



16. Palestine (Map by the University of Wisconsin Cartographic Laboratory)



17. Northern Syria (Map by the University of Wisconsin Cartographic Laboratory)



John II Comnenus and His Wife Irene

XV

THE CRUSADER STATES

1192-1243

After the Third Crusade, the kingdom of Jerusalem faced conditions less favorable than those prevailing before the battle of Hattin. It was surrounded by strong Aiyūbid states while its own territory was confined to the coast of the Levant. Its armed forces and diplomatic influence were small. Within the kingdom, the transfer of the capital to Acre symbolized the shift in emphasis from religious to economic and commercial interests that would characterize the thirteenth century.

When Philip Augustus left Acre in 1191, Richard the Lion-hearted remained in nominal command, although a remnant of the French forces under duke Hugh of Burgundy allied itself with

Among the sources for this period, especial importance attaches to the *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le trésorier* (ed. L. de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1871), and to the *Estoire de Eracles* (RHC, Occ., II). For the relations of Jerusalem with the Hohenstaufens and, indeed, for most of the happenings of the early thirteenth century, see Philip of Novara, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus* (tr. J. L. La Monte and M. J. Hubert, Records of Civilization, New York, 1936) which, though invaluable, is biased in favor of the Syrians. Concerning the text history of Philip's work, see *ibid.*, pp. 3 ff., and C. Kohler, *Les Mémoires de Philippe de Novare, 1218-1243* (Les Classiques français du moyen-âge, X, Paris, 1913).

Inevitably the papal correspondence must be studied in connection with this as with all crusading activities: P. Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ad annum MCXCVIII* (ed. S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, et al., II, Leipzig, 1888), and A. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV* (2 vols., Berlin, 1874-1875). The full texts of Innocent III's correspondence may be found, although in a faulty edition, in *PL*, CCXIV-CCXVII; better versions of certain letters are specified in the footnotes to this volume. For Honorius III and Gregory IX, see *I regesti del pontefice Onorio III* (ed. P. Pressutti, I, Rome, 1884); *Regesta Honorii papae III* (ed. P. Pressutti, 2 vols., Rome, 1888-1895); and *Les Registres de Grégoire IX* (ed. L. Auvray, 4 vols., 1896-1955).

Among the Arabic chroniclers the most useful are Abū-l-Fidā', *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* (extracts tr. in RHC, Or., I); Ibn-al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fī-t-tārīkh* (extracts tr. in RHC, Or., II, part I); and Usāmah Ibn-Munqidh, *An Arab Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades* (tr. and ed. P. K. Hitti, Records of Civilization, New York, 1929).

The *Assises de Jérusalem* (RHC, Lois, I, II) are extremely useful for the legal aspects of Jerusalem in relation to the other principalities and for the position of the king and the barons in the thirteenth century. In connection with this work, M. Grandclaude, *Étude critique sur les livres des Assises de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1923), is very helpful.

Principal secondary works are R. Röhrich's monumental *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898), and R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades*, III (Paris, 1936). The best secondary account of the principality of Antioch and its tangled relations with Jerusalem, Tripoli, and the Moslem states is to be found in C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades* (Paris, 1940).

Conrad of Montferrat in opposition to Richard and to Guy of Lusignan. Increasingly anxious to leave the unhealthy Syrian shores and return to the west to deal with John and Philip Augustus, Richard gradually inclined to the politic settlement of Christian differences in Syria. Guy resigned his pretensions to Jerusalem and purchased from Richard the more attractive Cyprus, for which he departed in May 1192. Richard was then free to agree to Conrad's election as king of Jerusalem. Husband of Isabel, heiress to the throne, Conrad was not only an able soldier and statesman, but leader of the majority Syrian party in opposition to the incompetent and luckless Guy. Richard sent Henry of Champagne to Tyre to escort Conrad to Acre for his coronation, but Conrad was killed by an Assassin on April 28. Although both Richard and Saladin were accused by some of instigating the murder,¹ it was apparently the result of a quarrel with the Assassins over Conrad's seizure of a merchant ship belonging to the order. His death removed the one competent candidate for the throne who was primarily interested in the power of Jerusalem. Others looked upon the kingship as a duty or as an addition to their holdings.

The exigencies of Jerusalem's situation made inadvisable the possible conflicts and uncertainties of a regency. The newly reconciled factions would scarcely have agreed upon a council or regent without further bitterness. Therefore Henry of Champagne, the wealthy nephew of the kings of France and England, was hastily selected to be the queen's new husband and to share the throne. Henry would have preferred to return to the west, but appeals from Richard, the Syrian barons, and the remaining crusaders prevailed, and when Richard promised to return with reinforcements, Henry accepted. He and Isabel were married in Tyre, according to *Eracles*, two days after Conrad's death, and then proceeded to Acre to take over the government. Henry's accession was hailed for ending the internal conflict which had persisted since the reign of Baldwin IV and had divided Christian efforts in the crusade. He was never crowned, and we know of his using the title lord of Jerusalem only once (in March 1196). He usually called himself count of Troyes.

By the treaty of September 2-3, 1192, drawn for a term of three years and three months, the Franks had received the littoral from north of Tyre to south of Jaffa. Lydda-Ramla was to be divided and Ascalon, Darum, and Gaza were to be dismantled for the duration. Jerusalem was to be accessible to Christians, and the

¹ See above, volume I, pp. 125-126.

pilgrim route to Mecca open to Moslems. Separate treaties were reserved for Antioch and Tripoli. After Richard's departure on October 9, 1192, Saladin revised the peace even more generously for certain Frankish barons, giving Sarepta and half the district of Sidon to Reginald Grenier, and the castle and surrounding lands of Caymont to Balian of Ibelin. Henry took possession of Jaffa, and restored Haifa, Caesarea, and Arsuf to their respective lords. Peace with Antioch and Tripoli followed on October 30, when Saladin met with Bohemond III in Beirut.

The generally effective peace brought relief to the people, and crowded the roads with pilgrims. Within a short time old commercial routes were reopened for a flourishing trade. The Italian cities — Pisa and Genoa in particular — gained greater privileges and lands in Syria than ever before, inasmuch as the reorganized kingdom depended greatly on their navies for protection from the Moslems by sea. Jerusalem now became embroiled in their feuds and rivalries for commercial supremacy. Although their navies helped to reestablish the kingdom, their abuse of power within the kingdom and their preoccupation with their own economic interests weakened the state and helped produce its final fall.

The general situation immediately after the Third Crusade, however, did not appear hopeless. The reduced Latin territory and its compactness meant fewer surprises in the hinterland for the Franks, who were eager to reconquer the remainder of the coast between Jerusalem and Tripoli, and looked to an early renewal of crusading enthusiasm in Europe. Saladin's death in 1193, threatening Aiyūbid unity, seemed to promise them ultimate success. The Franks were unable, however, to take advantage of Moslem disunity then and later because of Jerusalem's own political troubles; a series of female successions, minorities, and regencies made long-range policies difficult to plan or execute.

Henry of Champagne faced the immediate problem of consolidating his position and strengthening the crown before he could take any action outside Jerusalem. He learned in May 1193 that the Pisans, old allies of the Lusignan faction, were plotting to seize Tyre for Guy. Henry immediately forbade that more than thirty Pisans reside in the city at any one time. When the Pisans retaliated by ravaging the coast up to Acre, Henry expelled them from Acre and all the kingdom, threatening to hang any who should return. He thus canceled the previous grants to the Pisans by former rulers, which he and Richard had confirmed in 1192. Throughout his reign, Henry was often forced to renounce policies and friend-

ships favored by Richard; to turn from the Lusignans and Pisans to the Monferrine-Genoese-Syrian Frank faction.

The affair of Tyre spread to include Guy's brother Aimery, constable of Jerusalem and lord of Jaffa. When he intervened with Henry for the Pisans, Henry charged him with complicity in the plot and imprisoned him. Aimery appealed to the laws of the kingdom, protesting such treatment, especially as Henry was acting without the consent of the high court. In this Aimery was upheld by the barons and the masters of the Temple and Hospital. Henry was persuaded to free Aimery, who gave up the constabship and all he held from Henry to retire to Cyprus, where he succeeded to the throne and to the leadership of the Lusignan-Pisan party at Guy's death in 1194.

When Aimery ascended the Cypriote throne, Henry still claimed Cyprus as part of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Many nobles and merchants held fiefs and privileges in both states because of Guy's success in drawing colonists from the devastated mainland. Aimery and Henry, recognizing that the rivalry was injurious to both Cyprus and the kingdom of Jerusalem, reached an accord when Henry visited Cyprus in 1194, after his return from Armenia. The three daughters of Henry were to marry Aimery's three sons and establish one ruling family, concentrating Frankish power in the east. Henry was to give his own city, Jaffa, for dowry. In addition, at the first marriage he would cancel the 60,000 dinars which Guy had owed Richard for Cyprus, a debt which Richard had passed on to Henry.² The accord also paved the way for Henry's reconciliation with the Pisans, who were now pardoned and restored to their old lands and privileges.

During this early period, Henry quarreled also with the canons of the Holy Sepulcher over the election of a new patriarch. Basically, the trouble stemmed from the ruler's attempt to maintain royal rights over the clergy, and is noteworthy as one of the last instances of violent disagreement between throne and church in Jerusalem. On the whole, relations between the two were harmonious and cordial in the reorganized kingdom. However, when the patriarch Ralph died in 1194, the canons of the Holy Sepulcher elected Aymar the Monk, archbishop of Caesarea and partisan of the Pisans, without consulting Henry. When Henry objected that they had encroached upon crown rights, they replied that the customs of the kingdom gave them the right to elect a patriarch at once.

² See below, chapter XVII, pp. 599-604.

They added that they had not asked his approval of the candidate because he had not been regularly crowned king; this was an obvious evasion, since the holy city, where the king ought by law to have been crowned, was held by Moslems. Henry again acted swiftly and impulsively, arresting the canons and threatening them for usurping the royal prerogative. They were immediately released on the advice of the chancellor Joscius, archbishop of Tyre, and Aymar was further pacified by a grant and a prebend to his nephew. The canons sent a delegation to pope Celestine III, who concluded the affair by confirming Aymar and censuring Henry for brutality.

Henry also reasserted in some measure hegemony over the northern principality of Antioch, which had drifted far from Jerusalem's sphere of influence following Saladin's destruction of the centralized power of the early kingdom. Bohemond III (1163-1201) had initiated policies which Antioch would follow for the next half century: he annexed Tripoli, gained Moslem friendship, particularly in Aleppo, quarreled with his prelates, and began intermittent warfare with Armenia. The union with Tripoli was a personal one, resulting from the bequest of the county by Raymond III to his godson Raymond, eldest son of Bohemond. As Raymond was also heir to Antioch, where frontier conditions were unstable, Bohemond III deemed it wiser for his second son, Bohemond, to take Tripoli.³ Bohemond III signed a two-year truce with Saladin in 1187, followed by a ten-year treaty in 1192. A treaty with Aleppo was more than a mere pact of non-aggression; az-Zāhir of Aleppo feared the Armenians, his uncle Saif-ad-Dīn, and Turkish interference, so he concluded an alliance with Antioch which reached its zenith during the early years of Bohemond IV's rule. To Antioch the defensive alliance with Aleppo meant an ally against Armenia when the principality could not depend upon Jerusalem, from which it was separated by Latakia (Laodicea) and other Moslem holdings. Internally the small group of Latins controlling the political life of the principality were inextricably involved in the bitter rivalries between the much larger Greek and Armenian populations. The racial and religious hatreds between the Greeks and the Armenians split the ruling Franks, who were to be found in both parties. Antiochene-Armenian relations were further complicated by claims of the Templars to the fortress of Baghrās, which

³ On the union of Antioch and Tripoli, cf. in general Jean Richard, *Le Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187)* (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, xxxix, Paris, 1945).

they had possessed until 1188, when it was captured, dismantled, and then restored by Saladin. Armenia refused to return it to the Templars because it guarded the entrance to Syria. The Antiochenes felt uneasy with the strategic stronghold in Armenian hands; this had been one of the reasons why Bohemond III had not included his vassal Leon II in the treaty of 1192 with Saladin. Saladin himself had objected to Leon's holding Baghrās, which lay on the route from Cilicia to Antioch.

Open conflict with Cilician Armenia came in 1194. Leon of Armenia, after long service in the court of Bohemond III, returned to Armenia as regent for his niece Alice. In 1194 he lured Bohemond and his family to Baghrās, perhaps by a false promise to surrender the fortress. He hoped to gain release from homage to Bohemond, and to seize Antioch. Leon took Bohemond's family and court off to Sis as prisoners. Bohemond agreed to surrender Antioch in exchange for his freedom, sending the marshal Bartholomew Tirel and Richard of L'Erminet to turn the city over to Armenian troops under Heṭoum of Sasoun. After their initial entry, Antiochene resistance was whipped up by the clergy and the Greeks. The citizenry ousted the invaders and, under the venerable patriarch Aimery, formed a commune which recognized Raymond as lord until his father should be released. Heṭoum stationed his troops outside the city walls.

Antioch then asked aid of Henry of Jerusalem and Bohemond of Tripoli. Despite the weakness of his forces, Henry went as arbitrator, following the old tradition that the ruler of Jerusalem should answer Antioch's appeals. He was undoubtedly also influenced by the broader view that war between Christian states would help the Moslems. He sailed to Tripoli, where young Bohemond joined him, and then went on to Antioch and Sis. There Leon was persuaded to negotiate peace with Antioch. All the prisoners captured at Baghrās were released; Leon was quit of homage to Bohemond; Bohemond gave up the frontier territory he held in the plain of Armenia up to the Syrian Gates; and arrangements were made for the marriage of Raymond of Antioch to Alice of Armenia (1195). Bohemond was certain that a son of the union would inherit Armenia, and that his Latin upbringing would render him an ally of Antioch. But Raymond soon died, and Bohemond III sent Alice back to Leon with her infant son Raymond Roupen. Leon determined that this great-nephew of his should inherit Antioch on the death of Bohemond III.

In 1198 Bohemond of Tripoli, trying to insure his succession

to Antioch, attempted to take the city in his father's lifetime. While az-Zāhir of Aleppo detained Leon of Armenia, the young Bohemond entered Antioch, summoned the commune, and persuaded it to renounce in his favor its oath to his father. The basis of his claim to the title prince of Antioch thus became popular election instead of inheritance. Within three months, however, Leon settled his Moslem troubles, made peace with the military orders, and marched on Antioch. There was no resistance to his army or to its restoration of Bohemond III. Bohemond of Tripoli was more interested in securing his own eventual accession than in deposing his father, now old, easily led, and tiring of Leon's brief protection. The son could also count on support against Leon from the Templars, whose claims to Baghrās were still unsatisfied.

While Antioch remained troubled, the kingdom enjoyed the results of Henry's foreign policy. As a wise diplomat, he gained peace to rebuild the shattered strength of his land, accepting the friendship of Moslem and Christian alike. On his journey back from Antioch in 1194 he passed through Assassin territory and was welcomed by the master of that order, which owed its independence to a balance of power in Syria between the Franks and the Aiyūbids. At this time it was turning to Jerusalem to counter the power of Damascus.⁴ Similarly, after Saladin's death in March 1193, Henry took advantage of internecine Moslem struggles to play one Aiyūbid against the others. The Franks seldom attempted attacks on Moslems, however, being more concerned with the restoration of prosperity in their own cities and fiefs. Thus for a half century there was no concentrated war between Frank and Aiyūbid in Syria. Breaches of the peace were usually precipitated by the arrival of fresh crusaders from Europe.

In 1197, when the treaty signed by Henry and Saladin was about to expire, the Hohenstaufen emperor Henry VI had mustered huge forces for an eastern expedition.⁵ Already lord of Sicily through his marriage to the Norman heiress Constance, Henry VI had arranged to assume suzerainty over Cyprus and Armenia by conferring crowns upon the rulers of each state.⁶ Aimery of Cyprus, wishing to clarify the status of his island domain, had sent an embassy to the pope and Henry VI in 1195; both had agreed that he should have the crown, and he assumed the royal title in the spring of 1196 while his coronation awaited the arrival of Henry

⁴ See volume I, chapter IV, for a general treatment of the Assassins, where, however, this episode is not discussed.

⁵ See above, chapter III, pp. 117-121.

⁶ For the crown of Cyprus, see below, chapter XVII, p. 604.

VI or imperial envoys. Leon of Armenia, after uniting the Armenian church with Rome, likewise requested a crown from the emperor, promising to hold Armenia from him. Henry received Leon's homage and promised a coronation. Not content with this, Leon also received a crown from the Byzantine emperor Alexius III Angelus. Aimery was crowned in September 1197 by the imperial chancellor, Conrad of Querfurt, when the first contingent of the projected imperial crusade stopped at Cyprus for that purpose. Leon was crowned January 6, 1198, at Tarsus, in the presence of the Armenian clergy, the Franco-Armenian nobility of the land, the Greek archbishop of Tarsus, the Jacobite patriarch, and the caliph's ambassadors. While he was crowned by the catholicus, Gregory Abirad, Leon received the other royal insignia from archbishop Conrad of Mainz in Henry's name.

The German crusaders who landed at Acre in the summer of 1197 were soon so seriously at odds with the Syrian Franks that their leaders moved their camp to the outskirts of the city to avoid a clash. Relations between Moslems and Christians were uneasy, and the new arrivals seemed bound to precipitate some change in the Syrian situation. The first change, however, was independent of the crusade: Stephanie of Milly, widow of Hugh (III) Embriaco, the last lord of Jubail, bribed the Kurdish emir of that town to leave his stronghold. The Moslems left and Stephanie's forces took possession of Jubail in the autumn of 1197. The Christians were beginning to dislodge the Moslems from their few ports along the Syrian coast, holdings which had separated Antioch and Tripoli from the kingdom since the days of Saladin.

In September the German crusaders, without notifying Henry of Champagne, attacked in Moslem territory. They were encircled by Moslems, but eventually saved by Henry, who proceeded to re-organize them on the advice of Hugh of Tiberias. Fearing a surprise move by al-'Ādil Saif-ad-Din, Henry's forces returned to Acre, where they learned that the Moslem leader was attacking Jaffa. While Henry was preparing to go to the defense of his city, he fell from a tower window in Acre and died (September 10, 1197). His death removed the unifying force holding the barons and crusaders together. Jaffa had already fallen to the Moslems, but the news was delayed; the host dispersed, and affairs came to a virtual standstill pending the selection of a new consort for queen Isabel.

Two candidates were considered: Ralph of Tiberias and Aimery of Lusignan. Ralph, a distinguished legist, had been born in the east, knew the country well, and would devote his entire life to its

interests. His brother Hugh was the leader of the barons. But the family was poor, had lost its great fief, and had no means to support the army and the court. Considering this, the Hospitallers and the Templars opposed Ralph. They favored Aimery, who had money and support from Cyprus, and was known as a good administrator. As liegeman of Henry VI, Aimery was also backed by the imperial chancellor. He was finally approved, married to Isabel, and crowned by the patriarch Aymar (October 1197). This was also Isabel's official coronation, although she had ruled jointly with her two previous husbands for several years.

Even before formally taking over the kingdom, Aimery held a council of war to consider the best use of the forces then in the country. Jaffa was lost and further warfare there seemed pointless. The most important place still in Aiyūbid hands was Beirut, lying between Tyre and Tripoli, and so dividing the Christian holdings. The host reassembled and marched up the coast, including the German crusaders under duke Henry of Brabant and Cypriote reinforcements. The fleet sailed parallel to the army. By mid-October of 1197 they had passed through Tyre and had reached Sidon, deserted after being destroyed by the Moslems. On October 22–23 they met the enemy between Sidon and Beirut. A short delaying action ended when Saif-ad-Dīn withdrew. He had sent forces on to destroy Beirut on October 21, but these were halted in their work by Usāmah, emir of the city, whose wealth depended on pirate ships based at Beirut which attacked shipping along the coast. When the Christians appeared before his gates October 23, Usāmah and his men went forth to fight, leaving a virtually undefended citadel to be taken over by a Christian carpenter and slaves. Usāmah fled and the Christians entered a deserted but intact city. The slaves hastened to surrender the tower to Aimery. The Franks now ruled the coast from Acre to Tripoli, and could extend their control to the coastal waters. Aimery profited greatly from the large store of arms left by Usāmah, and by having at his disposal a large fief.

Leaving a garrison at Beirut, the army pushed on to Toron and besieged it (November 28–February 2), but halted operations when the news of Henry VI's death on September 28 reached them. The Germans retired hastily to Tyre, whence they sailed almost immediately to Italy and Germany; Aimery could not continue the siege alone. He quickly came to terms with Saif-ad-Dīn, concluding a treaty much like the old one, but keeping Beirut and Jubail. The

crusade had thus increased Jerusalem's holdings. It had also introduced Hohenstaufen ambitions as a new and important factor in the subsequent history of Jerusalem and Cyprus.

Aimery was now ready to turn his attention to the administration of his new kingdom. He early refused to unite Jerusalem and Cyprus; each continued to maintain its own court, finances, and army, and his successors would abide by the principle of separation. Rivalry between the two states almost ceased, and Cyprus often gave of its resources to Jerusalem. In return, Cyprus drew from Syria many Franks who were pleased by the economic and commercial advantages of the island.

Much was hoped of a new crusade which the pope was preaching in Europe. Some of its members who refused to be "diverted" to Byzantium arrived at Acre as early as 1202.⁷ As usual, they understood little of politics, diplomacy, or military affairs in the Near East. Reginald of Dampierre, leader of 300 knights, announced to king Aimery that existing treaties with the Moslems should be broken so that he and his men could begin fighting immediately. Aimery replied that more than 300 men were necessary to fight the Aiyūbids, and that he would wait for further evidence of a large crusade. Meanwhile he counseled the impatient westerners to wait. Instead, most started northward to join the war raging between Bohemond IV and Leon of Armenia in Antioch, but many were massacred crossing into Latakian territory; a few stayed peaceably in Jerusalem.

Aimery did undertake one reprisal against Moslems during this time. An Egyptian emir, holding a castle near Sidon, sent out corsairs much as Usāmah had from Beirut. When Aimery's protests to Saif-ad-Dīn failed to stop the piracy, he launched a naval raid which netted twenty Egyptian ships, with supplies valued at 60,000 bezants, and 200 captives. Then he led the barons, Templars, and Hospitallers on land raids into Galilee, while Moslems under Saif-ad-Dīn's son al-Mu'azzam raided near Acre. Each military force carefully avoided the other; Aimery was still waiting for larger forces, and Saif-ad-Dīn did not want to provoke the arrival of more Europeans. In May 1204 Aimery showed further naval strength by raiding Fūwah in the Nile delta.

These actions, however, almost ceased with the diversion of the Fourth Crusade and the realization that the Holy Land was not to profit from it. Indeed, for Jerusalem the Fourth Crusade was a tragedy. The Latin empire of Constantinople was never strong

⁷ See above, chapter V, pp. 173-175.

enough to aid Syria; it dispersed western Christian efforts in men and wealth, and even attracted some nobles already established in Syria.⁸ Since most of the armies had gone to Constantinople, Jerusalem again sought peace with a willing Saif-ad-Dīn. The peace of September 1204, for six years, gained for the Franks the halves of Sidon, Lydda, and Ramla previously held by the Moslems, as well as the return of Jaffa and the extension of religious privileges and pilgrim facilities in Nazareth.

Aimery died on April 1, 1205, shortly after peace had been established. He had been self-assured, politically astute, sometimes hard, seldom sentimentally indulgent. He had found his greatest test in upholding crown rights against baronial privilege without provoking revolt. It was not his fault that he failed to strengthen the crown; a series of female and minority successions to the throne would gravely weaken the kingdom; and conditions on the frontier were very unsettled. With his death, Cyprus and Jerusalem were again separated, the former going to Hugh I, his son by his first marriage, while Isabel ruled Jerusalem until her own death soon after. An infant son died about the same time.

John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut and Isabel's half-brother, was elected by the high court of Acre to be bailie of the kingdom for Isabel and then for her heiress Mary, Isabel's daughter by Conrad of Montferrat. Ibelin's regency lasted from 1205 to 1210, when Mary married John of Brienne. It was a period of prosperity and peace for Jerusalem, although there was some trouble with Saif-ad-Dīn when pirates from Cyprus captured several Egyptian vessels. Saif-ad-Dīn led an army up to Acre before Ibelin convinced him that Jerusalem had not been responsible for the Cypriote actions. After exchanging prisoners, Saif-ad-Dīn went north to Tripoli, where Homs was under attack from Krak des Chevaliers. He campaigned in the area, captured 'Anaz, and finally agreed to a peace with Bohemond IV which relieved pressure on Homs.

Although the kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem had found some stability under Aimery and after him, the principality of Antioch had been torn by wars of succession. The death of Bohemond III in April 1201 precipitated action by both Bohemond of Tripoli and Leon of Armenia. Informed of his father's illness, young Bohemond rushed to Antioch, arriving on the day of the funeral. He immediately sounded the bell of the commune and demanded recognition as the rightful heir. The right of succession followed

⁸ See above, chapters VI and VII.

as yet no absolutely fixed principle in feudal law. John of England and Arthur of Brittany were at this time contending for the throne of England in a situation analogous to that of Bohemond and Raymond Roupen. It would have been normal for Raymond Roupen to become prince, as the son of Raymond, the eldest son of Bohemond III. Many nobles had taken oaths of homage to him and were loyal to the elder line. His uncle, the younger Bohemond, on the other hand, was the closest living relative of the last holder of the title and could, besides, fall back on his former popular election by the commune. While Raymond Roupen was not personally objectionable to the population of Antioch, many feared Armenian influence in his court. So Bohemond IV was accepted as prince, although not consecrated by the church, and those who favored Raymond fled to exile in Armenia.

Bohemond's position in Antioch was further strengthened by his allies. The Templars backed him, as did the Hospitallers for the moment, won over by the settlement of an old debt of Raymond III of Tripoli. Az-Zāhir of Aleppo again promised aid, and the Greek and Frankish elements remaining in the seignory supported him. Leon of Armenia heard of the death of Bohemond III late, but then hurried to Antioch with Alice and Raymond Roupen to claim it for his great-nephew. When he found Bohemond IV already installed, he sent back for reinforcements, while Bohemond called on Aleppo. Despite his war with Damascus, az-Zāhir invaded Armenia in July 1201, and Leon had to lift his siege of Antioch.

The war was renewed by Leon in 1202. During the following summer Aimery intervened, in the hope of settling the affair before the expected Fourth Crusade arrived. Accompanied by the papal legate, cardinal Soffredo, the masters of the Hospital and the Temple, and the high barons of the kingdom, he induced Leon to grant a short truce. After Leon had agreed to accept the decision of barons and legate, the barons, possibly under Bohemond's influence, announced that the question at issue was purely one of feudal law in which the legate should have no say. Angered, Leon ended the truce and on November 11, 1203, entered the city, and asked the patriarch to arrange peace between him and the commune. Bohemond IV was busy in Tripoli at the time, but the commune and Templars held the citadel stoutly, and were able to expel the Armenians. Their appeals to Aleppo were answered when az-Zāhir started again into Armenia. Leon left Antioch in December, when az-Zāhir's army reached the Orontes.

In his struggle with Antioch, Leon had striven to gain papal

support. In 1194-1195, when he was planning to get the title of king, he had instituted a union of the Armenian church with Rome; pope Celestine III had concurred in 1196 when Leon requested and received the royal title and crown from Henry VI. Throughout his pontificate, Innocent III tried to handle the problem of northern Syria so as to keep Armenia's adherence while not alienating Antioch. Leon clearly expected to receive tangible political benefits for his loyalty to Rome, and when Bohemond IV took Antioch, Leon had demanded "justice" of Innocent. Bohemond's actions had upset the papal plan for peaceful negotiations under the church, but, however much Innocent favored Leon in this affair, he could not condone his retention of Baghrās nor could he condemn Bohemond out of hand. The papal legates, cardinals Soffredo of St. Praxed and Peter Capuano of St. Marcellus, only succeeded in antagonizing Leon and giving Bohemond an opportunity to show his judicial agility.

While the legates were negotiating, Christians, Moslems, and the military orders fought among themselves with indiscriminate enthusiasm. Bohemond was forced to leave Antioch to defend Tripoli during the feudal rebellion of Renart of Nephin, who in 1203 without his suzerain's approval married Isabel, the heiress of 'Akkār (Gibelcar). Bohemond had the right to seize Renart's fiefs after he had been cited before the baronial court of Tripoli and condemned by default. Leon of Armenia supported Renart, while Bohemond relied on the Templars, the Hospitallers, the Genoese, and Aleppo. King Aimery, however, and certain barons, like Ralph and Hugh of Tiberias, supported Renart, because they disliked Bohemond's pretensions to autonomy in Antioch and Tripoli.

Toward the end of 1204, Renart raided up to the gates of Tripoli. Bohemond lost an eye in the battle which followed. After Aimery's death in April 1205, the regent, John of Ibelin, hostile to Renart, withdrew royal favor. Bohemond went over to the offensive, and by the end of the year captured both Nephin and 'Akkār. The baronial revolt collapsed, and in 1206 Bohemond was able to return to Antioch, which in the interim had been more or less protected from Leon by the watchfulness of az-Zāhir.

Between 1203 and 1205 the Hospitallers made several vain efforts to recapture some of their former territories in the north. The garrisons of Krak des Chevaliers and al-Marqab failed twice in 1203 to retake Ba'rin (Montferrand), then held from Aleppo by al-Manṣūr of Hamah. They were so badly defeated that they requested the Templars to mediate for them. The Templars, making

much of the arrival of Aimery and other lords in Antioch that summer, persuaded al-Manṣūr to sign a peace not unfavorable to the Hospitallers in September 1203. In 1204 and 1205 the Hospitallers renewed their raids against Ba'rin, and attacked Jabala and Latakia. They finally subsided in 1205 when the Moslems attacked al-Marqab.

Although the Fourth Crusade had given little comfort to Jerusalem, Bohemond IV was able to draw from the capture of Constantinople a certain political profit. To offset the vassalship of his rival, Leon of Armenia, to the western emperor Henry VI, Bohemond in 1204 did homage for Antioch to Mary, wife of the first Latin emperor Baldwin, who had come to Acre unaware that her husband had been "diverted" to Constantinople and had there become emperor. Bohemond thus made the new Latin dynasty the "legitimate" heirs of its Byzantine predecessors as suzerains of Antioch.

When Bohemond returned to Antioch in 1206, he found a clerical quarrel raging in the city. Peter Capuano had returned as papal legate to mediate between Bohemond and Leon but had fallen out with Peter of Angoulême, patriarch of Antioch, over clerical appointments in the principality. The legate excommunicated the cathedral chapter and took from Peter his patriarchal rights. The patriarch could expect no assistance from Bohemond, with whom he was already at odds. Indeed the patriarch had come to favor the Armenians against the Greeks, and had extended this preference so far as to support Raymond Roupen and friendship with Leon, who was again in communion with Rome. Early in 1207 Bohemond completely alienated the Latin church and most of the Franks in Antioch by enthroning the Greek patriarch, Symeon II, who was violently opposed to the Latin patriarch Peter. But in 1208 Peter of Angoulême submitted to the legate and received a favorable judgment from Rome, whereupon he excommunicated Symeon, Bohemond, and their followers, and placed Antioch under an interdict. Most of the population merely changed over to another communion, but Bohemond went further by allying himself with the Greek emperor Theodore Lascaris of Nicaea.

The unpopularity of Bohemond's behavior made it possible for Leon to plan a revolt within the city. Led by Peter of Angoulême and dissatisfied Latin nobles, the city rose, and Bohemond took refuge in the citadel. Leon entered with some of his army, just as Bohemond felt strong enough to emerge, expel the invaders, and crush the revolt. Leon had held Antioch only a few days. Bohemond

blamed the rebellion on the unfortunate Latin patriarch, who was imprisoned and tortured by thirst until he finally was driven to drinking lamp oil, and died in July 1208. Later that year Bohemond was excommunicated by patriarch Albert of Jerusalem under orders from Innocent III. This apparently meant little to him, for he kept the Greek patriarch Symeon in Antioch until 1213, and meanwhile refused to accept Peter, abbot of Locedio, who was appointed patriarch of Antioch by the pope.

Bohemond's danger in Antioch in 1208 induced az-Zāhir once more to invade Cilicia in 1209. Leon had to agree to return Baghrās to the Templars and to renounce his claims to Antioch. To offset this defeat, Leon sought to tie the Hospitallers closer to him by giving them fortresses to enable them to hold the march on the west of Cilicia against the Selchūkids and to free himself for action on the southeast.

In the kingdom of Jerusalem, John of Ibelin concluded his regency in 1210 by negotiating a marriage for Mary. The barons sought a man able to protect the land in peace and in war. They sent Aymar of Lairon, lord of Caesarea, and Walter of Florence, bishop of Acre, as ambassadors to the court of Philip Augustus to request him to nominate such a man. They were a trifle disconcerted by the nominee: John of Brienne, younger son of a noble family of Champagne, perhaps elderly,⁹ without substantial means. Despite these drawbacks, however, he was a courageous, able, and determined knight. As king he resembled Aimery in balance and wisdom; financially he was endowed with 40,000 *livres tournois* from Philip and an equal sum from Innocent III, who also gave him 300 knights. John landed at Haifa September 13, 1210, and proceeded to Acre, where a grand welcome awaited him. On September 14 he married Mary, and on October 3 was crowned with her at Tyre and received the homage of his new subjects.

The situation facing the new king was grave, and complicated by headstrong elements within the kingdom itself. The treaty with the Moslems signed by Aimery was to expire in September 1210, if Saif-ad-Dīn's offer to renew it with ten additional villages near Acre were not accepted. John of Ibelin, the barons, the Hospitallers, and the newly formed Teutonic Knights urged its acceptance, while the Templars, the patriarch, and many of the clergy strenuously opposed it. Saif-ad-Dīn continued to restrain his men. But the

⁹ On his alleged age, however, see the interesting article of J. M. Buckley, "The Problematical Octogenarianism of John of Brienne," *Speculum*, XXXII (1957), 315-322.

Franks raided up to the Jordan, and forced many Moslems to leave the area west of the river. With this the war started. The situation, despite promises, was not good; Jerusalem had but a toehold in Syria. John of Brienne asked aid, especially men, from the west, and Innocent III had the crusade preached once more throughout Europe, but the response was slow. Before the Franks could prepare, al-Mu'azzam, viceroy of Damascus, had reached Acre itself, although he contented himself with raids and prisoners. The Franks struck a blow in June 1211 by sending another raiding expedition under Walter of Montbéliard to the Nile delta. When the French knights at Acre prepared to leave, however, the kingdom sought peace. Saif-ad-Dīn received a delegation at his new fortress on Mt. Tabor in Galilee, and signed a treaty to last until 1217. This ushered in a new peaceful period during which the commerce and prosperity of Jerusalem expanded under John, who, after the death of queen Mary in 1212, continued to rule as regent and bailie for the heiress, his infant daughter Isabel.

No such peace existed, however, between Antioch and Armenia, and John of Brienne was shortly involved in their quarrel. Leon's attempts to keep the fortress of Baghrās, despite his promise in the treaty with az-Zāhir to return it to the Templars, led to a war in Cilicia and in the Antiochene plain until in 1211 the master of the Temple was wounded in an ambush, and Innocent III published the old excommunication against Leon. Leon sent Raymond Roupen against the Templars while he gave former Latin posts and possessions to the Greeks. He even received Symeon, Greek patriarch of Antioch. In 1211 John of Brienne and Bohemond both gave the Templars such effective aid that Leon finally returned Baghrās. But the new treaty was abruptly broken the next year with further actions against the Templars. This time the interdict was strictly enforced until Leon was reconciled with Rome in March 1213.

Several factors combined to make Leon's position much stronger than Bohemond's in northern Syria in the years immediately following the new rapprochement with Innocent. Bohemond was estranged from az-Zāhir, his strongest Moslem ally, just as the announcement of a new crusade drew az-Zāhir closer to Saif-ad-Dīn who favored Leon. Leon also won the favor of John of Brienne, who in 1214 married Leon's daughter Rita ("Stephanie") and expected to inherit Armenia. In Antioch morale was low; the population, exhausted by strife and alarmed at prospects of a new religious war, felt deserted by Bohemond IV, who preferred to

reside in the richer and more centrally located Tripoli. Leon's intrigues rebuilt a strong party in favor of Raymond Roupen, who was already backed by the clergy and some of the barons and who now promised richer fiefs to Hospitallers, justice to the Latin patriarch Peter and to the Antiochene exiles in Armenia, and fiefs to some nobles in Antioch. The most important of the latter group was the seneschal, Acharie of Sermin (Sarmīn), who was also mayor of the commune. Bohemond IV was in Tripoli when the plot reached fruition. On the night of February 14, 1216, Leon entered Antioch with his army and within a few days held the city, persuading the Templars in the citadel that aid was not coming. Raymond Roupen paid homage to patriarch Peter and was consecrated prince of Antioch, a confirmation of his office which had been denied Bohemond. For a time Leon's dreams seemed realized: Raymond Roupen, his own designated heir, was at last installed as prince of Antioch.

The new order began auspiciously. Raymond Roupen rewarded the church and the orders; the regular clergy regained possessions confiscated by Bohemond, while the Teutonic Knights and Hospitallers were well treated. The latter were made guardians of the citadel and confirmed in all the fiefs promised them earlier. Exiled Antiochenes returned to their possessions; Pisan privileges, which had been curtailed by Bohemond, were restored. But the mixed character of Raymond's support, combined with an empty treasury and lack of good counsel, alienated the good will the new reign had enjoyed in its first days. Raymond Roupen even quarreled with Leon, thus losing military strength as well as the hope of inheriting Armenia. In Antioch both nobles and commune objected to heavy taxation, and the commune became increasingly restive as the early prosperity of the reign faded. Another loss was the good council of the patriarch Peter, who died in 1217, and whose office was not filled until 1220. The young prince seems to have surrounded himself with men who aroused his suspicions of the people to such an extent that he demanded extraordinary oaths of loyalty from laymen and clergy alike.

John of Brienne was to be, in theory at least, commander-in-chief of the Fifth Crusade, which Innocent III launched in 1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council.¹⁰ In Syria the crusade was vigorously preached by James of Vitry, appointed bishop of Acre by the new pope, Honorius III, in order to prepare the land for the crusade. The first European arrivals were the Hungarians under Andrew II

¹⁰ On the preparations for the Fifth Crusade, see above, chapter XI, pp. 377-388.

and the Austrians under Leopold VI. Others followed slowly. At a general council at Acre held in October 1217 the Syrian and Cypriote barons and the crusaders jointly agreed to attack the strong new Moslem castle on Mt. Tabor, but the affair degenerated into a large raid. The armies took Baisan, looted across the Jordan, returned, and then unsuccessfully besieged Mt. Tabor (November 29-December 7).¹¹

Thereafter the Christians decided on the strategy which was to be followed in most of the later crusades. They would concentrate on capturing an important commercial city in Egypt, in this case Damietta on the Nile, and then exchange it for Jerusalem and Palestine. The Syrian Franks now built fortresses at Caesarea and Château Pèlerin between Caesarea and Acre. The latter was to be garrisoned by Templars, and was the most important gain to Jerusalem from the Fifth Crusade. Then the main body of the crusade, accompanied by most of the Syrian and Cypriote forces, left Acre on May 27, 1218. They left a moderately strong garrison, headed by 500 knights, to defend Acre. In August the Franks near Acre escaped an ambush by al-Mu'azzam. The Moslem leader then took his troops to Caesarea, which called on Acre for aid. Acre sent some ships, but advised that the castle be abandoned. The garrison left secretly, and Moslem forces destroyed the castle. A further siege of Château Pèlerin was abandoned when al-Mu'azzam was called to aid his brother al-Kāmil in Egypt. Before leaving he followed his father's advice and dismantled most of his best fortresses in Syria: Mt. Tabor, Toron, Safad, and Jerusalem. Kerak alone escaped. The Moslem leaders hoped that when news of such action reached the crusaders they would return, make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and then go back to Europe. The walls of Jerusalem began to fall on March 19, 1219.

In Egypt, instead of taking advantage of the death of al-'Ādil Saif-ad-Dīn on August 31, 1218, the Christians allowed a stalemate to develop before Damietta. John of Brienne, previously elected to lead the crusade, found his authority questioned and nullified by Pelagius, the papal legate. Disgusted, John left the forces in Egypt on the pretext of claiming Armenia in the name of his wife Rita, daughter of Leon of Armenia, who had died on May 2, 1219.¹² John was rejected by the Armenians; upon his return to Acre, Rita died. When he returned to Damietta, which the crusaders had meanwhile taken, and opposed Pelagius's plan of marching on Cairo, he

¹¹ For details see above, chapter XI, pp. 388-394.

¹² Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 741.

was ignored. Defeat followed, but al-Kāmil agreed to return all prisoners. The treaty was to last until 1229 and to be on the same terms as the treaty which had expired in 1210.

This crusade had brought Bohemond IV of Antioch into closer relationship with the kingdom. While Raymond Roupen was proving incompetent in Antioch, Bohemond was free to act in the south. He was on excellent terms with the crusaders in 1217, and allied himself with Cyprus in 1218 by marrying Melisend, sister of Hugh. His suspect alliance with Aleppo definitely ended in 1216 at az-Zāhir's death, and he fought the Moslems in 1218 when they raided Tripoli. This helped him gain Frankish support when Antioch rose against Raymond Roupen. The plot to reinstate Bohemond IV was led by William Farabel (1219). Antioch sent for its old prince while Raymond first sought refuge in the citadel, only to leave it to the Hospitallers and flee to Cilicia. There he found Leon still unwilling to forgive him, although on his deathbed. Raymond Roupen then went to Damietta, where he was protected by Pelagius in the name of Honorius III. There was no resistance to Bohemond IV when he appeared in his old city, and he remained prince of Antioch until his death. This long struggle over the succession of Antioch had divided the Christians, and had weakened Christianity in Syria, while the Armenians could not prevent the Selchūkids of Rūm from taking the whole of western Cilicia.

Armenia was further disrupted by its own war of succession, which followed Leon's death in 1219. Leon had designated as his heiress Isabel, his five-year-old daughter by his marriage to Sibyl of Lusignan. Her claim was contested by Raymond Roupen and by John of Brienne. Raymond had the better claim: Leon had begun his reign nominally as regent for Alice, Raymond's mother, and he had long been considered Leon's heir. John's claim was based on his marriage to Leon's older daughter Rita, as we have just noted. John was forced to abandon his claim, however, with her death and that of their young son. Raymond Roupen approached the crusaders at Damietta in 1219 for support in claiming Armenia, and was able to return in 1221 with some of them and promises from Pelagius. Meanwhile in Armenia the first regent, Adam of Gaston (Baghrās), had been assassinated and Constantine of Lampron, founder of the powerful Hetoumid house, ruled in his stead. Raymond Roupen found some Armenian support in and around Tarsus, notably from Vāhram, castellan of Corycus, who insisted upon marrying princess Alice. Together they conquered from Tarsus to Adana, then met reverses. Forced to retire to Tarsus, they

called on Pelagius and the Hospitallers at Damietta, but reinforcements arrived too late. The people of Tarsus opened the gates to Constantine of Lampron; Raymond Roupen was captured and ended his days in prison in 1222.¹³

Armenia, weakened by wars and in need of a strong ally, found a temporary solution in a tie with Antioch. Philip, the young son of Bohemond IV, agreed to adopt the Armenian faith, communion, and customs and to respect the privileges of all nations in Armenia. In June 1222 Philip married Leon's small heiress, Isabel, at Sis, and was accepted as prince-consort. His first action was to halt, with Bohemond's aid, a Selchukid attack in the west.

But Philip surrounded himself with Franks, introduced Latin customs, and showed disdain for the Armenians. When it was rumored that he wanted to give the crown and throne to Antioch, Constantine of Lampron led a revolt (at the end of 1224). Philip and Isabel were seized at Tall Hamdūn on their way to Antioch, and taken back to Sis, where Philip was imprisoned. His father moved cautiously in an attempt to save the young man's life, even trying humble negotiations, but Constantine knew Antioch's military strength was not enough for an immediate attack, so refused to return the prince. Philip was poisoned in prison, probably at the beginning of 1225. Bohemond, in anger, determined on war, although such a conflict had been expressly forbidden by the pope as harmful to all Christendom. He called in as ally the sultan at Iconium, 'Alā'-ad-Dīn Kai-Qobād I, and ravaged upper Cilicia in 1225. Constantine of Lampron reversed the former alliance by bringing in Aleppo as well as the Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights. When Aleppo attacked Baghrās, Bohemond had to return to his own lands. There was uneasy peace during the rest of his reign.

John of Brienne hoped to find his daughter, the heiress Isabel, a husband who would contribute men and supplies to Jerusalem, but would leave control of affairs in John's hands. In October 1222, leaving Odo of Montbéliard as bailie, and accompanied by the patriarch Ralph and the master of the Hospital, Garin of Montaigu, John traveled to Italy. In Apulia he met emperor Frederick II, and arranged for the latter's marriage to Isabel. Frederick had professed himself a crusader since his coronation in 1215¹⁴ and, as the husband of the heiress to Jerusalem, would have an additional

¹³ Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, pp. 741-742.

¹⁴ See above, chapter XII, pp. 430-438. John of Brienne's daughter Isabel is sometimes called Yolanda.

personal interest in helping to rehabilitate the kingdom. But Frederick was not the man to leave the actual power to John. In Rome, John asked pope Honorius III's consent to the contemplated union, and seems to have agreed to conclude his regency in 1226 when Isabel would be fifteen years of age. In 1223, when John left Italy for France and Spain, where he married Berengaria of Castile (1224), he asked Hermann of Salza, master of the Teutonic Knights, to conclude arrangements for Isabel's marriage, expecting to remain as king of Jerusalem while he lived, with Frederick and Isabel to succeed him on the throne.

Hermann of Salza was a loyal servitor of the German empire, however, and drew up the contract to the effect that Frederick and Isabel were to rule in their own names as soon as they were married. In 1225, at thirteen, Isabel was married by proxy in Acre, crowned at Tyre, and escorted overseas to Brindisi where, on November 9, she was married to Frederick in person and crowned Roman empress and queen of Sicily.

Once the ceremony was concluded, Frederick demanded that he be put in possession of the kingdom of Jerusalem and receive the homage of the Syrian barons. Helpless because his interests had not been safeguarded in the contract, John had to surrender the bailliage and regency of Jerusalem to the queen's husband, who, however, had to comply with the law of the land and appear within a year and a day to claim his rights. Balian of Sidon and other Jerusalemite barons in Italy gave their oaths of homage to Frederick, who then sent Richer, bishop of Melfi, to Syria to receive the homage of the rest. With him went 300 knights as escort and as a garrison in Syria in Frederick's name. For the moment Odo of Montbéliard continued as bailie, but in 1226 Frederick appointed Thomas of Acerra, a devoted servant of the Hohenstaufen ruler. With Frederick absorbed in imperial affairs, Jerusalem was to be ruled by his lieutenants, and the kingdom was therefore unable to act in its own interests even when the Moslems were divided.

Early contingents of crusaders left the west in 1226; and during 1227 Germans under the command of Thomas of Acerra and Henry of Limburg, and Frenchmen and Englishmen under bishops William of Exeter and Peter of Winchester arrived at Acre. They joined the forces of the kingdom in fortifying Caesarea, Jaffa, and other coastal towns. In Sidon, they forced the Moslems of Damascus from the part of the town they held, and fortified the small island of Qal'at al-Bahr, which controlled the harbor. The Germans rebuilt Montfort, northeast of Acre, for the Teutonic Knights, who called

it Starkenburg. Meanwhile Frederick himself had been drawn into his celebrated correspondence with al-Kāmil, and had received at least a general promise of Jerusalem in exchange for an undertaking to direct the onslaught against al-Mu'azzam, al-Kāmil's brother and rival in Syria.¹⁵ The final delays caused by Frederick's illness, however, prevented him from taking full advantage of the divisions among the Aiyūbids, as al-Mu'azzam died before Frederick's forces could reach the east.

The diplomatic approach to the conquest of Jerusalem distressed the crusaders and the Syrian Latins even before the emperor himself arrived. Richard Filangieri, Frederick's marshal, who reached the east in the spring of 1228 with an advance party of 500, punished a group of knights for raiding Moslem territory, and returned the booty they had taken. He also repeatedly rode out of Acre and — so the crusaders said — consulted secretly with envoys from al-Kāmil. Knowing nothing of the previous negotiations, the crusaders complained to the pope, and charged Frederick's agents with being evil bailies. Frederick's own departure (June 28, 1228), undertaken after Gregory IX had excommunicated him, only added to the tensions and the frictions among the Christians in the east. At the first port of call — Cyprus — came Frederick's violent quarrel with John of Ibelin, essentially a head-on conflict between the imperial interpretation of Frederick's powers and the traditional feudal role of the Jerusalemite king.¹⁶

John of Ibelin was willing to do homage to Frederick as the king of Jerusalem and to serve him for the fief of Beirut, which he held from the king. But Frederick demanded the immediate surrender of Beirut, claiming it to be part of the royal domain. In fact the imperial view was that Jerusalem was now part of the empire and subject to Roman imperial law. By the law of Jerusalem, however, a liegeman was protected in his possession of a fief against the arbitrary exactions of the king. It was stipulated, without question, that a liegeman could be disseised of his fief only by action of the high court of Jerusalem. Frederick tried to ride roughshod over the feudal limitations upon his powers as king of Jerusalem. Ibelin claimed to hold Beirut as a fief from his half-sister Isabel and her husband Aimery. He had fortified it and defended it himself. If the emperor thought he held it wrongly, he would give reason and right before the court of the kingdom of Jerusalem in Acre. Frederick replied with a show of force, and an uneasy peace was

¹⁵ For a full account, see above, chapter XII, pp. 448-449.

¹⁶ See below, chapter XVII, pp. 610-612.

established only by the call of the crusade. Disturbed by reports of papal armies under John of Brienne in his Italian territories, Frederick agreed to accept the decision of the high court of Acre.

Other barons in the east soon took sides. Bohemond IV had received an embassy from Frederick in 1227, and readily sympathized with a fellow-excommunicate. Tripoli, Bohemond's favorite possession, was already pro-imperial and anti-Ibelin, especially since the marriage of his son, Bohemond, with Alice of Cyprus. Alice was thwarted by her Ibelin bailies in Cyprus, who would not allow her new husband to replace them. Tripoli thus became a center of refuge for the anti-Ibelin faction. With Guy Embriaco of Gibelet (Jubail) and Balian of Sidon, Bohemond IV went to Cyprus to greet Frederick, not as a liegeman, because Antioch was held of Constantinople and not of Jerusalem, but as a tentative ally. In the midst of his quarrel with the Ibelins, Frederick abruptly demanded of Bohemond an oath of homage for both Tripoli and Antioch. The frightened prince feigned mental and physical illness and fled to Nephin, where he immediately recovered. Frederick could not insist, at a time when he needed a show of unity among the Franks during his negotiations with al-Kāmil. He persuaded Bohemond to appear with him at Acre in 1229, although misunderstanding probably continued between them, and Bohemond's territories were pointedly excluded from the later peace with Egypt.

Most of the Syrian and Cypriote barons landed with Frederick and the imperial forces at Acre on September 7, 1228. There they found the annual pilgrims ready to embark for Europe, but the emperor persuaded many to remain in the interest of the crusade. Most of the barons accepted his position as regent for his infant son Conrad (Isabel had died in early May 1228),¹⁷ and Balian of Sidon and Odo of Montbéliard surrendered the bailliage. Because of his excommunication, however, the clergy and the military orders, except the Teutonic Knights, refused to obey Frederick. Although the Templars and the Hospitallers rode parallel to his forces, they would not place themselves under his authority; the population as a whole, lately enthusiastic, turned against him when Franciscan friars spread the news of his status.

With such divided forces the crusade had no hope of attaining any measure of success through military action alone. But negotiations with al-Kāmil culminated in the treaty of Jaffa (February 18,

¹⁷ Frederick's son Conrad was born on April 25, 1228, and his wife Isabel died on May 4; for further details, see Röhrich, *Königreich Jerusalem*, p. 769.

1229) to last for ten and a half years, really a personal pact between the emperor and the sultan, enforceable by their good will. Frederick gained the city and surroundings of Jerusalem, although the Moslems retained important rights within the city and it was not to be refortified.¹⁸ Besides the states of Antioch and Tripoli, several of the most important strongholds of the Templars and Hospitallers were specifically omitted from the agreement, with the provision that the emperor would prevent his subjects from aiding the lords of these lands against the sultan. The treaty contrasted greatly with all earlier ones, which had been made in the interests of the kingdom as a whole. The kingdom, with the exception of areas held by certain rebellious emirs, was now almost as large as it had been before Saladin. But the treaty proved especially unacceptable to the Christian clergy and the military orders, except for the Teutonic Knights. The war would be continued around the great fortresses of the Templars and Hospitallers.

On March 17 Frederick entered a Jerusalem free of Moslems save in the Temple. With the ban of excommunication still upon him, the emperor crowned himself the next day in the church of the Holy Sepulcher. Most of the Syrian barons had been ordered back to Acre by the patriarch Gerald, and on March 19 the prelate sent an emissary, archbishop Peter of Caesarea, to place the Temple and holy places of Jerusalem under an interdict while Moslem or emperor remained there. To Frederick such action meant little; his interest in Jerusalem waned rapidly with success, and he was in haste to return to the pressing problems that confronted him in Europe. He made rapid and sketchy plans to reinforce the city's defenses, giving the king's house before the Tower of David to the Teutonic Knights, and then left abruptly. Odo of Montbéliard, constable of the kingdom, remained in Jerusalem for a short time with a token garrison, but was soon replaced by an imperial bailie.

The emperor remained a turbulent month in Acre, seemingly intent on forcing the Syrian Franks into the mold of his empire. The previous difficulties on Cyprus and the open antagonism of the clergy and friars made an understanding between imperial and baronial forces impossible. Instead, there developed an extension of the Guelf-Ghibelline struggle in the Levant. Frederick placed most of the blame for his trouble in Acre on the patriarch, the Templars, who had refused to surrender Château Pèlerin to imperial forces, and the Ibelins. He closed the gates of Acre early in April, and put guards around the houses of the Templars and the patriarch.

¹⁸ But see above, chapter XII, pp. 455-456.

When friars preached against him on Palm Sunday, April 8, 1229, they were pursued. But attempts to capture the houses of the Templars, their master, and John of Ibelin ended in failure, and the episode served only to alienate most of the remnants of Syrian sympathy for Frederick.

On May 1, 1229, Frederick left for his troubled Italian territories, which papal armies under John of Brienne had successfully invaded. In the high court of Acre, before departing, he conferred the bailliage of Jerusalem on Balian of Sidon and Warner the German, later replaced by Odo of Montbéliard. Then he arranged to sell the bailliage of Cyprus to enemies of the Ibelins, left a strong imperial garrison in Acre, and sailed, to the jeers and catcalls of the population. He never returned, nor did his heirs Conrad and Conradin ever appear among their people.

If Frederick's crusade represented a diplomatic victory, it was also a moral disaster for an excommunicate to have won back the holy city, which symbolized so much for the kingdom. By importing into the Levant the imperial absolutistic onslaught on local custom and autonomy, he made Syrian unity impossible. The bitter division was seen at once in the varying attitudes of the Syrians toward the treaty of Jaffa and toward the imperialists. The Templars were openly hostile toward both; barons and imperialists had already joined battle over the Ibelin case, which had never — as Frederick had promised — been presented before the high court. No general policy for the welfare of the kingdom could be established; nobody was capable of enforcing one. The barons found it impossible even to take advantage of the new treaty. Aiyūbid Islam recovered from its civil wars, but Jerusalem's leadership continued divided, and the territory regained by Frederick was not protected.

The first serious raid on the city of Jerusalem was made in 1229 by a mass of unorganized beduins, plunderers of pilgrims from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The few Christian guards retreated to the Tower of David while the governor, Reginald of Haifa, called on Acre for aid. An advance guard reached Bethlehem in two days, thus encouraging the Christians to emerge and expel the Moslems. The Christians, however, even after this scare, left Jerusalem almost undefended for another ten years, when it was easily taken by an-Nāṣir Dā'ūd of Transjordan. Frederick used the raid as an excuse to send to the east reinforcements, which were diverted to the imperialist war in Jerusalem and Cyprus.

Frederick's supporters and his enemies carried on the contest

by legal and diplomatic as well as military means. The anti-imperialists sought, for instance, to deprive Frederick of the title king of Jerusalem, which he used as regent for Conrad. In 1229 they persuaded Alice of Cyprus to advance her claim to the throne as the daughter of Isabel and Henry of Champagne, and therefore the closest living heir of king Amalric. Her lawyers challenged Conrad's claim, since he had not appeared in the realm within the required year and a day. The high court, not yet ready to renounce the Hohenstaufens, temporized, but the issue remained alive. An embassy reached Frederick at Foggia in May 1230, asking that Conrad appear in Acre as soon as possible, but was answered with vague promises. However, the imperial bailies ruled efficiently and maintained imperial prestige.

The year 1230 also saw small, bitter campaigns in the areas not covered by the treaty. The Hospitallers of Krak des Chevaliers allied themselves with the Moslems of Damascus against al-Kāmil, and with their tributaries, the Assassins, against Bohemond IV. They raided Ba'rīn, the only stronghold left to Dā'ūd. They joined with the Templars of Tortosa only to be defeated in attacking Hamah, but continued to raid Jabala, Aleppo, and the area around al-Marqab until they finally made peace in the late spring of 1231. In its efforts to regain lost lands in Tripoli and Antioch, the order persuaded Gregory IX to publish the excommunication of its ancient enemy, Bohemond IV, in March 1230. The pope gave the patriarch Gerald the right to lift the ban if Bohemond proved repentant, a state of mind which Gerald tried to induce, as did the Ibelins, with whom Bohemond was then friendly. Gregory IX wished, moreover, to settle these disputes among the Christians in the east, having now reached an understanding with Frederick. Bohemond himself, who was aging and wanted to die in the fold, signed a treaty with the Hospitallers (October 26, 1231) in which the latter renounced all the privileges granted to their order by Raymond Ruppen, and recognized Bohemond's feudal rights. In return they retained Jabala and Château de la Vieille and were granted two large money fiefs in Tripoli and Antioch. Bohemond was finally recognized by the church as prince of Antioch, and was granted absolution.

During the next decade central authority virtually collapsed, in the absence of a king and with the "imperialist" or "Lombard" war continuing. Supporting Frederick's cause were western troops under the imperial agents the Filangieri brothers, the Teutonic Knights, several Jerusalemite barons, and the Pisans. The

imperialist forces held Tyre and Sidon. Their opponents included the Ibelins, supported by the majority of the baronage of Jerusalem and Cyprus, forty-three major lords in all, king Henry of Cyprus, the commune of Acre, and the Genoese. They held Cyprus, Acre, and Beirut. A third group, composed of the Templars, the Hospitallers, the Venetians, and certain barons such as Odo of Montbéliard and Balian of Sidon, together with many of the clergy, originally took a position between the two extremes and strove to keep the peace, but eventually were driven to join the Ibelins.

In June 1230 the first stage of the war ended in a year's truce when Frederick's bailies in Cyprus were defeated. The emperor was unable to supply assistance until a Ghibelline victory in Italy, marked by the treaty of San Germano (July 9, 1230), put an end to his excommunication, terminated the interdict on Jerusalem, and forced all in Syria to submit to the treaty of Jaffa. Preparing to establish his rule firmly in Syria and suppress opposition, Frederick ordered the confiscation of the lands of the Ibelin leaders, including John of Beirut and his nephews, John (later count of Jaffa) and John of Caesarea. To effect this a sizable expedition sailed for the Levant under Richard Filangieri, imperial bailie for the kingdom of Jerusalem and imperial legate in the Levant. He found Ibelin forces massed on Cyprus, and therefore went on to besiege Beirut, where the lower city was surrendered by the bishop.¹⁹ The fortress now underwent a long siege under the direction of Filangieri's brother Lothair, while Filangieri went on to accept the surrender of Tyre, which he placed under another brother, Henry.

In 1231 Filangieri presented his credentials before the high court of Acre and was accepted. But his siege of Beirut had violated the law that a vassal's fief could be declared forfeit only by action of the high court of Jerusalem, and not by the mere will of the king. Although anxious for peace, many barons were alienated by the siege, and protested vehemently. Balian of Sidon stated the barons' position — the kings of Jerusalem, including Frederick, had always sworn to observe the assizes and usages of the kingdom, which included of course the law in question. Ibelin had offered to prove his case before the high court, but had been disseised with no semblance of a trial. As loyal lieges of the realm, the barons would assist in punishing Ibelin if the court should decide against him, but until such a decision they could not permit the bailie's action. Balian asked that Beirut be returned to Ibelin, and that Filangieri

¹⁹ Probably Galeran, known to be bishop by 1233; J. LaMonte, notes to Philip of Novara, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins*, p. 121, note 1, citing Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*.

then bring the case for Frederick before the high court. Such a strong protest showed a growing belief among the baronial class that it represented the real strength of the kingdom when the king was a non-resident foreigner. Filangieri promised to consider the plea, but continued the siege and clearly intended to obey only Frederick's orders. He told baronial representatives who appeared at Beirut that the emperor's wishes would be observed; if the barons wished to appeal the case they should send an embassy to Italy. It was the failure of that embassy in the winter of 1231 that now threw the moderate party to the Ibelins.

The new commune of Acre, growing from the old brotherhood of St. Andrew, now became a base of anti-Ghibelline activity. Knights, bourgeois, and citizens, loyal to the Ibelins, formed an association against the imperialists, and asked instructions from John of Ibelin in Cyprus. Their professed purpose was to guard the rights and liberties of the kingdom, acting legally as an autonomous commune similar to those of Lombardy and Tuscany. The commune finally offered the mayoralty to Ibelin, who arrived in Acre in April 1232 and received the communal oath. The next act of the sworn association or commune was to seize the imperial fleet in the harbor. Before the establishment of the commune, the Ibelin cause had been waning. Leaders of the church and military orders had favored Frederick, but their efforts at mediation failed, as did those of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. The Ibelins withstood Filangieri, reinforced the citadel of Beirut, and created a diversion by attacking Tyre. Followed by Ibelin's forces and the Genoese fleet, the imperialists hastened to protect their base. At Casal Imbert the imperialists turned, surprised the Ibelins, and defeated them. Only reinforcements from Acre saved them from complete disaster. The main campaign then shifted to Cyprus, where by April 1233 the Ibelins had won, while the imperialists still held only Tyre on the mainland. Filangieri tried desperately but without success to get aid from Armenia, Antioch, and Tripoli. Even his appeals to Frederick failed.

The Ibelins also tried to gain Antioch's help, offering a marriage alliance and great fiefs in Cyprus. But the defeat at Casal Imbert rendered these proposals unattractive to Bohemond, who nonetheless did not ally himself with Filangieri. Bohemond's death early in 1233 removed him from any further part in the Lombard war. By his long and active rule he had proved himself a capable prince of Antioch — the last in fact — subtle, without scruple, often violent, but withal one of the great Syrian jurists.

Bohemond V inherited an Antioch impoverished by wars, open to Moslem incursion, deserted by commerce, and isolated from Tripoli and the kingdom by Moslem Latakia. By contrast, his county of Tripoli was, as a neighbor of the kingdom, flourishing, with a prosperous port and excellent defenses. He also found the north virtually controlled by the military orders, in whose wars and raids he had to participate. With the Hospitallers and Templars he was defeated in 1233 by al-Muzaffar Taqī-ad-Dīn II of Hamah, who owed revenues to Krak des Chevaliers. Christian support came from Jerusalem and Cyprus in October. A great coalition of Moslem forces had assembled to attack the Selchūkids in Iconium (Konya),²⁰ and, to be free of Christian annoyance, al-Kāmil told Taqī-ad-Dīn to pay his debt and make peace. Bohemond V also joined the Templars against the Armenians, who raided Baghrās and killed some members of the order. Heṭoum avoided war by yielding, and Bohemond agreed reluctantly; he would have liked to avenge his brother Philip. The Templars fought the Moslems of Aleppo over Darbsāk, and Baghrās was saved only by the intervention of Bohemond. In 1237 the order made its last great effort against Aleppo, but was so badly defeated that thereafter it remained at peace with that Moslem state for many years.

Bohemond V followed the general policies of his father; he modified only slightly the anticlericalism, usually having minor troubles with the church and orders, and he tried to maintain the old neutrality with the south. In 1243 he gave refuge but no aid to Lothair Filangieri. However, Antioch was prevented from regaining importance in Syrian politics when Bohemond and his men took part in the Frankish-Syrian coalition which was destroyed at Gaza in 1244. This was catastrophic for the chivalry of Antioch and Tripoli at the moment when the two states needed all their defenders.

With Tyre alone of the great cities loyal to Frederick, while an imperial governor still ruled the city of Jerusalem, Frederick tried vainly to win back the barons (in 1232–1233). He offered to appoint as bailie a Syrian baron, Philip of Maugastel, and to pardon the Ibelins, and asked only the dissolution of the commune of Acre. All proposals were rejected amid scenes of riot in Acre. The high court then decided that Balian of Sidon and Odo of Montbéliard were the true bailies, having been appointed by Frederick in person before the court. No appointment by letter was deemed valid; thus only Conrad, before the high court, could make a new appointment.

²⁰ See below, chapter XIX, p. 684.

This continued suspicion of Frederick was eventually to prove costly to Syria, which lost the protection of his prestige when the barons were not strong enough to furnish adequate protection.

In 1234, at the request of the high court, Hermann of Salza, ignoring the military defeats suffered by the imperialists, proposed a settlement restating the imperial position, and adding only a vague commitment that Frederick and Conrad should observe the ancient laws of the kingdom. The draft was directed principally toward the moderates and was approved by pope Gregory IX, now reconciled with Frederick. Necessity forced pope Gregory IX to cite John of Ibelin as treasonous and rebellious (1235). Gregory sent a legate, archbishop Theodoric of Ravenna, who placed an interdict on the traditionally Guelf city of Acre for refusing to dissolve its commune. Although Gregory instantly countermanded the order, he failed to placate the Syrians. By 1237, when Gregory had once more broken with Frederick, he abandoned his vain effort to force a compromise between imperial absolutism and Jerusalemite feudal principles, and he promised his support to the baronial cause. In advising the Ibelins to continue their course, he stressed the usefulness of a close union between Jerusalem and Cyprus against the emperor and the Moslems.

John of Ibelin had died in 1236. Besides defending baronial rights against imperial aggression, he had stressed baronial responsibilities, and had for a while checked anarchy. With him died much of his party's spirit, although leadership devolved upon his son Balian and Philip of Montfort. Frederick was too occupied in the west to attempt to recapture authority in Syria just then. The Latin orient was left without definite central or political authority, and the uneasy truce between the barons and Filangieri revealed the impotence of both groups. Jerusalem had now two bailies within the kingdom: Filangieri considered himself the only imperial representative and ruled in Tyre, while Odo of Montbéliard governed in Acre as bailie for Conrad with the support of the high court.

When the treaty of Jaffa expired in 1239, several European expeditions, notably those of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, arrived to engage in another crusade,²¹ hopeful of the opportunity offered by the death of al-Kāmil in March 1238. His son al-ʿĀdil II severed Frankish-Aiyūbid relations before he was deposed in June 1240 in favor of his brother, aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb.

²¹ See above, chapter XIII.

Theobald of Champagne arrived in 1239 to find the Templars leading a faction that supported the Moslems at Damascus against those of Egypt, and the Hospitallers supporting the Egyptians. The Moslems overran the city of Jerusalem, whose small garrison was permitted to evacuate under a safe-conduct. One party of crusaders fell into an Egyptian trap at Gaza, where many were killed or captured. Theobald and his remaining troops retreated to Acre, where he finally accepted an offer from Damascus of all the old kingdom west of the Jordan in return for Frankish protection of the southern frontier of Palestine. The treaty met with opposition from some Damascenes as well as from the Hospitallers, who preferred an agreement with Egypt to release the captives taken at Gaza. Before leaving the Holy Land in September 1240, Theobald concluded just such a peace with Egypt, but made no arrangements for its enforcement. The unpopular Theobald's departure took place just fifteen days before the arrival of Richard of Cornwall on October 8.

Before deciding on a Moslem alliance, Richard of Cornwall helped refortify Ascalon and Jaffa, giving the former to Walter Pennenpié, imperial governor of Jerusalem. Then, advised by duke Hugh of Burgundy, count Walter of Jaffa, and the Hospitallers, he signed the treaty with Egypt, after aṣ-Ṣāliḥ had agreed to make good the territorial promises of Damascus. Thereupon prisoners were finally exchanged. On paper, at least, the old kingdom was reconstituted except for parts of Nablus and of Hebron and all of Transjordan. But appearances were deceptive; intensified divisions were at work within the country, although Richard temporarily strengthened the imperial position and prestige in Syria because of his wisdom and justice. At all times he acted as a friend of Frederick. Inasmuch as aṣ-Ṣāliḥ had also shown his wish to continue his father's friendship with the emperor, by acting so generously toward Jerusalem, there was now a chance for peace between the barons and the emperor. Richard secured the submission of the Ibelin leaders, who agreed to accept Frederick's rule if he would appoint Simon of Montfort, earl of Leicester, as bailie of Jerusalem until Conrad was of age and came to receive his kingdom. When Richard left on May 3, 1241, it seemed that the old kingdom was virtually restored and peace assured. Instead the Franks ignored the great territorial gains and drifted into a new phase of the struggle with the empire, which was to end with a definite rejection of Frederick's regency and the loss of any real central authority.

While waiting for Frederick's answer to Richard's proposals,

the barons kept in reserve Alice of Champagne's claim to the throne. Filangieri stayed in Tyre; the baronial leaders dispersed to attend to neglected fiefs on the mainland and in Cyprus; and Acre was left to the leadership of Philip of Montfort, a nephew of John of Ibelin, the "old lord" of Beirut. Philip had arrived with Theobald, and had married Mary, daughter of Raymond Roupen and heiress of the rich seignory of Toron, close to Tyre. The calm was broken when the Templars, dissatisfied with the Hospitaller-inspired Egyptian treaty, besieged the Hospitallers in Acre in 1241, and then raided in Hebron. Dā'ūd of Transjordanian answered by attacking Christian pilgrims and merchants. Then on October 30, 1242, the Templars sacked Nablus, burned the mosque, and let not even native Christians escape. This brought 2,000 troops from Egypt to join Dā'ūd at Gaza for a brief action against the Templars. Many Moslems were not unreasonably convinced that peace with the Franks was impossible.

Among the Latins internal strife continued. At Acre the commune permitted the Templars to besiege the house of the Hospitallers, some of whom now joined with Richard Filangieri and several bourgeois of Acre in a conspiracy to surrender the city to the imperialists. But Filangieri was surprised incognito in Acre; the plot was revealed, and swift action by Philip of Montfort, the citizens, the Genoese, and the Venetians kept Acre out of imperial hands. Filangieri escaped, while baronial forces besieged the few Hospitallers in the place. Most of the Hospitallers were at al-Marqab for a local war with Aleppo, and when the master disavowed the plot and all in it, the barons lifted the siege. The episode reinforced Ibelin control over Acre, a strong Guelf commune. Filangieri was recalled to Italy.

Tyre was left under Lothair Filangieri. When the *pullani* (half-castes) of the city asked the barons to help them drive out the imperialists, the barons decided to act. They had the support of Marsiglio Giorgio, the new Venetian bailie, who resented Filangieri's acquisition of some Venetian possessions in Tyre. Instead of attacking Tyre, the barons adopted the more subtle plan of Philip of Novara, outstanding legist, who suggested how they could gain the city legally. On April 25, 1243, he pointed out, Conrad would come of age, Frederick's regency would end, and Filangieri would have no legal position in Jerusalem. In accepting Philip's plan, the barons also revived the claims of Alice, lately married to Ralph of Nesle, a rather poor knight who had come to the east on Theobald's crusade. Philip of Novara successfully presented her

petition, arguing that, as the nearest heir present in the country, she and her husband should be bailies. Her first act was to demand the surrender of the city and castle of Tyre, a demand naturally refused by the imperialists. The barons then completed negotiations with the citizens and were able to take the city, while Lothair and his men held the citadel. This they lost when Richard Filangieri, forced back by storms, sailed unsuspectingly into the harbor and was captured by the barons. Lothair surrendered the citadel to save his brother. With the fall of Tyre, on July 10, 1243, the barons were at last completely victorious. Imperial rule in Jerusalem was ended, and the central Jerusalemite monarchy received a blow from which it never recovered.

Alice and her husband Ralph were in an ambiguous position. They had the title of bailies, but no power. Power belonged to the barons, who refused to release to the new bailies any cities, especially Tyre, on the ground that, during a regency, authority should reside in the lieges, who were subject only to the high court. In reality, it seems that Philip of Montfort wanted possession of Tyre to round out his wife's territory of Toron. When he installed himself in Tyre, Ralph of Nesle left Syria and Alice to return to France, protesting baronial usurpation of his power as bailie. Balian of Ibelin established himself in Acre to complete the superiority of baronial power. As a result, Jerusalem became a sort of feudal republic, lacking real unity or leadership. The baronial victory saved the liberties of the kingdom at the expense of its unity and strength; imperial prestige had gone, rivalries among the diverse factions intensified, and no central authority could act to prevent encirclement by a revived Moslem empire.



18. The Latin States, 1192-1243 (Map by the University of Wisconsin Cartographic Laboratory)