jason Glenn and Robert Brentano (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), pp. 105-18; R. W. Southern, “Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing 1. The Classical Tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 20 (1970): 173-96; Justin Stover and George Woudhuysen, “Einhard and the *Historia Augusta*,” *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 33 (2023): 1-16

<sup>299</sup> This would be far from the only time William brushed close with ideas of empire and its relationship to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. See Buck, “William of Tyre, *Translatio Imperii* and the First Crusade”: 624-50.

tend to the needs of Christians of the region and to shower his supporters with gifts. In return, he required all to acknowledge his authority over his empire and his responsibilities that extended into neighboring lands. Perhaps Amalric had adopted this Greek ideal for his own government.

If so, Amalric did not invent these imperial aspirations for Jerusalem. His brother Baldwin did. His interest in Byzantine ideas of authority most likely began while he was in Antioch in 1150. As discussed previously, he was at that time restoring order to Antioch following the death of Raymond of Poitiers. During the course of his time in the principality, he received a delegation from Manuel in which he offered to purchase the remaining lands of the county of Edessa from Joscelin II's wife, Beatrice of Saone.<sup>300</sup> In practical terms, the defense of the county's remaining lands was untenable: northern Syria was much closer to Nur al-Din's administrative center of Aleppo than it was to Constantinople and, as a result, Nur al-Din was able to oust the Byzantine garrisons in short order. More than just restoring territory to the Byzantine Empire, Manuel used this proposal to present himself as the patron and protector of all Christians throughout the Levant. Baldwin perhaps internalized a lesson of the merits of universal Christian rule from this exchange.

The Christian chroniclers of the era were not strangers to the Byzantine Empire's claims. However, they were eager to find a replacement to their rule after years of persecution and failure to uphold their ideal as universal Christian protectors. Gregory the Priest, a twelfth-century Armenian chronicler who continued the better-known work of Matthew of Edessa, provides a succinct summary of Armenian grievances against the Byzantines. When Manuel returned to Constantinople from Antioch in 1159 having accomplished little against Nur al-Din, Gregory said: "We know from [accounts of] earlier times and from the chronicles of historians that the Byzantine emperors did nothing for the salvation of Christians... If [the emperor] had

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<sup>300</sup> WT, 17.16, pp. 781-2

come for [aiding] the Christians, there was no need for him to spend seven months in Mamistra.”<sup>301</sup> Writing about the same event nearly a century later, Smbat Sparapet, a member of the Armenian royal family and the constable of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, described Manuel as unwilling to assist the Christians of the region despite the emperor’s attempts to maintain that appearance: “Although the king of Jerusalem and the other grandees encouraged the Byzantine emperor to strive for the salvation of the land of the Christians, and although he [Manuel] had made such a promise to them, he had done so without sincerity or conviction.”<sup>302</sup> Both Gregory and Smbat had little faith in the Byzantine’s ability to deliver on their promises and, as a result, the Armenians had turned to the Franks for support.<sup>303</sup>

Michael the Syrian was similarly distrustful of the Byzantines. According to the Jacobite patriarch, in 1143, the Greek Orthodox leaders of Antioch spoke with the Frankish patriarch, Aimery of Limoges, and accused the Jacobites and Armenians of heresy. Aimery convened a synod to settle the issue and invited the prelates from the Frankish, Armenian, Jacobite, and Greek churches. The Greeks, however, did not attend:

They [the Franks] called upon the Greeks (to attend) the synod three times, saying, “You said, concerning the Syrians [Jacobites] and Armenians that they are heretics. Come now and show to us their heresy!” They replied, “We did not attend the synod because our emperor was not in it.” With this attitude, they became exposed before everyone, for they do not have truthfulness.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Gregory the Priest, *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. by Robert Bedrosian (Long Branch, NJ: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 2017), p. 156

<sup>302</sup> Smbat Sparapet, *Smbat Sparapet's Chronicle*, trans. Robert Bedrosian (Long Branch, NJ: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 2005), p. 62.

<sup>303</sup> For more about eastern Christian views of the Franks and how the Franks interacted with their eastern coreligionists, see Christopher MacEvitt, “The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa: Apocalypse, the First Crusade, and the Armenian Diaspora,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 61 (2007): 157-81; Christopher MacEvitt, “True Romans: remembering the crusades among Eastern Christians,” *Journal of Medieval History* 40, no. 3 (2014): 260-275; Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

<sup>304</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 207



After this, Aimery read copies of the Armenian and Jacobite doctrines and declared that both were orthodox. For Michael, the Franks had become protectors of Jacobite doctrines against Greek accusations despite the Byzantine attempts to act as guardians of orthodoxy. Armenian and Jacobite distrust of Constantinople's efforts to be the benevolent patrons and protectors for neighboring Christians gave Baldwin and Amalric openings to replace the Byzantines and exercise a similar vision of soft power.

### *Baldwin III, Christian Protector*

Baldwin attempted to act as the overlord of Antioch during the crisis filled years around 1150 and continued to do so even after Constance married Reynald of Chatillon in 1153. Somebody needed to exercise some kind of restraint over Reynald. He had a reputation of insubordinate, if not psychotic, behavior, which frequently necessitated Baldwin's involvement in Antiochene affairs.<sup>305</sup> In 1156, for example, Reynald launched an attack from Antioch on Byzantine Cyprus. Manuel had recruited him to attack Thoros II, the Armenian lord of Cilicia, in response to Armenian raids of Byzantine lands, but Reynald felt that the emperor had not paid him quickly enough for his efforts. In his raid of the island, Reynald, now allied with Thoros, committed numerous acts of violence against the Christian Cypriots and carried off as many spoils as he could.<sup>306</sup> Patriarch Aimery attempted to prevent Reynald's attack on Cyprus. However, the prince took the patriarch captive, stripped him naked, covered him with honey, and left him on the roof of the citadel to waste away in the summer sun and to be attacked by flies.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> For an assessment of the career of Reynald of Chatillon, see Bernard Hamilton, "The Elephant of Christ: Reynald of Chatillon," *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978): 97-108; Carole Hillenbrand, "The Imprisonment of Reynald of Chatillon" in *Texts, Documents and Artefacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D.S. Richards*, ed. Chase F. Robinson (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 79-102.

<sup>306</sup> WT, 18.10, pp. 823-5; Michael the Syrian, *The Armenian Chronicle*, pp. 192-3; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, pp. 60-1

<sup>307</sup> WT, 18.1, pp. 809-10

Baldwin, “with his royal authority,”<sup>308</sup> rebuked Reynald and ordered him to release the patriarch. Reynald ultimately complied with the king’s orders and released the patriarch into Baldwin’s care. Though Antioch had traditionally been a Byzantine protectorate, the king was using his royal position to protect the patriarch and command Reynald to end his persecution of Frankish and Greek Christian alike.

Slow to respond but great in wrath, Manuel arrived in Cilicia in late 1158 in order to force Thoros to submit to imperial power and to retaliate against Reynald for his actions against Cyprus. Manuel required Reynald to approach him as a penitent, barefoot and in a short woolen tunic with a noose around his neck and a bare sword in his hands, while the emperor was in Cilicia.<sup>309</sup> Manuel’s presence in Cilicia and Antioch threatened Baldwin’s influence over the Christians in the region and thus his stylization as their protector. Baldwin, with Amalric and some of his barons, soon arrived in Antioch so that he may intervene on the behalf of both Thoros and Reynald.<sup>310</sup> By 1158, of course, Manuel and Baldwin were related by marriage. His status as an imperial in-law perhaps gave Baldwin additional sway with the emperor. Manuel agreed to Baldwin’s mediations and was willing to grant mercy to Reynald and Thoros. However, the emperor was unwilling to admit that Jerusalem held any sway over Antioch. Despite Baldwin’s constant care for the principality, Antioch was, for Manuel, a Byzantine city.<sup>311</sup>

Despite Antioch remaining under the nominal authority of the Byzantine Empire, Baldwin’s continual presence there led some to believe that the principality pertained more truly to Jerusalem than Constantinople. According to the Armenian translation of Michael the Syrian,

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<sup>308</sup> WT, 18.1, p. 809. “... auctoritate regia...”

<sup>309</sup> WT, 18.23, pp. 844-5

<sup>310</sup> WT, 18.24, pp. 846-7; John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel*, pp. 140-2; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, pp. 61-2; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 285-6

<sup>311</sup> WT, 18.23-25, pp. 844-9; John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel*, pp. 140-5

Baldwin gave Reynald the principality of Antioch as a reward for his bravery at Ascalon, implying that Antioch was the king's to dispense with as he wished. Because of this arrangement, the translator alleged that Baldwin was able to raise soldiers from among the Armenians in Antioch for his campaigns without issue.<sup>312</sup> The Syrian chronicler Bar Hebraeus took this one step further, saying that Baldwin took Constance as his wife and “the sovereignty of Antioch became his by right” in 1153 or 1154.<sup>313</sup> Furthermore, during Manuel's visit to Cilicia and Antioch in 1159, Bar Hebraeus called Baldwin the king of both Jerusalem and Antioch. While Reynald appears later in Bar Hebraeus's account as lord of Antioch, the Syriac chronicler (or his copyist) did not see it necessary to question the possibility of Baldwin's sovereignty over Antioch.<sup>314</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi never mentioned Reynald in his account of events at Antioch. As far as he was concerned, Baldwin had taken command of the principality shortly after Raymond of Poitiers's death.<sup>315</sup> Given the erasure or ignorance of Byzantine involvement in Antioch, Baldwin's presentation of himself as a universal Christian ruler seems, in some corners, to have borne fruit.

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<sup>312</sup> Michael the Syrian, *The Armenian Chronicle*, pp. 188-9, p. 194

<sup>313</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 280, p. 285

<sup>314</sup> Bar Hebraeus's used Michael the Syrian as a main source for his own Syriac chronicle and consulted several Arabic sources, including Ibn al-Athir. Indeed, Bar Hebraeus referenced Michael the Syrian in his discussion of the date of Ascalon's capture (as he does elsewhere, such as the reason for the Second Crusade's failure). While Michael the Syrian's Syriac account of Ascalon has been lost, the Armenian translation's version still exists. Some of the details from the Armenian version and Bar Hebraeus's account match up, such as Baldwin throwing a cross into Ascalon to motivate his troops to assault the city. However, as referenced above, the Armenian account said that Reynald was given Antioch and Constance's hand in marriage as reward for his bravery at Ascalon. It is possible that this version appeared in Michael's Syriac version and Bar Hebraeus (or a later scribe) miswrote that section in such a way that excluded Reynald, given that he appears later in Bar Hebraeus as lord of Antioch and Constance's husband. Or, alternatively, Bar Hebraeus believed that Baldwin was the king of Antioch but Reynald, as lord of the city, was responsible for the day-to-day administration. Additionally, Bar Hebraeus stated that Bohemond III was the heir to Antioch, both when Baldwin assigned the regency of the principality to the patriarch of Antioch (p. 275) and following Reynald's capture in which Lord Thoros of Cilicia drove Constance out of Antioch and installed Bohemond III (pp. 287-8). While Bar Hebraeus's account of rulership in Antioch is confused for the period between the death of Raymond of Poitiers in 1149 and the accession of Bohemond III to the principality in the early 1160s, Bar Hebraeus believed that Baldwin did hold some form of sovereignty in Antioch. For more concerning this era of Antiochene history, see Buck, *Antioch and Its Frontiers*, esp. pp. 36-44 and pp. 62-85

<sup>315</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 293-4

### *Baldwin III, Imperial Son*

During his involvement in Antioch and Armenian Cilicia, Baldwin sought to strengthen his status as a Byzantine-style protector of Christians, in this case through his previously-mentioned marriage into the Greek imperial family. In 1157, he sent an embassy consisting of Humphrey of Toron, the constable, and Aitard, Bishop of Nazareth, to Constantinople in order to find a Byzantine princess for him to marry.<sup>316</sup> The king and his advisors decided on this plan:

both because an abundance of noble maidens close in blood-relation to him [the emperor] were not lacking in his palace and the prince, the most powerful and wealthiest one among mortals, from his riches would be able to relieve our poverty.<sup>317</sup>

William stresses here that this decision was made so that Jerusalem might strengthen military and financial ties with the empire. In the past, though, Latin rulers, like Otto I of Germany or Hugh Capet of France, sought marriage alliances with Byzantium in order to provide imperial legitimacy to their rule and to boost the prestige of their fledgling dynasties.<sup>318</sup> It is likely that Baldwin sought a Greek marriage for similar reasons.

Indeed, following his marriage to Theodora, Baldwin was treated as a member of Manuel's imperial household. As noted above, during Manuel's sojourn in Cilicia and Antioch in 1158/1159, Baldwin journeyed north to mediate a peaceful resolution between the emperor and Reynald and Thoros. According to William of Tyre, upon sending his envoys to greet Manuel, Baldwin met with the emperor's own representatives, who brought the king to the imperial tent. There, Manuel's nephews, John the *protosebastos* and Alexios the chamberlain, led Baldwin to

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<sup>316</sup> WT, 18.16, p. 834. The bishop of Nazareth is called "Aitardus" in William of Tyre and the witness list of one of Amalric's charters. See UKJ 336. He appears as "Letardus" in the witness lists of the majority of Baldwin and Amalric's charters. See UKJ 232, UKJ 233, UKJ 255, UKJ 256, UKJ 258, UKJ 314, UKJ 316, UKJ 342

<sup>317</sup> WT, 18.16, p. 834. "... tum qui nobilium virginum et proxima consanguinitate iunctarum in palatio suo non deerat ei copia, tum quia princeps potentissimus et inter mortales locupletior de suis copiis nostram... poterat relevare inopiam et tenuitatem mutata conditione reddere superhabundantem."

<sup>318</sup> Karl Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2003), pp. 143-64; A. A. Vasiliev, "Hugh Capet of France and Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6 (1951): 227-51.

the emperor and the king was given a place of honor beside the imperial seat. Baldwin later participated in Manuel's triumphal entry into Antioch.<sup>319</sup> In William of Tyre's eyes, Baldwin's pro-Byzantine policy was a triumph. John Kinnamos's version of the rulers' time together, however, was far less flattering to Baldwin. Despite this, his description serves to emphasize Baldwin's ambitions. According to Kinnamos, Baldwin was so arrogant that he dismounted at the imperial tent where the emperor would customarily dismount, either a diplomatic faux-pas or an aggressive statement of political parity. Manuel still treated the king well but he "omitted many of those things which concerned his honor [as heir to the throne of David] still more."<sup>320</sup> Baldwin later broke his arm in a hunting accident, and William and Kinnamos agree that Manuel tended to the king's injury. As with so many scenes of medieval diplomacy, this one inspired competing interpretations. William emphasized the astonishment of Manuel's retinue at the sight of the emperor tending to Baldwin's injury as they believed it was beneath the imperial dignity for Manuel to act as a common physician. On the other hand, Kinnamos viewed Manuel's actions as customary.<sup>321</sup> William likely wanted to stress how surprisingly high Baldwin had risen in Manuel's estimation, whereas Kinnamos read the scene as an enactment of the emperor's responsibility to protect neighboring Christians and thus an affirmation of Manuel's political superiority.

Regardless of the difference between the accounts of William and Kinnamos, there is a sense in both that Baldwin believed that his stature was approaching Manuel's. William was willing to accept this version of events in which Manuel treated Baldwin as an imperial son. Indeed, he experienced Manuel's magnanimity for himself on several occasions. William met the emperor when he served as Amalric's envoy to Constantinople in 1168 and later spent seven

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<sup>319</sup> WT, 18.24, pp. 846-7

<sup>320</sup> Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel*, p. 141

<sup>321</sup> WT, 18.25, p. 848; Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel*, pp. 144-5

months, from autumn 1179 until spring 1180, in Manuel's court during his return to Jerusalem from the Third Lateran Council (March 1179). During his latter stay, Manuel invited William to attend the wedding between his son, Alexios, and Louis VII's daughter, Agnes of France, and furnished the archbishop with imperial galleys and escorts for the final leg of his journey.<sup>322</sup> William saw the difference between how Manuel treated family compared to subjects or visitors and believed Baldwin belonged in the former category. If Kinnamos's account is accurate and Baldwin, with full knowledge of his actions, did dismount where the emperor customarily did, then the king probably believed that he was worthy of such an honor as an imperial son and thus heir to the Byzantine Empire's role in the region. Indeed, he recognized how to act the part of an emperor tasked with the protection of Christians. Baldwin placed himself at the center of the negotiations between Manuel and Thoros in order to prevent war between neighboring Christian polities, promoting intrafaith unity at a time when infighting would be to the benefit of their enemies.<sup>323</sup>

Baldwin was unable to see his Byzantification policies through to the end. Four years after his successful imperial visit, he died unexpectedly at the age of thirty-three. William is the only source who provides details of his death: he claimed Baldwin had been provided with poisoned pills by the eastern doctor of the count of Tripoli. In the typical fashion of a western-educated cleric, William disapproved of east Franks "having faith in only the remedies of Jews, Samaritans, Syrians, and Saracens who were altogether ignorant of medical knowledge" over the advice of Latin doctors.<sup>324</sup> Overtaken with a fever and consumption, Baldwin lingered for a few

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<sup>322</sup> WT, 20.4, pp. 916-7; WT, 22.4, pp. 1009-11

<sup>323</sup> WT, 18.24, p. 847; Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel*, p. 142. Both note that Manuel fully intended to wage war against Thoros and that Baldwin's intervention was what ultimately stayed his hand. One can only imagine how Baldwin appealed to Manuel so that the emperor would forgive Thoros and reinstate him as a Byzantine subject.

<sup>324</sup> WT, 18.34, p. 859. "medendi modo solis Iudeis, Samaritanis, Syris et Sarracenis fidem habentes... phisicarum rationum prorsus ignaris." William's contemporary, Usama ibn Munqidh, held the opposite view: he held east Christian doctors in higher esteem than their Latin counterparts. He wrote several anecdotes about the "marvels of

months before he died on February 10, 1163. Amalric succeeded him to throne, anointed and crowned only eight days later. William provided few details about the last years of Baldwin's reign: the time between Manuel's return to Constantinople early 1159 and Baldwin's death in 1163 occupies only eight chapters, the majority of which pertains to affairs that did not directly involve Baldwin.<sup>325</sup> However, had he more time, it is likely Baldwin would have continued his Byzantification policies that he had started nearly a decade prior.

### *Amalric, Christian Protector*

The Byzantification of Jerusalem, however, did not die with Baldwin. Indeed, it was Amalric who expressed imperial aspirations in his conversation with William.<sup>326</sup> He was quick to adopt Baldwin's policies and follow the blueprint he had left behind. Amalric was involved in the affairs of Antioch and Tripoli from the earliest years of his rule until his last days. In the summer of 1164, he entered Fatimid Egypt at the behest of Shawar, the vizier. He required Amalric's help to oust Shirkuh, Nur al-Din's general and Saladin's uncle who had helped Shawar reclaim his position from a rival earlier that same year.<sup>327</sup> Amalric made Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch after Reynald of Chatillon's capture in 1160/61 and the son of Raymond of Poitiers and Constance, regent of Jerusalem while he was away.<sup>328</sup> Nur al-Din, eager to attack the Latin states in the king's absence, besieged the fortress of Harim, which was located between

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Frankish medicine." In some of the stories, the Latin doctors regularly killed their patients with their remedies. In others, they provided cures that Usama claimed to use himself. See Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*, pp. 145-6, p. 150.

<sup>325</sup> WT, 18.26-33, pp. 849-59

<sup>326</sup> WT, 19.2, p. 866

<sup>327</sup> WT, 19.7, pp. 872-3; Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle, part 2*, p. 145; Abu Shama, *Des Deux Jardins*, pp. 107-8; Baha al-Din ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin or al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa'l-Mahasin al-Yussufiyya*, trans. D.S. Richards (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2002), p. 41

<sup>328</sup> Aimery of Limoges, "CXCVI. Aymerici, patriarche Antiocheni, ad Ludovicum" in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, p. 61. "...qui... nobis et novo Principi nostro, cognato suo, Boamundo... in reditum usque suum tam regni sui quam terrae commiserat curam."

Antioch and Aleppo. Bohemond, along with Raymond III of Tripoli, formed an alliance with Thoros and the newly named governor of Byzantine Cilicia, Constantine Kalamanos. This Christian coalition attempted to break Nur al-Din's siege in August 1164 but was roundly defeated. Thoros and his Armenians managed to escape. Bohemond, Raymond, Constantine Kalamanos, and the remnants of the Frankish and Byzantine armies, however, surrendered and were imprisoned in Aleppo. Hearing about the defeat at Harim, Amalric negotiated a peace with Shirkuh and quickly hurried north to take up the regency of Antioch.<sup>329</sup> By 1164, the status of Antioch still remained unclear. Baldwin's competition with Manuel for overlordship of the principality remained unresolved, though the emperor still treated Antioch as an imperial holding. Despite this, Amalric was the first to respond to news of Bohemond's imprisonment and acted as if Antioch was his responsibility, not the emperor's.<sup>330</sup>

Amalric continued Baldwin's policy of presenting himself as protector of the Christian states in the east, perhaps knowingly usurping the position from Manuel. Indeed, rumors of the emperor's imminent arrival were enough to cause concern among the Latin elites in Antioch such that they looked elsewhere for help. Between 1163 and 1164, Amalric, Patriarch Aimery of Antioch, and the leadership of the Templars sent letters to Louis VII of France that revealed the Latin East's concerns over the protection of Antioch. Many of the letters spoke of the imminent arrival of Emperor Manuel and the potential problems that would cause. In one of his letters to Louis, Amalric said: "it is reported every day that the emperor is approaching: as soon as he arrives, the whole east, together with us, fears that he will without any doubt take possession of [Antioch]... unless help from another source will come to it [the city], it is undoubtedly

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<sup>329</sup> WT, 19.11, pp. 877-8; Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, part 2, pp. 146-8

<sup>330</sup> Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel*, p. 164. According to Kinnamos, Manuel wanted to cross into Syria and handle Nur al-Din himself "but affairs of the west prevented him."



unavoidable that the same Antioch will be overpowered by the Turks or the Greeks.”<sup>331</sup> Later that year, Bertrand of Blanchefort, the grandmaster of the Templars, wrote to Louis that the emperor intended to come to Antioch and that the city was exposed to attacks from the Turks and Greeks.<sup>332</sup> A few months after Bertrand’s letter, a preceptor of the Templars, Geoffrey Fulcher also wrote to the French king. He said that the patriarch of Antioch, who was leading the defense of the city, “will withstand the Turks; but he, forsaken by any humanly help, will not be able to resist the emperor of Constantinople, who is coming.”<sup>333</sup> All three letters, which urged Louis to come to the east to check Manuel’s advance, fell on deaf ears. Probably still angered about the betrayal at Damascus during the Second Crusade, Louis neither journeyed to the east himself nor sent help in the form of manpower.<sup>334</sup>

Though Antioch had historically been a Byzantine protectorate, Amalric’s regency in the city and his letter-writing campaign to Louis reveal that he and the leadership of the Latin East believed that the protection (or even possession) of Antioch belonged to him rather than Manuel.<sup>335</sup> If Amalric or Bertrand of Blanchefort believed that Antioch should return to

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<sup>331</sup> Amalric, “CXXVI. Amalrici, Hierosolymorum Regis, ad Ludovicum,” in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol. 16, ed. M. J. J. Brial (Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale, 1813), p. 40. “fertur quotidie Imperatorem advenire: qui statim cum venerit, verentur omnes Orientales una nobiscum absque omni dubio impsum illam [Antiochiam] habere... nisi aliunde sibi venerit auxilium, eamdem Antiochiam Turcis aut Graecis cedere indubitanter necesse est.”

<sup>332</sup> Bertrand of Blanchefort, “CXXV. Bertranni de Blancafort, magistri militiae Templi, ad Ludovicum,” in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, p. 39

<sup>333</sup> Gaufridus Fulcherius, “CXC VII. Gaufridi Fulcherii, procuratoris militiae Templi ad Ludovicum,” in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, p. 63. “...sustinebit Turcos; sud Imperatori Constantinopolitano, qui venit, non poterit resistere omni humano auxilio destitutus

<sup>334</sup> Barber, *The Crusader States*, pp. 240-2; Laurence W. Marvin, “King Louis VII as General on the Second Crusade: A Failure of Command, Control and Communication” in *Louis VII and His World*, ed. Michael L. Bardot and Laurence W. Marvin (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 29-49; James Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the Early Crusades* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 85-111; Philips, *Holy Warriors*, pp. 108-10

<sup>335</sup> For more about the principality of Antioch’s relationship with the Byzantine Empire, see Thomas Asbridge, “The ‘Crusader’ Community at Antioch: The Impact of the Interaction with Byzantium and Islam,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1999): 305-25; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, pp. 92-103; Andrew Buck, “Between Byzantium and Jerusalem? The Principality of Antioch, Renaud of Chatillon, and the Penance of Mamistra in 1158,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 30, no. 2 (2015): 107-24; Buck, *Antioch and Its Frontiers*, pp. 189-217.

Byzantine suzerainty, then they would not have asked for Louis's help to check Manuel's advance and prevent the principality's fall to the Greeks. Furthermore, Amalric had a role negotiating Bohemond's release. According to William, he did not cease:

to have dealings concerning his [Bohemond's] ransom. It came to pass through his [Amalric's] diligence that he [Bohemond], detained by the enemy for only just a whole year, was restored into the same former state of freedom and honor with a payment great in amount happening.<sup>336</sup>

Helping Bohemond in this way benefitted Amalric's Byzantification policies: by arriving in Antioch and freeing Bohemond before Manuel had a chance to act, Amalric would make it clear to the remaining Christian states that he was their protector and they should turn to him, not Manuel, if they found themselves in trouble. However, there remains an important question at the center of Bohemond's capture: who paid his ransom?

It is unclear who Bohemond's benefactor was. The sources agree that a ransom of 100,000 gold dinars had been paid to Nur al-Din for his release but do not say by whom. Bar Hebraeus said that "Nur al-Din was compelled [to sell], and he sold every one [*sic*] who was with him, and also the young man Prayns [Bohemond], for one hundred thousand dinars." However, he does not say who compelled Nur al-Din. Ibn al-Athir and the Armenian translation of Michael the Syrian provide clues about who or what "inspired" Nur al-Din to ransom his captives. According to Ibn al-Athir, Nur al-Din feared that the defenders of Antioch would hand over the city to Manuel, the Turkish emir saying, "To have Bohemond as a neighbour I find preferable to... the ruler of Constantinople,"<sup>337</sup> an assessment that William accepted as a possibility.<sup>338</sup> However, the Muslim chronicler did not reveal who paid the ransom: Manuel's

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<sup>336</sup> WT, 19.11, p. 878. "non desinens tamen... de eiusdem redemptione tractare. Effectum est autem per eius industriad quod in eadem estate, multo tamen interveniente precio, vix per annum integrum apud hostes detentus libertati simul et honori pristino restitutus est."

<sup>337</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, part 2, p. 148

<sup>338</sup> WT, 19.11, p. 878

involvement is implied rather than outright stated. The Armenian translator of Michael the Syrian is more definitive: after Thoros forced Nur al-Din to ransom the captive Armenians, “then the Franks spoke up and requested the Prince [of Antioch]. [Nur al-Din] ransomed him to them for 100,000 dahekans [dinars].”<sup>339</sup> Most notably, Kinnamos, who typically did not pass up an opportunity to laud Manuel’s generosity at the expense of the Franks, is silent on the matter of Bohemond’s ransom.<sup>340</sup> The only argument for Manuel paying is the fact that Bohemond, upon his release, journeyed to Constantinople and installed a Greek patriarch upon his return, exiling Aimery of Limoges in the process.<sup>341</sup>

Concerning the identity of the one who paid Bohemond’s ransom, there are two possibilities. The first possibility is Manuel. Manuel treated Bohemond – who was the emperor’s brother-in-law through his marriage to Bohemond’s sister, Maria of Antioch, in 1161 – as one of his subjects.<sup>342</sup> As such, the emperor believed that the prince and Antioch were under imperial protection.<sup>343</sup> Additionally, Manuel probably wanted to free his governor, Constantine Kalamanos. Raymond lingered in prison because the emperor had no desire to free the count: Manuel reneged on his agreement to marry Raymond’s sister, Melisende, and, in retaliation, the count raided Byzantine lands.<sup>344</sup> As thanks for the emperor’s generosity, Bohemond traveled to Constantinople and agreed to install a Greek patriarch in Antioch. William, Michael, and Bar Hebraeus all wanted to hide Manuel’s involvement: William did so because the story was

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<sup>339</sup> Michael the Syrian, *The Armenian Chronicle*, pp. 199-200

<sup>340</sup> Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel*, p. 164. He does not even mention Bohemond, erroneously stating that Reynald of Chatillon was captured at the Battle of Harim despite having already been imprisoned for three or four years by 1164.

<sup>341</sup> WT, 19.11, p. 878; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 326; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 289; Michael the Syrian, *The Armenian Chronicle*, pp. 199-200

<sup>342</sup> WT, 18.31, pp. 856-7

<sup>343</sup> Manuel had married Bohemond’s sister, Maria of Antioch, in 1161

<sup>344</sup> WT, 18.30-31, pp. 854-7; WT, 18.33, pp. 858-9

embarrassing for the Latin East and Michael and Bar Hebraeus because they had no love for the emperor or the Greek Orthodox Church.<sup>345</sup>

The second possibility is Amalric. Since the latter years of Baldwin's reign, Egypt had paid Jerusalem a large annual tribute, perhaps as high as 160,000 gold dinars.<sup>346</sup> Shawar offered to reinstate and increase the previous tribute if Amalric helped him keep the vizierate against Shirkuh.<sup>347</sup> Moreover, according to William of Tyre, money did not remain in Amalric's hands for long, especially when it concerned the needs of the kingdom.<sup>348</sup> Thus it is possible that Amalric used the tribute from Egypt, which likely exceeded 100,000 dinars per year by the end of 1164, to pay Bohemond's high ransom. The king was interested in presenting himself as the generous protector of the other Christian states and paying Bohemond's ransom would benefit that goal. Moreover, by allowing Manuel to pay the ransom, then Amalric would have delivered Antioch into Byzantine hands, an outcome that he told Louis VII that he did not want. Nur al-Din, who was most reluctant to free any captive, was more inclined to ransom Bohemond than his other captives because he wanted to avoid the possibility of a Byzantine intervention. In contrast, no such risk existed for holding captives like Raymond.<sup>349</sup> However, Bohemond, who probably did not want to be indebted to Amalric and Jerusalem, chose to go to Constantinople to reaffirm his commitment to Manuel, as signified by his return with a Greek patriarch.

The second possibility, that Amalric paid Bohemond's ransom, is the more likely one.

Aside from Bar Hebraeus and Michael the Syrian, none of the sources had motive to omit

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<sup>345</sup> See Buck, *Antioch and Its Frontiers*, pp. 226-35

<sup>346</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 286; Michael the Syrian, *The Armenian Chronicle*, p. 195; WT, 19.5, p. 870. William of Tyre mentions the existence of the tribute but not the amount.

<sup>347</sup> WT, 19.7, pp. 872-3; Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, part 2, p. 145; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 289; Michael the Syrian, *The Armenian Chronicle*, p. 199

<sup>348</sup> WT, 19.2, p. 868

<sup>349</sup> Or, for that matter, Reynald of Chatillon, who was also lingering in an Aleppan prison at this time. Raymond and Reynald both incurred the emperor's disfavor through piratical raids against Byzantine lands and subjects. Moreover, Reynald's rights as prince of Antioch died with his wife, Constance.

Manuel's involvement. Indeed, Manuel was one of the only Greeks that William liked and he was not afraid to praise the emperor's virtues and generosity. Even if Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus wanted to erase Manuel's intervention, it is odd that they chose to mention Bohemond's trip to Constantinople and his installation of a Greek patriarch. If anything, Manuel's involvement would have provided them further proof of Constantinople's persecution of non-Greek Christians. Furthermore, Kinnamos's silence about the ransom is deafening. As Manuel's imperial secretary, he would have likely been with the emperor and know what his response was to Bohemond's capture. As Manuel's panegyrist, it is unlikely he would have passed up this opportunity to praise his subject at Frankish expense. Rather, Amalric acted with his Byzantification goals in mind: the other Christian states, especially Antioch, were his to protect and he was required to move fast if he were to take the emperor's position. However, like his predecessors, Bohemond probably resented what he saw as Jerusalem's excessive involvement and sought out Manuel to check Amalric's efforts. Constantinople was, after all, further away from Antioch than Jerusalem and thus less likely to directly intervene in Antiochene affairs – at least, so long as Bohemond behaved.

Amalric was able to make a better case for his role as Christian protector in Tripoli than he was in Antioch. Following Raymond's capture at Harim, Amalric became the regent of the county until the count was ransomed in 1173. His hold over Tripoli was more secure than it was in Antioch because Raymond had named Amalric regent. According to William of Tyre, Raymond argued before Baldwin IV and the barons that he should be made the king's regent during his minority. One of the reasons Raymond gave was that he and Amalric established a specific arrangement, requesting that he be afforded the same honor in recognition:

while he had been captured, from prison he ordered that his *fideles*, for the sake of faithfulness, should entrust all his lands, fortifications, and castles to the lord king

Amalric, the father of [Baldwin IV], and place everything under his every command and authority, adding this in the end of his words, that if, after the manner of men, it came to pass that he reached the end of his life in prison, he had appointed the aforementioned lord king as the heir of his whole estate because he was the closest of all his blood-relations.<sup>350</sup>

As regent, Amalric treated Tripoli as he would any of his other holdings. For example, following a devastating earthquake in 1170, he granted the Hospitallers the Tripolitan fortresses of Archas and Gibelcar to repair and hold, adding that he would defend the order if Raymond disputed the grant upon his release.<sup>351</sup> Moreover, he was comfortable handling Tripolitan business while he was in the kingdom proper and Jerusalemite business when he resided in Tripoli. For example, while in Ascalon, Amalric confirmed Raymond's grant of houses inside Tripoli to the Italian commune of Amalfi in 1164.<sup>352</sup> Perhaps as a result of his self-presentation as a Christian protector combined with the legal reality of Raymond's will, Amalric's control over the county was near total. Unlike his treatment of Baldwin's and Amalric's regencies of Antioch, William did not feel the need to discuss Amalric's time as regent of Tripoli as separate from the rest of his narrative. This implies that Tripoli became as much a part of the crown-holdings as Tyre or Ascalon during Amalric's regency.

With non-Latin Christian communities, direct control was largely out of the question. Amalric instead used his position and influence as king as a mediating figure, a commanding presence, and even a punitive force toward the other Christian powers in the region. To take on an illustrative case, in late 1162, the Byzantine governor of Cilicia, Andronikos Euphorbenos, had invited the brother of Thoros, Stephen, to a banquet in the frontier city of Tarsus. The

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<sup>350</sup> WT, 21.3, p. 963. "dum captus fuisset, ex ipso carcere fidelibus suis sub obtentu fidelitatis precepit quatenus domino regis Amalrico, patri huius, universam terram suam, arces et castella traderent et eius mandatis et omnimodici subponerent universa, hoc adiciens etiam in calce verborum, quod si eum humanitus in carcere vitam finire contingeret, predictum dominum regem, quia consanguineorum suorum omnium proximum, ex asse constituerat heredem." For more on Amalric's regency of Tripoli, see Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli and Lebanon*, pp. 204-9.

<sup>351</sup> UKJ 346, pp. 601-5

<sup>352</sup> See UKJ 337, pp. 582-4

following day, Stephen's body was found outside the city gate. The cause of death was unknown. However, all sources agree that Thoros blamed Andronikos for the death of his brother. In response, the Armenian lord and his other brother, Mleh, attacked and slaughtered Byzantine garrisons, with some reports claiming that they killed 10,000 Byzantine troops. Before Manuel launched his own punitive response against the Armenians, Amalric intervened in early 1163, negotiating a new peace between the Byzantines and Armenians that included the removal of Andronikos from his position and the installation of Constantine Kalamanos.<sup>353</sup> Crusader historians have underestimated the significance of Amalric's mediation: he was able to intervene in what was otherwise a purely internal Byzantine matter and cause the Byzantine governorship of Cilicia to pass to someone more agreeable for the Armenians. This demonstrates that not only did Amalric understand how Byzantine politics worked but also his ambitions went beyond the Latin states.

Indeed, Amalric attempted to leverage his role as a mediator to exert authority over all Christians in the region. Again, Cilicia provides an illustrative case. In 1168 or 1169, Thoros abdicated the lordship of Armenian Cilicia to his four year-old son, Roupén II. He placed him under the care of a regent, a relatively unknown figure named Thomas, and retired to a monastery. Why Thoros decided to abdicate to a child, the sources do not say. Given that he died later the same year, it is possible he was of ill-health and suspected his end was near. Regardless, after Thoros's death, Mleh conspired against his nephew, obtaining support and troops from Nur

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<sup>353</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 287; Michael the Syrian, *The Armenian Chronicle*, p. 197; Smbat Sparapet, *The Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet*, trans. Robert Bedrosian (Long Branch, NJ: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 2005), p. 64; Seta B. Dadoyan, *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World: Armenian Realpolitik in the Islamic World and Diverging Paradigms: Case of Cilicia: Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 161-2; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia" in *A History of the Crusades, Vol 2: The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*, ed. Robert Lee Wolff, Harry W. Hazard, and Kenneth M. Setton (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 640-1; Jacob Ghazarian, *The Armenian kingdom in Cilicia during the Crusades: The Integration of Cilician Armenians with the Latins 1080-1393* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2000), pp. 120-1; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204*, trans. J. C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 187-8; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, Vol 2*, p. 364

al-Din. Once he seized Armenian Cilicia for himself, Mleh persecuted his Christian subjects.<sup>354</sup> Word of the Armenian lord's cruelty reached Amalric in 1173, prompting the king to act. After several attempts to bring Mleh to the negotiating table, Amalric realized that the Armenian lord would not sit down to parley. Setting out from Antioch, he took "every Christian army of those parts, gathering the military forces from the whole province"<sup>355</sup> and entered Cilicia. According to Michael the Syrian, soon after Amalric invaded, Mleh "repented, asked for forgiveness, and promised to be under the subjection of the king."<sup>356</sup> It is likely that Mleh never intended to follow through on this promise. However, the fact that Cilician submission to Amalric's authority was considered a possibility is significant. Indeed, with Mleh, Amalric assumes – or, at the very least, claims – the traditional duties of a Byzantine emperor, indicating that his presentation as a Christian protector had likely taken hold among the Christians of the East.<sup>357</sup>

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<sup>354</sup> WT, 20.26, pp. 948-50; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 322; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 295; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, p. 65; Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, p. 210. William of Tyre is the only chronicler to say that Mleh converted to Islam in addition to his entering into Nur al-Din's service. Michael the Syrian, Bar Hebraeus, and Smbat Sparapet all say that he received troops from Nur al-Din and, once Armenian Cilicia was his, sold many Christians into slavery to the Turks. Ibn al-Athir implied that Mleh remained a Christian even though Nur al-Din gave the Armenian lands in exchange for his service. According to Ibn al-Athir, when questioned by his advisors about giving Mleh land from dar al-Islam, Nur al-Din said: "I use him to help fight against his own co-religionists and I can rest a group of my army, which then faces him, ready to stop him raiding his neighbouring lands." If Mleh had converted to Islam, Nur al-Din's advisors would not have been so opposed to him holding land in Nur al-Din's service. Perhaps William could not imagine how a Christian who had once served with the Knights Templar could join Nur al-Din against other Christians.

<sup>355</sup> WT, 20.26, p. 949. "Tandem collectis de universa provincia militaribus copiis... omnis illarum partium christianus... exercitus."

<sup>356</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 322. Bar Hebraeus more or less says the same: "And Malih [Mleh] being made to suffer brought forth repentance, and swore an oath that he would live in subjection to the king, and that he would not join the party of the Turks." Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 295. William differs concerning the details: after Amalric started his campaign, he received news that Nur al-Din besieged Petra. Leaving Bohemond in charge of the army in Cilicia, he returned to Jerusalem. However, once there, he learned that Humphrey of Toron and Ralph of Bethlehem drove Nur al-Din out. What came of Mleh, William does not say. See WT, 20.26, pp. 949-50

<sup>357</sup> Runciman, Lilie, and others have speculated that Amalric's attack on Mleh was done at Manuel's request as part of their agreement during Amalric's visit to Constantinople in 1171. In exchange, Manuel was to provide help for a new Egyptian expedition. They conclude that this must have happened because Amalric had little interest in Cilicia prior to 1173. See Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, p. 205, n. 267; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol 2, p. 391. Buck concurs, given the involvement of Bohemond III (who was firmly in Manuel's sphere of influence by the 1170s). See Buck, *Antioch and Its Frontiers*, pp. 235-6. Konstantinos Takirtakoglou also agrees that this must have been the case, given the mutual interest to keeping Cilicia open and friendly. See Konstantinos Takirtakoglou, "The Case of Mleh (1170-1175): Cilician Armenia between Nūr al-Dīn and Manuel I Komnenos," *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 29, no. 4 (2023): 340-57.



Additionally, Amalric's stewardship of the Christians of the East is seen in his policies toward Egypt. On the eve of Amalric's second invasion of Egypt, August 20, 1169, the king issued UKJ 341, a charter for the Hospitallers in which he reaffirmed the promise he made the military order the year prior.<sup>358</sup> In the event of Egypt's conquest, the king promised the military order the city of Bilbeis with its inhabitants and all their possessions, which should yield a yearly return of 150,000 besants.<sup>359</sup> However, an additional clause was later added to the charter. The king still granted the land and property to the Hospitallers. However, it appears that he only granted them the non-Christian inhabitants of the region because, according to the charter, "all Christians from whatever nation they may be, whom we will free from every kind of servile condition, [are] excluded."<sup>360</sup> Essentially, Amalric reserved the protection, and possibly even service, of the Christians of Bilbeis for the crown. Some have tried to ascribe mundane, even duplicitous reasons, for this clause. For example, Murray argues that this may have been a ploy by Amalric to prevent the Hospitallers from repopulating the Bilbeis, whose population had been decimated by the Frankish sack of the city the year prior, by moving in Christians from elsewhere.<sup>361</sup> However, it makes little sense that Amalric would not want the city to be repopulated, especially if he wanted to rely on Hospitaller support in the future. Rather, Amalric used this clause to express his Byzantified conception of authority, which included direct authority over his Christian subjects.

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However, much of this relies on speculation as there is a silence in the sources, even the Greek ones, concerning Manuel's involvement.

<sup>358</sup> UKJ 336, pp. 578-82

<sup>359</sup> UKJ 341, pp. 591-5

<sup>360</sup> UKJ 341, p. 594. "...exceptis Christianis omnibus de quacumque gente fuerint, quos de omni servili conditione liberavimus..."

<sup>361</sup> Murray, "The Grand Designs of Gilbert d'Assailly," p. 18. For accounts of the sack, see WT, 20.6, pp. 918-9; Michael the Syrian, *The Armenian Chronicle*, p. 201; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 293; Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, part 2, p. 172; Abu Shama, *Des Deux Jardins*, pp. 113-4.

Indeed, Christian writers like Michael the Syrian saw Amalric as exhibiting the attributes of a Christian protector. For much of the twelfth century, Muslim rulers in Syria, such as Zengi and Nur al-Din, had to take into consideration the possibility of Byzantine intervention when waging war against the crusader states. According to Michael, Nur al-Din's focus shifted. He feared Amalric's intervention, not Manuel's, when he threatened persecution upon the Christians in his realm. For example, according to Michael, on his way to claim Mosul following his brother's death in late 1170, Nur al-Din persecuted Christians in each town he captured. In Nisibis, he "grew harsh against the Christians" tasked his appointed governor to destroy any newly built edifice in the churches of the city.<sup>362</sup> In Mosul, Nur al-Din "[for Christians] increased taxes, augmented the poll-tax, and issued a law that they girdle themselves with *zunnoro*-belts and not grow hair long, so that they may be identified and mocked at by the Arabs."<sup>363</sup> However, this changed when Nur al-Din heard that Amalric "went to Constantinople to the emperor of the Greeks, and was given much gold and weaponry."<sup>364</sup> To prevent Amalric from gaining a foothold in Mosul, Nur al-Din removed the pro-Christian eunuch who had been administering the city.<sup>365</sup> For Michael, Nur al-Din expected Amalric to react to news of his Christian persecution by invading his land just as Manuel or his father, John II, did decades prior.

According to Michael, it took Nur al-Din several years before he continued his Christian persecutions. In 1174, Nur al-Din sent messengers to his governors, ordering them to gather their

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<sup>362</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 328

<sup>363</sup> Ibid, p. 336

<sup>364</sup> Ibid, p. 336; WT, 20.22-24, pp. 940-6; Eustathios of Thessaloniki, "The Epiphany Oration of 1176" in *Eustathios of Thessaloniki: Secular Orations 1167/8 to 1179*, trans. Andrew F. Stone (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 99-102. Amalric did go to Constantinople in 1171 to renew the 1168-9 alliance against Egypt with Manuel.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid, p. 336; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, pp. 295-8. The eunuch's name was Fakr al-Din Abd al-Masih ("Servant of the Messiah," aka Jesus Christ). According to Bar Hebraeus, he conspired with Qutb al-Din Mawdud's widow to remove his eldest son and designated successor, Imad al-Din, from power and install his youngest, Saif al-Din, instead. This led Imad al-Din to seek Nur al-Din's help in retaking Mosul from his brother and removing Abd al-Masih from power. In surrendering, Abd al-Masih supposedly became a Muslim and changed his name to Abd Allah ("Servant of God") but still helped Christians whenever he could.

forces in Damascus so that he may “obliterate two kingdoms at once, one of the Franks in Jerusalem and Antioch and that of the Turks in Bithynia [the Seljuks of Rum in Anatolia].”<sup>366</sup> However, before any of that could come to pass, Nur al-Din died in May of that year.<sup>367</sup> Learning of Nur al-Din’s plans, Amalric set out to punish Damascus, besieging Banyas. According to Michael the Syrian:

fear befell the Muslims, especially while these prepared themselves to rule of the regions of the Franks, these [the Franks] came to rule over them [the Muslims]. Therefore, the citizens of Damascus sent messengers to the king, promising to pay tribute to him as they used to in past times. The king refused to accept and was not at all ready to make peace with them; rather, he was ready to make them pay what they intended to exact from the Christians...<sup>368</sup>

In other words, Damascus offered to renew the treaty they made with Fulk and Baldwin in the 1140s. However, unlike his father and brother, Amalric was more interested in exacting from the Damascenes what Nur al-Din intended for Jerusalem and Antioch: conquest or even obliteration. Unfortunately, Amalric soon fell ill. He lifted the siege and accepted their payment, intending to return once he recovered. He would not return, however: Amalric died in Jerusalem July 1, 1174.

Amalric’s death was a massive blow to Christian fortunes in the east. According to Michael the Syrian, it appeared that the east Christians expected Amalric to reach Damascus itself: “[Amalric’s] death pained the Christians, because they expected to get consolation after the death of Nur al-Din, but their expectation failed at the sorrowful death of their victorious

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<sup>366</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 354. This seems to imply that Michael, like Bar Hebraeus did in his account of the reign of Baldwin III, saw Jerusalem and Antioch as constituting a single realm rather than two independent polities (or one independent kingdom, i.e. Jerusalem, and one Byzantine client state, i.e. Antioch).

<sup>367</sup> Ibid, p. 354; WT, 20.31, p. 956

<sup>368</sup> Ibid, p. 360; WT, 20.31, pp. 956-7. William’s account confirms that Amalric besieged Banyas following Nur al-Din’s death and that Nur al-Din’s widow promised to pay “a fixed sum of money in great quantity [*certam pecunie in multa quantitate summam promittit*]. However, “at first the king, continuing the siege nevertheless, appeared to have rejected her so that he could extort more [*Quam rex ut ampliorem extorqueret prima fronte visus est respuisse, obsidionem nichilominus continuans...*]. He lifted the siege only when he realized he could not overcome Banyas’s defenses. He accepted the payment as well as the release of twenty Christian knights, though he intended to return.

king...”<sup>369</sup> More than just the king of the Franks, Michael the Syrian believed that Amalric was the savior of all Christians in the east.

By the time of his death, Amalric seemed poised to extend his authority beyond the confines of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. His pro-Byzantification policies and presentation as the protector of the Christian states had seemingly made him the successor of the Byzantine emperor’s traditional role for the non-Greek Christians of the Levant. Indeed, for writers like Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus, Amalric sought to deliver on his promises as Christian protector, acting for the benefit of his Frankish and Armenian allies and mustering his strength to protect Christians – wherever they may be – from persecution. Perhaps it was these efforts Amalric had in mind when he compared himself to an emperor to justify his monetary policy.

#### *Amalric, “King-as-Emperor”*

Despite this attempted usurpation of Byzantine Christian ecumenical authority (or perhaps because of it), Amalric did what he could to maintain good relations with Emperor Manuel and the Byzantine Empire. Like his brother Baldwin, in 1165 Amalric sent envoys, Archbishop Harnesius of Caesarea and the royal butler Odo of Sancto Amando, to Constantinople to find a suitable Byzantine princess to become his queen.<sup>370</sup> This was not the king’s first marriage. Prior to his accession to the throne, he was married to Agnes of Courtenay, Joscelin II’s daughter and Joscelin III’s sister, and had two children with her: Baldwin IV and Sibylla. However, before he was anointed and crowned, Amalric divorced Agnes on grounds of consanguinity. Most historians, such as Mayer and Hamilton, argue that the barons bullied

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<sup>369</sup> Ibid, p. 362

<sup>370</sup> WT, 20.1, p. 913

Amalric into a divorce so that he may gain the throne.<sup>371</sup> William of Tyre mentioned that, after Baldwin's death, a *scandalum* had arisen in which the barons threatened to revolt if Amalric succeeded the throne.<sup>372</sup> William does not say what the *scandalum* was, but historians agree it involved Agnes.

However, even if the lesser barons threatened to revolt, Amalric still had considerable support from "the clergy and the people and a few from the magnates."<sup>373</sup> The support of the clergy and prelates is clear to see: Amalric had the patriarch of Jerusalem oversee his divorce to Agnes and organize his royal initiation within a week. Moreover, he requested that his children by Agnes be acknowledged as his legitimate heirs, a not insignificant concession from his opponents.<sup>374</sup> It is probable that he had support from the great barons – most notably Humphrey of Toron; Philip of Nablus; Hugh of Caesarea; Walter of Saint-Omer, Prince of Galilee and Lord of Tiberias – given that they consistently appeared in both his comital and royal courts.<sup>375</sup> If the *scandalum* had devolved into a civil war, Amalric would have had enough support and manpower to defeat the revolt. Rather, it is likely Amalric saw an opportunity for himself. His

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<sup>371</sup> Bernard Hamilton, "The Titular Nobility of the Latin East: The Case of Agnes of Courtenay" in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R.C. Smail*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), pp. 197-203; Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 23-6; Hans Eberhard Mayer, "The Beginnings of King Amalric of Jerusalem" in *The Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992), pp. 121-35; Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 116. According to Hamilton, the barons did not want Agnes to give land and power to the other dispossessed lords from Edessa. According to Mayer, it was because Amalric abducted Agnes from Hugh of Ibelin, causing the lesser barons to oppose his accession to the throne. See also Thomas Asbridge, *The Crusades: The Authoritative History of the War for the Holy Land* (New York: Ecco, 2010), p. 299; Marshall W. Baldwin, "The Latin States under Baldwin III and Amalric I, 1143-1174" in *A History of the Crusades, Vol 1: The First Hundred Years*, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin and Kenneth M. Setton (Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 548-9; Barber, *The Latin States*, pp. 231-3; Eric Böhme, "Lenken im Hintergrund – Agnes von Courtenay und ihr Einfluss auf die Königsherrschaft Balduins IV. von Jerusalem" in *Regentinnen und andere Stellvertreterfiguren. Vom 10. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023), pp. 138-42.

<sup>372</sup> WT, 19.1, p. 864

<sup>373</sup> WT, 19.1, p. 864. "favente sibi potissimum clero et populum paucisque de magnatibus..."

<sup>374</sup> WT, 19.4, pp. 868-9

<sup>375</sup> Amalric as count of Jaffa and Ascalon: UKJ 282, pp. 507-11; Amalric as king: UKJ 310, pp. 536-41; UKJ 311, pp. 541-4; UKJ 312, pp. 545-6; UKJ 313, pp. 547-8; UKJ 314, pp. 548-50; UKJ 316, pp. 550-3; UKJ 327, pp. 564-8; UKJ 333, pp. 573-5; UKJ 336, pp. 578-82; UKJ 337, pp. 582-4; UKJ 340, pp. 588-90; UKJ 343, pp. 596-9

marriage to Agnes, the sister to the landless count of Edessa, afforded him no political advantage. A divorce allowed him to seek advantageous marriage alliances elsewhere, either in the West or, as it came to pass, Constantinople.<sup>376</sup>

In 1167, Amalric's envoys returned with Maria Komnena, the grandniece of Manuel, as well as several members of the imperial family in her retinue.<sup>377</sup> Princesses of the imperial family regardless were relatives of emperors, even if, in Maria's case, they were not direct descendants. Given Amalric's actions to present himself as the protector of Christianity and thus heir to the legacy of the Byzantine Empire, such imperial prestige and legitimacy were beneficial for his program. Moreover, his marriage link to Manuel gave Amalric greater access to Byzantine money and resources, exemplified by Manuel's patronage of the renovation of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. The marriage also provided the possibility of a military alliance against Egypt. In short, Amalric's Byzantine queen offered both material assistance and symbolic benefits to Amalric's royal pretensions.

The policies seem to have succeeded. Amalric's authority was sometimes seen as equal to that of a Byzantine emperor or Fatimid caliph. For example, during his 1167 campaign in Egypt, Amalric was treated as if he were the peer of al-Adid, the Fatimid caliph. Amalric had entered Egypt to defend it, once again, from an invasion by Shirkuh and Saladin. This was in fulfilment of the treaty he made with Shawar following his restoration to the vizierate in 1164, accomplished with Frankish help. During the 1167 campaign, Shawar consistently placed himself and his resources at the command of Amalric as if he were as beholden to the king as he

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<sup>376</sup> Agnes of Courtenay was hardly tossed to the curb. She found two advantageous marriages. She first married Hugh of Ibelin in 1163. After Hugh died in 1169, she married Reynald of Sidon the same year. See WT, 19.4, p. 870

<sup>377</sup> WT, 20.1, pp. 913. According to William of Tyre, Maria Komnena was the daughter John Komnenos the *protosebastos* (one of the many titles established by Alexios I Komnenos that was given out to members of the imperial family), Manuel's nephew through one of his elder brothers, Andronikos Komnenos (not to be confused with Manuel's cousin, the infamous Emperor Andronikos I Komnenos, who ruled from 1183 to 1185).

was to the caliph. According to William of Tyre, Shawar “made available the entire wealth of the kingdom and the caliph to the service of the king and from that day he offered himself as a diligent agent of all his commands and the lord king made use of him for all necessary administrative duties.”<sup>378</sup> Indeed, throughout the campaign, Amalric commanded not only his forces but also Shawar, his sons, and the Egyptian army. When Amalric drove Shirkuh across the Nile away from Cairo, he sent knights under the command of Milo of Plancy and Shawar’s son, al-Kamil, to one of the islands occupied by Shirkuh’s forces.<sup>379</sup> Later, after forcing Shirkuh out of al-Mahalla, located north of Cairo on the Nile Delta, Amalric sent Hugh of Ibelin with al-Kamil and a mixed force of Frankish and Egyptian knights to protect the caliph and the capital.<sup>380</sup> Egyptian forces fought under the command of Amalric during both the Battle of al-Babian on March 18, 1167 and the subsequent siege of Alexandria.<sup>381</sup> Shawar and his sons even participated in Amalric’s impromptu council with his barons outside the walls of Alexandria to consider Shirkuh’s offer of peace.<sup>382</sup> Once Saladin surrendered Alexandria, Amalric’s banner flew atop the Pharos, the Lighthouse of Alexandria, as a “mark of victory [*signum victorie*]” before Shawar entered the city in triumph. William’s implication, and probably Amalric’s intention, is that the taking of the city belonged to Amalric and the Franks, not to Shawar and the Egyptians.<sup>383</sup> Although Shawar represented the Fatimid caliph and his interests, Amalric acted as if he were merely one of his barons.

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<sup>378</sup> WT, 19.14, p. 883. “...universas regni et caliphe regis obsequiis exponit divitias universorumque mandatorum eius sedulum ab illa die se prebuit exsequutorem eiusque dominus rex ad omnia necessariis utebatur ministeriis.”

<sup>379</sup> WT, 19.22, p. 893

<sup>380</sup> WT, 19.23, p. 895. William uses the phrase “cum multa tum nostrorum, tum Egyptiorum militia” to describe the composition of the soldiers accompanying Hugh of Ibelin and al-Kamil.

<sup>381</sup> WT, 19.25, pp. 898-900; WT, 19.28, pp. 903-5. William did not have a high opinion of the fighting abilities of the Egyptians and regarded their participation as “more of a hindrance and a burden than an advantage [*qui potius impedimento et oneri essent quam utilitati*].”

<sup>382</sup> WT, 19.30, pp. 906-7

<sup>383</sup> WT, 19.32, pp. 908-9. Indeed, seen with Manuel’s triumph in Antioch in 1159, order of entrance was an important signifier of authority. Manuel was the first to enter Antioch while Baldwin and Reynald were made to

The most visible indicator of Amalric's position of lordship over the Fatimid caliph was the ratification of a new alliance treaty between Jerusalem and Egypt that occurred during the campaign of 1167. Not long after Amalric had entered Egypt and failed to engage Shirkuh in a pitched battle, Shawar became worried that the king would soon grow tired of the expedition and return to Jerusalem. The vizier offered Amalric a new treaty that increased the annual tribute that the Fatimids had paid Jerusalem since the reign of Baldwin III as well as a guaranteed lump sum to be taken from the caliph's treasury. In return, the king was to stay in Egypt until Shirkuh was defeated or driven out. Amalric agreed to the vizier's terms but required the caliph to ratify the treaty as "it seemed not sufficient if the sultan alone bound himself in obligation in this matter."<sup>384</sup> In other words, the agreement the sultan, a title that the Franks viewed as being the equivalent of *rex*, was not enough. Amalric required approval from the sultan's superior, whom the Franks understood to be like the pope: the Fatimid caliph.

Amalric sent Hugh of Caesarea and Geoffrey Fulcher, the same Templar who wrote the letter to Louis VII, with Shawar to Cairo. They were to be his representatives in the caliph's court to finish the ratification of the renewed alliance. Once they reached the inner chambers of the palace, Shawar explained to al-Adid the problems Egypt faced and the terms of the treaty he concluded with Amalric. The caliph "with the gentle cheerfulness of a kind and tranquil countenance, responded at length to these matters that he was ready to make good according to the agreements devised and unanimously committed to by both parties with a broad interpretation because of his love for the lord king [Amalric]."<sup>385</sup> Hugh demanded that the caliph shake his hand to conclude the agreement just as Shawar had done with Amalric. After much

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follow far behind the emperor. By allowing Shawar to enter Alexandria second, Amalric reinforced the sultan's (and the caliph's) secondary position in relation to the king's. Cf. WT, 18.25, pp. 847-9

<sup>384</sup> WT, 19.17, p. 886-7. "non enim sufficiens videbatur, si in eo solus soldanus se obligaret."

<sup>385</sup> WT, 19.19, pp. 888-9. "Ad hec ille benigne multum et placida tranquili vultus hilaritate respondit, se iuxta et utrinque admissas conventiones dilecto suo domini regi larga interpretatione cunctum adimplere paratum esse."



deliberation, al-Adid finally extended a gloved hand to Amalric's representative. In response, Hugh stated that a gloved hand was unacceptable:

Lord, faith allows no tricks, but in publicly-sworn oaths, through which princes are accustomed to bind themselves, everything covered ought to be laid bare and anything included in a pact ought to be handled and resolved with sincerity. Therefore, either you will offer [your hand] bare or we will be forced to believe that you are saying something deceitful or lacking integrity.<sup>386</sup>

Shocked at this effrontery, al-Adid, though unwilling, uncovered his hand and grasped Hugh's. Thus they formally concluded the treaty between Egypt and Jerusalem. Hugh had been empowered to act on the king's behalf and therefore spoke with Amalric's voice. Thus the king had not only compelled the Fatimids to agree to a treaty advantageous to the Franks but also the caliph to acknowledge Amalric as his equal – or even superior.

Ordering around the Fatimid caliph was a significant imaginative move on Amalric's part. By the mid to late twelfth century, the Franks understood the caliph to be similar to the pope, as seen in popular chronicles and *chansons de geste* as well as theological treatises.<sup>387</sup> Indeed, this understanding is implicit in William of Tyre *Historia*. At various points, he describes the caliph as the “greatest prince” among the Muslims to whom all their monarchs owe

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<sup>386</sup> WT, 19.19, p. 889. “Domine, fides angulos non habet, sed in fide media, per quam se obligare solent principes, omnia debent esse nuda et operata et cum sinceritate et colligari et solvi convenit universa, que fidei interpositione pactis quibuslibet inserentur: propterea aut nudam dabis, aut fictum aliquid et minus puritatis habens ex parte tua cogemur opinari.” For more on this diplomatic scene and others like it, see Yvonne Friedman, “Gestures of Conciliation: Peacemaking Endeavors in the Latin East” in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shargir, Roni Ellenblum and Jonathan Riley-Smith (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 31-48

<sup>387</sup> Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran Cruz, “Popular Attitudes Towards Islam in Medieval Europe” in *Travellers, Intellectuals, and the World Beyond Medieval Europe*, ed. James Muldoon (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 171-97; Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: an interpretation of the Chansons de geste* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984); Bernard Hamilton, “Knowing the Enemy: Western Understanding of Islam at the Time of the Crusades” in *Travellers, Intellectuals, and the World Beyond Medieval Europe*, ed. James Muldoon (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 79-93; Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Rodney M. Thomson, “William and Some Other Writers on Islam” in *Travellers, Intellectuals, and the World Beyond Medieval Europe*, ed. James Muldoon (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 199-210; John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), esp. pp. 105-69

allegiance.<sup>388</sup> In a section about the divergence of the Sunni and Shi'ite branches of Islam, William says that the Abbasid caliph is the successor to Muhammad and the Fatimid one the successor to Ali, both of whom he considered to be false prophets.<sup>389</sup> Amalric, who was well-versed in history and conversed with learned men from all over,<sup>390</sup> would have been aware of these comparisons as well as the implication of a pope-analogue submitting to the authority of a king. Köhler is correct to say that the treaties Amalric made with Shawar and the Fatimids were *ad hoc*, short term affairs that did not legally change of the status quo between Jerusalem and Cairo.<sup>391</sup> However, this level of political theater – one in which the Fatimid caliph visually submits himself to the will of the king of Jerusalem – should not be underestimated. Legal realities may not have changed, but in the language of diplomatics and political theater, Amalric proclaimed his overlordship of the Fatimid caliph and Egypt.

Because of his marriage to Maria, Amalric was treated like a member of Manuel's imperial household in the Byzantine Empire – just as his brother had been. This could explain why Amalric was able to command Bohemond, and potentially Byzantine troops, during his campaign against Mleh in 1173. It would not have been the first time Amalric commanded Byzantine forces while on campaign. According to Niketas Choniates, during the Frankish-Byzantine invasion of Egypt in 1169, Manuel had instructed the *megasdoux* (or commander-in-chief) of the Byzantine fleet, Andronikos Konostephanos, to follow Amalric's commands as if

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<sup>388</sup> WT, 4.24, p. 267: *Porro Egyptius calipha, inter ceteros infidelium principes divitiis et militia potentissimus...*; WT, 18.9, p. 822: *dominum regionis, calipham videlicet, quem Egyptii pro summo numine colere solent et venerari...*; WT, 19.13, p. 882: *Nec erat vana opinio: adierat enim illum maximum Sarracenorum principem, qui quasi singularis monarcha cunctis excellentior omnibus preesse intelligitur, calipham videlicet de Baldac*; WT, 19.19, p. 889: *...multum admirantibus et stupentibus Egyptiis quod libere summo principi loqueretur...*

<sup>389</sup> WT, 19.21, pp. 890-2. The fact that his discussion of the titles of the Fatimid caliph and the divergence of Islam came after this diplomatic episode indicates that William wanted his audience to understand to full implication of what they just read: the caliph was no ordinary ruler and this was no ordinary handshake.

<sup>390</sup> WT, 19.2-3, pp. 864-8

<sup>391</sup> Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, pp. 188-93

they were the emperor's own.<sup>392</sup> Granting military titles and commands to family members was a common enough practice in the Byzantine Empire, especially following the Komnenian reforms of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>393</sup> For example, the aforementioned *megasdoux* was Manuel's nephew, being the son of the emperor's sister.<sup>394</sup> However, more than just a joint campaign between allies, Amalric was given command over one of the highest of Byzantine military ranks that could be held by a blood-relation of the emperor. Even when Andronikos disagreed with Amalric's conduct of the campaign and tried to take control of the situation, he was ultimately compelled to follow the king's orders.<sup>395</sup>

Even in moments of supposed weakness, Amalric exploited his position within the imperial hierarchy and his knowledge of Byzantine policies to his advantage. The year 1170 was a difficult one for Jerusalem: a devastating earthquake hit Syria and the Levant and, not long after, Saladin – at this point Sultan of Egypt – besieged the fortress of Darum, located south of Gaza.<sup>396</sup> In response to these problems, Amalric journeyed to Constantinople the following year to petition the emperor for help and renew their alliance.<sup>397</sup> Historians have frequently

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<sup>392</sup> Choniates, *Annals*, p. 93

<sup>393</sup> Peter Frankopan, "Kinship and the Distribution of Power in Komnenian Byzantium," *The English Historical Review* 122, no. 495 (2007): 1-34; Peter Frankopan, "Re-Interpreting the Role of the Family in Komnenian Byzantium: Where blood is not thicker than water" in *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century: Being in Between*, ed. Marc D. Lauxtermann and Mark Whittow (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 181-96; Nathan Leidholm, *Elite Byzantine Kinship, ca. 950-1204: Blood, Reputation, and the Genos* (Amsterdam: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), pp. 152-7; Ruth J. Macrides, "Dynastic Marriages and Political Kinship" in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1992), pp. 263-80; Paul Magdalino, "Innovations in Government" in *Alexios I Komnenos: Papers of the Second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 14-16 April 1989*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, School of Greek, Roman and Semitic Studies, Queen's University of Belfast, 1996), pp. 146-66; Paul Magdalino, "The Empire of the Komnenoi (1118-1204)" in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500-1492*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 627-64; George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969), pp. 351-94

<sup>394</sup> Choniates, *Annals*, p. 31; Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel*, p. 202; WT, 20.13, p. 927

<sup>395</sup> Choniates, *Annals*, pp. 93-5

<sup>396</sup> WT, 20.18-19, pp. 934-40; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, pp. 324-6; Michael the Syrian, *The Armenian Chronicle*, pp. 205-6; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, pp. 295-6; Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle, part 2*, pp. 185-6, p. 194; UKJ 346, pp. 601-5

<sup>397</sup> WT, 20.22, 940-2

interpreted this as a moment of real crisis for the kingdom as they faced the dual threat of Nur al-Din and Saladin while picking up the pieces after a natural disaster.<sup>398</sup> To paraphrase Mayer, Amalric was dependent on the good graces of Manuel, despite his efforts to act otherwise. However, Amalric leveraged his position and managed to win a diplomatic victory while maintaining an image of parity with the emperor among Latin estimation.

When he arrived in Byzantine Empire, Amalric was met with every possible honor. Manuel sent the *protosebastos*, the emperor's nephew and Amalric's father-in-law, to meet Amalric at Gallipoli and escort him to Constantinople. In the imperial capital, Amalric was taken into the upper rooms of the palace of Constantine from the seaside entrance, the use of which was normally reserved for the emperor alone. In a scene reminiscent of Hugh of Caesarea's time in Cairo, Amalric was led through winding passageways filled with courtiers on their way to Manuel's chambers.<sup>399</sup> Once there, Amalric was taken behind the curtain that masked the emperor and he was given a seat next to Manuel, though lower in height to the imperial throne. According to William, "it is said that this had been done for the cause of maintaining imperial glory and the sake for reconciling of the lord king to him [Manuel]."<sup>400</sup> In other words, for William, Manuel acknowledged that Amalric was worthy of imperial glory but felt it necessary, to please his own subjects, to preserve the idea of Byzantine superiority. Moreover, because the Byzantines blamed the Franks for the failure of the 1169 alliance to invade Egypt, William believed that the emperor required the king to display some humility if their alliance was to be renewed. That humility, however, was theater, not a formal submission to the emperor. For the

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<sup>398</sup> Barber, *The Crusader States*, pp. 246-8, pp. 257-9; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, pp. 204-9; Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 122-3; Muller, *Latins in Roman (Byzantine) Histories*, pp. 433-49

<sup>399</sup> WT, 20.23, p. 942-3. Cf. WT, 19.18-19, pp. 887-8. Julian Yolles points out the similarity in set-up and language in William's accounts of the Fatimid palace in Cairo and Byzantine palace in Constantinople. The narrative significance of this choice will be discussed in the next chapter. See Julian Yolles, "Latin Literature and Frankish Culture in the Crusader States (1098-1187)" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2015), pp. 341-3

<sup>400</sup> WT, 20.23, p. 943. Hoc autem dicitur factum esse conservande imperialis glorie causa et pro reconcilianda sibi domini regis gratia..."

remainder of Amalric's four month stay in Constantinople, Manuel made available to the king the private imperial apartments of the palace of Constantine reserved for the imperial household, churches and basilicas that were closed to commoners, the imperial collection of holy relics, and an escort to show him the city and answer his questions. The king returned to Jerusalem having renewed his alliance with the Byzantine Empire and laden with gifts and gold from the emperor.<sup>401</sup> More importantly, he had preserved the idea, despite obvious dangers and challenges, that the King of Jerusalem was a peer of the Byzantine Emperor.

Byzantine writers did not share this perspective. John Kinnamos and Eustathios of Thessaloniki present Amalric's trip to Constantinople as an act of submission to Byzantine authority. Indeed, Kinnamos says of Amalric: "obtaining what he sought, he agreed to many things, including his subjection to the emperor upon those terms."<sup>402</sup> In his Epiphany Oration of 1176, Eustathios says that Amalric "departed as a herald of the might of the emperor, and thus greatly enhanced his power, and frightened all our enemies nearby as soon as they learned that our emperor was well disposed towards him."<sup>403</sup> According to both authors, Amalric agreed to become Manuel's vassal and act as his representative. Indeed, Barber believes that the king willingly subjected himself to Manuel's authority for the sake of practical purposes and that Manuel was the overlord of the crusader states during this time.<sup>404</sup> Barber's analysis is supported by Samuel Pablo Muller, who argues that Amalric's trip was further confirmation of the king's willingness to submit to foreign powers for the sake of help. Given that the Byzantine Empire

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<sup>401</sup> WT, 20.22-24, pp. 940-6

<sup>402</sup> Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel*, p. 209

<sup>403</sup> Eustathios of Thessaloniki, "The Epiphany Oration of 1176," p.101

<sup>404</sup> Barber, *The Crusader States*, pp. 257-9

was the closest potential ally who was willing to help, he gave oaths of fealty to Manuel to obtain it.<sup>405</sup>

Amalric's trip to Constantinople demonstrates several ideas of the character of his rule. First, he was confident in the security of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, trusting his subordinates to defend their borders from Nur al-Din and Saladin. If Nur al-Din and Saladin were the existential threats to the kingdom as they are often portrayed, then the king's absence would have been enough to incur a two-pronged invasion. That invasion never materialized. Second, he appears to have understood how the Byzantine emperors viewed themselves, namely as Christian protectors, and thus had the wherewithal to challenge it. Amalric set sail for the Byzantine Empire without seeking imperial permission or giving Manuel advance warning of his arrival. His intent was likely to surprise Manuel. The emperor did much the same to Thoros and Reynald of Chatillon when he arrived in Cilicia in 1158: he did not send any heralds to either ruler because he wanted to overwhelm them with his sudden arrival.<sup>406</sup> Thus, when Manuel heard of Amalric's imminent landfall in Gallipoli, the emperor was forced to make a choice: allow Amalric to land and come to Constantinople or deny him entry because of the lack of forewarning. From Amalric's perspective, if allowed entry, then Manuel would give him the material support he needs to defend Jerusalem and conquer Egypt. If denied entry, then he could claim the Byzantine Empire had abandoned their traditional role as Christian protectors and that the Kingdom of Jerusalem would fill the vacuum left in the empire's absence.

Amalric took the basic outline of a Byzantified government that Baldwin left behind and pushed it to its furthest extent. Following some of the specific steps his brother took, such as marrying a Byzantine princess or intervening on behalf of the other Christian polities, he

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<sup>405</sup> Muller, *Latins in Roman (Byzantine) Histories*, pp. 433-49

<sup>406</sup> WT, 18.23, pp. 844-5; Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel*, pp. 136-40

developed a new and ambitious idea of royal authority in Jerusalem, one that historians have failed to appreciate. Amalric included the Byzantine notion of universal Christian protection within his rhetoric and acted in such a way that the historic imperial powers of the region, the Fatimids and the Byzantines, were required to acknowledge his authority as akin to their own. Had he not died in 1174, he likely would have seen many of policies through – perhaps even conquer Egypt and directly challenge Byzantine supremacy.

### **The Byzantification of Kingship in Jerusalem: Images of Authority**

Amalric shifted the artistic language of his royal authority to better reflect his broader ambitions. The most direct visual conduits of royal power, coins and royal seals, saw subtle but significant changes in their use of royal icons, changes that further indicate Amalric's dream of imperial style rule. Similarly, his monumental architectural and artistic projects used Byzantine artistic styles and iconography placed it within the two most important loci of Frankish royal power in the Levant: the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the two sites of royal inauguration for the monarchs of Jerusalem. By imitating Byzantine artistic styles on such a monumental scale, Amalric tapped into Byzantine Christian visual language of power, which would have been familiar to many of the region's inhabitants, and associated it with his royal authority. In other words, he associated Frankish royal authority with the artistic motifs of his Byzantine imperial counterparts, making the two difficult to separate.

Coins were the easiest and most common means of communicating royal authority in the premodern world. In twelfth-century Europe, the minting of coins was often a royal prerogative and thus, in theory, the crown had final say over the visual and linguistic choices of the final

product.<sup>407</sup> Prior to the 1140s, however, there is little evidence that the monarchs of Jerusalem engaged in the minting of currency, opting to use coins imported into the kingdom through foreign trade or pilgrimage.<sup>408</sup> The first coins struck in the Kingdom of Jerusalem date from the reign of Baldwin III and were deliberate imitations of Fatimid gold dinars and silver deniers unique to Jerusalem.<sup>409</sup> Designed as unmistakable royal coinage,<sup>410</sup> the silver deniers minted during the reign of Baldwin III had a *croix pattée* and the inscription “BALDVINVS REX” on the obverse with an image of the Tower of David and the inscription “DE IERVSALEM” on the reverse (see Appendix: Figure 3.1).

The Tower of David had been associated with the monarchy of Jerusalem since the reign of Baldwin I. He used it on the reverse of his royal seal with the Holy Sepulchre and the Templum Domini/Dome of the Rock, a practice that continued until the reign of John of Brienne (r. 1210-25).<sup>411</sup> Moreover, the Tower of David had served as the kings’ residence in Jerusalem

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<sup>407</sup> In the twelfth century, the kings of Jerusalem were unique among their western counterparts in that they successfully maintained not only a consistent royal denier but also the royal monopoly on coin minting as they had some of the strictest penalties for the baronial usurpation of this royal prerogative: the royal confiscation of baronial lands. Capetian France and Salian/Hohenstaufen Germany, on the other hand, were rife with regional mints and variations, a far cry from the centralized coinage minting operations of their Carolingian predecessors. By the end of the twelfth century, the Capetians and Hohenstaufens began to exert royal control over coin production once more but it was not until the middle of the thirteenth century that they were able to reestablish royal monopolies. For more, see Robert Kool, “The Circulation and Use of Coins in The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1291 CE” (PhD Diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2013), pp. 78-88; Andrew R. Woods, “From Charlemagne to the Commercial Revolution (c. 800-1150),” *Money and Coinage in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rory Naismith (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 93-121; Richard Kelleher, “From the Commercial Revolution to the Black Death (c. 1150-1350),” *Money and Coinage in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rory Naismith (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 122-50.

<sup>408</sup> D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford* (London: Royal Numismatic Society and Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, 1983), p. 44

<sup>409</sup> For more on the imitation dinars minted in Jerusalem, see D. M. Metcalf, “Some provenanced finds of Crusader bezants,” *The Numismatic Chronicle* 15 (1975): 198-9; D. M. Metcalf, “Crusader Gold Bezants of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Two Additional Sources of Information,” *The Numismatic Chronicle* 160 (2000): 203-18; Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 14-5

<sup>410</sup> As stated previously, the number of regional mints and variations of the deniers produced in France and Germany diluted any remaining royal character that their coins had. The kings of Jerusalem had full control over the development of these deniers.

<sup>411</sup> Hans Eberhard Mayer and Claudia Sode, *Die Siegel der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica 66 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), pp. 59-85, plates 4-16. The Tower of David is in the center flanked by the Holy Sepulchre on the left and the Templum Domini/Dome of the Rock on the right. Cf. with the seals of his successors, plates 19, 21-58, 76-81. The only exception to this practice between Baldwin I and John of Brienne is Henry of Champagne, who was king-consort of Jerusalem through his marriage to Amalric’s



since 1120, when Baldwin II granted the original royal palace, al-Aqsa Mosque, called by the Franks the Temple of Solomon, to the Templars. Baldwin III's choice of the Tower of David as the primary symbol of his royal authority was thus a traditional one as common belief held that it was the site of King David's original palace.

However, the Tower of David did not remain on the silver denier. Early in his reign, Amalric replaced the fortress on the reverse with a far more potent and universally Christian building: the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, more specifically the Anastasis Dome that housed the Aedicule chapel of Christ's Tomb. The image on the obverse and the inscriptions on the obverse and reverse remained similar. On the obverse, the inscription "AMALRICVS REX" surrounded a *croix pattée* with annulets in the first and fourth quadrants while the inscription on the reverse read "DE IERVSALEM (see Appendix: Figure 3.2)."

This use of an accurate depiction of the contemporary architecture of the Holy Sepulchre (see Appendix: Figure 3.3), rather than the iconography of the church that developed out of the early medieval period, was a rarity in the west. Moreover, the depiction of any church, let alone one as important as the Holy Sepulchre, was almost unheard of in western Europe, the other crusader states, or the Byzantine Empire. There are some possible exceptions. Some Capetian deniers, following Carolingian models, used architectural forms. The reverse side depicted a temple facade with a large cross. Though the Carolingian model had the inscription "XPICTIANA [Christiana] RELIGIO" on the reverse side (see Appendix: Figure 3.4), this had been removed by the early Capetian era (see Appendix: Figure 3.5). The structure served as a visual representation not of a particular building but of the Christian faith as a whole.<sup>412</sup> German

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second daughter, Isabella, from 1192-7 (unlike preceding consorts, Fulk of Anjou and Guy of Lusignan, Henry was never crowned).

<sup>412</sup> There is a debate concerning the identity of the structure on the Carolingian temple-type deniers. Some believe that it was derived from Roman-era coinage that depicted classical temples. The addition of the cross thus indicated

coins often depicted structures or churches with rulers but, in contrast with Amalric's denier, they never showed any specific location.<sup>413</sup> In short, Amalric's use of the Holy Sepulchre was a unique and bold choice.

Amalric's reason for replacing the Tower of David, a practice that began scarcely a decade before Amalric's accession, with the Holy Sepulchre on the Jerusalem denier has long seemed unclear. Roberto Pesant, D. M. Metcalf, and Alex Malloy argue that the Sepulchre-type was not struck until 1167 to celebrate the completion of the renovation that started under Melisende and Baldwin III.<sup>414</sup> Robert Kool, however, has pointed toward earlier examples. The 2007 hoard at Harim, the same location where Nur al-Din defeated a Frankish-Byzantine-Armenian alliance while Amalric was in Egypt, dates back to 1164 and included several Sepulchre-type deniers. This indicates that Amalric must have issued the new coin soon after he became king, between February 1163 and early 1164.<sup>415</sup> Jaroslav Folda argues that Amalric's use of the Byzantine-constructed dome was meant to smooth over Frankish-Byzantine relations for their alliance. Kool again counters that the 1163/4 date of issue indicates the opposite: he was knowingly claiming a universal Christian symbol that had long been under Byzantine

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the Christian usurpation of pagan structures. Others argue that it is supposed to be a specific building: the Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, Charlemagne's Aachen chapel, or the Fountain of Life. Given its resemblance to near-contemporary artistic depictions of the Holy Sepulchre that found their way west prior to the Carolingian era, Martin Biddle builds upon two previous studies concerning the temple's identity and argues that the temple-type deniers depict the front Aedicule in the Constantinian-era church, further confirmed by Charlemagne's increasing concern for Jerusalem and the Holy Land following his imperial coronation. For more, see Martin Biddle, "XPICTIANA RELIGIO and the Tomb of Christ," *Early Medieval Monetary History: Studies in Memory of Mark Blackburn*, ed. Rory Naismith, Martin Allen, & Elina Screen (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 115-44

<sup>413</sup> Kool, "Coins in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," pp. 89-97

<sup>414</sup> Roberto Pesant, "The Amalricus coins of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Coinage in the Latin East : The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. Peter W. Edbury & D.M. Metcalf (Oxford: BAR International Series, 1980), pp. 108-9; D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London: Royal Numismatic Society and Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, 1995), pp. 57-8; Alex Malloy, Irene Fraley Preston, and A.J. Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States, 1098-1291*, (New York: Attic, 1994), p. 57

<sup>415</sup> Kool, "Coins in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," p. 106, pp. 217-8

protection.<sup>416</sup> Given Amalric and the Latin elite's anxiety concerning Manuel's imminent arrival in Antioch in 1163 and 1164, this explanation becomes more plausible as Amalric did take Manuel's place as overlord of Antioch, however briefly, during Bohemond's captivity.

Kool discusses several possibilities as to why Amalric replaced his brother's coin. One explanation was the king's supposed inordinate love of money, as described by William of Tyre. A coin renewal would have allowed Amalric to receive a "seigniorage," revenue owed to the crown from the minting of a new coin. Another was that Amalric recognized his need to always have cash-on-hand. Minting new coins, therefore, increased the amount of money available in the kingdom.<sup>417</sup> He ultimately concludes that Amalric's primary motivation was political and dynastic prestige. The royal family of Jerusalem had styled themselves as defenders of the Holy Sepulchre since the time of Godfrey. Moreover, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had increasingly become inseparable from the kings of Jerusalem: since Fulk and Melisende it had served as the site of royal inauguration and, more importantly, since Godfrey it had been the mausoleum for the kings of Jerusalem.<sup>418</sup> Indeed, the location of the royal tombs in the church required visitors to walk past them before they would reach the Aedicule chapel.<sup>419</sup> In effect, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre gained the additional function of a royal chapel and necropolis, similar to the Abbey of Saint-Denis for the Capetians or the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople for the Byzantine emperors.<sup>420</sup>

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<sup>416</sup> Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 334-7; Kool, "Coins in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," pp. 111-2

<sup>417</sup> Kool, "Coins in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," pp. 106-7

<sup>418</sup> Ibid, pp. 107-10.

<sup>419</sup> Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 37-40, esp. Figure 1.

<sup>420</sup> I must thank Professor Iris Shargrir for helping me by pointing out this fact and that the Latin East practice of consistently burying kings in one church was unique among Frankish rulers. While the Abbey of Saint-Denis was an important location for the legitimacy of Capetian kings of France and the location of many a royal burial, the abbey was in constant competition to be the most important locus of French kingship with other religious and ecclesiastic institutions in France until the mid-twelfth century. Compare that with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, whose liberation was the spark for the First Crusade and the *raison d'être* for not only the Kingdom of Jerusalem but also

In addition to the ceremonial and burial associations between the royal family and the Holy Sepulchre, Amalric created a visual association between himself and the site of universal Christian salvation. As the inscription of his new denier stated, he was “AMALRICVS REX DE IERVSALEM,” a kingdom which included the Holy Sepulchre itself. Such a link reaffirmed to everyone, from Frankish and eastern Christians living in the kingdom to Emperor Manuel in Constantinople, that Amalric was the king of Jerusalem, protector of the inheritance of all Christians. It was a bold infringement, using visual media, on similar Byzantine claims. From the site of universal Christian salvation, Amalric and his family served as protectors of Christians.

The association between the king and the Holy Sepulchre, especially during the reign of Amalric, is supported by charter evidence as both Baldwin and Amalric attempted to exert some form of overlordship over the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In July 1155 and July 1160, Baldwin issued two charters for the canons of the Holy Sepulchre that reconfirmed everything that the rulers of Jerusalem had given to the canons since the time of Godfrey of Bouillon. The wording of the two is nearly identical:

Let it be known to all persons present and future that I, Baldwin, through the grace of God fourth king of the Latins in holy Jerusalem, following in the footsteps of my predecessors of blessed memory, namely Duke Godfrey and his brother Baldwin, first king of Jerusalem, Baldwin, the second king, and also my father Fulk, the third king of that same city, for the salvation of my soul and the souls of my relatives, living and dead, confirm and corroborate for the canons of the same Church of the Sepulchre of the Lord in that same place, being devoted to God now and in the future, everything justly and more rationally obtained from gift, grant, exchange, or purchase within the borders of my kingdom from the time of the aforementioned Duke Godfrey up to today.<sup>421</sup>

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the whole of Christianity. It did not take centuries and a powerful historical program on the part of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre for the royal family of Jerusalem to inextricably tie itself to the space. See Jacqueline Frank and William Clark, “Abbot Suger and the Temple in Jerusalem: a new interpretation of the sacred environment in the royal abbey of Saint-Denis” in *The Built Surface: v. 1: Architecture and the Visual Arts from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*, ed. Christy Anderson and Karen Koehler (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 109-29; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “The cult of Saint Denis and Capetian kingship,” *Journal of Medieval History* 1, no. 1 (1975): 43-69.

<sup>421</sup> UKJ 238, p. 440. “Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris, quod ego Balduinus per gratiam dei in sancta Iherusalem Latinorum rex quartus predecessorum meorum felicitis memorie, ducis videlicet Godefridi fratrisque eius Balduini primi Iherosolimorum regis, Balduini etiam secundi regis nec non et Fulconis patris mei

By emphasizing that everything the canons held were “within the borders of my kingdom [*infra regni mei fines*],” Baldwin reminded them (as well as the gathered witnesses) that the canons owed their existence and prosperity to royal favor. This reversed the order of authority that Patriarch Daimbert attempted to enforce in the early years of the kingdom. First with Godfrey and then Baldwin I, Daimbert claimed that Jerusalem and Jaffa belonged to the patriarch and demanded that they be handed over to him. In effect, the patriarch placed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre over the king in terms of authority.<sup>422</sup> Baldwin III reminded everyone that Daimbert’s vision of the kingdom was no longer the case. This impression is strengthened by the thoroughness of the accounting of the property the Holy Sepulchre obtained through “gift, grant, exchange, or purchase,” highlighting royal generosity and royal knowledge of their legal privileges. Just as God did with his own divine favor, the king could take away his royal favor in response to any transgressions against him. Amalric issued an identical charter in 1164 to presumably the same effect: solidify his rule and emphasize royal overlordship of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>423</sup> The inclusion of the Anastasis on his new denier by 1163 or 1164, then, completed his emphasis of authority over the Holy Sepulchre, an act that had implications for the whole Christian world.

The usurpation of the political iconography of the Byzantine Empire is also apparent in changes to the royal seal made during Amalric’s reign. Prior to Amalric, the royal seal had remained unchanged since the reign of Baldwin I. On the obverse, the king is seated in the center on a backless throne surrounded on either side by curtains, wearing what Mayer and Sode

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civitatis eiusdem tercii regis, vestigiis inherens pro salute mea et meorum tam vivorum quam defunctorum confirmo et corrobore ecclesie Dominici Sepulcri eiusdem canonicis nunc ibidem deo servientibus et in posterum servituris quecumque a tempore predicti ducis Godefridi iuste et rationabiliter dono concessione commutatione vel emptione *infra regni mei fines* usque in hodiernum diem impetravit.”

<sup>422</sup> WT, 9.16, pp. 441-2. For more see, Jay Rubenstein, “Holy Fire and sacral kingship in post-conquest Jerusalem,” *Journal of Medieval History* 43, no. 4 (2017): 470-84

<sup>423</sup> UKJ 310, pp. 536-41

identify as a *chlamys* and a crown with pendulums tipped with pearls hanging on both sides, and holding a crossed staff in his right hand and a *globus cruciger* in his left. The figure is surrounded by the inscription BALDVINVS DEI GRATIA REX HIERVSALEM (or IERVSALEM). On the reverse, there is the city of Jerusalem with (from left to right) the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Tower of David, and the Templum Domini/Dome of the Rock behind a wall and gate and surrounded by the inscription CIVITAS REGI REGVM OMNIVM (see Appendix: Figure 3.6).<sup>424</sup> As Kool notes, Baldwin's seal most closely resembles those of the Capetian kings of France and the Salian emperors of Germany (see Appendix: Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.8). As a native of Boulogne on the borders of French and German territories, he would have been familiar with the practices of both monarchies.<sup>425</sup> With the exception of Melisende, who preferred the words "SIGILLVM MILESENDIS DEI GRATIA IERUSALE REGINE" on the obverse side to an image of herself,<sup>426</sup> Baldwin I's design remained the seal of choice for the kings of Jerusalem until the 1160s (see Appendix: Figure 3.9).

Sometime between 1165 and 1169, Amalric had the *chlamys* of the Baldwin I-type seals (copied from the Capetians or Salians) changed to a Byzantine-style *loros*, a narrow and embroidered cloth that was worn around the body and draped over the left hand (see Appendix: Figure 3.10).<sup>427</sup> The *loros* was perhaps the most distinctive piece of Byzantine clothing and appeared in many artistic depictions of Byzantine emperors from the reign of Justinian II (r. 685-95, 705-11) through the Palaiologan era (ca. 1259-1453) – including the Komnenian emperors (see Appendix: Figure 3.11). As such, many rulers who had imperial pretensions or wanted to

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<sup>424</sup> Mayer and Sode, *Die Siegel*, pp. 60-1; Robert Kool, "Civitas regis regvm omnivm: Inventing a royal seal in Jerusalem, 1100-1118" in *Crusading and Archaeology: Some Archaeological Approaches to the Crusades*, ed. Vardit Shotten-Hallel and Rosie Weetch (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 246-7

<sup>425</sup> Kool, "Civitas regis regvm omnivm," pp. 251-4. See esp. Figure 10.5 (Seal of Henry IV) and Figure 10.6 (Seal of Louis VI).

<sup>426</sup> Mayer and Sode, *Die Siegel*, pp. 92-4

<sup>427</sup> Ibid, pp. 108-24

emulate the Byzantine Empire often depicted themselves in the *loros* costume. Notable examples include: the mosaic of Roger II of Sicily (r. 1105/1130-54) at Church of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio in Palermo (see Appendix: Figure 3.12), the fresco of Queen Tamar (r. 1184-1213) and her father King George III (r. 1156-84) of Georgia at the cave monastery of Vardzia (see Appendix: Figure 3.13), and the miniature of Tsar Ivan Alexander of the Bulgarian Empire (r. 1331-71) and his family in the illuminated Gospels of Ivan Alexander (see Appendix: Figure 3.14). While it is difficult to say if Amalric wore a *loros* or any other pieces of Byzantine style clothing in his court, the changes he made to the seal indicate that he wanted to be seen as a Byzantine emperor.<sup>428</sup> Given the Frankish kingdom's proximity to the Byzantine Empire and his close contact with members of the Byzantine imperial court, it is likely that Amalric knew the imperial significance of the *loros* costume and his emulation of Byzantine imperial style extended beyond imitation.

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<sup>428</sup> Mayer has argued in several publications that Amalric did indeed change the clothing style of his court, relying on a single line from Greek chronicle *The Capture of Thessaloniki* by Eustathios of Thessaloniki: “*Τεροσολύμοις ζηλοῦντα βασικῶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ καλοῦ*.” This line appears during a section after Andronikos Komnenos (r. 1183-5), the cousin of Emperor Manuel Komnenos, had Manuel's son Alexios II assassinated and became the sole emperor of the Byzantine Empire. Those whom Andronikos harmed sent embassies to anyone who could help, from the Seljuk sultan of Rum to the Frankish rulers of Jerusalem and Antioch. The line in question refers to the king of Jerusalem, who was Baldwin IV at this time. Mayer translates this line as “über das rechte Maß hinaus wie ein Kaiser aufführe.” He believes that this indicated Eustathios's disdain for Baldwin's attempt to emulate Byzantine fashion in the Frankish court and argues that such a practice must have originated with Amalric. John R. Melville Jones, the editor and translator of the 1988 critical edition of *The Capture of Thessaloniki*, understood the line as describing Baldwin as a ruler who “strove so royally for the sake of the good cause.” Mayer acknowledges this as a possible translation but ultimately dismisses it as highly improbable. See Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *Eustathios of Thessaloniki: The Capture of Thessaloniki*, trans. John R. Melville Jones (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1988), pp. 56-7; Mayer, “Das Pontifikale von Tyrus”: 179-180, 180 n.173; Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 123. Mayer's claim has been repeated several times over the years without much interrogation, including Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, p. 333, p. 567 n. 10; and Kool, “Coins in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” p. 105. To help settle the discrepancy, I contacted Felege-Selam Yirga, assistant professor of History at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, who specializes in the Late Antique and early Medieval Byzantine Empire and eastern Mediterranean. He directed me to Scott Kennedy, assistant professor in the Humanities at Bilkent University who specializes in the intersection of classical and Byzantine rhetoric, historiography, and history. Both argue that Mayer's translation, which was reliant on a strict literal interpretation of the line, was incorrect. Kennedy offered “the man striving regally after the beautiful” as an alternative translation to Melville, stating that the line was an allusion to Plato. Felege-Selam Yirga, email correspondence, February 23, 2023 and February 24, 2023; Scott Kennedy, Facebook message, February 24, 2023.

Amalric took this sensibility to monumental building projects as well. Most notably, between 1167 and 1169, he oversaw the renovation of the second most important church in the kingdom for the royal family: the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Bethlehem was not only the birthplace of King David and Jesus but also the site of the royal inaugurations for Baldwin I and Baldwin II. In part funded by Manuel, this joint Frankish-Byzantine artistic venture included a dual-language mosaic program that combined a Byzantine artistic style with western subject matter. Amalric also used it to refine his own sense of authority, working with Latin and Greek dedicatory inscriptions, the mosaic of the Tree of Jesse on the western entrance, and the Church council summaries located in the nave.

Located in the apse of the church, the two dedicatory inscriptions, one in Latin and the other in Greek, both state the name of the artist who made the mosaics, the date of the project's completion, and the names of the king of Jerusalem, the Byzantine emperor, and the Latin bishop of Bethlehem at the time of the renovations. The two versions, however, are very different. The Latin inscription reads:

King Amalric, guardian of virtue, generous friend, comrade of honor and foe of impiety, patron of justice and piety, avenger of wrong, was fifth on the throne. And over the Greeks ruled Manuel, generous donor and pious ruler. Here lived as prelate and governor of the church, the generous Raoul [Ralph], worthy of the bishop's throne. The hand of Ephraim made... [final text is missing]<sup>429</sup>

The king's epitaph here extolls his virtues and position as the guardian of all that was good and holy. The emperor was reduced to a mere donor who ruled over the Greeks. The Greek inscription reads:

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<sup>429</sup> Translation is from Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, p. 350: "[REX AMALRICUS CUSTOS VIRTUTIS AMICUS LARGUS HONESTATIS COMES HOSTIS ET IMPIETA]TIS/ [IUSTICIE CULTOR PIETATIS CRIMINIS ULTOR QUINTUS REGNABAT ET GRECIS IMPERITA]BAT/ [EMMANUELQUE DATOR LARGUS PIUS IMPERATOR PRESUL VIVEVAT HIC ECCLESIAMQUE DOCE]BAT/ [PONTIFICUS DIGNUS RADULPHUS HONORE BENIGNUS CUM MANUS HIS EFFREM FERTUR FECISSE TU AU]TEM..." The bishop of Bethlehem mentioned in the inscription, Raoul (also translated as Ralph) was also the royal chancellor for Melisende and Baldwin III and continued in Amalric's service.



The present work was finished by the hand of Ephraim the monk, painter and mosaicist, in the reign of the great emperor Manuel *Porphyrogennetos* Komnenos and in the time of the great king of Jerusalem, Amalric, and of the most holy bishop of holy Bethlehem, the Lord Raoul [Ralph], in the year 6677, second indiction.<sup>430</sup>

Compared to its Latin counterpart, the Greek inscription is more sober and less congratulatory. It could be argued that the mention of Amalric, Manuel, and Ralph was intended to situate the work in a specific time rather than serve as an indication of donations and project involvement. However, that has not stopped scholars like Jaroslav Folda and Lucy-Anne Hunt from arguing otherwise. For them, the inclusion of Manuel in the inscriptions and the Byzantine character of the art indicate that Manuel significantly influenced the design of the church if not completely dictated the project. They support this with the twelfth-century account of the Greek pilgrim, John Phocas, who claimed to see Manuel's portrait in every church he visited.<sup>431</sup> Lisa Mahoney argues that, given the political and religious significance of the site to Frankish royal history, the Church of the Nativity was too important to allow its renovation to be dictated by anyone other than Amalric. Manuel had funded the renovation of other Frankish churches in the Latin East, such as Church of the Hospital of St. John in Abu Ghosh, without dictating the content. As for Phocas, it is possible that he had confused images of Biblical kings like David and Solomon for Manuel, since Old Testament kings were often depicted wearing Byzantine imperial garb in

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<sup>430</sup> Translation from Anthony Cutler, "Ephraim, Mosaicist of Bethlehem: The Evidence from Jerusalem," *Jewish Art* 12/13 (1986/1987): 179–183: "Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν ἔργον διὰ χειρὸς Ἐφραίμ μοναχοῦ, ιστορ[ιογράφου κ(αὶ) μουσιάτορος]/ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Μανουήλ μεγάλου Βασιλέως πορφυρογεν[νήτου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ]/ κ(αὶ) ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ μεγάλου ῥήγος Ἱεροσολύμων, [κυροῦ (Ἀμμορι)/ κ(αὶ) τοῦ τῆς] ἀγί(ας) Βηθλεέμ, ἀγιωτάτου [ἐ]πισκόπου, κυροῦ [Ραουήλ] ἐν ἔτει ξχόζ (sic) (i)ν(δικτιῶνο)ς β..."

<sup>431</sup> Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Art and Colonialism: The mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of 'Crusader' Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 69-85; Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 351-7; John Phocas, "A General Description of the Settlements and Places Belonging to Syria and Phoenicia on the Way from Antioch to Jerusalem, and of the Holy Places of Palestine," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*, ed. John Wilkinson and Joyce Hill (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 332-3

Byzantine and east Frankish art (Frankish examples: Appendix: Figure 3.15 and Figure 3.16. Byzantine examples: Appendix: Figure 3.17 and Figure 3.18).<sup>432</sup>

Moreover, the art inside the church is not purely Greek. Although the artistic style of the mosaics in the Church of the Nativity was Byzantine, Mahoney points out that the subject matter was Frankish. Moreover, Latin was used in the space more than Greek. These factors indicate that Amalric intended to create inextricable ties between Frankish legitimacy to rule and the physical and historical features of the landscape. For example, depictions of various church councils lined the church walls. The regional councils were on the north wall and ecumenical ones on the south. The ecumenical councils end with the Second Council of Nicaea, which was convened in 787 to tackle the question of Iconoclasm and ultimately restored the veneration of icons. Though inscriptions for them are mainly in Greek, Nicaea II, located near the western entrance of the church, is in Latin. The singular use of Latin for the summary of Nicaea II marked it as important among the church councils. First, it matched the language of the majority of the inscriptions. Second, it is located near the western entrance of the church, strengthening the message of the mosaic located right above the entrance: the Tree of Jesse. The tree is an artistic subject that depicted the ancestors of Jesus Christ in the form of a tree springing out of the body of Jesse, the father of King David. Uncommon among Byzantine art, the Tree of Jesse frequently appeared in western Christian pictorial programs, especially the stained-glass windows of gothic cathedrals.<sup>433</sup> Given that the Tree of Jesse established both Jesus's providential and royal ancestry, it served the interest of kings who wished to emphasize the

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<sup>432</sup> Lisa Mahoney, "The Church of the Nativity and 'Crusader' Kingship," *Crusading in Art, Thought and Will*, ed. Matthew E. Parker, Ben Halliburton, and Anne Romine (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 17-23

<sup>433</sup> An example of the Tree of Jesse from the Cathedral of Notre Dame-Chartres is provided in Mahoney, "The Church of the Nativity," p. 28.

sacred character of their office. Given its location over the entrance, and thus exit, of the church, it reminded attendees that they were in a realm governed by the Latin kings of Jerusalem.<sup>434</sup>

Through his coins, seals, and monumental artistic programs such as the one at the Church of the Nativity, Amalric intended to usurp the privileged place the Byzantine Empire had as the protectors of the holy places and Christians. Indeed, by melding his office the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity as well as Byzantine imperial and artistic styles, he effectively combined Byzantine and Frankish symbols of power. In other words, Amalric used the familiar language of authority, that of the Byzantines, and the omnipresent sanctity of the Holy Land for himself and made them inseparable from Frankish rule in the Levant.

## Conclusion

Baldwin to a degree and Amalric with a vengeance worked to Byzantify the Kingdom of Jerusalem. By marrying Theodora and positioning himself as the *de facto* leader and mediator for the other Christian powers of the Levant, Baldwin acted as a Byzantine-style ruler whose authority extended beyond the immediate boundaries of his kingdom. In doing so, he laid the foundation on which his brother was able to build. Upon succeeding his brother, Amalric was able to take the Byzantification program even further. He incorporated universal Christian sites, such as the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity, as well as distinctly imperial symbols, such as the *loros* costume, into the royal iconography of the kings of Jerusalem. This allowed for the Christian chroniclers of Amalric's reign, such as William of Tyre or Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus, to liken the king's position to a Byzantine emperor or Fatimid caliph and to use the Frankish kings as a counter to Byzantine universalist claims.

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<sup>434</sup> Mahoney, "The Church of the Nativity," pp. 26-30

Both kings died young. Baldwin was only thirty-three in 1163 and Amalric was thirty-eight in 1174. If either king had lived longer, then it is possible that the Kingdom of Jerusalem would be remembered less as a western kingdom transplanted into the east Mediterranean and more as a Byzanto-Frankish hybrid that grew out of its crusading heritage. For their program to take root, of course, they would have also needed to overcome the threats from Nur al-Din and Saladin. A long-ruling and effective monarch with clear political vision like Amalric might have made a significant difference on that front as well. Indeed, though willing to employ western armies when they could, Baldwin and Amalric were nonetheless willing to leave behind the legacy of their crusader lineage in favor of the more enduring ideas of authority from the Byzantine Empire.

## Chapter 4

### *Effugientes enim Caribdem, Scillam incurrunt: William of Tyre and the Lasting Influence of the *Historia Ierosolimitana**

In one of the early chapters of Book 21 of his *Historia*, following his character profile of Baldwin IV and the account of the conflict over the regency, William of Tyre reflected on the declining state of the Latin East. To explain why his contemporaries had failed where their predecessors of the First Crusade succeeded, he put forward three reasons. First, he believed that his generation was less religious than the Franks who initially came from the west: “instead of our fathers, who were religious men and fearful [of] God, sons most corrupt, wicked sons, apostates of the Christian faith, have sprung up in every direction and, without distinction, [have] run through every illicit [deed]...”<sup>435</sup> God had withheld victory from the Franks of the Latin East as punishment for their sinful behavior, a common assertion throughout his narrative.<sup>436</sup> Second, William asserted that the men of the First Crusade were far more skilled in war and weaponry than their descendants: “but the people of the East, on the contrary, have been weakened by the long peace, ignorant of military matters [and] untrained in the laws of battle, [and] took delight in [their] inactivity.”<sup>437</sup> Third, the Muslim world was no longer fractured as it had been during the First Crusade and now the whole of Syria and Egypt was under the control of one man,

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<sup>435</sup> WT, 21.7, p. 969. “...quod pro patribus nostris, qui fuerunt viri religiosi et timentes deum, nati sunt filii perditissimi, filii scelerati, fidei christiane prevaricatores, passim et sine delectu per omnia currentes illicita...”

<sup>436</sup> Here are some examples during the reigns of Baldwin III and Amalric that William blames on general sinfulness. Failure of the Second Crusade: WT, 17.5-6, pp. 765-8; Death of Raymond of Poitiers and capture of Joscelin II of Edessa: WT, 17.9-11, pp. 770-5; the Byzantine loss of the remnants of Edessa: WT, 17.17, pp. 782-5; Baldwin III ambushed by Turks and many barons taken prisoner: WT, 18.14, pp. 830-2; Conflict between Thierry of Flanders and Reynald of Chatillon over control of Shayzar: WT, 18.18, pp. 836-7; the fallout from the Battle of Harim and the Templar surrender of a fortress to Shirkuh: WT, 19.10-11, pp. 876-9. In contrast, William blames the failure of the Amalric’s 1168 campaign in Egypt on the greed of the Franks, heavily implying that it included Amalric’s own avaricious tendencies: WT, 20.10, pp. 924-5

<sup>437</sup> WT, 21.7, p. 970. “...populus vero Orientalis econtrario longa pace dissolutus, rei militaris expers, inexercitatus legibus preliorum vacatione gaudebat.”

Saladin.<sup>438</sup> No longer could the crusader states benefit from directing Damascus against Aleppo or Egypt against Syria as they had.

On the face of it, William provides an attractive explanation for the decline of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Edbury and Rowe view William's threefold summation as the chronicler's ability and willingness to place theological and secular factors of decline side-by-side.<sup>439</sup> Indeed, they assert that "William was so used to employing punishment for sins as his stock reaction to untoward events that in some instances it would seem that he did not mean what he was saying."<sup>440</sup> In other words, his "matter-of-fact and empirical" approach to his causes of failure would often render his religious explanations as a necessary theological shibboleth to maintain his Christian outlook rather than part of anything substantive. For example, William's assertion that the Latin East was in decline because Saladin unified Egypt and Syria "wins [the] general approval from modern scholars"<sup>441</sup> because it adheres to the generally accepted narrative of the crusader states. Thus, for Edbury and Rowe, William's belief in the moral and military decline of the Franks in the Latin East must either be a historical/literary *topos* or contain some element of truth. Alan Murray supports the former and states that many (though not all) of William's biblical references were formulaic rather than hints toward deeper theological truths in his narrative.<sup>442</sup> Likewise, Ivo Wolsing argues that William used Livy's narrative of the decline of the Roman Republic as a literary framework for his own explanation of the Latin East's decline. According to Livy, the wealth of the recently conquered Carthage and the Near East corrupted Roman moral and military *virtus*, thus leading to the civil wars of the first century

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<sup>438</sup> WT, 21.7, pp. 970-1

<sup>439</sup> Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 154-5

<sup>440</sup> Ibid, p.158

<sup>441</sup> Ibid, p. 155

<sup>442</sup> Alan Murray, "Biblical Quotations and Formulaic Language in the Chronicle of William of Tyre," in *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders Presented to Peter Edbury*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Helen J. Nicholson (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), pp. 25-34

BCE and the downfall of the Roman Republic.<sup>443</sup> This is why William contrasts the *virtus* of the members of the First Crusade with the decadence of their eastern Frankish descendants: prolonged exposure to eastern wealth and luxury corrupted whatever virtues that had been brought from the west.

William, of course, was not just a historian working from imagination and precedent but actually participated in the events he describes. His use of such literary techniques, however, obscures his own role in court affairs even as it seeks to elucidate potential factors for the decline of the kingdom. Unlike Livy, who was a historian above all else, William of Tyre was at various times (and often simultaneously) a leading prelate,<sup>444</sup> an ambassador to Constantinople and Rome, a royal advisor, a royal tutor, and the chancellor of the kingdom. His role as a historian was often secondary to his other positions. He worked on the *Historia* only when time allowed.<sup>445</sup> If anyone would have known which of Baldwin's or Amalric's specific policy choices – some of which William may have advised or implemented himself – led to unfavorable outcomes, that person would be William of Tyre. For example, William's claim that a "long peace" caused a generation to become neglectful of military matters and languid in luxury falls flat in the face of his own narrative in which scarcely a year passed without a battle, a siege, or a

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<sup>443</sup> Wolsing, "William of Tyre, Orientalism and the (De)Construction of Latin Identity": 485-516. Wolsing focuses predominately on the Livian influences of William of Tyre, though he does also identify the Sallustian influences (who also relied on the *topos* of the corruptive character of eastern luxury) present in William's work.

<sup>444</sup> Upon his return in 1165 to the east from his studies in the west, William became a canon in the cathedral of Acre. Soon after, he was named archdeacon of the cathedral of Tyre under the archbishop, Frederick de la Roche. Following the archbishop's death in 1175, he was elected to the archiepiscopate of Tyre and remained the archbishop until his death in 1185/6. After the death of Patriarch Amalric of Jerusalem in 1180, William was one of the leading candidates for the patriarchate, ultimately losing to Heraclius due to his political opposition to Agnes of Courtenay and her faction in favor of Raymond III of Tripoli. For more, see Peter Edbury and John Rowe, "William of Tyre and the Patriarchal Election of 1180," *The English Historical Review* 93, no. 366 (1978): 1-25 and Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 13-22

<sup>445</sup> For more on William's composition process, see Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 24-31 and Benjamin Kedar, "Some New Light on the Composition Process of William of Tyre's *Historia*," in *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders Presented to Peter Edbury*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Helen J. Nicholson (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), pp. 3-12.

campaign.<sup>446</sup> Indeed, according to William's contemporary Usama ibn Munqidh, the *only* virtues the Franks possessed were their courage and skill at arms.<sup>447</sup> William's claim that his contemporaries had apostatized their faith and had subsequently "run through every illicit [deed]" leads one to wonder how such apostasy and faithlessness came to be, especially when examples of such behavior are rare in the *Historia*. It is possible that William was adhering to the conventions of his faith and his genre: punishment for sin, after all, could be a compelling enough answer for those who believed that God was active in the affairs of the world. However, William was not writing about events of the distant past of far off lands, the details of which had been lost to time. Rather, he was documenting the recent past of his home *patria*, the leaders of which were his friends and colleagues and would have been the people for whom he wrote. The specifics of the Latin East's decline would have been important for him and his audience. Convention would not have sufficed. What, then, did William find so displeasing and, just as important, where was he as it was happening?

### **William the Researcher**

William seemingly had few qualms about inserting himself into his *Historia*, either as narrator or as a subject. However, he did so sparingly, especially prior to Book 16 where he relied on the works of others, and would only add details about himself with a specific purpose in

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<sup>446</sup> To illustrate this lack of peace even during William's time in the Latin East, we only need to look at his account of Amalric's kingship. Out of the sixty-three chapters covering Amalric's reign, over forty are devoted to some kind of military action in which the Franks of the Latin East participated. Amalric himself was frequently on campaign: he was in Egypt in 1163, 1164, 1167, 1168-9, and 1169-70 (WT, 19.5, pp. 870-3; WT, 19.13-32, pp. 882-909; WT, 20.5-17, pp. 917-34); he was in Antioch to support its defenders in 1164-5 (WT, 19.10-11, pp. 876-8); Amalric and Saladin fought at Daron and Gaza in 1170 (WT, 20.19-21, pp. 936-40); the king attacked Mleh in Cilicia in 1171 (WT, 20.26, pp. 948-50); Amalric chased Saladin in the Outrejordan in 1172 and 1173 (WT, 20.27-28, pp. 950-2); and he besieged Banyas in 1174 shortly before his death (WT, 20.31, pp. 956-7). During his eleven year reign, there is only one year, 1166, in which it cannot be reliably stated he participated in some military action.

<sup>447</sup> Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*, pp. 144-54. Usama admits that some Franks acclimated well to life in the Levant, but he viewed such cases to be the exception rather than the rule and believed they were unable to escape their base character.



mind. Often he used his authorial interventions to demonstrate that he had done his due diligence when researching his subjects. For example, following Godfrey of Bouillon's election to the custodianship of Jerusalem in Book 9, William shifted to discuss the character and origins of the Duke. The chronicler notes that "[w]e have deliberately passed over the story of the Swan, whence it is commonly said that they [Godfrey and his brothers, Baldwin and Eustace] drew their origin from it, because such an assertion seems to fall short from the truth, although many tell it as if it were true."<sup>448</sup> Later that same book, William wrote about the dispute between Godfrey and the newly elected patriarch of Jerusalem, Daimbert of Pisa, in which the latter demanded that Jerusalem, Jaffa, and their lands be handed over to the patriarchate. Godfrey agreed to Daimbert's terms, but only on the condition that he first conquered other cities for his use or if he died without a legitimate heir.<sup>449</sup> William inserted his own thoughts concerning the matter:

[W]e have not read anywhere or heard from men worthy of trust that the victorious princes had handed over the kingdom to the lord duke on that condition... nor should it be attributed to dull and feeble ignorance on my part as I have diligently investigated the truth of this matter more than any other living person...<sup>450</sup>

He followed these defensive comments with an account of the possible origin of Daimbert's demands.<sup>451</sup> In both cases, William asserts to his audience the depth of his knowledge, the thoroughness of his research, his ability to discern truth from legend, and the prudence to know when to omit unnecessary information.

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<sup>448</sup> WT, 9.6, p. 427. "Preterimus denique studiose, licet id verum fuisse plurimorum astruat narratio, cigni fabulam, unde vulgo dicitur sementivam eis fuisse originem, eo quod a vero videatur deficere talis assertio..."

<sup>449</sup> WT, 9.16, p. 441

<sup>450</sup> WT, 9.16, p. 442. "...nec uspiam legerimus aut a viris fide dignis audivimus, ea conditione domino duci regnum a victoribus principibus fuisse traditum... nec pro crassa et supina nostra ducenda est ignorantia, cum quolibet mortalium amplius harum rerum veritatem diligenter investigaverimus..."

<sup>451</sup> WT, 9.17-18, pp. 442-5

William's demonstrations of his having done due diligence become more frequent after Book 16 where he could rely more on his own experiences and the testimony of those whom he interviewed. In these asides, he would often reveal his investigative process and, in some cases, his sources for information. For example, in his account of the failure of the Second Crusade, William claimed: "I frequently interrogated both prudent men and those whose memory of that time was still solidly at hand... what had been the cause of such evil and who had been the agents of such wicked deeds... I discovered disagreeing accounts in the assignment of cause."<sup>452</sup> Here, William recognizes the impossibility of knowing exactly what happened that caused the failure of the Second Crusade. In his discussion about Amalric's divorce from Agnes of Courtenay, William said that he investigated for himself the claims of consanguinity between the two. These investigations included discussions with Stephania, Agnes's aunt and the abbess of the Church of Saint Mary Major in Jerusalem, who revealed to him the genealogical connection between the royal family and the counts of Edessa.<sup>453</sup> The specificity of his source, a close blood-relative of Agnes of Courtenay, lends legitimacy to both his account and the church's role in the king's divorce. Following the failed Byzantine-Frankish invasion of Egypt in 1169, William said: "I carefully and diligently inquired as much from the lord king as from certain princes of the kingdom what would have been the reason that so great an army, raised by the zeal of such great princes, had failed in its purpose in this way."<sup>454</sup> In these cases, William both explains his historical methods and demonstrates that his sources included even the king himself. Readers, he says implicitly, can trust his reporting

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<sup>452</sup> WT, 17.7, p. 768. "...me frequenter interrogasse et sepius prudentes viros et quibus illius temporis solidior adhuc suberat memoria... quenam tanti mali causa fuerit et aui tanti sceleris fuerint auctores... In assignatione autem cause dissonas inveni relationes."

<sup>453</sup> WT, 19.4, pp. 868-70

<sup>454</sup> WT, 20.17, p. 934. "...tam a domino rege quam a quibusdam regni principibus sollicite et diligenter quesisse, quenam causa fuerit quod tantus exercitus, tantorum principum studio procuratus, ita in proposito defecerit."

More interesting than his claims to due diligence were moments when William inserted himself into the *Historia* not as a narrator or investigator but as a participant in events after he had completed his studies in Europe in 1165. His direct involvement in the affairs of the Latin East, therefore, is limited to the reigns of Amalric and Baldwin IV.<sup>455</sup> However, it is clear from the *Historia* that he enjoyed royal favor from both kings, especially Amalric. Multiple times William mentions that Amalric commissioned him to write a history of the kingdom and even furnished him with the necessary documents to do so.<sup>456</sup> He says that his appointment to the archdeaconate of Tyre in 1167 was done at the request and in the presence of Amalric.<sup>457</sup> Concerning his appointment to the delegation to Manuel to ratify the Byzantine-Frankish alliance against Egypt, William says that “I was an added companion [to the delegation] by royal command so that I might quickly bring the decision of the king and the whole kingdom with their letters to the lord emperor...”<sup>458</sup> Of course, most famously, the king personally requested that William serve as his son’s tutor, during which time he discovered Baldwin’s leprosy.<sup>459</sup>

In addition to his duties as ambassador and tutor, William served as an advisor and confidant for Amalric in matters of both governance and theology. He recorded several of these conversations he had with the king. For example, as discussed in the previous chapter, the two discussed the merits of Amalric’s taxation policies and if the king’s assiduous collection of funds

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<sup>455</sup> William details the course of his studies in Book 19.12 of the *Historia*. His teachers included many of the leading members of the twelfth-century Renaissance, such as Peter Lombard for theology and the Four Doctors of Bologna (Hugo de Porta Ravennate, Bulgarus, Martinus Gosia, and Jacobus de Boragine) for law. See WT, 19.12, pp. 879-82. For more concerning William of Tyre’s education, see Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp.13-22; Matthew Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2016), pp. 181-90; Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, pp. 178-81

<sup>456</sup> WT, Prologue, pp. 99-100; WT, 19.21, p.892; WT, 20.31, p. 957

<sup>457</sup> WT, 20.1, p. 913. It was done also three days after Amalric and Maria Komnena’s marriage, perhaps indicating how important William’s appointment was to Amalric: “Hic [Frederick, archbishop of Tyre], triduo postquam rex in eadem civitate coronatus fuerat et nuptias celebraverat, presente et rogante domino rege et aliis multis honestis viris, archidiaconatum eiusdem ecclesie... nobis liberaliter contulit.”

<sup>458</sup> WT, 20.4, p.916. “...adiunctus sum ego comes de regio mandato, ut regis et regni universi consilium cum eorum litteris ad dominum imperatorem properans deferrem...”

<sup>459</sup> WT, 21.1, pp. 961-2

from lay and ecclesiastical sources was the practice of a prescient ruler or an avaricious tyrant. Amalric claimed that it was always necessary that the king have the funds available to tend to the needs of the kingdom as they arose. William, however, was unconvinced: “he did not act sparingly in the necessities or expenses of the kingdom... but the wealth of his subjects was not entirely safe, [as] he frequently resorted to emptying their patrimonies by claiming a trivial reason anywhere it pleased him.”<sup>460</sup> William demonstrates that he did not hesitate to admonish royal misbehavior where he saw it. Indeed, for William, Amalric’s avarice became his ultimate downfall. It outpaced his ability to acquire the funds to sate it and clouded his judgment concerning his subjects and military campaigns, leading to several failed invasions of Egypt between 1168 and 1170.

When Amalric was recovering from illness during a stay in Tyre, he summoned William to the citadel so that they could discuss various subjects to pass the time. William recalled one of the king’s questions that troubled him due to its unorthodox character: “[Amalric] asked sensibly: supposing that, besides the doctrine of the Savior and the saints who followed Christ, which he did not doubt, can a reason be found which is able to be proven by evident and indispensable arguments [for] the future resurrection?”<sup>461</sup> William’s European training perhaps served him well here as his schooling occurred during the early decades of the scholastic movement in Europe: Amalric demanded a logical proof for the existence of the general resurrection, body and soul, of the faithful.<sup>462</sup> William’s argument was as follows:

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<sup>460</sup> WT, 19.2, p. 866. “...nam in regni necessitatibus nec expensis parcebat... sed non erat tuta omnino subiectorum opulentia, ad quorum exhaurienda patrimonia, sumpta qualibet levi occasione, frequentis recurrebat.”

<sup>461</sup> WT, 19.3, p. 867. “Quesivit sane si preter doctrinam Salvatoris et sanctorum qui Christum sequuti sunt, de qua non dubitabat, posset ratio inveniri, qua posset probari argumentis evidentibus et necessariis resurrectionem futuram.”

<sup>462</sup> The form of this conversation appears to be that of a dialectical *disputatio*, a common teaching tool from the scholastic schools of twelfth-century Europe. See Olga Weijers, “Methods and Tools of Learning” in *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools*, ed. Cédric Giraud (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 109-12. The importance of the technique was not about the truth of the answer but the correctness of the argument. Here, Amalric did not deny the existence

Then I said: “Do you acknowledge that God is just?” Then he said: “Nothing is truer, I acknowledge.” Then I said: “Moreover, is it just to repay good for good, evil for evil?” Then he said: “It is true.” I said: “However, in the present life this does not happen. And thus some good people suffer only molestation and adversity in the present world; truly some evil people continuously enjoy good fortune, as examples of daily matters teach us.” Then he said: “It is certain.” But I continued: “Thus it happens in another life because God cannot be a just *restorer* [*retributor*] unless there will be another life and a resurrection of this body. In so far as someone merits good or evil in this [life], he ought to receive reward and to be recompensed.” Then he said: “This is pleasing beyond measure and you have driven all doubt from my heart.”<sup>463</sup>

This conversation served two purposes for William. First, he used it to imply that he was among the “wise and discreet men and those who had experience of far off places and those who had knowledge of foreign customs” with whom the king “most eagerly conversed.”<sup>464</sup> Second, he used it to demonstrate both that he was a close advisor of the king and that his advice adhered to the orthodox principles he learned during his education in the West.<sup>465</sup>

In both conversations with the king, William emphasizes the importance of good works as the basis of just rule. It was important for not only personal salvation, as he showed with his theological proof to the king, but also the salvation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. William

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of the general resurrection of the faithful but desired a proof that did not rely on the authority of Scripture or the doctors of the Church, using as an example a hypothetical person who did not believe in Scripture or the works of Church doctors. For more on the development of *disputatio* and the scholastic movement in general, see Michael T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1999); Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students*; Stephen Ferruolo, *The Origins of University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100-1215* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985); Cédric Giraud, ed., *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools* (Leiden: Brill, 2019); John Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Alex J. Novikoff, “Anselm, Dialogue, and the Rise of Scholastic Disputation,” *Speculum* 86, no. 2 (2011): 387-418; Alex J. Novikoff, “Peter Abelard and Disputation: A Reexamination,” *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 32, no. 4 (2014): 323-47; R. W. Southern, “The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres” in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982); R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

<sup>463</sup> WT, 19.3, p. 867-8. “Tum ego: ‘Deum iustum confiteris esse?’ Tum ille: ‘Nichil verius confiteor.’ Tum ego: ‘Iusti autem est pro bonis bona, pro malis mala retribuere?’ Tum ille: ‘Verum est.’ ‘In presenti autem vita non fit istud. Nam et boni quidam in presenti seculo non nisi molestias patiuntur et adversa, mali vero felicitate gaudent continua, sicut rerum cotidianarum exempla nose docent.’ Tum ille: ‘Certum est.’ Ego vero processit: ‘Ergo in alia vita fiet, quia non potest deus non esse iustus retributor. Ergo alia vita erit et huius carnis resurrectio, in qua meruit quis bonum vel malum, in ea debet recipere premium et renumerari.’ Tum ille: ‘Placet supra modum et omnem deterisisti de corde meo dubietatem.’”

<sup>464</sup> WT, 19.3, p. 867. “Prudentibus et discretis viris et locorum remotorum peritiam habentibus et externarum consuetudinem tenentibus experientiam libentissime confabulabatur.”

<sup>465</sup> WT, Prologue, pp. 97-101

admonished Amalric's avarice as both a detrimental personal flaw for the king and an inhibitor to his ability to work for the public good. William's concern is congruent with the political philosophy of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* and the idea that the prince act with the public good in mind and the further the goals of his political community, whom he represented. Indeed, John discusses the problem of avarice: "Thus, while it is expedient for the king to be extremely wealthy, still he must count his wealth as the people's [possession]. He does not, therefore, truly own that which he possesses in the name of someone else, nor are the goods of the fisc, which are conceded to be public, his own private property."<sup>466</sup> Like John, William did not deny the king's right to hold wealth. He did, however, question the reasons Amalric gave for collecting money from his subjects: was it for the sake of the kingdom or to line his own pockets? If Amalric did not work for the public good, then, quite simply, his actions were *mala* and deserved an appropriate response. Thus just rule and the salvation of the kingdom depended upon the good works of the king.<sup>467</sup>

Further examples of royal conversations are scarce.<sup>468</sup> Nonetheless, they demonstrate the privileged place William enjoyed in Amalric's court and the role he played in the king's instruction. He continued to enjoy these privileges after Amalric's death, being named the royal

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<sup>466</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. and trans. Cary J. Nederman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 4.5, p. 40. William and John shared many of the same instructors, so it makes sense that their political philosophies would be similar.

<sup>467</sup> For more on John of Salisbury's political philosophy, see Nederman, "The Changing Face of Tyranny": 1-20; Cary J. Nederman and Catherine Campbell, "Priests, Kings, and Tyrants: Spiritual and Temporal Power in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*," *Speculum* 66, no. 3 (1991): 572-90; Cary J. Nederman, "Friendship in Public Life during the Twelfth Century: Theory and Practice in the Writings of John of Salisbury," *Viator* 38, no. 2 (2007): 385-97; Cary J. Nederman, "John of Salisbury's Political Theory" in *A Companion to John of Salisbury*, ed. Christoph Grellard and Frédérique Lachaud (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 258-88; Irene A. O'Daly, "An Assessment of the Political Symbolism of the City of Rome in the Writings of John of Salisbury," *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 17, no. 4-5 (2011): 512-33; Quentin Taylor, "John of Salisbury, the *Policraticus*, and Political Thought," *Humanitas* 19, no. 1-2 (2006): 133-57; Michael Wilks, ed., *The World of John of Salisbury* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985).

<sup>468</sup> No such scenes exist in his account of Baldwin IV's reign. Despite William's positions as archbishop of Tyre and royal chancellor, his presence in the court of Baldwin is limited, appearing as the officiator of William of Montferrat's funeral and the mediator between the king and Count Philip of Flanders during the latter's stay in Jerusalem. See WT, 21.12 (13)-17 (18), pp. 977-86

chancellor and elected to the archbishopric of Tyre in 1175 – the first Frankish prelate born in the Latin East to hold either position.<sup>469</sup> Much of William’s interventions in his work, from his claims to historical due diligence to his demonstration of closeness to the royal family, serves to reassure his readers that he was both a reliable historical witness and a dutiful servant of Church and crown.

### William the Critic

His dual roles of historian and royal servant were a source of internal conflict for William. In his prologue, the chronicler was clear about how he viewed his task as a historian:

There is no-one among prudent men who could doubt that it is perilous and filled with great risk to recount the deeds of kings... it is certain that a twofold danger that is almost impossible to navigate rises before historians, of which it is seldom that they can prevail over one or the other: indeed, they, fleeing Charybdis, run into Scylla, who, surrounded by her dogs, knows equally well how to beget shipwrecks.<sup>470</sup>

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<sup>469</sup> He was also the first native Frank of the Latin East to hold any of the primary bishoprics or archbishoprics in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. His predecessors in Tyre, Frederick de la Roche, and the royal chancery, Ralph of Bethlehem, came from Lorraine and England, respectively. Amalric of Nesle, patriarch of Jerusalem from 1158 until 1180, was from Picardy and the contemporaneous archbishop of Caesarea and eventual patriarch, Heraclius, was from Auvergne.

<sup>470</sup> WT, Prologue, p. 97. “Periculosum esse et grandi plenum alea regum gesta describere, vivorum prudentium nemo est qui dubitet... duplex historiographis certum est imminere precipicium, quorum vix est ut alterutrum declinare valeant: effugientes enim Caribdim, Scillam incurrunt, que succinta canibus non minus novit procreare naufragia.” It is clear from his reference to Scylla and Charybdis that William could not resist showing off his classicizing vocabulary. Indeed, many historians from the Carolingian era through the mid-twelfth century sought to emulate classical authors and genres in their own works. See Jason Glenn, “Between Two Empires: Einhard and His Charles the Great” in *The Middle Ages in Texts and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, ed. Jason Glenn and Robert Brentano (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), pp. 105-18; Matthew Innes, “The Classical Tradition in the Carolingian Renaissance: Ninth-Century Encounters with Suetonius,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3, no. 3 (1997): 265-82; William Kynan-Wilson, “Roman Identity in William of Malmesbury’s Historical Writings” in *Discovering William of Malmesbury*, ed. Rodney M. Thomson, Emily Dolmans, and Emily A. Winkler (Martlesham, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2018), pp. 81-82; Marie Schütt, “The Literary Form of William of Malmesbury’s *Gesta Regum*,” *The English Historical Review* 46, no. 182 (1931): 255-60; R. W. Southern, “Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing 1. The Classical Tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 20 (1970): 173-96

He knew his duty as a historian was to tell the truth of the lives and characters of his royal subjects, *sive commendabilia sive note subiacentia*,<sup>471</sup> lest he be accused of flattery or undue deference to the point of concealing facts. However, equally apparent in his prologue was his anxiety over future monarchs angrily dismissing his criticisms of their ancestors. Thus William's need to maintain balance led him to nearly vilify Amalric, his benefactor and patron as well as his friend, by implying the king's imperfections bankrupted the kingdom, financially and morally. At the same time, William chose Baldwin III, whose reign William reconstructed through second-hand accounts, as his model for the perfect prince despite being the originator of many of the practices and policies that Amalric implemented.

According to William, Baldwin III was simply a better king than Amalric, a quality he was more or less born with. The chronicler described both brothers as having a preeminent physical attractiveness, with full golden beards and limbs proportionate with their bodies. However, despite both kings' temperate eating and drinking habits, Baldwin was of a "medium fleshiness [*carnositatis media*]"<sup>472</sup> while Amalric was "fat beyond measure, in such a way that he had prominent breasts down to his belt like a woman."<sup>473</sup> Baldwin was eloquent and affable to such a point that he would "indiscriminately enter into mutual conversation with willing or opposing people, either offering communication or not denying it to anyone asking."<sup>474</sup> This quality, according to William, allowed him to win the hearts and minds of the *patres* and *plebs* alike. Amalric, on the other hand, had a stutter and was unacceptably taciturn, lacking his brother's eloquence and ability to win over his subjects.<sup>475</sup>

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<sup>471</sup> WT, Prologue, p. 98

<sup>472</sup> WT, 16.2, p. 715

<sup>473</sup> WT, 19.3, p. 868. "Pinguis erat supra modum, ita more femineo mamillas haberet cingulotenus prominentes..."

<sup>474</sup> WT, 16.2, p. 716. "... ad se ingredi volentibus vel occurrentibus passim mutue colloquutionis aut offeret ultro commercium aut postulantibus non negaret."

<sup>475</sup> WT, 19.2, p. 866



Beyond physical attributes, William found Amalric's approach to money and taxation wanting when compared to his brother's. Baldwin was generous with the royal treasury and "by no means greedy for other's property,"<sup>476</sup> leaving untouched the wealth and estates of either his lay or ecclesial subjects. Amalric, on the other hand, exhausted the revenues of church estates with his taxes and acquired monetary gifts "contrary to which the rigor of judgment and the discretion of law permit."<sup>477</sup> Indeed, William blamed Amalric's *cupiditas* above all for the failure of his 1168 campaign in Egypt and the ultimate loss of the wealth of the Nile to Saladin: "The cupidity of one man has inflicted all these [problems] and [his] avarice, the root of vice, has darkened our God-given peace."<sup>478</sup> Amalric supposedly excelled in terms of his own education and his knowledge of law, but William always emphasized that Baldwin was better educated and more skillful in matters of governance.<sup>479</sup> By making these explicit comparisons, he highlighted Amalric's shortcomings and, more importantly, attributed the failures of his reign to his imperfect royal character. At the same time, Baldwin III served as William's perfect model of kingship whose royal character shone through his actions. Whatever flaws he may have had or

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<sup>476</sup> WT, 16.2, p. 715. "...alieni tamen minime cupidus..."

<sup>477</sup> WT, 19.2, p. 866. "...aliter quam censure rigor et iuris modestia."

<sup>478</sup> WT, 20.10, p. 924-5. "Hec omnia unius hominis invexit cupiditas et avaricia, viciorum radix, nostra obnubilavit data divinitus serena." Ivo Wolsing notes that William used *cupidus*, *cupiditas*, and their derivations sparingly in his work, appearing a total of eighteen times. However, the majority of the words' uses occur during the reigns of Baldwin III and Amalric. See Wolsing, "William of Tyre, Orientalism and the (De)Construction of Latin Identity": 501 n. 72. It is important to note that William described Baldwin as *alieni tamen minime cupidus* (WT, 16.2, p. 715) and Amalric as *[p]ecunie cupidus supra quam regiam deceret honestam* (WT, 19.2, p. 866) – in other words, Baldwin was not *cupidus* and Amalric was. Indeed, *cupidus* and *avaricia* were two terms frequently associated with Amalric and his actions, especially related to his dealings with Egypt. Following the end of his account of the 1168, William mourns the loss of Egypt, starting his lamentation by blaming *hominum cupiditas* and ending it by blaming *unius hominis... cupiditas*. He does not name this particular person. However, it can be narrowed down to two individuals: Milo of Plancy, who advised Amalric to negotiate a surrender with Shawar and the caliph so that a greater portion of the spoils would go to the king, or Amalric, whose avarice Milo knowingly fostered when he gave the king his advice. See WT, 20.9, pp. 921-3. To William, Milo's crime was that of *sinistrum consilium* that exacerbated Amalric's well-known and documented avarice. Thus, given William's frequent association of Amalric with *cupiditas* and *avaricia*, it stands to reason that William's *unus homo* was Amalric.

<sup>479</sup> WT, 16.2, p. 715: "...[Balduinus] erat autem et commode litteratus et fratre suo domino Amalrico, qui ei successit, multo amplius..."; WT, 19.2, p. 865: "[Amalricus m]odice litteratus erat et fratre multo minus..."

mistakes he made during his reign, William downplayed or muted them so Baldwin could remain the ideal that Amalric failed to become.

Among his contemporaries, William is alone in his treatment of Baldwin as the perfect prince and Amalric as his imperfect shadow. Muslim and eastern Christian writers rarely wrote about Baldwin and, if they did, their portrayal was not particularly flattering. For example, Ibn al-Qalanisi never refers to Baldwin by name, opting to call him “the king of the Franks” whenever he did appear in his account.<sup>480</sup> Neither Ibn al-Athir nor Abu Shama mentions Baldwin at any point in their narratives, even during the Bostrum campaign of 1147 and the Second Crusade.<sup>481</sup> Baldwin fares better in eastern Christian accounts, appearing by name in Syriac, Armenian, and Greek sources. Nevertheless, he falls short of the ideal image put forward by William of Tyre. According to both Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus, Baldwin was the one who accepted the bribe from Damascus to sabotage the Second Crusade, only to discover that the 200,000 gold dinars were in fact gold plated pieces of copper.<sup>482</sup> According to John Kinnamos, during Manuel Komnenos’s sojourn in Cilicia in 1158-9, the emperor welcomed Baldwin to his tent “in a fashion worthy of the throne of David.” Baldwin, however, dismounted from his horse in the spot where the emperor customarily did, an action that Manuel and Kinnamos interpreted as arrogance on the Frankish king’s part.<sup>483</sup> Niketas Choniates mentions Baldwin only once, in reference to his marriage to Manuel’s niece, Theodora.<sup>484</sup> With the exception of William of Newburgh and Otto of Friesing, writers in the west usually referred to Baldwin in their lists of

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<sup>480</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 265, 306, 322, 335-8, 347, 353

<sup>481</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, part 2, pp. 21-3; Abu Shama, *Des Deux Jardins*, pp. 52-9. The only commander of note for either chronicler was Conrad III, leaving out Louis VII and Baldwin III entirely.

<sup>482</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, pp. 248-50; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 274. William of Tyre also mentions this account of bribery, including the fake gold, in the *Historia*. However, unlike Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus, he does not blame Baldwin for accepting the bribe, accusing some unnamed east Frankish nobles of the treachery. See WT, 17.5, pp. 765-6 and WT, 17.7, pp. 768-9

<sup>483</sup> John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel*, p. 141

<sup>484</sup> Niketas Choniates, *Annals*, p. 80

the kings of Jerusalem or in reference to his father, Fulk, rather than in discussions of his deeds – if, indeed, they mentioned Baldwin at all.<sup>485</sup>

On the other hand, Amalric had a far more prominent presence in the works of Muslim and east Christian authors. Indeed, many of them considered him to be among the greatest kings of Jerusalem. Ibn al-Athir and Abu Shama were in agreement about where Amalric stood among the kings of Jerusalem: “[T]here has not been a king of the Franks since they came to Syria who [better] represented bravery, cunning, and intelligence...”<sup>486</sup> Michael the Syrian viewed Amalric a king through whom God worked to defend Christians against the machinations of Nur al-Din and his allies.<sup>487</sup> Indeed, the Jacobite patriarch lamented the Frankish king’s death: “His death pained the Christians, because they expected to get consolation after the death of Nur al-Din, but their expectation failed at the sorrowful death of their victorious king...”<sup>488</sup> Bar Hebraeus echoes both Michael the Syrian’s belief in Amalric’s position as defender and his sorrow over the king’s death, saying: “And a very great mourning took place among the Christians at the death of this

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<sup>485</sup> *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, p. 71; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, Vol. I, pp. 274-5. Cf. William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, Volume I: Containing the First Four Books of the Historia Rerum Anglicarum of William of Newburgh*, ed. Richard Howlett (London: Longman & Co, 1884), 1.21, pp. 67-8 and Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, p. 89. William of Newburgh is unusual among his contemporaries because he discusses the events of the Latin East in his chronicle, including Baldwin’s capture of Ascalon and Amalric’s campaigns in Egypt in 1163, 1164, and 1167. This puts his work more in line with those of his predecessors in the Anglo-Norman chronicling tradition, such as Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury, who wrote about the First Crusade and the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as part of their larger works. It is this lack of interest in the Latin East from western writers that led historians to rely on William of Tyre for the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the second half of the twelfth century. Despite providing an account of the Second Crusade, including the council of Acre and the decision to attack Damascus, John of Salisbury does not mention Baldwin’s presence. See John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, pp. 52-9

<sup>486</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, part 2, p. 172; Abu Shama, *Des Deux Jardins*, p. 112. Translated from Arabic:

لم يكن ملك الفرنج مذ خرجوا الى السلم مثله شجاعة و مكرأ و دهاء

French translation from l’Académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres: “...parmi les rois auxquels les Franks avaient obéi depuis leur entrée en Syrie, n’avait pas eu son pareil pour la bravoure, la ruse et l’astuce...”

<sup>487</sup> Most notable, during Amalric’s campaign against Mleh in 1170, Michael the Syrian says that Amalric marched against the Armenian lord of Cilicia because of reports that Mleh was “perpetrating all kinds of evildoings to Christians everywhere...” Michael then says: “A war broke out [between Mleh’s Turkish allies and the Franks], and the Lord, through his grace, assisted the king and he defeated them, and the Turks ran away.” See Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 322

<sup>488</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, p. 362

righteous king, the terror of whom had fallen on all the Arab peoples of Egypt and Syria.”<sup>489</sup> In his epiphany oration of 1176, Eustathios of Thessaloniki, the Byzantine archbishop of Thessaloniki (r. 1178-1195/6) and orator for Emperor Manuel Komnenos, spoke of Amalric’s visit to Constantinople in 1171. Amid his exultations of his patron’s imperial majesty and generosity, Eustathios reserves some praise for Amalric as the tireless defender of the Holy Sepulchre who eagerly sought Manuel’s assistance.<sup>490</sup> Saladin himself wrote a letter of condolence to Baldwin IV upon hearing of his father’s death, calling Amalric a “righteous and most revered king, to whom God has bestowed good like to no other of his kind.”<sup>491</sup> Though this gesture is best seen as an expression of customary diplomatic forms between Egypt and Jerusalem, as Eric Bohme argues, it indicates that Saladin held a degree of respect for his deceased adversary.<sup>492</sup> This favorable perception of Amalric among eastern writers could be attributed to the king’s Byzantification efforts in which he presented himself as a monarch of the east. Thus non-Byzantine Christians were able to easily see him as fulfilling the Byzantine Empire’s traditional role and Muslims could find him more palatable than Franks with more western tendencies.

The only writers of this era who shared William of Tyre’s critique of Amalric were the Byzantine chroniclers John Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates. An imperial secretary under Manuel Komnenos, Kinnamos reserved much praise for the emperor and, just as he was critical of Baldwin’s haughtiness before Manuel, he blamed the failure of the Byzantine-Frankish invasion of Egypt on Amalric. Kinnamos alleges that the king dallied on his way to Egypt so that

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<sup>489</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 303

<sup>490</sup> Eustathios of Thessaloniki, “The Epiphany Oration of 1176,” pp. 99-101

<sup>491</sup> Eric Bohme, “1174: A Letter of Condolence from Saladin to Baldwin IV of Jerusalem,” *Transmediterranean History* 4, no. 2 (2022): 1. Translation is Eric Bohme’s.

<sup>492</sup> Ibid, pp. 7-8. Bohme rightfully argues that this letter should not be taken literally. In a different letter, Saladin informed his nephew of Amalric’s death, making a pun with the king’s name: “...may God curse and forsake him and lead him to torments as bitter [*murr*] as his name [*Murri*]...”

the Byzantine fleet would undertake most of the risks of the campaign, allowing Amalric to maximize his reward and minimize the risk faced by his troops. He further speculates that Amalric may have been bribed by the Egyptians but chose not to definitively say.<sup>493</sup> Choniates, having experienced firsthand the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade, was far more critical of the Latins than Kinnamos. When the Byzantine fleet arrived in Cyprus to coordinate the invasion with Amalric, Choniates said that “[t]he king, in the manner of Epimetheus, who gave no thought to his actions only to repent of them grievously afterwards, was deeply troubled that he had wholeheartedly agreed to succor the emperor...”<sup>494</sup> During the invasion, when it became clear to Andronikos Kontostephanos, the Byzantine admiral, that Amalric was stalling, he resolved to attack Damietta without help from the Franks – defying Manuel’s direct order that Amalric was to be the supreme commander of the alliance. According to Choniates, Andronikos said in his speech to his troops before their assault that Amalric either had been bewitched into inaction by the Egyptians or had simply “changed his mind, held spellbound by silver, and his ears, plugged by gold, tickled him, making him hard of hearing.”<sup>495</sup> The attack ended when Amalric divulged that he had made secret treaties with the Egyptians whose terms ultimately did not honor the promises of the Byzantine-Frankish alliance.<sup>496</sup>

The Byzantine chroniclers had good reason to blame Amalric for their failure in Egypt as it provided an adequate explanation for why the powerful Byzantine navy backed by Frankish allies (whose martial abilities the Byzantines never doubted) were unable to overcome Saladin and his nascent rule in Egypt. It is less obvious why William of Tyre chose to downplay

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<sup>493</sup> John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel*, pp. 208-9

<sup>494</sup> Niketas Choniates, *Annals*, p. 91. In Greek mythology, Epimetheus was one of the titans and brother of Prometheus. The latter represented foresight and cleverness and the former hindsight and foolishness. According to Hesiod, Epimetheus was the one who accepted the gift of Pandora from the gods – ignoring Prometheus’ warning to not accept any gift from Zeus – and thus is responsible for the introduction of evil and misfortune in the world. It is an appropriate comparison, then, as Choniates blamed Amalric’s thoughtlessness for the failure of the alliance.

<sup>495</sup> *Ibid*, p. 94

<sup>496</sup> *Ibid*, p. 95

Amalric's rule in comparison with his brother's, a perspective held by William alone.<sup>497</sup>

However, in light of Baldwin and Amalric's representations of their royal authority and William's low opinion of the seemingly decadent imperial powers that surrounded the Kingdom of Jerusalem. William likely viewed Amalric's association with Byzantium and Fatimid Egypt and his efforts to imitate Byzantine expressions of authority as incompatible with the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Edbury and Rowe argue that "the picture William gives is of a stable, godly dynasty acting responsibly and striving for the best of its very considerable ability... the individual instances of foolish or unrighteous action pale into insignificance [compared to the kingdom's overall success]."<sup>498</sup> Likewise, Mayer believes that William's royal patronage led the chronicler to favor the royal family generally and Amalric specifically.<sup>499</sup> However, in light of William's penchant to view Amalric with disfavor when compared to Baldwin, it becomes clear that William believed that Amalric was the cause of the Latin East's decline. Indeed, if William truly sought to create an image of a successful royal dynasty, then his critique of Amalric becomes a baffling addition that undermines his entire intent. Rather, William intended Amalric to occupy a special place in his narrative of decline.

### **William the Historian**

William's account of the First Crusade takes the form of a *translatio imperii*, or a "translation of empire." Normally this concept refers to the Westward movement of legitimate

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<sup>497</sup> Kinnamos was just as critical of Baldwin's haughtiness as he was of Amalric's incompetence and Choniates did not seem to care enough about Baldwin to write about him. Indeed, Choniates left out Manuel's sojourn to Cilicia and Antioch in 1158/9 and thus did not discuss the meeting between emperor and king. Despite their low opinion of Amalric, there is little to suggest that either chronicler believed Baldwin was the superior brother or even cared enough to have an opinion.

<sup>498</sup> Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p. 78

<sup>499</sup> Mayer, "History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem": 98

authority from Babylon to Greece to Rome and sometimes to France.<sup>500</sup> William puts a different spin on it. From his particular historical perspective, the Byzantine Empire lost their right to protect the holy places and the Christians of the east, a process that started with Heraclius's losses to the early Muslim caliphate in the seventh century and ended with Romanos IV's defeat at Manzikert by the Seljuk Turks in 1071. The Franks, according to William, were invited to take their place. Andrew Buck has already written a convincing argument that William of Tyre used his account of the First Crusade and the motif of *translatio imperii* to demonstrate both the legal validity of the crusader states and their existence as a continuation of Christian authority in the East once held by the Byzantine Empire. Building on his argument, there is further evidence that William used this motif to establish the superiority of Frankish rule and rulers over those of the imperial powers of the east.<sup>501</sup>

Prior to the call of the First Crusade by Peter the Hermit and Urban II, William begins the *Historia* with Heraclius's loss of the Levant to the Arab invasions under Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab in the seventh century. The remaining chapters between Heraclius's defeat and Peter the Hermit's visit to Jerusalem detail the rise of the Abbasid and Fatimid caliphates and the Seljuk Turks, the increasing misfortune of the Christians in Jerusalem living under Muslim rule, and the continued decline of Byzantine power and their ability to protect the Christians in the east.

Following Romanos IV Diogenes's defeat at Manzikert in 1071, William says:

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<sup>500</sup> For a general overview of *translatio imperii*, see Werner Goez, *Translatio Imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1958). For more on Orosius, whose work *Historiae Adversus Paganos* can be seen as the originator of the medieval concept of *translatio*, see Peter van Nuffelen, *Orosius and the Rhetoric of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Brenda Deen Schildgen, *Divine Providence: A History: The Bible, Virgil, Orosius, Augustine, and Dante* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2014), pp. 51-72. For more about the development of this concept and its apocalyptic connections following the First Crusade, see Penelope C. Mayo, "The Crusaders under the Palm: Allegorical Plants and Cosmic Kingship in the 'Liber Floridus'," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 29-67; Jay Rubenstein, "Lambert of St. Omer and the Apocalyptic First Crusade" in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), pp. 69-95; Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*; Conrad Rudolph, *The Mystic Ark: Hugh of Saint Victor, art, and thought in the twelfth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

<sup>501</sup> Buck, "William of Tyre, *Translatio Imperii* and the First Crusade": 624-50

For the faithful people who lived in Jerusalem and its regions, these and similar [events] added to the heap of miseries and they plunged into the abyss of desperation. For previously, with the empire established in prosperity, as was already said, they were not often lacking the support they needed from the imperial palace...<sup>502</sup>

For William, the Byzantine Empire, the traditional defenders of eastern Christians, had reached their breaking point. The Turks stripped away whatever hold they had over their remaining legitimacy and authority in the east following Heraclius's defeat.

William follows this cry of despair from Jerusalem, deprived of the protection once provided by the Byzantines, with Peter the Hermit's visit to the Holy City. There, he met the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, Symeon, and asked him if there was any way to help the Christians of the region out of their predicament. In no uncertain terms, Symeon said that only the Franks, "true worshippers of God, whose strength is still intact and formidable to our enemies for a long time and whose empire flourishes far and wide through the Lord's superabundant mercy,"<sup>503</sup> could hope to provide any help to the eastern churches. The patriarch no longer believed the Byzantines would or could help them "as they have lost more than half of their empire within a few years."<sup>504</sup> Peter promised to take the patriarch's plea to the pope and the kings and princes of west and stir them into action.

Though William uses Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* for this scene, his report of Symeon's speech differs from his source. In Albert's *Historia*, Symeon emphasized their own weakness in the face of Seljuk oppression, saying that "our strength and power may

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<sup>502</sup> WT, 1.9, p. 122. "Hec igitur et similia populo fideli, qui Ierosolimis et in finibus eius habitabat, miseriarum addebant cumulum et in desperationis abyssum demergebant. Nam imperio prius in prosperis constituto, sicut premissum est, non deerat eis ab imperiali domo frequens in necessitatibus solatium..."

<sup>503</sup> WT, 1.11, p. 125. "verus dei cultor... cuius per superhabundantem domini misericordiam vires sunt adhuc integre et nostris hostibus formidabile long lateque floret imperium..."

<sup>504</sup> WT, 1.11, p. 126. "...ut infra paucos annos plusquam dimidium amiserint imperii."



not be reckoned more than a poor ant's against the tyranny of so many [enemies]."<sup>505</sup> The patriarch did ask Peter for help, but his request had little to do with the strength and divine favor of the Franks. Indeed, when compared to William's account, Albert's version is less a call for the Franks to replace the Byzantines and more a last-ditch effort to obtain the help of any Christian power who heeded his plea. Any discussion about the Byzantine Empire's weakness or the Franks' strength was an addition made by William to lay the groundwork for the legitimacy of First Crusade and the creation of new polities where the Byzantines once ruled. The decline of Byzantine authority meant that someone else needed to fulfill the role of defender that the Byzantine emperors claimed to possess but, as William demonstrated, consistently failed to uphold since the reign of Heraclius.<sup>506</sup> The invitation from Patriarch Symeon, couched in terms of Frankish superiority, legitimized the crusaders coming to the east and establishing their own kingdoms and principalities. Indeed, William's account of the First Crusade stands out from the chronicles of the First Crusade which came before his because he grounds the origin of the expedition and the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the decline of Byzantine power. His juxtaposition of the traditional accounts of the origin of the First Crusade, the preaching of Peter the Hermit and Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont, with the Byzantine defeat at Manzikert solidified the *translatio imperii* narrative he crafted.

More than only justifying Frankish rule in the east, William used the *translatio imperii* of First Crusade to legitimize Jerusalem's line of kings. Like he did for Peter the Hermit, William

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<sup>505</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, translated and edited by Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), i.3, pp. 4-5. Translation is Susan Edgington's: "...nostre vires vel potentia non magis quam formica exigua aduersus tantorum superbiam computetur?"

<sup>506</sup> Buck notes that the only emperor to emerge unscathed in the opening chapters of the *Historia* was not Byzantine but Frankish: Charlemagne. Quoting Einhard, William relates how the Frankish emperor reached an agreement with the Abbasid caliph, Harun al-Rashid, in which Charlemagne was given protective dominion over the Christian people and holy places within the Abbasid caliphate. By praising Charlemagne in the midst of the failure of his Byzantine counterparts, William presented an alternative, western model of rulership for the East. See WT, 1.3, pp. 107-9; Buck, "William of Tyre, *Translatio Imperii* and the First Crusade": 7-13

borrows from Albert of Aachen for his narrative of the deeds of Godfrey of Bouillon and builds upon his source for his own motives. One such anecdote involves a meeting between Godfrey and the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Komnenos, in Constantinople early in the First Crusade. According to William, conflict arose between the Franks and the Byzantines because Alexios had imprisoned Hugh of Vermandois, the younger brother of King Philip I of France, and his contingent and refused to release them to Godfrey. Moreover, the Byzantines had attacked and abused the Franks as they passed through the empire to Constantinople. In retaliation, Godfrey ordered his troops to pillage the region outside of Constantinople, eventually forcing the emperor to capitulate. Alexios invited Godfrey to the imperial palace to discuss peace terms, offering his son John – Alexios’s successor and Manuel’s father – as a hostage.<sup>507</sup>

Whatever Godfrey may have anticipated from the Byzantine emperor, it likely did not include the offer of an imperial adoption. However, upon arriving at Alexios’s palace, he was met by the emperor attended by his nobles and courtiers. After Alexios greeted each member of Godfrey’s retinue by name and with a kiss of peace, the emperor turned to the duke:

But at last meeting the duke, he [Alexios] greeted him with these words: “Our empire has heard, most esteemed duke, that you are the most powerful amongst your princes and the path of piety – which you pursue studiously armed with the passion of commendable zeal – is not considered unknown by us. And what is more, rumor declares far and wide that you are a man of constant courage and sincere faith and, whence, you have merited the friendship of many who have not seen you at present, with the grace of your character demanding this. Wherefore, even we – desiring to esteem you with the heart of complete love and to honor you more eagerly – have decided to adopt you today as a son, with the great men of our sacred palace present, placing our empire into your power so that, through you, it may be able to endure uninjured from the condition of the present and future multitudes.”<sup>508</sup>

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<sup>507</sup> WT, 2.4-10, pp. 165-74

<sup>508</sup> WT, 2.11, p. 175. “Tandem vero ducem conveniens, his eum verbis alloquitur: ‘Audivit imperium nostrum, dux dilectissime, quod apud tuos princeps sis potentissimus, et pietatis propositum, quod studiose prosequeris devotionis fervore armatus commendabili non habet incognitum, quodque potius est, constantis animi et sincere fidei virum te fama celebris longe predicat, unde et multorum, qui te presentem non viderunt, morum elegantia id exigente gratiam meuristi. Quapropter nos etiam te totis caritatis visceribus amplecti volentes et honorare propensius, in filium hodie,

According to William, the emperor was ready to adopt Godfrey immediately. The duke was clothed with imperial garments “according to a certain custom of the court, which is customary for a full adoption of this kind into the emperor’s *paterfamilias* [*arrogationibus*],”<sup>509</sup> and was adopted by Alexios “according to the custom of the region.”<sup>510</sup> It is clear that William wants his audience to know that Godfrey’s adoption by Alexios was legitimate as he thrice emphasized that the ceremony was performed according to Byzantine custom. Moreover, he identified the type of adoption as an *arrogatio*, a practice from the Roman Empire in which an adult man was made heir to the property of the adoptive father.<sup>511</sup> Albert of Aachen, whose chronicle originated the story of Godfrey’s adoption, describes the process not in terms of a legal adoption but in terms of an oath of vassalage, making Godfrey the emperor’s “courage warrior: “not only did he [Godfrey] deliver himself as a son [*in filium*] to him [Alexios], but also as a vassal [*in vassallum*], with joined hands...”<sup>512</sup> As Jay Rubenstein argues, Albert intended Godfrey’s adoption to fulfill the prophecy of the Last World Emperor, who was also called “the king of the Greeks and Romans.” Godfrey already had a case to claim the title “king of the Romans” because he was a descendant of Charlemagne. By being adopted by Alexios, the duke could claim “king of the Greeks,” as well.<sup>513</sup> William most likely changed Albert’s account and provided the specific term for Godfrey’s adoption to cement its legitimacy within a Roman legal

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presentibus sacri palatii nostri magnatibus, te adoptare decrevimus, imperium nostrum in tua potestates ponentes, ut per te a facie presentis et affuturi multitudinis illesum manere possit et incolume.”

<sup>509</sup> WT, 2.11, p. 175. “...adhibita iuxta morem curie... que in huiusmodi arrogationibus fieri solet...”

<sup>510</sup> WT, 2.11, p. 175. “...secundum regionis morem...”

<sup>511</sup> Rudolph Sohm, *The Institutes of Roman Law*, translated by James Crawford Ledlie (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), pp. 386-7. Indeed, William had already created an implicit equivalence in status between Godfrey and John II Komnenos since Alexios gave his son over as a hostage to guarantee the duke’s safety. The *arrogatio* simply made that equivalence explicit.

<sup>512</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ii.16, pp. 86-7. Translation is Susan Edgington’s: “...non solum se ei in filium, sicut mos est terre, sed etiam in vassallum iunctis minibus reddidit...”

<sup>513</sup> Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), pp. 298-301 and Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream*, pp. 44-6

framework that was familiar in the east and the west: Constantinople ceded its particular authority in the East to Jerusalem. Thus William gave legal legitimacy to the theological justification of the Frankish replacement of the Byzantine Empire.

To further legitimize Godfrey's kingship, William used the "foreign embassy" motif, a literary trope in which foreign nations peacefully surrender and acknowledge a ruler's universal authority. This motif was commonly found in classical and late antique imperial biographies, such as those by Suetonius and Eusebius, and copied by Charlemagne's biographers, such as Einhard and Notker of Saint Gall. In particular, Charlemagne's biographers used the "foreign embassy" motif to demonstrate that eastern rulers, such as Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid and the Byzantine emperors, acknowledged Charlemagne's newfound imperial authority and surrendered the custody of Christendom to the Frankish emperor.<sup>514</sup> William of Tyre was very familiar with the work of Einhard and included one such "foreign embassy" story from the *Vita Karoli*, namely Harun al-Rashid sending envoys to Charlemagne and giving the emperor custody over the Christians within the caliphate.<sup>515</sup> As such, in his efforts to legitimize Jerusalem's kings, William included a "foreign embassy" story for Godfrey of Bouillon.<sup>516</sup>

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<sup>514</sup> Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 13-70; Anne Latowsky, *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800–1229* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 5-13

<sup>515</sup> WT, 1.3, pp. 107-9. Buck notes that Charlemagne was the only emperor mentioned in the first book of the *Historia* who emerged not only unscathed but actively praised. William likely used this juxtaposition of the failure of the Byzantine emperors and the success of Charlemagne as a precursor to *translatio imperii* of the First Crusade. Indeed, for William, Charlemagne offered only a brief respite for the Christians of Jerusalem during their centuries under Muslim rule and their true "liberation" had yet to arrive. See Buck, "William of Tyre, *Translatio Imperii* and the First Crusade": 5-7.

<sup>516</sup> The twelfth-century *Play of Antichrist* uses the same motif to celebrate Frederick Barbarossa's rule, with the King of the Teutons sending embassies to all the kings of the world and forcing them submit to his rule as Emperor of the Romans. This new world empire breaks down when the emperor laid down his crown and regalia at Jerusalem and gave up his imperial title, allowing the Antichrist to emerge and force the world to submit to his perverse rule. For more, see Latowsky, *Emperor of the World*, pp. 149-60.

During the siege of Arsuf in 1100, the duke was visited by two Arab chieftains [*reguli*] from Samaria bearing gifts. Expecting a great ruler seated on a throne, the two chieftains found Godfrey in his tent, seated on a straw-filled sackcloth that had been placed on the ground:

Looking upon this, they – stunned with amazement – inquired why so great a prince and such an admirable lord – who, coming from the West, had violently shook the East and with a strong hand seized the greatest kingdom – would remain inglorious in this way, how he had neither the tapestries nor the silks around him as is the custom of the region, nor portrayed himself, surrounded with armed guards, as formidable to those approaching... [The duke] responded that the earth was justly able to suffice as a temporal seat for a mortal man to whom, after death, it [a seat] will be bestowed in the perpetual abode. They, who came for the purpose of testing him... departed, saying, “truly this man is one who ought to conquer all regions and to rule peoples and nations, to whom it was restored according to his meritorious life.”<sup>517</sup>

By having a delegation from the local Muslim population acknowledge Godfrey’s authority, William completes the *translatio* of Constantinople’s empire to the Franks that began with Symeon’s plea and Peter the Hermit’s preaching and obtained legal legitimacy with Alexios’s adoption. Indeed, as if to belabor the point, William emphasizes the peacefulness of this scene of submission and has the chieftains describe the *translatio* in their inquiries to the duke, namely that Godfrey came from the west to seize the *regnum maximum* in the east.

More important, though, was what William presented Godfrey as not resembling. The two chieftains expected to find an emperor in Godfrey. For William, the throngs of armed guards and the tapestries and silks were the visual hallmarks of imperial authority in the east. For example, when Hugh of Caesarea and Geoffrey Fulcher went to Cairo to ratify the Frankish-

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<sup>517</sup> WT, 9.20, pp. 446-7. “Quod intuentes illi, admiratione stupidi quesierunt cur tantus princeps et tam admirabilis dominus, qui ab Occidente veniens totum concusserat Orientem et regnum maximum in manu valida occupaverat, ita sederet inglorius, ut neque tapetia nec oloserica circa se more haberet region, nec stipatus satellitibus armatis formidabilem se preberet accendentibus... respondit quod homini mortali sufficere merito terra pro sede temporali poterat, cui post mortem perpetuum domicilium est prestitura... qui gratia temptandi accesserant... abierunt, dicentes quia ‘vere hic est, qui universas regiones debeat expugnare et cui repositum est de vite merito, populis et nationibus principari.’” Although William seems to be presenting the First Crusade as Constantinople’s cession of their empire in the East to Jerusalem, the chieftains’ proclamation of Godfrey’s right to “world domination” retains an element of Albert’s vision of Godfrey as the Last World Emperor.

Egyptian alliance with Caliph al-Adid in 1167, they were met “with a great multitude of attendants who led the way with swords and a loud clamor” through the caliphal palace and they found “cohorts of armed Ethiopians, frequently and zealously delivering the obligatory gesture of salutation to the sultan” at each entrance.<sup>518</sup> Once they reached the innermost part of the palace, the Frankish envoys saw that the caliph was surrounded by curtains embroidered with pearls and gold and, once the curtains were quickly drawn away, they saw he was seated upon a gold throne.<sup>519</sup> Amalric’s experience visiting Manuel in Constantinople in 1171 was remarkably similar. Entering the palace of Constantine through the seaside entrance, Amalric “was received with the highest esteem with the great princes of the sacred palace along with a great number of courtiers coming up to meet him.”<sup>520</sup> In the imperial residence, “curtains of precious material and not-inferior workmanship, indeed to which the [saying] of Naso ‘the work surpasses the material’ would be able to be deservedly applied, hung down before the imperial assembly.”<sup>521</sup> Like the caliph, Manuel also sat upon a gold throne.<sup>522</sup>

Compared to al-Adid and Manuel, Godfrey’s presentation was simple. He sat not upon a high gold throne but a sackcloth on the floor. His face unobstructed, he had no armed guards chanting his name or attendants to usher visitors into his tent. Despite lacking all imperial

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<sup>518</sup> WT, 19.18, p. 887. “...cum apparitorum numerositate maxima, qui cum gladiis et strepitu precedebant... armatorum Ethiopum cohortes, crebre salutationis officium certatim soldano exhibentes...”

<sup>519</sup> WT, 19.19, p. 888

<sup>520</sup> WT, 20.23, p. 943. “Ibi vero, occurrentibus ei magnis sacri palatii principibus cum maximo et curialium numero, cum summa honorificentia receptus est...” William notes that this entrance was used only by the emperor. However, in honor of the king’s visit, Manuel had afforded Amalric the privilege of using it.

<sup>521</sup> WT, 20.23, p. 943. “Dependebant ante consistorium velaria materie preciose et operis non inferioris, immo quibus illud Nasonis merito posset aptari: *materiam superabat opus*.”

<sup>522</sup> WT, 20.23, p. 944. Both Julian Yolles and Ivo Wolsing remark at the similarities of the Fatimid and Byzantine palaces. Yolles notes that William uses the same vocabulary to describe the two palaces: the Frankish guests were greeted by attendants and led through narrow passageways. The monarch, initially obscured by curtains made of precious materials, was revealed to be seated upon a gold throne once the curtains were pulled away. Wolsing says that William used these palatial descriptions to emphasize the exotic, opulent, and often duplicitous character of the eastern empires, one that was “Other” when compared to Frankish culture and virtues. See Julian Yolles, “Latin Literature and Frankish Culture in the Crusader States (1098-1187)” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2015), pp. 341-3; Wolsing, “William of Tyre, Orientalism and the (De)Construction of Latin Identity”: 508-12.

accoutrements, the Arab chieftains left Godfrey's tent believing he ought to become the ruler over all peoples, regions, and nations – indeed, the imperial aspiration. For William, Godfrey was not only the liberator and ruler of Jerusalem but also the new model ruler: he answered the call to crusade, accepted the responsibilities of rulership, and – perhaps most importantly – rejected the trappings of the imperial powers of the east. The Byzantine's *imperium* may have translated to the Franks, but William believed they all had the responsibility to reject the wealth of the east and maintain the virtues exemplified by Godfrey.

With Godfrey as his model, William had a standard by which to compare the subsequent monarchs of Jerusalem, especially Baldwin III and Amalric. William made Baldwin his second ideal ruler because the king exemplified many of Godfrey's virtues during his reign and, despite courting Byzantine favor and marrying a Byzantine princess, seemingly rejected the corrupting influence of eastern wealth.<sup>523</sup> Moreover, Baldwin's pursuit of the "king-as-crusader" ideal remained a potent memory even after his death, exemplified by William's account of Baldwin's conduct and the miraculous occurrences during the Bostrum campaign in 1147. The king solidified his position as the heir to Godfrey's crusading legacy when he conquered Ascalon in 1153, removing the last remaining Muslim holdout on the Levantine coast and completing the project that began with the First Crusade. It did not matter that it was Baldwin who abandoned the ideal of "king-as-crusader," courted Byzantine favor, imitated Byzantine expressions of authority, and turned the kingdom's attention toward Egypt and its wealth. His abrupt death allowed for the legacy that he left behind to be similar to Godfrey's: a crusading king who deserved to rule because of his seeming rejection of imperial influences.

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<sup>523</sup> Cf. Godfrey's traits and Baldwin III's traits: WT, 9.5, pp. 426-7 and WT, 16.2, pp. 715-7. Like Godfrey, Baldwin shunned worldly wealth in favor of generous donations to religious institutions. William undoubtedly supported his rejection of eastern wealth in favor of ecclesiastical betterment.

In truth, William can praise Baldwin because of a lack of longevity. He was moving toward a more Byzantine style of rule, but died before he could implement it. Amalric completed the program. Thus, for William, Amalric's failures can be seen as the consequence of actively embracing Byzantine expressions of authority and focusing his efforts on the conquest of Egypt. The king's desire for wealth, implementation of grand projects using Byzantine artistic forms, imitation of Byzantine court styles (at least in his seals), and efforts to obtain either Fatimid or Byzantine financial and military support were ultimately corrupting influences that led to Frankish decline. More than once, William declared that cupidity was "the root of all vices"<sup>524</sup> and thus most likely blamed Amalric's imperial imitation on his avarice. It is no accident that William wrote that Amalric compared his position to that of an emperor when defending his avaricious tax policy.<sup>525</sup> The king, then, was the source of the decline of the Latin East.<sup>526</sup>

Just as winding palaces filled with armed guards and tapestries made out of fine materials were the visual indicators of eastern imperial wealth and splendor, an unwarlike character was one of the signs of imperial decadence and corruption. William consistently describes both the Byzantines and the Fatimids as weak and effeminate. For example, when detailing Amalric's forces at the battle of al-Babein in 1167, William says that "our knights were scarcely three hundred seventy-four in number, apart from the worthless and effeminate Egyptians who were more of a hindrance and a burden than useful."<sup>527</sup> When Amalric camped his army outside of Cairo after he took Bilbeis by assault in 1168, William said that the Cairenes were distraught by

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<sup>524</sup> The betrayal at Damascus: WT, 17.5, p. 766: *viciorum omnium fomitem cupiditatem*; William's lament over the loss of Egypt: WT, 20.10, p. 925: *cupiditas et avaricia, viciorum radix*

<sup>525</sup> WT, 19.2, pp. 866

<sup>526</sup> Baldwin IV's leprosy could be seen as an extension of Amalric's failure: the king's only son and his heir had been stricken with leprosy at a young age, indicating God's disfavor of Amalric. It could explain why William was so protective of Baldwin as a result: he knew that the young king's leprosy could be used against him as indication of his own sin. By placing the blame on Amalric, Baldwin IV becomes a tragic figure and a victim to his father's folly rather than the source of Jerusalem's decline.

<sup>527</sup> WT, 19.25, p. 898. "Nostri vero equites vix erant CCCLXXIII, absque Egyptiis vilibus et effeminatis, qui potius impedimento et oneri essent quam utilitati."



the sight: “it appeared that the men [of Cairo], having dedicated themselves to pleasures a long time ago, were soft and effeminate [and] lacking experience of military matters...”<sup>528</sup> The news that Baldwin surrendered the remaining fortresses of Edessa to “the Greeks, effeminate and soft men,”<sup>529</sup> emboldened Nur al-Din to attack the Christians in the region. Within a year, the Turkish emir seized every settlement the king sold to the Byzantines.<sup>530</sup> In his discussion of the rise of Andronikos Komnenos, William said that “the Latin people obtained great favor with [Emperor Manuel] for the merit of their faith and vigor that... he would commit grand affairs solely to the Latins, with the Greeks being disregarded as soft and effeminate men...”<sup>531</sup> The Byzantines had grown jealous of the Latins’ rise in power under Manuel and thus, after the emperor’s death, they sought ways to expel them from their empire.<sup>532</sup>

For William, it was little wonder that the people of both empires had declined so much: the Byzantines had already lost their right to rule when they lost at Manzikert, as exemplified by the *translatio* of their empire to the Franks during the First Crusade. The Fatimids were in the

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<sup>528</sup> WT, 20.7, p. 920. “...videtur quod viri *molles et effeminati*, deliciis a multo retro tempore dediti, rerum militarium expertes...”

<sup>529</sup> WT, 17.17, p. 782. “...Grecis, viris *effeminatis et mollibus*...”

<sup>530</sup> WT, 17.17, pp. 782-5

<sup>531</sup> WT, 22.11 (10), p. 1020. “... merito fidei et strenuitatis sue tantam Latinus populus apud eum reppererat gratiam, ut neglectis Greculis suis tanquam viris *mollibus et effeminatis*... solis Latinis grandia committeret negocia...” Note William uses the pejorative *Greculi* here rather than the more common *Greci* that he employs elsewhere. Manuel was the exception to William’s rule that all Byzantines were weak, effeminate, and duplicitous. Indeed, the archbishop knew the emperor personally, having met Manuel during his envoy to the Byzantine Empire in 1168 to negotiate and ratify the Byzantine-Frankish alliance and enjoying his imperial company during a seven month stay in Constantinople in 1180, which undoubtedly helped William’s perception of Manuel as a ruler. See WT, pp. 915-7; WT, 22.4, pp. 1009-10. For more about William’s opinions about the Byzantine Empire, see Bernard Hamilton, “William of Tyre and the Byzantine Empire” in *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Eirene Harvalia-Crook, and Judith Herrin (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), pp. 219-33

<sup>532</sup> William of Tyre’s description of the Egyptians and Byzantines as “weak and effeminate” is part of a broader dialogue and system of prejudice between the East and West. For more, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); John V. Tolan, ed., *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996); John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

midst of similar imperial decline. Indeed, William's summary of the Byzantine message originating the Byzantine-Frankish alliance is as follows:

The lord emperor [Manuel] had perceived that the kingdom of the Egyptians, up to now very powerful and exceedingly wealthy, has come into the hands of weak and effeminate men and the helplessness, weakness, and incompetence of its lord and princes has come into the awareness of the neighboring peoples. Whence, because it does not seem that they are able to continue for very long in their present state, then indeed it is important that its dominion and governance pass to foreign nations...<sup>533</sup>

The Byzantines recognized that the time had come for power to pass from the Fatimids to a people more capable of ruling – though the message made it seem that Manuel believed he should be the one to rule over Egypt rather than the Franks. On the other hand, William did not believe that power could pass from one weak and unwarlike people to another. The Byzantines certainly fell into this category as the archbishop attests to their military weakness since the opening chapters of the *Historia*. However, like the Byzantines and the Egyptians, William also counted the eastern Franks of his generation among the *viri molles et effeminati*.

Prior to his reflection on the reasons for the misfortunes of the Latin East in Book 21, William wrote about Amalric's own responsibility for the kingdom's losses. After a year in which the Kingdom of Jerusalem was devastated by an earthquake and an invasion by Saladin, Amalric convened with his barons to discuss how to reverse their troubles:

the oft-mentioned king [saw] that... the prudent and wise princes of our kingdom were dying out and a ruinous progeny were growing in their place, who uselessly took over the place of great men and squandered their paternal fortunes in loathsome practices, whence the kingdom was coming into a state of such weakness, so great that even the least perceptive were able to see it...<sup>534</sup>

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<sup>533</sup> WT, 20.4, p. 915. "senserat dominus imperator quod Egypti regnum, potens admodum hactenus et opulentum valde, in manus pervenerat debilius et effeminatorum et quod finitimis populis in noticiam venerat tam domini quam principum suorum in potentia, infirmitas et insufficientia. Unde, quia non videbatur quod posset diu in statu se continuare presenti, quin ad gentes alienas eius dominium et moderamen oporteret transire..."

<sup>534</sup> WT, 20.22, pp. 940-1. "videns sepe dictus rex... regni autem nostri providi principes et discreti iam penitus defecerant et in eorum loco soboles succrescebat perniciose, que locum tanotrum virorum inutiliter occupabat et bona paterna in usus dilapidabat detestabiles, unde regnum in tantam devenerat debilitatem, quantam cognoscere poterant etiam qui sensus habebant minus exercitatos..."

Similar to the Byzantine envoy's message concerning Egypt or the description of the Byzantine Empire's condition during Godfrey's journey through it,<sup>535</sup> William follows a similar pattern of decline for the Latin East: a kingdom, once powerful, has fallen into a weakness apparent to everyone because of the death of its virtuous leaders and a "ruinous progeny" arising in their place. His accusations of this new generation squandering their *bona paterna* in "loathsome practices" calls back to William's character study of Amalric and the description of the king's weaknesses: he would use the most trivial of reasons to plunder and squander the *patrimonia* of the Holy Places and the *opulentia* and *patrimonia* of his subjects.<sup>536</sup> If avarice was the root of all evil, then Amalric's avarice was the root of the moral decay of his generation.

Amalric's interest in Egypt was not for the good of the kingdom nor did it advance the realm of Christendom. Rather, the Egyptian campaigns became the means in which the king could fill the royal coffers for avarice's sake. Amalric attempted to present his goals in Egypt as to free "all Christians from whatever nation they may be... from every kind of servile condition,"<sup>537</sup> but William did not believe the king's claims. For the chronicler, Amalric's avarice and the Kingdom of Jerusalem's continued exposure to wealth of the east, especially the short-lived access to the opulence of Egypt, corrupted a generation into inactivity and licentiousness. Thus the growing strength of Saladin and the unification of Syria and Egypt was as much the direct result of the moral decay of the Latin East as it was the consequence of the

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<sup>535</sup> WT, 2.4, pp. 165-6. William is very clear that he believed the empire ceased to prosper "with the Latin princes of Constantinople dying out [*deficientibus apud Constantinopolim Latinis principibus*]" and the Greeks coming to power under Nikephoros I.

<sup>536</sup> WT, 19.2, p. 866. "Libertatis quoque ecclesiarum vehemens impugnator, earum patrimonia crebris et indebitis exactionibus... non erat tuta omnino subiectorum opulentia, ad quorum exhaurienda patrimonia, sumpta qualibet levi occasione, frequentibus recurrebat."

<sup>537</sup> UKJ 341, p. 594. "...Christianis omnibus de quacumque gente fuerint, quos de omni servili conditione liberavimus..."

Frank's military mishaps. Just as the Byzantine Empire lost its *imperium* in the east, William feared that the Franks were about to lose their right to rule over the Levant and the Holy Places.

Where was William when all this happened? If he was as close to Amalric as he claimed and advised the king about just governance and orthodox theology, then one would think that he would have had ample opportunity to steer him from avarice and to discourage him from Byzantine imitation. However, whenever Amalric's designs failed or he chose an ill-advised course of action, William was conveniently away from court and he endeavored to inform his audience of his absence. For example, in the chapter prior to the one in which Amalric decided to invade Egypt in 1168, William details his journey to the Byzantine Empire and the negotiations he had with Manuel. He was sure to inform his audience that Amalric made his decision "before we could return to our own [home], before the king could be certain through our legation about the assistance of the lord emperor..."<sup>538</sup> For the Byzantine-Frankish invasion of Egypt in 1169, William again reminded his audience: "In that year, occupied by personal affairs and avoiding the undeserved anger of our lord archbishop [of Tyre, Frederick de la Roche], we withdrew to the church at Rome..."<sup>539</sup> It is unusual that William of Tyre, a man whose career was due to royal patronage and who always assured his audience of his exhaustive research and thorough investigations, would emphasize that he was absent from key narrative moments

Most likely, William wanted to distance himself from the failures of Amalric's reign, either because he did not want people to believe he was involved in the Latin East's decline or he was embarrassed by the outcomes of his work in the royal court. The latter becomes more likely when his stance on Egypt is taken into consideration. At the end of the invasion of Egypt in

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<sup>538</sup> WT, 20.5, p. 917. "...antequam reverteremur ad propria, antequam de auxilio domini imperatoris per nostram legationem certus fieret rex..."

<sup>539</sup> WT, 20.17, p. 934. "Nam nos eo anno, familiaribus tracti negociis et domini archiepiscopi nostri declinantes indignationem immeritam, ad ecclesiam nos contuleramus Romanam..."

1168, William includes a lament over the Latin East's loss of the region. In it, he claims that the invasion was unnecessary because the wealth of Egypt had been at the kingdom's disposal and their southern borders were secure.<sup>540</sup> In other words, William implies that the Kingdom of Jerusalem would have been better off if Egypt had been left alone. However, nowhere else does the chronicler specify that he opposed the Frankish conquest of Egypt. Rather, his efforts as ambassador to secure Manuel's support for an Egyptian campaign indicate that he may have actually supported Amalric's designs. The hindsight provided by the threat Saladin posed in Baldwin IV's reign may have caused William to redact his support for the invasion, making him appear more prescient than he was during Amalric's reign.

William's ambiguous and often contrary opinions concerning the reign of Amalric help delineate the problems posed by the *Historia Ierosolimitana*. It is an incomplete source in more ways than one. Most obviously, William died before he finished writing and his intent appeared to have changed as he was working on it. Edbury and Rowe maintain that William finished a significant part of his chronicle before he left for the Third Lateran Council in 1178 and began to extensively revise it upon his return to the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1180. They used the dates and pieces of information concerning the state of world that William provided in the text to determine when certain segments were written.<sup>541</sup> They believe that his revisions stemmed from a desire to make the *Historia* acceptable to a western audience after his interactions with the European prelates at the council in Rome.<sup>542</sup> For example, William appeared to have inserted many of his chapters about the ecclesiastical affairs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem after the Third Lateran Council. This is evidenced by an entry about the death of the bishop of Nazareth in 1158 in which William states the current occupant of the see, Letard, has held it for twenty-three

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<sup>540</sup> WT, 20.10, p. 924

<sup>541</sup> Kedar, "Some New Light on the Composition Process of William of Tyre": 3-4

<sup>542</sup> Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 26-9, 170-1

years.<sup>543</sup> In his entry about the Third Lateran Council, William says that he ordered his account of the council be placed in the archive of Tyre during his sixth year as archbishop there.<sup>544</sup> Both entries would place the date of their composition in 1181, the year after William returned to Jerusalem following the end of the council and his seven month stay in Constantinople.

Building on Edbury and Rowe, Benjamin Kedar offers a clue for the possibility of different redactions of William's *Historia*: the name he used for the formal title of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. In books 1-8, William consistently referred to the church as *Ecclesia Dominice* (or *Sancte*) *Resurrectionis*. In books 9-21, the chronicler alternates between *Ecclesia Dominice Resurrectionis* and *Ecclesia Dominici* (or *Sancti*) *Sepulchri*. William had a tendency to use the latter term when monarchs had their coronations: Fulk, Melisende, Baldwin III, Amalric, and Baldwin IV were all crowned and anointed in *Ecclesia Dominici Sepulchri*.<sup>545</sup> Contrarily, in book 22, Baldwin V was crowned in *Ecclesia Dominice Resurrectionis*, a section that could have been written only in the early 1180s. Kedar hypothesizes that William began to systematically apply the term *Ecclesia Dominice Resurrectionis* in the early 1180s throughout the *Historia* but only managed to revise the books concerning the First Crusade. Therefore, books 1-8 could belong to a second redaction of the chronicle written sometime in the early 1180s, alongside or including the Prologue and books 22-23 (all of which were written around 1184). Books 9-21 then belong to an earlier redaction in which William made insertions in the 1180s but had yet to make extensive revisions.<sup>546</sup>

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<sup>543</sup> WT, 18.22, p. 842

<sup>544</sup> WT, 21.25 (26), p. 998

<sup>545</sup> Baldwin I and Baldwin II were crowned and anointed in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and Godfrey was not crowned at all.

<sup>546</sup> Kedar, "Some New Light on the Composition Process of William of Tyre": 4-6. This fits with Sylvia Schein's idea that the Franks of the east shifted emphasis away from the tomb of Christ toward a focus on the Resurrection and the process of salvation, in general. See Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 63-90

According to Kedar, William made the changes to be more congruent with the self-stylization of the patriarchs of Jerusalem since Fulcher (r. 1146-57): “Patriarch of the Sacrosanct/Holy Resurrection of Christ Our God.” This name appears on the seals of Fulcher and his successors, Amalric of Nesle and Heraclius, as well as in Patriarch Amalric’s 1166 letter to the west. The new titles indicated both eastern Christian influence (the church is called *Anastasis* in Greek and *al-qiyama* in Arabic, both meaning “Resurrection”) and the patriarch of Jerusalem claiming custodianship of the place of the Resurrection, potentially placing himself on the same level as the Bishop of Rome. Pope Alexander III did not accept this title for the patriarchs, referring to them in his letters as the “patriarch of Jerusalem” and treating the patriarch as subservient to Rome, and Bishop Rufinus of Assisi reaffirmed Rome’s primacy in his address to the Third Lateran Council. Thus, following the council, William not only wanted to revise his work to make it more receptive to a western audience but also to emphasize Jerusalem’s elevated status in the Latin Church.<sup>547</sup>

Kedar’s hypothesis is a compelling one, especially in light of the narrative and thematic cohesiveness of the early books of William’s *Historia*. In his *translatio imperii* narrative of the First Crusade, William demonstrates the necessity of Frankish intervention through both the weakness of the Byzantine Empire and the special status of the Jerusalem as the site of the Resurrection. It is possible that William moved the *translatio* to the forefront of the *Historia* in this hypothetical second redaction, emphasizing how the virtuous Franks supplanted the empires corrupted by eastern wealth. As noted, these themes are central to William’s account of the reigns of Baldwin and Amalric. He explicitly compared Baldwin’s virtue with Amalric’s vice, emphasized that Baldwin recovered from the cupidity of his barons at Damascus through his victory at Ascalon, and criticized Amalric for succumbing to his vice and losing Egypt

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<sup>547</sup> Ibid, pp. 7-9

forever.<sup>548</sup> For William, Baldwin left behind a strong kingdom with able leaders while Amalric created a realm governed by a “ruinous progeny.”

William’s thematic principle of *translatio* can only be seen in patchwork in the latter half of the *Historia* and can become lost in the sheer size of his work. Had he not died in 1185, perhaps he would have completed the *Historia* into a more cohesive whole and with clearer intent. We are fortunate that William’s work exists because, otherwise, much of the history of the Latin East would have been lost without it. However, its privileged position among the source base for the Latin East has hidden the character of kingship Baldwin III and Amalric developed, one that relied less on the memory of the First Crusade and was more rooted broadly in the eastern Mediterranean and specifically in the Byzantine Empire. William identified the reason for the empire’s loss of their lands and the custodianship of the holy places prior to the First Crusade and thus feared that Byzantine influence was leading them down a similar path. He thus had motive to malign Amalric and his reign, the peak of Byzantine influence in the Latin East, and embrace the crusading ideals of the west, exemplified by Godfrey and Baldwin III, that helped establish the Kingdom of Jerusalem. For him, the existence of his *patria* hung in the balance.

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<sup>548</sup> Wolsing argues that William identifies the cupidity of the eastern Franks during the Second Crusade as the beginning of the decline for the Latin East, culminated with Amalric’s own cupidity in Egypt. Wolsing, “William of Tyre, Orientalism and the (De)Construction of Latin Identity”: 499-503, 507-14



## Conclusion

The reigns of Baldwin III and Amalric were transformative for the Kingdom of Jerusalem. When Baldwin was crowned alongside Melisende in 1143, the victory of the First Crusade was still a potent memory in the Latin East. Their legitimacy in the east came from their conquest. Indeed, both Baldwin and Melisende believed that the First Crusade's memory was a sufficient foundation to build a royal ideology. By the time Amalric died in July 1174, the kings of Jerusalem had moved away from their crusader lineage. In its stead, Baldwin and Amalric adopted the ideas of Byzantine-style rule, building a new royal ideology in which they acted as protectors of Christians in the east and overlord of the other Christian states. Amalric especially pushed forward with his Byzantification policies as he incorporated the Byzantines' visual language of authority into the imagery of his rule. This was not mere imitation to flatter Emperor Manuel in order to obtain his help, as historians like Mayer and Barber have suggested. Amalric placed himself as a peer to the imperial powers in the east Mediterranean, the Byzantine Empire and the Fatimid Caliphate, and challenged their hegemony. Had he lived longer, it is possible Amalric might have pushed this program even further, competing with Saladin for control of Egypt and becoming more the Byzantine-style ruler he aspired to be.

William of Tyre, however, did much to obfuscate Baldwin and Amalric's Byzantification efforts. He disapproved of eastern imperial practices of rulership. Despite being born in Jerusalem, William was a western-educated cleric who distrusted the seemingly corruptive character of eastern wealth. Indeed, his disapproval of Amalric's avarice is consistent with his distaste at what he saw as the decadence of Constantinople and Cairo. Amalric was to serve as William's cautionary tale of what happened to kings when they strayed too far from the virtues of the leaders of the First Crusade: just as Constantinople lost its empire because it succumbed to

corruption, so too could the Franks if they followed the Byzantines down the same path.

Contrary to the analysis of Edbury and Rowe, William was neither a faithful and dispassionate narrator of historical events nor an apologist for the royal family of Jerusalem. His instinct to moralize and criticize has obscured the full extent of Amalric's program, revealed now more in material rather than literary survivals.

Though the Kingdom of Jerusalem was rooted in western-style kingship and government, it did not remain a western-style kingdom. Rather, Baldwin III and Amalric worked to create a Byzanto-Frankish hybrid. By the end of the twelfth-century, Jerusalem was simultaneously familiar and foreign to both their Latin counterparts in the west and their non-Latin Christian and Muslim neighbors in the east. Had either king lived longer to see their visions through, then the Kingdom of Jerusalem would perhaps have become a more permanent fixture in the political and social landscape of the east Mediterranean.

The failure of the Kingdom of Jerusalem did not originate with the policies or practices of Baldwin III or Amalric. Rather, its failure was due more to the bad luck of the king's premature death. By 1174, both Amalric and his wife, Maria, were young and, as indicated by the birth of Isabella two years prior, capable of producing children. With more children, Baldwin IV's leprosy would have not been as significant as it became. Saladin had not fully secured his hold in Egypt and struggled to overcome Amalric in battle. Though a dangerous foe, he had not become the existential threat to Christendom that he was by the Third Crusade. Amalric invaded Damascus and came close to forcing a favorable settlement, perhaps blocking Saladin's own attempts to take hold of Syria.

Amalric's death was sudden and, moreover, incidental to the historical forces that were in motion at the time. However, it was that incidental and unaccounted for death that reversed the

fortunes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Baldwin IV was not expected to live long and his disease, at times, hindered his ability to perform his royal duties. His reign was occupied by the question of his succession and the growing factionalism among the baronial and ecclesiastical elite over the control of the kingdom. These problems gave Saladin ample opportunity to consolidate his rule in Egypt and conquer Syria. If Amalric continued to rule after 1174, the Franks of Jerusalem would have been able to focus their efforts on the problem of Saladin rather than succession, potentially stymying the sultan's expansion and changing the balance of power in the east Mediterranean. Had Amalric, the bold visionary ruler that he was, lived longer, then the fortunes of the Latin East would have been very different.

## Appendix



Figure 3.1: Coin of Baldwin III, *Bearer of the Cross: Material Religion in the Crusading World, 1095-1300*, Museum of the Order of St John and the University of Birmingham, [https://www.bearersofthecross.org.uk/collections/getrecord/LDOSJ\\_JE21](https://www.bearersofthecross.org.uk/collections/getrecord/LDOSJ_JE21)



Figure 3.2: "Coin of Amaury," Source: *Bearer of the Cross: Material Religion in the Crusading World, 1095-1300*, Museum of the Order of St John and the University of Birmingham, [https://www.bearersofthecross.org.uk/collections/getrecord/LDOSJ\\_JE43](https://www.bearersofthecross.org.uk/collections/getrecord/LDOSJ_JE43)



Figure 3.3: Aedicule Chapel and Interior of the Anastasis Dome, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, 6/2/2023. Source: Author



Figure 3.4: “Monnaie. Denier, indéterminé, Charlemagne.” Source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, [ark:/12148/btv1b104138184](https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b104138184)



Figure 3.5: “Monnaie : France, Robert II, denier, Type 1, Soissons.” Source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, [ark:/12148/btv1b11293966v](https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11293966v)



Figure 3.6: “Seal of Baldwin I.” Source: Hans Eberhard Mayer and Claudia Sode, *Die Siegel der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, plates 4a-4b





Figure 3.7: “Sceau du roi Philippe Ier.” Source: Natalis de Wailly, *Éléments de paléographie*, tome 2 (Paris, Imprimerie royale, 1838), planche B via Wikimedia Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sceau\\_du\\_roi\\_Philippe\\_Ier.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sceau_du_roi_Philippe_Ier.jpg)



Figure 3.8: “Siegel Kaiser Heinrich IV. 1089.” Source: Wolfgang Sauber, 2007 via Wikimedia Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Heinrich\\_IV.\\_1089.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Heinrich_IV._1089.jpg)



Figure 3.9: “Seal of Baldwin III.” Source: Hans Eberhard Mayer and Claudia Sode, *Die Siegel der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, plates 23a-23b

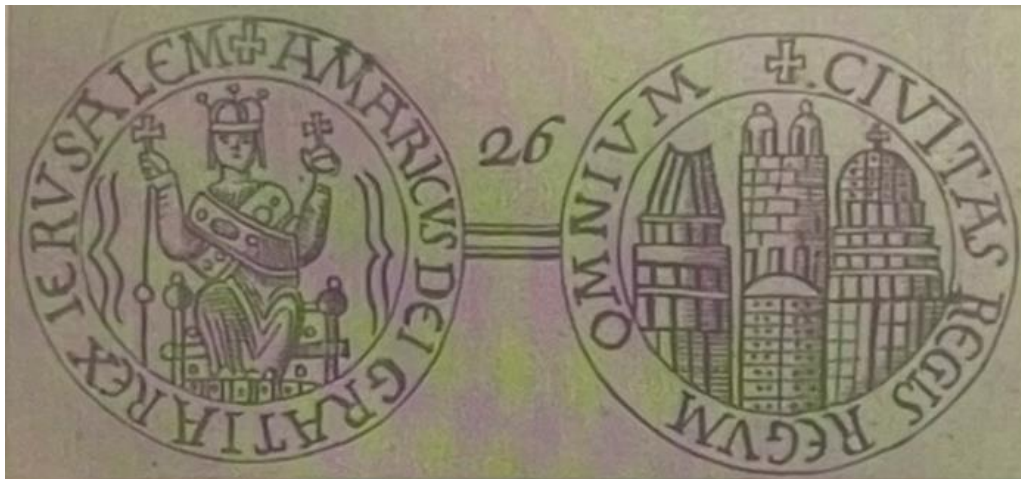


Figure 3.10: “Seal of Amalric.” Source: Hans Eberhard Mayer and Claudia Sode, *Die Siegel der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, plates 34a-34b



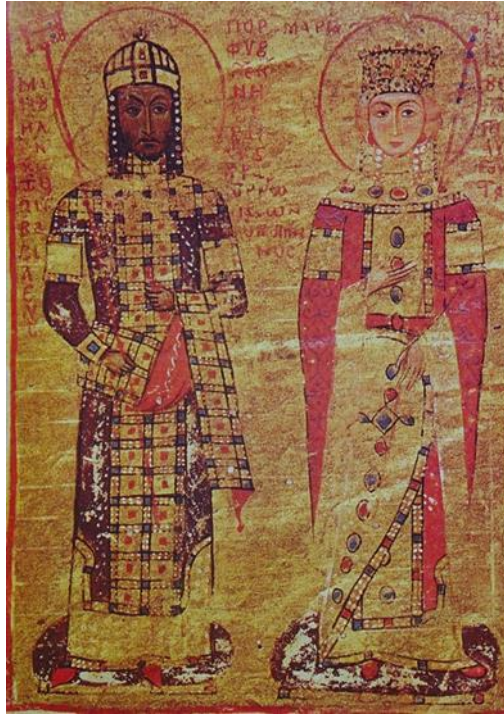


Figure 3.11: “Manuel I Komnenos (left) and Maria of Antioch (right).” Source: Anonymous, Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Manuel1\\_Marie.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Manuel1_Marie.jpg) Original: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.gr.1176, f. 11r, <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.gr.1176>



Figure 3.12: Martorana Palermo/Roger II of Sicily. Source: Matthias Süßen via Wikimedia Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Martorana\\_Palermo\\_msu2017-0166.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Martorana_Palermo_msu2017-0166.jpg). License: CC BY-SA, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/legalcode>



Figure 3.13: “Tamar and George III/Vardazia.” Source: Bolo77 via Wikimedia Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vardzia\\_-\\_E1%83%95%E1%83%90%E1%83%A0%E1%83%AB%E1%83%98%E1%83%90\\_-\\_2014\\_6.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vardzia_-_E1%83%95%E1%83%90%E1%83%A0%E1%83%AB%E1%83%98%E1%83%90_-_2014_6.JPG). License: CC BY 4.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/legalcode>



Figure 3.14: “Ivan Alexander and Family.” Source: Public domain, Wikimedia Commons, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ivan\\_Alexander\\_and\\_his\\_family\\_Tetraevangelia.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ivan_Alexander_and_his_family_Tetraevangelia.jpg) Original: London, British Library, Add MS 39627, fols. 2v-3r, [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_39627\\_f002v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_39627_f002v)





Figure 3.15: “Melisende Psalter Back Cover.” Source: From the archive of the British Library, London, Egerton MS 1139/1, f. vii-v, [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Egerton\\_MS\\_1139/1](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Egerton_MS_1139/1). An unnamed king performs the works of charity as described in Matthew 25:35-6.



Figure 3.16: “Anastasis, or the Harrowing of Hell.” Source: From the archive of the British Library, London, Egerton MS 1139, f. 9v, [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Egerton\\_MS\\_1139](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Egerton_MS_1139). The two kings to the right of Jesus (center) are David and Solomon



Figure 3.17: “Bible, Ancien Testament, Psalms : David entre Sagesse et Prophétie.” Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Grec 139, f. 7v, <https://mandragore.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cgfbt97546f>





Figure 3.18: “Anastasis, or the Harrowing of Hell at Hosios Loukas Monastery, Boeotia, Greece.” Source: byzantologist, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/189933228@N05/51238423463/> License: CC BY-NC-SA 2.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.0/>. David and Solomon are to the left of Jesus.

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