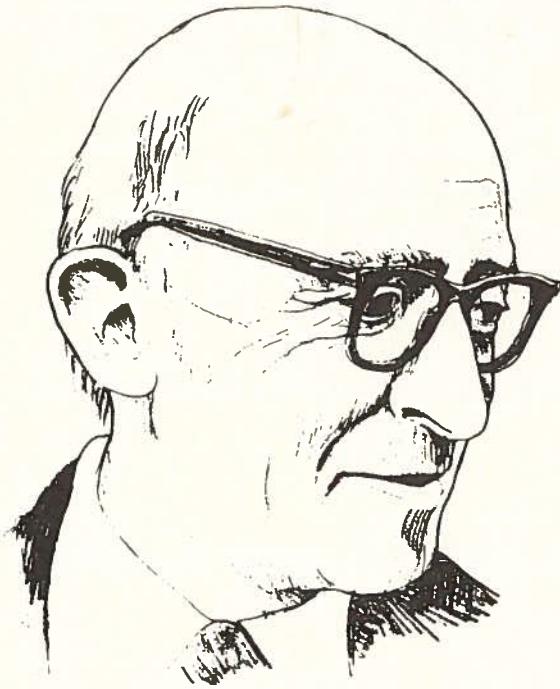


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## RES ORIENTALES VI



# ITINÉRAIRES D'ORIENT HOMMAGES À CLAUDE CAHEN

— EXTRAIT —

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Publié par le Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient

AVEC LE CONCOURS DE

l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres

96/1712

(K)

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**Diffusion :**

PEETERS PRESS, Bondgenotenlaan 153, P.B. 41, B-3000 Leuven (Belgique).

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## THE CRUSADER PRINCIPALITY OF GALILEE BETWEEN SAINT-OMER AND BURES-SUR-YVETTE

In recent years I have uncovered vicissitudes of seignorial families under Kings Fulk (1131-1143) and Baldwin III of Jerusalem (1143-1163) showing ups and downs of families and individuals as a consequence of royal favour or dislike or of belonging at the right or wrong moment to the right or wrong royal *clientèle*, the wrong one being generally the previous one. My examples were taken from the lordships of Jaffa, Ramla, Hebron, Beirut, and Sidon<sup>1</sup>. On the following pages I shall attempt to do the same for the biggest lordship of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Galilee, which, for quite some time, was ruled over by a prince originating from Bures-sur-Yvette in the Département Essonne and thus close to Savigny-sur-Orge where Claude Cahen whose memory is honoured in this volume spent his last decades. More specifically these pages are intended as a tribute to one of the finest crusading scholars. In the methodological approach much emphasis must be placed upon establishing the correct genealogy.

The principality of Galilee was also known as the lordship of Tiberias. From 1119 on it was in the hands of William of Buris who, according to the received opinion for which no plausible substitute has been found, came from Bures-sur-Yvette<sup>2</sup>. By 1115 he was in the Holy Land as a royal vassal and, at the same time, as the chief vassal of Joscelin I of

Courtenay (in the Gâtinais), then prince of Galilee (*RRH* no. 79). Since it is unlikely that William had this position from the first day of his life in the East, he must have come a number of years before 1115. In a letter which is of dubious authenticity but has a genuine core and must be dated between 1103 and 1105, Abbot Hugh of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat outside Jerusalem founded a confraternity for the reconstruction of his church<sup>3</sup>. An appended list of benefactors from the Norman territories in South Italy names a William of Buris. If this piece of information is authentic, William had gone to the Holy Land via Southern Italy, a route which was not uncommon<sup>4</sup>. If he was old enough to join a fraternity in Jerusalem not later than 1105, he must at least have been of age, i.e. 15 years old. He would then have been born not later than 1090 and was at least 25 years old when he emerged as the chief vassal of the prince of Galilee in 1115.

When Prince Joscelin was transferred to Edessa, William succeeded him as prince of Galilee in 1119<sup>5</sup>, thus becoming the most powerful vassal of the king of Jerusalem after the count of Jaffa. In 1123, upon the death of Eustache I Grenier of Caesarea, William

<sup>3</sup> *RRH* no. 36c, best edition by Hiestand 1985, p. 99 no. 6, also for the date. Mayer 1977, p. 298-299.

<sup>4</sup> Mayer 1989, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> In a lease to be dated between the late summer of 1119 and 15 January 1120 William was already lord of Tiberias; Mayer 1989, p. 451-452, 455-456. *RRH* no. 97, dated, *inter alia*, in the first year of William's reign, must have a year of incarnation calculated according to Pisan style and must be assigned to August/September 1120, just at the end of William's first year.

<sup>1</sup> Mayer 1985, *Speculum*; 1985, *Israel Exploration Journal*; 1985, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*; 1989, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*; 1990, *Speculum*.

<sup>2</sup> Albert of Aachen 1879, p. 710. Lair 1876, p. 190-191. Mayer 1977, p. 298-299.

of Buris became constable of the king and one of the regents for the king who, at that time, was in captivity. He retained the constablership throughout the reigns of Kings Baldwin II (1118-1131) and Fulk (1131-1143) which was hardly surprising because, together with Guy Brisebarre of Beirut, he had been one of the late king's two ambassadors to Anjou and had been instrumental in arranging the marriage of the heiress of Jerusalem, Melisende, with Count Fulk V of Anjou which brought him the kingship after the death of Baldwin II.

William's death is generally supposed to have coincided roughly with that of King Fulk who died in November 1143. Elinand (1144-1148), Simon (1150-1153), and William II of Buris (1153-1157/1158) are considered to have ruled over Galilee after William I, although their precise legal status is being debated. William I is last mentioned alive, so one reads, on 3 February 1141 (*RRH* no. 201) and was dead by the time when Abbot Guy of Josaphat complained to the pope in an *aide-mémoire* about his difficulties with the archbishop of Nazareth in the monastery's church of *Legio* (Lajjun), one of the most important centers of the princely domain in Galilee<sup>6</sup>. By 1140 a contest had developed between Nazareth and Josaphat over Lajjun which was not to end until Lajjun was permanently lost to the Mamluks in 1263. In the *aide-mémoire*, convincingly dated by Hiestand in the spring of 1146, the abbot reported that after news had been received of the death of Pope Innocent II (24 September 1143) the archbishop had commenced a determined attack. He had appointed a chaplain of his own in the church of Lajjun and had assigned to him the full parochial rights claimed by Josaphat. With characteristic cunning (*calliditate et dolo, quo callet*) the archbishop had charged his chaplain in Lajjun to say mass there for the soul of William of Buris (*pro anima Willelmi de Buris*). It is this phrase which had led everyone to assume that by this time, between September 1143 and the spring of 1144<sup>7</sup>, William of Buris was dead and, therefore, had died at an unspecified time between February 1141 and the spring of 1144. The later William of Buris, Prince of

Galilee, in the fifties is generally considered to have been a William II<sup>8</sup>.

But was Prince William really dead when the archbishop occupied the church of Lajjun? To charge the new chaplain with masses for William's soul was, indeed, a clever move obviously designed to throw the support of the princely house behind the archbishop's actions. However, provided that William was dead, his successor Elinand would hardly have been moved by this stratagem. Elinand appears very suddenly on the scene as prince of Galilee in 1144 and, despite attempts to the contrary, had apparently no links with the Buris family. Masses for the repose of William's soul would not have impressed him very much. Had William been dead at the time, the archbishop should have instructed his chaplain to say masses for Elinand's soul. If William was still alive in 1144, then it was a different story.

Of Pope Innocent II the *aide-mémoire* says twice that he was *felicis memoriae* and *beatæ recordationis* while no such tag is attached to William's name. One had better not conclude, as has generally been done, from the phrase *ut pro anima Willelmi de Buris ibi missam caneret* that William was dead. We only tend to assume this because today such masses are normally said for the repose of the soul of a deceased person. But I see no reason at all why a priest today should refuse a properly financed request to say a mass for the benefit of the soul of a person still alive in order to ease in the future conditions for this particular soul after this person's death. Innumerable are the donations of lands and revenues which were made for the redemption of the souls of the donor (still alive) and of his parents (in most cases already dead). These donations were partially intended to have a future beneficial effect for the donor after his death<sup>9</sup>. The same must apply to providing for a

<sup>6</sup> *RRH* no. 239, dated by Hiestand 1985, p. 183 no. 60. On the fight over Lajjun see Mayer 1977, p. 334-338.

<sup>7</sup> Shipping being suspended between October and March, Innocent's death must at the latest have become known in the Holy Land in the spring of 1144.

<sup>8</sup> The witness *Gilelmus de Burri* in *RRH* no. 244 of February 1147 must be excluded from the discussion as this charter reproduces, as Rheinheimer 1990, p. 50-51 correctly remarks, *verbatim* the witness list of *RRH* no. 201 of February 1141.

<sup>9</sup> I give a few instructive examples. In 1115 one of the leading nobles from Norman Italy made a large donation to the abbey on Mount Thabor in Galilee (*RRH* no. 77). In return the abbey promised *in calendis uniuscuiusque mensis pro salute domini Richardi, huius beneficii largitoris, missam in conventu cum ceteris officiis ad missam pertinentibus sine intermissione deo donante celebrare*. At an unspecified date between 1130 and 1145 Patriarch William of Jerusalem confirmed the statutes of the confraternity of the hospital of

recurrent mass to be said from now on for the benefit of another person still alive. The masses in Lajjun do not prove that William of Buris was dead. The archbishop's purpose behind their institution was, in fact, better served if he was still alive rather than dead.

William of Tyre in his chronicle knows the following princes of Galilee: Tancred, Hugh of Fauquembregues, Joscelin I of Courtenay, William of Buris, Elinand, Simon, Walter of Saint-Omer, and Raymond III of Tripolis. In other words, of all the 12th century princes of Galilee he only fails to mention two: Gervasius of Bazoches (1106-1108), whom he knew from his written sources, and William II (1153 - 1157/1158). If William (I) of Buris whom William of Tyre mentions last in 1137<sup>10</sup>, was not dead by 1144 but is identical with William (II), the chronicler's failure to mention a second William would easily be explained.

In fact, no source ever specifically mentioned a second William or drew any distinction between one and the other. In 1132, Prince William (I) had made an important donation to the Holy Sepulchre which was confirmed in 1165 by his successor Prince Walter (RRH nos. 142.417). In this charter Walter spoke of the gift as having been made by *dominus Willelmus de Buris predecessor meus felicitis memorie*. There was no hint that there had ever been another prince of Galilee also called *Willelmus de Buris*. At an unspecified date a *Guillaume, seigneur de Tibériade* had made a gift of a village to the canons of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. Much later, in about 1171, the canons gave this village to the Knights of St. John<sup>11</sup>. The deficient text for which we must rely on an 18th century print specifies that this village had been given to the Mount of Olives by ... (name missing) *de Sure princeps videlicet Galilee*. *De Sure* is obviously misread from *de Buris*,

Josaphat where, *inter alia*, we read: *Sed et omni tempore per unamquamque ebdomadam cantabitur missa una pro salute vivorum, alia vera pro requie defunctorum... pro confratribus supra dicti hospitalis et pro omnibus, qui in eadem confraternitate intraturi sunt* (RRH no. 135; see already RRH no. 36c = Hiestand 1985, p. 99 no. 6). In 1160 Queen Melisende gave a village to Josaphat and the monks *statuerunt sacerdotem ad sepulchrum intemerate virginis de cetero offerre deo sacrificium tam pro me quam meis omnibus vivis ac mortuis* (RRH no. 359). There is no doubt in these cases that the masses were to be said already during the lifetime of the donors or beneficiaries.

<sup>10</sup> WT 14.26, p. 665.

<sup>11</sup> RRH nos. 252a.492.

sometimes also spelt *Bures* in the sources. Again, in 1171, no attempt was made to state which one of the two Williams had made the original donation. I believe that it is better to conclude that William (I) and (II) are one and the same person and that the lifetime of this one and only William of Buris, Prince of Galilee, born not later than 1090, must be extended a little beyond October 1157, probably into 1158 (RRH nos. 325.336). William would have died at an age of approximately 70 years.

This changes our knowledge of Galilee's history in these years very considerably. In 1141 William of Buris was still prince of Galilee (RRH no. 201). As he lived into 1158 but had been succeeded by Prince Elinand by 1144, this succession cannot have been an orderly and uncontested one. Rather, after the death of King Fulk William lost Galilee to *Elinandus Tyberiadensis* who was sent with an armed force at the end of 1144 by Queen Melisende to relieve Edessa which had come under siege in November and fell on Christmas Day<sup>12</sup>. Elinand was then quite clearly lord of Tiberias, a synonym for prince of Galilee, and a supporter of Queen Melisende in her long struggle with her son King Baldwin III. Attempts have been made by Pirie-Gordon and Rheinheimer to make Elinand originate from the Buris family<sup>13</sup>, both of them advancing the contention that William's nephew Elias who is mentioned as one of his heirs in 1126 (RRH no. 115) is the same person as Prince Elinand (1144-1148). This is not only implausible because of the fundamental difference of their names<sup>14</sup> but even more so because the heir Elias had demonstrably been disinherited by 1129 and 1132 (below, p. 160 f.). There is no way in which we can convincingly link Elinand to the Buris family. In reality, when Elinand became prince, William of Buris, the kingmaker of 1128/1129 and constable under King Fulk, had been brought down. He did what many others had done before him. Biding his time he went to the north and entered the service of Princess Constance of Antioch. In 1151 she issued a charter at Latakia in northern Syria which was witnessed by a *Willelmus Tiberiadis*<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> WT 16.4, p. 720.

<sup>13</sup> Pirie-Gordon 1912, p. 452. Rheinheimer 1990, p. 52-55.

<sup>14</sup> While Elias is, of course, a Biblical name, Elinandus is a Germanic one. See Morlet 1968, p. 121.

<sup>15</sup> RRH no. 263. There is no reason to identify him with a William of Tiberias who is found in 1157 and 1158 as a not

On 24 June 1148 Elinand still held Galilee because it was he who represented the principality at the war council of the Second Crusade held at Acre<sup>16</sup>. But Elinand could not keep Galilee much longer. When the abortive attempt on Damascus undertaken by the united armies in July had foundered, a storm broke loose in the Holy Land and in Europe. Elinand was implicated in the scandal because he is named in the Syriac sources squarely as the one who was heavily bribed by the Damascenes in order to torpedo the whole enterprise<sup>17</sup>. Did he die in 1148 or was he compromised to such an extent that he could no longer maintain himself in his principality, not even with the support of Queen Melisende? In any event, Simon, by common consent identical with a nephew of William of Buris and one of his heirs in 1132 (*RRH* nos. 142.417), entered a claim or counter-claim to the principality before 1150 and found support from King Baldwin III against the king's mother Queen Melisende. Simon cast his lot with the king in whose entourage he is found in June 1150 when the king's fortunes were very low indeed<sup>18</sup>. Immediately after the end of the civil war of 1152 *Symon Tyberiadensis* was the first of the lay witnesses in a royal diploma of 20 April 1152<sup>19</sup>. He was present at the siege of Ascalon (January to August 1153)<sup>20</sup>. But at the end of the year things had changed. On 28 October 1153 William of Buris made a donation of lands in Tiberias to the Knights Hospitallers<sup>21</sup>. At some time during the year 1154 Ermengarde, the widow of the Viscount Gualo or Calo of Tiberias, made a donation to the church of the Lepers of Saint Lazarus in Tiberias to which *Guillermus dominus Tyberiadis* was a witness and gave his consent (*RRH*

very important vassal of the count of Ascalon (*RRH* nos. 324.332).

<sup>16</sup> *WT* 17.1, p. 761.

<sup>17</sup> Michael the Syrian 1905, p. 276. Bar Hebraeus 1932, p. 274. These innuendos do make sense because Elinand was loyal to Queen Melisende who had not been consulted in the decisive preliminary discussion on the Damascus campaign between Conrad III of Germany and Baldwin III of Jerusalem (Otto of Freising 1912, p. 89). For this reason alone Melisende cannot have looked favourably on the Damascus campaign, particularly if her son wished to give Damascus to Guy the Elder of Beirut; see Mayer 1990, *Speculum*, p. 865.

<sup>18</sup> *RRH* no. 258. Mayer 1972, *DOP*, p. 136-137, 148-151.

<sup>19</sup> *RRH* no. 291 with the corrected date in the *Additamentum*.

<sup>20</sup> *WT* 17.21, p. 790. In between, in February, he was at Acre with the king (*RRH* no. 281).

<sup>21</sup> *RRH* no. 283. That the land was situated in Tiberias is said in a contemporary note on the back of the original.

no. 297). On 30 July 1154 King Baldwin III issued a diploma for the Knights Hospitallers which was witnessed by *Guillelmus Tyberiadensis*, *Symon Tyberiadensis*<sup>22</sup>. William and Simon appear as the leading personalities from Tiberias but it is clear that William took precedence over Simon. William was recognized by the king as well as within the principality as prince of Galilee whereas Simon had been reduced to the position of the principal vassal in Galilee. This is Simon's last appearance whereas William continued to live until 4 October 1157 (*RRH* no. 325). By March 1159 he had been succeeded by Walter of Saint-Omer (*RRH* no. 336).

This one and only William for a long time had no children. In 1126 his heirs were his two nephews Elias and William<sup>23</sup>. By 1129 William had become a monk at Josaphat who was now being provided for by his uncle (*RRH* no. 131). The first witness to this charter was now Radulf of Issy. This is Issy-les-Moulineaux on the railway line from Paris to Versailles and even closer to Paris than Bures-sur-Yvette. Recently I have shown that Radulf of Issy was now the heir of Prince William who had changed his heirs apparently very suddenly after he returned from his embassy to Anjou<sup>24</sup>. His heirs were now two other nephews, Radulf of Issy and Simon<sup>25</sup>. It

<sup>22</sup> *RRH* no. 293. The diploma lists also others called "of Tiberias": Gormond is well known and was one of the principal Tiberias vassals but not lord of Tiberias. He is identical with Gormond, the founder of the abbey of Palmarea in the Jordan Valley before 1138, and was a trusted supporter of Kings Baldwin III and Amalric; in 1161 he had become lord of Bethsan; see La Monte and Downs 1950, *Medievalia et Humanistica*, p. 61-63 and Kedar 1983, *Revue bénédictine*, p. 262-263. Mahengot of Tiberias seems to be identical with a Tiberias vassal Mahengot of Picquigny of 1119/1120 who came from Picardy and therefore had nothing to do with the families ruling Tiberias; see Mayer 1989, *Archiv für Diplomatik*, p. 451.

<sup>23</sup> *RRH* no. 115: *concedentibus nepotibus meis Helia et Willelmo qui mei feudi heredes sunt*.

<sup>24</sup> Mayer 1989, *Proceedings of the American Philological Society*, p. 16.

<sup>25</sup> Both give their consent to an important donation by William of Buris to the Holy Sepulchre of 1132 (*RRH* no. 142). They are expressly called his nephews. When this business was confirmed in 1165, Prince Walter of Galilee referred to them expressly as heirs of William of Buris (*RRH* no. 417). Rheinheimer 1990, p. 53 suggests that this was a late error and that in 1132 they were only nephews but not heirs. If this were so one does not see why they should have been asked to give their consent in 1132 nor can one see why the nephew Elias did not. Rheinheimer is constrained to deny that Radulf and Simon were heirs because of his contention that Elias is

is evident that Elias had been disinherited. As the nephew William had entered a convent, it is natural to assume that it was Elias who, most likely over this change of fortune, got into trouble with the king and had to go into exile<sup>26</sup>. This took care of the first set of heirs. Of the second set Simon certainly did not go into exile because everyone is agreed that he is the one whom we meet as Simon of Tiberias and ruler of Galilee from 1150 to 1153 and who was still alive in 1154. Radulf of Issy, the fourth nephew of Prince William, seems to have joined the Knights Templars because between 1160 and 1164 a Templar Knight *frater Radulfus Tyberiadensis* witnesses two charters by the Order's master Bertrand of Blanchefort<sup>27</sup>. When he could not get the principality he took the same way out of his predicament which Walter I of Beirut had taken and made a career for himself as a Templar.

This left only Simon as nephew and heir. Rheinheimer makes Simon (who was only a brother of Elias) into a brother of his chimerical Elias/Elinand<sup>28</sup>. When Elias was mentioned for the one and only time in 1126 (*RRH* no. 115), he had apparently come of age and was therefore born *ca.* 1110 (1111 or earlier). Applying the same method to his William (II) of Buris appearing first in 1153 Rheinheimer arrives at *ca.* 1138 as the date of this William's birth. Having embarked on this course, he is inevitably driven to another conclusion: As according to Rheinheimer William (II) was a member of the Buris family (*RRH* no. 283) and cannot have been identical with Prince William (I's) nephew William, the monk of Josaphat, he was not a brother of Simon because Simon's other brothers were called Elias and Radulf. Hence he makes him a son of Elias/Elinand because he can then explain why this William's claim to Galilee was stronger in 1153 than Simon's. Within this theory it follows conclusively that Elias/Elinand was still alive in 1138 when his son William (II) was born. This makes it much easier to bridge the gap from 1126 (only mention of Elias) to 1144 (first mention of Elinand). At the same time this

identical with the later Prince Elinand. As Elias/Elinand, in his opinion, inherited the principality of Galilee from William of Buris he cannot be allowed to have been disinherited in 1129.

<sup>26</sup> *Lignages d'Outremer*, 1843, p. 453. Mayer, 1977, p. 371.

<sup>27</sup> *RRH* nos. 363.364 to be dated between 1160 when Nicolas became prior of the Holy Sepulchre and July 1164 when the king in *RRH* no. 400 confirmed *RRH* no. 364.

<sup>28</sup> Rheinheimer 1990, p. 56-58.

suggestion solves the problem of the contest over Galilee between William (II) and Simon. In Rheinheimer's opinion William (II) did not come of age until 1153<sup>29</sup>. For Rheinheimer Simon was never prince of Galilee but only regent or warden until William (II) had come of age.

There are, however, weak spots in this argument. They originate from the identification of Elias and Elinand. Also Rheinheimer calculates first a person's *minimum* age and then proceeds as if this were the *actual* age. Even if we stay within Rheinheimer's argument but shift the age of William (II) by five years to a birth in 1133, retaining 1110 as an indeed probable year of birth for Elias, the theory no longer works. Elias could then certainly have had his supposed son William (II) at age 23 in 1133. The first consequence of this is that now we must bridge eleven years, as opposed to only six in Rheinheimer's theory, until we can link Elias up to Elinand in 1144. Much worse, William (II), now having been born in 1133, would have come of age in 1148, when Elinand was still prince of Galilee, and would have succeeded to Elinand immediately, leaving no room for a regent Simon during a minority extending to 1153.

All this becomes unnecessary if William (II) was none other than William (I). He would have remained in his northern exile at least up to the end of the civil war of April 1152. When Queen Melisende lost the war and fell from power, it was safe for him to return. Simon who had held Galilee in his absence since 1150 (perhaps since 1148), represented Galilee at the siege of Ascalon in 1153 as if he were prince, while there is no reason why William should have remained in exile after April 1152. This slight chronological impasse need not deter us. In 1153 William was at least 63 years old (above, p. 159). A vassal who had passed the age of 60 was no longer required to serve in person but only had to make his horse and his armour available to his lord upon being summoned<sup>30</sup>. It would be understandable if Prince William in 1153 stayed at home and sent his nephew Simon to lead the feudal contingent of Galilee to the army camp near Ascalon.

In 1115 William of Buris was married to a woman called Agnes (*RRH* no. 79). She probably did

<sup>29</sup> It is inconvenient but not impossible that he disappears from sight in 1157 when he would have been only 19 years old.

<sup>30</sup> *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, 1841, p. 358-359.

not live too long beyond this year because she does not appear in any of the later charters issued by William of Buris<sup>31</sup>. In fact, it would have been senseless to appoint first one set of nephews as heirs in 1126 and then another set in 1129, if William could still have hoped for children from Agnes. In 1155 we meet a *Hermengardis domina Tyberiadis* who was a sister of Hugh of Ibelin, the *de facto* lord of Ramla (RRH nos. 299-301). She certainly was not lady of Tiberias in her own right, as Prince William was still alive. Pirie-Gordon believed that she was the wife of Elinand<sup>32</sup>. This is unlikely because when Elinand died or was deposed Galilee reverted to the Buris family to which Elinand had not belonged. It would not have been tolerated now that Ermengarde should be styled lady of Tiberias after William's return to power. It is true that it was her own Ibelin family which gave her this epithet in 1155. But the same family in 1158 named her without a title (RRH nos. 301.333.), as Dr. Rheinheimer pointed out to me. In my forthcoming history of the royal chancery of Jerusalem I shall show that the charter of 1155 was drawn up by a chancery clerk of the king which makes Ermengarde's title even more official. As Simon in 1155 certainly had no position in Galilee, Ermengarde also cannot have been his wife. She must have been Prince William's second wife.

Relying on my study of the early Ibelins<sup>33</sup> Rheinheimer calculates that Ermengarde was born in 1140. He imputes to me what he himself did, i.e. first calculate a minimum age and then use it as the actual one. I am supposed to have said that Helvis of Ramla was born *ca.* 1122 and her sons Hugh and Baldwin of Ibelin *ca.* 1139 and 1140, respectively. This would make 1141 the first year in which Ermengarde, a daughter of Helvis, could have been born. Then she would only have been seven years old when Elinand died and could not have been his wife and, consequently, had to be the wife of William (II), Simon being excluded because, according to Rheinheimer, he was only regent of Tiberias and could, therefore, not have been married to a lady of Tiberias. But what I actually said was that Helvis and her sons were born *not later* than 1122, 1139, and 1140,

respectively. These approximate years can easily be modified by a decade without interfering with the results of my Ibelin study. Helvis of Ramla was the daughter of Baldwin of Ramla and Stephanie of Flanders who had first been married to Guy of Milly. Guy had arrived in the Holy Land before 1108 (RRH no. 52). He had already been married to Stephanie when he went to the East because they had a son called Guy *Francigena*. In Palestine they had two more sons, Henry the Buffalo and Philip of Nablus. Stephanie later married Baldwin of Ramla. This inevitably requires the assumption that the marriage of Guy and Stephanie ended in divorce because Guy lived up to 1126. Now, had Baldwin married Stephanie only after 1126, their daughter Helvis could only have been born after 1126, and this is clearly incompatible with the biography of her sons<sup>34</sup>. The divorce may, however, be dated more or less according to convenience. If it took place in 1112, this would leave enough time for Guy to have arrived by 1108 and have had two more sons from Stephanie. Putting the couple on a tight schedule, the divorce could even be brought forward to 1110. Operating with the more comfortable date of 1112, Helvis could have had her first child in 1113. Nobody knows whether the sons Hugh and Baldwin were born before Ermengarde or after her; we only know that the third son Barisan and another daughter Stephanie were *infra annos* in 1155 and that in 1158 Barisan had come of age while Stephanie had not (RRH nos. 299-301.332-333). If Ermengarde was the oldest one and was born *ca.* 1113 she would have reached the minimum age required for marriage in 1125.

But it is advisable not to let her marry before *ca.* 1135. First of all, she may have been born later than 1113. Secondly, she was no heiress on the marriage market. Not only heiresses married very early but they did so more than others. One had to take them or they were gone. Thirdly, in 1132 the heirs of William of Buris were still his nephews, so that he did not expect to have any children (RRH nos. 142.417). Fourthly, only after the fall of Count Hugh II of Jaffa in 1134 did the Ibelins rise to real prominence becoming desirable in-laws for a prince of Galilee because Barisan-le-Vieux of Ibelin had been instrumental in bringing about Hugh's defeat. A marriage between Ermengarde and William at about this time would also explain why her consent is absent from an

<sup>31</sup> RRH nos. 92.93.115.131.137c.142.252a and RRH no. 283, hitherto attributed to William (II), ranging from 1121-1153.

<sup>32</sup> Pirie-Gordon, 1912, p. 452.

<sup>33</sup> Mayer 1982, *Outremer*, p. 104.

<sup>34</sup> Mayer 1982, *Outremer*, p. 107-108.



important charter of 1148 of Barisan-le-Vieux to which his sons Hugh and Baldwin gave their consent, while Ermengarde did not.<sup>35</sup> In 1148 Galilee was ruled by Prince Elinand, William surely had gone into exile at Latakia where he is found in 1151, and Ermengarde would have been abroad with him.

When William of Buris finally died in 1158, he had an heiress by the name of Eschiva. Pirie-Gordon thought that she was a daughter of Prince Elinand (whom he believed to have married Ermengarde of Ibelin)<sup>36</sup>. Rheinheimer believes that she was either a daughter of Elias/Elinand and hence a sister of his William (II) or a daughter of William (I's) nephew Radulf of Issy<sup>37</sup> and hence a cousin of William (II). The latter is unlikely if Radulf had joined the Templars (above, p. 161), while the former is impossible because William (II) is really still William (I) who was born in ca. 1090 while Eschiva lived at least to 1187! If, however, the one and only William of Buris had married Ermengarde of Ibelin ca. 1135 he could easily have a daughter Eschiva of marriageable age in 1158. The next prince of Galilee, Walter of Saint-Omer, appeared in March 1159 and had received Galilee by virtue of his marriage to Eschiva<sup>38</sup>. After Walter's death she married Count Raymond III of Tripolis bringing Galilee to him. She is last heard of when she defended Tiberias against Saladin in 1187<sup>39</sup>.

All the difficulties which have given rise to so much speculation disappear if the lifetime of William of Buris is extended to 1157-1158 and William (II) is discarded. It is then clear, however, that William of Buris lost Galilee to Elinand and had to go into exile. It is true that we know nothing of Elinand's origins.

<sup>35</sup> *RRH* no. 252. Barisan the Younger and Stephanie were still too young to give their consent, if they had been born at all; see above p. 162.

<sup>36</sup> *WT* 22.10(9), p. 1019: *pro urbe Tyberiadense, que uxoris (scil. Eschivae) erat hereditas*. Pirie-Gordon 1912, p. 452-453.

<sup>37</sup> A much better guess would have been to make her a daughter of Simon, but as Rheinheimer sees Simon only as regent while Eschiva inherited Galilee, he could not opt for this. But Radulf had Galilee much less than Simon. Also one is surprised to find Rheinheimer here tracing the hereditary succession in Galilee through Radulf when he denies — in order to identify Elias and Elinand — that Radulf was ever an heir of Galilee.

<sup>38</sup> *RRH* no. 336. *WT* 21.5, p. 967.

<sup>39</sup> *WT* 21.5, p. 967. Walter was dead before July 1174 when *RRH* no. 522 was issued without him and King Amalric was still alive. Baldwin 1936, p. 136.

The repeated attempts to link him to the Buris family, even by such guesses as identifying Elias and Elinand, rested on the silent assumption that the successions in Galilee since William (I) were orderly and based on kinship. The thought that there could have been disorder, change of fortune, conflicting claims, royal patronage and royal wrath, apparently never crossed anybody's mind. Once we accept the idea of such ups and downs which I have demonstrated at Jaffa, Ramla, Beirut, Sidon, and Hebron the evidence points to Elinand being, not a Buris, but a member of a competing clan.

After the Norman Tancred had left Galilee in 1101, it had first been given to Hugh of Fauquembergues who came from a very powerful Flemish clan, the châtelains of Saint-Omer in the Pas-de-Calais. He was killed in battle in 1106 and Galilee went to Gervase of Bazoches (Département Aisne) who came from a family of important vassals of the church of Reims. He held Galilee only for two years and during this short span of time made much trouble for the king who exiled him but readmitted him quickly<sup>40</sup>. Apparently he established no lasting claim to Galilee which, as Rheinheimer shows, stayed in the royal domain up to 1113 and was then given to Joscelin I of Courtenay<sup>41</sup>. He held it until 1119 when he took over the county of Edessa. Henceforth his family claimed this county, not Galilee, where he was succeeded by William of Buris.

If there was any other clan that might have raised an objection to William's title, it was the Saint-Omer, especially if it should be true that Hugh of Fauquembergues had two daughters whose rights were ignored in 1106<sup>42</sup>. The châtelains of Saint-Omer at all times kept their watchdogs in the East, particularly during the time of Prince William. In 1137 William, Châtelain of Saint-Omer, and his son Osto were in Jerusalem making a donation to the Templars. By 1140 Osto had joined the Order. In 1141, 1142, and 1143 he was in Flanders and Gerona. In 1145 we find him in the Holy Land. Later he had a distinguished career in England and France<sup>43</sup>. In 1152 and 1153 Walter, Châtelain of Saint-Omer, came to the Holy Land and

<sup>40</sup> Guibert of Nogent 1879, p. 258-260.

<sup>41</sup> Rheinheimer 1990, p. 108-111.

<sup>42</sup> *Lignages d'Outremer*, 1843, p. 455.

<sup>43</sup> d'Albon 1913, p. 99 n° 141, 143 n° 205, 156 n° 231, 172 n° 261, 180 n° 275, 204 n° 314. Cronne and Davis 1968, p. 71 no. 195. *RRH* no. 237. Bulst-Thiele 1964, p. 293.

served before Ascalon. He was back home from 1153 to 1157<sup>44</sup>. He came again between 1157 and March 1159 when he appeared for the first time as lord of Tiberias (*RRH* no. 336) and may very well have come in 1157 together with the count of Flanders<sup>45</sup>.

Are we really to assume that the Saint-Omer never raised a claim to Galilee? This would not have been in line with normal feudal behaviour, especially since the Saint-Omer must have known that William had twice appointed his nephews to be his heirs and therefore at that time had no children. In the second half of 1134 Count Hugh II of Jaffa had risen in revolt. The news of his downfall entailing considerable changes on the feudal map must have reached Europe still in the fall of 1134 or in the spring of 1135. In the summer of 1137 William of Saint-Omer went to the Holy Land. He must have found William of Buris very securely established in his principality enjoying the fullest support of the king. As long as King Fulk was alive the Saint-Omer had no chance. But William's luck came to a temporary end when Fulk died in November 1143.

By the end of the following year Elinand had become prince of Galilee. The time had come to settle old accounts. Could Elinand have been a Saint-Omer? We do not know. There is no known Elinand in the family of the châtelains of Saint-Omer<sup>46</sup>. But the same is more or less true of Hugh, the lord of Fauquembergues who rose to be lord of Tiberias in 1101. Warlop in his masterly study of the Flemish nobility was unable to pin him to the family of the châtelains of Saint-Omer. Yet, he was not only lord of Fauquembergues (arrondissement Saint-Omer) but was referred to from the late 12th century on as having been of the Saint-Omer family<sup>47</sup>. His family name of Fauquembergues is well attested to by Albert

of Aachen<sup>48</sup>. This castle was an *appanage* for several sons of the châtelains of Saint-Omer<sup>49</sup>, and the châtelain Walter who married Eschiva of Galilee is called by William of Tyre *Galterus... de Falquenbergæ castellanus Sancti Aldemari*<sup>50</sup>. There is no doubt that Hugh and Walter came from the same family. And while Elinand is not a name that can be demonstrated in the Saint-Omer family, Elinand or Elinard was a frequent name in the family of the lords of Seninghem (arrondissement Saint-Omer) which is even closer to Saint-Omer than Fauquembergues. One of these Elinards is attested to from 1140/1153 to 1157. Also, as early as 1100, there is an Elinard of Pernes (arrondissement Arras, canton Heuchin, south of Saint-Omer) and in 1115 an Elinard who held the village of Laires (arrondissement Saint-Omer, canton Fauquembergues!)<sup>51</sup>. The name Elinand/Elinard which on the whole is rather rare is, therefore, well attested to around Saint-Omer and Fauquembergues. This still does not prove that Elinand of Galilee came from this area and from the family of Saint-Omer but it is a distinct possibility and an attractive one at that. It would not only explain why Galilee in the reaction of 1144 went to him — an *inconnu* in the Holy Land — and not to one of the old families but also why in 1158 the king gave Eschiva's hand, again, not to a member of the old families but to Walter of Saint-Omer. Whatever the king may have thought of any claim which Walter may have raised, the marriage, like that of Romeo and Juliet, would once and for all have merged the rivalling claims of the Fauquembergues from Saint-Omer and the Buris from Bures-sur-Yvette.

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<sup>44</sup> *WT* 17.14.18.21, p. 778, 785, 790. Warlop 1976, p. 1113. Giry 1874, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, p. 341-342.

<sup>45</sup> *WT* 18.16, p. 833.

<sup>46</sup> If he should have been of this family, then he was certainly not a son of William II, châtelain of Saint-Omer whose numerous offspring is well known, but, perhaps, of his brother Hosto of Fauquembergues, châtelain of Saint-Omer (1127-1128) of whom no children are known; Warlop 1976, p. 1107.

<sup>47</sup> *Versus de viris illustribus dioecesis Tarvanensis*, p. 191. *WT* 10.9; 11.5, p. 464, 502; *Hugo de Sancto Aldemaro*. *Annales de Terre Sainte* 1884, p. 430; *Hue de Saint-Omer. Lignages d'Outremer*, 1843, p. 455; *Hue de saint Omer fu chastellain de saint Omer*.

<sup>48</sup> Albert of Aachen 1879, p. 531, 538, 591.

<sup>49</sup> Hosto, Hugh, and Walter; see Warlop 1976, p. 1107-1108. Later lords of Fauquembergues from the same family are without interest here.

<sup>50</sup> *WT* 17.18, p. 785.

<sup>51</sup> Warlop 1976, p. 1130-1135. Vercauteren 1938, p. 70 no. 24, 169 no. 74.

TABLE 1  
BURIS PRINCES OF GALILEE (Rheinheimer)

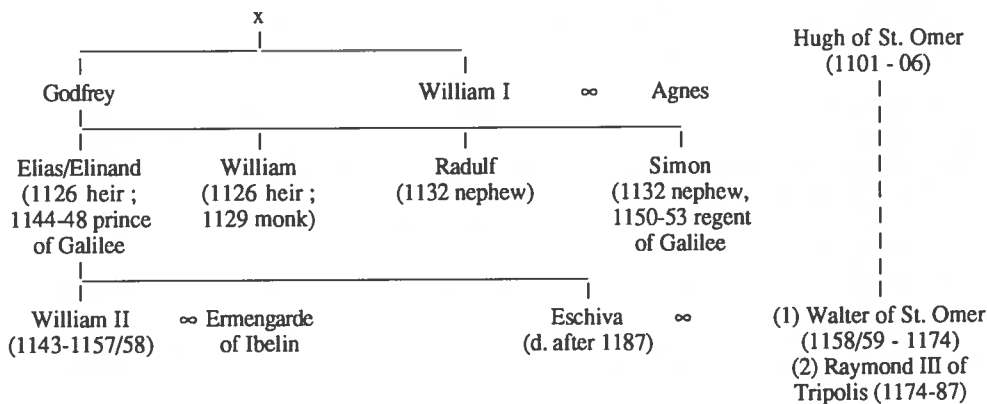
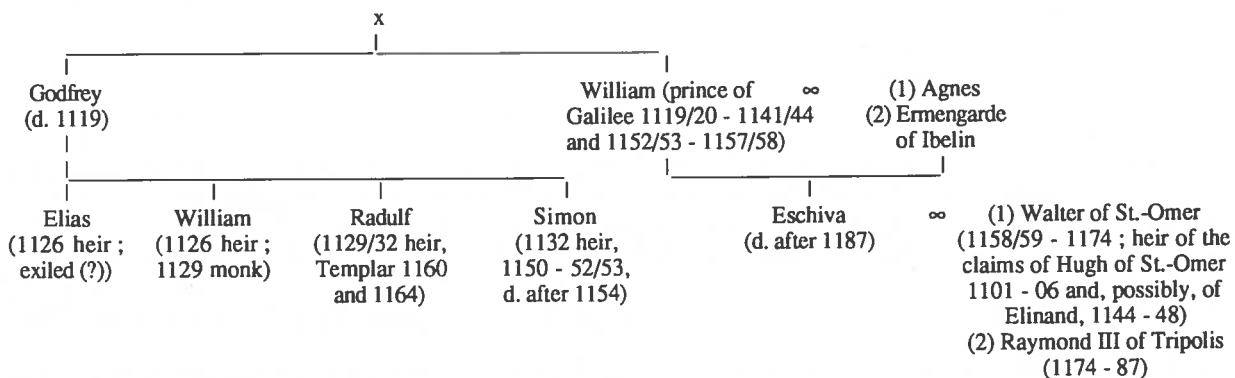


TABLE 2  
BURIS PRINCES OF GALILEE (Mayer)



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## ABBREVIATIONS

- RRH Röhricht, Reinhold, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, 1 volume and *Additamentum*, Innsbruck 1893 - 1904 : Universitätsbuchhandlung Wagner.
- WT William of Tyre : Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique* (ed. R.B.C. Huygens), 2 vols. (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio medievalis 63. 63A), Turnhout 1986 : Brepols.

## RÉSUMÉ

Deux hypothèses ont jusqu'ici empêché d'établir une généalogie convaincante des princes croisés de Galilée. La première voulait qu'il y eût deux princes appelés Guillaume, originaires de Bures-sur-Yvette, près de Paris : Guillaume I (1119 - 1141/44) et Guillaume II (1153 - 1157/58). La deuxième stipulait que les successions princières en Galilée, après 1119, se déroulèrent toujours régulièrement et furent fondées sur la parenté. Le prince Elinand (1141/44 - 1148/50) fut donc considéré de la famille des Bures par identification avec Elias, un neveu de Guillaume I, en dépit de la différence fondamentale de leur nom.

Dans cet article, je m'efforce de montrer qu'il n'existe qu'un seul Guillaume de Bures. Celui-ci perdit sa principauté après la mort du roi Foulques de Jérusalem (1143), au profit d'Elinand, et dut s'exiler à Lattaquié. Quand la reine Mélisende, veuve de Foulques, perdit le pouvoir en 1152, Guillaume put revenir en Galilée qui était gouvernée en son nom depuis 1150 par son neveu Simon. Elinand qui n'appartenait certainement pas à la famille de Bures, se rattachait peut-être à la famille des châtelains de Saint-Omer qui avaient régné en Galilée au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le nom d'Elinand, généralement peu usité, était en revanche populaire dans le Pas-de-Calais.

Les revendications des Saint-Omer et des Bures concernant la Galilée fusionnèrent lorsqu'en 1159, Gautier de Saint-Omer épousa l'héritière de Galilée, Eschiva, qui était, semble-t-il, la fille d'un second mariage de Guillaume de Bures avec Ermengarde d'Ibelin.

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Zwei Annahmen haben die Genealogie der Kreuzfahrerfürsten von Galilaea verunklart : 1) daß es zwei Fürsten namens Wilhelm von Buris aus Bures-sur-Yvette bei Paris gegeben habe, Wilhelm I. (1119 - 1141/1144) und Wilhelm II. (1153 - 1157/1158) und 2) daß die Erbfolge in Galilaea nach 1119 stets ohne Störungen und allein aufgrund der Verwandtschaft abgelaufen sei. Deshalb hat man Fürst Elinandus (1141/1144 - 1148/1150) auch der Familie Buris zugerechnet, indem man ihn trotz des fundamentalen Namensunterschiedes mit Elias, einem Neffen Wilhelms (I.), identifizierte.

In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird gezeigt, daß es nur einen ca. 1090 geborenen Fürst Wilhelm von Buris gab, der nach dem Tode des Königs Fulko von Jerusalem (1143) sein Fürstentum an Elinandus verlor und nach Latakia ins Exil gehen mußte. Als das Regime von Fulkos Witwe Melisendis 1152 endete, konnte er zurückkehren ; seit 1150 hatte seine Neffe Simon Galilaea für Wilhelm gehalten. Elinandus gehörte sicher nicht zur Familie Buris, aber vielleicht zu der Familie der Kastellane von Saint-Omer, die Galilaea zu Beginn des 12. Jh. beherrscht hatten. Der an sich seltene Name Elinandus war im Pas-de-Calais beliebt. Die Ansprüche der Saint-Omer und der Buris auf Galilaea wurden vereint, als 1159 Walter von St.-Omer die Erbin von Galilaea Eschiva heiratete, die eine Tochter Wilhelms von Buris aus einer zweiten Ehe mit Ermengard von Ibelin gewesen sein dürfte.

