

## Estoire d' Eracles: the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre

### Extracts

#### Books xxxii.20-5, xxxiii.1-30, 32-5

Translated by G.A. Loud

*The Old French continuation of William of Tyre survives in several different and inter-related versions. The one edited as the main text in the nineteenth-century Recueil des Historiens de Croisades is the so-called Colbert-Fontainebleau version, which is a full but relatively late derivative, probably from the 1240s, which survives in only two of the more than fifty MSS of this text. For a brief but helpful discussion of the complex issue of the textual transmission of the continuation, see Peter Edbury, 'New perspectives on the Old French continuations of William of Tyre', *Crusades* 9 (2010), 107-13.*

*The sections translated here cover the preparations for the Crusade of Frederick II, from 1223 onwards, the Crusade itself, and its aftermath, up to the Battle of Agridi in 1232. It should be stressed that this translation, which has made considerable use of the extracts translated by John La Monte, in the footnotes to his *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, by Philip of Novara (New York 1936), is no more than a first draft, and will inevitably be subject to revision, particularly in the light of the new edition of the various versions of this text now being prepared by Prof. Edbury and his collaborators. I am grateful to him and to Guy Perry for their helpful suggestions, which have already improved this translation.*

#### Book xxxii

(20) King John left France and went to Spain on a pilgrimage to my Lord Saint James. And after making his pilgrimage he went to see the king of Castile, who rendered him great honour, and gave him splendid gifts, and finally it was agreed King John would marry a sister of the king of Castile, and he returned with all his men to France. Only a little while after his return, King Philip was on his deathbed, and so he made his will, and he left 150,000 marks of silver to the Holy Land: 50,000 to the hand of King John, 50,000 to the Temple, and 50,000 to the Hospital. And he left many other great and splendid alms in his will. So there passed away good King Philip, who had lived long and honourably. A little while later his son Louis was crowned at Rheims solemnly and with great honour.

And when King John saw that the time was approaching for the marriage of his daughter and the emperor, he came to Apulia. After his arrival there, with his agreement and by permission of the pope, the emperor sent the archbishop of Capua to marry the young lady [by proxy] in place of the emperor, and the emperor sent fourteen galleys there to bring her to him in Apulia. Their commander was Count Henry of Malta, who was admiral of the kingdom. The galleys set off from Brindisi and came to Acre, and present there was Guy l'Enfant, through whom King John had sent instructions as to what was to be done about the marriage, the coronation and other things. When they arrived at Acre, the young lady was brought to the church of Holy Cross, and there the archbishop of Capua received her, who married her on behalf of the emperor and put the ring on her finger, while everyone wondered greatly about a man marrying a woman from so far away, since the one was in Apulia and the other was in Syria, but so the pope had commanded. After the marriage had been so made, as you have heard, the lady was brought to Tyre and she was crowned as queen of the kingdom of Jerusalem, solemnly and with great honour, by Raoul de Merencourt, Patriarch of Jerusalem. Also present at this coronation were Simon de Maugastel, Archbishop of Tyre, Balian lord of Sidon, Walter lord of Caesarea, Odo of Montbeliard constable of the kingdom, and a great many knights and ladies. After her coronation she was entrusted to a brother of the Hospital of the Germans, who was called Brother Henry, whose duty it was to serve and guard her. Not long after she had been welcomed there, she left Tyre, and crossed over the sea and came to Brindisi in Apulia, where she was received with great joy and much honour. There crossed with the queen Simon de Maugastel, Archbishop of Tyre, Balian lord of Sidon, Daniel of Terre Monde and other knights from the country. The Emperor Frederick and King John were not far from Brindisi, waiting for the lady's arrival. They were staying in a castle called Oria. As soon as they knew that the queen had arrived, they came to Brindisi. No time at all had elapsed when the emperor wed the queen in the archiepiscopal cathedral and the blessing was pronounced over them. That same day the emperor summoned King John and told him that he should give him seisin of the kingdom of Jerusalem and of all the rights of his wife. When King John heard this he was astonished, because Herman, the Master of the Hospital of the Germans, who had negotiated the marriage, had led him to understand that the emperor would permit him to hold the kingdom of Jerusalem for his lifetime. And when he saw how things were, and that he had no choice, he put the emperor into seisin of the kingdom of Jerusalem and all the rights of his daughter. The next day the emperor and his wife departed, and travelled until they came to Foggia, and he did not make his departure known to King John. Because of this the king was much upset, although he concealed what was in his heart and followed, and he lodged at S.

Lorenzo, a town which is near Foggia,<sup>1</sup> and from there he went to see his daughter the empress and his son-in-law the emperor, who had seemed to treat him so poorly, and thereafter he [*the emperor*] began to make demands. He required the lord of Sidon and the other knights from Syria who were there to do homage to him, which they did. Then he sent the bishop of Melfi to Acre, who received the homage of all the men of that country who owed homage. He was accompanied by Count Berard Gentile, Count Stephen of Cotrone along with 300 knights from the kingdom of Sicily. Odo of Montbeliard remained *bailli* of the land, representing the emperor as he had previously represented King John. The reason for the ill-will between the emperor and King John was that the king corrected and reproved him too often, and also because Count Walter of Brienne, the nephew of King John, who was son of the daughter of King Tancred, about whom we have spoken earlier, whom the emperor came to believe aspired to have the kingdom, and that he and his uncle were recruiting men for this. Thus the emperor was because of this of a mind that he ought to take them and kill Count Walter. King John, who was at Barletta, realised what the emperor intended and was very concerned, because he was then in the midst of his land; so he took thought as to how he might deceive the emperor. He chose one of his men as a messenger and sent him with instructions to say to the emperor that he wished to speak with him and asking him to let him know where he might find him. The emperor, who was at Troia, told the messenger that he was going to Melfi in the mountains, and that John might find his lord there. King John and his nephew set off from Barletta, announcing that they were going to Melfi. When they had crossed the river at Canne, they left the mountain road and took a coastal route, riding at speed until they were out of the kingdom, and from there they came to Rome. King John met his wife whom he had left there. Pope Gregory, who then held the Apostolic See, received him joyfully and did him great honour, and gave him all the demesne and patrimony of the Church in Tuscany and the Marche, which he held for as long as he wished. Count Walter went back to his county in France. When the emperor realised that King John had tricked him he was very upset, but he recovered his courage and his spirits as best he could.

(21) I now have to return to speak about the island of Cyprus. After King Hugh died at Tripoli, and the news came to Cyprus, there was great debate as to what was right, and what ought to be done regarding the rightful lord, and as to who this was. I shall tell you of its details and manner. His father Aimery de Lusignan was king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, as you have

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<sup>1</sup> San Lorenzo di Carmignano, in the territory of Troia.

heard. His mother was called Eschiva, and she was the daughter of Baldwin of Ibelin, who was lord of Ramla. He was of medium stature, neither large nor small, his members were well-formed and his body well-proportioned, although his shoulders were a little sloped. His face was calm (*refroigé*), his skin white and his hair auburn. He was keen to undertake the enterprises in which he was involved, which could redound to his honour. He greatly loved the company of knights and of all men-at-arms. He could sometimes be stern, but his anger quickly passed. After the men of Cyprus had debated for some days, Queen Alice, his wife, from whom he had engendered a son who had the name Henry, and who was only nine months old when his father died, and two daughters Marie and Isabelle (Marie was married to Count Walter of Brienne, of whom we have spoken, and Isabelle married Henry, the son of the Prince of Antioch) required homage from the men of the land, which they rendered without delay and without exception, to her as *bailli*. When she [Alice] had received the homages, she put in her place for the control of the realm her uncle, the brother of her mother, who was called Philip of Ibelin, and she had her men swear that they would obey him until the majority of her son Henry, wherein she did foolishly; for when she wished to repent thereof she was unable to do so, as you shall hear. After she had held the *baillage* for a while, as you have heard, she could not endure the burdens any more, and, despite what had been done there, she left the island of Cyprus and went to Syria, where she attended the coronation of her niece the Empress Isabelle. From there she went on to Tortosa, and there a marriage was negotiated between her and Bohemond, the son of the Prince of Antioch,<sup>2</sup> the espousals of which had been made at the island of St. Thomas, near Tripoli. His father and the land had been under sentence [of excommunication] for this reason, for what had been done at Antioch (about which you have heard) and inflicted upon Roupen and the Hospital.

When he [Bohemond] had married her, she sent messengers to Cyprus, and all the liegemen of the kingdom were assembled in the palace of the queen. The messengers said: ‘Lords, my lady the queen sends you greetings, as her loyal men and faithful friends, and wishes to inform you that she, as *bailli* for her son, by her own will and full desire, without any force and without any other reason than that she wished to do it, set and established in her place her uncle Philip of Ibelin, but that she does not wish that he should remain *bailli* henceforth. Wherefore she sends you her command, as to her men, that you be not from this day forward under his command, that you do nothing for him, and that you receive in his place Aimery

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<sup>2</sup> That is, the future Bohemond V, prince 1233-52.

Barlais and be under his command'. When the messengers had said this, Philip of Ibelin rose and said: 'Lords, you know that you swore to me by the command of the queen that you would obey me and do my commands until the majority of the child, our legal heir, wherefore I wish to know if you will maintain me as *bailli* or not'. Then he demanded of each individually what he would say to this, to which all said that they would hold him as *bailli*, except for one knight named Baldwin of Belême, who said that he would not recognise any other *bailli* in Cyprus than Queen Alice. The relatives and friends of Philip of Ibelin fell upon him, and he hardly escaped death. Thus Philip of Ibelin remained in his *baillage*, and the queen was [left] outside without having recovered it.

(22) After King Louis of France, the son of King Philip, had become chief lord he learned that the city of Toulouse had revolted against him and had driven out his men, and killed some of them. He was very annoyed and upset. He assembled a great army of both horse and foot, comprising 5,000 and more knights, and he set off and came by stages as quickly as he could to Avignon. ... [*This chapter then deals with the expedition against Avignon and Toulouse led by Louis VIII in 1226*]

(23) The time had come when the Emperor Frederick had pledged and sworn, as you have heard, that he should cross the sea and go to the land of Syria. He gathered and prepared ship and galleys at Brindisi, and he sent to Germany and France to announce his passage and [date of] departure. As a result a great many people from Germany crossed with him, and others crossed from Marseilles. And when those who were assembled at Brindisi were ready to move, the emperor ordered that foodstuffs, equipment and horses be loaded onto the ships. When everything had been loaded onto the ships, they set sail and crossed over to Syria, and arrived at the port of Acre, and those who crossed included great men from Germany: Duke Henry of Limburg, Werner of Boland, Henry of Neifern, Henry of Wied, Guerri of Dunningen, and from Lorraine Gobert of Aspremont – these were the richest men who crossed in this passage. The emperor was delayed in boarding the galleys, and with him Gerold of Lausanne, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. And so when they ought to have set off, illness struck down the emperor, on account of which he could not put to sea. He sent for Gerold the patriarch, and told him that he could not cross on this passage because of his illness, but if he wished to cross he would entrust him with two galleys. When the patriarch saw that he could not do otherwise, he took these galleys and set off, arriving in Cyprus at the port of Limassol, where he found all those of the island and indeed some from Syria: Balian, lord of Sidon, Odo of Montbeliard, constable of

the kingdom of Jerusalem, and other knights with them, and Bohemond, son of the Prince of Antioch, was there, and with him his wife Queen Alice. These had all gathered to await the coming of the emperor. When they learned from the patriarch that the emperor had remained behind, they departed, and everyone went to look after his own affairs. The patriarch and the men from the kingdom crossed over to Acre.

(24) It had happened that a little while before this passage that I have described the emperor had sent Count Thomas of Acerra to be *bailli* in his place in the kingdom of Jerusalem, from which many were happy and many [others] were fearful. And all those who were more fearful of him were those who were not on the emperor's side when he did arrive.

(25) When the pilgrims who were at Acre realised that the emperor had remained behind, they chose as their commander Duke Henry of Limburg, and then, not wanting to lie idle, they took counsel and decided to go to Sidon, to strengthen the city and the castle. They left Acre and passing before Tyre they came to Sidon. Once they had arrived there, it then became clear that it would be a major endeavour to fortify the town and castle. They saw an island in the sea outside the port, and realised that in only a short time they could make this the strongest and most secure bastion. Thus they set their hands to work, and they built two towers, one large and the other smaller, and a length of wall between these two towers. To do this took from St. Martin's day when they arrived until the middle of Lent. And, while they were busy with this work, Coradin died, who was [otherwise] called Malik al-Muazzam, who had held the kingdom of Damascus and the land which had been that of the Christians.<sup>3</sup> He left a son, who was called Malik al-Nasir, who was twelve years of age. And he left his land to him, in the hands and guardianship of one of his emirs, who had the name of Izz al-Din Aybeg, who was lord of a castle called Sarkhad. When the pilgrims had finished their work at Sidon, they left and returned to Acre, and from there they went to stay in the palm groves (*Paumerée*) before Haifa, to provide grazing for their horses. They remained there until almost a month after Easter, and from there they went to Caesarea and refortified the castle which Coradin had overthrown, as you heard earlier. While the army was at Sidon the Master of the Hospital, Guarin of Montaigu, died, and Bertran le Lorne was elected in his place.<sup>4</sup> And in the following summer Philip of

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<sup>3</sup> He died in November 1227, at the age of 47.

<sup>4</sup> Guarin had been Master of the Hospital since 1206 and died between November 1227 and March 1228. He may have been the brother of Peter de Montaigu, Master of the Temple 1219-30/2. Bertran le Lorne was Master 1228-30/1. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050-1310* (London 1967), pp. 155-6, 174.

Ibelin, who had been *bailli* as you have heard above, died in Cyprus. This was in the year from the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1228.

### Book xxxiii

(1) The Empress Isabelle, daughter of King John, was brought to bed of a son and died in childbirth. The son was hale and hearty and had the name Conrad.<sup>5</sup> This took place in the city of Andria where she was buried with the utmost honour in the cathedral of the town, as was appropriate for one who was Empress of Rome and Queen of Jerusalem and Sicily. When the news reached the army as to what had occurred, the emperor made twenty-two galleys ready at Brindisi, and prepared to sail to Syria, but this was really insufficient because he had no more than a hundred knights with him and was lacking money, so it appears, since as soon as he arrived in Cyprus he borrowed 30,000 Saracen bezants from Guy, the lord of Gibelet. When Pope Gregory was informed that the emperor intended to cross the sea in such poverty so seeming to acquit his vow and the sentence by which he had been bound, he sent good messengers to him, whom he ordered to forbid him to cross the sea in the name of the Cross, until he had been freed from the sentence imposed upon him, and that he must make amends for the vow by which he had perjured himself, because he had exceeded the time during which he had sworn to cross. He himself must not cross as emperor, nor as he had [previously] promised and sworn. The Emperor Frederick paid no attention to this; thus he boarded his galleys and sailed from Otranto, and proceeded until he arrived in Cyprus.<sup>6</sup> He landed at Limassol where he found King Henry. The latter was still a child, being only eleven years old, although he had been crowned three years earlier. Also there was John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, and all the knights of that land, while from the kingdom of Jerusalem had come Balian, lord of Sidon, Count Thomas of Acerra, *bailli* of the kingdom, and Riccardo Filangieri, marshal of the emperor, who had arrived in the kingdom the previous Easter.

(2) The emperor was received at Limassol with great rejoicing and honour. He had not been long in the town when he demanded to have by the law of the empire the *baillage* of the king who was under age and of his land, and the homages of the king and his men, and in this there

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<sup>5</sup> Conrad was born on 26<sup>th</sup> April 1228; his mother died ten days later, *Breve Chronicon de Rebus Sicilis*, ed. Wolfgang Stürner (MGH SRG, Hanover 2004), p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> According to the *Breve Chronicon de Rebus Sicilis*, pp. 80-4, Frederick sailed from Brindisi with forty galleys on 28<sup>th</sup> June 1228, stopped at Otranto, and then sailed via Corfu, Cephalonia, Methone, Kythera, and Crete, reaching Candia on 11<sup>th</sup> July, then via Rhodes to Cyprus, arriving at Limassol on 21<sup>st</sup> July.

were none who contradicted him, indeed it was done entirely as he had asked. When he had received the homages, he kept the king in his house. After this there came a day when he invited all the knights to dine with him, and when they had eaten the emperor charged John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, and demanded from him Beirut and an account of all that he had received while holding the *bailage* of the kingdom of Jerusalem. He replied to these various demands, and to all this he pledged his word that he would give hostages to receive legal judgement when they were at Acre. The hostages were his eldest son Balian and his third son Hugh. The emperor received them and kept them under guard, so that on each of them he placed a ring on the arm, and attached a chain to the ring, and another ring on the other end of the chain, which was on the arm of a valet, and so he received twenty similar pledges. When tomorrow came, John of Ibelin was informed that the emperor was going to arrest him, and that he regretted having taken surety from him rather than having him arrested. John believed what he was told, so that when night came he armed himself and had his household (*maisnée*) arm themselves, and mount up, and departed from his lodging and went away. When those who were pledged for him realised that he had fled, they [too] armed themselves and mounted, and departed with him, abandoning their lodgings and their equipment, and they rode without stopping as far as Nicosia.

(3) When the emperor found out about this the next day, he had the hostages put in heavy irons. He immediately decided to go to Nicosia. After gathering his men, he left and rode as far as le Quit,<sup>7</sup> and his galleys sailed alongside him, and he had the hostages put aboard one of the galleys. And in his company was Guy lord of Gibelet, Balian lord of Sidon, and Riccardo Filangieri, and among those of Cyprus was the king. And there too with him were Aimery Barlais, Amaury of Bethsan, Gauvain of Chenchy and William of Rivet, and all the others who were not among the friends of the lord of Beirut. The emperor departed from la Quit, leaving his galleys there, and when he came to a *casale* called Piroghi he found there Prince Bohemond of Antioch, who had come to assist him, along with sixty knights and a great number of sergeants both mounted and on foot. He had landed at Famagusta, and from there went to where he found the emperor. They went on together towards Nicosia. When John of Ibelin heard that the emperor was following him with a great force, he did not wait [for him], and he went with all those who were with him to Dieudamor, and furnished it with all the weapons and foodstuffs

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<sup>7</sup> Kiti, near Larnaca.

that he could.<sup>8</sup> The emperor was at Nicosia for some time, during which the princes and other people met together to make peace. So a peace was concluded that the emperor have for his *baillage* of the king the land of Cyprus, and all the revenues should be his, and he should deliver the hostages and quit the pledges, and he should receive the homage of John of Ibelin, saving the demands which he had made of him

(4) The emperor then left Cyprus, and he brought the king with him, and John of Ibelin, Walter lord of Caesarea and all the other knights of the land, and he put castellans in the castles and his *baillis* throughout the land to collect the revenues and send them to him in Syria. He arrived at Acre where he found the pilgrims assembled who had returned from Sidon, where they had taken the castle, and they were awaiting passage to return to their homelands. The emperor went to great efforts to persuade them to stay, but most of the rich men did not want to remain there. The emperor and all the people who were at Acre went to stay at Ricordane, a *casale* which is at the head of the river which flows before Acre, and from there he sent envoys to the Sultan of Babylon, whose name was Malik al-Kamil. He was staying at Nablus, and he had with him his brother Malik al-Ashraf,<sup>9</sup> and he had an army of 7000 Turks on horseback there, and a great many people on foot. The envoys were Balian, lord of Sidon, and Thomas, Count of Acerra, who brought rich presents for the sultan, horses and palfreys, rich drapes of linen, palls and delicate silks, jugs and vessels of gold and silver, and the words which they had to say were these: ‘Sire, our lord the emperor salutes you as one whom he wants to regard as a brother and a friend, if that is your wish. He assures you that he has not come across the sea because he covets land to conquer, because he has plenty of his own, and every man ought to live peaceably; but the reason that he has come is for the Holy Places, in which rests our belief and the faith of the Christians. And if you are willing peacefully to surrender this land where the Holy Places are, and which used to belong to the Christians, and especially to the forefathers of his son Conrad, without fighting, he will receive it while leaving all your other land to you in good [faith] and in peace, and he will be your friend. And thus you can have peace with the Christians and avoid spilling a great deal of blood from many people.’ The sultan greatly honoured the envoys and gave them beautiful presents, and he said that he would

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<sup>8</sup> The castle of Dieudamor or St. Hilarion commanded the pass SW of Kyrenia through which the main road ran south to Nicosia.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Ashraf Musa, ruler of Diyar Muda from 1201, and later of Diyar Bakr and much of Armenia; ruler of Damascus from 1228. He died in August 1237, aged fifty-six.

reply to the emperor through his own envoys. The envoys of the emperor returned to their lord without bringing any other response than the one that you have heard.

(5) And while the emperor was staying at Ricordane, two Friars Minor arrived at Acre carrying letters from the pope to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. In these he ordered that the patriarch have Frederick denounced as an excommunicate and perjurer, and that he order the Temple, the Hospital of St. John and that of the Germans not to obey his commands, nor to do anything to assist him. And so it happened.

(6) When the sultan, who was wise and clever, realised that the emperor had come to the land poorly, and that most of the pilgrims were returning to their own countries, and that he was in bad odour with the Church, and of the orders that the pope had sent against him, he took little account of him. It was only to avoid being accused of not having sent an envoy that he despatched one of his emirs who was called Bedredin,<sup>10</sup> and with him another emir named Salah. These two came to Ricordane and addressed the emperor on behalf of the sultan, and they spoke thus: ‘Sire, you have sent to the sultan that, if he wishes, you will treat him as a brother and a friend. Therefore he sends [this message] to you, that there is nothing he can do about this, although if you want to seek some reasonable terms he will willingly hear [them]. But with regard to what your envoys are demanding, this would be too great a matter, for which he would not only a matter of cost but also of blasphemy; for one should be well-aware of the great devotion the Saracens also have for the Temple of the Lord, which is a house of God, as the Sepulchre of Jesus Christ is for the Christians.<sup>11</sup> For this reason all of paganism would attack him, and the Caliph himself would regard him as a lawbreaker’. ‘Then I wish to hear’, the emperor said to him, ‘what you *are* willing to offer me’. They [the Muslim envoys] responded: ‘we have no instructions about this, but we believe that if you send your messengers [again] he [the sultan] will make a reasonable offer to them’. These envoys brought him splendid presents of silk cloths of various colours with gold [thread], and various [other] things from the Orient, and they [also] brought him an elephant, ten racing camels and ten Arabian mares. The emperor honoured them and gave them beautiful presents, and sent the same messengers back with them whom he had used previously. After Balian of Sidon and Count

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<sup>10</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Shayk, who had been sent as al-Kamil’s envoy to Frederick in southern Italy a year earlier, and who was eventually killed while commanding the Egyptian army against Louis IX in February 1250.

<sup>11</sup> That is the Dome of the Rock, from which the Prophet was believed to have ascended to Heaven, which the Christians had, after 1099, converted into a Church which they called the *Templum Domini*.

Thomas had come to Nablus and they had thought to speak with the sultan, he sent them a message that he was going to Gaza, and that he wanted them to accompany him; and he did this to get away from the emperor and his blandishments (*paroles*). And so the messengers went with the sultan, who did not stop until he had to at a place called Forbie, and there he lodged.<sup>12</sup>

(7) When the emperor heard of this, he was very upset, because he knew that the sultan was only doing this to delay, so he wished to come nearer to him in a suitable fashion. He assembled the rich men of the land, the pilgrims, and the Hospital, the Temple and the Hospital of the Germans, and told them that he wished to go to fortify Jaffa before advancing to Jerusalem, and finding a way to secure that. He required them to make themselves ready to go with him. To this, everyone replied willingly, apart from the Master of the Temple, Peter de Montaigu, and that of the Hospital of St. John, Bertrand le Lorne.<sup>13</sup> These two said to him, for themselves and their brothers: ‘Sire, it is well-known that we were founded by the Church of Rome, and we are obedient to the Church. For this reason we cannot obey your commands, nor can we follow you, because our lord the pope has forbidden us [to do] this. But for the sake of and the benefit of Christianity, we shall willingly march alongside the army, but you should not command us [to do] anything, lest your ban be proclaimed in the army’.<sup>14</sup> The emperor was much annoyed by these words, and did not wish to give his agreement, so he left and rode out without them, until he came to the river of Montdidier, between Caesarea and Arsuf. And they followed a day behind him. When he saw this, he realised how dangerous it would be if the Turks attacked them and found them separated, then they could do them great harm. For this reason, he awaited word from them, and waited for them there, and then they rode on together, even though while they rode they proclaimed the cause of God and Christianity, without naming the emperor. After they had arrived in Jaffa, the emperor had the foundations uncovered, which were found above the ground, and had them built upon.<sup>15</sup> And at this time the citadel was strengthened and towers made.<sup>16</sup> While they were busy at this work, an armed galiot arrived from Apulia, which had sailed in the depths of winter, and it carried a message,

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<sup>12</sup> La Forbie near Gaza, later the site of a disastrous Christian defeat at the hands of the Egyptians in October 1244.

<sup>13</sup> For them, see above, note 4.

<sup>14</sup> That is, they wished to remain at a distance from the emperor because of his excommunication, but it appears that this was not yet generally known.

<sup>15</sup> In other words, a start was made on rebuilding the town, which had lain in ruins since its capture by the Sultan Al-Adil in 1197.

<sup>16</sup> The term used for these towers (*eschace*), which seems to be derived from *eschasse* (‘stilts’) may imply that they were wooden towers or platforms on top of the walls. I owe this suggestion to Dr Guy Perry.

which informed the emperor in secret that the pope had raised a great army, that this had captured San Germano, and was advancing towards Capua, and that many towns, castles and people had surrendered and changed sides, and that King John and Count Thomas of Celano were the captains of the host, and that if he did not give attention as to how to recover his land, he would lose it.

(8) When the emperor heard this news, he was very upset by it, for he saw that he would lose his whole kingdom through delay, but that if he abandoned operations in the Holy Land he run great risk of dishonour and damage [to his reputation], and even though he wanted to leave he could not since it was winter. He put as brave a face on his situation as he could, sending the galiot back in secret, with orders to encourage his men; and he instructed his admiral, Count Henry of Malta, that he should come to him at Easter, bringing twenty galleys with him. And through great effort and determination, he made a truce with the sultan. The terms of the truce were those that had been [suggested] previously, so that the sultan surrendered the city of Jerusalem and those of Bethlehem and Nazareth, and the villages which were on the road to Jerusalem, as well as the land of Toron and the half of the city of Sidon which the Saracens held; but in Jerusalem the sultan retained the *Templum Domini* with all its precinct.<sup>17</sup> Once the truce had been concluded and sworn, the emperor left the Cypriots at Jaffa, but took all the other people with him and went to Jerusalem. On Palm Sunday he entered the church of the Sepulchre, and had a golden crown placed on the main altar of the choir, and then he went there and took it, and placed it on his head. However, neither prelate nor priest, nor cleric who would say mass there, was in any way involved in this; and he held a great court that day in the house of the Hospital of St. John. After this, he made it seem as though he wanted to fortify the city, so that he set to work to discover the foundations [of the wall] and to raise them up, but in fact he left the city very suddenly without making his departure known, although he sent at night for the constable of the kingdom, Odo of Montbeliard, and ordered him that he and all the men of the kingdom remain [there] to guard the city. From there he went to Acre, and from there he sent to Odo, ordering him to appoint a *bailli* in the city and come to Acre.

(9) While the emperor was at Acre, peace was established between him and the Temple; and what this agreement was that the emperor would remain there for a day and a night, and

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<sup>17</sup> That is the whole of the Temple Mount, including also the al-Aqsa mosque.

would [then] leave without announcing his presence. And while he was staying at Acre, there came from Cyprus Aimery Barlais, Amaury de Bethsan, Hugh of Gibelet, William of Rivet and Gauvain of Chenchy, who spoke with the emperor, and as a result they bought the *baillage* from him, which they should hold for three years, and they pledged themselves to give him 10,000 marks of silver. And then the emperor went to Cyprus and he was at Limassol, and the king was married there to a daughter of the Marquis of Montferrat, who was called Alice. Then he left the king and the land to the five rich men named above, and he told them that they should render the ten thousand marks to Balian of Sidon and Garnier the German who were remaining in his place as *baillis* of Jerusalem. After this he left the land, and passed over to Apulia, and he arrived at Brindisi and landed there.

(10) After the emperor had left Cyprus, the five barons whom I have named remained as captains in the land and guardians of the king and the kingdom, and they commanded throughout the island. They had the animals both great and small seized from the lands and villages of those who had remained at Acre in the company of John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut; and this was to pay the 3000 marks at the emperor's command. And those who were with them in Cyprus paid at their coming. When John of Ibelin and those who were with him heard this news, this bore heavily upon them, for they knew that their lands and fiefs were pledged, and they took men for things that had been done without their involvement, and without their authority and against their will. And for this they mustered together, left Acre with all the people whom they could collect, and sailed to Cyprus. They landed at la Castrie,<sup>18</sup> and from there they rode as quickly as possible to the plain in front of Nicosia. They found the king there, and the five rich men who are named above, with all the people they could muster, drawn up in formation. Good men of religion and of the clergy spoke to one side and to the other, and pleaded with them to make peace; but they were unable to accomplish anything. So they rode against one another as soon as they were drawn up, and there was a huge conflict. Walter, lord of Caesarea, was killed, as was Gerard of Montaigu, who had married Eschiva, the daughter of Walter of Montbeliard, from whom he held extensive lands in Cyprus. But those who were around the king could not endure [this], so they fled in disorder, so that the king, and with him Hugh of Gibelet, Aimery Barlais, Amaury of Bethsan, William of Rivet and many other knights went to Dieudamor. Gauvain de Chenchy and other knights took refuge at Kantara, while others were received at Kyrenia, which they soon surrendered, and many were taken prisoner.

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<sup>18</sup> Modern Gastria (Greek), Kalecik (Turkish), c. 25 km. north of Famagusta on the east coast.

(11) This battle was on a Saturday, on 24<sup>th</sup> day of June, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1229.<sup>19</sup> John of Ibelin and all those who supported him besieged the castle of Dieudamor and pressed it very closely. Hence King Henry, who was within, had great suffering and lacked food and clothing, and all those who were with him as well. As a result he very frequently reproached those who held him besieged, appealed to their faith as his liegemen, and denounced them as traitors. John of Ibelin commanded through all the island, and caused the revenues to be collected, and therewith maintained the war and the siege. He also had Kantara besieged, where Gauvain was killed by a crossbow bolt. These events lasted ten months. When those who were besieged saw that they could hold out no longer, and nor could they expect relief, since the emperor was too busy in his kingdom, they made peace, and those in the land were for a time without dispute, until the situation changed [once more], as you shall hear later.

(12) After the emperor left Cyprus he sailed as quickly as he could to Brindisi. He landed there and equipped those people he had [with him], and hired as many as could find, and he [then] went to Barletta. He waited there for a while, and summoned his men from all around, both infantry and on horse. And when he had them assembled, he set off to march against the army of the pope, which was laying siege to Caiazzo, a castle that is near Capua. So he came to Foggia with his people, and they were taking up lodging there when a brawl developed between the townspeople and the Germans, so that the townspeople killed some of them and chased the others outside and [then] closed the gates. As a result the emperor and his army stationed themselves at San Lorenzo, which is a town near Foggia. He departed from there and rode as fast as he could for Capua. On the day on which he arrived King John, Count Thomas of Celano and the cardinal, with the whole of the papal army, abandoned the siege of Caiazzo, burned their siege-engines and went to Alife, and from there to Teano. After the emperor had been at Capua for ten days, he left and went to a castle called Calvi, and he was there for only three days. On the fourth day it surrendered, and from there he went on to the plain of Ferraria. While the emperor was crossing this plain, the papal army was leaving Teano and it retreated to San Germano. When the people of the country saw that the papal army had abandoned its position and was retreating before the emperor, they sought mercy and surrendered to him,

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<sup>19</sup> Other sources give different dates for this battle, notably Philip of Novara, *Wars of Frederick II*, p. 103, 14<sup>th</sup> July. 24<sup>th</sup> June 1229 was a Sunday, not a Saturday.

both themselves and their lands; so that within four days he recovered more than 200 cities and castles which had [previously] declared for the pope. He then left there and went to San Germano, so that as he entered the town on one side the papal army fled from the other, and they did not stop until they came to Rome. And there the army disbanded, and King John went to France. So the emperor recovered all the land which the papal army had taken from him. As a result the princes of Germany: the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Dukes of Austria and Merano, and many other important men, came to Rome and made peace, through which the emperor was absolved, and this peace was very much to his advantage.<sup>20</sup>

(13) At the time when the emperor left the land of Syria and Cyprus, Alice, queen of Cyprus and mother of King Henry, came to Acre and demanded the kingdom of Jerusalem as the most legal heir who was present in person (*apparent*) of her grandfather King Aimery [Amalric].<sup>21</sup> The men of the country took counsel and replied to her that they were the men of the Emperor Frederick, who held the land in *baillage* for his son Conrad. For this reason they were unable to do as she requested. But because they had never seen this Conrad his son, nor had he ever been present in the kingdom, they sent word to the emperor that he should send his son Conrad to them within a year. If he sent him then he would keep him as their lord, or if not that, they would do for him that which they should. To make this request to the emperor they sent two knights as messengers. One was Geoffrey le Tor, who was born in the country, and other was John of Bailleul who was born in Flanders. These two crossed to Apulia in a galley and arrived at Brindisi, and from there they went on until they found the emperor at San Lorenzo where he was going towards Capua, as you have heard. There they gave him their message, to which he replied that he would do within the term that which he should.

(14) Let us now tell you about King John, and what happened to him when he went to France. It happened that in Constantinople, when the Emperor Robert died – to whom his brother Philip, Count of Nemours, had given quittance of the empire<sup>22</sup> – he had left a son who was very young, only a small child, who was called Baldwin, for whom the barons of the land

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<sup>20</sup> A treaty was agreed at San Germano on 9<sup>th</sup> July 1230.

<sup>21</sup> *Apparent* is a legal term, which might be interpreted in one of two senses. On the one hand it means ‘present in person’, which the infant Conrad clearly was not. But it might also be interpreted as ‘the nearest direct heir’, that is, the heir who was closest in terms of generations: she was a grand-daughter of King Amalric (died 1174), while Conrad was his great-grandson.

<sup>22</sup> That is, he had abandoned any claim to it. Robert of Courtenay, Emperor of Constantinople, had died probably in November 1226. See Rudolf Pokorney, ‘Ein neues Todesdatum für den lateinischen Kaiser Robert von Konstantinopel: 6 November 1226’, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 72 (2016), 95-140.

agreed to appoint as *bailli* and guardian of the empire and of the child a valiant man who was called Anseau. The latter maintained the land well given what a poor condition it was in. And so that he could better maintain it, he made peace and an alliance with the Cumans, and he married the daughter of a Cuman, so that he might better draw them to him. And as a result it happened that the land was in a better situation and more prosperous.

(15) Because the land of Constantinople was in such a feeble state, the barons took counsel, and they agreed to send good envoys to King John, asking him to come to receive the empire of Constantinople on the terms which they would make to him. King John agreed, and came in accordance with the scheme which had been devised, and he brought fine men with him and he carried plenty of wealth. It was agreed that the child, who was the rightful heir, would marry one of his daughters, whom he had had by the sister of the king of Castile, and that everything that he might conquer beyond the Arm of St. George, in the land of Bithynia, would belong to him and his heirs, but they would hold this from the emperor, and he [himself] would hold the empire while he lived. When he arrived at Constantinople he was crowned emperor and received homage and fealty. With the intention of riding out and beginning the war, he began to negotiate with the Venetians and quarrelled [with them]. He found himself very lacking in both men and resources. Nonetheless, he crossed over the Arm of St. George as best he could, and laid siege to a strong castle called Pegai, and he was able to capture it, though not by force but rather through stealth. He then installed a garrison and went forward and rode through the land of Vatatzes. This Vatatzes was a Greek who held the land beyond the Arm of St. George and called himself emperor, and behaved as emperor.<sup>23</sup> And that he held this land was because of his wife, who was the daughter of Lascaris.<sup>24</sup> He had called himself emperor because he was of the lineage of the Emperor Manuel, of whom this book has spoken earlier. When the Emperor John had ridden through this land for some time and been victorious over his enemies, none of the Greeks dared to come against him in battle, and so they avoided him all the time. After he had returned to Constantinople, nothing then resulted from the discomfiture of his enemies, and so they returned to peace, from which there was little profit; for after he had spent all the treasure which he had brought with him to the country then his men abandoned him. So he remained alone in poverty, even though he was victorious.

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<sup>23</sup> John Vatatzes, Emperor of Nikea 1222-54.

<sup>24</sup> Theodore Lascaris, Emperor of Nikea 1206-22.

(16) It happened that after the Emperor Frederick had departed from the land of Syria the Sultan of Babylon, Malik al-Kamil, and his brother Malik al-Ashraf went to besiege Damascus with a great army of both infantry and horsemen, and they started to cut down the gardens which made the people of Damascus very fearful, because these are one of their great riches, so they are dear to their heart. They found themselves vulnerable because they had no lord to defend them.<sup>25</sup> Because of this they ended by [going to] al-Kamil and surrendering the city to him, requesting him to give it to his brother al-Ashraf, and that he give them in exchange four towns in the Levant. When Izz al-Din Aybeg realised that the people of Damascus intended to surrender the city and desert their lord Malik al-Nasir, the son of Coradin, [and] nor was he able to give counsel, he took his lord, and quickly smuggled him out of the citadel of Damascus by a postern, and brought him to Kerak where his mother and treasury were. He left him there and went on to his castle of Sarkhad. This was how he kept the child safe, to prevent his uncles al-Kamil and al-Ashraf seizing him.

(17) After peace had been made between Pope Gregory and Emperor Frederick, the emperor put on a great appearance of wanting to be concerned with the land of Syria, because he had been informed that the Saracens were observing the truce very poorly, and among the other outrages that they were inflicting upon the Christians they were killing pilgrims on the road to Jerusalem. And without doubt they killed in that time more than 10,000 of them. And the Saracens committed still another, and even greater, misdeed, because they assembled more than 15,000 footmen from the land of St. Abraham and from the mountains of Jerusalem, and from Nablus and the country round about, and they said that they were unwilling any longer to suffer that the city of Jerusalem should be in the hands of the Christians, nor that they should be allowed to enter the Temple of the Lord, which was a house of God. They pretended that they were doing this without the consent of the sultan, and that their fakirs had put them up to this. These are their priests. They entered the city fully armed and ran through the streets in disorder, breaking in to houses and robbing and killing many Christians, but not a vast number.

(18) When the Christians who were in Jerusalem: Latins, Syrians and all the other nations, knew of the arrival of these people, they prepared to receive them, placing their women and children, and their most valuable possessions in the Tower of David, in the fortress which they

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<sup>25</sup> Not literally, but the city's new ruler, al-Nasir, was very young and inexperienced, and thus not capable of defending it.

had made there from it and from the strongest houses that were near it. The *bailli* of the town, who was called Renaud of Haifa, chamberlain of the kingdom, sent to Acre to the lord of Sidon and Garnier the German, who had earlier been appointed by the emperor as *baillis* of the kingdom, to rescue their community. They therefore took knights and sergeants, left Acre and went almost to Jaffa, and they sent out in advance a knight named Baldwin of Piquigni and some Turcoples to spy out the hiding place of the Saracens, and they came after him. They left in early evening and took the road to Emmaus – that is the castle where our Lord appeared to the pilgrims after his Resurrection.<sup>26</sup> They rode all night, arriving at Bethlehem at daybreak.

(19) When the Christians who had taken refuge in the Tower of David saw the appearance of the people who had come from Bethlehem, and they recognised the banners and realised that they had come to rescue them, they were overjoyed, because they had been made very fearful by the Saracens who had laid siege to them and attacked them on all sides, and this attack had now lasted two days, and this was the third day. They took heart, and let fly at the Saracens, and defeated and broke them, so that the latter were unable to recover or to rally; and so they chased them, beating, striking and slaying them through the streets, so that one part fled through the gate of St. Stephen, and another through the gate of Josaphat, and others to the Temple and Mount Sion, who [then] jumped down from the walls into the valley. And when those who had come from Bethlehem came near to the town, they saw the discomfiture [of the Muslims] and gave chase, striking those who were fleeing with their spears, wounding some and killing others. Hence more than two thousand were found to have been slain both inside and outside the city. They then sent messengers to the host to make this news known, and the messengers found the host at Toron of the Knights. And when they heard this news they were very joyful. They decided not to advance further, and thus they returned to Acre. And because of all these events, and to protect these possessions and on advice of the pope, the emperor recruited 300 knights and 200 crossbowmen and mounted sergeants, and at Brindisi had them loaded on to 18 *salanders*, with horses, weapons and rations, which then departed and sailed to Gata, which is the cape near Limassol. When they arrived there they anchored, and they waited there for the arrival of their commander, Riccardo Filangieri, the marshal of the emperor, who had sailed after them with fifteen galleys.

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<sup>26</sup> *Luke*, 24: 13-49.

(20) When the *salanders* had sailed from Brindisi, a ship of the Hospital of the Germans also sailed with the *salanders* and came to Acre, and in this there came a spy of John of Ibelin, the lord of Beirut, who informed him of the coming of the emperor's men and what their intention was. As a result, he left Acre, taking with him as many men as he could, both his own men and those of his friends, and he went to Beirut and [then] to the island of Cyprus. After his arrival there, he took the king and a few of his people, and went to lodge at la Quit. All the rest of his people, knights and mounted sergeants, were stationed at Limassol, and he made his eldest son their captain. At this point there arrived in Limassol two galleys, in which were the bishop of Melfi and two knights who had their fiefs at Acre. One was Aymon the German and the other John of Bailleul, who was a Fleming. They sought the king that they might speak to him. To which they were told he was at la Quit. They left Limassol in their galleys and came to La Quit, where the king was camped.

(21) When they came there, they said to the king in the presence of the lord of Beirut: 'our lord the emperor sends you word, as to one who is his vassal, that you dismiss and require to leave your land John of Ibelin, his children, his nephews, and his relatives, for they have done wrong. Wherefore he sends you his orders and forbids you as his vassal to harbour or shelter him in your land.' The king, who was a child and under age, took counsel and had answer made to them by a knight who was his vassal called William Viscount, who said to them: 'Lords, the king has commanded and charged me that I should say to you that he greatly marvels that your lord the emperor made such a command to him, for the lord of Beirut is his own maternal uncle, and it is well known that he and his nephew and some of his relatives are his vassals, wherefore he cannot fail them, and, saving the grace of the emperor, the king cannot and ought not to do that which you have told us. If he were to do so, he would act wrongly towards them.' After this John of Ibelin rose and said to the king: 'Sire, I am your vassal, so I pray you that you support me according to the right, since I am ready to give right and to take right before you and in your court, if anyone asks it.' On this the messengers rose up and said to the king: 'Sire, you have heard what we have said on behalf of the emperor, and we have heard your answer'. With this they departed immediately and went to their galleys, and boarded them and went to Gavata, where their *salanders* lay.

(22) When those of the *salanders* had waited there for their commander the marshal for some days, and they saw that he had not come, they took counsel and by agreement they departed from Gavata, and they sailed until they came to an island which is near Beirut. They

disembarked onto the land and unloaded their horses, and then they armed themselves, organised themselves into squadrons and rode towards the city of Beirut, drawn up in their squadrons. When the people of Beirut saw them coming, some of them garrisoned the castle, and the others opened the gates and received them. Then they spread out in the town and lodged themselves in the hostels, where they found a great supply of foodstuffs and other goods, and they put their hands to besieging the castle and making war engines. They built a great trebuchet which threw a *quintal* weight, and threw small trebuchets, and six [other] stone-throwers, and they besieged the castle very closely, so that nothing could enter or leave.

(23) Only a little while after this the marshal, Riccardo Filangieri, arrived at Limassol with all fifteen galleys. When he arrived there, he discovered that the *salanders* had gone to Beirut. He left the island and went after them, and came to Beirut and found the siege already under way, and he maintained this as his men had begun [it], and he pressed it as much as he could. He sent his brother Enrico to Tyre, and ordered Aymon de Lairon to surrender Tyre, of which he had the guard. The latter received the command, and surrendered the city and the castle. When the marshal had been a while at Beirut, he went to Acre with only a small force. After he had arrived there he assembled all the knights and burgesses. As soon as they were all assembled within the castle of the great palace he had letters read in their presence, letters which were sealed with gold and which came on behalf of Emperor Frederick to all those of the kingdom, in which were contained many fine and amiable words. Among other things he said: 'I have sent you the marshal of the empire, Riccardo Filangieri, legate on my behalf, to be *bailli* of the kingdom, to maintain right and justice, and to guard in their rights both great and small, rich and poor'. When these letters were read out, Riccardo rose and said: 'Lords, you have heard the letters of my lord the emperor, and he has commanded me [to do] everything just as they say. And I am ready to act by the counsel of the noblemen of the land.' If [his] conduct and deeds had been in accordance with his words and the letters, the men of the land would have been well content and they would have received him as *bailli*; but hardly had he arrived in the country when his actions proved quite otherwise, and he revealed his heart and his thoughts, how he was haughty and proud, and not well-endowed with sense. By this the men of the country realised that his intention was to destroy everything and to reduce all to naught.

(24) When they had perceived this, and were certain of his bad intentions, they assembled and took counsel, and by agreement they came before Riccardo the marshal. Whereupon

Balian, the lord of Sidon, said: ‘they have charged me that I shall say a word to you, both for them and for myself. You should know that when the land was conquered, it was not by any chief lord, but it was conquered by Crusade (*croisée*) and by the action of the pilgrims and the people assembled. When they had conquered it, they made a lord by agreement and by election, and they gave him the lordship of the kingdom. And afterwards, they made, by the agreement and with the knowledge of the whole people, *établissements* and *assises*, which they wanted to be observed and used in the kingdom for the safety of the lord and the other people, and to preserve right; and then they swore to maintain them, and they caused the lord so to swear. And from thenceforth until now all the lords who have been in the kingdom have sworn this, and so also has the emperor sworn. In these, among the other *établissements* and *assises*, there is this *assise*, that the lord is unable, and ought not, to disseise his vassal without the consent of the court; [and] it is well-known that the lord of Beirut is the vassal of the emperor. And in that you, who are in place of the emperor to guard the land and to maintain right, have put your hand on his tenement, and have disseised him of the city of Beirut and the lands around it, and have besieged his castle, without the decision of the court and the judgement thereof, we therefore require you, by right and by reason, and in order to preserve the oath and faith of our lord the emperor, to depart with your men from Beirut, hence the lord of Beirut will be replaced in seisin. Should you wish to demand or claim anything of him, have him summoned by the usage of the kingdom and decide the matter by the judgement of the court. If by the decision of the court it should be due, we are ready to aid you, and to lend our strength to enforce that the matter shall be amended.’<sup>27</sup>

(25) When Riccardo the marshal heard this speech, he marvelled greatly how they dared say it to him, for he did not believe that anyone would dare to contradict the things which he wished to do, but he now saw well that matters were not going, nor would they go, as he had thought. Nevertheless he concealed [what was in] his heart, since he could do no better. Hence he said to them that he could not reply concerning this until he should have taken counsel with the magnates of the kingdom who had come with him, and those who were at Beirut; but he would go there and would hold council with them, and they should send there to him for his reply.

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<sup>27</sup> For this development of the twelfth-century *Assise sur la Ligèce*, see especially Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174-1277* (London 1973), pp. 145-84, and especially 176-7. For a somewhat different interpretation, G.A. Loud, 'The Assise sur la Ligèce and Ralph of Tiberias', in *Crusade and Settlement. Papers Presented to R.C. Smail*, ed. P.W. Edbury (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1985), pp. 204-212.

With this he departed on the morning after and went to Beirut. And when he arrived there he blockaded and pressed the castle more closely than he had done before. Balian of Sidon, John of Caesarea, Odo of Montbeliard, Garnier the German and the other knights of the kingdom sent two knights to Beirut, to ask for the marshal's reply, as he had promised to them. One of the knights was Renaud of Haifa, chamberlain of the kingdom, and the other was Daniel of Molembec. When these two had come to Beirut, they informed the marshal that they had come to him for the reply to what the vassals of the emperor had said and required of him. His reply was this: 'Lords, I inform you that I am the vassal of the emperor, and I am bound to do his commands; thus I wish that each should know that I will not violate them while I am able, in anything which is so rightful – for its is known how John of Ibelin conducted himself and behaved towards the emperor – and this the more so because I am only the servant and the emperor is the lord. If you feel among yourselves that the emperor does things to you which he ought not [to do], send messengers to him, and he is so good and loyal a lord that he will make amends as he should'. The messengers returned to Acre and repeated the reply of the marshal to those who had sent them.

(26) When the men of the kingdom heard this reply, they realised that the will of the marshal was indeed such as they had been led to believe, so they thought that if they did not take counsel for themselves as to what to do, they would be in an evil situation. Whereupon the most wise and foresighted of them took counsel together, and they saw that they would have no recourse but this – that they should all bind themselves together by oath to guard and maintain their rights and privileges and the franchises of the kingdom. Then they remembered that in the country was a brotherhood which was called the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, which had been established by King Baldwin and confirmed by his privilege. Afterwards Count Henry confirmed it and made a privilege.<sup>28</sup> In this brotherhood there were the *établissements*, devices and by-laws among their privileges; and among the other rules was that all those who wished to join the brotherhood could do so, and those of the brotherhood would receive them. Then the magnates, and the knights and burgesses, assembled, and when they were together, they went to seek the councillors of the brotherhood and its privileges. When they had come there, they caused the two privileges to be read out, and afterwards they swore most of the people to [enrol in] the brotherhood. They did this most willingly through the fear that they had for the

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<sup>28</sup> That is, Count Henry of Champagne, who was the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem 1192-7, although he was never crowned king. The King Baldwin was presumably Baldwin IV (king 1174-85). Neither of these privileges now survives.

malice of the marshal; and thus they were all bound to one another. Then word of this was sent to Cyprus to inform John of Ibelin.

(27) When he heard of the actions of the men of the kingdom in Acre, in the manner which you have heard, he was much pleased by this, and indeed it seemed that was very helpful to him in maintaining his position. He came to King Henry, who was still of minor age, and he told him in front of his men that the army should be assembled. ‘My lord, you know that I am your man. You should be aware that foreigners (*gent estrange*) have committed, and are still committing, great outrages and wrong, because they have taken and seized my city of Beirut and my land around [it], and they have besieged my citadel at Beirut. So I beg you, as my lord, and as the one who is bound to me, that you help me to rescue and deliver my city, my citadel and my land, and that you yourself come there, and that you bring your men there. And I beg all your men who are here, as they are my friends and my peers, that they render me counsel and aid.’ The king replied that he would willingly go, and that he would bring as many of his men as he could. And the men of the king who were there replied that they were ready to go. But there were some there who had agreed to this very reluctantly, because they did not dare to refuse, and they showed this clearly once they had arrived there. So they hired vessels and had galleys prepared, and they assembled at Famagusta, and they waited there for a while, until they departed on the first day of Lent and they crossed in good weather, and they arrived at Le Puy du Conestable, which is between Nefin and Botron, and they all landed there together. Then it happened that Aimery Barlais, Amaury of Bethsan, Hugh of Gibelet and their companions left Le Puy, and abandoned their encampment and equipment [there], and went to Tripoli. And Marshal Riccardo sent a galley to them in which they went to Beirut. The reason why they parted from the king and his host was that, so they said, the king was under age and in the power of others, and that they were vassals in chief of the emperor and more bound to him than to the king.

(28) After this John of Ibelin left there, and led the king and his army, and passed by Le Puy, and went in front of Botron and Gibelet until they came to Beirut, to a locality called Senesfil, and they camped there by the river. After they had arrived there, John of Ibelin sent as a messenger to Acre one of his squires who was named Droin, and he sent several letters to Balian of Sidon and John of Caesarea, who were his nephews, sons of his sisters, and to many others of his friends; and he [also] sent a letter to the men of the land in general, in which after the greeting the contents were expounded as follows: ‘Lords, I have to inform you that

foreigners (*gent estrange*) from another country have attacked me, and have seized and taken my city and my land, and they have besieged my citadel, and because of that I have no power to come to you, nor to send any of my men, for they are enclosed and besieged in my castle. Therefore I cause you to know my need by these letters, in which I summon you and require of you as my brothers and my friends that you maintain me rightly according to the usages and customs of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and that you aid me to rescue and deliver my city, my castle and my land.' This letters was read out in the house of Balian of Sidon where most of the men of the emperor were assembled, whereupon John, the lord of Caesarea, demanded a reply for his uncle John of Ibelin. Therefore it happened that one part agreed that they should aid and succour him in this, and they offered to go to aid and succour him. The other party said that they did not agree with this. Those who agreed to go were the lord of Caesarea, Rohard lord of Haifa, Renauld his brother, Geoffrey le Tor, Geoffrey d'Estrueni, Baldin de Bon Veisan and other knights, who were forty-three [in all]. These prepared and set out, and they came to where the King of Cyprus and John of Ibelin were. Then the army of Cyprus left Senefil and went to encamp nearer the city in a place called *le Ros*. They had just done this when it happened that Gerold, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Archbishop Peter of Caesarea, Balian of Sidon, Odo of Montbeliard, Guarin the Master of the Hospital,<sup>29</sup> Brother Armand of Perigord, Master of the Temple,<sup>30</sup> the *bailli* of Venice and the consuls of Pisa and Genoa left Acre and went to Beirut. They camped outside the town and spoke [first] to one party and then to the other to try, if they could, to make peace. After they had spoken to both parties, they realised that there was no way that they could achieve anything, and so they left there and returned to Acre. John of Ibelin saw and realised that he would not accomplish much there where he was, because he lacked the forces to do much damage to those who were inside Beirut besieging his citadel, because he would be at a disadvantage if he sought to give battle to them with the Cypriots, because they had more people both on horse and on foot than John of Ibelin had.

(29) When he realised this, he left where he was, and he led King Henry and the army of Cyprus away, and went to Sidon, where he left the king, with Anseau of Brie to guard him, and with him most of the army, and he took the others and went to Acre. After he had arrived there, he had the people assembled, knights, burgesses and [common] people, and before all of these he swore [to join] the Brotherhood of St. Andrew in the pulpit of the church. After he had

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<sup>29</sup> Guerin, Master of the Hospital 1230/1-6. He was certainly chosen as Master before May 1231, and perhaps by November 1230; see Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus*, p. 174.

<sup>30</sup> Master of the Temple c. 1232-1244/6.

sworn he spoke to all the people, and explained his grievances to them, and he told them that the *salanders* in which their enemies had come were still in the harbour, and that they could still do him great harm, and for this reason he advised that they seize them. As soon as he had said this, a cry rose up through the church as everyone said and cried out ‘to the *salanders*!’ They rose up and ran to the sea, and boarded barques and other vessels and went to the *salanders* and captured eighteen of them, and one escaped which was at the [harbour] mouth. They found these [ships] at Acre because, although the Lombards had landed at Beirut, Marshal Riccardo had sent them to Acre for the winter, because he sought to have all the land at his command, but as a result he found himself in difficulties. After the *salanders* had been captured, as you have heard, the marshal was informed of this at Tyre, where he was, and he was much upset by this. After the *salanders* were captured, the king left Sidon and came to Acre, and when he arrived John of Ibelin took counsel, and with the agreement and help of most of the people of the land he decided to go and besiege Tyre. The Genoese provided men and vessels to help him in this, and the army departed and went to Casal Imbert and stayed there. When Marshal Riccardo learned of this enterprise he sent to Beirut to his brother Lothar, who was [commanding] there in his place, ordering him to abandon the siege, and bring the army and come to Tyre. This was because he feared the arrival of those people who had come against Tyre. Lothar did what his brother had ordered. Thus he set fire to the siege engines, and left Beirut, bringing the people who were there with him, and the galleys and the other vessels, and he came to Tyre.

**(30)** When John of Ibelin heard the news that the army of the men of Apulia had abandoned the siege and left Beirut, and that they had come to Tyre, he was very pleased about this, even though he had returned to Acre and left the king and all the army of Cyprus at Casel Imbert or Sablon outside Acre. Because John of Ibelin was at Acre to take counsel about what he was to do, the marshal, who was at Tyre, knew the situation of the men of Cyprus. He mustered his people and his galleys and left Tyre in early evening, and rode through the night. And at daybreak they attacked the encampment of the Cypriots by land and sea, and they so surprised them that they found most of them [still] in their beds. There were many in this little army who could have been properly armed if they had been warned by spies during the night, but Anseau of Brie, whom John of Ibelin had left as captain of the army in his place, did not want to believe the spies, and so he made a joke of this and said: ‘It is ridiculous to believe that they will come six leagues over poor roads to attack us. And they did not do it even when they were six

bowshots away from us before Beirut.’ And for this reason he refused to listen to advice or to be on guard against their coming. ....

[*The Cypriot army was defeated, and retreated in disorder to Acre, from which relief came too late*]

.... The day on which this happened was a Tuesday, 3<sup>rd</sup> May, in the year from the Incarnation of Our Lord 1232, and on that day the King of Cyprus, Henry was fifteen years of age.

**(32)** When the Cypriots returned to Acre, they found themselves in great difficulty and in poverty because those who had returned were nearly stripped, because they had lost horses, armour, robes and [other] garments, money and valuables. Everyone had only returned with the clothes that they wore and the beast on which they were seated, and from this they were so downhearted and dismayed that there was a danger that many of them would defect to the other side, and might bring over the king with them, since he was but a child and easy to influence. When John of Ibelin learned of these things, he appeared to pay no attention to them, and so recovered his courage and thought about what he should do. Then his nephew John of Caesarea sold a *casale* of his called Cafarlet to the Hospital for 16,000 besants, and his other nephew John of Ibelin sold another *casale* belonging to him, which was called Arames, to the Temple for 15,000 besants. After he had received these besants, he assembled the Cypriots and encouraged them, and he loaned them some of this sum, and with the rest he retained men and armed galleys and vessels, and prepared to cross to Cyprus, bringing the king [with him], and he had the king grant fiefs to many knights, to bring them with him to Cyprus. They were embarked onto the *salanders*, those of the kingdom had provided, and their horses and other equipment into other vessels, and they hastened to set sail.

**(33)** Let us return to Riccardo the marshal. After he had secured the victory at Casal Imbert, he sent the Cypriots who were with him back to Cyprus, and some of his own men too. After they had arrived in Cyprus, they took steps to secure the citadel and town of Kyrenia, Kantara and the tower of Famagusta, and they besieged Dieudamor. The king’s two sisters, the ladies Marie and Isabelle, were inside the castle of Dieudamor; Philip of Cafran was the castellan, and Arneis of Gibelet, whom the lord of Beirut had left as captain of the land, was also there. They then had long discussions, because neither the castle nor the sisters of the king were well furnished [with supplies], so that it was in danger of surrender through lack of foodstuffs, and [then] they held out in great want and with great difficulty until they might be relieved. As soon

as Marshal Riccardo Filangieri realised that the king and the Cypriots who were at Acre were hastening to go to Cyprus, he left Tyre and took all his people but for a few he left to garrison Tyre and crossed over to Cyprus. Once he had arrived there, he sent out his people throughout the land, so that he had all the land under his command, apart from the castles of Dieudamor and Buffavento.

(34) King Henry and the Cypriots who were with him made ready and left the port of Acre on the day of Pentecost,<sup>31</sup> and they went almost to Sidon, and from there they departed and sailed to Cyprus, arriving at the island before Famagusta.<sup>32</sup> They landed there without problems or opposition. Riccardo the marshal and all his army were inside the city of Famagusta. They made no attempt to interfere with their landing, and thus in the middle of the night they set fire to the galleys which were in the port, and he and all his people left and did not stop until they came almost to Nicosia. The king and John of Ibelin and the others who were with them crossed from the island the next day and took up lodgings in the town. After they had been there for two days they left on the third and rode by short stages until they came to Nicosia. As soon as Riccardo the marshal knew of their approach, he and all his people left and went to camp between the mountain and the valley, near the pass by which one goes from Nicosia to Kyrenia, and there they remained. The king and John of Ibelin, and those who were with them, left Nicosia on the same day that they had arrived, and they went to camp outside the town at a place which is called Trahona. They left there the next morning, which as a Tuesday, 15<sup>th</sup> June, and they rode on to go to that place where their enemies were. So they continued until they arrived near a *casale* which had the name of Agridi; and they intended to camp there. Hence one part of their baggage and of their foot sergeants had already been sent to this *casale*, and the other was coming afterwards. When they looked out, they saw the people of Apulia descending into the valley, their squadrons drawn up, and each squadron entrusted to a captain, ready for battle.

(35) When the Cypriots realised that they had come to fight with them, they drew themselves up, and advanced towards them, and approached until they attacked each other. There was a great battle between them and it lasted a long time, and in it many were overthrown. But there was one thing which greatly aided the Cypriots – that they had sergeants on foot. As a result when one of their knights was unhorsed, the sergeants rescued him and remounted him on his

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<sup>31</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> May 1232.

<sup>32</sup> That is the reef outside Famagusta that gives it its natural harbour.

horse. And when one of the other side was unhorsed, then the sergeants usually killed or captured him. Because of this, many of the Apulians were killed and perished in this battle. More than 60 of their knights were slain, and at least 40 more were captured, while only one knight of the Cypriots was killed, who was called Sergio, and he had been born in Tuscany. After the battle had gone on for a long time, the men of Apulia could not endure the conflict any more, for they had received too great damage, and so they abandoned the field, and they fled in confusion to the mountain pass that led to Kyrenia, and the Cypriots pursued them as they fled, and they went on together pell-mell, and so they went as far as the gates of Kyrenia, where they took refuge in great disorder.

**(36)** After the Cypriots had been victorious in this battle and gained the field, and pursued them as you have heard, they returned to a place which was near the coast and at the foot of a mountain, and they encamped there. The marshal saw that he was trapped, and although he [still] had enough people he had little food. So he took counsel, and sent to Paphos for his galleys which were there. And once they had come for him, he stationed the people who were willing, who remained at Kyrenia, and the others took themselves to the galleys and went to Armenia, and they entered the land of Tarsus and were received there. King Hethoum and his father Constans greatly honoured them. They remained there for a long time, so that an illness overcame them, from which there were many deaths, and all of them were sick. ...

[Translated by G.A. Loud, from *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Histoires Occidentaux*, ii.356-97, 398-402, January 2019]