



ST. MARY THE VIRGIN

Sovereign Military Order of the Temple of Jerusalem

Kings and Queens
of Jerusalem

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Prepared by

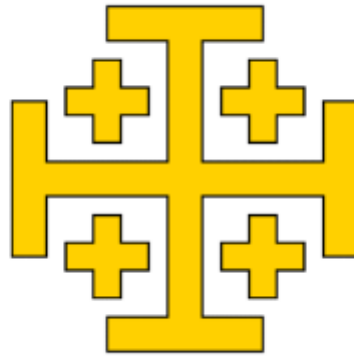


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INTRODUCTION



Kingdom of Jerusalem

The Kingdom of Jerusalem was a crusader state established in the Southern Levant, corresponding approximately to modern-day Israel, Palestine, and Jordan, by Godfrey of Bouillon in 1099 after the First Crusade. The kingdom lasted nearly two hundred years, from 1099 until 1291 (covered in this publication) when the last remaining possession, Acre, was destroyed by the Mamluks. Its history is divided into two distinct periods. The **First Kingdom of Jerusalem** lasted from 1099 to 1187, when it was almost entirely overrun by Saladin. After the subsequent Third Crusade, the kingdom was re-established in Acre in 1192, and lasted until that city's destruction in 1291, except for the two decades after Frederick II of Hohenstaufen reclaimed Jerusalem, placing it back in Christian hands after the Sixth Crusade. This second kingdom is sometimes called the **Second Kingdom of Jerusalem** or the **Kingdom of Acre**, after its new capital. Most of the crusaders who settled there were of French origin.

After the Crusader States ceased to exist, the title of *King of Jerusalem* was claimed by a number of European noble houses descended from the kings of Cyprus or the kings of Naples. The (purely ceremonial) title of *King of Jerusalem* is currently used by Felipe VI of Spain. It was claimed by Otto von Habsburg as Habsburg pretender, and by the kings of Italy until 1946.

House of Boulogne



Godfrey

1060-1100
r. 1099-1100



Baldwin I

1058-1118
r. 1100-1118

Godfrey of Bouillon



Figure 1 Godfrey of Bouillon

(pronounced boo-YOHN) was born around 1060 as the second son of Eustace II, Count of Boulogne, and Ida, daughter of the Lotharingian duke Godfrey the Bearded by his first wife, Doda. As second son, he had fewer opportunities than his older brother and seemed destined to become just one more minor knight in service to a rich landed nobleman. However his maternal uncle, Godfrey the Hunchback, died childless and named his nephew, Godfrey of Bouillon, as his heir and next in line to his Duchy of Lower Lorraine. This duchy was an important one at the time, serving as a buffer between the kingdom of France and the German lands.

In 1095 Pope Urban II called for a Crusade to liberate Jerusalem from Muslim forces and also to aid the Byzantine Empire, which was under Muslim attack. Godfrey took out loans on most of his lands, or sold them, to the bishop of Liège and the bishop of Verdun. With this money he gathered thousands of knights to fight in the Holy Land as the Army of Godfrey of Bouillon. In this he was joined by his older brother, Eustace, and his younger brother, Baldwin, who had no lands in Europe.

Godfrey and his troops were the second to arrive in Constantinople (after Hugh of Vermandois). During the next several months the other Crusader armies arrived. Suddenly, the Byzantine emperor had an army of about 4,000 to 8,000 mounted knights and 25,000 to 55,000 infantry camped on his doorstep. But Godfrey and Alexius I had different goals. The Byzantine emperor wanted the help of the Crusader soldiers to recapture lands that the Seljuk Turks had taken. The Crusaders, however, had the main aim of liberating the Holy Land in Palestine from the Muslims and reinstating Christian rule there. For them, Alexius I and his Turks were only a sideshow. Worse, the Byzantine emperor expected the Crusaders to take an oath of loyalty to him. Godfrey and the other knights agreed to a modified version of this oath, promising to help

return some lands to Alexius I. By the spring of 1097, the Crusaders were ready to march into battle.

Godfrey played a minor, but important, role in the battles against the Muslims until the Crusaders finally reached Jerusalem in 1099. Before that time, he helped to relieve the vanguard at the Battle of Dorylaeum after it had been pinned down by the Seljuk Turks under Kilij Arslan I, with the help of the other crusader princes in the main force and went on to sack the Seljuk camp. After this battle and during the trek through Asia Minor, some sources suggest that Godfrey was attacked by a bear and received a serious wound which incapacitated him for a time. In 1098, Godfrey took part in the capture of Antioch, which fell in June of that year after long and bitter

fighting. During the siege, some of the Crusaders felt that the battle was hopeless and left the Crusade to return to Europe. Alexius I, hearing of the desperate situation, thought that all was lost at Antioch and did not come to help the Crusaders as promised. When the Crusaders finally took the city, they decided that their oaths to Alexius had been breached and were no longer in effect. Bohemond, the first to enter the city gates, claimed the prize for himself. A Muslim force under Kerbogha, from the city of Mosul, arrived and battled the Crusaders, but the Christians finally defeated these Islamic troops.

It was in Jerusalem that the legend of Godfrey of Bouillon was born. The army reached the city in June 1099 and built a wooden siege tower (from lumber provided by some Italian sailors who intentionally scrapped their ships) to get over the walls. The major attack took place on July 14 and 15, 1099. Godfrey and some of his knights were the first to take the walls and enter the city. It was an end to three years of fighting by the Crusaders, but they had finally achieved what they had set out to do in 1096—to recapture the Holy Land and, in particular, the city of Jerusalem and its holy sites, such as the Holy Sepulchre, the empty tomb of Jesus Christ. He endowed the hospital in the Muristan after the First Crusade.

Once the city was returned to Christian rule, some form of government had to be set up. On July 22, a council was held in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Raymond of Toulouse refused to become king. Godfrey agreed to become ruler.

As was typical of Godfrey's Christian ethics, he refused to be crowned king "upon the plea that he would never wear a crown of gold where his Savior had worn a crown of thorns". The exact nature and meaning of his title is thus somewhat of a controversy. Although it is widely claimed that he took the title *Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri* ("advocate" or "defender" of the Holy Sepulchre), this title is only used in a letter which was not written by Godfrey. Instead, Godfrey himself seems to have used the more ambiguous term *Princeps*, or simply retained his title of *dux* from back home in Lower Lorraine. Robert the Monk is the only chronicler of the crusade to report that Godfrey took the title "king". During his short reign, Godfrey had to defend the new Kingdom of Jerusalem against Fatimids of Egypt, who were defeated at the Battle of Ascalon in August. He also faced opposition from Dagobert of Pisa, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was allied with Tancred. Although the Latins came close to capturing Ascalon, Godfrey's attempts to prevent Raymond of St. Gilles from securing the city for himself meant that the town remained in Muslim hands, destined to be a thorn in the new kingdom's side for years to come.

The Arab chronicler Ibn al-Qalanisi reports that "While he was besieging the city of Acre, Godfrey, the ruler of Jerusalem, was struck by an arrow, which killed him". Christian chronicles make no mention of this; instead, Albert of Aachen and Ekkehard of Aura report that Godfrey contracted an illness in Caesarea in June 1100. Godfrey never married.

Baldwin I



Figure 2 Baldwin I

was the third son of Eustace II, Count of Boulogne, and Ida of Lorraine. Being his parents' youngest son, he was intended for a career in the Church. He studied the liberal arts and held prebends in the cathedrals of Cambrai, Rheims and Liège. For reasons that are unknown, and at an unspecified time, he abandoned his church career and became a knight.

Baldwin married a Norman noblewoman, Godehilde of Tosny, whose family owned land and property in both Normandy and England. Baldwin and his wife most probably settled in the court of his eldest brother, Eustace III of Boulogne. Eustace and Baldwin jointly fought for their brother, Godfrey, at Stenay in 1086. Godfrey mentioned Baldwin in most of his charters of grant, indicating that Baldwin was regarded as his designated heir.

Baldwin departed for the crusade with Godfrey's army on August 15, 1096. His wife and children accompanied him, suggesting that he had decided not to return to his homeland. The crusaders stopped at Tulln an der Donau before reaching the frontier of Hungary in September.

Godfrey left Baldwin in charge of his troops during his conference with

Coloman, King of Hungary, to discuss the conditions of the crusaders' march across the country. He agreed to hand over Baldwin, along with Baldwin's wife and retainers, as hostages, to ensure their troops' good conduct. Baldwin and Godehilde were released soon after the crusaders left Hungary. They entered the Byzantine Empire near Belgrade in late November.

While the main crusader army was marching across Asia Minor in 1097, Baldwin and the Norman Tancred launched a separate expedition against Cilicia. Tancred tried to capture Tarsus in September, but Baldwin forced him to leave it, which gave rise to an enduring conflict between them. Baldwin seized important fortresses in the lands to the west of the Euphrates with the assistance of local Armenians. Thoros of Edessa invited him to come to Edessa to fight against the Seljuqs. Taking advantage of a riot against Thoros, Baldwin seized the town and established the first crusader state on March 10, 1098. To strengthen his rule, the widowed Baldwin married an Armenian ruler's daughter. He supplied the main crusader army with food during the siege of

Antioch. He defended Edessa against Kerbogha, the governor of Mosul, for three weeks, preventing him from reaching Antioch before the crusaders captured it.

When Godfrey died in 1100, Daimbert, the Latin patriarch, and Tancred offered Jerusalem to Tancred's uncle, Bohemond I of Antioch. Godfrey's retainers took possession of the town and urged Baldwin to claim Godfrey's inheritance. Since a Muslim ruler captured Bohemond, Baldwin marched to Jerusalem meeting little resistance. The Patriarch crowned him king in Bethlehem on December 25, 1100.

Thereafter Baldwin was most frequently styled king. For instance, a charter of grant in 1104 referred to him as "Baldwin, king of Judea and Jerusalem, and defensor of the Holiest Sepulchre of our Lord, Jesus Christ". In most of his charters, he also emphasized that he was Godfrey's lawful heir.

Among modern historians, Baldwin was noted as one of the commanders of the First Crusade

whose skill, ambition and devotion drove the enterprise, and by turns threatened to rip it apart. Baldwin was a talented military commander and a clever politician, who established a stable kingdom with defined and defensible borders - he was the principal architect of the occupation of the Holy Land by the crusaders. Baldwin's success was due primarily to the incorrigible fragmentation of the Arab world, which made the crusaders a genuine regional power. Historians propose that Baldwin was adept at navigating the complexities of a world of competing local warlords, because the political landscape of his homeland, with its castellans dominating the countryside, was not so different.

Baldwin fell seriously ill in late 1116. Thinking that he was dying, he ordered that all his debts be paid off and he started to distribute his money and goods, but he recovered at the start of the following year. To strengthen the defense of the

southern frontier, he launched an expedition against Egypt in March 1118. He seized Farama on the Nile Delta without a fight as the townspeople had fled in panic before he reached the town. Baldwin's retainers urged him to attack Cairo, but an old wound that he had received in 1103 suddenly re-opened.

Dying, Baldwin was carried back as far as Al-Arish on the frontier of the Fatimid Empire. On his deathbed, he named Eustace III of Boulogne as his successor, but also authorized the barons to offer the throne to Baldwin of Edessa or someone else who would rule the Christian people and defend the churches, if his brother did not accept the crown. Baldwin died on April 2, 1118. In accordance with his last wishes, his cook, Addo, removed his intestines and preserved his body in salt, so as to secure a burial in Jerusalem. He was buried in the Calvary Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre next to Godfrey of Bouillon five days later, on Palm Sunday.

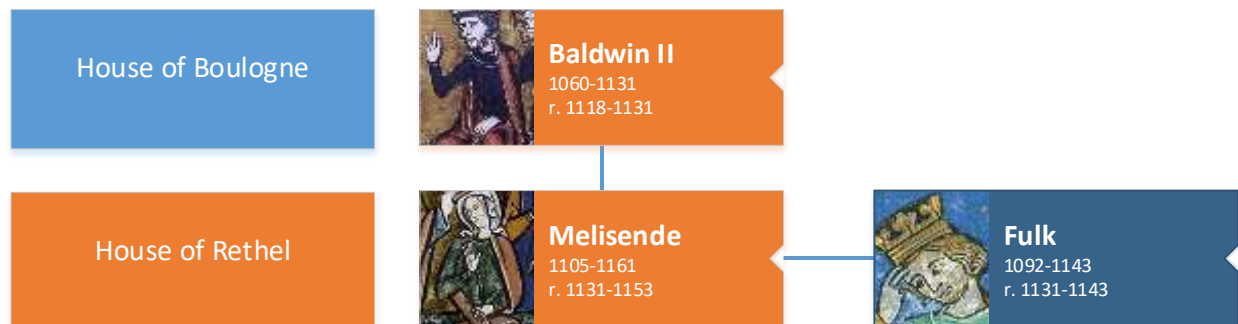


Figure 3 Baldwin II

Baldwin II

was a younger son of Hugh I, Count of Rethel and Melisende of Monthl ry. He was also a kinsman of the brothers Eustace III of Boulogne, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Baldwin of Boulogne, but their exact relationship is unknown.

He was the lord of Bourcq when he joined the army of Godfrey of Boulogne at the beginning of the First Crusade. He was captured at the Battle of Harran in 1104. He was held first by S kmen of Mardin, then by Jikirmish of Mosul, and finally by Jawali Saqawa. During his captivity, Tancred, the Crusader ruler of the Principality of Antioch, and Tancred's cousin, Richard of Salerno, governed Edessa as Baldwin's regents.

According to the contemporaneous Albert of Aachen, When Baldwin I died childless on April 2, 1118, he had willed the kingdom to his eldest brother, Eustace III of Boulogne, "if by chance he would come", but also stipulated that Baldwin of Bourcq should be elected king, if Eustace were unable to come, "because of his age". Baldwin II arrived in Jerusalem around the day when the late king's body was carried into the town. Albert of Aachen stated that Baldwin had come to celebrate Easter in Jerusalem, without having any knowledge of the King's death. Decades later, William of Tyre recorded that Baldwin had been informed of his kinsman's death during his journey to Jerusalem.

The question of Baldwin I's succession divided the barons and the prelates, according to William of Tyre. The highest-ranking prelate, Arnulf of Chocques, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Joscelin of Courtenay, who held the largest fief in the kingdom, argued that Baldwin should be elected without delay to avoid an interregnum. Others maintained that the crown should first be offered to Eustace in accordance with Baldwin I's last will. Some "great nobles", whom William of Tyre did not name, were appointed to inform Eustace of his brother's death. However, shortly after their departure, on Easter Day, Baldwin was anointed. His coronation was delayed for unknown reasons.

Baldwin promised the County of Edessa to Joscelin, but Joscelin remained in the kingdom to secure the defense of Galilee. Baldwin convoked the noblemen to an assembly "on an appointed day" to receive "fealty and an oath of allegiance from them", according to Albert of Aachen. He also secured the direct royal control of eight important towns, including Nablus, Jaffa, Acre, Sidon and Tiberias.

Eustace accepted the barons' invitation and left Boulogne for Jerusalem. He had travelled as far as Apulia when he was informed of Baldwin's ascension to the throne. The delegates tried to

convince him to continue his journey, saying that Baldwin's election was illegal, but Eustace preferred to return home.

After the army of the Principality of Antioch was almost annihilated on June 28, 1119, Baldwin was elected regent for the absent Bohemond II of Antioch. The frequent Seljuq invasions of Antioch forced him to spend most of his time in the principality, which caused discontent in Jerusalem. After Nur al-Daulak Balak captured him in April 1123, a group of noblemen offered the throne to Charles I, Count of Flanders, but Charles refused. During his absence, the Jerusalemite troops captured Tyre with the assistance of a Venetian fleet. After he was released in August 1124, he tried to capture Aleppo, but al-Bursuqi forced him to abandon the siege in early 1125.

Bohemond II came to Syria in October 1126. Baldwin gave his second daughter, Alice, in marriage to him and also renounced the regency. Baldwin planned to conquer Damascus, but he needed external support to achieve his goal. He married off his eldest daughter, Melisende, to the wealthy Fulk V, Count of Anjou in 1129. The new troops who accompanied Fulk to Jerusalem enabled Baldwin to invade Damascene territory, but he could seize only Banias with the support of the Nizari in late 1129. After Bohemond II was killed in a battle in early 1130, Baldwin forced Alice to leave Antioch and assumed the regency for her daughter, Constance.

According to William of Tyre, Baldwin fell seriously ill after his return from Antioch. He was already dying when he made arrangements for his succession in August 1131. He was transferred to the patriarch's palace near the Holy Sepulchre where he bequeathed the kingdom to Fulk, Melisende and their infant son, Baldwin. He took monastic vows and entered the collegiate chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, where he died on August 21. He was buried in the Holy Sepulchre.

Melisende



Figure 4 Melisende

was the eldest daughter of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, and the Armenian princess Morphia of Melitene. As the eldest child, Melisende was raised as heir presumptive. Frankish women in the Outremer had a higher life expectancy than men, in part due to the constant state of war in the region, and as a result Frankish women exerted a wide degree of influence in the region and provided a strong sense of continuity to Eastern Frankish society. Women who inherited territory usually did so because war and violence brought many men to premature death, and women who were recognized as queen regnant rarely exercised their authority directly, with their spouse exercising authority *jure uxoris*, through the medium of their wives.

Increasingly she was associated with her father on official documents, including in the minting of money, granting of fiefdoms and other forms of patronage, and in diplomatic correspondence. Baldwin raised his daughter as a capable successor to himself and Melisende enjoyed the support of the *Haute Cour*, a kind of royal council composed of the nobility and clergy of the realm.

However, Baldwin II also thought that he would have to marry Melisende to a powerful ally, one who would protect and safeguard Melisende's inheritance and her future heirs. Baldwin deferred to King Louis VI of France to recommend a Frankish vassal for his daughter's hand. Louis VI chose Fulk V, Count of Anjou and Main, a renowned rich crusader and military commander, and to some extent a growing threat to Louis VI himself. Baldwin II perceived that Fulk, an ambitious man with grown sons to spare, was also a threat to Baldwin II's family and interest, and specifically a threat to his daughter

Melisende. Baldwin II suspected that once he had died, Fulk would repudiate Melisende, set her and her children aside in favor of Elias, Fulk's younger but full grown son from his first marriage as an heir to Jerusalem.

When Melisende bore a son and heir in 1130, the future Baldwin III, her father took steps to ensure Melisende would rule after him as reigning Queen of Jerusalem. Baldwin II held a coronation ceremony investing the kingship of Jerusalem jointly between his daughter, his grandson Baldwin III, and Fulk. Strengthening her position, Baldwin II designated Melisende as sole guardian for the young Baldwin, excluding Fulk. When Baldwin II died the next year in 1131, Melisende and Fulk ascended to the throne as joint rulers.

Melisende's relationship with her son was complex. As a mother she would know her son and his capabilities, and she is known to have been particularly close to her children. As a ruler she may have been reluctant to entrust decision-making powers to an untried youth. Either way there was no political or social pressure to grant Baldwin any authority before 1152, even though Baldwin reached majority in 1145. Baldwin III and Melisende were jointly crowned as co-rulers on Christmas Day, 1143.

In 1161, Melisende had what appears to have been a stroke. Her memory was severely impaired and she could no longer take part in state affairs. Her sisters, the countess of Tripoli and abbess of Bethany, came to nurse her before she died on September 11, 1161. Melisende was buried next to her mother Morphia in the shrine of Our Lady of Josaphat.

House of Anjou



Baldwin III
1130-1163
r. 1143-1163



Amalric I
1136-1174
r. 1163-1174

Baldwin III



Figure 5 Baldwin III

grew up to be a capable, if not brilliant, military commander. William of Tyre knew Baldwin personally and gives a lengthy description of the king:

...He was taller than the average man, but his limbs were so well proportioned to his height that no feature seemed out of harmony with the whole. His features were comely and refined, his complexion florid, a proof of innate strength...His eyes were of medium size, rather prominent and sparkling. He had straight yellowish hair and wore a rather full beard on cheeks and chin. He was of somewhat full habit, although he could not be called fleshy like his brother or spare like his mother...

Baldwin was well educated, well spoken, and exceptionally intelligent. Unlike his father he had an excellent memory. He spent much of his spare time reading history and was knowledgeable in the *jus consuetudinarium* of the kingdom, later collected by lawyers like John of Ibelin and Philip of Novara as "the assizes of Jerusalem". He respected church property and did not burden them with taxes. He was friendly to people of all classes, and "voluntarily offered an opportunity of conversing with him to anyone who wished it or whom he casually met. If an audience was requested, he did not refuse it." As a young man he enjoyed dice and other games, and carried on affairs with married women, but as an adult he "became changed for the better", as William says, and remained faithful to Theodora.

Queen Melisende died in 1161, and Baldwin died in Beirut on February 10, 1163. It was rumored that he had been poisoned in Antioch by pills given to him by his Syrian Orthodox doctor. "As soon as the king had taken the pills," says William of Tyre, "he was seized with a fever and dysentery which developed into consumption from which he was never able to obtain relief or help." On the way home Baldwin

remained in Tripoli for a few months, and then continued to Beirut where he finally succumbed to his illness. As William says, "For eight successive days, while the funeral procession moved from Beirut to Jerusalem, lamentation was unrestrained and grief was renewed almost hourly." Theodora, now queen-dowager, retired to Acre. She was still only 16 years old; their marriage was childless. Baldwin was succeeded by his brother, Amalric I.



Figure 6 Amalric I

Amalric I

Amalric was born in 1136 to King Fulk, the former count of Anjou married to the heiress of the kingdom, Queen Melisende. After the death of

Fulk in a hunting accident in 1143, the throne passed jointly to Melisende and Amalric's older brother Baldwin III, who was still only 13 years old.

Amalric married Agnes of Courtenay in 1157. Agnes, daughter of Joscelin II of Edessa, had lived in Jerusalem since the western regions of the former crusader County of Edessa were lost in 1150. Patriarch Fulcher objected to the marriage on grounds of consanguinity, as the two shared a great-great-grandfather, Guy I of Montlhéry, and it seems that they waited until Fulcher's death to marry. Agnes bore Amalric three children: Sibylla, the future Baldwin IV (both of whom would come to rule the kingdom in their own right), and Alix, who died in childhood.

William of Tyre was a good friend of Amalric and described him in great detail. *"He had a slight impediment in his speech, not serious enough to be considered as a defect but sufficient to render him incapable of ready eloquence. He was far better in counsel than in fluent or ornate speech."* Like his brother Baldwin III, he was more of an academic than a warrior, who studied law and languages in his leisure time: *"He was well skilled in the customary law by which the kingdom was governed – in fact, he was second to no one in this respect."* He was probably responsible for an assize making all rear-vassals directly subject to the king and eligible to appear at the Haute Cour. Amalric had an enormous curiosity, and William was reportedly astonished to find Amalric questioning, during an illness, the resurrection of the body. He especially enjoyed reading and being read to, spending long hours listening to William read early drafts of his history. He did not enjoy games or spectacles, although he liked to hunt. He was trusting of his officials, perhaps too trusting, and it seems that there were many among the population who despised him, although he refused to take any action against those who insulted him publicly.

He was tall and fairly handsome; *"he had sparkling eyes of medium size; his nose, like that of his brother, was becomingly aquiline; his hair was blond and grew back somewhat from his forehead. A comely and very full beard covered his cheeks and chin. He had a way of laughing immoderately so that his entire body shook."* He did not

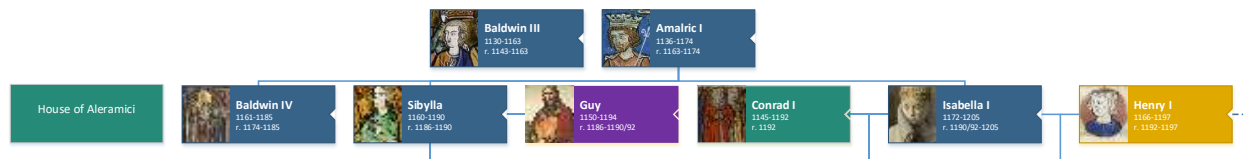
overeat or drink to excess, but his corpulence grew in his later years, decreasing his interest in military operations; according to William, *he "was excessively fat, with breasts like those of a woman hanging down to his waist."* Amalric was pious and attended mass every day, although he also *"is said to have absconded himself without restraint to the sins of the flesh and to have seduced married women..."* Despite his piety he taxed the clergy, which they naturally opposed.

During his reign, Jerusalem became more closely allied with the Byzantine Empire, and the two states launched an unsuccessful invasion of Egypt. Meanwhile, the Muslim territories surrounding Jerusalem began to be united under Nur ad-Din and later Saladin. He was the father of three future rulers of Jerusalem, Sibylla, Baldwin IV, and Isabella I.

Nur ad-Din died in 1174, upon which Amalric immediately besieged Banias. On the way back after giving up the siege he fell ill from dysentery, which was ameliorated by doctors but turned into a fever in Jerusalem. William of Tyre explains that *"after suffering intolerably from the fever for several days, he ordered physicians of the Greek, Syrian, and other nations noted for skill in diseases to be called and insisted that they give him some purgative remedy."* Neither they nor Latin doctors could help, and he died on July 11, 1174.



Figure 7 Death of Amalric I



Baldwin IV

Baldwin IV was born in 1161. He was the son of Amalric I of Jerusalem and his first wife, Agnes of Courtenay. When his father died in 1174, the boy was crowned on July 15 that year, at the age of 13. In his minority the kingdom was ruled by two successive regents, the first being Miles of Plancy, though unofficially, and then Raymond III of Tripoli, his father's cousin.

As a leper, Baldwin was not expected to reign long or produce an heir, and courtiers and lords positioned themselves for influence over Baldwin's heirs, his sister Sibylla and his half-sister Isabella. Sibylla was being raised by her great-aunt Ioveta in the convent of Bethany, while Isabella was at the court of her mother, the dowager queen Maria Comnena, in Nablus.

Baldwin spent his childhood in his father's court in Jerusalem, having little contact with his mother, Agnes of Courtenay, Countess of Jaffa and Ascalon, and later Lady of Sidon, whom his father had been forced to divorce. Baldwin IV was educated by the historian William of Tyre who made a disturbing discovery about the prince: he and his friends were playing one day, attempting to injure each other by driving their fingernails into each other's arms, but Baldwin felt no pain. William immediately recognized this as a sign of serious illness, but it was not conclusively identified as leprosy until a few years later; the onset of puberty accelerated his disease in its most serious lepromatous form.

In 1174, at the young age of 13, Baldwin successfully attacked Damascus in order to draw the Muslim Sultan Saladin away from Aleppo. In 1176 he was leading men from the front in similar attacks at Damascus and Andujar to repel Muslim attacks. Baldwin also planned an attack on Saladin's power-base in Egypt. In 1179, the king met with some military setbacks in the north. On



Figure 8 William of Tyre discovers Baldwin's first symptoms of leprosy

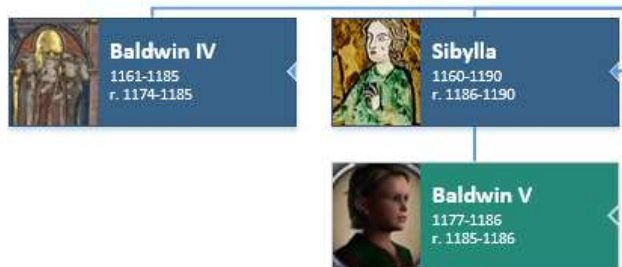
April 10, he led a cattle-raid on Banias, but was surprised by Saladin's nephew Farrukh Shah. Baldwin's horse bolted, and in saving him, the much-respected constable of the kingdom, Humphrey II of Toron, was mortally wounded. On June 10, in response to cavalry raids near Sidon, Baldwin took a force, with Raymond of Tripoli and the Grand Master of the Templars, Odo of St Amand, to Marj Uyun. They defeated the raiders fording the Litani River, but were caught by Saladin's main force. The king (unable to remount unaided) was unhorsed, and had to be carried off the field on the back of another knight as his guard cut their way out. Count Raymond fled to Tyre, and the king's stepfather Reginald of Sidon rescued a number of the fugitives, but the prisoners included the Grand Master, Baldwin of Ibelin, and Hugh of Tiberias, one of Raymond of Tripoli's stepsons. In August, the unfinished castle at Jacob's Ford fell to Saladin after a brief siege, with the slaughter of half its Templar garrison.

Baldwin appointed his 5-year-old nephew Baldwin of Montferrat as his heir and successor. The child was crowned co-king as Baldwin V on November 20, 1183.

Baldwin IV died in Jerusalem in spring 1185, a few months after the death of his mother Agnes in

Acre late in 1184. Though often suffering from the effects of leprosy and ruling with regency governments, Baldwin was able to maintain himself as king for much longer than otherwise might have been expected. As had been decided, Baldwin V succeeded him with his uncle, Raymond of Tripoli, as regent.

Baldwin V



Baldwin V was little more than a pawn in the politics of the Kingdom. By the time he was born in 1177, the political situation had developed into two factions. Baldwin IV was dying slowly of leprosy, and the succession was likely to be contested between Baldwin IV's sister and their younger half-sister Isabella. Their extended family and leading nobles were divided in support for the two heiresses.

Raymond III of Tripoli, first cousin of their father Amalric I of Jerusalem, had been *bailli* or regent for Baldwin IV while the latter was a child, but once the king came of age in 1176 his power began to recede. He had a claim to the throne in his own right, but his childlessness hindered him advancing it. Instead, he acted as a power-broker, and aided the interests of the Ibelin family. Amalric's widow (Isabella's mother) Maria Comnena had married Balian of Ibelin, and Raymond attempted to regain influence with a project to marry Sibylla to Balian's older brother Baldwin of Ibelin. The king countered this by marrying her to Guy of Lusignan instead in 1180. Guy, as a vassal of the Angevins, from Poitou, had the potential to attract aid from Baldwin IV's cousin Henry II of England to the kingdom.

The other faction, more supportive of Sibylla, centered on her maternal uncle Joscelin III of Edessa and mother Agnes of Courtenay, now the wife of Reginald of Sidon. Allied to them was Raynald of Châtillon, who had been in the country since the Second Crusade and was the widower of Amalric I's cousin Constance of Antioch. Amalric of Lusignan, although a son-in-law of Baldwin of Ibelin, had been won over by the patronage of Agnes and the king, and had brought his younger brother Guy to prominence. Eraclius, appointed Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1180, has sometimes been associated with this group, but also attempted to make peace between the shifting factions.



Figure 9 Crowning of Baldwin V

Baldwin IV finally succumbed to his leprosy in spring 1185. Shortly before his death, he ordered an official public crown-wearing for his nephew at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (since the little boy had already been crowned). Baldwin V was carried on the shoulders of Balian of Ibelin, not only because Balian was particularly tall, but also to demonstrate that his Aunt Isabella's family supported his accession. Baldwin V was now sole king, but being still a minor, Raymond III was his *bailli*, and his great-uncle Joscelin III of Edessa his personal guardian.

Baldwin's solo reign lasted just over a year, and he died in the autumn of 1186, at Acre. He had been so weak and ill throughout his childhood that his death was anticipated. His death reinforced the long-held assumption that he would have never lived to maturity or long enough to produce an heir.

Following his death, his grandfather William and great-uncle Joscelin accompanied his coffin to Jerusalem. He was buried in the Church of the

Holy Sepulchre in an elaborately carved tomb-chest, which was mostly destroyed in the early nineteenth century.

Due to the frail state of Baldwin V, plans had already been made for deciding the kingdom's next ruler. The throne would be claimed by either his mother, Sibylla, or his aunt Isabella because they were the only surviving children of his grandfather Amalric I. The succession would be determined by a council consisting of Baldwin's kinsmen, the Kings of England and France, the Holy Roman Emperor, and the Pope: in the meantime, his "most rightful heir" would act as *bailli*. However, this agreement was completely ignored once Baldwin was dead.

Sibylla's succession was made conditional on the annulment of her marriage to Guy. She refused. At her coronation, when Patriarch Eraclius asked her to summon her new consort, she brought Guy forward to be crowned.

Sibylla and Guy's rule proved to be disastrous.

Sibylla and Guy



Figure 10 Baldwin IV betroths Sibylla to Guy

Sibylla was the eldest daughter of Amalric I of Jerusalem and Agnes of Courtenay, sister of Baldwin IV and half-sister of Isabella I of Jerusalem, and mother of Baldwin V of Jerusalem. Sibylla was raised by her great-aunt, the Abbess Ioveta of Bethany, sister of former Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, who founded the convent of St. Lazarus in Bethany. In the convent Sibylla was taught scripture and other church traditions.

In 1176 Sibylla married William Longsword of Montferrat, eldest son of the Marquess William V of Montferrat, and a cousin of Louis VII of France and of Frederick Barbarossa. Sibylla was created Countess of Jaffa and Ascalon. William died by June the following year, leaving Sibylla pregnant. In the tradition of the dynasty, Sibylla named her son Baldwin. The widowed princess remained a prize for ambitious nobles and adventurers seeking to advance themselves and take control of Jerusalem.

Sibylla did not remarry until 1180. With pressure mounting to have the Heir Presumptive wed, a marriage was hastily arranged, and Sibylla married the newly arrived Frankish knight Guy of Lusignan.

Guy went with Sibylla to Jerusalem for Baldwin V's funeral in 1186, along with an armed escort, with which he garrisoned the city. Raymond III, who wanted to protect his own influence and his new political ally, the dowager queen Maria Comnena, was making arrangements to

summon the *Haute Cour* when Sibylla was crowned queen by Patriarch Eraclius. Raynald of Châtillon gained popular support for Sibylla by affirming that she was "li plus apareissanz et plus dreis heis dou rouame" ("the most evident and rightful heir of the kingdom"). With the clear support of the church Sibylla was undisputed sovereign.

However, before she was crowned she agreed with oppositional court members that she would annul her marriage with Guy to please them, as long as she would be given free choice in her next husband. The leaders of the *Haute Cour* agreed, and Sibylla was crowned thereafter as queen regnant. Taking her choice as husband, to the astonishment of the rival court faction, she remarried Guy, who became King in August 1186. The Queen removed the crown from her head and handed it to Guy, permitting him to crown himself, at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, in September 1186.

Queen Sibylla's chief concern was to check the progress of Saladin's armies as they advanced into the kingdom. Guy and Raymond were dispatched to the front with the entire fighting strength of the kingdom, but their inability to cooperate was fatal, and Saladin routed them at the Battle of Hattin on July 4, 1187. Guy was among the prisoners. The dowager queen joined her stepdaughter in Jerusalem as Saladin's army advanced. By September 1187, Saladin was besieging the Holy City, and Sibylla personally led the defense, along with Patriarch Eraclius and Balian of Ibelin, who had survived Hattin. Jerusalem capitulated on October 2, and Sibylla was permitted to escape to Tripoli with her daughters.

Guy was released from his imprisonment in Damascus in 1188, when Saladin realized that returning him would cause strife in the crusader camp and that Guy was a less capable leader than certain others who now held sway. The queen

joined him when they marched on Tyre in 1189, the only city in the kingdom that had not fallen. Conrad of Montferrat, brother of Sibylla's first husband William, had taken charge of the city's defenses. However, he denied them entrance, refusing to recognize Guy's claim to the remnant of the kingdom, and asserting his own claim to hold it until the arrival of the kings from Europe. After about a month spent outside the city's walls, the queen followed Guy when he led a vanguard of the newly arrived Third Crusade against Muslim-held Acre, desiring to make that town the seat of the kingdom. Guy besieged the town for two years.

There, during the stalemate in July or August, Sibylla died in an epidemic which was sweeping through the military camp. Her two young daughters had also died some days earlier.

According to the surviving members of the *Haute Cour*, with Sibylla's death Guy lost the authority he held as her husband, and the crown passed to Isabella. The Ibelins hastily divorced Isabella from Humphrey, and married her to Conrad, who now claimed the kingship. However, Guy continued to demand recognition as king.

The kingship was put to a vote among the barons of the kingdom: Conrad of Montferrat was elected unanimously, and Guy accepted defeat. Guy was compensated for the loss of his kingdom by purchasing Cyprus from the Templars in 1192.

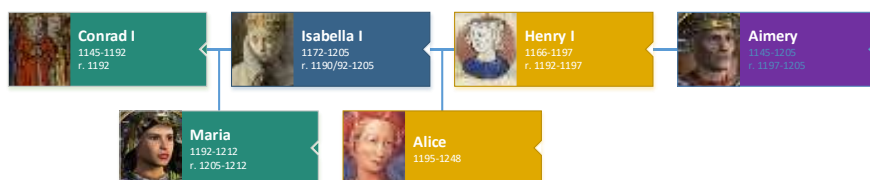
Guy died in 1194 without surviving issue and was succeeded by his brother Amalric, who received the royal crown from Henry VI, Holy Roman Emperor.

Conrad I



Figure 11 Conrad I

Although Conrad was elected King of Jerusalem, he was never crowned. Around late morning or noon on April 28, his wife Isabella, who was pregnant, was late in returning from the hammam to dine with him, so he went to eat at the house of his kinsman and friend, Philip, Bishop of Beauvais. The bishop had already eaten, so Conrad returned home. On his way, he was attacked by two Hashshashin, who stabbed him at least twice in the side and back. His guards killed one of his attackers and captured the other. It is not certain how long Conrad survived. Some sources claimed he died at the scene of the attack, or in a nearby church, within a very short time. He was buried in Tyre, in the Church of the Hospitallers.



Henry I

On learning of Conrad's assassination, Henry of Champagne, who had meanwhile returned to Acre, hurried back to Tyre. Henry, who was the nephew of both Richard of England and Philip of France, was acclaimed king by the barons and the citizens of Tyre. Henry was hesitant, because Isabella was pregnant, possibly with a son. The barons and the citizens, continued Ernoul, promised him that his children would inherit the Kingdom of Jerusalem to convince him to accept the crown. The betrothal of Henry and Isabella was announced two days after Conrad's death. The marriage was celebrated in Acre on May 10, 1192.

Isabella and Conrad's child, Maria of Montferrat, was born in 1192. Henry and Isabella then had three daughters, Marguerite (born 1193/1194), Alice (born 1196) and Philippa (born 1197). Henry died in 1197 when a balcony or window-trellis gave way and he fell out of a window.



Figure 12 Henry of Champagne

After his death, Isabella married for a fourth time to Aimery, King of Cyprus, brother of Guy of Lusignan. Henry left behind several difficulties for Champagne. He had borrowed a great deal of money to finance his expedition to Jerusalem, and for his marriage; and the succession to the county of Champagne would later be contested by his daughters. In 1213, supporters of his nephew Theobald IV of Champagne alleged to a papal legate that the annulment of Isabella's marriage to

Humphrey of Toron (who was still alive during her marriage to Henry) was invalid, and therefore the girls were illegitimate. However, this was questionable: the legitimacy of Isabella's daughter by Conrad, Maria, and the right of her descendants to the throne of Jerusalem was never challenged, and if Maria was legitimate, so too were Isabella's daughters by Henry. Theobald eventually had to buy off both Alice and Philippa at considerable cost

Aimery



Figure 13 Aimery of Cyprus

Aimery and Isabella were crowned together as King and Queen of Jerusalem in January 1198 in Acre.

Aimery united his forces with the German crusaders who were under the command of Henry I, Duke of Brabant to launch a campaign against the Ayyubid troops. They forced Al-Adil to withdraw and captured Beirut on October 21. He laid siege to Toron, but he had to lift the siege on February 2, because the German crusaders decided to return to the Holy Roman Empire after learning that Emperor Henry VI had died.

Aimery was riding at Tyre when four German knights attacked him in March 1198. His retainers rescued him and captured the four knights. Aimery accused Raoul of Saint Omer of hiring the assailants and sentenced him to banishment without a trial by his peers. At Raoul's demand, the case was submitted to the High Court of Jerusalem which held that Aimery had unlawfully banished Raoul. Nevertheless, Raoul voluntarily left the kingdom and settled in Tripoli, because he knew that he had lost Aimery's goodwill.

Aimery signed a truce with Al-Adil on July 1, 1198, securing the possession of the coast from Acre as far as to Antioch for the crusaders for five years and eight months. The Byzantine Emperor, Alexios III Angelos, did not abandon the idea of recovering Cyprus. He promised that he would help a new crusade if Pope Innocent III excommunicated Aimery to enable a Byzantine invasion in 1201, but the pope refuted him, emphasizing that the Byzantines had lost their right to Cyprus when Richard I conquered the island in 1191.

Aimery kept the peace with the Muslims, even when Reynald II of Dampierre, who arrived at the head of 300 French crusaders demanded him to launch a campaign against the Muslims in early 1202. After Aimery reminded him that more than 300 soldiers were needed to wage war against the Ayyubids, Reynald left the Kingdom of Jerusalem for the Principality of Antioch. An Egyptian emir seized a fortress near Sidon and made plundering raids against the neighboring territory. After Al-Adil failed to stop the emir, Aimery's fleet captured 20 Egyptian ships and he broke into Al-Adil's realm. In retaliation, Al-Adil's son, Al-Mu'azzam Isa plundered the region of Acre. In

May 1204, the fleet of Aimery sack a small town at the Nile Delta in Egypt. The envoys of Aimery and Al-Adil signed a new truce for six years in September 1204. Al-Adil ceded Jaffa and Ramleh to the Kingdom of Jerusalem and simplified the Christian pilgrims' visits in Jerusalem and Nazareth.

After eating excess of white mullet, Aimery fell seriously ill. He died after a short illness on April 1, 1205. His six-year-old son, Hugh I, succeeded him in Cyprus; and his widow continued to rule the Kingdom of Jerusalem. On her death on April 5, 1205, Isabella was succeeded as queen by her eldest daughter Maria.

Maria

Maria became queen of Jerusalem, at the age of thirteen, while her stepbrother Hugh, from the first marriage of Aimery, became King of Cyprus.

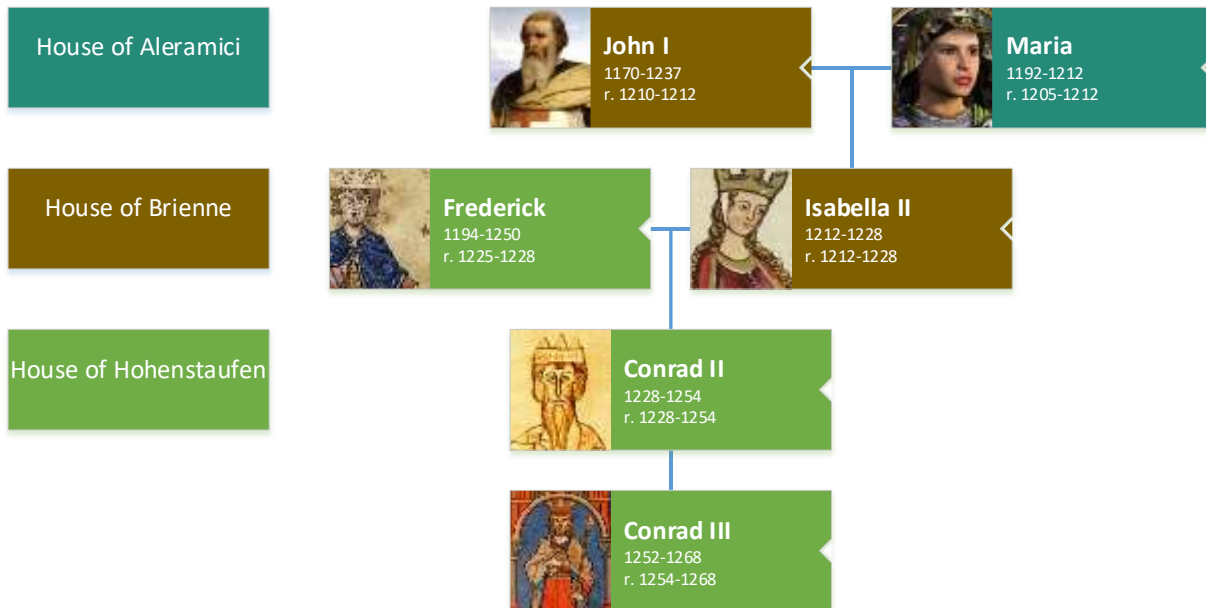


Figure 14 Coronation of John and Maria

The half-brother of her mother, John of Ibelin, the Old Lord of Beirut, acted as regent on behalf of Maria, wisely and to the satisfaction of the inhabitants of the kingdoms. Failing to conduct operations to reconquer the territories lost in 1187, he maintained the kingdom within its limits, a policy of peace with Al-Adil I, brother of Saladin, who had come to his estate by eliminating the other heirs.

The regency expired in 1209, when Maria was seventeen, so the government believed it best for Maria to marry so she could secure her post as queen. The assembly of barons and prelates decided to seek advice from Philip II of France, who offered one of his followers, John of Brienne. However John was not a very rich man. To overcome his lack of fortune and to enable him to fund his sovereign obligations (court and army) King Philip and Pope Innocent III each paid him the sum of 40 000 livres.

The marriage was celebrated on September 4, 1210, then the couple were crowned King and Queen of Jerusalem on October 3, 1210 in Tyre Cathedral.

John I



Figure 15 John of Brienne

John had landed at Acre on September 3rd; the following day, Patriarch of Jerusalem Albert of Vercelli married him to Queen Maria.

After Maria's death in 1212 John administered the kingdom as regent for their infant daughter, Isabella II.

John was the first king of Jerusalem to visit Europe (Italy, France, England, León, Castile and Germany) to seek assistance for the Holy Land. He gave his daughter in marriage to Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II in 1225, and Frederick ended John's rule of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Although the popes tried to persuade Frederick to restore the kingdom to John, the Jerusalemite barons regarded Frederick as their lawful ruler. John administered papal domains in Tuscany, became the *podestà* of Perugia and was a commander of Pope Gregory IX's army during Gregory's war against Frederick in 1228 and 1229. He was elected emperor in 1229 as the senior co-ruler of the Latin Empire, and was crowned in Constantinople in 1231.

He died in 1237 as a Franciscan friar.

Isabella II



Figure 16 Isabella II as Queen

Maria died shortly after giving birth to Isabella II in 1212, possibly by puerperal fever. Because of this, Isabella II was proclaimed Queen of Jerusalem when she was only a few days old. Because her father John did not have a direct claim on the throne, he ruled as regent.

During a meeting between John of Brienne, the Pope Honorius III and Frederick II in the city of Ferentino in 1223, Isabella's fate was decided: Frederick accepted to finally go to the Crusade, but only as the legitimate King of Jerusalem, and this was only possible if he agreed to take the young Queen Isabella II as his wife (by this time, Frederick was a widower). This was planned by the Pope, who hoped by this bond to attach the Emperor firmly to the Sixth Crusade. The betrothal was confirmed, but the Emperor still delayed his departure until August 1225, when he and Isabella were married by proxy in the City of Acre. Days later, Isabella II was crowned as Queen of Jerusalem.

of Jerusalem, was dispossessed and his rights transferred to him. The contemporary chronicles described the exotic wedding celebrations, which took place in the Castle of Oria, and the indignant reaction of her father John of Brienne, now without royal authority.

After the wedding, Isabella was kept in seclusion by her husband, in Palermo. In November 1226,

Isabella arrived in Italy with twenty galleys sent by Frederick II to bring her to her father and married in person to Frederick II in the cathedral of Brindisi, on November 9, 1225. During the ceremony, Frederick declared himself King of Jerusalem and immediately saw to it that his new father-in-law John of Brienne, the current regent

she gave birth to her first child, a daughter (referred to by some sources as Margaret); the baby died in August 1227. Isabella died May 4

after giving birth to her second child, a son, Conrad, in Andria, Bari, on April 25, 1228. She was buried in the Andria Cathedral.

Conrad II



Figure 17 Conrad II of Jerusalem

By his father, Conrad was the grandson of the Hohenstaufen emperor Henry VI and great-grandson of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. He lived in Southern Italy until 1235, when he first visited the Kingdom of Germany. During this period his kingdom of Jerusalem, ruled by his father as regent through proxies, was racked by the civil War of the Lombards until Conrad declared his majority and his father's regency lost its validity.

When Emperor Frederick II deposed his eldest son, Conrad's rebellious half-brother King Henry (VII), Conrad succeeded him as Duke of Swabia in 1235. However, the emperor was not able to have him elected King of the Romans until the 1237 Imperial Diet in Vienna. This title, though not acknowledged by Pope Gregory IX, presumed his future as a Holy Roman Emperor. Prince-Archbishop Siegfried III of Mainz, in his capacity as German archchancellor, acted as regent for the minor until 1242, when Frederick chose Landgrave Henry Raspe of Thuringia, and King Wenceslaus I of Bohemia to assume this function. Conrad intervened directly in German politics from around 1240.

However, when Pope Innocent IV imposed a papal ban on Frederick in 1245 and declared Conrad deposed, Henry Raspe supported the pope and was in turn elected as anti-king of Germany on May 22, 1246. Henry Raspe defeated Conrad in the battle of Nidda in August 1246, but died several months later. He was succeeded as anti-king by William of Holland.

In 1246, Conrad married Elisabeth of Bavaria, a daughter of Otto II Wittelsbach, Duke of Bavaria. They had a son, Conradin, in 1252.

Conrad was never able to subdue the pope's supporters, and the pope in turn offered Sicily to Edmund Crouchback, son of Henry III of England (1253). Conrad was excommunicated in 1254 and died of malaria in the same year at Lavello in Basilicata.

Conrad III



Figure 18 Conrad III

Having lost his father in 1254, Conradin grew up at the court of his uncle and guardian, Louis II, Duke of Bavaria. His guardians were able to hold Swabia for him. Jerusalem was held by a relative from the royal house of Cyprus as regent. In Sicily, his father's half-brother Manfred continued as regent, but began to develop plans to usurp the kingship.

Having assumed the title of King of Jerusalem and Sicily, Conradin took possession of the Duchy of Swabia in 1262, and remained for some time in his duchy. Conradin's first invitation to Italy came from the Guelphs of Florence: they asked him to take arms against Manfred, who had been crowned king of Sicily in 1258 on a false rumor of Conradin's death. Louis refused this invitation on his nephew's behalf. In 1266 the count Charles I of Anjou, called by the new pope Clement IV, defeated and killed Manfred at Benevento, taking possession of southern Italy: envoys from the Ghibelline cities went then to Bavaria and urged Conradin to come and free Italy. Count Guido de Montefeltro representing Henry of Castile, Senator of Rome, offered him the support of the eternal city. Pledging his lands, Conradin crossed the Alps and issued a manifesto at Verona setting forth his claim on Sicily.

Notwithstanding the defection of his uncle Louis and of other companions who returned to Germany, the threats of Clement IV, and a lack of funds, his cause seemed to prosper. Proclaiming him King of Sicily, his partisans, among them Prince Henry of Castile, both in the north and south of Italy took up arms; Rome received his envoy with enthusiasm; and the young king himself received welcomes at Pavia, Pisa and Siena. In September 1267 a Spanish fleet under Frederick of Castile, and a number of knights from Pisa, and Spanish knights soldiering from Tunis, disembarked in the Sicilian city of Sciacca, and most of the island rebelled against the Angevin rule. Only Palermo and Messina remained loyal to Charles. The revolt spread to Calabria and Apulia. In November of the same year the Church excommunicated him; but his

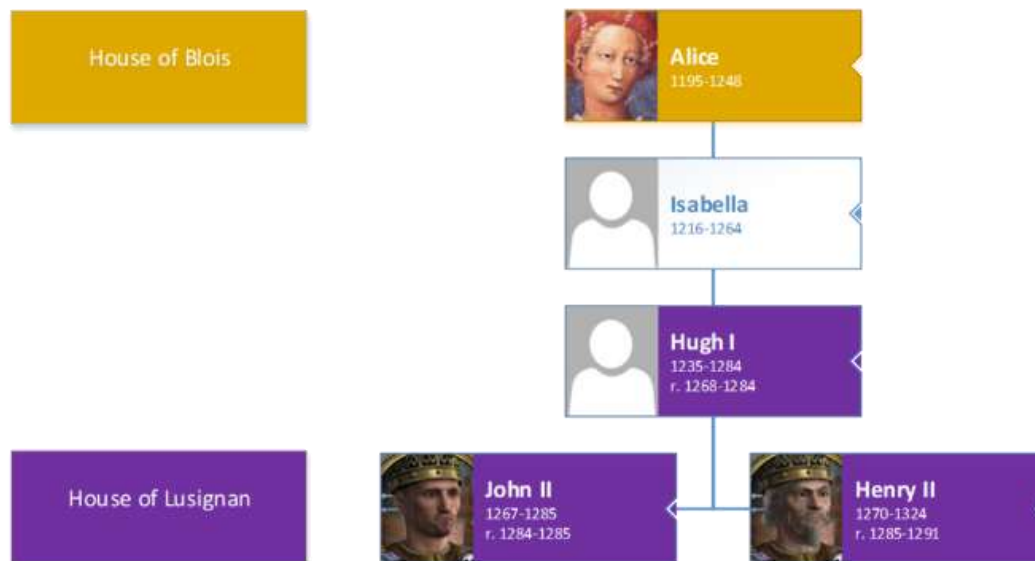
fleet won a victory over that of Charles I of Anjou; and in July 1268, Conradin himself entered with immense enthusiasm in Rome.

Having strengthened his forces, he marched towards Lucera to join the Saracen troops settled there since the time of his grandfather. On 23 August 1268 his multi-national army of Italian, Spanish, Roman, Arab and German troops encountered that of Charles at Tagliacozzo, in a hilly area of central Italy. The eagerness of Conradin's Spanish knights under Infante Henry of Castile in the most successful first charge, and the error of obtaining plunder in the enemy's camp after that momentary victorious assault gave the final victory to the reinforced French. Escaping from the field of battle, Conradin reached Rome, but acting on advice to leave the city he proceeded to Astura in an attempt to sail for Sicily: but here he was arrested and handed over to Charles, who imprisoned him in the Castel



Figure 19 Execution of Conradin

dell'Ovo in Naples, together with the inseparable Frederick of Baden. He was tried as a traitor, and on October 29, 1268 he and Frederick were beheaded.



Hugh I

Hugh I of Jerusalem, born Hugues de Poitiers, later Hugues de Lusignan, called the Great, was the King of Cyprus from 1267 and King of Jerusalem from 1268. He was the son of Henry of Antioch and Isabelle de Lusignan, the daughter of king Hugh I of Cyprus. He was a grandson of Bohemund IV of Antioch.

From 1261 he served as Regent for Hugh II of Cyprus in Cyprus, as the *Haute Cour* of Cyprus considered him, as a male, a better regent than his mother Isabella. She was, however, accepted as the Regent of Jerusalem in 1263. She died in 1264, and Hugh became the acting regent of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as well as Cyprus. The regency was contested by his first cousin, Hugh of Brienne, who was the son of Mary of Cyprus, the eldest daughter of Hugh I and hence the senior heir to Cyprus, and heir to Jerusalem after Hugh II. However, the *Haute Cour of Jerusalem* declared Hugh of Antioch the next regent, as successor to Isabella in proximity of blood.

Hugh II died in 1267 without heirs. As Hugh of Brienne did not advance his claim on the throne, Hugh of Antioch succeeded as uncontested King

of Cyprus on December 5 and was crowned at Santa Sophia, in Nicosia, on December 24. He claimed the Kingdom of Jerusalem as well in 1267 or 1268 upon the execution of Conradin. However, the throne of Jerusalem was also claimed by Mary of Antioch by proximity of blood to Conradin. The *Haute Cour of Jerusalem* rejected her claim and Hugh was crowned King of Jerusalem at Tyre on September 24, 1269.

Hugh and his descendants, the Kings of Cyprus, assumed his mother's surname of Lusignan in 1267, having inherited Cyprus through that family, thus establishing the Second House of Lusignan.

Hugh disliked dealing with the various factions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and left for Cyprus in 1276 in disgust at their defiance of his authority. The next year, his bailiff, Balian of Ibelin, Lord of Arsuf, was ejected by Roger of Sanseverino, the bailiff of Charles of Anjou, who had purchased the claim of Mary of Antioch. The kingdom remained under Angevin control for the rest of Hugh's reign.

He married Isabella of Ibelin (1241–1324). They had 11 children. He was succeeded by his eldest son, John.

John II



Figure 20 John II

John succeeded his father as King of Cyprus (as John I) on March 24 and was crowned at Santa Sophia, Nicosia on May 11, 1284. His succession as King of Jerusalem was opposed by Charles I of Naples, who had also disrupted his father's succession. John died the following year on May 20. He was buried in the church of St. Demetrius or according to some Santa Sophia, in Nicosia.

Having never married and leaving no children, he was succeeded by his brother, Henry.

Henry II



Figure 21 Henry II

was the last crowned King of Jerusalem (after the fall of Acre on May 28, 1291, this title became empty). He succeeded his brother on May 20, 1285; there was some suspicion that Henry had been involved in poisoning John. He was crowned at Santa Sophia, Nicosia, June 24, 1285. Charles of Anjou, who contested John's claim to the throne, had died in 1285, allowing Henry to recover Acre from the Angevins. With a fleet Henry attacked Acre, defended by Charles' lieutenant Hugh Pelerin, and the city was captured on July 29. Henry had himself crowned King of Jerusalem there on August 15, 1286, but returned to Cyprus and appointed his uncle Philip of Ibelin as Bailiff in his absence. By this time Acre was one of the few coastal cities remaining in the remnant of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. During his reign the Mameluks captured Tyre, Beirut, and the rest of the cities, and destroyed the similarly weakened County of Tripoli in 1289. The final siege of Acre began on April 5, 1291 with Henry present in the city. He escaped to Cyprus with most of his nobles, and the city fell to Khalil on May 28.

Henry continued to rule as King of Cyprus, and continued to claim the kingdom of Jerusalem as well, often planning to recover the former territory on the mainland. He attempted a coordinated military operation in 1299/1300 with Ghazan, the Mongol ilkhán of Persia, when Ghazan invaded Mameluk territory in 1299; he tried to stop Genoese ships from trading with the Mameluks, hoping to weaken them economically; and he twice wrote to Pope Clement V asking for a new crusade.

His reign in Cyprus was prosperous and wealthy, and he was very much involved with the justice and administration of the kingdom. However,

Cyprus was in no position to fulfill his true ambition, the recovery of the Holy Land.

He suffered from epilepsy, which at times incapacitated him, and his nobles were unsatisfied with him. He had his brother Guy, the Constable of Cyprus, put to death in 1303 for conspiring against him. In 1306 his brother Amalric, Prince of Tyre, Constable of Jerusalem, conspired with the Templars to remove him from power. However, Amalric assumed the title of Governor and Regent of Cyprus, rather than of King. Henry was deposed on April 26 and exiled to Armenia, where King Oshin of Armenia was Amalric's brother-in-law. However, upon the murder of

Amalric in 1310, Oshin released Henry, who returned to Cyprus and resumed his throne with the aid of the Hospitallers on August 26, 1310, imprisoning many of Amalric's co-conspirators, including their brother Constable Aimery, brother-in-law Balian II of Ibelin, Prince of Galilee, and other relatives of Balian. In 1313, he oversaw the dissolution of the Templars in Cyprus and the transfer of their property to the Hospitallers.

He married Constance of Sicily, daughter of Frederick III of Sicily and Eleanor of Anjou, at Santa Sophia, Nicosia, on October 16, 1317 but they didn't have any children.

Henry died on August 31, 1324 at his Villa in Strovolos, near Nicosia, was buried at the Franciscan Church of Nicosia.

Legacy

After the loss of all territory in the Levant in 1291, there were late attempts at further crusades, nominally proposing to recapture Jerusalem, but with the rise of the Ottoman Empire their character was more and more that of a desperate defensive war rarely reaching beyond the Balkans. Henry IV of England made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1393/4, and he later vowed to lead a crusade to recapture the city, but he did not undertake such a campaign before his death in 1413. The Levant remained under Ottoman control from 1517 until the Partition of the Ottoman Empire in 1918.

With the Fall of Ruad in 1303, the Kingdom of Jerusalem lost its final outpost on the Levantine coast, its possession closest to the Holy Land now being Cyprus. Henry II of Jerusalem retained the title of king of Jerusalem until his death in 1324, and the title continued to be claimed by his successors, the kings of Cyprus. The title of "king of Jerusalem" was also continuously used by the Angevin kings of Naples, whose founder, Charles of Anjou, had in 1277 bought a claim to the throne from Mary of Antioch. Thereafter, this claim to the Kingdom of Jerusalem was treated as a tributary of the crown of Naples, which often

changed hands by testament or conquest rather than direct inheritance. As Naples was a papal fief, the Popes often endorsed the title of King of Jerusalem as well as of Naples, and the history of these claims is that of the Neapolitan Kingdom. In 1441, control of the Kingdom of Naples was lost to Alfonso V of Aragon and the title thus was claimed by the kings of Spain, and after the War of the Spanish Succession both by the House of Bourbon and the House of Habsburg. The title is still in *de facto* use by the Spanish Crown, currently held by Felipe VI of Spain. It was also claimed by Otto von Habsburg as Habsburg pretender until 1958, and by the kings of Italy until 1946.

Officers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem

There were six major officers of the kingdom of Jerusalem: the constable, the marshal, the seneschal, the chamberlain (which were known as the "Grand Offices"), the butler and the chancellor. At certain times there were also bailiffs, viscounts and castellans.

Essentially these offices developed from the typical officials that existed in northern France in the 11th century, the homeland of the first kings of Jerusalem. The offices continued to develop in France and England, but in Jerusalem they tended to develop more slowly or not at all, taking on different roles than their European counterparts.

The **Constable** commanded the army, paid mercenaries and judged legal cases pertaining to the military. He was the most important officer in the kingdom, due to the almost constant state of warfare that existed between the Christian and Muslim states. The constable was officially the second-in-command of the army, in which he exercised police authority and commanded a division twice as large as all others. In addition, constables also determined the boundaries and

borders of the kingdom. During the coronation the constable would hold the king's horse.

The **Marshal** was next-in-command (and, apparently, a literal vassal) to the constable. He led the mercenaries and was in charge of the army's horses, and distributed the spoils of a victorious battle. On coronation day the marshal would assist the constable.

The office of **Seneschal** in Jerusalem never achieved the prominence of its European counterparts but was important nonetheless. The seneschal administered the coronation ceremony, oversaw the Haute Cour in the king's absence, administered royal castles, and managed the royal finances and revenue. The seneschal's power was over only viscounts and not castellans, and the constable was still superior to the seneschal due in part to the kingdom's constant state of war. During coronations the seneschal would hold the royal scepter and oversee the coronation feast. The office was similar to, but not as developed as, the English office of the *exchequer*.

The **Chamberlain** administered the royal household and its servants, and had other honorary duties such as administering oaths. On coronation day the chamberlain would robe the king. He had his own fief from which he drew his salary.

The **Butler** was in charge of the royal table and also administered the kingdom's vineyards.

The **Chancellor** drew up deeds and charters and managed the kingdom's diplomatic service. The chancellery is an interesting example of the fossilization of 11th century offices. It consisted of only a few secretaries and scribes, and never became the large administrative bureaucracy that had developed elsewhere in Europe. Chancellors tended to be clergymen who often became bishops or archbishops, sometimes while still holding the chancellery. The relative unimportance of the chancellor reflects the relative decentralization of royal authority as compared to states like France or England that were at the same time becoming more centralized.

The **Bailiff** (or *bailli*) administered the kingdom in the absence or minority of the king, in the capacity of a regent; for example, during the captivity of Baldwin II, and the youth and illness of Baldwin IV. In the 13th century the bailiff ruled essentially as a king himself, and was the most powerful man in the kingdom, as the kings were usually foreign monarchs who did not live permanently in the kingdom.

Viscounts and **Castellans** were sometimes held by one person and sometimes held by two separate people; sometimes one or the other was not held at all. They were named by the king and occupied the Tower of David, but their specific duties are mostly unknown and were probably not particularly important; one of the duties of the viscount was apprehending criminals and administering justice in the lower-class burgess court. Like the office of butler, these offices may not have survived the move to Acre.