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King Consorts of Jerusalem and their Entourages from the West from 1186 to 1250

Between 1186 and 1228 the crown of Jerusalem was held by women: Sibyl, Isabella I, Maria, and Isabella II. None of them had a strong political drive: they all married, in Isabella I's case four times, and they devolved power to their husbands. Jerusalem was therefore governed by a series of king consorts, none of whom had been born in the East and each of whom had his own entourage. I use that term in the following sense: first there were the members of his own household: knights, chaplains and professional servants; secondly there were his kindred who came from the West to join him; thirdly there were the members of noble families from his own part of Europe who took service with him. All these men might hope to enjoy the patronage of the king consort, and the native Franks feared that this would be achieved at their expense.

When Guy of Lusignan became king in 1186 his entourage is said to have roamed the streets of Jerusalem chanting

Maugre li Polein

Avrons nous roi poitevin¹.

Guy had been living in the Holy Land for six years and had had time to build up a Poitevin following. The descendants of Hugh Martin and Massé de Gaurèle, for example, later claimed that they had come to the East with him², and his brother Aimery had been in the kingdom since c.1170 and had been constable since c.1181. During the brief period when he was regent for the Leper King in 1183, Guy had made enemies by boasting about his powers of patronage³. In the few months that he held the crown in 1186–7 he attempted to consolidate the fortunes of his family by arranging the betrothal of the two daughters of Joscelin of Courtenay, heirs to their father's considerable estates, to his brother, William of Valence and an un-

¹ La continuation de Guillaume de Tyre, c. 41, ed. *Margaret R. Morgan* (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades, XIV [Paris 1982]) 53.

² Les Lignages d'Outremer, cc. xl, xli, RHC Lois, II, 472 f.

³ *William of Tyre*, Chronicon, XXII, 26, ed. *Robert B. C. Huygens* (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, LXIII, LXIIIA [Turnholt 1986] 472 f.).

specified Lusignan nephew⁴. The fears of the Jerusalem nobility that they would be inundated by Poitevins did not seem unreasonable.

Although Guy's ambitions were interrupted by the loss of the kingdom in 1187, he continued the same policy after he was released by Saladin. When his eldest brother, Geoffrey of Lusignan, came on crusade he enfeoffed him with the county of Jaffa and Ascalon still in Muslim hands⁵. Guy's brother Aimery remained constable of the kingdom, and when Guy lost the support of the marshal Walter Durus, he appointed the Poitevin Hugh Martin in his place⁶. But Guy was unpopular because he was blamed for the defeat of Hattin, and after the death of Queen Sibyl and her daughters in 1190, his kingship was contested. In 1192 he renounced the crown and became lord of Cyprus. This decision was important in two ways: it gave the Lusignans a secure power base; and it also created a constitutional precedent. Henceforth it was axiomatic that any ruler who held the crown matrimonial was only a king consort whose power would normally come to an end should his wife predecease him.

In 1192 it was intended that the new king of Jerusalem should be Conrad of Montferrat who had married Sibyl's sister Isabella in 1190 after the annulment of her marriage to Humphrey of Toron. The Montferrats were not newcomers to the kingdom, for Conrad's elder brother, William Longsword, had been Queen Sibyl's first husband and the father of the child-king, Baldwin V. Conrad had brought with him to Tyre in 1187 a household which included a seneschal and a chamberlain, and as his power increased he promoted his secretary to be his chancellor⁷. It looked as though once he became king he would give most of the great offices of state to his Italian followers, but that did not happen because he was assassinated in 1192 before he had been crowned. Although his household returned to Italy, the house of Montferrat's interest in the Holy Land did not end at that point because the crown later passed to Conrad's daughter Maria and her descendants.

Within a week of his death the queen was married to Henry II of Troyes, count of Champagne, nephew of the kings of England and France, who had accompanied Philip Augustus on the Third Crusade. He postponed his coronation, hoping

⁴ *Ernest Strehlke*, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, no. 23 (Berlin 1869, reprinted with preface by *Hans E. Mayer*, Toronto 1975) 21.

⁵ Geoffrey heads the witness list as Count of Jaffa in a diploma of Guy of Lusignan issued on 31 January 1192, *Reinhold Röbricht*, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (MXCVII-MCCXCI), no. 698 (Innsbruck 1893–1904) I, 186.

⁶ Walter Durus had been marshal of the kingdom in 1185, *Strehlke*, 17f., nos. 18, 19. In a charter of Conrad of Montferrat of April 1192 he appears as 'Gualterius Durus, marescalcus', *Röbricht*, no. 704, I, 188. Hugh Martin is named marshal in a diploma of Guy's dated 10 February 1192, *Röbricht*, no. 701, I, 187.

⁷ In October 1187 three charters of Conrad were witnessed by 'Ubertus Nepos, senescalcus marchionis' and 'Datum per manum Bandini, domini marchionis scribae.' *Röbricht*, nos. 665, 667–8, I, 177f.; Bandinus also appears in no. 666. By September 1188 Bandinus was styled 'cancellarium et secretarium', *ibid.* no. 676, I, 181. In May 1191 Bandinus is styled chancellor, and Henricus de Cannelli 'camerarius marchionis', *ibid.* no. 705, I, 188f.

that a new crusade would recover Jerusalem and that it could take place there. He ruled over a diminished kingdom, consisting principally of the royal cities of Acre and Tyre, and the lordships of Jaffa, Arsuf, Caesarea and Cayphas. He did not attempt to concentrate power in the hands of his own entourage, although some members of his household, like Milo Breban of Provins, the marshal of Champagne⁸, and his jester, Escarlata⁹, remained with him in the Holy Land, while other Champenois, like Vilain of Aulnay, later joined him there¹⁰.

He faced opposition from the Lusignans. Guy bitterly resented the loss of his kingdom, and his brother Aimery, who remained constable of Jerusalem, supported the revolt of the Pisans against Henry in 1193¹¹. But when this was suppressed and Aimery had fled to Cyprus, Henry appointed his own young brother-in-law as new constable. This was John of Ibelin, who can only have been sixteen¹² and whose family, which had been one of the greatest in the last days of the First Kingdom, had lost almost all their lands to Saladin. Henry sought to share power with the native baronage by making Ralph of Tiberias seneschal of the kingdom¹³. But he also used his patronage to encourage new men to settle there, some of whom may have been crusaders who had remained in the East after 1192. One was Thierry of Tenremonde in Flanders, who may have accompanied Philip of Flanders on crusade, and who married Agnes, the heiress of Adelon¹⁴; another was Thierry of Orgue, who married Melisende, the lady of Arsuf¹⁵; while a third was Adémar of Lairon, who married Juliana, the widowed Lady of Caesarea¹⁶. Henry must have arranged the two latter marriages himself, and perhaps per-

⁸ Milo Breban witnessed Henry of Troyes' first diploma as ruler of Jerusalem in 1192, and subsequently others, *Röbricht*, nos. 707, 710, 713, 716, 720, I, 189–93; *Theodore Evergates*, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes ... (1152–1284)* (Baltimore 1975) 10, 47.

⁹ Continuation, c. 179, 189 and n. 2.

¹⁰ Aulnay was a lordship in the county of Champagne. Villanus de Alneto first appears as a witness in a diploma of 19 October 1197, *Röbricht*, no. 735, I, 196.

¹¹ Continuation, c. 147, 159ff.; *Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie*, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land ... (1098–1197)* (Amsterdam 1989) 312–15.

¹² John's parents married in 1177, and he cannot have been born before 1178, *William of Tyre*, XXI, 17, II, 986. The Old French Continuation dates the gift of Beirut to 1194, c. 147, 161.

¹³ He first appears with this title in a diploma of 5 January 1194, *Röbricht*, no. 717, I, 192.

¹⁴ Thierry first appears in Henry's entourage in January 1193, *Röbricht*, no. 709, I, 190, and often thereafter. His marriage is recorded in *Lignages*, c. 35, RHC Lois, II, 469. Adelon was a rear-fief of Sidon and the marriage must have received the consent of Reynald of Sidon. Cf. *C. du Fresne Ducange*, ed. E. G. Rey, *Les familles d'Outremer* (Paris 1869) 169f.

¹⁵ He appears as a witness in Henry of Troyes' diplomas from January 1194, *Röbricht*, nos. 717, 720, 722, 724, I, 192ff. For his marriage, *Ducange*, 222.

¹⁶ Juliana inherited Caesarea from her brother Walter II who died at the siege of Acre. By her first husband, Guy 'de Beritho', she had Walter III, still a child at the time of her marriage to Adémar of Lairon who first appears as lord of Caesarea in January 1193 ('Azemarus, Caesar-iensis dominus'), *Röbricht*, no. 709, I, 190. *John L. LaMonte*, *The Lords of Caesarea in the period of the Crusades*, in: *Speculum* 22 (1947) 152ff. See also *Peter Jackson*, *The End of Hohenstaufen Rule in Syria in: Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 59 (1986) 31, no. 68.

sueded Reynald of Sidon to give Thierry of Tenremonde the hand of the lady of Adelon, and all three new vassals became important members of his court. The number of heiresses available no doubt reflected the high mortality rate among Frankish noblemen in the years following Hattin, but it benefited Henry by extending his powers of patronage in a very small kingdom.

Guy of Lusignan died in 1194 and the lordship of Cyprus passed to his brother Aimery, who later made peace with Henry, and proposed that when they were old enough his sons should marry Henry's daughters. As part of the marriage settlement Henry and Isabella promised to restore Jaffa to the Lusignans¹⁷. Henry's reign ended tragically when he fell to his death from a window in the palace of Acre in 1197. His reputation stood high in the Frankish East partly because he had drawn on the revenues of Champagne very extensively to meet the needs of the Holy Land¹⁸. He left two young daughters in Acre, Alice and Philippa, but his brother, Thibaut III, succeeded him as count of Champagne. He died in 1201, leaving his widow pregnant with the future Thibaut IV who did not come of age until 1222 and during those years the house of Champagne was in no position to intervene in the affairs of Jerusalem¹⁹.

In 1197 Aimery of Lusignan was crowned king of Cyprus by Conrad of Hildesheim, the imperial chancellor who led the vanguard of Henry VI's crusade, and it was at his suggestion that Aimery, who had recently become a widower, married Isabella of Jerusalem. Unlike Henry he was crowned king of Jerusalem and, as the Eracles comments of Isabella, 'lors a primes fu ele reine'²⁰. Aimery's court in Cyprus contained former members of his brother Guy's entourage, men like Hugh Martin, Walter Lo Bel (whom Guy had made viscount of Acre), Rainier of Gibelet and Gawain of Cheneché, some of whom were Poitevins²¹. That element had been strengthened by other Poitevins who had come to Cyprus, during Aimery's reign it would seem, like Reynald Barlais²², and Aimery de Rivet, who was made seneschal of Cyprus, should probably also be numbered among them²³.

¹⁷ '... et le conte Henri, par l'atrait et la volonté de Ysabiau sa feme, fist don et vente a sa fille del conté de Jaffe, que il li fist doaire et en heritage.' Continuation, c. 167, 177. This clause seems to have taken effect in c.1208 when Henry's daughter Alice married Aimery's son Hugh I of Cyprus, see the marriage contract, *Edmond Martène, Ursmer Durand* (eds.), *The-saurus Novus Anecdotorum* (Paris 1717), I, 806f. See n. 72 below.

¹⁸ See the alleged comments of the Military Orders at the time of his death, Continuation, c. 189, 199.

¹⁹ *Jean Longnon*, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin* (Geneva 1978) 11 ff.

²⁰ *L'Estoire d'Eracles empereur et la conquete de la Terre d'Outremer*, XXVII, V, RHC Occ, II, 223.

²¹ In Guy's entourage: *Röbriht*, nos. 683–4, 690, 693, 698, 701–2 (Gawain of Cheneché); 690, 698, 701 (Rainier of Gibelet); 698, 701–2 (Hugh Martin and Walter lo Bel); in Aimery's entourage: 723, 737 (Hugh Martin); 723 (Walter lo Bel and Rainier of Gibelet), I, 182–8, 193, 196. Gawain of Cheneché who took a prominent part in Cypriote affairs during Henry I's minority would appear to be the son of Guy's supporter with the same name, *Philip of Novara*, *Mémoires*, c. xxvii, ed. *Charles Kohler* (Paris 1913) 7–43.

²² Probably to be identified with Raynaldus Betlay, who witnessed a diploma of Aimery in 1195, *Röbriht*, no. 723, I, 193. He was appointed castellan of Jaffa as soon as Aimery became

King Aimery made no attempt to unite his two realms, nor did he at first make any significant changes among his wife's advisers. Milo Breban, the most powerful of Henry of Troyes' western followers, returned to Champagne and later went to Frankish Greece²⁴, and Aimery clearly relied on the support of Baldwin of Bethsan, the constable of Cyprus, who often accompanied him when he visited the mainland²⁵. Nevertheless, Aimery had rights of patronage in Jerusalem which enabled him over the years to build up a group of supporters there. This was facilitated by the recovery of some territory during his reign. Thus Beirut was regained in 1197 with the help of the vanguard of Henry VI's crusade and Aimery was able to keep it as a royal fief because it had belonged to the crown before 1187²⁶. Then in 1203 a splinter group of the Fourth Crusade reached Outremer, and partly with their help Aimery was able to regain control over the disputed lands of Sidon²⁷. Balian lord of Sidon was a minor, and Aimery arranged the marriage of his widowed mother, Helvis of Ibelin, to Guy of Montfort, one of the new crusaders, who thus became *bailli* of Sidon until his stepson came of age²⁸. Jaffa was still part of the crown lands and therefore under Aimery's control, and so he was building up a secure power base in the mainland kingdom. In c.1202 his daughter Burgundia had married Walter of Montbéliard, a knight from Burgund, who had joined the Fourth Crusade, but, following a rather erratic route, had ended up in Cyprus²⁹. Aimery wished to appoint him constable of Jerusalem, presumably so that he could command the army of the kingdom in Aimery's absence. That office was held by John of Ibelin and Aimery offered him the fief of Beirut in exchange for it³⁰. Aimery made no attempt to diminish the powers of the men patronised by Henry of Troyes, but when in 1204 news of the capture of Constantinople reached the Holy Land some knights from the Crusader States went there. Among them was Thierry of Tenremonde, who no doubt expected to benefit from the patronage of the Champenois like Geoffrey of Villehardouin

King of Jerusalem, Eracles, XXVII, ii, RHC Occ, II, 219. He was probably related to the lords of Montreuil-Bellay, *Peter W. Edbury*, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (Cambridge 1991) 18, n. 25.

²³ Seneschal by 22 November 1197, *Röbriecht*, no. 737, I, 196. *Edbury*, 18, n. 25 suggests that the Rivet family may have been Poitevins.

²⁴ *Longnon*, 48–57.

²⁵ *Röbriecht*, no. 723 (1195, in Cyprus), 740B, 743, 746, 774, 776 (1198, 1200, in Acre) I, 193, 198f., 206f., II, 49.

²⁶ Eracles, XXVII, viii, RHC Occ, II, 226. *Bernard Hamilton*, *Miles of Plancy and the fief of Beirut*, in: *Benjamin Z. Kedar* (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem 1992) 136–46.

²⁷ *Ibn al-Athir*, *Sum of World History*, RHC Or, II, 96; *al-Maqrizi*, trans. *R. J. C. Broadhurst*, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt* (Boston, Mass. 1980) 146.

²⁸ Eracles, XXVIII, xii, RHC Occ, II, 263. *Lamonte*, *The Lords of Sidon in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, in: *Byzantion* 17 (1944–5) 193–200.

²⁹ *Longnon*, 20; Eracles, XXVI, 21, RHC Occ, II, 208.

³⁰ *Philip of Novara*, c. xxvii, 16; Eracles, XXXI, v, RHC Occ, II, 516. *Lamonte*, *John of Ibelin, the Old Lord of Beirut, 1177–1236*, in: *Byzantion* 12 (1937) 424f.

who had played such a large part in the Fourth Crusade, and other men from Champagne who had supported Henry of Troyes may have done the same³¹.

By the end of his reign Aimery was therefore in a strong position in the Latin Kingdom. He died early in 1205, it would appear from food poisoning. It had been agreed that Cyprus should be inherited by Hugh, the eldest surviving son of his first marriage, who was still a minor. Isabella survived Aimery by only a few months. She left five daughters and her heir was the eldest of them, Maria, the child of Conrad of Montferrat, who was about fourteen³². By the laws of the kingdom John of Ibelin was the rightful regent as Maria's closest kin on her mother's side³³. When Baldwin V of Montferrat had become king at the age of eight in 1185 his grandfather, William IV, had come to live in the Holy Land partly at least in order to safeguard the family interests³⁴; but that did not happen in 1206 because the family had greater concerns elsewhere. Its head, Maria's uncle, Boniface of Montferrat, had led the Fourth Crusade and become king of Thessalonica. But he was killed in 1207 and his kingdom was disputed between the supporters of his eldest son, William V, and those of his infant son Demetrius, whose mother, the dowager Byzantine empress Mary, claimed the regency³⁵. This resulted in a long civil war and one consequence of this was that the Montferrats took no interest in the kingdom of Jerusalem, not even in the choice of a husband for their kinswoman, Queen Maria.

King Hugh of Cyprus was also a minor and his regent was his brother-in-law, Walter of Montbéliard³⁶, who cooperated closely with his fellow regent, John of Ibelin. The agreement which had been made between Aimery of Cyprus and Henry of Troyes was partly implemented by John and Walter in c.1208 when Henry's elder daughter, Alice, married king Hugh, to whom she brought the county of Jaffa as her dowry³⁷. At about the same time close family ties were formed between the two regents when John's younger brother, Philip of Ibelin, married Walter's sister Alice, the widow of count Bertold of Neuenburg who had

³¹ Baldwin of Flanders 'manda en la terre d'Otre mer et fist crier par tout que, qui vodroit avoir terre ne garison, que il venist a lui'. Eracles, XXIX, ii, RHC Occ, II, 278. Thierry of Tenremonde was killed in 1206 fighting the Bulgarians, *Geoffrey of Villehardouin*, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, § 316, 405–6, 408–9, ed. *Edmond Faral* (Paris 1939) II, 124, 216ff., 220ff.

³² Eracles, XXX, xi, RHC Occ, II, 305. Isabel was pregnant with Maria at the time of Conrad's death in 1192, *Continuation*, c. 138, 143. Her other surviving daughters were Alice and Philippa, the children of Henry of Troyes, and Melisende and Sibyl, the daughters of Aimery of Lusignan.

³³ 'Et deit remaingre le baillage de la terre en la main dou plus prochein parent ou parente que les anfans aient de par leur mere et de par la reauté meut ...' *Le Livre au Roi*, c. v, RHC Lois, I, 610.

³⁴ *Continuation*, c. 10, 24f.

³⁵ *Longnon*, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris 1949) 106–11.

³⁶ Eracles, XXX, xii, RHC Occ, II, 305.

³⁷ *Ibid.* XXX, xv, RHC Occ, II, 308f.

come to live in the Latin Kingdom during Aimery's reign³⁸. Another index of co-operation between the two regents was the appointment as constable of Cyprus of Walter of Caesarea, John of Ibelin's brother-in-law, who would not inherit his important mainland fief until his mother died³⁹. One other man who became prominent during John of Ibelin's regency was Garnier l'Aleman, the name which the French-speaking population of Outremer gave to Werner von Egisheim, who first appeared at the court of Acre in the company of count Bertold⁴⁰. He married Pavia, a member of the Tripolitan family of the lords of Gibelet⁴¹, and became important during John of Ibelin's regency as part of the Montbéliard circle of Philip of Ibelin's wife. By 1210 Garnier and Philip of Ibelin jointly took responsibility for the defence of Acre while the rest of the nobility were attending the coronation of the queen at Tyre⁴². John of Ibelin used his powers while regent to arrange his own marriage to Melisende, Lady of Arsuf, in c.1209, after the death of her first husband, Henry of Troyes' supporter, Thierry d'Orgue⁴³.

In 1208 the High Court of Jerusalem, following precedents from Baldwin IV's reign, sent an embassy to Philip Augustus asking him to choose a husband for the queen. He nominated John of Brienne, a choice which one version of the *Eracles* attributes to an unworthy desire to rid France of him, and which is generally agreed to have been greeted with some dismay in Acre. For John was a younger son, and he was merely *bailli* for the county of Brienne on behalf of his young nephew, Walter III, who was living in the kingdom of Sicily⁴⁴. On the other hand John was a first cousin of Walter of Montbéliard, regent of Cyprus⁴⁵, and this consideration may have influenced Philip II in his choice. In 1210 John of Brienne married the queen thus ending the Ibelin regency.

³⁸ Lignages, c. xiii, RHC Lois, II, 452. Count Bertold and his son Bertold were present in Acre in October 1200, *Röbricht*, no. 776, I, 207; and Count Bertold witnessed charters in May 1206 and February and July 1207, *ibid.* nos. 812, 818, 819, 821, I, 217, 220. Although he is normally identified with Count Bertold of Katzenellenbogen (e.g. by *Wipertus H. Rudt de Collenberg*, *Les Ibelin aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. Généalogie compilée principalement selon les registres du Vatican*, in: *Epeteris IX* [1979] 203), the latter spent most of his time in Frankish Greece, *Longnon*, *Compagnons*, 244 f. It seems more probable that Alice of Montbéliard's first husband was Count Berthold of Neuenburg, who on 22 June 1200 left for the Holy Land with his son 'trans mare perpetuo mansurus', *Röbricht*, *Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande* (Innsbruck 1894) 87.

³⁹ First recorded as constable in September 1210, *Röbricht*, *Regesta*, no. 844, I, 225. Lignages, c. xii, RHC Lois, II, 451.

⁴⁰ *Röbricht*, *Die Deutschen*, 94. *Röbricht*, *Regesta*, no. 812 (May 1206) I, 217; cf. *Ibid.*, no. 933, I, 247, where as a witness to a charter of Count Otto of Henneberg his name is given in its German form, *Wernerus de Egisheim*.

⁴¹ *Ducange*, 504; Lignages, xxx, RHC Lois, II, 465.

⁴² *Eracles*, XXXI, i, RHC Occ, II, 312.

⁴³ Lignages, xi, RHC Lois, II, 451. *Rudt de Collenberg*, 128, places this marriage in c.1209.

⁴⁴ 'Cil de la terre ... sorent que li cuenz [Johan] n'estoit pas richez hom ne la conté de Briene ne teneit il que en baillage, car ele estoit de Gauteron son neveu, qui estoit en Puille ...' *Eracles*, XXX, xiv, RHC Occ, II, 308.

⁴⁵ The *Eracles* wrongly claims that John's mother, Agnes of Montbéliard, was Walter's sister; XXI, v, RHC Occ, II, 316. She was in fact his aunt, *Rudt de Collenberg*, 131, n. 45.

The *Eracles* says that John was accompanied by 300 knights, but these cannot all have been members of his entourage, for he was not a rich man⁴⁶. Nevertheless, two of them, James and Erard, members of the Durnai family of Champagne, stayed in the kingdom, and John appointed James marshal of Jerusalem in the place of Adémar of Lairon⁴⁷. Almost immediately on his arrival John was joined by Walter of Montbéliard, who had quarrelled with king Hugh when he came of age and fled from Cyprus. He was welcomed by John because he was a kinsman and also very rich, and was recognized as constable of the kingdom, a post which had formerly been given to him by king Aimery⁴⁸. John's cousin, Erard of Brienne, also joined him from the West, but proved a liability. He made a clandestine, though undoubtedly valid, marriage with Philippa, the younger daughter of Henry of Champagne, and the full sister of Queen Alice of Cyprus, and returned to France where he laid claim to the county of Champagne in his wife's right. The countess Blanche defended Thibaut III's title on the grounds that Henry of Troyes' daughters were illegitimate because the annulment of Isabella I's marriage to her first husband, Humphrey of Toron, had not been valid⁴⁹. John of Brienne had disapproved of Erard's marriage and it caused him problems: first, as *bailli* of the lordship of Brienne, he depended on the goodwill of Thibaut III's mother, the countess Blanche, to preserve his nephew's rights there; and secondly, once the validity of the annulment of Isabella's first marriage was called in question the legitimacy of all her children, including that of Queen Maria, would be put in doubt⁵⁰.

By the time this scandal broke, John's position had already been weakened by the death of Maria in 1212⁵¹. She left one daughter, Isabella II, and by the laws of the kingdom John, though undoubtedly rightful regent, was no longer king. At this point, he quarrelled with some senior members of the nobility, for reasons which are unknown to us. They included John and Philip of Ibelin, who did not appear at court again after the queen's death, and Balian, lord of Sidon⁵². The Ibelins went to live in Cyprus, and rather pointedly served under king Hugh on the

⁴⁶ *Eracles*, XXX, xiv, RHC Occ, II, 308.

⁴⁷ For Adémar as marshal during John of Ibelin's regency, *Röhricht*, Regesta, no. 812, I, 217. James of Durnai was marshal by 1 July 1211, *ibid.* no. 853, I, 228, and held the office at least until August 1217, *ibid.* nos. 898–9, I, 241; Erard of Durnai first appears in John of Brienne's entourage on 1 March 1212, *ibid.* no. 857, I, 229.

⁴⁸ *Eracles*, XXXI, v, RHC Occ, II, 316.

⁴⁹ Erard was a member of the Ramerupt branch of the Brienne family, *Evergates*, 196–9; *Eracles*, XXXI, viii, p. 320. The documents are printed in an appendix to Innocent III's Registers, *Jacques-Paul Migne*, Patrologia Latina, 216, 968–91.

⁵⁰ A legatine inquiry in 1200 had already cast doubt on the validity of the annulment of Isabella's marriage to Humphrey of Toron, *ibid.* 216, 980f.

⁵¹ '... la reine Marie ... ne vesqui que II anz puis que li rois Johans l'ot esposée ...' *Eracles*, XXXI, viii, RHC Occ, II, 320.

⁵² Philip of Ibelin was present at John and Marie's court in 1211, *Röhricht*, Regesta, no. 853, I, 228, but after the queen's death all three men were conspicuous by their absence. Innocent III was concerned about the disturbances in the Latin East and accused Hugh of Cyprus of supporting the rebels, Regesta, XV, ccviii, ccxi, PL, 216, 736–9.

Fifth Crusade⁵³, but it is not known whether Balian of Sidon accompanied them into exile. His control of his fief was certainly unchallenged, since his stepfather and former *bailli*, Guy of Montfort, had returned to France in 1211 in order to assist his brother Simon in laying waste Languedoc⁵⁴, but Balian is not mentioned in any source between 1210 and the autumn of 1218⁵⁵.

The disaffected nobles retained their fiefs, and so although John tried to build up his own power he had very little room for manoeuvre chiefly because he had no land with which to reward supporters, nor had he any scope to arrange diplomatic marriages, because Philippa of Troyes had been his only ward of marriageable age. The daughters of Isabella I and Aimery of Lusignan were in the guardianship of their brother, Hugh I of Cyprus. However, John did make a diplomatic marriage himself: his second wife was the daughter of Leo II of Cilicia⁵⁶. He had no adult male kin to whom he could delegate power until his cousin Eudes of Montbéliard, the nephew of Walter, was old enough to be appointed constable in 1220⁵⁷. Shortly before this he had sought a reconciliation with Balian of Sidon who in 1219 married the king's niece Marguerite. She was the daughter of John's sister Ida and Ernoul lord of Reynel, and came from the West in the fleet which brought the legate Pelagius to Egypt⁵⁸.

In 1223 John went to Italy to discuss the affairs of his kingdom with Pope Honorius III and the emperor Frederick, leaving Eudes of Montbéliard as his *bailli*⁵⁹. At that meeting it was agreed that Isabella II of Jerusalem should marry the emperor whose first wife had recently died. The marriage took place in 1225 and Frederick immediately assumed the powers of king of Jerusalem. Initially he confirmed Eudes of Montbéliard as his *bailli*⁶⁰ and it was only when he was ready

⁵³ Eracles, XXXI, x, RHC Occ, II, 322.

⁵⁴ He reached Languedoc by Christmas 1211, *Michel Roquebert*, *L'Epopée cathare* (Paris 1970–89) I, 456.

⁵⁵ Balian ranked first after John of Ibelin among the nobles present at John of Brienne's coronation in 1210, Eracles, XXXI, i, RHC Occ, II, 311; but is next mentioned at the siege of Damietta in September 1218, *ibid.*, XXXII, iii, II, 332. See *LaMonte*, *Byzantion* 17 (1944–5) 200.

⁵⁶ John's marriage, *Röhricht*, *Regesta*, no. 873, I, 236; Hugh arranged Melisende's marriage to Bohemond IV of Antioch in 1218, Eracles, XXXI, xiii, RHC Occ, II, 325. Sibyl, the elder daughter of Aimery of Lusignan and Isabella I of Jerusalem, had been married in c.1210 to Leo II of Cilicia, *ibid.* XXX, xi, II, 305. *Rudt de Collenberg*, 'Les Lusignans de Chypre', in: *Epeteris* X (1979–80) 99f.

⁵⁷ One manuscript of the *Lignages* reports that Eudes was Walter of Montbéliard's nephew, c. xvii, RHC Lois, II, 455, n. 3. He seems to have been held captive for a time by Hugh I of Cyprus. In 1213 Innocent III urged the king to release 'O. [= Odonem?] consanguineum regis [Johannis]', *Regesta*, XV, ccviii, PL, 216, 736f. Cf. *Edbury*, 46, n. 29. He first appeared at John's court in 1217, but is first named constable in a diploma of May 1220 when he headed the witness list, *Röhricht*, *Regesta*, nos. 892, 934, I, 240, 248. *LaMonte*, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100–1291* (Cambridge, Mass. 1932) 253.

⁵⁸ Eracles, XXXII, iii, RHC Occ, II, 332. Risnel (Reynel) is a lordship in the bailliage of Chaumont.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* XXXII, xix, 355.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* XXXII, xx, 359.

to lead a crusade to the Holy Land and take possession of his wife's kingdom that he replaced him by Thomas of Acerra, count of Aquino⁶¹. But when Frederick reached Outremer in 1228 his position had changed because Isabella II had died a few months earlier shortly after giving birth to a son, Conrad, and the emperor, in the eyes of his subjects in the Latin Kingdom, ceased to be king and became regent for Conrad⁶².

Although his enemies tried to belittle his achievements, Frederick gained considerable territorial concessions from the Sultan of Egypt including Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and Toron⁶³. His imperial commitments meant that he could not stay in the East, but he nevertheless wanted to exercise real power there. This involved appointing men whom he could trust to positions of authority, and at first he seems to have contemplated using the Montferrats in that capacity. His son Conrad, the King of Jerusalem, was a great-grandson of Conrad of Montferrat, and the Montferrats were imperial vassals. Frederick brought with him on crusade Demetrius of Montferrat, titular king of Thessalonica, who had lost his kingdom in 1224, and I think it probable that the emperor intended to provide him with a suitable fief in the Latin kingdom and appoint him *bailli*, but that proved impossible⁶⁴. Frederick did, however, arrange the marriage of Demetrius's niece, Alice of Montferrat, to his own vassal, the child-king Henry I of Cyprus⁶⁵.

Despite his recovery of lost territory, Frederick met with only limited success in his attempt to exercise royal patronage. He had hoped to award the fief of Toron to the Teutonic Order, but in a complicated legal battle the High Court upheld the claims of Alice of Armenia. Interestingly, although she was a widow, Frederick did not attempt to enforce his right of choosing a husband for her, perhaps because she was advanced in age⁶⁶. The only way in which he could acquire more fiefs was by confiscation, but when he attempted to strip John of Ibelin of his fief of Beirut he failed, and this led to civil war⁶⁷.

⁶¹ Ibid. XXXII, xxiv, 364.

⁶² *Philip of Novara*, c. xl, 188.

⁶³ No full text of the treaty is known and Christian and Muslim sources disagree about the precise terms. See *Joshua Prawer*, trans. *G. Nahon*, *Histoire du royaume franque de Jérusalem* (Paris 1970) II, 198, n. 37; *Thomas C. Van Cleve*, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Oxford 1972) 219f. It would appear that the Franks were not able to enforce their claim to Toron until 1240. *Peter Jackson*, 'The Crusades of 1239–41 and their aftermath', in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* L (I) (1987) 42.

⁶⁴ *Philip of Novara*, c. xxiv, 77. *Longnon*, *L'Empire*, 162ff., wrongly dates Demetrius' death to 1227 on the authority of Benvenuto di S. Giorgio, *Historia Montisferrati*, published in 1516, ed. *L. M. Muratori*, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Milan 1733) VII, 382. This late tradition cannot be preferred to the contemporary evidence of Philip of Novara.

⁶⁵ *Philip of Novara*, c. xlv, 92. Alice was the daughter of William V of Montferrat.

⁶⁶ *John of Ibelin*, *Le Livre des Assises de la Haute Cour*, cc. 69, 203, RHC Lois, I, 112f., 325f. Alice was the daughter of Isabella of Toron and Rupen III of Cilicia who married in 1180, and must have been almost fifty by 1229. Cf. *Steven Tibble*, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099–1291* (Oxford 1989) 90ff.

⁶⁷ *Philip of Novara*, passim. *Jonathan S. C. Riley-Smith*, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London 1973) 163–84.

Frederick therefore exercised power through Sicilian *baillis* whom he could trust, and the Teutonic Order, which had its headquarters at Montfort and was an instrument of imperial authority in the Crusader Kingdom, and to which he gave immense economic and political power in his European lands⁶⁸. His power in the Latin Kingdom was not negligible: his *bailli* Richard Filangieri, marshal of the kingdom of Sicily, controlled the royal city of Tyre⁶⁹, and Frederick was also obeyed in Jerusalem, where his lieutenant was Walter Pennenpié. Indeed, when in 1241 Richard of Cornwall succeeded in recovering Ascalon, he handed it over to Walter⁷⁰. But Frederick lost control of Acre⁷¹, and had never had control of the county of Jaffa, which was held by his vassal, Henry I of Cyprus. In c.1235 Henry appointed John of Brienne's nephew, Walter IV, count of Jaffa, when he married Henry's sister Mary⁷².

Frederick II's rule came to a practical end in 1242 when his opponents expelled the imperial garrison from Tyre⁷³. Although he appointed Thomas of Acerra as his new *bailli*, Thomas was forced to live at the court of Tripoli because the barons of the kingdom would not admit him⁷⁴. In the view of the Jerusalem lawyers king Conrad came of age in 1243 and Frederick's regency ended, but because Conrad remained in Europe a regent was still needed, and the High Court chose Queen Alice of Cyprus, the oldest of Conrad's maternal great-aunts⁷⁵. She had recently married a Frenchman who had come on the crusade of Theobald of Navarre, Ralph, brother of the count of Soissons, who wished to act as *bailli* on his wife's behalf⁷⁶. So the kingdom once again had as ruler the foreign consort of a native princess. But when Ralph asked for the seisin of the royal city of Tyre together with all the royal castles he met with a refusal⁷⁷. The *Eracles* reports that:

⁶⁸ I. Sterns, *The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States*, in: *Kenneth M. Setton* (gen. ed.), *The History of the Crusades*, V (Wisconsin 1985) 315–78; *H. Prutz*, *Die Besitzungen des Deutschen Ordens im Heiligen Lande* (Leipzig 1877).

⁶⁹ For the career of Richard Filangieri see *G. del Giudice*, *Riccardo Filangieri sotto il regno di Federico II, di Corrado e di Manfredi* (Naples 1893). He was sent to Syria in 1231 as soon as Frederick had stabilised his position in Sicily, *Philip of Novara*, c. lxxvii, 52.

⁷⁰ He was in post by 1241, it is not known when he was appointed, *Eracles*, XXXIII, li, RHC Occ, II, 421.

⁷¹ For a careful assessment of the constitutional position of the commune of Acre, *Riley-Smith*, *Feudal Nobility*, 173–84.

⁷² *Eracles*, XXXIII, xxxviii, 403. *Jean Richard*, trans. *J. Shirley*, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Amsterdam 1978) II, 249 suggests that this was the occasion of Walter's becoming count of Jaffa, which seems the most plausible explanation. This has received general assent. See the very full discussion of the whole issue by *Mayer*, *John of Jaffa*, his opponents and his fiefs, in: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 128 (1984) 134–63.

⁷³ *Jackson*, 20–36; *David Jacoby*, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the collapse of Hohenstaufen power in the Levant*, in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 40 (1986) 83–101.

⁷⁴ *Röhricht*, *Regesta*, 1118A, 1123A, II, 70. *Riley-Smith*, 210.

⁷⁵ *Eracles*, XXXIII, 1, RHC Occ, II, 420.

⁷⁶ *Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre*, c. xx; *Eracles*, XXXIII, 1, RHC Occ, II, 527, 420.

⁷⁷ 'Ne ne souffrimes mie que ledit Raou de Saison les eust en son poier, por aucuns perils que peussent avenir, si come il avint dou fait de la Moré as enfanz dou Champeneis, de sire Jofrei

‘[Ralph’s] wife’s relations had more power and authority than he had, and it seemed to him that he was nothing but a shadow’⁷⁸. Not being content with this role, he left the Holy Land, and his wife, and returned to the West⁷⁹. When Alice died in 1246 the regency passed to her son, king Henry of Cyprus⁸⁰, but Frederick, despite his deposition from all offices by pope Innocent IV at the Council of Lyons, continued to be treated as king of Jerusalem by many people until he died in December 1250⁸¹. This left the non-resident Conrad as king, the non-resident Henry of Cyprus as *bailli* and the prospect of anarchy in the Latin Kingdom. That was only averted by the decision of St. Louis to stay there for four years and to give the Latin East a stability it had not known since before the accession of John of Brienne.

The kingdom of Acre had come into being during the strife between Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat, and those divisions were never subsequently healed because during the next fifty years there was a succession of king consorts each of whom wanted to place some of his own followers in positions of authority, thereby reducing the opportunities for patronage available to his successor. By the time of Frederick II’s accession civil war was almost inevitable in the case of a consort who was not prepared to be a ceremonial figurehead. The emperor throughout the years when he was regent for Conrad fought to maintain his authority but was only partially successful, whereas his successor as regent, Ralph of Soissons, lacking adequate resources, had to admit defeat and return to the West.

de Villehardoin, en cui mains elle demoura.’ Documents relatifs à la successibilité, c. ii, RHC Lois, II, 401.

⁷⁸ Eracles, XXXIII, 1, RHC Occ, II, 420.

⁷⁹ Ibid, XXXIII, liii, 423.

⁸⁰ *Riley-Smith*, 212, 313.

⁸¹ Thus Peter of Brittany, negotiating with the Sultan of Egypt in 1250 about the ransom of St. Louis’ Crusade, when asked to surrender fortresses in Palestine replied: ‘que il n’i avoit pooir; car on les tenoit de l’empereor d’Alemaingne, qui lor vivoit.’ *John of Joinville*, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. *N. de Wailly* (Paris 1868) 118.